



Critical social marketing: investigating alcohol marketing in the developing world

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Abstract

Purpose – The World Health Organization (WHO) has expressed concern regarding alcohol consumption and related harms in developing nations. Concomitantly a growing evidence base suggests that alcohol marketing influences drinking behaviours. The purpose of this paper is to explore how critical social marketing can help assess the nature of alcohol marketing, and the effectiveness of its regulation, in developing countries.

Design/methodology/approach – A sample of 14 alcohol marketing campaigns from India, Malawi, Malaysia, Nigeria, Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Thailand are assessed against the regulatory codes governing alcohol marketing in the UK.

Findings – The study found that alcohol marketing often contravened the UK regulatory codes. Critical social marketing offers a framework for research and analysis to assess the nature and impact of alcohol marketing, and to address alcohol related harms in developing countries.

Research limitations/implications – This exploratory study is limited to a small convenience sample. Future research to systematically audit alcohol marketing, and consumer studies to assess its impact on drinking behaviours in developing nations would be welcomed.

Practical implications – Findings suggest that initiatives to monitor and effectively regulate alcohol marketing in developing nations should be explored by policymakers. The competitive analysis and insight generated by studies of this nature can aid development agencies in the design and implementation of alcohol social marketing interventions. The global alcohol industry and marketers should also be encouraged to act more socially responsible.

Originality/value – The paper offers insights into how the critical social marketing framework can be applied in practice, to inform social marketing activity in the upstream and downstream environment.

Keywords Alcoholic drinks, Developing countries, Critical social-marketing, Regulation, United Kingdom, India, Malawi, Malaysia, Nigeria, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand

Paper type Research paper



Introduction

Contemporary marketing literature suggests that the discipline is at a crossroad, with scholars calling for increased consideration of the interface between marketing and society (Wilkie and Moore, 2003; Sheth and Sisodia, 2005). Paradigms such as sustainable marketing, critical marketing and social marketing have gained traction

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within the field in recent years (Kotler and Lee, 2007; Saren *et al.*, 2007; Peattie, 2007). Furthermore, consideration of the impact that marketing systems, theories, and practices have upon societies has attracted increasing attention (Polonsky *et al.*, 2003; Fry and Polonsky, 2004). Marketers are being encouraged to take a more critically reflexive approach, and to develop more sustainable, responsible and socially beneficial marketing systems with increased focus on quality of life, satisfaction and ethically sound practice (Lee and Sirgy, 2004; Peattie, 2007; Carrigan and de Pelsmacker, 2009). Recognising these developments this current study utilises a critical social marketing conceptual framework guiding research on alcohol marketing activity in the developing world.

Given the considerable impact of alcohol related harm in developing countries, and the negative impact this can have on health, and social and economic development, research on potential drivers of drinking behaviour such as alcohol marketing is required to help inform policy and intervention strategies (Babor *et al.*, 2010). Currently there is a paucity of academic research in this area. This article presents findings from a study investigating alcohol marketing activity in developing countries, utilising a critical social marketing framework (Gordon, 2011a).

The article aims to demonstrate that questionable alcohol marketing activities in developing countries exists, by presenting a sample of such executions across several countries. We begin by examining recent trends in alcohol consumption and alcohol related harms in developing countries. The extant evidence base considering the impact of alcohol marketing on behaviour, the topic of regulatory systems in developed and developing countries and the nature of alcohol marketing in the latter are discussed. The critical social marketing framework used to guide the research is then introduced.

The case study methodology examining alcohol marketing activity in India, Malawi, Malaysia, Nigeria, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand in accordance with UK regulatory codes is then presented. Findings from the analysis of the case studies of alcohol marketing in developing countries, and discussion of the implications for marketing theory and practice, social marketing activity and the critical social marketing concept follows. Advocating a strategic social marketing approach (French and Blair-Stevens, 2006), the article concludes by describing how studies such as this are necessary to inform multi-faceted intervention approaches, including policy change, regulation, social marketing interventions, and improved CSR activities by alcohol producers and marketers to reduce alcohol related harm in the developing world, before suggesting some areas for future research in this area. The relevance of research in this area to the development of a more sustainable and responsible marketing discipline is discussed.

Alcohol in the developing world

Alcohol consumption and alcohol related harms in the developing world are a major cause for concern (WHO, 2011). Traditionally abstention rates in developing nations are high. However, alcohol consumption is increasing in many developing countries such as India and Nepal (WHO, 2011). Heavy episodic drinking is also increasing in many developing countries (Room *et al.*, 2002). These trends have created concern over the formation of a “perfect storm” of increased alcohol availability, alcohol consumption and a weakening of alcohol control policies in the developing world

(Caetano and Laranjeira, 2006). Alcohol related health harms include coronary heart disease, liver cirrhosis and stroke, and is also correlated with infectious diseases in the developing world (WHO, 2011). Alcohol attributable mortality and mortality per litre of pure alcohol per capita is highest in countries with low incomes (Rehm *et al.*, 2009). This is partly due to higher incidence of alcohol related infectious diseases, malnutrition and deficiencies in public health infrastructure. Alcohol producers are becoming increasingly active in developing countries, and market saturation in developed nations mean that they increasingly see potential for growth facilitated by exploiting populations of non-drinkers in these new markets (Anderson, 2005).

In 2011 the WHO produced its third global status report on alcohol and health[1] which contains key alcohol data for every country in the world. Comparing heavy episodic drinking by WHO region, for Africa and South East Asia, where the developing nations examined in this study are located, the prevalence of weekly heavy episodic drinking among drinkers in the past 12 months is higher than the world average.

WHO (2011) data on per capita alcohol consumption and percentage of the population who are abstainers for the seven countries indicates that although total per capita alcohol consumption in developed nations is generally higher than in the developing world, consumption levels among drinkers are rising. Similarly a comparison of alcohol consumption among drinkers by gender in the seven countries examined in this study illustrate higher levels of per capita drinking among drinkers in Nigeria, Malaysia, and India (WHO, 2011). However, these statistics only tell part of the story of alcohol consumption in developing countries. For example, in India the number of drinkers has increased from one in 300 to one in 20 over the past 20 years, and although only 21 per cent of males and 2 per cent of women drink in India, up to one-fifth of this group (around 14 million people) are dependent drinkers (Prasad, 2009). In addition, it is estimated that household expenditure on alcohol in India can be up to 45 per cent of total income. Domestic violence and exacerbation of poverty have contributed to make alcohol misuse a major social problem in developing countries (Assunta, 2002). Qualitative research in Brazil, China, Nigeria and South Africa has indicated that young people are increasingly and highly involved with a culture of "extreme drinking" (Martinic and Measham, 2008).

To inform the development of any multi-faceted intervention approach to tackle alcohol related harms in the developing world requires an understanding of the factors that influence drinking behaviours. One such factor that has been associated with drinking behaviours and where intervention strategies have been proposed is alcohol marketing (Babor *et al.*, 2010).

Alcohol marketing

Impact of alcohol marketing on drinking behaviour

The debate over whether alcohol marketing influences drinking behaviours has developed over the past 30 years. Initial econometric studies, which examined associations between marketing expenditure and population level consumption, suggested little or no effect. However, more recent longitudinal consumer studies measuring impacts of exposure to alcohol marketing on drinking behaviours of individuals, suggest causal associations (Ellickson *et al.*, 2005; Collins *et al.*, 2007; Gordon *et al.*, 2010a). Indeed, three systematic reviews suggest small but significant associations between alcohol marketing and drinking behaviours (Meier *et al.*, 2008;

Anderson *et al.*, 2009; Smith and Foxcroft, 2009). Furthermore, research in developing countries suggests alcohol advertising is on the increase, and that young people display a high level of awareness of alcohol marketing (Houssou *et al.*, 1999; Tuladhar, 2005). However, there are areas in which further research would help develop the evidence base, particularly in relation to level of exposure to alcohol marketing (Gordon *et al.*, 2010a), the cumulative impact of alcohol marketing across many channels including new media, and sponsorship (Jones, 2011), and studies in developing countries (Aitken, 1989). The extant evidence base has resulted in considerable discussion over public policy in relation to alcohol marketing, and particularly the appropriate regulatory framework (Anderson, 2009; Hastings and Sheron, 2011).

Alcohol marketing regulation

In developed countries, alcohol marketing is regulated through the use of a variety of systems including self-regulation, co-regulation, statutory regulation, bans on some forms of marketing, and combinations of all of these components (STAP, 2007). Although there are differences in the systemic approach used across countries, it is possible to identify common themes in relation to alcohol marketing. These include rules forbidding alcohol marketing from featuring references to youth appeal, personal/social success, sporting success, sexual success, immoderate drinking, aggression and toughness, and strength and power. In the present study we have used the UK regulatory framework governing alcohol marketing to conduct our analysis[2].

In the UK a system of co-regulation of alcohol marketing operates. Ofcom, the communications regulator has contracted out regulation of alcohol advertising on broadcast media, with the relevant code administered by the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA). However, Ofcom retains ultimate powers of control and adjudication. Alcohol advertising on broadcast media is governed by the Broadcast Committee of Advertising Practice (BCAP) code (BCAP, 2010). Beyond the broadcast media code, a system of self-regulation is in operation. Alcohol advertising in non-broadcast media is covered by the Committee of Advertising Practice (CAP) code (CAP, 2010). Members of the advertising industry predominantly populate both BCAP and CAP. The Portman Group which is an industry organisation, has a voluntary code of practice on the naming, packaging and promotion of alcoholic drinks which covers all other forms of alcohol marketing (Portman Group, 2008). Across each of these codes are common themes governing what can and cannot be included in alcohol marketing activity (Table I). Despite the existence of regulatory systems for alcohol marketing in the UK and many other developed countries, the effectiveness of such systems has often been questioned (Casswell and Tharangi, 2009; Hastings *et al.*, 2010).

Alcohol marketing in the developing world

In developing nations systems of alcohol marketing regulation are less well developed or in some countries non-existent (Casswell and Maxwell, 2005). This generates cause for concern, as safeguards that are designed to control bad practice in developed countries are often not in place. This concern is exacerbated by the drive from alcohol producers to develop markets in these countries as mature markets reach saturation (Jernigan, 1999). Examples of unethical commercial practice including false advertising claims, youth targeting and breaches of international and voluntary codes of practice have been identified in India, Malawi, and Nepal (ADD, 2011).

Table I.
Features of alcohol
marketing regulatory
codes in the UK

Theme	Regulatory code BCAP	CAP	Portman Group
(1) Youth appeal	Advertisements must not be likely to appeal strongly to people under 18, especially by reflecting or being associated with youth culture or showing adolescent or juvenile behaviour	Marketing communications must not be likely to appeal particularly to people under 18, especially by reflecting or being associated with youth culture	A drink it is packaging and any promotional material or activity should not in any direct or indirect way have a particular appeal to under 18s (in the case of sponsorship, those under 18 years of age should not comprise more than 25 per cent of the participants, audience or spectators)
(2) Personal/social success	Advertisements must neither contribute to an individual's popularity or confidence nor imply that alcohol can enhance personal qualities. Advertisements must not imply that drinking alcohol is a key component of social success or acceptance or that refusal is a sign of weakness. Advertisements must not imply that the success of a social occasion depends on the presence or consumption of alcohol	Marketing communications must not claim or imply that alcohol can enhance confidence or popularity	A drink it is packaging and any promotional material or activity should not in any direct or indirect way suggest that consumption of the drink can lead to social success or popularity
(3) Sexual success	Advertisements must not link alcohol with sexual activity, sexual success or seduction or imply that alcohol can enhance attractiveness. That does not preclude linking alcohol with romance or flirtation	Marketing communications must neither link alcohol with seduction, sexual activity or sexual success nor imply that alcohol can enhance attractiveness	A drink it is packaging and any promotional material or activity should not in any direct or indirect way suggest any association with sexual success
(4) Driving and sport	Advertisements may feature sporting and other physical activities (subject to other rules in this section) but must not imply that those activities have been undertaken after the consumption of alcohol	Marketing communications must not imply that alcohol can enhance mental or physical capabilities; for example, by contributing to professional or sporting achievements	N/A

(continued)

Theme	Regulatory code BCAP	CAP	Portman Group
(5) Drinking behaviour	Advertisements may include alcohol sales promotions but must not imply, condone or encourage immoderate drinking	Marketing communications must be socially responsible and must contain nothing that is likely to lead people to adopt styles of drinking that are unwise. For example, they should not encourage excessive drinking. Marketing communications that include a sales promotion must not imply, condone or encourage excessive consumption of alcohol	A drink it is packaging and any promotional material or activity should not in any direct or indirect way encourage illegal, irresponsible or immoderate consumption, such as drinking, binge-drinking or drunkenness
(6) Aggression, toughness	Advertisements must not link alcohol with daring, toughness, aggression or unruly, irresponsible or antisocial behaviour	Marketing communications must neither show, imply, encourage nor refer to aggression or unruly, irresponsible or anti-social behaviour nor link alcohol with brave, tough or daring people or behaviour	A drink it is packaging and any promotional material or activity should not in any direct or indirect way suggest any association with bravado, or with violent, aggressive, dangerous or antisocial behaviour
(7) Strength and power	Advertisements must not imply that a drink may be preferred because of its alcohol content or intoxicating effect	Marketing communications must not imply that a drink may be preferred because of its alcohol content or intoxicating effect	A drink it is packaging and any promotional material or activity should not in any direct or indirect way have the alcoholic strength, relatively high alcohol content, or the intoxicating effect, as a dominant theme

Source: Adapted from BCAP (2010) and Portman Group (2008)

Table I.

Table II presents a synopsis of alcohol marketing regulation in the countries included in this study. Although there are systems of alcohol marketing regulation in all but one of the included countries, they are often far from comprehensive, with enforcement of regulations only partially or rarely carried out (WHO, 2004). This has led to criticism of alcohol industry activities (Anderson, 2009; Jernigan, 2009). However, there is a paucity of research on the nature, extent, and impact of alcohol marketing in developing countries. The existing evidence base is limited, and of mixed quality with data sets often out-dated, incomplete or lacking systematic analysis. As such, contemporary, good quality academic research can make a discernable contribution to the knowledge base. This present study utilises a critical social marketing framework to add to the evidence base.

Country	Regulatory system ^a	Features
India	Statutory regulation	In India the Cable Television Network (Regulation) Amendment Bill 2002 extended prohibition of alcohol advertisements that directly or indirectly promotes the product from free-to-air television channels to cable channels. However, other forms of alcohol marketing including outdoor advertising and sports sponsorship are prevalent and are not subject to any regulatory codes ^a
Malawi	No regulation	
Malaysia	Combination of self and statutory regulation	Statutory regulation means that direct alcohol advertising is not allowed over the broadcast media and on billboards, except in the state of Sabah in East Malaysia. Self-regulation operates in all other areas, with advertising permitted in cinemas, on video and in the print media, and sponsorship is also permitted ^b
Nigeria	Combination of self and statutory regulation	Most forms of marketing including broadcast media advertising, sponsorship, billboards, print advertising and free promotions are permitted. Rules prohibit advertising in youth magazines and books ^c
Philippines	Self-regulation	Partial restrictions on broadcast, print media and billboard advertising, and no restrictions on sponsorship ^d
Sri Lanka	Combination of self and statutory regulation	The National Authority on Tobacco and Alcohol Act introduced in 2006 bans alcohol advertising in print and electronic media, sponsorship of educational, cultural, social or sporting events, as well as free distribution of alcohol related products by manufacturers or distributors as a means of promotion ^e
Thailand	Statutory regulation	In Thailand the Alcohol Consumption Control Act 2008 prohibits alcohol marketing from encouraging immoderate consumption, free product promotions, linking alcohol to sexual and social success, and use of celebrities (sport/ music/movie stars) in advertising ^f

Table II.
Alcohol marketing
regulation in developing
countries

Sources:^aGovernment of the Republic of India (2002), ^bNZ Drug Foundation (2006), ^cObot and Ibgana (2002), ^dEuromonitor (2011), ^eParliament of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (2006) and ^fRoyal Thai Government (2008)

The critical social marketing concept

Critical social marketing has its roots in Lazer and Kelley's (1973) definition of social marketing:

Social marketing is concerned with the application of marketing knowledge, concepts and techniques to enhance social as well as economic ends. It is also concerned with analysis of the social consequence of marketing policies, decisions & activities (Lazer and Kelley 1973, p. ix).

Although social marketing has predominantly focused on individual behaviour change interventions, some scholars within the field have supported the exploration and application of this critical dimension of social marketing (Perry, 1976; Hastings and Saren, 2003; French, 2009). In recent years, and following some divergence of views as to how such activity might be defined including associations with societal marketing, socially responsible marketing and critical marketing, the term "critical social marketing" has begun to emerge (French, 2009; Hastings, 2009). Subsequently, identification of its domain within marketing thought, applicability of its framework to research, and a formal definition has been offered, critical social marketing is:

Critical research from a marketing perspective on the impact commercial marketing has upon society, to build the evidence base, inform upstream efforts such as advocacy, policy and regulation, and inform the development of downstream social marketing interventions (Gordon 2011a, p. 89)[3].

Given the identification and previous application of critical social marketing as a useful framework for investigating alcohol marketing (Gordon *et al.*, 2010b), the study presented here utilises the approach. Table III presents an adaptation of the critical social marketing framework for research, outlining how it has been applied to this study.

Methods

A case study analysis research methodology was used to conduct the study. The aim was to explore the nature and content of alcohol marketing in developing countries, and also inform exploratory qualitative, and quantitative survey research with adolescents examining drinking behaviours in the future. Case study analysis of alcohol marketing executions is a recognised methodological approach used in business research and previous studies in this area (Carroll and Donovan, 2002; Dul and Hak, 2007; Gordon, 2011b). A convenience sample of 14 marketing executions used between 2002 and 2011, from each of the following countries: India, Malawi, Malaysia, Nigeria, Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Thailand were selected for inclusion in the analysis. The sample frame aimed to provide a small selection of questionable alcohol marketing activities across a range of developing countries, and should not be regarded as an exhaustive sample. These were selected as our stakeholder partner, the development agency FORUT, operates in several of these countries. FORUT is a Norwegian development agency established in 1981 by three NGOs, IOU (now JUBA) Norway, Juvente and IOGT Junior Association, specialising in alcohol and drug prevention. The agency is funded through fund raising and grants from the Norwegian Government, and has alcohol related project activities in countries including India, Nepal, Malawi, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka. FORUT instructs development workers operating in each country to collect examples of alcohol marketing that might break regulatory codes operating in the developing world, each time they see it. FORUT then files such examples in a database. From this database, we selected ten examples to provide a diverse and multi-country

Step 1 – research	Step 2 – dissemination	Step 3 – upstream social marketing	Step 4 – social marketing interventions
Using a marketer's perspective to perform research that conducts a critical analysis of the impact of commercial marketing on society	Production of peer reviewed conference papers and journal articles presenting the findings from research that contribute to the evidence base	Advocacy, lobbying, informing policy and regulation	Engagement with relevant stakeholder organisations to inform social marketing programmes
Case study audit of 14 alcohol marketing executions across seven developing countries (India, Malawi, Malaysia, Nigeria, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand) that were assessed in relation to UK regulatory codes	Paper presentation at World Social Marketing Conference (Farrell and Gordon, 2011a), the present article, inclusion in teaching materials at Oxford Brookes and University of Wollongong	Liaison and engagement with FORUT and other development agencies to inform advocacy, policy intervention, lobbying activity and project design. Dissemination of practitioner and policy report to relevant stakeholder organisations (Farrell and Gordon, 2011b)	On-going engagement with FORUT and other development agencies to use findings to inform social marketing interventions. Authors to present findings at international alcohol control conferences. Cooperation with other relevant agencies to pursue funds for further research and develop interventions, using both upstream and downstream social marketing

Table III.

Step by step schema of critical social marketing applied to present study

Source: Adapted from Gordon (2011a)

sample of alcohol marketing executions. We supplemented the sample by including four examples identified by conducting searches on Google images using combinations (including truncated versions) of the following search terms: alcohol, marketing, advertising, promotion, controversy, ban, sponsorship, developing, countries, world, India, Malawi, Malaysia, Nigeria, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand.

Each marketing execution was then categorised and analysed according to the codes regulating alcohol marketing in the UK (Table III). The UK codes were selected due to their familiarity, given they have been identified as providing a gold standard system of co-regulation (EASA, 2007), and also as across the eight countries examined there is a general absence of comprehensive alcohol marketing regulatory systems. Furthermore, previous studies of alcohol marketing have used the UK regulatory codes as a unit of analysis (Hastings *et al.*, 2010; Gordon, 2011b). It should however be recognised that if comprehensive systems of regulation were to be introduced in developing countries, these should be culturally relevant to their location. Further, it should be acknowledged that criticisms of regulatory systems such as the one employed in the UK exist (Anderson, 2009b; Hastings and Sheron, 2011).

We assessed each of the marketing executions according to the UK regulatory codes governing alcohol marketing. Each example was examined in relation to seven key and common themes identified within the codes identified by the British Code of Advertising Practice (BCAP, 2008): youth appeal, personal/social success, sexual success, sport/driving,

drinking behaviour, aggression and toughness, and strength and power. When evidence of a potential breach of the codes in relation to any of these themes was identified, this was recorded. Inter-coder reliability between the two researchers was carried out on the full sample of 14 marketing executions to ensure agreement with, and consistency of inclusion and analysis in accordance with the regulatory codes.

Results

We examined 14 examples of alcohol marketing in developing countries and then analysed them according to the regulatory codes. Table IV details our findings, describing the country and dates in which the campaign ran, the alcohol brand and producer, and the possible breaches when applying the UK regulatory codes. Our analysis identified potential breaches across each of the seven main themes covered by the UK regulatory codes. The most common theme identified in the analysis was marketing which associated with strength and power with seven brands; followed by sexual success with six examples; then personal/social success, and youth appeal, both with four examples; of potential breaches if applying the UK codes.

Brands such as Guinness Foreign extra owned by Diageo, and Knock Out beer owned by SAB Miller, associated their products with aggression, strength, virility and power in their marketing, even to the point of employing a character named Michael Power to front the Guinness campaign. Previous research has found that strength and virility are characteristics that are viewed as desirable by adolescents in relation to their attitudes to alcohol beverages and drinking behaviours (Gordon *et al.*, 2010b). Several examples used provocatively dressed females in their executions, such as the LEO lager brand in Thailand, or even made references to under age sex in the case of Napoleon Quince brandy. The impact such activities can have on adolescents has been demonstrated by research that found that adolescents' response to alcohol marketing campaigns in Australia led them to perceive consumption of the product to offer self-confidence, sexual relationship and social success (Jones and Donovan, 2001). The Dr Thirsty's product range in Thailand used cartoon graphics and imagery on product packaging, for example, the Bettlejuice brand, even though this practice was banned in the UK. The use of cartoon characters and bright packaging has been demonstrated to influence adolescents' attitudes and behaviours in relation to tobacco and alcohol consumption (Hughes *et al.*, 1997; Hafez and Ling, 2005). The JW Whisky example of an alcohol brand delivering "commercial social marketing" to deliver an anti-drink driving message, also raises questions, as Hastings and Angus (2011) warn that such activity is usually carried out with fiduciary duty towards the corporation and to the benefit of the sponsor rather than to promote social responsibility. Alcohol producers are seeming using references between alcohol and strength and power, sexual, social, and personal success, and appeals to youth, in their marketing activity in the developing world, even though these practices would breach regulatory codes in place in the developed world. Furthermore, the use of these themes could be perceived to be imposing Western neo-liberal social and cultural values and norms, on developing countries (Jernigan, 2000). This suggests that an appropriate policy response, and engagement with relevant stakeholders including alcohol producers, is required.

Table IV.
Analysis of alcohol
marketing campaigns in
developing countries
assessed according to UK
regulatory codes

Country	Brand/owner/campaign date	Regulatory theme	Details of campaign/potential breach
India ^a	Kingfisher Beer/United Breweries/2003-2009	(2)/(3)	"Kingfisher" beer campaigns have featured posters with sexual imagery of "thighs" and provocative copy, e.g. "lust for kingfisher lager". Billboards also show glamorous young females, and also promotions showing a businessman standing with young females with a Kingfisher sponsored jet in the background
India ^a	Royal Challenge Whisky/United Breweries/2005	(2)/(4)/(7)	A billboard campaign for "Royal Challenge" shows a man wearing a wreath with the text "Julius Caesar ruled kingdoms & parties - In you he lives". The brand also sponsors the Royal Challengers Bangalore cricket team in the Indian Premier League 20/20 format competition
India ^a	Blenders Pride Whisky/Pernard-Ricard/2010 - ongoing	(3)/(7)	In a billboard campaign for "Blenders Pride" a man and woman appear displaying sultry poses with the text reading "taste-power" ... "taste that speaks for itself"
India ^a	Knock Out Beer/SAB Miller India/2008 - ongoing	(6)/(7)	"Knock Out" is a strong beer launched in 1984, with an ABV of 8 per cent and is owned by SAB Miller India. The brand is sold in several Indian states such as Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and some parts of Northern India. The name of the beer has connotations of aggression and strength. In its advertising the beer is associated with grenades, tanks and military weapons
Malawi ^a	Rider Spirit/Abwensi Group/2010	(1)/(6)/(7)	Recent concerns over the sale of liquor in plastic sachets such as "Rider", which is high in alcohol content, available at low prices, and easy to conceal for youth drinkers, resulted in the Malawi Bureau of Standards banning them. This elicited a court injunction from the Abwensi group that produces the "Rider" brand of spirits, preventing the ban from being enforced (Endal, 2011). Other brands included "Black Punch" and "Mafia" (Mafia & Black Punch source)
Malaysia ^a	Anchor Strong/Guinness Anchor Berhad - Diageo/2008	(7)	As well as having a brand name focused on strength, a marketing campaign for the brand included posters with the text "True strength cannot be denied". The brand has also been associated with "Shots", depicting a shot glass beside the beer bottle to imply its as strong as a shot of spirit (Malaysia)
Nigeria ^a	Champion/Champion Breweries Plc/2010	(2)	In a campaign for "Champion" beer, a name which associates with success, posters featured the promotion of "plenty of free drinks"
Nigeria ^a	Guinness Foreign Extra Stout/Diageo/2002	(2)/(3)/(7)	Guinness Nigeria uses an actor named Michael Power to market the brand on billboards, radio and television. Guinness has long been associated with strength and virility in the country, and is known as "black power" and "Viagra" (Obot and Ibanga, 2002). In advertising campaigns Power played the hero who rescues a young woman in danger, or is the guest at a surprise party given by friends. One of the main themes in the campaign is the focus on strength given the actor's name, and the strapline in the billboard advert reads "Guinness... Reflects the Power in You"

(continued)

Country	Brand/owner/campaign date	Regulatory theme	Details of campaign/potential breach
Philippines ^a	Napoleon Quince Brandy/Destileria Limtuaco/2004	(1)/(3)	In 2004, a campaign featuring billboards in strategic, high-traffic locations in Manila commenced. Positioned as a 15-year-old brandy, the copy reads "Nakatikim ka na ba ng kinse anos?" ("Have you tasted a 15-year-old?"). The campaign also featured a radio advert in which a wife accuses her husband of having an affair with a 15-year-old at a bar. He explains the 15-year-old in question is Napoleon Quince. The campaign was heavily criticized for promoting sexual objectification, exploitation of women and paedophilia. The self-regulatory body Adboard issued a cease and desist order to the distillery and its advertising agency. However, the distillery insisted there was no malice or imnuendo intended and filed a case against Adboard. Other stakeholders such as women's groups, child's rights advocates and the Archdiocese of Manila joined the controversy and filed complaints against the campaign. An advert for the brand showed a semi-naked young female, with three bottles of the product arranged underneath her in a phallic symbol arrangement. The Lion brand name suggests strength and power, and aggression and toughness. Furthermore, a poster campaign featured a lion with the strapline "Is there a Lion in you?"
Philippines ^b	Tanduay Gin/Tanduay Distillers Inc./2009	(3)	
Sri Lanka ^a	Lion Lager/Lion Brewery (Ceylon) Plc/2010	(6)/(7)	
Thailand ^b	Johnnie Walker Whisky/Diageo/2006	(4)/(5)	The brand was featured on a building wrap on the Baiyoke Sky Tower in Bangkok, Thailand during 2006, with the text reading "Drink, Don't Drive". Although this may have been intended to encourage people not to drink and drive, the advert is ambiguous, it does link alcohol & driving, and also could be perceived to encourage people to consume alcohol
Thailand ^b	Dr Thirsty's RTD/TIS Worldwide Marketing Co. Ltd/1997 – ongoing	(1)	Dr Thirsty's is available in several varieties including "Lemon Punch", "Orange Punch" and "Beetlejuice". The brand range features cartoon graphics, and imagery on the product packaging that hold youth appeal. Indeed, the "Beetlejuice" brand had a complaint upheld against it by the UK Portman Group in 1997 (Portman Group, 1997)
Thailand ^b	Leo Beer/Boon Rawd Brewery/2010	(1)/(3)	As part of a marketing campaign "LEO" sponsored a lifestyle festival, with billboards showing the brand name and event, also featuring numerous young females wearing suspenders and revealing underwear. Association with glamour models and youth music culture

Notes: Key for regulatory theme: (1) – youth appeal, (2) – personal/social success, (3) – sexual success, (4) – driving/sport, (5) – drinking behaviour, (6) – aggression/toughness, (7) – strength/power

Source: Marketing example: ^aFORUT, ^bGoogle images search

Implications

There are discernable implications from this study for alcohol producers, policy makers, marketing practitioners, and the marketing and social marketing disciplines. The findings demonstrate that in the developing world alcohol marketing executions use references to youth culture, power, and sporting, social, and sexual success that are supposedly forbidden in the developed world. The language, imagery and content of the examples of alcohol marketing examined here, suggest that the corporate social responsibility policy of alcohol producers operating in these markets is open to question. Large alcohol producers, who publish CSR best practice guidelines concerning alcohol marketing (Diageo, 2010), do not seem to adhere to these in the developing world. Alcohol producers are seemingly taking advantage of lack of regulation, and perhaps even re-using tactics now banned in the developed world. Studies such as the present one can be used to hold alcohol producers more accountable for their marketing activities in the developing world.

The findings also have implications for marketing practitioners. With evidence of bad practice in marketing alcohol in developing countries, marketing practitioners should be encouraged to revisit their strategy and executions. More socially responsible and culturally sensitive practices should be developed. This has relevance to the extensive discussions around marketing theory, principles, and practices. Marketing systems have been subject to vituperative criticism in recent years. The evidence uncovered in this current study only adds to this critique. However, more responsible practices, utilising a marketing and society approach in which consideration of the social impact of marketing activity is made and strategies designed accordingly, can offer a progressive outlet for the discipline. If marketing in the developing world can be altered to uphold such values, the discipline would benefit by demonstrating a more sustainable and altruistic approach.

The implications for this study for social marketing are threefold. First, the findings contribute to the research evidence base, and can help inform upstream activities such as advocacy, lobbying and informing policy and regulation. Indeed, development agencies such as FORUT already pursue such tactics (Farrell and Gordon, 2011b). Policy makers have an important role to play, as the existing regulations, or lack thereof, do not seem to offer adequate control, suggesting that policy interventions are required. Potential solutions include engaging with alcohol producers and marketers on their CSR policy and marketing strategies, and an international framework convention on alcohol control, similar to the one developed for tobacco (Lancet, 2007). Second, results from studies of this type can be used to help inform alcohol interventions delivered in developing countries by agencies. Understanding the competition supplied by the alcohol industry to behaviour change can assist in overcoming barriers and identifying motivational exchanges and useful promotion techniques in social marketing interventions. Third, this study demonstrates the utility of critical social marketing, reinforcing that social marketing can provide a useful framework for research that aims to influence the environment in which health and social behaviours occur.

Conclusions

The findings from this study contribute to the evidence base in an under-researched domain, can help inform upstream and downstream activity, and demonstrate the utility of the critical social marketing concept. However, some study limitations

should be acknowledged. First, the study used a small convenience sample, collected in part, by a third party, and is in essence self-selecting as only marketing executions perceived to be examples of bad practice were provided for analysis. Second, the analysis of alcohol marketing executions in the seven developing countries was carried out in accordance with the UK regulatory codes, which may not be entirely relevant or applicable to these locations. Third, the findings only offer insight into the nature of alcohol marketing in developing countries, and do not tell us anything about the impact on drinking behaviour and other outcomes. However, this study does offer some valuable insights into alcohol marketing activity in the developing world.

There are also several suggestions for future research that emanate from this study. Consumer studies on the impact of alcohol marketing on drinking and associated behaviours in developing countries would help address current gaps in the evidence base. Stakeholder analysis and engagement is also required to help address issues with alcohol marketing in this domain. Although development agencies and other NGOs engage in upstream activities currently, exploration of the application of upstream social marketing principles to this process would be informative. Finally, although delivery of social marketing interventions in the developing world has a long history (Manoff, 1985) the application of interventions using this approach by development agencies such as FORUT has not been fully explored. Social marketing offers a useful framework for informing interventions that are culturally relevant, and location specific, and led by groups within developing countries rather than a perceived outsider interference approach.

The present study demonstrates the utility of the critical social marketing framework. Our findings contribute to the evidence base on alcohol marketing, particularly in developing nations. Furthermore, the findings can help inform social marketing interventions both upstream and downstream. The aid agencies involved in this particular study are well placed to facilitate advocacy and lobbying as well as to deliver social marketing interventions on the ground. Such initiatives have an important role to play as part of multi-faceted strategies to tackle alcohol related harms in the developing world.

Our findings reinforce the view that alcohol producers are using alcohol marketing tactics in the developing world that are questionable. This suggests that the industry needs to re-examine its market strategies in these countries. Further, marketing practitioners can contribute to this process by developing more socially responsible practices. Finally, our research demonstrates the importance of consideration of the concept of marketing and society. Critical analysis of commercial marketing practices, through use of a critical social marketing framework can help develop more responsible, sustainable, and socially beneficial marketing systems, and through use of social marketing encourage the use of marketing ideas for social good.

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The study did not receive any funding, and we declare no conflict of interest.

Notes

1. WHO data tables are available using the following link: www.who.int/substance_abuse/publications/global_alcohol_report/msbgsruprofiles.pdf
2. The reasons for choosing this approach are discussed later in the methods section.

3. Upstream refers to the structural environment (economic conditions, law, policy, etc.) that can influence consumer behavior. Downstream refers to influences on behavior at the individual level (personality, life experience, etc.).

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