

Work for a Better Bangladesh
Bangladesh Anti-Tobacco Alliance
PATH Canada

**British American Tobacco's
Youth Smoking Prevention Campaign:
What are its actual objectives?**

Research and Analysis

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I. Introduction

“If any cigarette company told me not to smoke, I’d think it was some sort of slyness on their part.”
--13-year-old male student

“They make the cigarettes, then will tell us not to smoke them—isn’t there any other target for their mischief?”
--15-year-old male student

On the 28th of July, 2001, British American Tobacco (BAT) launched its “Youth Smoking Prevention Campaign”. BAT’s messages consist of a 30-second television ad, three one-minute radio scripts, a billboard, and a sticker. BAT claims that they see smoking as an adult choice, and that those under age 18 should not smoke. BAT claims that they feel the responsibility to curtail/prevent youth smoking. BAT says that parents, retailers, media and the government can all play their part in preventing youth from smoking.¹

Is BAT truly, as it claims, a responsible company seeking to address the problem of youth smoking? Or is the whole campaign in fact a clever public relations scheme in order to stop attempts at legislation and to deflect criticism from the manufacturers of the only consumer product in the world which, when used as intended, kills its user?

This report looks at tobacco company youth smoking prevention campaigns in general, including formerly private industry documents, and that of BAT Bangladesh in particular. It includes information gathered from a focus group, and a survey of 300 youth under age 18. The report ends with recommendations. We hope that you find it useful, and that you will contact us if you desire further information.

II. Why do tobacco companies do youth smoking prevention campaigns?*

“Before doing any publicity to prevent smoking, the cigarette companies should stop manufacturing cigarettes.”
--14-year-old male student

“It doesn’t make sense for cigarette companies to discourage people from smoking.”
--13-year-old male student

According to BAT’s materials,¹ Philip Morris (manufacturer of Marlboro), BAT and Japan Tobacco have promoted youth smoking prevention campaigns in almost 70 countries. Why such an interest among big tobacco companies to prevent youth from smoking?

The tobacco industry is being attacked throughout the world. The World Health Organization is working with governments to negotiate an international treaty, the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, to regulate tobacco at the international level and strengthen individual countries’ laws. Many countries have passed laws that limit or ban advertising, make many public places smoke-free, and require large and strongly-worded warnings on cigarette packs. Such measures have been shown to reduce smoking, in the general population and among youth. Measures such as tax increases and ad bans are particularly successful with youth, as youth are far more price sensitive, and far more susceptible to advertising, than adults. According to the World Bank, “the impact of higher taxes is likely to be greatest on young

* This section draws heavily on one report: Cancer Research Campaign and Action on Smoking and Health UK, *Danger! PR in the Playground: Tobacco industry initiatives on youth smoking*, 2000.

people, who are more responsive to price rises than older people”.² That is, if the price of cigarettes goes up, far more youth than adults will give up the habit. In the United States, about 86% of youth smokers prefer the three most heavily-advertised brands, as opposed to about a third of adult smokers. Children aged 10-12 who approve of cigarette advertising are twice as likely to become smokers within a year as children who disapprove of it. Children as young as three recognize cigarette ads. It is children, not adults, who buy the most heavily advertised brands.^{3 4}

If the tobacco industry were serious about reducing smoking among youth, they would support, or at least not oppose, such measures. In fact, the transnational tobacco companies like BAT strongly oppose such laws. They wish to distract government and others from insisting on such legislation by promoting voluntary agreements instead.

A lawsuit in the United States forced tobacco companies to make available millions of internal documents. Those documents clearly show the intent of tobacco companies in designing youth programs. In those documents, we can see that the tobacco industry decided to start conducting youth campaigns to, in their words, convince governments not to pass legislation; to reinforce the belief that peer pressure, not advertising, is the cause of youth smoking, and to seize the political center and force the anti-smokers to an extreme.

A 1991 Tobacco Institute memo clearly describes BAT’s current practice:

“In order to offset further erosion of the industry’s image in this area, and to avoid further legislative forays, the tobacco industry should take two actions: Clearly and visibly announce our position on teenage smoking to the public generally and to leaders of all youth-oriented organizations [and]... A program to depict cigarette smoking as one of many activities some people choose to do as adults.”³

A 1991 Asian Tobacco/BAT document is similarly straightforward about the objectives of a youth campaign:

“We need to ask ourselves whether as an industry we could be turning our declared belief that we have no interest in recruiting children and by that I mean sub-teenagers—to more practical account. Much of what we have done around the world has been desultory and patchy—and yet being seen to cooperate on this particular issue has many positive public relations and public affairs benefits; is often relatively inexpensive to mount, and usually very difficult for the opposition effectively to counter without appearing sour and over-critical.”³

The tobacco industry youth prevention campaigns have certain points in common:³

- Involvement of authority figures, such as parents, teachers, and government officials. These are precisely the figures against which teenagers rebel when they smoke.
- Absence of figures that are popular among youth—the sorts of people that youth wish to emulate, such as race car drivers, rock stars, and cricket players.
- Reinforcement of the message that smoking is an adult activity—which is precisely why so many teenagers smoke. They perceive smoking as adult, and wish to be adult. Setting an age limit on when smoking gives children and youth an easy way to show that they are grown-up.
- Absence of any mention of why smoking is a problem: that it causes 25 different diseases, including cancer, heart disease, and respiratory problems; that it causes impotence in men; that it is addictive; that cigarette smoke contains 4000 different chemicals including 40 known carcinogens; that cigarette smoke causes disease in non-

smokers; that one in every two or three long-term smokers will die from smoking-related causes.

Is it possible to believe that tobacco companies are serious about discouraging youth from smoking? Most people begin smoking when they are below age 20; many when they are as young as 12. People start as an experiment, to feel like an adult, and then become addicted. People also choose their brand fairly early, then tend to stick to it for most of their life. Most adults have chosen their brand, and will not change it, no matter how much advertising there is for other brands. Teenagers, on the other hand, tend to smoke the cigarettes that are most heavily advertised. If a company can win over a teenager, they are likely to keep him for life. If companies do not recruit teenagers, they will eventually dwindle and die, as adult smokers will either quit smoking or die. Teenagers are the pool of replacement smokers, and if the tobacco companies don't actively recruit them, they will not be able to stay in business, and certainly will not be able to have the sort of growth that they enjoy.³

“The younger smoker is of pre-eminent importance: significant in numbers, “lead in” to prime market, starts brand preference patterning...” (BAT 1974)³

“The loss of younger adult males and teenagers is more important to the long term, drying up the supply of new smokers to replace the old. This is not a fixed loss to the industry; its importance increases with time.” (RJ Reynolds 1982)³

Given the importance of youth smokers to tobacco companies, any effort on their part to convince youth *not* to smoke must be looked at with skepticism. Why would any company try to chase away its own customers, especially those customers who are most vital to their survival? On the other hand, having the *appearance* of discouraging youth to smoke is an important contribution to business.

Tobacco companies also say that voluntary agreements are sufficient; that no strong legislation to control tobacco is needed. But the companies also violate the laws that do exist, and look for loopholes when laws become stronger.

“Opportunities should be explored...so as to find non-tobacco products and other services which can be used to communicate the brand or house name, together with their essential visual identifiers... The principle is to ensure that tobacco lines can be effectively publicized when all direct forms of communication are denied.” (BAT 1979)³

Although the quote is old, the words describe BAT's current behavior—the use of the “&.” symbol to signify Benson & Hedges cigarettes, as well as the use of John Player and Benson & Hedges signs and logos on shops, without mention of cigarettes. If BAT is already trying to ensure its advertising will continue following a possible ban, how can they be trusted to change their behavior voluntarily?

BAT and other tobacco companies claim that they have changed their behavior; that in the past, they may not have been forthcoming about the health effects of smoking, or about their efforts to advertise to children, but that all that has changed. Where is the evidence of change? BAT still does not fully acknowledge that smoking is addictive, and it denies altogether the incontrovertible evidence that cigarette smoke causes disease in others. It denies, despite the abundant evidence, that it has been involved in smuggling of cigarettes—in Bangladesh as well as other countries.⁵ It continues to oppose any meaningful legislation

of tobacco, raising of taxes, and an effective global tobacco control treaty. And its ads continue to use the idols of youth: rock musicians, race car drivers, sailors of a yacht on a great adventure.

“The concerts are for the purpose of selling more Benson & Hedges cigarettes.”

--young male student

III. BAT Bangladesh’s program

“If a cigarette company said not to smoke, I would be astonished, and would think that they have concerts and ads to promote cigarettes, yet are telling me not to smoke.”

--14-year-old male student

General remarks

The Bangladesh program is based on BAT’s youth smoking prevention campaigns in other countries, and closely resembles the campaigns being conducted by other tobacco companies. BAT documents indicate that it is doing the campaign for the same reasons as the other companies—to delay legislation and to improve their public image.

BAT—in Bangladesh and elsewhere—claims that it sees smoking as an “informed choice made by adults only, who are in a position to balance the pleasures of smoking against the inherent risks”.¹ Let us analyze that phrase.

“*Informed*” means that potential smokers have information that allows them to decide whether or not to smoke. From where are they to obtain that information? How are they to learn about “the inherent risks”? The only information BAT gives to smokers is the mandated government message, “Smoking is deleterious to health”. Is that information sufficient to make a decision? How is smoking deleterious? If people smoke light cigarettes, are they less likely to get sick? What if they smoke less than a pack a day? What sorts of diseases do smokers get? Can cigarette smoke harm others? Nowhere does BAT provide any of the more specific information that would be necessary to make a truly *informed* choice.

By “*adult*” BAT means people over the age of 18. How does one attempt to promote a product only to those over age 18? One could choose messages that are more popular among older adults than among teenagers: use of classical music, images of older smokers, avoidance of messages that have particular resonance with youth. One could regularly conduct research to see whether one’s advertisements are popular with teenagers, and then, rather than increasing use of those messages, one could stop them. None of this is happening.

“*Choice*” implies free will. But the nicotine in cigarettes is extremely addictive, and evidence shows that cigarette companies manipulate the level of nicotine in cigarettes to ensure addiction is maintained. Nicotine is at least as addictive as heroin and cocaine, and at least as hard to give up. Do drug addicts “choose” to use drugs, or do they use them because their addiction compels them to? Is it really possible to talk about choice when discussing an extremely addictive substance?

Focusing tobacco control activities exclusively on youth, and in isolation of effective measures, is a flawed approach. Beyond that, the ads that BAT is using in Bangladesh have

many flaws of their own. The very nature of the ads is a problem, as it allows BAT to advertise its name on billboards, radio, and TV without a warning about the dangers of their product.

Cigarette ads and teenagers

“When you see golden color and a ‘&’ sign on a billboard, you understand that it’s Benson & Hedges.”
--focus group participant

In order to gain some understanding of youth exposure to BAT cigarette ads, Work for a Better Bangladesh (WBB) held a focus group and conducted a survey of 300 students in one boys’ school. The focus group had eight participants: two girls and six boys, all non-smokers aged 14-16. The participants said that they did not pay much attention to cigarette ads because they didn’t smoke, but revealed great knowledge of BAT and other cigarette advertising. For instance, the participants all recognized the “&” as a Benson & Hedges symbol. They could recall the slogans on various billboards, and one gave an explanation of an image of torn pants on a clothesline that has the slogan “One & Only”: “There are one pair of pants, and there’s one brand of cigarettes.” They said that rock concerts are mostly viewed by teenagers and those in their twenties, and were aware of the current Star Search program sponsored by Benson & Hedges. They also described BAT cigarette ads as quite attractive, and said that some children watch TV for the sake of seeing the ads, not the programs, and are exposed to a lot of cigarette ads in the process. Finally, they said many of the cigarette ads send the message that smoking involves heroism and bravery.

Results of the questionnaire, focusing on young teenagers’ exposure to BAT ads, appear in the next section.

BAT’s youth smoking prevention ads

“If cigarette companies said not to smoke, I’d be really upset. Because they’re producing life-destroying products, then saying they’re forbidden.” --13-year-old male student

Are BAT’s youth smoking prevention ads designed to appeal to youth? What are the messages? Researchers showed the focus group participants the BAT youth smoking prevention TV and radio ads and the billboard design/sticker, in order to understand how youth might react to BAT’s campaign.

Some of the focus group participants were familiar with the BAT youth smoking prevention campaign. They criticized the basis of the campaign, saying that smoking is harmful for everyone, not just those under age 18. They said that making something forbidden increases its appeal for youth. As for survey participants, many of the students had angry remarks about BAT conducting a prevention campaign among youth. The contradiction was obvious to many of a company simultaneously promoting a product, and telling part of its audience not to consume it. They said they would be astonished if a cigarette company told youth not to smoke, given all the effort they make through advertising, especially rock concerts, to attract young smokers. They said if they were serious about young people not smoking, they should get out of business altogether.

Sticker/billboard

“This sticker is no good. When you first look at it, you can’t understand it. It could be an ad for Dano [powdered milk].”

--focus group participant

The same image is used on the sticker and billboard. To the left is the word “no” with an attractive picture of smoke rings (learning to blow smoke rings may be one of the incentives to smoke). “No” resonates with parental authority—teachers, parents, and other adults telling teenagers what they shouldn’t do. To the right is the alternative: “We don’t smoke.” The bland message is accompanied by a suitably bland picture of six youths—four boys and two girls. One of the boys is holding his hat in the air, and one of the girls is holding up flowers; the boys are about to clasp hands. The boys are skinny and have no particular appeal. The background is white. The sterile image of the young non-smokers is in stark contrast to the more attractive, dreamy picture of smoke rings, and to the very attractive and sophisticated Benson & Hedges and John Player Gold Leaf billboards and newspaper ads.

Some focus group participants said that the image used on the sticker and billboard is unattractive; others found it attractive but said it doesn’t make sense, and would require concentration to understand what the message is. They said Benson & Hedges ads, with their dreamy sunset backgrounds, are far more attractive than the youth prevention image.

Radio scripts

There are three one-minute radio scripts.

For working children

A young boy’s boss asks him if he smokes. The boy hesitates, then admits he does: “I really want to be like the grown ups”. The boss replies, “...the more you learn, the more you will become an expert! No need to smoke. Understood?” The boy agrees. The voice over states, “Everybody should come forward to prevent the underage from smoking,” and the final song is, “We are free, we are independent, we are smart, we don’t smoke.” What is the problem with the script?

1. The script puts forward the idea that smoking is an adult activity, both in the boy’s words, and in the line about the underage not smoking. The boss counters the line, but only weakly.
2. The boss does not give any reasons not to smoke, nor does he state that he himself is a non-smoker. The idea that “the more you learn, the more you will become an expert” could include smoking as something that the boy can learn to be more grown up.
3. The line “Everybody should come forward to prevent the underage from smoking,” suggests the heavy hand of adult authority—precisely the authority against which youth rebel when they smoke. It also, as mentioned, further strengthens the idea that smoking is an adult activity—hence the reason for the boy’s smoking!
4. One way to demonstrate one is “free and independent” is to rebel against adult authority—in the case, against the boss, who tells the boy not to smoke.

Focus group participants said the ad was meaningless, as it offered no reasons not to smoke, and did not indicate whether or not the boss smoked. They said that the ad would be better if the boss said clearly that he doesn’t smoke.

For guardians

A mother is upset when she learns that her husband has again sent their son to buy cigarettes, as it might cause the son to adopt the habit. The boy’s father agrees not to do so anymore,

and the voiceover states, “Every guardian should come forward to prevent the underage from smoking.” The script ends with the same song as above. What is the problem with this script?

1. The mother does not object to the boy’s father smoking; only to him sending the son to buy cigarettes. The fact that the father’s smoking is itself a model to the boy to smoke is not mentioned, nor are the diseases to which the father puts himself at risk by smoking. Nor are the secondhand effects of smoking on the children mentioned.
2. Again, the message reinforces that smoking is an adult activity, and something to which youth aspire.
3. Again, the authority figure is being pitted against the youth who aspires to adulthood—suggesting again that youth can successfully rebel and appear as adults if they smoke (which, in this case, is also modeling the father’s behavior, something which youth commonly do).

Focus group participants objected to the fact that the father does not offer to quit smoking—he only says he won’t send the son to buy cigarettes. They felt the ad would only have meaning if the father were to set a positive example for the son by not smoking. They said that as it is, the ad reinforces that smoking is not for youth—meaning that smoking proves adulthood. One participant remarked that forbidden goods have special appeal.

For retailers

A shopkeeper expresses surprise that a man is buying more cigarettes so soon, and guesses that the man’s son must be stealing cigarettes from his pack. The shopkeeper then announces his intention not to sell cigarettes to children. The voiceover this time addresses the responsibility of buyers and sellers. What is the problem with this script?

1. The script informs young people how to obtain cigarettes if they don’t have the money or are uncomfortable buying them themselves: just slip them from your father’s pack. It can become a sort of game, to see whether your father is smart enough to figure it out or not—whether or not you can get away with it!
2. Again, the suggestion is that adult men smoke (all adult men, judging by the radio scripts), but that children shouldn’t. “Smoking at this age is really a bad habit”, as the shopkeeper says, implies that there is nothing wrong with smoking if you are over age 18.
3. A new source of rebellion and adventure appears in this ad—the game of trying to buy cigarettes. Since there is no law to prevent them, they will of course succeed; in addition, retailers have an excuse, as the previous script reminds them that often children are buying cigarettes for their parents, not themselves.

Focus group participants’ response to the radio scripts was that none gave any reason for not smoking; that the fathers in the ads smoke, and the attraction is to be like one’s father; and that stores will never stop selling to minors, since they would lose money by doing so.

Television ad

The television ad shows a young boy trying to appear cool by smoking cigarettes. Meanwhile, his classmate gains success in cricket. A girl looks disgusted at the smoking, and joins the cricket player instead; meanwhile, the smoker crushes his (empty) pack of cigarettes and then goes to join them. What is the problem with this ad?

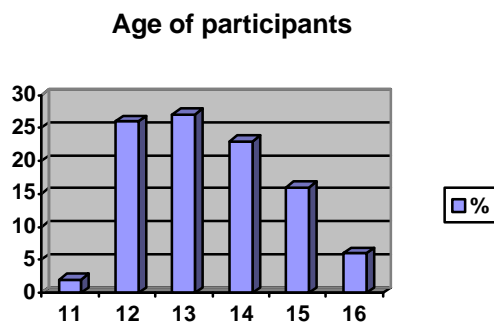
1. Compared to the BAT ads that appear on television for John Player Gold Leaf and Benson & Hedges, the ad is poorly done. The ad is only thirty seconds long, which makes it difficult to understand the messages, or figure out who did what. The way the

- boy shows off his cigarette pack, then crumples it, are crude. The ad looks more like something produced by an under-funded health NGO than by a rich tobacco company.
2. While the crumbling of the pack is meant to indicate that the boy is fed up and won't smoke anymore, the pack appears to be empty. It could just be that he is out of cigarettes.
 3. As with the radio scripts and billboard, there is no mention of any of the health effects of smoking, that smoking is addictive, that it causes disease in non-smokers, and that smoking kills.

The focus group participants asked to watch the TV ad a second time, as it wasn't clear from first viewing what had happened. After the second viewing, a lengthy argument ensued as to what had happened in the ad—who was smoking, who threw the ball to whom, and so on. One participant said, “The ad shows that you shouldn't smoke during cricket matches.” Another participant complained, “There's no one famous in the ad. The actors are all unknown, and they have nothing appealing to attract people to the message.” While they found the ad appealing to watch, they did not get an anti-smoking message from it.

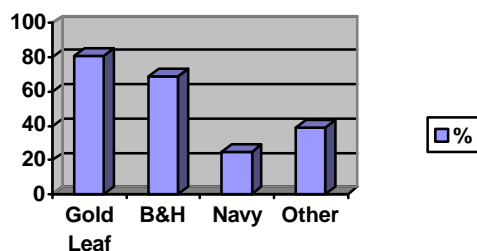
Survey results

Most of the 300 male students interviewed were aged 12-15.



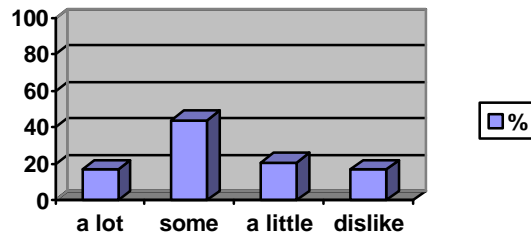
Most (88%) said they had never smoked. Only 3% reported currently smoking at least one cigarette a week, but, as with the focus group participants, they were quite familiar with cigarette ads, especially those for BAT brands. Almost all the students—96%—reported having seen a cigarette ad on television. Of those answering yes to having seen a cigarette ad on television, 81% reported having seen Gold Leaf, 69% Benson & Hedges, 25% Navy, and 39% named other brands. Gold Leaf and Benson & Hedges are both BAT brands, revealing high exposure among the youth to BAT television ads for cigarettes.

Television ads viewed, by brand



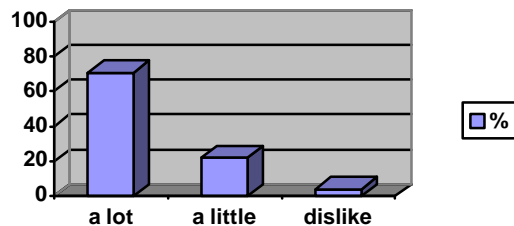
78% of the students said they had seen a Benson & Hedges rock concert. While most of the students had seen them on TV, 11% said they had seen one live, despite BAT's claim that they do not allow those under 18 to attend their concerts. Most (61%) liked the concerts some or a lot, 21% said they liked the concerts a little, and only 17% said they disliked them.

Degree of liking of B&H rock concerts



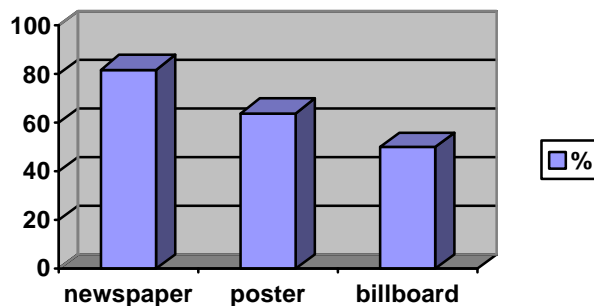
To the question, "Do you think that Benson & Hedges sponsoring rock concerts encourages youth to smoke?", 55% answered yes and 45% answered no. Most (71%) thought that boys their age like the concerts, 22% said they like them a little, and only 4% said they don't like them. Ten students (3%) did not respond.

Liking of concerts by boys their age



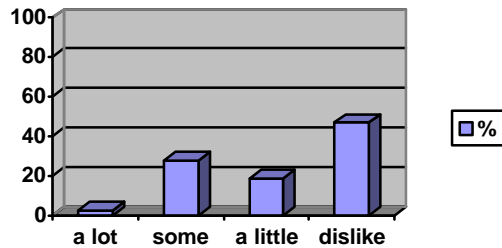
As to exposure to Benson & Hedges ads, 64% said they had seen a poster, 82% said they had seen a newspaper ad, and 50% said they had seen a billboard. In discussions following the questionnaire, many of the students asked what a billboard is; the results would likely have been higher if they had known!

% having seen types of ads



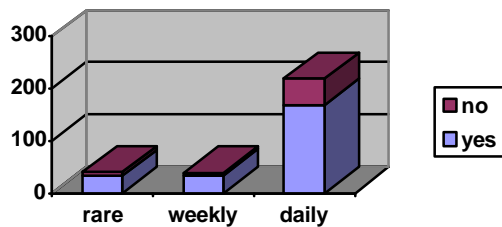
When asked how they like the cigarette ads, 3% said they like them a lot; 28% said they like them; 19% said they like them a little, and 47% said they don't like them, with 3% not responding. Approval ratings were higher in the few students who smoked: among the 10 current smokers, 1 liked them a lot, 5 liked them, 1 liked them a little, and 3 said they disliked them. Ratings for ever smokers were almost the same as for non-smokers. The "dislike" category presumably includes students who might find the ads visually appealing, but think it is wrong for BAT to advertise.

Liking of cigarette ads

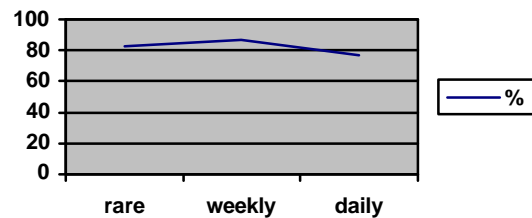


Of those watching TV less than once a week, 83% had seen a Benson & Hedges concert; 87% of those watching TV 1-6 days a week had, and 77% of those watching TV 1-6 hours daily had seen one. That is, those who watch TV rarely were just as likely as those who watch it frequently to have seen a Benson & Hedges concert, which implies either great frequency of concert showings, or that students make an effort to see them.

Ever seen B&H concert, by frequency of TV viewing

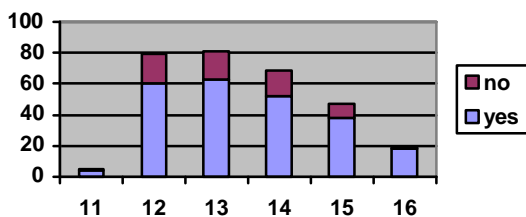


% viewed concerts, by frequency of TV viewership

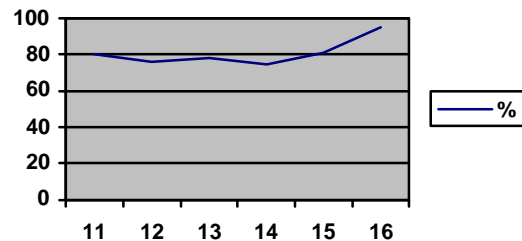


Likelihood of having seen a Benson & Hedges rock concert also varied little by age, with the majority in all age groups having seen one.

Number viewed B&H concert, by age



% viewed B&H concert, by age



Words must be measured against action

“The first goal of Benson & Hedges rock concerts is to publicize their company, and indirectly to attract adolescents to smoking.”
--young male student

When BAT and other tobacco companies wish to promote their brands, they use methods that are particularly popular among youth: sponsorship of motorcycle and car racing, rock concerts, sporting events. For example, in India, BAT and India Tobacco Company sponsor cricket through the Wills brand. That sponsorship was found to influence smoking rates and create false perceptions about smoking in Indian school children age 13-16 years. According to the research report, “Despite a high level of knowledge about adverse effects of tobacco, cricket sponsorship increased children’s likelihood of experimenting with tobacco by creating false associations between smoking and sport. Many of the children believed that cricketers smoked.”³

In Bangladesh, BAT regularly sponsors rock concerts. Rock concerts are most popular among a young audience, including teenagers. Yet what are the contents of the BAT Bangladesh youth smoking prevention campaign? Rock stars are not used. Cricket players are not used. No youth idols are used. The characters in the TV ad, on stickers, and on the billboard are a bland-looking group of youth who hold no special appeal to young people. The radio messages reinforce the idea that smoking is an adult activity, even while claiming to belie it. Nowhere in any of the messages are the harmful effects of tobacco mentioned.

IV. Recommendations*

- Do not work with BAT on their youth smoking campaign. BAT does not wish to see smoking among youth decline. BAT’s prime concern is to improve its image, and by partnering with them, you will help them in doing so.
- Tobacco control measures should never focus only on youth. Such programs make smoking an adult activity, thus increasing its appeal to youth.
- Question BAT’s claim that smoking is only a problem for youth. Adults who smoke are prone to a range of diseases and health problems, including emphysema, tuberculosis, impotence, reduced fertility, heart disease, stroke, and cancer of the lung, mouth, breast, and many other sites. When adults smoke around others, non-smokers are subjected to the same chemicals that smokers breathe in, and get some of the same diseases. Helping adults to quit reduces health expenditures, raises quality of life, and makes available for productive purposes money that would otherwise go to buy cigarettes. Any attempt to deal with the problem of smoking must address adults as well as youth.
- Support tobacco control measures that have been proven effective. Needed measures to address the many health and economic problems associated with smoking include a complete ban on all forms of tobacco promotion, bans on smoking in public places and workplaces, aides to help people quit, and higher taxes on all tobacco products.
- If you need information about tobacco, including information about what works best to reduce smoking among youth, or if you would like to learn more about how to become involved in tobacco control, please contact the Bangladesh Anti-Tobacco Alliance.

* These recommendations draw heavily on one report: Cancer Research Campaign and Action on Smoking and Health UK, *Danger! PR in the Playground: Tobacco industry initiatives on youth smoking*, 2000.

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- (1) BAT, *Be smart, a campaign for youth smoking prevention*, 2000.
- (2) World Bank, *Curbing the Epidemic: Governments and the economics of tobacco control*, 1999.
- (3) Cancer Research Campaign and Action on Smoking and Health UK, *Danger! PR in the Playground: Tobacco industry initiatives on youth smoking*, 2000.
- (4) UICC Tobacco Control Fact Sheet 1, “The case for banning advertising and promotion of tobacco.”
- (5) Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, *Illegal Pathways to Illegal Profits: The Big Cigarette Companies and International Smuggling*, 2001.