

Issue 2 2002

# THE GLOBE

**Drinking it in  
WHO targets  
alcohol marketing**



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## THE GLOBE

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# Drinking it in

## Marketing and Promotion of Alcohol to Young People

WHO Valencia Conference, May, 2002



Against a background of lobbying and public relations exercises on the part of the drink industry, the Valencia conference, *Drinking it in: Marketing and Promotion of Alcohol to Young People*, looked at the reality of the industry's methods of targeting the next generation of drinkers worldwide. The conference was intended as a follow-up to the Ministerial Conference held in Stockholm in February, 2001. In his opening statement to the conference, Derek Yach, Executive Director, WHO, said: "New data to be released by WHO in the World Health Report later this year, shows that the burden of alcohol on mortality and morbidity has significantly increased since last reported in 1990. Back then, alcohol was already responsible for around 3.5 per cent of all deaths and disease in the world.

"In addressing these preventable risks, WHO is paying increasing attention to the impact of marketing to young people ... Visit a store/shopping mall or market, in just about any country, and you will see that children and youth are the targets of the new technologies of persuasion. Neuro-psychologists tell us that many such promotions are designed to 'slip underneath the radar of critical thinking', taking advantage of unconscious processing of messages to influence the target audience through appeals to emotions.

"Children and young people are important targets of these messages for three reasons: first, their direct buying power is increasing world-wide; second, they exert considerable influence over household spending; and third, companies are keen to establish brand loyalty to their products as early as possible in the hope of maintaining this over their lives. Clearly, marketing matters!

"Marketing messages associate alcohol with fun, excitement, sex, glamour, rebellion, and

sophistication - all positive messages: no hint of harm!

"Marketing of alcoholic beverages appears to influence youth behaviour and choices. Its

pervasiveness also serves to create the impression that drinking alcohol is the norm in all societies. In fact, more than half of all people in the world aged 15 years and above do not drink alcohol at all and a further significant proportion do not consume alcohol regularly.

"Based on these concerns, Dr Brundtland [Director General of WHO] called in Sweden for a concerted review by international experts to help WHO develop policies to reduce the impact of marketing and promotion of alcohol to young people. This meeting is the response."

The World Health Organization is committed to calling the drink industry to account. At the Stockholm Ministerial Conference referred to by Dr Yach, Dr Marc Danzon, the Regional Director of WHO, questioned the right of the industry and its lobbyists to promote their products as they saw fit. He quoted the example of promotions at sporting events, where all too often the name of an alcoholic beverage is inescapable.

### Budweiser's promotion of its products using the World Cup 2002

# WHO Valencia Conference, May, 2002

Dr Brundtland, speaking at the Stockholm Conference, said: “Restrictions on advertising reduce consumption. OECD countries with a ban on alcohol advertising had about 16 per cent lower alcohol consumption and 23 per cent lower number of traffic fatalities than countries with no advertising restrictions.”

The Stockholm Conference galvanized the drink industry into action. The spectre of regulation had been raised and there was concerted action to head this off. In direct response to that conference, the Amsterdam Group, the social aspect organisation representing the major alcohol producers of Europe, produced guidelines on commercial communications, especially with regard to young people. In addition, the industry saw it as vital to enter into

dialogue with WHO. Before the Valencia conference was held, the alcohol industry enlisted the direct aid of the United States Government to intervene with WHO. The alcohol giant Diageo – not an American company – arranged for the US Ambassador to Switzerland to put pressure on WHO to hold discussions with its representatives, presumably with the intention of influencing its policies.

Responding to EU Commissioner Byrne’s challenge to the industry that it should show a more “responsible attitude to alcohol”, and in anticipation of Valencia, the April CEPS (the European Confederation of Spirits Producers) conference held in Brussels was part of the industry’s campaign to show a more “caring face”. The central message, that advocated by all

the industry’s social aspect groups, was the need to differentiate between the “product” and the “misuser”. In stark opposition to the aims of WHO Alcohol Plan, the leaders of the industry re-iterated the line that consumption control approach did not work because “restrictions penalised everyone for the mistake of a few”.

Further evidence of the increasing pressure the international alcohol industry feels itself to be under is provided by the response of the Amsterdam Group to the Valencia Conference. In a statement issued immediately after the conference, the beverage alcohol industry as represented the Amsterdam Group noted “with concern” the declarations and statements made to the media by participants attending the WHO. The statement continued:

“The misuse of alcohol by young people in all its aspects is a serious one that merits careful consideration, discussion and debate. This is a problem for society, Governments and all those who wish to see sound public health policies and initiatives developed to address these issues. The alcohol industry takes its responsibilities seriously and has frequently expressed its willingness to work with others in tackling these problems.

“This being the case, it is regrettable that the industry was excluded from participating in the Valencia meeting. Given the presence of notable industry critics, it is hardly surprising that there was a heavy focus on industry marketing practices. While we do not believe that these give rise for concern, we are prepared to engage in dialogue with those who hold alternative views on the basis of mutual respect. Attacking the industry may create newspaper headlines; it does not solve any problems. The industry is not the problem; it ought to be part of the solution.

“Consequently, we urge the World Health Organization to recognize our legitimate interests as a stakeholder in the public policy process, to accept our goodwill and efforts to work with them and others in addressing these issues, and to adopt an inclusive approach which is the only one likely to result in sound and workable solutions in the interests of young people and public health generally.”

The participants at the conference in Valencia saw things rather differently, as is reflected in the Declaration which was issued:



## Declaration of the WHO Technical Consultation to the World Health Organization on the Marketing and Promotion of Alcohol to Young People

A WHO technical meeting consultation to the WHO on the marketing and promotion of alcohol to young people, hosted by the Valencian Community on May 7-9, 2002, brought together 50 people from 22 countries with technical expertise in marketing, public health and community, national and international level responses.

Participants reviewed examples of alcohol marketing to young people, presented by young people and other delegates from Asia, Africa, Europe, Oceania and the Americas. The examples demonstrated that young people across the globe live in environments characterized by aggressive and ubiquitous efforts encouraging them to initiate drinking and to drink heavily.

The majority of these examples, as well as much of the expenditure on marketing, augments the substantial and influential presence of alcohol marketing in the traditional media outlets of television, radio, print and outdoor. The examples attest to the rising importance of musical, sports and cultural sponsorships, internet-based promotions and web-sites, product placements, youth-oriented new product development, on-premise and special event promotions, and other efforts to make alcoholic beverages a normal and integral part of young people's lives and cultures. The use of the complete marketing mix of products, pricing, easy availability and promotion requires a comprehensive public health response that addresses all of these marketing variables.

Research evidence suggests that young people respond to this marketing on an emotional level, changing their beliefs and expectations about drinking. The marketing clearly influences young people's decision to drink. Exposure to and enjoyment of alcohol advertising predicts heavier and more frequent drinking among young people. The marketing contributes to young people over-estimating the prevalence of heavy and frequent drinking among their peers, and creates a climate for further increases in alcohol consumption by young people.

Alcohol marketing presents a one-sided view of alcohol use, masking its contribution to morbidity, mortality and social harm. It affects social norms about drinking throughout society, and contributes to an environment hostile to public health measures and messages.

Current responses are piecemeal and inadequate, and have done little to control the marketing of alcohol products. Evidence suggests that reliance on self-regulation by the alcohol, advertising marketers and media industries is ineffective. Media literacy, training young people to de-code and resist marketing messages, by itself is insufficient to address the emotional and non-logical appeal of the marketing. New responses are required. The global nature of the marketing demands an international response, a response at international, national and local levels.

### **We make the following initial general recommendations:**

Noting that the alcohol industry has achieved a high level of sophistication in its use of media to attract and encourage young people to drinking,

*We recommend that WHO assist countries in raising awareness of these techniques, and developing best practices in media advocacy and counter-advertising programs, and that such practices be undertaken independently of commercial interests, and with participation of and leadership from young people themselves.*

Noting the dangers inherent in the exposure of young people to alcohol marketing, that young people should not be exposed to promotional messages about alcohol in any medium and the general failure of industry self-regulation to limit the marketing of alcohol to young people,

*We recommend that the WHO assist countries in taking all legislative or regulatory steps necessary to ensure that young people are not exposed to promotional messages about alcohol.*

Noting that the alcohol industry has achieved a high level of sophistication in its use of media to attract and encourage young people to drinking,

*We recommend that the WHO assist countries in raising awareness of these techniques, and developing best practices in media advocacy and counter-advertising programs, and that such practices be undertaken independently of commercial interests, and with participation of and leadership from young people themselves.*

Noting the importance of young people's perspectives on this problem, and the creativity and unique knowledge of the situation that they possess,

*We recommend that young people play a central role in the work to free their generation from the illusions created by marketing and associated promotions of alcohol.*

Noting the threats posed by trade agreements, negotiations and disputes to the ability of communities' jurisdictions to protect the public health through the regulation of the marketing of beverage alcohol, and that there is a particular potential threat from the current negotiations on the General Agreement on Trade in Services,

*We recommend that the WHO formulate a strategy to ensure that current negotiations on the services agreement does not undermine the rights and capacity of communities' jurisdictions to set appropriate and public health-oriented alcohol policies.*

# Selling booze: alcohol marketing in Nigeria

A paper given at the Valencia Conference.

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## Introduction

### The Alcohol Industry in Nigeria: A Brief History

Soon after the NBC (which became the Nigeria Brewing Limited, NBL, and now the Nigeria Brewing Plc) started production in Nigeria, a company was formed to import Guinness extra stout into the country from Ireland. The popularity of this brand led to the establishment of a Guinness brewery in Lagos in 1962. It is noteworthy that this was the first Guinness brewery outside the United Kingdom and only the third in the world. It was a very profitable business decision. Like the NB Plc, Guinness has recorded tremendous growth in production over the years. Today it has three breweries in the country and, apart from its flagship stout product, also produces a popular lager brand - Harp lager beer.

NB Plc and Guinness Nigeria are the two of the most nationally well-known concerns in Nigeria. They are also the two largest capitalised companies in the Nigerian stock exchange. With 6.2% of the total market capitalisation of the stock exchange, NB Plc leads the list of 188 companies and Guinness follows closely behind (Uzor, 1999). Their products, especially Star beer and Guinness extra stout, are staple products in the Nigerian market. Both companies often boast of their significant contributions to the economy, in particular, through the taxes they pay into government coffers.

Success breeds competitors. With the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1970 and the sudden rise in oil revenues in 1973 occasioned by the Arab oil embargo, the country was awash with capital and investing in the beer industry became a major preoccupation of state governments and individuals. At its height in the late 1970s, the sector recorded over 30 breweries in the country.

However, a combination of factors, the most significant of which was a significant slide in economic fortunes, led to the closure of many of these breweries by the middle of the 1980s. The regional brands, owned by state governments and individuals, were particularly hard hit. About 3 in 4 of these disappeared from the scene by 1996. Less than 15 breweries survived and have been operating since then. Though the volume of beer produced in the country showed some increase between 1984 and 1994, the level of production was well below installed capacity.

Today, the brewing sector seems poised for another round of unprecedented growth, in spite of the introduction of Sharia laws in some states in the country. While celebrating Guinness' Golden Jubilee last year, the managing director of the company predicted a bright future for the industry. 'The introduction of democracy in the country is a good thing in favour of our business. . . .' One of the 'benefits' of democracy is that the

economic liberalisation programme of the government is attracting a flow of capital into different sectors of the economy and large manufacturing concerns like the South African Breweries (SAB) are showing interest in the country. Liberalisation has also opened the Nigerian market to all types of imported alcoholic beverages from all parts of the world. In addition, the removal of excise duty in 1998 helped the sector cut prices, increase turnover and enhance profits. In the midst of this, both the NBL and Guinness continue to thrive (as shown in Table 2) and between them a war of attrition is brewing.

### The line of battle: beer marketing in Nigeria

Guinness' Michael Power

That is not his real name but he is one of the most well-known figures in Nigeria. On billboards, radio and television, Michael Power has become the leading salesman of Guinness extra stout. Not much is known about Power. His real identity is a closely kept secret at Guinness Nigeria. The little that is known about him is that he is an actor, a model, of African descent and lives in the U.S. What is certain is that Michael Power is a creation of Guinness. The nom de guerre was chosen to enhance the long standing image of Guinness extra stout. Even before Power added his charm to the marketing of the stout, Guinness was associated with strength and sexual virility. It is not surprising, therefore, among the many lovers of the beverage, Guinness is called 'black power' and Viagra.

Using Michael Power as the point man, the company has embarked on an intensive marketing campaign totally different from what the industry has ever seen. Instead of a straightforward sales pitch, Power is made the hero in a series of mini-adventures on radio and

television, all of which are aimed at highlighting the good qualities of the beverage, namely:

- Strength
- Friendliness
- Intelligence
- Responsibility
- and Reasonableness.

Power plays the superman who saves the young woman from danger; Power is the guest at a surprise birthday party given by many of his close friends; Power is everywhere. So much is the popularity of this actor-hero that his visit to Nigeria in December 2001 was one of the most reported events in the newspapers. The visit provided Nigerians with the opportunity to see this well-known Guinness pitch-man and he did not disappoint. Nigeria was his first stop in a professionally packaged West African tour to film 'shorts' for Guinness. He described the project in glowing terms.

*We are focusing on stories that bring the true strength of Africa. We want to highlight the way we live, the way we talk, the way we play and the way we do everything that makes us unique as Africans* (Ukpaukure, 2001, p. 36).

In this interview there was no mention of selling stout but his remarks were interspersed with sips of the drink - a drink he described as 'this good product'.

### Star's Oversize Bottle

One of the most visible structures in selected

Nigerian cities is the oversized 'Star' bottle. The Nigerian Breweries Plc (NB Plc) launched a campaign in 2001 to change the shape of the bottle containing its premier brew - Star beer - by displaying in strategic urban locations a bottle of Star so large that it can be seen from miles away. This marketing ploy has attracted extensive attention all over the country but it has not all been positive. In one city, negative reactions to the display led to a dismantling of the bottle. However, from a sales point of view, the new bottle strategy seems to have been effective. According to the company, the bottle was well received by drinkers and sales went up when it was introduced. According to the marketing director of the company, 'The introduction of the new bottle brought a sudden revival in consumer interest for Star and at the moment Star is Nigeria's favourite beer. . . .Star is now the beer of pleasure, fun, leisure and shared drinking.'

This strategy is an attempt by the number one beer maker to enhance its separate identity as the leading brewer in Nigeria. NB Plc has 80 per cent of the lager segment of the brewing industry but wants 98 per cent. The company's long term strategy is aimed at repeating the story of dominance of the beer brewing sector which SAB has recorded in South Africa. Therefore, marketing has become a major area of concern for the company. In a recent interview the CEO was very clear about this:

*We brought new people into marketing, we decentralised the customer service*

*division and placed responsibilities lower in the organisation in all divisions of the company: technical, human resources, financial and general management. We looked at the entire company. It is our task as management to make sure that we have the right people in the right place at the right time'* (Elesho, 2001, p.10).

### Gulder: the beer of success

Another weapon in NB Plc's war chest is its chief executive. Attractive, urbane and avowedly intelligent, the head of the company has become its most visible salesman. In one recent outing as the guest lecturer at the Second National Essay Competition Awards night organized by the Nigerian Stock Exchange for secondary school children, he promised one million a year for five years from his company. The picture in the newspaper shows him sitting in front of the school children with a bottle of Gulder and half a glass of the drink. He was drinking in front of the children. The story points to a possible link between his behaviour and what the children might do in future. "Without saying it . . . the children must have taken away the impression that Gulder is good for you when you attain success - just the way [he] sipped the lager after his inspiring lecture" (Ola, 2001, p. 18).

### Other Alcohol Marketing Strategies

In the past two years (i.e., 2000-2001), the alcohol industry, especially the brewing sub-sector, has been involved in a variety of marketing activities, almost all of these by the two largest brewers in the country - Nigeria Brewing Plc and Guinness (Nig) Ltd. Much of the effort has been targeted at youth.

#### Focus on Youth

- Sponsorship of National Annual Essay Competition (NBL).
- Regular sponsorship of fashion shows and beauty contests on campus, for example Miss and Mr Campus.
- Sponsorship of sports events, including interfaculty football matches, national university games, etc.
- Sponsorship of the musical segments of radio programming. For example, the prime music time on radios in many parts of the country is between 8 and 10 p.m.

Guinness company organises its ad around Michael Power



# Selling booze: alcohol marketing in Nigeria

- This has become the alcohol (and tobacco) time on Nigerian radios. It is not unusual on some days for the time devoted to advertising these products to be almost as long as time devoted to music, and one message can be repeated back to back three or more times.
- Personality 'Showcase': A Nigerian who has succeeded in his field is showcased in an event and his success story is associated with drinking a particular beverage.
- (See, for example, the story of the chief executive of NB Plc above.
- Radio call in shows, in which questions are asked about a particular brand of beverage and right answers attract prizes. Both Guinness and Bacchus Tonic Wine have engaged in this form marketing through 'public enlightenment.'
- Sponsorship of foreign musical stars. In recent months, under the sponsorship of Legend brand, Naughty by Nature has performed to sold out crowds of youth in different parts of the country and Shaggy has toured the country for Star.
- End of year carnival at the beach or park where alcohol is the centre of attraction.

## Other Promotional Activities

- Lottery type free drinks - a winning bottle is indicated inside the cap. Sometimes a cash reward or souvenir is given instead of a free drink.
- 'Buy five and get one free' promotions.
- Discounted drinks, especially when new brands are introduced.
- Sponsored articles, often in the form of advertorials.
- Newspaper articles touting the health benefits of beer. For example, readers are informed that beer is rich in antioxidants which help in warding-off cancer. Hence it is a 'health tonic' when consumed in moderation.
- Seminars on brewing and the role of the brewing industry in Nigeria's economic growth which often give free admission to members of the public.
- Donation of space to organisations to advertise their events. This is in the form of payment for the advertisement. In return the brewer places at the bottom of the announcement a short statement like: Space donated by [the brewer].
- In-bar promotion for customers through discounted drinks.

- Fun fare: For the period covering 20-23 December 2001, Heineken organised a party in 23 locations around the country. Major attractions at these fun fares were music, karaoke, food, lucky dip draws, prizes and 'lots of HEINEKEN to enjoy.' For Easter 2002, parties in 14 locations were announced in colourful double page advertisements in a major daily newspaper. The parties were held in places like night clubs, plazas, a university senior staff club, and a bus stop, and, as usual, the attractions included music, prizes and 'lots of Heineken to enjoy.' The Heineken company now owns majority shares in NB Plc. after many years of working closely with the local brewery.

## Mass media advertising

Most of the promotional activities listed above are targeted at particular sectors of the Nigerian society. In recent years the alcohol industry has also expanded mass media advertising which are aimed at the general public. The focus of mass media advertising has been:

- Radio and Television –
- Billboards, and
- Newspapers and magazines.

## Guinness Stout and NB's Legend: David vs. Goliath

For observers of the brewing sector, especially the marketing strategies used by competing companies, the on-going battle between Legend (David) and Guinness (Goliath) is as interesting as it is instructive. Legend stout is positioning itself as the competitor to Guinness, the premier stout in the country. Guinness dominated the market for over 30 years. Legend re-launched its campaign last year with the theme: 'Torch of inspiration' with an Olympics torch logo, in its continued effort to appeal to the youthful segment of the market. No one believes that the battle between the two brewers will end like its biblical predecessor. Guinness is so entrenched in the consciousness of Nigerians and has such a loyal following that the best that Legend can wish for is to increase its share of the stout market. Because it is the product of the number one brewer and a company with the highest capitalization in the country, there is a good chance it might do that.

The on-going campaign by the brewers of Legend to reposition the brand is estimated to cost the company N120 million. This money

will be spent on prizes for competitions, gifts like CD players, T-shirts, pens, caps and mugs, and free drinks.

## How 'Legend' sees itself

- In a sponsored feature story in a business weekly, the NB Plc, brewers of Legend, described the stout in these terms:
- Legend is different from Guinness because it is less bitter.
- Legend is a 'fun stout' and 'goes down well with the body.'
- Competing brands are 'punitive.'
- There is no hangover with Legend.
- Legend is 'a modern and youthful beverage.'
- Legend has 'food value' because it is fortified with essential vitamins.
- Legend's profile is that of 'strength and character, strong commitment, courage and leadership drive.'
- Legend is 'energetic, independent and dependable.'

Legend adopted the thematic approach to marketing almost from the start. In the current campaign known as the 'Cool breeze promotion, the company will distribute 2.4 million prizes of different types. Over the years messages in advertising campaigns have tried to project a certain image of the drink in attempt to position itself against the leading stout - Guinness. From 1992 to 2001 the slogans have changed as shown below:

- 1992: 'Light up your life' - projecting modernity and excitement
- 1994: 'Now so much better, projecting ideal stout values.'
- 1999: 'Good stout and a friendly price.'
- 2001: 'Life is much fun with Legend.'

The Hotspot Scheme is one of its most imaginative marketing strategies. Like Coca-Cola and British American Tobacco, NB Plc plans to open up to 500 hotspots or Legend consumption centres around the country to bring the drink closer to the people. The recent increase in the price of alcoholic beverages announced in March 2002 has provided another avenue for NB PLC (producers of Legend) and Guinness to go after each other. The price of Legend has been increased but Guinness has refused to raise its prices. In big banner ads in the newspapers, Guinness has been announcing that 'Our prices have not increased... Because we care' and there have been many stories in major newspapers with

# Selling booze: alcohol marketing in Nigeria

captions like: 'Guinness adamant, as breweries raise products' prices,' 'Distributors hail Guinness' rejection of price hike.'

It is not clear how these strategies are working for the producers of the beverage as they continue in their bid to upstage Guinness but it seems the battle has only just begun.

## Alcohol Advertising: What the People See

In an attempt to understand how people perceive alcohol advertisements, that is, to measure what they see in these ads, a small study was conducted in one town in central Nigeria. Twenty participants (10 men and 10 women) who were visiting a public library were approached by one interviewer and asked to respond to questions about two selected alcohol ads. The ads were taken from newspapers and qualified for use in the study because they were of popular beer brands and contained pictures of people (men and women). Only people who had seen the ads at least once before were included in the study. Most of them (75%) said they were non-drinkers.

- Some of the questions asked were:
- What is the first thing that comes to mind when you see the ad?
- What do you see in the ad? In other words, what does this ad say to you?
- Does the ad attract you? In other words, if you saw this ad in a newspaper/magazine would it attract your attention?
- What do you think is the message of the ad?
- At whom do you think the ad is aimed?
- How are men and women shown in the ad?
- Do you think you will buy the product after seeing the ad?

## Procedure

The first ad used in the study was of '33' beer and the second was of Guinness stout. Each respondent was shown the ads one after the other and two sets of responses to the seven questions above were collected from each participant. Responses were recorded verbatim and background information was also collected.

## Summary of findings

The '33' ad: Equal numbers of respondents found this ad attractive and unattractive. The attractiveness was due to the 'happiness' displayed in the picture and the 'fine clothes' worn by the women in the ad. For example, one of the respondents said that the 'faces of the people in the picture are inviting.' Another said that 'the people shown seem to be enjoying themselves.'

Among those who did not find the ad attractive the main reason was their distaste of alcohol or because the quality of the picture was poor. The main themes expressed in connection with this ad were:

- fun, joy and happiness,
- success and prestige,
- friendship and togetherness.

In responding to what they thought was the message of the advertisement, most respondents were clear as to its purpose. 'The ad is telling people to drink.' 'The newspaper is promoting beer.' 'The ad is to make people drink; increase sales.' 'People should drink beer.' In spite of this perception, almost all of the respondents (85%) said that seeing the ad would not make them buy the product.

**The Guinness advertisement:** Nearly all respondents found this advertisement

attractive. The reasons given for this assessment included the following: 'dominant colour and background,' 'lot of action in the picture,' 'people look fresh and active,' 'arouses emotional feelings towards women.' Non-drinkers were the only respondents who did not like the advertisement.

The themes that emerged from the Guinness advertisement were different for men and women. Women emphasised 'action' and 'power,' men emphasised 'attractiveness.' The main personality in the ad was Michael Power and he played the role of a protector of women. Other themes in the ad were 'enjoyment' and 'adventure.' Like the first ad, this one was also seen for what it was meant, that is to get young people, in particular, to drink Guinness. However, non-drinkers said that the ad would not make them drink.

Like in most parts of the world, the alcohol industry in Nigeria spends a lot of money in advertising alcoholic beverages with the hope of attracting customers to the brew. It is not clear how well alcohol ad messages work compared to other forms of marketing the beverage. However, it seems that whether through advertising or other experiences, alcohol has come to be associated with very positive qualities in Nigeria. Two of the most recurring qualities are related to the positive effects on the health of the consumer and the enhancement of power (i.e., energy, strength).

**Health:** Several beverages (e.g., Bachuus Tonic Wine, Guinness Stout, and Legend Extra Stout) crave the image of a tonic. This goes back many years to the early days of alcohol advertising in Nigeria and is not just peculiar to Africa. For example, a colonial era ad for J. Van Telman's Pure Scheidam Schnapps touted the liqueur as a 'safe and reliable remedy' for a very long list of ailments, including diarrhoea, fever, and liver complaints.

If a particular beer or wine does not directly affect the health status of the consumer, the image makers make us believe that it is at least not associated with negative after effects. This is a strong selling point for several drinks, particularly Harp beer from the house of Guinness. According to the brand manager, one of the core values of the new Harp (apart from maintaining a clean breath after consuming the beverage) is that 'there is no more hangover after taking Harp.'



The use of new media

# Selling booze: alcohol marketing in Nigeria

**Table 1: Domestic production of beer in Nigeria, 1984- 1994**

Year	Volume of beer produced
1984	7,354.7
1985	7,397.7
1986	10,160.0
1987	7,135.5
1988	9,546.8
1989	9,220.6
1990	7,876.6
1991	8,107.6
1992	7,281.9
1993	16,860.0
1994	23,970.1

Source: FOS, 1995; Akerele, 1993

*[A] person who takes Harp beer in the evening can still wake up in the morning feeling strong enough to go about his chores or even participate in an early morning aerobic session or jogging, as he will be clear headed'*  
(Ajayi, 2001, p33).

This, of course, should be of concern to the young, upwardly mobile urbanites whom the company is addressing in its renewed marketing efforts.

Power: 'Guinness brings out the power in you,' the popular jingle goes. As stated earlier,

the Guinness company organises its ad around Michael Power. His voice is used in radio and television ads, and he is the star of playlets and short movies on radio and TV, respectively. In these performances Michael Power is the hero who saves young women from destruction by evil forces and the man whose friends organise a private party on his birthday.

## The marketing of wine and spirits

By 1988 there were 13 winemakers and spirit distilleries in the country. Both in terms of production volume and revenue, substantial increases were recorded between 1985 and 1988. However, like their beer counterpart, the spirit and wine industry was damaged as a result of the economic collapse which started in the 1980s. Today there are imported wines and liquor in the Nigerian market from all over the world though these beverages are advertised less aggressively than beer.

With names like 'Squadron' and 'Bond 7', local makers of whisky seem to focus on 'machismo' and aim to attract the type of consumer already consuming the locally made gin - ogogoro. In the same way that an ogogoro drinker can buy one shot at a time at the street corner, Squadron can be purchased in min-packs containing the equivalent of one shot. Because of the similarity of this packaging to ice cream, the producers have been accused of consciously targeting their drinks at youth.

## Conclusion

It is not surprising that most of the marketing activities of the alcohol industry in Nigeria seem to be directed at youth and young adults. About 54% of Nigerians are below the age of 20 years and a sizeable proportion of young adults have become part of the global economy. Hundreds of thousands graduate from universities and high schools each year and move to large urban areas to seek employment. While most do not find regular work, the industry can count on them to fill the stadium for a Shuggy concert or the plaza for an Easter party where booze is offered free and brand loyalty is nurtured.

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**Table 2. Financial highlights of Nigerian Breweries PLC and Guinness Nigeria PLC, 1997-2000**

	Nigeria Breweries PLC				Guinness Nigeria PLC			
	1997	1998	1999	2000	1997	1998	1999	2000
<b>Sales/Turnover (N million)</b>	10,886,950	9,186,869	12,033,111	14,233,677	9,235,373	4,318,486	11,854,023	14,817,218
<b>Sales growth (%)</b>	[11.2]	[15.6]	31	8.3	3.2	[53.2]	174.5	25.0
<b>Profit after taxation (N million)</b>	1,594,213	2,135,038	3,476,038	4,254,776	717,920	906,321	2,617,548	3,094,570
<b>Earnings per share (kobo)</b>	174.32	233.34	228.00	225.00	102	129	370	437

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Social responsibility in the alcohol industry:

# Actions speak louder than words

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## Introduction

The alcohol industry is an enormously successful global operation, including some of the world's biggest corporations. It is a huge employer, generating extensive profits for itself and, through taxation, revenues for government. It also has a great interest in corporate social responsibility (CSR), laying claim to ethical marketing practices, a commitment to the promotion of responsible product use and the protection of vulnerable groups, such as the young.

However, alcohol is a controversial product, and the industry's marketing – and especially its advertising – face scrutiny and criticism. For example, a recent Ministerial conference in Stockholm (WHO 2001), jointly organised by the European Union and the World Health Organisation, recorded trenchant complaints about business methods that were felt to be promoting harmful consumption practices, such as binge drinking, especially amongst the young. This is set against an alarming epidemiological back-drop of as many as one in four deaths amongst Europe's under thirty year olds being directly attributable to alcohol (Bruntland 2001).

This paper attempts to reconcile the public pronouncements about corporate responsibility made by the alcohol industry on the one hand, with the public health concerns on the other. It reaches the conclusion that CSR is of limited value on its own, and needs to be backed by statutory controls.

## Corporate Social Responsibility

Corporate social responsibility is an extremely broad idea which attempts to control the impact that business has on society, and

ensure that this is at least benign, if not actually beneficial. It encompasses ethical marketing practices, ecological considerations and respect for both the individual and society.

*“While there is no single, commonly accepted definition of corporate social responsibility, or CSR, it generally refers to business decision-making linked to ethical values, compliance with legal requirements, and respect for people, communities and the environment.”*  
(Business for Social Responsibility website: (<http://www.bsr.org/>))

The same website goes on to emphasise that CSR involves much more than tinkering with the business process, or clever public relations. Like the marketing function itself, it has to go to the core of the organisation:

*“CSR is seen by leadership companies as more than a collection of discrete practices or occasional gestures, or initiatives motivated by marketing, public relations or other business benefits. Rather, it is viewed as a comprehensive set of policies, practices and programs that are integrated throughout business operations, and*

*decision-making processes that are supported and rewarded by top management.”* (ibid)

CSR also creates win wins – satisfying the needs of customers, stakeholders and the business itself. It is good for business, as well as society. In theory, then, it should be self propelled, without need for external or statutory drivers. This volunteerism is a crucial aspect of CSR, making it akin to the Christian concept of individual conscience as a control measure on the citizen's anti social behaviour - and, potentially, equally valuable.

The question for this paper is whether such a voluntary mechanism is working for a product like alcohol, which, whilst it has many benefits to offer, also has enormous potential for harm (Anderson 1997, Harkin et al 1997, Alcohol Concern 2000). And can it work in an industry as competitive as this, where market expansion opportunities, at least in the developed world, are so few (Jernigan 1997, Datamonitor 2000)?

## CSR in the Alcohol Industry

Interest in CSR is growing among alcohol companies. Several of the key players are actively involved in setting up their own strategies and becoming members of organisations whose goal is to promote and encourage CSR. See, for example: Business in the Community (<http://www.bitc.org.uk/>); The International Business Leaders Forum (<http://www.iblff.org/>) and the corporate sites of DIAGEO (<http://www.diageo.com/>), Allied Domecq (<http://www.allieddomecq.co.uk/>) and Carlsberg (<http://www.carlsberg.com/info/>).

Beyond specialist corporate social responsibility organisations which cater for all industry sectors, the alcohol industry has

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established its own specialised groups on a national, continental and even global scale. Examples include the International Center for Alcohol Policies (ICAP), The Amsterdam Group (Europe wide), The Century Council (U.S.) and The Portman Group (U.K.). These bodies have a number of functions, with the most pertinent being to reduce the misuse of alcohol in society and promote responsible drinking behaviours.

Many of the organisations run campaigns aimed at preventing underage drinking and some, like the Portman Group, have specific codes of practice to which all members have to sign up (<http://www.portman-group.org.uk/code/>). Other activities include the development and provision of major projects aimed at educating youth or providing services for those with alcohol problems. Descriptions of such schemes carried out in the developing world on behalf of the International Center for Alcohol Policies (which is funded by the majority of key corporations in this sector) can be found on their website ([http://www.icap.org/about\\_icap/country\\_projects.html](http://www.icap.org/about_icap/country_projects.html)).

On a number of levels therefore, the alcohol industry appears to be acknowledging the implications of its products on society, and voluntarily investing heavily in initiatives to reduce and prevent negative outcomes. These are strong indicators of social responsibility. However, it is necessary to look further at the industry's wider marketing effort to determine whether this is genuine CSR, or just bolt on public relations of the type implicitly condemned by the Business for Social Responsibility website (op cit). Specifically, the impact of this marketing effort on drinking knowledge, attitudes and behaviour, particularly among vulnerable groups, needs to be examined.

## The Impact of Alcohol Marketing

The alcohol industry undertakes a great deal of research into the effects of its marketing, but much of this is either commercially confidential or available only at great expense. This research, it argues, demonstrates that the sole purpose and effect of its marketing is to influence brand switching among adult drinkers; it does not increase overall levels of drinking, influence

vulnerable groups such as the young to drink or encourage problem drinking among adults (Advertising Association 2000).

This position can be challenged logically. Market expansion may be difficult in sated western markets, but is a plausible and realisable objective in countries and among populations (such as women on the Indian sub-continent) which currently have low levels of alcohol consumption. Similarly, it could be argued that marketing targeted at adults is also likely to reach children, particularly if the target is young adults. However, hard research examining the link, if any, between alcohol marketing and social harm is more difficult to come by. Nonetheless some is now accumulating to suggest that there are problems in the following areas:

- Advertising
- New product development
- The use of 'new media'
- In developing and transitional countries

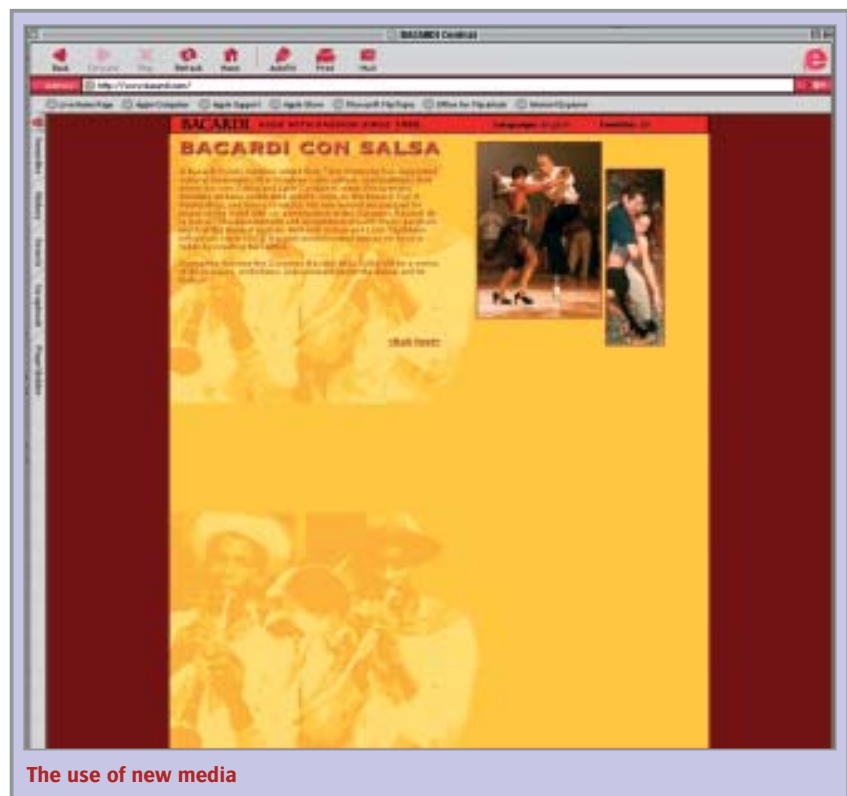
## Advertising

This is probably the best researched area of alcohol marketing. A recent literature review conducted for the World Health Organisation (Cooke et al 2002) discussed the two principle types of research that have been done:

econometric studies, which examine the relationship between overall levels of alcohol consumption (typically in terms of sales) and overall levels of advertising (typically in terms of expenditure) and consumer studies which look at the effects of alcohol advertising on the individual.

The majority of the former have found little or no effect. However, there are significant flaws in much of this work, including missing data on advertising spend, naïve models of advertising effect and overly simplistic impact data which are almost exclusively limited to crude consumption levels (ibid). Also, and importantly for any discussion of CSR, because they deal in aggregates, these studies provide no insight into the impact of alcohol advertising on specific sub groups, such as young people.

Consumer studies, on the other hand, have focussed on the young and are, therefore, of greater interest here. Many of these studies, in particular more recent work involving sophisticated methodologies, point to a link between advertising and young people's drinking behaviours. In essence, the more aware, familiar and appreciative young people are of alcohol advertising, the more likely they are to drink both now and in the future. Importantly, however, these studies also begin



The use of new media

# Actions speak louder than words

to reveal the complexity of the issue, with the interaction of consumer choice, advertising effect and marketing opportunism creating powerful dynamics. It is probable that a two-way relationship exists between advertising and drinking: advertising will encourage targeted consumers to drink, and drinking will encourage attention to advertising by those consumers (ibid).

Researchers (Jackson et al 2000) have also looked beyond simple advertising to the impact of branding. This adds emotional and symbolic value to the core product. The researchers use a case study of Bacardi Breezer, and discuss how evocative and often sexually explicit advertising (see Figure 1) is used to reinforce the proposition of illicit, but adult fun.

## Figure 1: Bacardi Breezer: The Brand in the Hand

Bacardi Breezer was launched in the UK in 1994 and is a brand extension of the world's most popular spirit, Bacardi Rum. Bacardi has an 85% share of the UK market for white rum, the most dominant share of any alcohol brand (Keynote 1999). Four years after its launch Bacardi Breezer became the leading pre-mixed spirit brand in the UK (The Grocer 1998). It is available in sweet, fruity flavours such as

tropical lime, peach, lemon and watermelon, has an ABV concentration of 5.4%, and is sold in 275ml bottles. The bottle is cylindrical with a long neck, very similar to the design of bottled lagers, and a 'crown-cap' design requires removal with a bottle opener and cannot be resealed. The glass is clear and the brightly coloured product reflects the flavour. The label is colour/flavour co-ordinated, displays the Bacardi Breezer name and 'bat' logo, and carries the advertising slogan, "There's Latin spirit in everyone".

Bacardi Breezer's commercial success stems from extending the brand's core values from the 'adult' spirits market to give the product credibility with younger drinkers seeking a more mature image. It is sold through on-trade retail outlets such as pubs and clubs, as well as off-trade, and is supported by heavy weight, aspirational advertising and sponsorship deals to position the product as "outwardly innocent and inwardly naughty" (Off-License News 2000). It also introduces the young drinker to the spirits market in the hope that brand loyalty will endure as consumers graduate from pre-mix drinks (Keynote 1997). (adapted from Jackson et al 2000)

This, they point out, is in clear breach of the UK voluntary code on advertising practice

which outlaws any claims that alcohol consumption may be linked to sexual success. Figure 2 describes how the resulting branding fits into the overall marketing plan.

These appeals to the young, and breaches of voluntary codes seem to contradict the industry's public commitment to CSR. The accumulating evidence that such advertising may also be having at least a reciprocal effect on behaviour strengthens this contradiction.

## New Product Development

Advertising and branding are linked to more basic marketing functions, including new product development. Questions have also emerged here, with a variety of new products emerging that have clear appeal to under age drinkers.

In the UK for example, during the late 1980's, strong white ciders, such as Diamond White and White Lightning, and a new range of fortified fruit wines, such as MD 20/20 began to appear. Dubbed 'designer drinks', this product category was characterised by brightly coloured and innovative packaging (likely to be attractive to youths), and delivered the product benefits of strength, sweet or bland flavours and portability which met the needs of young and underage consumers (Hughes et al 1997, MacKintosh et al 1997). Hughes et al (ibid) also reported that attitudes towards, and consumption of, designer drinks varied with age, with popularity peaking before the age of 16. The study also found consumption of these products to be disproportionately associated with drunkenness and hazardous behaviour.

McKeganey et al (1996) surveyed schoolchildren in Dundee aged between 12 and 15 years and found that by the age of 14, more than 50% of the sample had been drunk at least once. 'Designer drinks' were again the products most likely to be linked to intoxication.

The introduction of products with particular appeal to underage consumers has not been restricted to the UK market. In Germany mixed and flavoured beers have become popular, with the introduction of brands such as Mixery (beer and cola). Mixing the beer with a sweeter substance removes the bitterness, with the obvious risk of increasing its attractiveness to younger palates, and the pack design is lively and trendy, reinforcing its apparently youthful appeal (Cooke et al 2001). Similarly, sweet

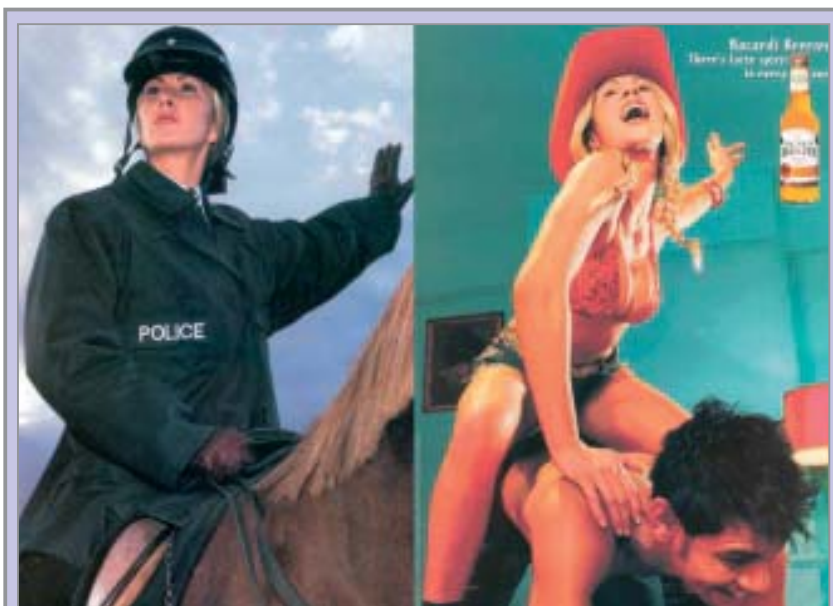


Figure 2

46.7: "Advertisements should not suggest that any alcoholic drink can enhance mental, physical or sexual capabilities, popularity, attractiveness, masculinity or femininity..."

(Advertising Standards Authority 1999)

# Actions speak louder than words

ciders have been marketed in Sweden, Finland and Norway, with brands such as Halmstad and Kopparbergets, and are gaining ready sales among young drinkers who find the sweet taste makes the products easier to consume (Cooke et al 2001). Romanus (2000) studied the impact of alcopops and sweet ciders on the Swedish youth market. From two surveys of young Swedes he found that the new products rapidly penetrated the youth market and partly accounted for an increase in consumption amongst 16 to 24 year olds. In addition, the surveys suggest that alcopops and sweet ciders had a considerable impact on younger children. They accounted for between a half and two thirds of the recorded increase in alcohol consumption by 15 to 16 year olds from 1996 to 1999, and contributed to an earlier age of onset of drinking amongst the youngest age groups surveyed (12-13 year olds).

Other new products may not target children, but do seem to be promoting unsafe drinking behaviours among young adults. Jackson et al (2000) chart the development of product innovations in the UK alcohol market that exploit the trend towards illicit drugs and mix alcohol with stimulants such as caffeine. Brain (2000) also demonstrates how the alcohol industry has adapted rapidly to changes in youth culture, introducing heavily branded products that provide a ready 'hit'. The websites of two such products (Lava in the US: www.lavashots.com and Aftershock in the UK www.shockingtimes.com) dramatically illustrate the point. The slogan for Lava is "Some shots have an afterglow. This one's got an aftermath."

Focus group research with 15-24 year-olds

(MacAskill et al 2001) indicated that these products - full strength spirits consumed in one mouthful from small 'shot' glasses - are becoming increasingly popular and are chosen by young drinkers because their strength gives an immediate hit, and their strong (and often unpleasant) flavours, method of consumption and brand names have created associations with daring behaviour.

These examples do suggest industry double standards; proclaiming their desire to prevent underage consumption and promote responsible drinking on the one hand, but simultaneously developing products that are likely to have the opposite effects on the other.

## The Internet

The rapid rise of information technology and, in particular, the Internet has given manufacturers a new and interactive promotional opportunity. Sophisticated web sites have been created by drinks companies all over the world for their popular brands; including Bacardi, Guinness, Budweiser, Castle, Amstel and Smirnoff. These use the latest technology to produce interactive arenas with impressive graphics and eye-catching animation. Their content seems to be designed to tap into key aspects of youth culture. Computer games; competitions; profiles of forthcoming sponsored events such as parties, fashion shows and sporting contests and e-cards are all common features. Visitors to sites can also sign up for newsletters (which give details of competitions, promotions and updated features on the web sites, such as new games) allowing the companies to amass databases of those who visit their sites.

The Center for Media Education (1998), a US non-profit organisation, has monitored and analysed the content of corporate alcohol sites on the Internet. Of the 77 sites examined, 62% contained content which the researchers believed would be appealing to youth - including cartoons, interactive games and chat rooms. The authors of the report point out that high volumes and combinations of such content can encourage children and young people to stay on a site for long periods of time and to return frequently. This, combined with the databases mentioned above, provide the basis for relationship marketing campaigns with young people. Cooke et al (2002) show how Budweiser combined this approach with mobile phone technology to turn their mass media 'Whassup' campaign into an extremely effective exercise in viral marketing. The campaign was a great success with the catchphrase entering the popular slang of many languages (Chowdri 2001).

There is no direct evidence that underage groups are participating in, or being deliberately targeted by this 'new media' marketing. Equally, however, it is known that, in the developed world at least, children and young people are the main users of the internet, with many having access at home or at school (Marketing Week 1998). In addition, they are well aware of the latest developments and are attracted to the new and innovative (New Media Age 1998). Website controls are also virtually non-existent, and although most declare that the user must be of legal drinking age, it is unlikely to be a serious deterrent (Cooke et al 2001).

## Developing and Transitional Nations

Aitken (1989) draws attention to increasing alcohol consumption in a number of developing countries, coupled with the key concern that sectors of the population who previously did not drink (in particular women and young people) are beginning to do so. Research on the causes of these increases, and the extent to which the alcohol industry is implicated, is limited, but does suggest that the problematic marketing techniques discussed above are also being used in these countries.

In Africa, breweries tend to be extremely powerful, controlling considerable wealth and influence. These resources have been used to



Heavily branded products that provide a ready 'hit'

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target advertising campaigns at the youth market, some of which contain false information, such as claims about the health benefits of alcohol (Gureje 2000). Gureje points out that, although the effects of drinking by young Africans have not yet been adequately studied, there is little doubt that drinking is a significant contributor to the high incidence of accidental death. Jernigan (1997) also draws attention to advertising for a particular brand of beer in Zimbabwe which subtly highlights the strength of the product.

In Russia, spirits advertising is banned, but beer (not considered by law to be an alcoholic drink) is advertised freely in all media (Rybak and Temkin 2000). The Russian beer market continues to grow rapidly, and global companies are ensuring that they gain a foothold. Heineken, for example, has just acquired Russia's fourth largest brewer, Bravo International ([www.just-drinks.com](http://www.just-drinks.com) 2002). Sponsorship is also in evidence, with the country's biggest beer brand Baltika ([www.baltika.ru](http://www.baltika.ru)) sponsoring a wide range of sporting activities, as well as having a long standing relationship with the popular radio station – Radio Baltika.

In Poland, all advertising of alcohol was banned in 1985, however, since 1989 alcohol

advertisements have been prolific both in the streets and in the press ( \_wiatkiewicz 1997). More encouragingly, Kompania Piworska (one of the largest corporations in the Polish beer industry) has initiated a campaign entitled "Don't sell alcohol to teenagers" collaborating with the local police and local government in Poznan, arguing that a key problem in Poland is the lack of rigorous control of young people's access to alcohol. At the same time, however, they are sponsors of the Polish National Olympic Team (for Sydney 2000), the Polish National Football Team and Ice-hockey events ([www.kp.pl](http://www.kp.pl)), all of which are likely to appeal to the young.

In Asia, the industry exploits traditional festivals, makes blatant use of sexual overtones in alcohol advertising by turning women into sex objects, and in some cases actively promotes heavy drinking (Assunta 2000).

*"A Tuborg beer print advert had a man boasting how in one night he had 7 gins, 6 brandys, one AK-47, one Tombstone and two shots of whisky."*  
(Assunta 2000, p22)

Sponsorship is also a common means of introducing brand names to young people, with sports, films and rock concerts all being targets (Assunta 2000).

New media are also being used in this part of the world, with colourful websites such as Bacardi's "Bat Club" in India and Carlsberg Malaysia's site (Jernigan 1997) which encourages users to sign up and become 'Carlsberg Clubbers'. The latter promotion clearly aims to increase consumption:

*"You'll be treated to nights of surprises and mystery gifts. Come up to our parties as we move around the coolest, hippest hangouts in town.*

*Heaps of goodies await you at each party especially if you are a Carlsberg Clubber. Privileges include an opportunity to top up Carlsberg points with every beer purchase when you party with us. The more Carlsberg you enjoy, the more points you get. Membership does have its privileges!*

*At the same time, the Carlsberg Glam Girls will be moving around in our parties to take photos of you and your mates chilling out. These photos will be posted for our Challenge where you'll stand a chance to be our weekly winners*

*and be rewarded with more Carlsberg points!*

*So what are you waiting for? Let's get rolling with the happening people who will show you a good time!"*

(<http://www.carlsberg.com.my/promotion/glamslam/default.cfm>)

Finally, in Latin America, Costa Rica is one of only two countries to regulate alcohol advertising, but such advertising dominates its mass media (Dixon 2000) and in Mexico around 11% of the urban population aged 12-18 years consume new products such as wine coolers, prepared cocktails and canned mixtures of rum and coca-cola (Medina-Mora et al 2001).

## Conclusions

CSR is a welcome and important development in business practice.

However, in the case of the alcohol industry, public claims to social responsibility do not seem to be borne out in practice. Advertising is breaking voluntary codes and reaching and influencing children; new products are appealing to children and are disproportionately associated with problem drinking; and new technology, which again appeals particularly to the young, is being energetically and imaginatively exploited. Furthermore, there is increasing, if patchy, evidence that these sophisticated marketing techniques are being used in developing and transitional countries, where regulation is limited and whose typically young populations are vulnerable to the appeal of western imagery.

This suggests that in the case of the alcohol industry at least, CSR provides insufficient controls, and that such voluntary approaches must be backed by statutory regulation.

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Russia's biggest beer brand

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## The cost of youth drinking

A new report, released by the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, claims that the deaths of sixteen young people in that country in the year 2000 were caused by the drinking age being lowered to 18.

The report was ALAC's assessment of the health impacts of the 1999 Sale of Liquor Amendment Act and also found that the law change may have cost more than \$50 million in deaths and injuries in the year 2000 alone. It says there may have been some 145 alcohol-related injuries, which would not otherwise have occurred.

The figures are estimates, based on extrapolations from overseas data, but they are backed by a recent Auckland Hospital study that found the number of drunk 18 and 19-year-olds treated at Accident and Emergency doubled in 2000.

The study comes as seven Christchurch liquor outlets were banned from selling alcohol for up to five days for selling drink to under-18 year olds.

However, recent road toll figures show alcohol-related fatal crashes involving 18 and 19-year-old drivers are on the way down, halving since the mid 1990s. The Beer, Wine and Spirits Council, whose members are Lion Nathan and DB Breweries, is questioning whether the year 2000 findings might be a statistical blip, suggesting that perhaps young people indulged their new freedom very heavily in that first year after the law change.

Tim Harding, who is the chief executive of national alcohol and drug treatment provider Care NZ, says their clinics' clientele is definitely getting younger. He says while the trend has been around for a while, the lower drinking age has not helped.

Mike MacAvoy of ALAC says he would like to see stronger and more consistent enforcement of the existing laws, and a crackdown on alcohol advertising and sponsorship. He adds that parents also need to take some responsibility for keeping their teenagers safe.

# Partner or foe?

## the alcohol industry, youth alcohol problems, and alcohol policy strategies

This briefing paper, which we reprint here in edited form, was recently produced by the American Medical Association and discusses the alcohol industry's rôle in prevention programmes. It offers a guide to public health professionals and activists for understanding and responding to the alcohol industry's public awareness and education initiatives.

The alcohol industry has become a major funder and designer of prevention and education programmes. Anheuser-Busch's sponsorship of social norms marketing, a new strategy for preventing alcohol problems on American college campuses, is a recent example. The beer giant's support has triggered a healthy debate in the higher education and public health communities. Does it taint the programmes? Given the company's aggressive marketing to college students, should universities refuse the funds? Will the funding undermine efforts to restrict those marketing practices? Many recipients respond that the funding is essential to their programmes and the company has not influenced their design or implementation. Anheuser-Busch declares that it is acting as a good corporate citizen: Its marketing does not

target or influence young people, and it is seeking avenues to reduce the abuse of its products, promote responsible drinking practices, and build partnerships with worthy prevention programmes. This debate is not limited to college campus communities. The industry has entered the prevention arena aggressively in local communities, school districts, and states, and at national and international levels. It has developed school curricula and parent guides, subsidized educational programmes and scholarships.

Its central thesis is that the programmes offered by the alcohol industry can only be understood in the context of the industry's marketing and political agendas. The paper is divided into five parts that provide:

- a description of the industry's structure and market, and common misconceptions

- regarding consumption patterns;
- a review of the industry's marketing strategies and their impact on social norms and the alcohol environment;
- an introduction to the environmental approach to prevention and its rôle in addressing industry marketing strategies;
- an analysis of industry awareness and education programmes and their rôle in its marketing and political agenda;
- recommendations for negotiating with and responding to industry prevention initiatives.

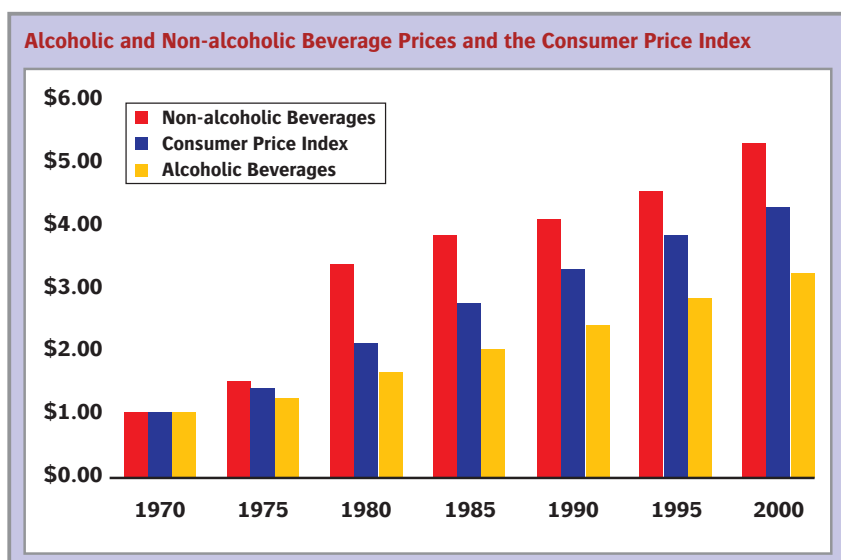
### The Alcohol Industry and its Market: The Importance of Hazardous and Heavy Drinking

The alcohol market generates huge sales and profits. The alcohol industry pursues an enormous market in the United States: \$115 billion in annual sales generate substantial profits for producers, distributors and retailers. Anheuser-Busch Co., the largest brewer, reported a net income in 2000 in excess of \$1.5 billion. As with any business, the alcohol industry's primary focus is on maximizing profits. As stated in the 1997 Anheuser-Busch annual report: "Every action taken by ... management is guided by one overriding objective - enhancing shareholder value."

The alcohol production market is concentrated in a small number of large companies. A handful of large companies control the market, and their numbers have steadily shrunk during two decades of corporate mergers. Beer is by far the most concentrated market, with only two companies, Anheuser-Busch and Philip Morris (owner of Miller Brewing Company), accounting for two-thirds of all beer sales. Together with these two, eight other alcohol companies that sell beer, wine and distilled spirits, account for approximately 70 per cent of all US alcohol sales (measured in terms of pure alcohol).

Producers are the dominant power within the alcohol market. Producers, distributors, and retailers have distinct, sometimes conflicting, interests. In general, retailers face more regulation, particularly at the state level, and are more directly accountable to consumers and communities. Yet retailer and distributor practices are largely dictated by the producers' marketing programmes.

A small per centage of drinkers consume most of the alcohol sold. The heaviest five per cent



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of the drinkers (averaging more than four drinks per day) consume 42 per cent of the alcohol sold.

Young people who consume hazardous quantities of beer are the alcohol industry's most important customers. Hazardous drinking, defined as 5 drinks or more per day, accounts for more than half the alcohol industry's market and 76 per cent of the beer market. Hazardous drinking practices first appear during 8th grade, increase dramatically during the early college years, then decline by the time respondents are 25 and older. Thus, 16- to 25-year-olds constitute a critical part of the alcohol market, particularly for brewers.

Underage drinkers are a substantial part of the alcohol market and a key consumer group. There are varying estimates of the underage drinking market. Eigen and Noble (1994) concluded that underage drinkers account for approximately 10 per cent of the alcohol market, or almost \$10 billion annually. The Inspector General for the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services estimated in 1991 that students in 7th through 12th grades annually consume 1.1 billion cans of beer and about 35 per cent of all wine coolers sold in the United States. Most of this consumption occurs in a hazardous fashion (five or more drinks in a single session). Youth consumption is also critical to the alcohol market because it sets the stage for long-term adult drinking habits. Early onset of drinking is correlated with heavier drinking, higher injury rates, and learning deficits later in life.

Conversely, most young people and adults drink very little or not at all. Seven in ten American adults drink less than one drink on average per week, and three of these seven abstained altogether in the last year. Only about 10 per cent of the adult population consume moderate amounts (defined by the federal government as from one to two drinks per day), despite a popular belief that most Americans consume alcohol in moderation. Young people are even more likely to be light consumers or abstainers: 83 per cent of 12- to 17-year-olds reported abstaining in the past month.

Most people overestimate the levels of alcohol consumption in our society. As these data suggest, alcohol is not an important part of life for most Americans. Yet we generally concur with the alcohol industry's common assertion

that "the overwhelming majority of adults drink [alcohol] responsibly." This is true only if you include abstainers and very light drinkers; moderate drinkers (those who average two drinks or less a day) make up only about one quarter of the industry's sales.

Young people in particular are likely to overestimate the alcohol consumption of their peers. Several studies have found that college students are likely to overestimate the drinking frequency of their fellow students and the drinking norms on their campuses. Misperceptions of drinking norms have the most impact on the heaviest student drinkers, who are more likely to drink more when they believe that their student peers drink heavily and the college community condones such behaviour. These findings have implications for society at large: our permissive norms regarding drinking may have their biggest impact on heavy drinkers.

## Social Norms, the Alcohol Environment, and Alcohol Industry Marketing Strategies

College-based social norms prevention programmes focus precisely on these misperceptions: if we inform college students of actual drinking practices, then they will moderate their consumption. Several studies suggest that this is a promising approach, although their evaluation designs are weak and findings are inconsistent. The programmes may have only limited or no success with some student groups, particularly heavy drinkers; they need to be carefully tailored and monitored; and their long-term impact is largely unknown. Still, doesn't the alcohol

industry's support of these programmes suggest a good faith effort to promote moderate drinking? To answer this question, one must examine what social norms programmes omit - the social environment that shapes and reinforces those norms. These industry-supported programmes focus on educating students to actual drinking practices. A community's social norms and expectations about drinking emerge from and reflect the community alcohol landscape or environment, including such factors as messages in the media and elsewhere regarding alcohol use; the ease of obtaining alcohol through commercial and noncommercial sources; the price of alcohol; and the rôle of alcohol in community events, workplaces, and social institutions. This landscape is shaped by alcohol policies and policy enforcement, formal and informal laws and rules regarding when, how much, and where drinking can and should take place. Social norms programmes omit these variables, leaving untouched the alcohol industry's ability to promote and sell its products with as few restrictions as possible.

The alcohol industry's marketing practices promote an alcohol environment and alcohol policies that support and normalise the very drinking patterns and practices that social norms programmes purport to prevent. Community alcohol environments (particularly those surrounding college campuses) typically encourage heavy alcohol use and downplay its potential harms to public health and safety. Ironically, the environments reflect and reinforce misconceptions about alcohol use in our society. We make alcohol use normal, convenient, and cheap in part because we



believe this responds to the demands of most people. In fact, as noted above, most Americans drink very little or not at all.

The four P's of marketing (product, promotion, place and price) is a helpful typology for understanding the industry's marketing strategies. These variables are used by marketers generally to create social environments that encourage consumers to purchase their products.

**Product** - New alcohol products target youthful consumers and may promote abusive drinking practices. Sweet, fruity alcohol products popular with teenagers blur the line between alcohol and soft drinks. Alcopops are the latest entry in this drink category. Many of the largest alcohol producers are now aggressively marketing these lemonade-flavoured beverages that mask the taste of the five per cent alcohol they contain. Teenagers are far more likely than adults to be familiar with and consume alcopop brands. Malt liquors, which offer high alcohol content at low prices, are sold in 40-ounce and larger containers that are marketed to young people as single servings. Novelties such as test tube "shots," containers that look like dynamite, products with labels such as "Hot Sex," and beverages that change the color of the drinker's tongue promote hazardous drinking behaviour among young people.

**Promotion** - Young people are bombarded with \$4 billion of alcohol marketing each year. Alcohol advertising is common on television and radio shows with a majority of underage viewers, on Internet sites attractive to young people, in magazines with large youth readerships, and on billboards and in retail outlets frequented by young people. The Federal Trade Commission reported that eight of the largest alcohol companies had made product placements in "PG" and "PG-13" movies with youth-oriented themes and large youth audiences and on eight of the 15 television shows most popular with teenagers. The alcohol industry regularly sponsors rock concerts, sporting events, and cultural and community celebrations with large youth audiences. Video games are another venue where the industry targets young people. Jack Daniels, for example, had a three-month product placement on schockwave.com's "real pool" video game, a popular youth web site; and Miller Beer uses video race car driving on its web site. College campuses are targets for aggressive, creative marketing campaigns by producers,

distributors, and retailers. The alcohol industry's promotions directly contradict the social norm marketing messages. According to the advertisements, "everybody is doing it, and so should you." Testimonials by youth idols, including rap musicians, athletes, and movie stars, are common. The advertisements promise excitement, sex, glamour, rebellion, and sophistication, themes particularly important to young people. They often use child-friendly images such as cartoon characters, animals, and fast-paced animation. Public health and safety messages are notably absent, except for the federally-mandated warning labels on the bottle, printed in barely legible small type (a concession to the alcohol industry when Congress enacted the warning label legislation).

**Place** - Alcohol is one of the most readily available consumer products, often sold in retail venues frequented by young people. Many communities are saturated with alcohol outlets, particularly in college and low-income areas. College campuses may be surrounded by bars and liquor stores that are primary locations for entertainment and socializing and often offer drinking games and other marketing schemes that encourage heavy drinking. Alcohol sales are key to the success of convenience stores and gas stations, which are often located in residential areas, near schools, and in other child-friendly locations.

**Price** - Alcohol is cheap and becoming cheaper. The relative price of alcohol has been dropping steadily for the last five decades, in part due to the reduction of the real value of alcohol excise taxes, which have been eroded by inflation. Cheap beers are now roughly the same price as popular brands of soft drinks. Price promotions such as happy hours that promote hazardous drinking are common in college communities. Young people are particularly sensitive to alcohol prices: As relative prices decline, youth consumption increases. Researchers at the New York Bureau of Economic Research examined the potential impact on youth drinking if beer taxes had kept pace with inflation during the 1980s (adding approximately 14 cents to the cost of a bottle of beer). They estimated that high school seniors' heavy drinking rates (nine or more drinking episodes in the last month) would have decreased by 19 per cent, and hazardous drinking (five or more drinks in one setting during the previous two weeks) by 8.6 per cent. Taken together, these marketing

strategies communicate a powerful message about alcohol's rôle in society. The marketing in college communities is particularly aggressive, promoting alcohol's glamour and attractiveness and making it readily available at low prices, variables that a recent study found to correlate directly with underage college binge drinking.

### The Environmental Approach to Prevention: Implementing Alcohol Policies

Environmental prevention addresses these same variables, using policy interventions to create an alcohol environment that supports healthy, safe behaviour. Research over the last two decades (and described in more detail in several reports) demonstrates that these policy reforms work: They reduce the problems associated with youth drinking. For example:

- Increasing alcohol taxes and reducing discount drink specials substantially reduce heavy and hazardous drinking among college and high school students.
- Decreasing the number of alcohol outlets in a community is closely associated with reduction in rates of alcohol-related youth violence.
- Holding retailers liable for damage inflicted on others by intoxicated and underage patrons (asserting dram shop liability) promotes responsible server practices and reduces alcohol-related traffic crashes.
- Increasing the minimum legal drinking age to 21 substantially reduces youth alcohol-related motor vehicle crashes; and increasing enforcement of laws prohibiting sales to underage drinkers reduces youth access to alcohol.
- Reducing noncommercial forms of youth access to alcohol shows promise in reducing youth drinking problems.
- Reducing the amount of youth exposure to alcohol advertising and increasing the number of alcohol counter-ads have a positive impact on youth beliefs and intentions regarding alcohol use and may influence drinking decisions.
- Combining environmental strategies such as those listed above and implementing them in a comprehensive community programme results in substantial reductions in underage drinking and alcohol-related problem rates.

# Partner or foe?

Various federal agencies and non-governmental organisations have recommended these and other alcohol policies, most of which receive strong support in national opinion surveys. Many are being implemented at the local level, responding to community concern and pressure for action. Local reforms include reduced numbers of alcohol billboards and other kinds of outdoor advertising, restrictions on the number and location of alcohol outlets, and reforms in alcohol server practices.

Environmental strategies complement, rather than replace, strategies targeting individual behaviour (such as social norms and other educational programmes). Individual-based programmes can have only limited impact if environmental forces undermine and contradict their messages and advice. Conversely, environmental strategies enhance individual-based strategies, by creating a social climate that reinforces the educational messages.

## Alcohol Industry-sponsored Prevention Programmes in Perspective

Despite their promise, federal and state governments largely ignore environmental strategies as a means to address alcohol problems. This is largely due to the political influence of the alcohol industry, which opposes environmental strategies because of their potential adverse effect on industry profitability. The alcohol industry donated more than \$11.7 million to the national Democratic and Republican parties and their candidates for federal offices in the 2000 election cycle, making it one of the most generous funders among major industries. Its political donations at the state level are equally impressive: in California alone, it donated more than \$4 million to state political parties, candidates, and pro-industry voter initiative campaigns. The industry augments its political donations with the services of an army of well-connected, highly-paid lobbyists, who have ready access to the inner sanctums of state and federal power.

The industry's political muscle is effective. Advertising and tax reform have been largely thwarted by industry lobbying efforts in state and federal legislatures. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Center for Substance Abuse

Prevention, a federal agency with the Department of Health and Human Services, funded community action programmes that included environmental strategies. The industry's aggressive attacks led CSAP to eliminate this portion of its programme. The industry is currently seeking to roll back past public health gains. For example, it is lobbying on behalf of HR 1305, which would substantially decrease beer taxes, and proposing a return to the 18-year minimum drinking age. At the state level, the industry has successfully rolled back many local initiatives by convincing state legislatures to enact preemptive legislation that nullifies local ordinances, thus hindering community efforts to create healthy alcohol environments.

The alcohol industry's support for social norms and other alcohol education programmes can only be understood within this broader social and political context: it views them as a substitute for, rather than a supplement to, environmental programmes. The industry's goal is to focus on individual behaviour, taking as a given the broader community context where its own marketing practices hold sway.

The industry's educational materials offer a consistent theme: Environmental strategies do not work and the individual drinker (or the underage individual with his or her parent) bears the sole responsibility for any problems that occur. The individuals the industry seeks to blame for problems with its products are also their best customers, and the industry's marketing budgets, which dwarf its expenditures on educational programmes, are tailored to reinforce and encourage heavy drinking behaviour. Perhaps most deceptive is the industry's claim that its educational and public awareness programmes targeting individual behaviour are effective in reducing alcohol problems and are largely responsible for gains that have been made in the last 15 years. Evaluation research provides no support for this view. In fact, one evaluation found that the beer industry's moderation and responsible drinking commercials send confusing messages and in many cases actually promote drinking. Lowered alcohol-related motor vehicle crash and under-age drinking rates are primarily the results of public policy reforms (such as the 21-year minimum drinking age laws) and changes in

social norms, developments that the industry strongly opposed.

Within its own trade press, the industry makes the case explicitly: Its support for individual-level programmes is designed to blunt efforts to address environmental variables. In fact, the industry's initiatives are often crafted in direct response to alcohol policy campaigns that threaten its marketing interests. Its various anti-drunk driving educational campaigns are a counter to the efforts of Mothers Against Drunk Driving and other organisations to enact various alcohol policy measures to address the issue. When law enforcement began focusing on illegal alcohol sales to minors, the Century Council, a distilled spirits-funded organisation, developed the "Cops in Shops" programme to shift the responsibility from the retailer to the underage buyer. Industry-sponsored college campus programmes emerged after several alcohol-related school tragedies led to a reexamination of institutional alcohol environments and industry marketing strategies.

An additional weakness associated with industry-sponsored educational programmes is their lack of detail. Slogans such as "think when you drink" and "know when to say when," which are frequently targeted to underage youth, assume the recipient is drinking and provide no information regarding safe levels of drinking. Studies show that most people cannot accurately assess their own intoxication - in other words, do not think when they drink and do not know when to stop.

An industry priority embedded in these educational messages is an important marketing goal: to normalize drinking. According to Peter Cressy, the CEO of the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States: "DISCUS" is working to ensure cultural acceptance of alcohol beverages by 'normalising' them in the minds of consumers as a healthy part of a normal lifestyle." Cultural acceptance, he concludes, is the key to boosting industry sales. This priority reflects the industry's frustration that so many Americans drink so little or not at all, a major impediment to market growth. It also helps explain the industry's enthusiasm for social norms marketing: ignoring the environmental component, its messages blame deviant "irresponsible" drinkers for problems and normalise college drinking.

Does the industry's opposition to environmental strategies constitute a sufficient reason to refuse its funding and support for individual-based programmes? Why not collaborate on matters where there is agreement and agree to disagree where necessary? Organisations implementing social norm programmes, for example, may well support environmental strategies, such as reducing the number of bars and happy hour specials in the community. If industry support does not alter their position on these other policies, why not accept industry funding?

Before taking this step, prevention programmes need to consider what the industry gains from such collaboration. There are at least four benefits the industry seeks:

Create positive public image - "innocence by association." Viewed by a majority as contributing to alcohol problems rather than helping to find solutions, the alcohol industry has historically had a negative public image, which detracts from its political agenda. The industry funds public awareness and educational programmes and builds collaboration with health and safety groups as a way to improve its public image, to claim the mantle of responsible corporate citizen. A group that agrees to collaborate with an industry member can anticipate that its name will appear in various industry publications distributed both to the public at large and to politicians and other decision makers.

Defeat environmental policy proposals. As described above, the industry's educational initiatives are an integral part of its strategy to oppose measures that would impact its marketing agendas.

Create dependence. The industry knows that funding affects priorities, even if no formal strings are attached. When a public health group agrees to accept industry funding, then its attention focuses on the programme at hand. Any pending work on alcohol-related issues and programmes slides down the agenda if the industry might object to it. The influence may be subtle. An organisation usually avoids offending a funder, so the impact may be in what is not done or said - through self-censorship and decisions regarding programme priorities.

Influence programme content. The industry claims expertise in developing educational

programmes for young people, parents, and the general public, and directly controls the content of most of its programmes, hiring those who develop them and reserving final approval. Individual companies, trade associations, and affiliated organisations all develop and distribute alcohol education materials. In some cases, the industry will fund programmes developed by others. In these cases of indirect influence, the programmes must meet industry criteria that disregard environmental and marketing issues and undermine important public health messages.

The industry garners these political and public relations benefits at a relatively modest cost. Although industry-wide data is not available, Anheuser-Busch, the largest alcohol company, estimates its expenditures on alcohol education and awareness efforts at \$300 million between 1982 and 2000, or about \$15 million per year. The company spent \$232 million on measured media advertising in 1997, and probably an additional \$464 million or more on unmeasured media. In other words, for every dollar it spends on alcohol education, the company spends \$46 or more promoting beer.

The industry's efforts to control the content of alcohol educational materials raises a larger issue: What is the appropriate rôle for the alcohol industry in prevention? Its mission and expertise are to sell alcohol profitably, not to further public health and prevention education. Prudence dictates that the educational and marketing functions should be separated, with those in public health and education developing the programmes independently. The important rôle for the industry in prevention is to ensure that its marketing is not attractive to young people and does not promote problematic drinking practices.

### **Conclusion: Negotiating with the Alcohol Industry**

Alcohol industry funding for educational and awareness programmes creates a thorny dilemma for many public health and safety groups. In many cases, nonprofit organisations need outside funding to maintain core programmes. An industry overture may trigger a heated internal debate that can weaken the organisation and divide key constituents, board members and staff. In these circumstances, an organisation should

establish a deliberate plan of action designed to build internal strength, address the funding issues strategically, and enhance long-term prevention goals. Appendix A provides more detailed steps of such an action plan.

Our long-term goal, however, is to move beyond the issue of industry funding to address the industry's appropriate rôle in prevention. We want to shift from a reactive position, responding to industry overtures in the education and public awareness arenas, to a proactive stance, demanding that its marketing practices and their impact on community alcohol environments be an integral part of the discussion. To do this, an organisation needs to incorporate environmental strategies into its mission and programmes. This in turn provides the context for developing specific requests for industry action that will reduce environmental risk factors and change unhealthy social norms.

Experience shows that the industry will respond only when public health and safety groups organise a political base and build their political and media advocacy skills. Because the two sides have fundamentally different interests, the dialogue is in fact a negotiation, and the outcome rests in large measure on the relative political power each brings to the table. In most cases, agreements should lead to clear, enforceable guidelines, typically through ordinances, regulations, or statutes. Marketing reforms are usually best started and built at the local level, negotiating with retailers. Local policy makers are more accessible and responsive to constituents, and local retailers are likely to be sensitive to community concerns. Reform at state and federal levels is more difficult, since alcohol producers bring enormous political power to these arenas, policy makers are more dependent on industry donations, and constituents have a harder time making their voices heard.

Clearly, the alcohol industry plays a critical rôle in the alcohol policy field. The questions are: What is that rôle? And who defines it? We must ensure the influence of the industry's marketing practices on community alcohol environments be part of any dialogue about the industry's corporate responsibilities. Industry offers to fund and support individual-based awareness and education programmes should not distract us from this fundamental issue.

# Spain moves on youth binge drinking

The Spanish government intends to prevent the drinking of alcohol in the street and ban the sale of alcoholic drinks to the under 18s. Over recent years a fashion, known in Spanish as el botellón, has developed among teenagers which consists of spending Friday and Saturday nights drinking in the streets and plazas. The government's hope is to reduce alcohol misuse among Spanish young people and to stamp out el botellón.

Government minister Mariano Rajoy recently announced the package of measures at the opening of a three day congress on young people, night, and alcohol, held in Madrid and sponsored by the National Plan on Drugs. Senor Rajoy said that the new law was intended to tackle el botellón because the phenomenon had led to a huge increase in the number of complaints from residents' associations about the consequent noise and disorder.

To enjoy el botellón all one needs is a bottle of rum, gin, or whisky, a litre or litre and a half bottle of a soft drink such as Coca Cola, ice cubes, and glasses. The overall price of one botellón, therefore, is about nine euros (£5.50 or \$7.90) – considerably lower than the total of the equivalent number of individual drinks at bars, pubs, or discos.

Alcoholic drinks in Spain are cheaper than in many other European Union countries and the

climate allows people to enjoy the open air for a large part of the year. Both these factors have encouraged the popularity of street drinking among the young.

Senor Rajoy pointed out that “the chief cause of mortality among Spanish young people is road traffic accidents related to alcohol consumption,” and went on to say that, in addition to making it illegal to consume alcohol in the street, his proposed law would prevent its being sold to anyone under the age of eighteen.

A further impetus towards legislation was the worrying data provided by the of survey 14-18 year old school students carried out in 2000 by the National Plan on Drugs. The survey showed that 58 per cent of these young people regularly consumed alcohol (43 per cent at weekends and 15 per cent on a daily basis).

The survey indicated that mean age at onset of consumption was 13.6 years, and that

midnight represented the “turning point” at which there was a sharp increase in alcohol consumption and drunkenness among teenagers.

The general director of public health at the health ministry, Dolores Flores, said that the number of young people



drinking “compulsively” until the stage of intoxication was increasing.

The survey further showed that young people did not appear to recognise alcohol consumption as dangerous. Whilst 70 per cent understood the risk from using heroin, cocaine, and cannabis, only 42 per cent thought that alcohol might lead to serious problems.

Senor Rajoy said that the government wanted to re-educate, as opposed to punish, those young people who congregated in el botellón. The intention was to take such young people to visit centres housing people suffering from paraplegia or tetraplegia as a result of alcohol misuse. The government also wants to show them the work of non-governmental organisations for the rehabilitation of alcoholics, and to impose a form of community service to repair some of the damage created in the streets of Spanish towns by the weekend binge drinking.

Gonzalo Robles, head of the National Plan on Drugs, said, at the close of the congress, that the government also intended to introduce compulsory health education about alcohol into secondary education for 12-16 year olds. He also said that money seized from drug trafficking would be used to pay for education programmes against alcohol and drug consumption, including the intended changes in the school curriculum.

**Images of El Botellón from a Spanish website**





## Further publications available from the Institute of Alcohol Studies

### Counterbalancing the Drinks Industry

#### Counterbalancing the Drinks Industry: A Report to the European Union on Alcohol Policy

A response to a report published by the European drinks industry and a defence of the WHO Alcohol Action Plan for Europe.

### Alcohol Policy and The Public Good

#### Alcohol Policy and the Public Good: A Guide for Action

An easy-to-read summary of the book written by an international team of researchers to present the scientific evidence underpinning the WHO Alcohol Action Plan for Europe

### Medical Education

#### Medical Education in Alcohol and Alcohol Problems: A European Perspective

A review of educational programmes on alcohol and alcohol problems in European medical schools, identifying gaps in provision and proposing guidelines for a minimal educational level within the normal curriculum of under- and post-graduate medical students.

### Alcohol Problems in the Family

#### Alcohol Problems in the Family: A Report to the European Union

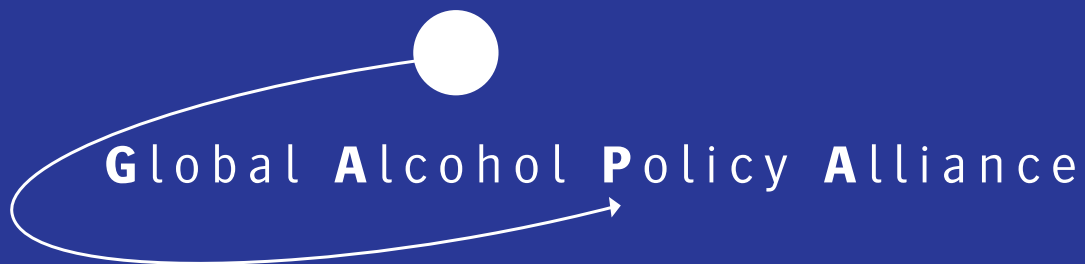
A report produced with the financial support of the European Commission describing the nature and extent of family alcohol problems in the Member Countries, giving examples of good practice in policy and service provision, and making recommendations to the European Union and Member Governments.



### Marketing Alcohol to Young People

Children are growing up in an environment where they are bombarded with positive images of alcohol. The youth sector is a key target of the marketing practices of the alcohol industry. The booklet depicts the marketing strategies of the industry and shows how advertising codes of practice are being breached.





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