Alcohol advertising: the last chance saloon

How to cite:
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) as well as sponsorship and new media.

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 the [sic] Musical.

Universities 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 fresher are under the legal drinking age.

Sources of documents studied

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

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.

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

Power of sponsorship

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.”

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.”

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.”

Use of new media

Digital media—including social networking sites, email, viral marketing, and texts—are a fast growing channel for alcohol advertising. They offer advertisers interactivity and increased creative freedom and are less regulated than traditional media. For example, the only control on access to alcohol related sites is the need for the user to provide an adult date of birth, which is easily side-stepped. Furthermore, viral marketing campaigns are designed to encourage young people to pass on messages to their friends, with no means of controlling who receives them. The aim is to gain credibility by making it seem as if the message is from a trustworthy friend (“It should look like it’s come from your mate, but is infact [sic] Carling branded”). Similarly, campaigns promoting girls dancing the “Lambrini” have resulted in many self filmed imitations—often featuring girls who appear to be under the legal drinking age—being posted on the company’s and various social networking sites.

One producer recognised that this presents a dilemma. An evaluation of Smirnoff’s Facebook presence showed that almost three quarters of members of Smirnoff related groups belonged to groups where there is a significant
### Analysis

**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.”

### 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

### Inadequate regulation

The documents we analysed show that attempts to control the content of alcohol advertising have two systemic failings. Firstly, the sophisticated communications and subtle emotional concepts such as sociability and masculinity that comprise modern advertising (and sponsorship) often defy intelligent analysis by the regulator, especially when the thinking and strategising that underpins them remain hidden (box 5). Secondly, producers and agencies can exploit the ambiguities in the codes and push the boundaries of both acceptability and adjudication.

The second problem of pushing the boundaries is illustrated by Lambriani’s tenacious attempts to retain the strapline “Girls just wanna have fun” in the face of repeated advice from the regulator that it was “targeting young girls, and promotes getting pissed” and was “unacceptable.” Only when the strapline appeared in newspaper coverage of the death of a young woman in an incident that occurred after she had been drinking did the company consider dissociating themselves from it.

### Tightening the rules

The UK needs to tighten both the procedures and scope of the regulation of alcohol advertising. In terms of procedures, regulation should be independent of the alcohol and advertising industries, matching best practice in other fields such as financial services and professional conduct. In addition, young people should be formally involved in the process—the best people to judge what a particular communication is saying are those in the target audience. Finally, all alcohol advertisements should be vetted, not, as at present, just those for broadcast.

### Provenance and peer review

Not commissioned; externally peer reviewed.


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