Alcohol advertising: the last chance saloon

Failure of self regulation of UK alcohol advertising

Hastings, Gerard; Brooks, Oona; Stead, Martine; Angus, Kathryn; Anker, Thomas Boysen; Farrell, Tom

Published in:
BMJ. British Medical Journal (International Ed.)

DOI:
10.1136/bmj.b5650

Publication date:
2010

Document version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Citation for published version (APA):
Research has established that alcohol advertising, like that for tobacco and fast food, influences behaviour. It encourages young people to drink alcohol sooner and in greater quantities. From a public health perspective, advertising of alcohol should clearly be limited. The United Kingdom has opted for a system of self regulatory controls that focuses primarily on the content of advertisements, with some limitations on the channels that can be used. This is overseen by the Advertising Standards Authority, through the Committee of Advertising Practice, which represents the interests of advertisers, agencies, and media owners.

As part of its alcohol inquiry, the House of Commons health select committee wanted to explore the success of self regulation. It obtained a large number of internal marketing documents from alcohol producers and their communications agencies in order to examine the thinking and strategic planning that underpin alcohol advertising and hence show not just what advertisers are saying, but why they are saying it. Here we present the key insights to emerge.

Selection of documents
Because alcohol advertising is so extensive (around £800m ($900m; $1.3bn) a year) it was not possible to examine documents from all relevant companies. Requests were therefore sent to only four producers, chosen for their profile, and their respective communications agencies; and they were asked to send documents relating to just five brands out of the dozens on their books for 2005-8 (table). We analysed the documents on behalf of the committee.

Although the sample is small, the requests resulted in thousands of pages of paper documents and nearly three gigabytes of electronic ones. These comprised contact reports between client and agency, client briefs, creative briefs, media briefs, media schedules, advertising budgets, and market research reports (box 1 on bmj.com).

We conducted a thematic analysis of the documents. We initially looked at four themes that are banned by the advertising code of practice (box 2) and nearly three gigabytes of electronic ones.

**ANALYSIS**

**Alcohol advertising: the last chance saloon**

Although the content of alcohol advertisements is restricted, **Gerard Hastings and colleagues** find that advertisers are still managing to appeal to young people and promote drinking

**Targeting and appealing to young people**

Upcoming generations represent a key target for alcohol advertisers. Although the documents mainly refer to this group as starting at the legal drinking age (18 years), this distinction is sometimes lost. Thus market research data on 15 and 16 year olds are used to guide campaign development and deployment, and it is clearly acknowledged that particular products appeal to children (Lambrini, for instance, is referred to as a “kids’ drink”). Many references are made to the need to recruit new drinkers and establish their loyalty to a particular brand: WKD, for instance, wants to attract “new 18 year olds,” and Carling takes a particular interest in the fact that the Carling Weekend is “the first choice for the festival virgin,” offering free branded tents and a breakfast can of beer.

Campaigns aspire to be associated with and appeal to youth: Smirnoff Ice wants to “become the most respected youth brand (overtaking Lynx [deodorant]).” New media channels are used because they will appeal to and engage young people, and Lambrini’s 2007 television campaign set out to be “a cross between myspace and High School Musical.”

University students are another focus. A Smirnoff presentation says, a “great place to create excitement and drive recruitment is within the student community,” and Carling wanted a “greater focus on students as a core recruitment audience.” Carling’s aim turned into a proposal to produce a magazine for first year students—including those at Scottish universities, where a significant proportion of freshers are under the legal drinking age. Upcoming generations represent a key target for alcohol advertisers. Although the documents mainly refer to this group as starting at the legal drinking age (18 years), this distinction is sometimes lost. Thus market research data on 15 and 16 year olds are used to guide campaign development and deployment, and it is clearly acknowledged that particular products appeal to children (Lambrini, for instance, is referred to as a “kids’ drink”). Many references are made to the need to recruit new drinkers and establish their loyalty to a particular brand: WKD, for instance, wants to attract “new 18 year olds,” and Carling takes a particular interest in the fact that the Carling Weekend is “the first choice for the festival virgin,” offering free branded tents and a breakfast can of beer.

**Sources of documents studied**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Producer</th>
<th>Brand</th>
<th>Communications agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beverage Brands</td>
<td>WKD (an alcopop)</td>
<td>Big Communications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diageo</td>
<td>Smirnoff vodka</td>
<td>AKQA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halewood International</td>
<td>Lambrini (a perry)</td>
<td>JWT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molson Coors Brewing Company</td>
<td>Carling</td>
<td>Beattie McGuinness Bungay (BMB)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Attitudes to drunkenness and potency**

Advertisers are well aware that some groups drink irresponsibly. Brand strategy documents and campaign briefs abound with references to unwise and immoderate drinking. Far from regretting or avoiding any promotion of this behaviour as the codes require, producers and agencies analyse it for market opportunities. Thus Lambrini’s qualitative research with young women provided respondents with stimulus themes such as “getting pissed,” “one night stands,” and “drinking games” to help them discuss their experiences with the product (figure). Increasing consumption is a key promotional aim, contradicting the claim that the intention is simply to encourage brand switching (box 3 on bmj.com).

Drunkenness is also linked to high alcoholic strength—any reference to which is forbidden by the codes. Yet Smirnoff has worked out that “potency can be communicated in a number of ways,” including by reference to the drink being “ten times filtered or triple distilled,” noting that “for consumers both result in increased purity and therefore increased strength.” This theme was given heavy coverage on the Smirnoff website.

**Association with social success**

Advertisers are not allowed to suggest that alcohol can enhance the social success of either an individual or an event—yet the documents are full of references to brands doing both things. Thus Carling is described as a “social glue” by its promotion team, and the brand overtly seeks to “own sociability,” as this is the way to “dominate the booze market.” Lambrini is described as a “social lubricant” in a creative brief for a summer campaign, and the “brand key” for the product, produced in 2008, positions it as “the perfect start to the night,” with the promise that the drink is “the best way to make your night light, bubbly and full of flavour.” Similarly, the most important message for WKD to convey to consumers is that the brand “is all about having a laugh with your mates.”

Efforts are also made to associate brands with personal transformation and enhancement.
Lambrini can “transform you into the glamour pusses you know you should be.”

**Sexual attractiveness**

Suggesting that alcohol can enhance either masculinity or femininity is proscribed, yet the documents are full of references to both. Thus the need to “communicate maleness and personality” is noted as a key communications objective for WKD, and Diageo highlights the brand values and personality of Smirnoff Black as “urbane,” “masculine,” and “charismatic”; dictionary definitions of these characteristics are accompanied by photographs of George Clooney, Bono, and Ewan McGregor. Mascularity is often equated with drinking too much (as in the Carling commandments, which include “Thou shalt never desert thy mates in drunken distress” and “Thou shalt never miss a round”), alcoholic strength (“potency of alcoholic strength” and “bravado” (as with Sidekick’s “Kick starting the night . . . macho competitiveness . . . how much can you take?”). References to, or suggestions of, buying repeat rounds of drinks are not acceptable—including any suggestion that other members of the group will buy any further rounds. Advertisements must not suggest that refusal is a sign of weakness or that a drink is to be preferred because of its alcohol content and must not place undue emphasis on alcoholic strength.

**Drunkenness and excess**—Advertising must not link alcohol with brave, tough, unruly or daring people or behaviour; nor should it encourage irresponsible, antisocial or immoderate drinking (whether in terms of style or amount). References to, or suggestions of, buying repeat rounds of drinks are not acceptable—including any suggestion that other members of the group will buy any further rounds. Advertisements must not suggest that refusal is a sign of weakness or that a drink is to be preferred because of its alcohol content and must not place undue emphasis on alcoholic strength.

**Sociability and social success**—Advertising must not link drinking to the social acceptance or success of individuals, events, or occasions or imply that it can enhance an individual’s popularity, confidence, mood, physical performance, personal qualities, attractiveness or sexual success.

**Masculinity and femininity**—Advertising must not link drinking with enhanced attractiveness, masculinity or femininity, nor with daringness, toughness, bravado, challenge, seduction, sexual activity, or sexual success.

Although sponsorship is not specifically included in the advertising code, it is a large and powerful part of alcohol promotion. Sponsorship is a way of raising brand awareness, creating positive brand attitudes, and building emotional connections with consumers. A Carling document about a music sponsorship campaign sums this up neatly: “Ultimately, the band are the heroes at the venue and Carling should use them to ‘piggy back’ and engage customers [sic] emotions.”

Although the codes prohibit any link between alcohol and youth culture or sporting achievement, the documents discuss in detail sponsorship deals with football, lads’ magazines, and music festivals. Often the intent of such sponsorship is specifically to reach young people: Carling’s sponsorship of the English football League Cup (Carling Cup) is a way to “recruit young male (LDA [legal drinking age] - 21) drinkers into the brand.” Events are chosen to show how well the brand understands and relates to young people: as one Carling executive expresses it, “They [young men] think about 4 things, we offer 4 things, we are the heroes.”

Similar sexual stereotypes and appeals are found in campaigns aimed at women. In 2006, Lambrini also teamed up with Pretty Polly tights to run a promotion to find the “Lambrini girl” with “the UK’s sexiest legs.”

**Power of sponsorship**

Advertisements must not appeal strongly to people under 18 or be associated with, or reflect, youth culture and no-one who is, or appears to be, under 25 years old may play a significant role in advertisements.

**Drunkenness and excess**—Advertising must not link alcohol with brave, tough, unruly or daring people or behaviour; nor should it encourage irresponsible, antisocial or immoderate drinking (whether in terms of style or amount). References to, or suggestions of, buying repeat rounds of drinks are not acceptable—including any suggestion that other members of the group will buy any further rounds. Advertisements must not suggest that refusal is a sign of weakness or that a drink is to be preferred because of its alcohol content and must not place undue emphasis on alcoholic strength.

**Sociability and social success**—Advertising must not link drinking to the social acceptance or success of individuals, events, or occasions or imply that it can enhance an individual’s popularity, confidence, mood, physical performance, personal qualities, attractiveness or sexual success.

**Masculinity and femininity**—Advertising must not link drinking with enhanced attractiveness, masculinity or femininity, nor with daringness, toughness, bravado, challenge, seduction, sexual activity, or sexual success.
Box 5 | Hidden messages of Carling’s “belong” advertisement

The advertisement featured a flock of starlings that gradually came together to reveal the word belong in the Carling logo. The Advertising Standards Agency received complaints from professionals and the general public that the advertisement breached the code but rejected them saying that it “did not imply alcohol contributed to the popularity of an individual or the success of a social event.”

Analysis of Carling documents supports the complaint. The pitch is described as: “Carling celebrates, initiates and promotes the togetherness of the pack, their passions and their pint because Carling understands that things are better together,” which splits into “3 Aspects of Belonging”:

- Initiation: Expressions of the moment when an individual joins a group and finds a happy home in the pack—the moment of belonging
- Celebration: An expression of the sheer joy of belonging
- Contagion: An expression of the magnetic power of the group—the power of belonging

A document describing the underpinning of the marketing strategy states: “Broadly speaking each piece of communication will either celebrate ‘Join Us!’ by championing the benefit of togetherness or facilitate ‘Join Us!’ by providing and enhancing experiences where togetherness is key.”

Box 6 | Proposals to protect children and young people from alcohol advertising

- Billboards and posters should not be located within 100 m of a school
- A 9 pm watershed should be introduced for television advertising. Cinema advertising for alcohol should be restricted to films classified as 18
- TV and radio advertisements for alcohol should be restricted to a maximum of 25% of total advertising and no more than two alcohol advertisements should appear in one commercial break
- No medium or event should be used to promote alcohol if more than 10% of its audience or readership are 10-17 years of age
- Alcohol promotion should not be permitted on social networking sites
- Age restrictions should be required on any website that includes alcohol promotion—this would cover sites of those receiving alcohol sponsorship and corporate alcohol websites
- Efforts should be made to limit the promotion of alcohol on university and college campuses

Turning to scope, sponsorship should be covered by the regulations, and digital media should also come under much greater scrutiny. In addition, particular efforts should be made to protect children from alcohol advertising (box 6).

The current problems with UK alcohol promotion are reminiscent of those seen before tobacco advertising was banned, when attempts to control content and adjust targeting simply resulted in more cryptic and imaginative campaigns. Indeed David Abbott, a leading advertiser of the time, argued that the codes were in fact acting as a stimulus, not a constraint, on creative imagination and that the only solution was an outright ban. History suggests that alcohol advertisers are, appropriately enough, drinking in the last chance saloon.

Gerard Hastings, director gerard.hastings@stir.ac.uk
Dona Brooks, researcher, Martine Stealth, deputy director, Kathryn Angus, researcher, Thomas Anker, researcher, Institute for Social Marketing, University of Stirling, Stirling FK9 4LA, Tom Farrell, researcher, Open University, Milton Keynes.

Contributors and sources: The authors all have a long term research interest in examining critically the role of marketing in society. Previous work has included systematic reviews of the impact of food marketing (GH, MS) and alcohol advertising (GH, KA) on children, most notably through a large NPRI grant. CB is currently studying alcohol cultures and new media, while TA and TF have an interest in business ethics and regulation.

Funding: This work was supported by a grant from the Alcohol Education Research Council.

Competing interests: None declared.

Provenance and peer review: Not commissioned; externally peer reviewed.

6 Institute of Medicine. Food marketing to children and youth: threat or opportunity? Washington, DC; Institute of Medicine of the National Academies, 2006.

Cite this as: BMJ 2010;340:b5650