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Outdoor alcohol advertising in Johannesburg residential areas

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7 November 2018

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A research report submitted to the School of Public Health, Faculty of Health Sciences, University of Witwatersrand in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Health.

Declaration

I, Savera Kalideen, certify that the following research is my own work, other than what is contained with acknowledgements and references. I am submitting this research paper in completion of the degree of Master of Public Health (SBCC) at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at this university or any other.

Signed 

7 November 2018

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To my dad, I wish you were here to celebrate with me. Thank you for encouraging us all to dream and to achieve.

ABSTRACT

Introduction

Alcohol use is associated with many health-related and social problems, such as injuries and violence, as well as increased risk of HIV infection. Alcohol consumption among South African youth aged 15 to 24 years is high. One driver of increased consumption among young people is alcohol advertising. The WHO Global Strategy on Alcohol (2010) recommends evidence-based best-practice interventions to reduce alcohol-related harm. The Global Strategy calls for a regulation in the content and volume of marketing and restricting or banning promotions in connection with activities such as festivals or competitions that target young people, and the regulation of media-based direct and indirect marketing. There is very little published information on the extent and characteristics of outdoor alcohol advertising in South Africa. This study aimed to describe the number, location, characteristics and content of outdoor alcohol advertising and branding found in central Johannesburg and to compare the characteristics and content of adverts in lower and higher socioeconomic status areas.

Methodology

A cross-sectional study was conducted to identify and analyse all outdoor alcohol advertisements in a five-kilometre radius in central Johannesburg in 2014. Photographs of each alcohol advertisement were taken and the Global Positioning System (GPS) location, type and other characteristics were recorded on a coding sheet. The content of the advertisements based on the photographs was captured using a content coding sheet and linked to the GPS coordinates. Using income information from the City of Johannesburg in 2013, lower and higher economic status areas were defined. Descriptive analysis of the content and characteristics of the outdoor advertisements was conducted. The characteristics and content of advertisements in the higher and lower socioeconomic status areas were compared.

Results

There were 346 alcohol advertisements identified in this study. The most commonly advertised alcohol was for beer (71.1%) followed by cider (12%) and whiskey (5.6%). About 4.1 % of the adverts were for liqueurs and 2% were for cognac. Vodka and champagne made up less than 2% each of the adverts. Most of the alcohol advertisements and branding (66.8%) were found in the lower socioeconomic status areas of Hillbrow and Berea with just over one-third of all alcohol

advertisements (33%) found in all other areas of the study area in Johannesburg. Nearly half of the alcohol adverts were posters (41.0%) followed by adverts painted on blackboards (19.7%). Most alcohol advertisements were located outside bars, taverns and liquor vendors (75.4%). Full advertisements which showed the product and a message about the product as well as a picture of other things such as cars, people and scenery made up 65.3% of all advertisements.

Advertising in lower socioeconomic status areas were characterised by displaying the price of the alcohol and were sometimes hand-painted rather than being professionally made.

Conclusion

The study found differences in the number, characteristics and content of outdoor alcohol advertisements in central Johannesburg, South Africa. There were more advertisements in the lower socioeconomic status areas than in the higher socioeconomic suburbs.

There are no restrictions on outdoor alcohol advertising in South Africa, which has led to the proliferation of outdoor alcohol advertising There is a need for a policy on alcohol advertising, which also includes regulation and monitoring of all alcohol advertisements, including outdoor alcohol advertising .

More research is also required to show the impact of alcohol advertising on consumption in South Africa as most of the available evidence on this association is from outside the country. A convention similar to the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control is required as there is currently no global mechanism to regulate and govern alcohol advertising and marketing.

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Abbreviations

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus

GBV – Gender Based Violence

DALY- Disability Adjusted Life Years

SA – South Africa

DTI – Department of Trade and Industry

ARA- Industry Association for Responsible Alcohol Use

YRBS – Youth Risk Behaviour Survey

SADHS – South African Demographic and Health Survey

WHO – World Health Organisation

TB – Tuberculosis

TV – Television

Definition of Terms

Advertising – This is the process of making information available about a product that you want to sell or promote. It is a message designed to promote or sell a product, a service, or an idea (Kotler, 2015).

Alcohol marketing – includes all advertising that is used to communicate about alcohol (Walbeek, 2014).

"**Above-the-line"** advertising is the direct cost of showing advertisements on television, radio, billboards and in the printed media and cinemas (Walbeek, 2014).

"**Below-the-line**" - Advertising activities such as sports sponsorships, in-store promotions, product tastings, point-of-sale advertising, alcohol festivals, sponsorships of film and documentary festivals and social media campaigns (Walbeek, 2014).

Binge drinking – refers to the consumption, of more than five drinks on one occasion for males and more than four drinks on one occasion for females(Ramsoomar and Morojele, 2012).

Branding – This is the process of giving a meaning to a company, products or services by creating and shaping a brand in the mind of the consumer. It is a strategy to ensure quick identification of a product and association of that product with particular attributes (Kotler and Armstrong, 2012).

Alcohol-related harm – alcohol consumption that is linked to harm such as disease and injury including more than 200 different kinds of disease and injury. Harm is mainly determined by the amount of alcohol consumed and the pattern of drinking (WHO, 2010).

Global north – refers to a political and economic divide between the north and south. The global north includes the United States, Canada, Europe, developed parts of Asia (the Four Asian Tigers, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan) as well as Australia and New Zealand (Wikipedia, 2018).

Global south – this is made up of Africa, Latin America, and developing Asia including the Middle East (Wikipedia).

Marketing – this refers to using communications and promotion to sell a product (Kotler and Armstrong, 2012).

Outdoor advertising - covers all alcohol promotions in the public arena including billboards, posters, flags, displayed outside buildings and along the roadside (De Bruijn et al., 2014, Bersselaar, 2011).

Township - A township is a tract of land formally allocated for the use of either Indian, African or Coloured South Africans under the apartheid system, with residents of each township belonging to the same race, and separated from other races (Guha, 2008).

Upward mobility - An advertisement was deemed to be using a theme of upward mobility if it included aspirational and luxurious images of travel such as yachts and beautiful ocean scenes, expensive cars, or fancy clothing.

Chapter One: Introduction

Alcohol is an intoxicant that affects the central nervous system and causes harm both to the drinker, their relationships and others in the broader community (Anderson et al., 2009c). Globally, alcohol contributes 4% to the burden of disease (WHO, 2011). Alcohol consumption has been identified as a risk factor for various diseases including heart disease, strokes and several cancers (WHO, 2011). In Sub-Saharan Africa, 2.2% of all deaths and 2.5% of all disability adjusted life years (DALYs), are related to alcohol (WHO, 2011). In South Africa, alcohol is the third leading risk factor for death and disability, and the cause of more than half the country's road deaths (WHO, 2011). Research shows that lower income countries generally carry a proportionally greater disease burden per unit of alcohol consumed than high-income populations and countries (de Bruijn,2011).

According to WHO, South Africans have among the highest levels of alcohol consumption in the world, per drinker. Alcohol drinkers consumed on average 27.1 litres of alcohol in 2010 (World Health Organization, 2014). This is calculated by dividing the total amount of alcohol consumed by the estimated number of drinkers in the country (World Health Organization, 2014). Furthermore, it is not just the amount of alcohol that is consumed, but the pattern of drinking (binge-drinking at weekends, drinking with unknown people and not eating when drinking) that makes the outcome of alcohol consumption so harmful (World Health Organization, 2014).

Prevention of harmful alcohol use is critical. One way to impact on high levels of alcohol consumption and patterns of drinking is to develop alcohol control policies that impact on the behaviour of the entire population. Policies such as tax increases and bans on alcohol advertising are examples of effective population level policies (WHO, 2010a). There are policy measures in place to control alcohol consumption in South Africa. The taxation of alcohol is one such measure that is being applied; however, there are concerns that the tax rate that is applied is too low to impact on behaviour. An excise duty and Value Added Tax (VAT) applied to alcohol is currently set at 23% of the weighted average retail selling price for wine, 48% for spirits and 35% for beer (Treasury, 2014). VAT is an indirect tax of 14% that is imposed on most basic goods and services in South Africa (Treasury, 2014) and excise tax is a duty that has to be paid on manufacture of a product (Treasury, 2014). A budget analysis of the South African Treasury allocation for 2009-2010 found that the allocation to address alcohol-related harm at R17.1 billion was higher than the income from excise duty and Value Added Tax (VAT) from alcohol sales which was R16 billion for that year (Budlender, 2009). A study commissioned by the Department of Trade and Industry calculated that the tangible financial cost of

alcohol-related harm was R37.9 billion in 2009, which was equivalent to 1.6% of GDP in that year (Matzopoulos et al., 2014).

Alcohol advertising has been identified as a factor that encourages young people to begin to drink earlier, to drink more at the onset of alcohol consumption and to continue to drink more throughout the life cycle (Anderson et al., 2009c, Hastings and Sheron, 2013b, Jernigan et al., 2017). It also creates a social norm that drinking is acceptable and expected (Hastings and Sheron, 2013b), and results in children and young people developing positive attitudes towards alcohol consumption (Austin and Knaus, 2000).

New studies have found that young people reported greater exposure to alcohol advertising and promotional content than adults in most media, including in outdoor billboard advertising and the Internet (Jernigan et al., 2017, Morojele et al., 2018, Hlatywayo, 2014). There is also considerable evidence that indicates that young people may find the images and messages that are commonly used in alcohol advertising more attractive than adults do (Austin and Hust, 2006, Chen et al., 2005, Pechmann et al., 2005). Young people were also found to be more likely than children and adults to identify with and copy the behaviour of characters seen in advertisements (Martin and Kennedy, 1993).

Total alcohol advertising expenditure in South Africa increased from around R550 million per year between 1997 and 2003, to more than R1.7 billion in 2011 and 2012. Total alcohol advertising expenditure was projected to be 4.4% of aggregate advertising expenditure in 2013, an increase from between 3% and 4% in 1997-2008 (Van Walbeek, 2014a). Outdoor advertising spend in 2012 was five percent of total alcohol advertising revenue, which translates into R85 billion spent on outdoor advertising (Van Walbeek, 2014a).

The evidence of the characteristics and content of outdoor alcohol advertising in Africa is limited to studies from a few countries. The MAMPA study, Monitoring Alcohol Marketing in Africa (de Bruijn, 2011) collected and reviewed alcohol advertisements in The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda, and engaged small numbers of youth on their views of the impact of advertising on their own consumption. In Uganda, where there is no regulation of alcohol advertising, young people said the advertisements for alcohol promotions attracted and encouraged young people to drink, while in The Gambia, where alcohol marketing is strictly regulated and restricted, young people indicated that they have either not seen or had extremely limited exposure to alcohol advertising. They were also not supportive of alcohol consumption for themselves or others (de Bruijn,2011). The study found that the

alcohol industry self-regulations as set out by International Alliance for Responsible Drinking (IARD); formerly, the International Centre for Alcohol Policies (ICAP) were not very effective. Contraventions of the ICAP regulations were found in all of the countries in the study, and in Kenya, 39.4% of the adverts violated the regulations. An analysis of the different media revealed that there were violations in adverts found in all forms of media, including in outdoor advertisements. Several contraventions of regulations were found and these related to responsible consumption, health and safety, targeting of minors and misrepresentation of the effects of alcohol (Robaina, 2016).

The Soul City Institute (Letsela et al., 2017, Letsela et al., 2018), carried out a community-based study to identify young people's perspectives on alcohol advertising, marketing and availability, as well as their drinking patterns and sexual health and safety. The study found a high density of alcohol outlets within a 500 m radius from a and that 76% of outlets had alcohol advertising outsider. Youth reported that alcohol is easily accessible to them, and that alcohol advertising and marketing are appealing and entice them to consume alcohol. The study further found that South African youth in both rural and urban communities are heavily exposed to alcohol advertising, and that the content of these adverts are particularly appealing to young people (Letsela et al., 2017). A study in Tshwane in South Africa found that over 80% of adolescents were exposed to traditional forms of advertisements on television, in movies or in signs at shops in the six months before the study period. The study also found that exposure to alcohol advertisements of alcohol brands and products is associated with alcohol use among older adolescents (16-17 year-olds) in South Africa(Morojele et al., 2018, Parry et al., 2018b).

Moyo (2014) and Hlatshwayo et al (2014) found that shebeens and billboards advertising alcohol were located within 100 meters from schools. This study also found a link between alcohol advertising and drinking behaviour, with 80%of participants agreeing that alcohol advertising leads to drinking behaviour (Hlatywayo, 2014, Moyo, 2014). This study noted that the industry flouts its own regulatory codes since adolescents appear to be a specific target for advertisements as these are placed close to the school grounds and other places popular with young people.

There have been no other published studies on the impact of alcohol advertising on consumption in Africa, but it is expected that the effect of alcohol advertising on the continent will be the same as it is in any other country (Jernigan, 2013a).

While there are several studies globally that have reviewed the link between alcohol advertising and consumption, particularly among young people (Anderson, 2007, Henriksen et al., 2008, Jernigan et al., 2017, Naimi et al., 2016), very few have looked at the role of outdoor alcohol advertising (Pasch et

al., 2007, Bersselaar, 2011). A study of the impact of outdoor alcohol advertisements near schools in a defined area of Chicago among Grade 6 or twelve-to-thirteen year olds found that the intention to use alcohol was higher among those exposed to alcohol advertising. This finding was true even among those learners that did not use alcohol (Pasch, 2007). In West Africa, Bersselaar studied the way in which alcohol marketing has changed over time (Bersselaar,2011). Outdoor alcohol advertising was designed to fit in with the broader marketing campaign for that product, in this case, gin and beer. The overarching message was initially of equating the local beer and gin with the quality of the imported product, to convince consumers of the quality of the local product. The focus shifted later to a message that associated success, modernity and status with consumption of these alcohol products (Bersselaar,2011).

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Legislative framework

The South African National Liquor Act 59 of 2003 (DTI, 2004) provides the regulatory framework within which alcohol is sold and marketed. This Act gives primary responsibility for self-regulation of the alcohol industry to the alcohol industry itself. The Act specifies that the industry should not use false advertising, target children or advertise a banned substance (DTI, 2004). It makes no statement about outdoor advertising.

There has been an ongoing attempt to ban alcohol marketing in South Africa since 2010. The Inter-Ministerial Committee on Substance Abuse, which is made up of 11 government departments, agreed on the need to ban all alcohol marketing and sponsorship (Inter-ministerial Committee, 2013). In 2013, the Department of Health submitted the Control of Marketing of Alcohol Beverages Bill to Cabinet, which approved it for release for public comment in September 2013. This has not been done to date. Alongside this, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) began a process to amend the National Liquor Act of 2003 with the introduction of the Liquor Amendment Bill for public comment in 2016 (DTI, 2016, Department of Trade and Industry, 2017). This Bill introduces restrictions on the hours of sale and consumption of alcohol, proposes a minimum drinking age of 21 and restricts alcohol marketing, but does not call for a complete ban of alcohol marketing. It also calls for a ban on the placement of billboards within 100 metres away from junctions, street corners or traffic circles (DTI, 2016, Department of Trade and Industry, 2017).

1.1.2 The self-regulation code for advertising products

The self-regulation code for advertising products containing alcohol has been promoted and accepted by all alcohol producers both locally (Association for Responsible Alcohol Use, 2016), and globally, through the International Centre for Alcohol Policies (ICAP). Two key points of the code are that at least 30% of the audience of the advertisements must be over the legal drinking age and the inclusion of specific restrictions which aim to protect young people from alcohol advertising (Association for Responsible Alcohol Use, 2016). These include 'a restriction on the placement of billboards that advertise alcohol within 200 meters of schools, community centres and churches. It also states that in the case of building wraps - which are giant, almost billboard-like advertisements, that are attached to buildings - and billboards larger than Super 96 size[1], no alcohol beverage advertisement will be placed within 500 metres of schools, community centres and churches. It further states that 'all alcohol beverage advertisements in outdoor media will contain one of the following statements: "Not for sale to persons under the age of 18" or "Be Responsible. Don't Drink and Drive" (Association for Responsible Alcohol Use, 2016).

While the code stipulates that the industry monitors its own behavior, many examples of violations have been found in South Africa (Corrigal, 2011). Letsela et al. (2017) found that alcohol advertisements were located within 500 meters of schools in Mpumalanga and Gauteng in South Africa. This study further found that school-going youth had opportunities to buy alcohol during school hours from alcohol outlets in proximity to the school (Letsela et al. 2017). Moyo (2014) found that shebeens and billboards advertising alcohol were located within 100 meters from schools. Authors reported a link between alcohol advertising and drinking behaviour, with 80% of participants agreeing that alcohol advertising leads to drinking behaviour. The alcohol industry flouts its own regulatory codes since adolescents appear to be a specific target for advertisements as these are placed close to school grounds and other places popular with young people (Moyo, 2014).

Violations of the industry self-regulation code in relation to alcohol advertising have been found on the African continent by the MAMPA study (Bruijn,2011, De Bruijn,2014), as well as globally in several other studies (Kwate,2007). The requirement that there be no advertising if more than 30% of the

[1] Size of a billboard equivalent to a single storey building

audience are children, raises questions about the widespread presence of outdoor advertising since children's exposure to the advertisements cannot be controlled.

The Schools Act (DBE, 1996) states that there should be no alcohol on school premises nor should any learner or teacher come to school intoxicated. The National Liquor Amendment Bill (DTI, 2017) says that there should be no liquor outlet within 500m of a school, place of worship or recreation and no alcohol should be sold to those under the age of twenty-one, a recommendation supported by evidence presented above (Anderson, 2009, Hastings and Sheron, 2013, Jernigan, 2017)

There is evidence that South African youth are targeted by the alcohol industry that views them as an untapped market. Their tactics include the promotion of alcoholic beverages at sporting events and 'happy hours,' and the development of sweetened, fruity alcoholic drinks, as well as the portrayal of alcohol use as a behaviour associated with fun, success and popularity (Ramsoomar and Morojele, 2012).

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 Alcohol consumption in the South African context

Alcohol outlet density in South Africa is high with an estimated 220 000 licensed and unlicensed liquor outlets in the country (Soul City, 2009), and hours of sale are long with drinking places able to sell alcohol from 10 am in the morning until 9 pm daily (DTI, 2015). As a result of poor enforcement by lawmakers, these outlets often remain open for much longer hours than these (Tshabalala, 2010). These hours of sale make alcohol very easily available, a factor which has been found to encourage consumption (WHO, 2010a, Morojele and Ramsoomar, 2016).

Data from the World Health Organization (WHO, 2011) shows that most alcohol consumption happens in Northern and Western countries where the market is more or less saturated (Jernigan, 2013b, Anderson et al., 2009b). Consequently, low-income countries and emerging markets with large abstinent populations such as South Africa, Nigeria, Malawi, Uganda, Brazil, India and China have been targeted as a new, untapped market by global alcohol corporations (De Bruijn, 2011a, Jernigan, 2013b, WHO, 2011). This has been done by increasing advertising and promotion of alcohol (Van Walbeek, 2014b, De Bruijn, 2011a, Jernigan, 2013b).

1.5.2 Harmful use of alcohol impacts on public health

The harmful use of alcohol is identified as one of the key risk factors for poor health globally (WHO, 2010a). It has been shown to be a causal factor in intentional and unintentional injuries, harm to others, and interpersonal violence. It has also been identified as a significant contributory factor for risky sexual behaviour, sexually transmitted diseases, and HIV infection (Anderson et al., 2009a). Alcohol is the third leading risk factor for death and disability in South Africa (WHO, 2010a) and alcohol harm contributed 7.1% to the burden of disease and 7% to the DALYS in 2000 (Schneider et al., 2007).

A significant gender difference exists between young people in terms of alcohol consumption with more males having ever consumed alcohol, engaged in binge drinking, and driven or walked under the influence of alcohol. Young women drink less than males but at the same time, are likely to take part in heavy drinking over weekends. This puts them at risk of rape and sexual assault as well as intimate partner violence (Pitipan, 2013). Several studies have found that alcohol use fuels an already unequal power relationship between men and women resulting in negative outcomes, including transactional sex, HIV/AIDS, sexually- transmitted infections, teenage pregnancy and sexual assault (Letsela et al, 2017, Magni, 2015 Kalichman, 2009 Chersich, 2010). Ramsoomar and Morojele (2012) also found that adolescents who consume alcohol are more likely to engage in sex, have early sexual debut and have multiple partners than their non-consuming peers(Ramsoomar and Morojele, 2012, Morojele and Ramsoomar, 2016).

While the legal age for alcohol consumption in South Africa is currently 18 years, brain development continues until the age of 25. In teenagers who drink infrequently (four to five times a month), brain cells in eighteen parts of the brain are thinner and weaker, resulting in less effective communication between brain cells (Anderson, 2007), while at higher levels of consumption, it can cause permanent impairment of brain development (Spear, 2002).

Alcohol consumption in the global north and west is saturated or declining, as in the UK where 85.6% consumed alcohol in the past year, while in sub-Saharan Africa, fewer than 40% of the population consumes alcohol. This makes South Africa – and the sub-Saharan region – a very attractive market for alcohol companies as this region still has the potential to grow the number of alcohol drinkers (Jernigan, 2013a, Ferreira-Borges et al., 2017).

1.5.3. World Health Organization (WHO) Global Strategy on Alcohol

The WHO Global Strategy on Alcohol (WHO, 2010a) recommends evidence-based best-practice interventions to reduce alcohol-related harm. The Global Strategy calls for regulation in the content and volume of marketing, and restricting or banning promotions in connection with activities such as festivals or competitions that target young people, and the regulation of media-based direct and indirect marketing (WHO, 2010a).

South Africa has established an Inter-Ministerial Committee on Substance Abuse to develop policies and strategies to respond to alcohol-related harm in the country. This committee incorporated several key recommendations from the WHO Global Strategy on Alcohol into their own programme of action at the Anti-Substance Abuse Summit in 2011, including discussion on a restriction or ban on alcohol marketing, increasing the minimum legal drinking age and a zero drinking and driving policy (World Health Organization, 2014).

1.5.4 Alcohol advertising and alcohol consumption

Studies show that advertising increases consumption of alcohol and that the increase is often sustained over the lifespan (Hastings and Sheron, 2013b, Anderson et al., 2009c, Jernigan, 2013b). Most of the literature focuses on young people (Hastings and Sheron, 2013b, Anderson et al., 2009c, Jernigan, 2013b), both because of their vulnerability to alcohol misuse and their greater use of social media, television and cell phones (Hastings and Sheron, 2013b), which necessitates greater protection for them (Hastings and Sheron, 2013b). There is a gap in research on older drinkers. Most of the available literature focuses on countries in the developed world, (Hastings, 2013 Jernigan, 2013, Anderson, 2009) with little coverage of countries from the global south.

In South Africa, a content analysis of advertisements on television, found that 67% of alcohol adverts were shown during family viewing time which is against the ARA code (Association for Responsible Alcohol Use, 2016) and supports the need for the monitoring of alcohol marketing (McHiza et al., 2013, Jernigan, 2013b). It also supports the need for further study of the impact of the marketing of alcohol on social norms and consumption of alcohol (Anderson et al., 2009c).There is also growing consensus internationally for increased regulatory measures, with both Finland and Ireland having banned outdoor advertising and visible sponsorship of sporting events in the last few years. Furthermore, Russia has also banned all alcohol advertising on television, radio, the internet, public transport and billboards (Anderson et al., 2009a).

1.5.5 The alcohol industry and alcohol consumption in Africa

As alcohol consumption has declined or stagnated in the developed world, emerging markets such as South Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa have become an increasingly important source of new revenue for alcohol companies. South African Breweries (now SAB InBev) has actively tried to attract the less-resourced consumer in Africa. In a statement from the 1990s, then General Director of SAB, Graham Mackay spoke of the bottom-of-the-pyramid consumer (BOP) in Africa, and noted that there are nearly 400 million consumers in this category. In Zambia, SAB promoted Eagle 'cloudy beer' to this market while highlighting its positive development impacts (Soul City, 2011).

In 2012, SAB Chairman Mark Bowman said that people on the African continent (excluding South Africa) drink only 8 litres of alcohol per year, and that he wanted to increase this to 30 litres of alcohol per year (Parry, 2013 unpublished). The company used the strategy of introducing low-priced beer to target those consumers who were drinking home-brewed alcohol because it is more affordable than beer, thereby getting these consumers to start drinking factory-produced alcohol earlier than they otherwise would have been able to afford to do so (Harding, 2012). They compensated for the financial loss by doubling the price of the most expensive beer, with the knowledge that high socioeconomic status consumers would be able to pay the increased prices (Harding, 2012).

Graham Mackay further noted (2012), 'If you talk about the immediate runway for growth, I don't think there's anything that beats Africa'. According to alcohol producer Diageo, Chief Executive Officer Paul Walsh, '*Africa is a jewel. Even in the teeth of the last economic fall-off, Africa continued to perform very well* … (Mercer, 2011, www.just-drinks.com).

The increasing evidence of the strong link between exposure to alcohol advertising and youth consumption combined with the targeting of youth as an untapped market in particular, highlights the need to develop public health policy to reduce or limit the effectiveness of alcohol advertising to protect young people from the adverse health and social impacts of alcohol (Jernigan and Babor, 2015, Jernigan et al., 2017, Hastings and Sheron, 2013b, Ferreira-Borges et al., 2015).

1.5.6 Outdoor alcohol advertising

Currently, five percent of total alcohol advertising expenditure in South Africa is spent on out-of-home advertising or outdoor advertising (Van Walbeek, 2014b). Outdoor advertising refers to billboards, bus

stop advertisements, signs placed along the sidewalk, urban art on streets and buildings, large posters and point-of-sale marketing at restaurants or food vendors.

To date, advertising studies have focused on radio, television, print and social media (Hastings and Sheron, 2013b, Anderson et al., 2009c), with limited study of outdoor alcohol advertising (De Bruijn, 2011a, Jernigan, 1999, Kwate et al., 2007). Most research conducted has been located in the global north (Babor, 2010b, Kwate et al., 2007), limiting applicability to other settings (Babor, 2010b).

In the United States, studies have focused on African-American neighbourhoods (Kwate et al., 2007) and identified a racial and class dimension to the placement of outdoor advertising. More advertising was found in poor and black neighbourhoods than in white neighbourhoods (Kwate et al., 2007). The density of outdoor alcohol advertisements was found to be 16 times greater in the city, still predominantly Black, rather than in the suburbs, still predominantly White (Ewert and Alleyne, 1992). Other studies in the United States also found that there were more alcohol advertisements and billboards in low socioeconomic areas than in high socioeconomic areas (Kwate and Meyer, 2009a, Kwate, 2007b, Kwate, 2007a, Lowery and Sloane, 2014, Hackbarth et al., 1995). Data collected from Chicago found that minority areas had five times as many alcohol billboards compared to white areas and concluded that there was a consistent pattern of alcohol advertisers targeting poor and minority neighbourhoods for outdoor advertising (Hackbarth,1995).

A four-country African study of outdoor alcohol advertising (De Bruijn, 2011a) found commonality in size, content and message in advertisements in Uganda, Zambia, Ghana and Nigeria (De Bruijn, 2011a, Kwate, 2007b). None of the African countries had messages that showed the harmful effects of excessive alcohol consumption. A study on the size, content, message and density of outdoor alcohol advertisements done in the United States found a difference in the number of advertisements, their size, content and message in different socioeconomic areas (Kwate, 2007b, Kwate, 2007a).

The literature (Kwate, 2007a, Ewert and Alleyne, 1992, Kwate and Meyer, 2009a) indicates a strong correlation between class, race and the presence and density of outdoor alcohol advertisements. However, advertising practitioners claim that the outcome of advertising is to “simply make(s) people buy” (Nyilasy and Reid, 2009) and that companies that advertise increase the value of their business(Joshi and Hanssens, 2010, Luo and Jong, 2012). Outdoor advertising is seen by marketers as a way to remind consumers of the brand by keeping the name of the product in the consumer’s line of sight at all times(Nyilasy and Reid, 2009).

Data on the extent of outdoor alcohol advertising in South Africa is not available as there are no published studies of outdoor alcohol advertising in South Africa.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Alcohol harm causes many health-related and social problems (WHO, 2011, Anderson et al., 2009c, Hastings and Sheron, 2013b). In 2004, alcohol accounted for 6.3% of DALYs lost in South Africa (i.e. years of life lost through dying prematurely) because of an alcohol-related event or living with a disability caused by alcohol (Chisholm, 2004), such as injuries and violence, HIV and AIDS, TB, liver and cardiovascular diseases.

Advertising has been shown to increase consumption in younger people (Anderson et al., 2009c, Anderson et al., 2009b). The South Africa Demographic and Health Survey recorded alcohol consumption among South African youth between the ages of 15 and 24 as high with 56.4% of 15-24 year olds reporting that they consume alcohol. Risky drinking among young men rises rapidly by age, increasing from 12% of men age 15-19 to 31% of men aged 20-24 and 36% of men age 25-34, before gradually declining. Risky drinking is defined as drinking five or more standard measures of alcohol on a single occasion in the past 30 days. 29.3% of 15-24 year-old women reported consuming alcohol. Risky drinking among women was most common in the 20-24 year-old age group (NDOH, 2017). (NDOH, 2017). The Youth Risk Behaviour Survey of scholars in Grades 8 to 11 who would be between the ages of 13 and 18, reports that 49.6% of youth consume alcohol. About one in ten (12%) begin alcohol consumption before the age of 13 years (Reddy, 2011). Over the past two decades, there has been an increase in youth alcohol consumption (Setlalentoa et al., 2010).

A study found that 5% of total alcohol advertising expenditure in South Africa was spent on out-of-home advertising or outdoor advertising (Van Walbeek, 2014b). As a proportion of the total alcohol advertising expenditure it is not high but does translate into R 85 billion (Van Walbeek, 2014b). The impact of alcohol advertising on healthnecessitates an understanding of the nature and content of outdoor alcohol advertising. This study will focus on outdoor alcohol advertising in Johannesburg.

1.3. Justification

Outdoor advertising reaches the entire population, irrespective of age or who the advertisement targets (Kwate,2007). The presence of outdoor alcohol advertising in South Africa, although not targeting young people directly, is nevertheless seen by young people and people of both low and high

socioeconomic status. Given the vulnerability of young people and others to alcohol advertising and alcohol misuse, it is necessary to understand the environment that promotes alcohol consumption. In particular, it is necessary to understand the phenomenon of outdoor alcohol advertising and to use this knowledge to impact on outdoor advertising policy.

While there have been studies in other African countries (The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda) which analysed the number and content of alcohol advertisements in particular places (De Bruijn, 2011a), no study of this kind has been carried out in South Africa. Such a study will be useful as locally relevant interventions can be designed using information about the number, content and characteristics of outdoor alcohol advertisements in Johannesburg.

Moreover, there is evidence from around the world that alcohol advertising is implemented differently depending on the socioeconomic status of the area that they are located in (Kwate, 2007b, Kwate et al., 2007, Lowery and Sloane, 2014). However, this has not yet been assessed in Johannesburg. This study seeks to contribute data about the number, content and characteristics of outdoor alcohol advertising in an urban area that will be important in broadening understanding of outdoor advertising patterns.

1.4 Aim and Specific Objectives

Aim

To describe the extent and content of outdoor alcohol advertising and promotion in central Johannesburg and to compare the advertising in areas with a higher and a lower socioeconomic status and to contribute to policy efforts to reduce alcohol advertising outdoors.

Objectives

1. To describe the characteristics of outdoor alcohol advertising and promotion (such as number, location and type) in Johannesburg between June 2014 and December 2014

2. To describe the content of outdoor alcohol advertising (such as brand, message and images) in Johannesburg between June 2014 and December 2014

3.To describe the associations between areas with higher and lower socioeconomic status and the characteristics and content of the outdoor alcohol advertising present in such areas

Chapter Two: Methodology

2.1. Study Design

This is a cross-sectional study that aimed to understand the ways in which alcohol is advertised outdoors, and to compare outdoor alcohol advertising in low and high socioecomic areas in an urban setting.

Data was collected on the number, location, characteristics and content of alcohol advertisements and promotion in central Johannesburg.

2.2 Study site

The study site was an area that began at the Dunkeld West Shopping Centre, Johannesburg and spread out in a five-kilometre radius as shown in Figure 1. The study site comprised the areas of Dunkeld West, Hyde Park, Rosebank, Illovo, Killarney, Emmarentia, Greenside, Parkhurst, Forest Town, Parktown North, Linden, Berea, Hillbrow and Yeoville.

Based on the distribution of income, Hillbrow and Berea were categorised as lower socioeconomic status areas (SES). Ward-level data on monthly household income revealed that 0.6% earned above R25 000 per month(City of Johannesburg, 2013). In addition, areas characterised as having lower socioeconomic status consisted of predominantly multi-unit dwellings such as blocks of flats and there was high population density in the area. The other suburbs were classified as higher SES as ward level data revealed that approximately 30% of households had a monthly income above R25 000 per month (City of Johannesburg, 2013)).In addition, areas with higher socioeconomic status had residential buildings in the area that were predominantly single-family, such as houses on its own plot of land. These dwellings were also deemed to be low-population density dwellings.

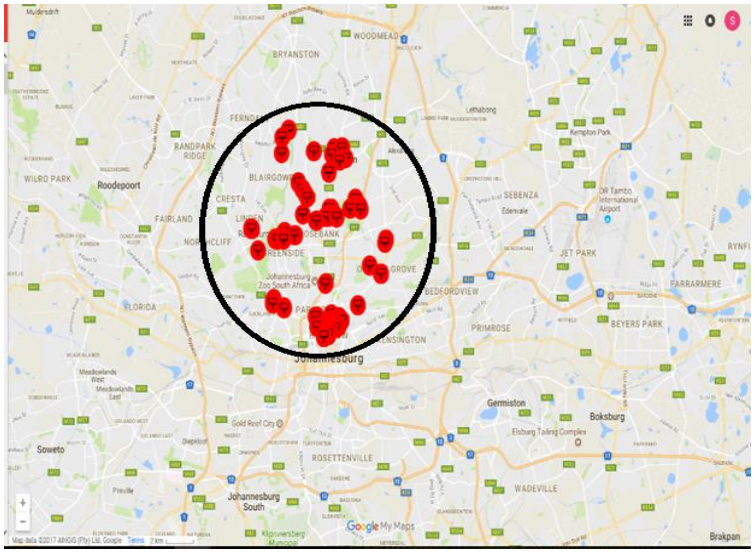


Figure 1: The study area in central Johannesburg, with the red circles representing the location of outdoor alcohol advertisements

2.3 Study Population and Sample

The study population included all outdoor alcohol advertisements in predominantly residential areas of the greater Johannesburg area, within a five kilometre radius from the Dunkeld West Shopping Centre, in Johannesburg, South Africa for the period from 1 July 2014 to 31 December 2014.

Outdoor advertising was defined as a fixed advert in an outdoor or public setting. Fixed advertisements included billboards, posters, advertisements on poles, signs, shop signs and umbrellas. Umbrellas that were used on a daily basis such as on a patio of a restaurant or bar were included as these were not personally owned umbrellas but the property of the establishment.

Inclusion criteria: The advert had to be a fixed advert that was visible from the street. Both commercial adverts and informal adverts were collected as long as they were branded.

Exclusion criteria: Items that are movable such as adverts on caps or T-shirts, cars or any other transient items were not captured.

2.4 Data Collection

The data collection was conducted by the researcher, assisted by a part-time research assistant. Data collection consisted of walking or driving through each street within the study area, identifying advertisements to include in the study, taking digital photographs of the advertisements and recording

details of the advertisements. A digital camera and GPS navigation system was used to record the location of alcohol advertisements. The content of the photographs of the alcohol adverts was captured using a coding sheet. Advertisements were coded and categorised according to a code book developed by the researcher. The code book included codes for the type of advertisement, location, GPS coordinates and a brief description of each advertisement. The codebook can be found in Appendix 2.

The researcher and the research assistant coded each photograph. At the end of each day of fieldwork, the researcher and research assistant captured the data from the field. This was then checked each day by the researcher.

2.5 Measurement

The data coding tool for the characteristics of the outdoor alcohol adverts captured the following dimensions: GPS coordinates, type and content, and was developed by the researcher. An example of this can be found in Appendix A. The content of the photographs of the outdoor alcohol adverts was coded using a second tool which captured the content and brand of each advert, described the type of alcohol (e.g. wine, beer), whether or not the advertisement had a picture, whether there was a message and what the message linked the alcohol to. An example of this can be found in Appendix 3.

Alcohol advertisements often communicate a message by linking their product to dimensions such as a glamorous lifestyle, achievement, sexual attractiveness, sporting prowess, and playfulness, to list just a few. A code was allocated to each of these variables so that the content could be coded and quantified. Each brand and attribute was given a code. Inter-coder agreement was carried out to ensure that there was consistency in coding. Any differences were resolved through discussion and joint review.

A list of schools in the area was found by carrying out a Google search at www.schools4sa for each of the suburbs in which alcohol advertisements were collected. This list can be found in Appendix 4.

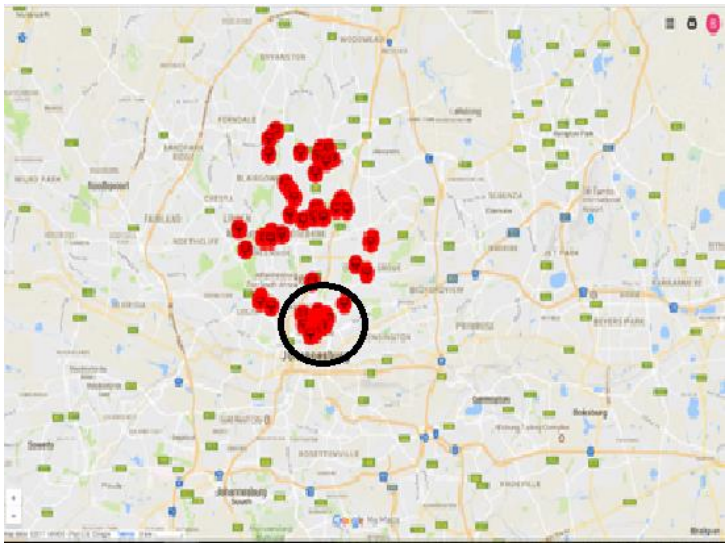


Figure 2: Lower socioeconomic status area: Berea and Hillbrow areas (in black circle), with the red circles representing the location of outdoor alcohol advertisements

Maps were produced by mapping the co-ordinates of the alcohol advertisements on Google Maps using the My Maps platform.

Definition of variables

Hand-made vs professionally-made advertisement: An advertisement was deemed to have been hand-made if it was written or drawn by hand or written on a blackboard. Professionally-made advertisements were those that were type-set and printed.

Themes and target populations for the adverts:

- Male vs female targets for the advertisements**:** An advertisement was deemed to be targeting females if it promoted a flavoured drink, used colours such as pink, light blue, light green or if it had messages which focused on being 'light'. It was also deemed to be targeting females only if it mentioned only females or had a female-only picture.
    - An advertisement was categorised as targeting men only, if it used the word "men" or showed male-only pictures.
    - An advertisement was deemed to be gender-neutral, that is, to be targeting both male and females, if it did not mention gender or if it did not have an image of a particular gender.

- Upward mobility: An advertisement was deemed to be using a theme of upward mobility if it included aspirational and luxurious images of travel such as yachts and beautiful ocean scenes, expensive cars, or fancy clothing. Language such as “step up”, “finer things” and “many will aspire to it, few will attain it”, were used to associate the alcohol product with upward mobility.
- Quality: An advertisement was deemed to be associating the alcohol product with quality if it used colours such as gold. Language such as “best whiskey”, “rare Scotch” and “select reserve” were used to associate the alcohol product with quality.
- Flavour: An advertisement was deemed to be associating the product with flavour if it used the words “flavour,” “refreshment” or “taste” in the advertisements.
- Healthier choice or low alcohol: An advertisement was deemed to be associating the product with being healthier if it used the words “lite.” Lite is a term in advertising that is used to denote products low in calories, fat or sugar.
- Belonging: An advertisement was deemed to be associating the alcohol product with belonging to a group if it used language such as “our”, “us” or used pictures of groups of people consuming the same alcohol product.
- Patriotism: An advertisement was deemed to be associating the alcohol product with patriotism if it referred to the nation, the sports team or the country.

2.6 Data Management and Analysis

The data was captured in Excel and then imported into Stata 13 for analysis. To ensure data quality the researcher carried out a 10% data check and cleaned the data by checking for data inconsistencies as well as missing data. All data were cleaned and any errors in values captured from the data collection tool were corrected. The first step in data analysis was to calculate proportions for categorical variables. All the characteristics and content variables were categorical and included brand, message and whether or not it had an image.

Table 1 lists the objectives of the study, the variables that were used as well as the analysis that was carried out. The assessment of whether or not there was a relationship between the characteristics and higher and lower SES areas where the alcohol advertisements were located was determined by a chi-squared test. A Fisher’s exact test was used to test the association between alcohol advertisements and certain variables with a small number of observations in a particular category (for

example, location, price, etc.). Statistical significance was set at 0.05. There was no missing data in the data set.

Table 1: Description of the type of variables and the analysis that was conducted by study objective

Objective	Variables and type of variable	Analysis
To describe the characteristics of alcohol advertising (such as number, location and type) in Johannesburg between June 2014 and December 2014	Number, type and location of adverts – Categorical	Frequencies and proportions were calculated and presented in tables
To describe the content of alcohol advertising (such as brand, message and images) in Johannesburg between June 2014 and December 2014	Content (brand, message, images) of adverts- Categorical	Frequencies and proportions were calculated and presented using tables.
To describe the association between areas of higher and lower socioeconomic status, and the characteristics and content of the alcohol advertising, between June 2014 and December 2014.	Content and characteristics of adverts a in areas of higher and lower socioeconomic status	Chi squared test and Fishers Exact test were used to look at the association between the characteristics and the content of alcohol advertising in higher and lower socioeconomic areas.

4.1Ethics

The research protocol was approved by the University of the Witwatersrand Faculty of Health Sciences Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee for ethical clearance M141136.

All adverts were in the public domain and no human subjects were used in the study so the ethical considerations were minimal. The student researcher will keep the data electronically on a password-protected computer for at least two years after completion of the study. The time period is a university requirement.

Chapter 3: Results

3.1 Characteristics of Outdoor Alcohol Advertisements in Johannesburg

There were 346 alcohol advertisements identified in the study area. Table 2 shows the characteristics such as the type, format, location and origin of the advertisement, as well as whether it was professionally made, home-made or was mixed. A mixed advert is one that has elements of both a professionally made advert as well as a home-made advert. For example, a blackboard would have the logo of the alcohol brand but have empty space for the price of the alcohol to be written on the board in chalk.

Most of the advertisements (71.1%) were for beer. Nearly 12% of adverts were for cider and 5.6% were for whiskey. About 4.1 % of the adverts were for liqueurs and 2% were for cognac. Vodka and champagne made up less than 2% each of the adverts. Other types of alcohol such as wine, bandy, rum, tequila and spirit coolers were advertised but made up less than one percent each of the advert.

Nearly half of the alcohol adverts were posters (41.0%) followed by adverts painted on blackboards (19.7%). Just over 10% were billboards while 9.5% were of branding on shop signs. Signs on poles made up 8.7% of adverts and there were a few adverts on canvas covers on bottle store or other shop windows (2.9%). The remaining adverts were found on umbrellas or fridges (1.7%), banners (1.7%), round buttons (1.5%), and awnings (1.5%), all of which were found on less than 2% of adverts. Other types of adverts (1.5%) included adverts on glass window stencils and fluorescent light posters which are posters made with a fluorescent ink which glows in black light.

Most alcohol advertisements were located outside bars, taverns and liquor vendors (75.4%). Just over one in ten adverts (11.8%) were located on the street or on the side of the road. A small number (6.4%) of alcohol adverts were located outside restaurants and cafes, while a few (2%) were located at sports and recreation facilities. Alcohol adverts were also found outside hotels, office buildings, and shopping malls but they consisted of only 3.5% of all advertisements.

Full advertisements which showed the product and a message about the product as well as a picture of other things such as cars, people and scenery made up 65.3% of all advertisements. Brand-only promotions which showed the brand logo or the brand name made up 34.7% of adverts. Most of the alcohol advertisements (62.7%) were of local brands while almost thirty-six percent (35.9%) of

advertisements promoted foreign brands. The majority of the alcohol advertisements were professionally made (81.4%) with just 10.4% of advertisements being home-made.

Table 2: Characteristics of Outdoor Alcohol Advertisements, n=346

Characteristic	Number (n)	Percentage (%)
Type of alcohol (n=346)		
Beer	246	71.1%
Cider	41	11.9%
Whiskey	19	5.6%
Liqueur	14	4.1%
Cognac	7	2.0%
Vodka	5	1.5%
Champagne	4	1.2%
Wine	3	0.9%
Brandy	2	0.6%
Rum	2	0.6%
(other)Tequila, Spirit Cooler & Various	3	0.9%
Format of alcohol advert (n=346)		
Poster	142	41.0
Blackboard painted advert	68	19.7
Billboard	36	10.4
Shop (name) sign	33	9.5
Pole sign	30	8.7
Glass window canvas cover	10	2.9
Umbrella/ fridge sign	6	1.7
Banner	6	1.7
Round button	5	1.5
Awning	5	1.5
Other	5	1.5
Location (n=346)		
Bar/ tavern/ liquor vendor	261	75.4
street/ side of road	41	11.8
Restaurant/ café	22	6.4
sport/ recreation facility	7	2.0
Other building	12	3.5
Fence	3	0.9
Brand vs Advertisement n=346		
Advertisement	226	65.3
Brand only	120	34.7
Local vs Foreign made alcohol n=226		
Local brands	144	62.7
Foreign brands	79	35.9
Local and foreign brands	3	1.3

Professionally made vs home-made adverts (n=226)		
Professionally made	184	81.4
Mixed (professionally and home-made)	24	10.4
Home-made	18	8.2

3.2. Content of alcohol advertisements

Table 3 shows the content of the alcohol adverts. The content included whether there was a picture, price, message or age warning displayed. Promotional material that displayed only the brand logo or name was not included in the analyses presented in this subsection. Just over half of all alcohol advertisements (53.5%) showed the price of the alcohol that was being advertised while almost all alcohol adverts (90.3%) had a picture.

Nearly half of all alcohol advertisements (46%) showed the bottle of alcohol that was being advertised, while 9.7% showed two bottles of alcohol. Just over eight percent of alcohol advertisements (8.4%) showed the environment or other scenery in the alcohol advertisement. Over three-quarters of the alcohol adverts (77.9%) had a message and most (86.3%) had the legally required age warning indicating that alcohol is not sold to people under the age of eighteen. Most alcohol advertisements (81.9%) were gender-neutral, that is, they did not specifically target either men or women. Just under ten percent (9.7%) of alcohol advertisements specifically targeted women, while over eight percent of alcohol advertisements (8.4%) specifically targeted men.

Table 3: Content of alcohol advertisements

Content	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Price (n= 226)		
Price shown	121	53. 5
Not shown	105	46.5
Picture (n=226)		
Adverts with pictures	204	90.3
Adverts without pictures	22	9.7
Image content in alcohol advertisements (n=226)		
Bottle	104	46.0
Two bottles	22	9.7
Environment/ scenery	19	8.4
Many bottles	16	7.1
People and/ or bottle	14	6.2
Bottles and cans	12	5.3
Can	8	3.5
Bottle and glass	6	2.7

Glass	12	5.3
No image	5	2.2
Cans	4	1.8
Many bottles and glass	2	0.9
Alcohol	1	0.4
Car	1	0.4
Alcohol advertisements with a message (n=226)		
Alcohol adverts with message	176	77.9
Alcohol adverts without message	50	22.1
Age warning (n=226)		
Yes	195	86.3
No	31	13.7
Gender of models appearing adverts(n=226)		
Male	19	8.4
Female	22	9.7
No people in advert	185	81.6

3.3. Areas where alcohol adverts were found in central Johannesburg

The alcohol adverts were categorised as being located in the lower socioeconomic status areas of Hillbrow and Berea, or all other parts of the study area which was categorised as the higher socioeconomic areas. Most of the alcohol advertisements (66.8%) were found in the lower socioeconomic areas with just over one-third of all alcohol advertisements (33%) found in the higher socioeconomic areas of Johannesburg.

There were differences in the characteristics and content of the alcohol advertisements in the lower socioeconomic status areas and those in the higher socioeconomic status areas. These differences in characteristics and content of the alcohol advertisements are shown in Table 4.

There was a statistically significant difference in the type of alcoholic beverages advertised in the higher and lower socioeconomic areas ($p<0.01$). Most (80.9%) of the beer adverts were in the lower socioeconomic areas, while 9.1% were in the higher socioeconomic areas. Cider adverts were also more common in the lower socioeconomic areas compared to the higher socioeconomic areas (58.5% vs 41.5%). Wine, spirits and whisky advertisements were more common in the higher socioeconomic areas (90.9%, 88.2% and 78.9%) than in the lower socioeconomic areas.

There was a statistically significant difference between the higher and lower socioeconomic areas for having a brand only, showing the price of the alcoholic beverage and having a message. Branding only (logo or name but no message) was more common in the lower socioeconomic areas (80.2% vs

19.8%). Adverts that displayed the price of the product were more common in the lower socioeconomic areas (90.2% vs 9.8%). Adverts with messages were also more common in the lower socioeconomic areas (53.4%). There was no statistically significant difference between the two areas when it came to adverts having a picture.

Table 4: Differences in advertisements in lower socioeconomic area vs higher socioeconomic areas

Location	**Lower socioeconomic area n (%)**	**Higher socioeconomic area n (%)**	**p-value**
Branding only (no content)	101(80.2)	25(19.8)	<0.01
Advertisements with messages	130 (59.1)	90 (40.9)	
Type of alcohol			<0.01*
Beer	199 (80.9)	47 (9.1)	
Whiskey	4 (21.1)	15 (78.9)	
Cider	24 (58.5)	17 (41.5)	
Spirit	90 (11.8)	15 (88.2)	
Wine/liqueur	2(9.1)	20 (90.9)	
Price shown on advert			
Yes	110 (90.2)	12 (9.8)	<0.01
No	27 (25.7)	78 (74.3)	
Picture shown:			0.81
Yes	118 (58.1)	85 (41.9)	
No	8 (61.5)	5 (38.5)	
Brand only			<0.01
Yes	101 (80.2)	25 (19.8)	
No	130 (59.1)	90 (40.9)	
Message			0.002
Yes	94 (53.4)	82 (46.6)	
No	33 (80.5)	8 (19.5)	

* Based on Fisher Exact test

3.5 Themes in alcohol advertisements

3.5.1 Themes of quality and upward mobility

Over one-quarter of alcohol advertisements (26.73%) had messages which associated the products with quality and a further 7.8% with messages which associated the products with upward mobility.

Quality and upward mobility was communicated by the use of expensive cars, clothing and accessories such as expensive watches. Forms of travel such as yachts and aeroplanes were also used to show these themes. Messages such as “small batch whiskey”, and “select reserve” were also used to communicate exclusivity and hence, being part of a small elite group.

Most of the adverts that used these themes were for brandy, cognac, and whisky. An example was an advert for Red Label Whiskey. This advert was on a very large poster which was covered in red. There were only two pictures on this poster: one was a very large bottle of Red Label Whiskey and the other was a glass with the gold whiskey splashing about in it. There were two very large words written in white font that took over the bulk of the space of the advertisement. It read “Step up.” The Johnny Walker icon of the man with an umbrella walking into the distance was in the right-hand corner of the advertisement. This advertisement is clearly associating the product with upward mobility, and saying to the consumer that he or she would be climbing the ladder of success or living the life of upward mobility by consuming this product.

3.5.2 Themes of flavour and health

Just over one-third (33.9%) of alcohol advertisements had messages about flavour. The theme of flavour was expressed by the use of the word “flavour, refreshment and taste” in the advertisements. These advertisements did not have any other message except the focus on the flavour, and the taste of the product. Most of these adverts were for beer, vodka or cider.

An example of an advertisement that focused on flavour in the advertisement was for Flying Fish beer. This advertisement showed two green bottles of beer lying in beautiful blue water, almost as if submerged in the ocean. The message in white text asked a question: “Who says a beer can’t be flavoured?” The name of the product is at the bottom of the bottles, and has a fish head at one end and what looks like a curvy fish tail at the end. Beneath that, there is another message which said: “add some flavour”. The advertisement evokes a feeling of freshness, cleanliness and lightness with the use of bright blue water. It also creates curiosity about the taste of the product with the repeated use of the word “flavour” and the bright green bottle which makes the liquid inside look green.

To indicate that a product was healthy, the word “lite” was used. “Lite” is widely used in advertising to indicate lower alcohol, lower calories or lower fat content of a product ((Merriam-Webster, 2018). The

use of ‘lite” therefore suggests that the product was healthier than other brands of the same product (Merriam-Webster, 2018). All the advertisements that used the term “lite” were for beer or cider. An example of an advert that used the word “lite” was the advertisement for Amstel Lite beer. This advertisement had a single bottle of beer, in a green bottle, placed standing upright on a white background. The message, “Amstel Lite is here” is written in green and there is a simple design that covers one-quarter of the advertisement in a similar green. This evokes the image of a plant. The white background, green bottle and simplicity of the advertisements create an impression of freshness and cleanliness. This supports the message of the beer being a ‘lite’ beer.

3.5.3 Themes of masculinity and adventure content

The theme of masculinity was expressed in language that referred explicitly to men or had pictures of only men in the advertisement. One beer brand, Carling Black Label, used language and visuals that directly associated the product with masculinity. The advertisement shows the beer bottle being held up high, by black hands which look masculine. It is accompanied by the words, “Champion men deserve champion beer”, written in both red and white, which creates emphasis of the message. This advertisement associates those who drink this product as being men who are champions or excel at something. The colours used in the Carling Black label advert are black, white and red, with the background completely black. This creates quite a stark and harsh, arguably masculine, look to the advert.

Seven percent (7.1%) of alcohol advertisements had messages about adventure. The Heineken advertisement for beer is an example of this. The advertisement was on a large rectangular billboard which was green and black. It had a big city in the background and many bottles of beer in the foreground, in the shape of a triangle. The effect is moody and edgy. The message says: “Heineken, Open your world” and “Open the City Edition.”

3.5.4 Themes and messages which did not appear many times

Some themes and messages appeared very few times including messages about patriotism which appeared twice (0.9%), and belonging which appeared eight times (3.5%). For example the advertisement for Guinness beer which showed a group of beer glasses, in the shape of a triangle, filled with black beer and a white layer of froth at the top said,“ Black is beautiful.” This was both

affirming blackness and also associating the alcohol with a sense of belonging. The advertisement for Russian Bear showed a man in a suit, opening an ice bucket to remove a bottle of the alcohol. The tagline called on the consumer to “celebrate the opening of Barliament”, thereby associating the alcohol with a feeling of patriotism that is linked to the opening of Parliament. It also created a sense of lightness and humour by the use of the word,” Barliament” instead of “Parliament”.

Chapter 4: Discussion

4.1 Summary of key findings

The aim of this study was to collect and analyse the characteristics and content of outdoor alcohol advertisements in central Johannesburg, South Africa, and to look at whether there were differences in the characteristics and content between lower socioeconomic areas and higher socioeconomic areas of the city. Overall, most adverts were posters that advertised beer and were outside of bars, taverns and bottle stores. There were more advertisements in the lower socioeconomic status areas of Hillbrow and Berea compared to the higher socioeconomic suburbs. More beer and cider adverts were in the lower socioeconomic areas while whisky, wine and spirit adverts were more prominent in higher socioeconomic areas. The adverts in the lower socioeconomic area were more likely to have the price of the beverage being advertised. The advertisements marketed products using flavour and quality and upward mobility to entice consumers. People were rarely portrayed in the adverts which tended to show images of bottles and glasses. While the results in this study show that the majority of the alcohol advertisements are not targeting males or females specifically, the fact that almost ten percent of advertisements specifically target women, indicates that women are seen as a key target market for the alcohol industry.

4.2 Number and location of outdoor alcohol advertisements in Johannesburg

Most of the alcohol advertisements were located outside bars, taverns and liquor vendors. The location of alcohol advertisements in the lower socioeconomic areas were mostly at or near a point of sale of alcohol, although this was not the case in the other areas in the study. Kwatealso found that outdoor alcohol advertisements in Black areas in the US were very often located at or near a point of sale of alcohol, and that the outdoor alcohol advertisements themselves were more likely to be located in black residential areas as opposed to white suburban areas (Kwate,2007).

The high density of alcohol advertisements in the lower socioeconomic status area is in line with studies in the United States (Kwate, 2007a, Kwate et al., 2007, Hackbarth et al., 1995, Lowery and Sloane, 2014) which also found that there were more alcohol advertisements and billboards in lower socioeconomic areas than in high socioeconomic areas. Data collected from Chicago found that minority areas had five times as many alcohol billboards compared to white areas and concluded that there was a consistent pattern of alcohol advertisers targeting poor and minority neighbourhoods for outdoor advertising(Hackbarth et al., 1995). All of these United States studies identified a racial

difference in the make-up of the residents of the different suburbs but this study has not done so. It is possible that the population in the lower socioeconomic areas are predominantly black, while those in the higher socioeconomic areas are predominantly white, but this has not been a variable that was investigated in this study.

The alcohol advertisements in the lower socioeconomic areas were also located much closer to each other compared to the alcohol advertisements in the higher socioeconomic areas in the study area. This can be seen in the map where the lower socioeconomic areas are almost completely covered by the icon used to indicate an alcohol advertisement. This finding is very similar to research findings in the United States(Hackbarth et al., 1995, Lowery and Sloane, 2014, Kwate et al., 2007, Kwate, 2007a), all of which found that there are more alcohol adverts in predominantly black and poor neighbourhoods than in predominantly white and richer neighbourhoods. Lowery and Sloane, (2014) further noted that they found that…

> "harmful content on outdoor advertising is inequitably distributed among a diverse set of Los Angeles neighbourhoods….. even though they are all regulated by the same land-use zoning and regulations." (p. 662)

4.3 Type of alcohol advertised

Beer was the most commonly advertised alcohol with close to 81% of the adverts in the lower socioeconomic status area advertising beer. Beer is the cheapest form of alcohol with prices ranging from as low as R5.50 up to R10-00 or R15.00, depending on where it is purchased and how it is produced (Makro, 2016). This could explain why beer is the most commonly advertised form of alcohol, especially in areas of low socioeconomic status.

4.4 Brand recognition, price and age warning

Branding of signs, umbrellas and other promotional material was common. While branding alone does not communicate a message about the product, it may increase brand recognition. In marketing, brand recognition is defined as the "*extent to which the general public is aware of, or able to identify a brand over other brands*" (Kotler and Armstrong, 2012). It is considered to be very successful when the public can identify the brand from a song or jingle or visually through logos, slogans or packaging (Kotler and Armstrong, 2012). The alcohol industry is using promotional material as a way to increase brand recognition at a relatively low-cost. It is likely that the cost of branded signs and material such

as umbrellas or awnings is once-off yet the lifespan of these items is long-lasting. The higher number of brand-only advertisements in the lower socioeconomic area suggests that there may be new markets which are being targeted by the alcohol industry.

Price of the product was also frequently shown, especially outside establishments that sold alcohol in the lower socioeconomic status areas. In a setting where people may have limited disposable income, the price of a product may be important to attract customers. WHO notes that price influences consumption and if it is very affordable, especially where disposable income might be low, consumption is higher (WHO, 2011). A study in Australia found that a ten percent increase in the price of alcohol resulted in a two percent decrease in alcohol consumption, and a continued decrease in consumption for the subsequent seven years. However, this study also found that in year nine, when affordability of alcohol increased because of increased income, alcohol consumption also increased (Jiang and Livingston, 2015).

Most of the alcohol adverts showed the age warning which means that they were compliant with the National Liquor Policy (DTI, 2004). There were a small proportion of adverts which were not compliant. This suggests that there is limited monitoring of the regulations or imposing of penalties if there is contravention of the policy. In addition, it is important to note however that these age-warnings were in very small font and were very small in relation to the size of the advertisement. There are no guidelines in the policy about the size of the warnings or the proportion of surface area of the advertisement that the warning must cover. The size of the font is determined by the alcohol manufacturer. This is another example of where self-regulation is ineffective.

4.5 Home-made vs Professionally made advertisements

Most of the alcohol advertisements were professionally made while a small number of advertisements were mixed in that they had components that were both professionally made and home-made.

The high number of adverts that were professionally made indicates that large amounts of resources are invested in outdoor marketing of alcohol products. The Nielsen Report, which provides information and analysis on marketing and media viewing trends, reported that for the 2009 financial year, six of the top ten advertisers were alcohol companies, who together spent more than a R1 billion

on advertising in that year alone. The National Government was listed as number thirteen on this list (SAARF, 2013). This indicates that the National Government spend on all advertising, including health promotion activity, is a fraction of the spend that the alcohol industry spends advertising its product.

The location of the home-made adverts tended to largely be in the lower socioeconomic areas, and is similar to findings in other studies in the United States which found that the socioeconomic status of the area influences the way in which alcohol advertising is implemented (Meisel et al., 2015, Lowery and Sloane, 2014, Hackbarth et al., 1995).

4.6 Alcohol industry marketing tactics

Advertisements used images and messages that associated the product with a lifestyle which could be one of upward mobility, reward for hard work, adventure or a healthy lifestyle. Very few of the advertisements actually focused their message on the product itself, such as what it was made of or what it tasted like. Instead, it was the association of the product with a particular lifestyle that seemed to be given more space on the advertisements. This links to the findings in other studies which show that alcohol advertisements use elements such as music and humour to attract young people to the product and to consume it (Anderson, 2007, Anderson et al., 2009b, Babor, 2010a, Babor et al., 2015). In The Gambia, where alcohol advertising is banned on radio and television, sport sponsorship is the route through which Gambians are exposed to direct and indirect marketing of alcohol products (de Bruijn, 2011b). Again, there is little that the advertisement says about the product; instead it focuses on the association between the product and the healthy and adventurous lifestyle of international sporting championships (Anderson et al., 2009a, de Bruijn, 2011b, Anderson et al., 2009b).

In this study, the advertisements for whiskey, spirits and brandy associated these products with notions of quality, exclusivity and upward mobility. These brands that appealed to upward mobility were also expensive products ranging in price from R350-00 to R3000-00 per item (Makro,2016).

These advertisements showed mainly black men in upwardly mobile careers, dressed in expensive suits, wearing a tie and with other material signs of class mobility such as yachts, cars and expensive accessories such as watches and cellular phones. These advertisements associated consumption of the product with a lifestyle of wealth, ease and leisure rather than focusing on anything inherent to the product like taste, smell or price. This mirrors findings in US studies which also found that black men in alcohol advertisements were often depicted with expensive cars and clothing as symbols of wealth and upward mobility, again associating consumption of that product with a particular lifestyle(Kwate

and Meyer, 2009b). Studies in West Africa also found that themes of success and modernity were associated with alcohol consumption(Bersselaar, 2011). An advertisement for “Star” beer used a strategy of happiness and success, as well as the inclusion of both men and women in the advertisements to promote the product in Nigeria. The advertisements associated consumption of this beer with modernity, happiness, friendship and according to the copy in the advertisement, “brightness taking over your life” (Bersselaar,2011).

The alcohol industry advertised the expensive alcohol such as brandy, whiskey and spirits in the higher socioeconomic area, and emphasised lifestyle and upward mobility in that area. In the lower socioeconomic area, they focused on the price of the product and sells all its beer brands for the same price. This indicates that the industry has segmented the market in the central Johannesburg area, and placed its advertisements accordingly. This finding mirrors the findings of other studies which identified differences in the implementation of alcohol advertising based on segmentation, which among other things focuses on location and socioeconomic status (Kwate,2007a, Lowery and Sloane, 2014,Hackbarth et al, 1995,Meisel, 2015).

The advertisements in the higher socioeconomic group are professionally made, of high quality, and visually attractive. They are located on billboards on buildings, high above the street or on the walls alongside shopping malls. They present a lifestyle in which the consumption of alcohol is associated with adventure, glamour and wealth. The reverse is true of the lower socioeconomic area where the advertisements, although numerous, focus mostly on the price of the beer and are located at the point of sale of the advertisement.

Again, this finding supports existing evidence in the literature which shows that alcohol advertising is implemented differently depending on the socioeconomic status of the area that the advertisements are located in (Kwate, 2007a, Lowery and Sloane, 2014, Hackbarth et al., 1995).

4.7 Alcohol industry violates self-regulatory codes

There is limited alcohol advertising regulatory controls in place in South Africa, with only a self-regulatory code drawn up by the alcohol industry in place. This code, called the “Code of Commercial Communication and Conduct" outlines how the alcohol industry will advertise and promote its products in South Africa. This code was developed by the Industry Association for Responsible Alcohol Use, which has since changed its name to the Association for Alcohol Responsibility and Education

(AWARE). These organisations are made up of leading alcohol manufacturers in South Africa (Aware, 2018). This Code includes the following restrictions on advertising communication:

- it must not encourage irresponsible, risky or excessive drinking.
- it must not aim to appeal to under-18s or show actors under 25 years drinking, or show under 18 year-olds drinking or intending to drink
- it must not present alcohol consumption as a sign of success or social acceptance, or as sexually seductive

- No advertisement must be placed within 200m of a school or church

Alcohol companies are also required to report annually to the Department of Trade and Industry on their adherence to the code by completing a Certificate of Compliance. However, very little work has been done in South Africa to review the extent to which the alcohol industry complies with its own code. An ethnographic study conducted in Soweto found that South African Breweries Limited and Brandhouse, two of the largest alcohol companies at the time, used aggressive tactics such as promotions and competitions to increase their market share in the township. The informal alcohol outlets welcomed these methods as their customers gained free products from the alcohol company such as music, T-shirts, key rings and cooler bags. They also saw that these activities led to an increase in both their sales, and the number of people that frequented their establishments during these promotions.

In 2010, these two companies also submitted complaints against each other, to the Advertising Standards Authority, about the way in which each company advertised the process of bottling and crating for 750ml beer bottles. These public spats provided an insight into the tactics of the alcohol industry, the numerous ways in which they break their own advertising code, and significantly, how important low-income consumers are for their businesses, and they extent to which they will go to compete for this market (Tsoue,2009).

In a SA Food Review article which looked at the drop in the sale of brandy, where the highest per capita consumption was among those aged 18–30 years, the author notes that the “explosion of spirit coolers”, meaning the high consumption of spirit coolers, has taken away a significant number of consumers aged 18–25 (Review, 2002). He further details how one brand, Klipdrift, created an advertising campaign specifically aimed at “younger generations.” A second brand of brandy, Viceroy, repositioned itself as youthful and sexy, and focused its messages around how it

could be used as a mixer. The intention said the writer, was to get the "largest sector of the market—the younger, urban, black population."

In 2000, an alcohol advertisement for Hunter's cider was aired during a children's television show, Soul Buddyz, which is aimed at 8-14 year olds. This is clearly a violation of the voluntary code even though it is not possible to prove that Distell (the producer of Hunter's cider) chose to place the advertisement in that time-slot. However, given existing knowledge of the industry's intention to recruit new and younger drinkers, it is not over-speculation to conclude that the placement was intentional, especially as ciders are one of the ready-to-drink (RTD) alcohol products that are known to appeal to younger drinkers (Spear, 2002).

A recent study in Mpumalanga and Gauteng provinces suggest that there are violations there too, with young people being highly exposed to the alcohol advertisements; and them reporting that they find the advertisements attractive and appealing and feel enticed to drink after seeing the advertisements (Letsela et al., 2018, Letsela et al., 2017). This current study found that alcohol companies that operate in the Johannesburg area do not comply with their own self-regulatory code which stipulates that there should be no adverts within 200m of a school or places of worship. This study found alcohol advertisements closer than 200m to schools, religious places as well as close to school playgrounds in the lower socioeconomic status area. This means both that the self-regulatory code is being ignored, and that children from the ages of three to eighteen years-old are exposed to outdoor alcohol advertisements while playing, at school or fulfilling religious duties. Similar findings emerged in studies of outdoor alcohol marketing in New York and Baltimore in the US (Collins et al., 2016, Kwate and Meyer, 2009b, Meisel et al., 2015).

The MAMPA study which was conducted in four African countries examined alcohol marketing activities and youth exposure to alcohol marketing in the Gambia, Uganda, Nigeria and Ghana. The study also looked at the extent to which alcohol advertisements complied with the International Centre for Alcohol Policies, which are the industry codes for responsible alcohol advertising. The study collected all alcohol advertisements across all media, as well as outdoor advertisements, and described the extent to which these codes were violated. The study found that levels of code violations are high, with between 15% and 39% of advertisements violating the code. Over 21% of outdoor alcohol advertisements were found to have violated the code. Researchers therefore concluded that self-regulation of alcohol advertising by the alcohol industry is not effective(de Bruijn, 2011b, De Bruijn et al., 2014, De Bruijn, 2011a). These findings mirror the findings of the current study

which also found that alcohol advertisements were placed within 200m of schools and places of worship, in contravention of the self-regulation code of the alcohol industry (Association for Responsible Alcohol Use, 2016). In addition, the context of self-regulation found in Uganda, Nigeria and Ghana is also common in that alcohol advertising in South Africa is also self-regulated, and reliant on the compliance of the alcohol industry to its own code (Association for Responsible Alcohol Use, 2016).

A study into the conduct of the UK alcohol industry by the UK House of Commons Health Select Committee found that alcohol producers know exactly how their consumers drink, and constantly look at market research to find ways to exploit that. In addition, they found that these companies used research data on fifteen and sixteen-year olds to design campaigns and strategies; they used advertising that drew on themes of drunkenness, sex, and success; and that they intended to use social media to by-pass voluntary codes as this made it seem like messages were sent by friends rather than alcohol industry representatives. The study further revealed that the alcohol industry was fully aware that certain types of products appealed to children(Hastings, 2011, Hastings and Sheron, 2013a).

It is clear that the big industries like alcohol and tobacco companies use self-regulation codes to avoid stricter regulation codes that will be enforceable by external, independent agencies(Sebrié and Glantz, 2007). Article 13 of the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control called for a ban on all marketing, advertising, promotion and sponsorship of tobacco products, based on the evidence that such a ban will result in a reduction in consumption. This provides an example to follow in terms of alcohol marketing and sponsorship given that it has worked with tobacco control (World Health Organization, 2003).

4.8 Alcohol marketing and the impact on consumption

The mere presence of alcohol advertisements in the study area are designed to increase alcohol consumption among the population of central Johannesburg, irrespective of which socioeconomic area they are located in. This is backed up by extensive evidence which shows the link between alcohol marketing and alcohol consumption. Longitudinal studies consistently show that youth exposure to alcohol advertising in various settings—including broadcast, print, outdoor, point-of-purchase and at sporting events—correlates with earlier onset of drinking among non-drinkers and increased levels of drinking among youth who already drink (Smith and Foxcroft, 2009, Anderson, 2007, Hastings and Sheron, 2013a, Casswell et al., 2016, Saffer and Dave, 2006).

It is likely that the presence of outdoor alcohol advertisements in the study area will increase alcohol consumption in the study area, including amongst youth whose exposure to these advertisements cannot be controlled once the advertisements are public. The link between outdoor alcohol advertising and increased alcohol consumption has also been confirmed by research evidence. Kwate and Meyer (Kwate and Meyer, 2009b) evaluated the association between residential exposure to outdoor alcohol advertising and current problem drinking among African American women in Harlem, New York City. They found that exposure to advertisements was positively related to problem drinking (13% greater odds), and suggest that the density of alcohol advertisements in predominantly African American neighbourhoods may add to the problem drinking behaviour of their residents. Although the current study did not set out to look at the association between outdoor advertising and drinking patterns, a similar link is likely to be found in the Johannesburg urban setting.

4.9 Alcohol advertising bans reduce consumption

It is necessary therefore to protect the population of central Johannesburg from the excessive marketing that they are being exposed to. In a 20-country study that looked at the relationship between alcohol advertising bans and alcohol consumption, with data that covered a period of 26 years, Saffer found that alcohol advertising bans decrease consumption, and that a complete ban on all advertising in all media would be expected to reduce alcohol consumption by eight percent (Saffer, 2000).

Although most of the studies that link advertising to increased consumption were carried out outside of South Africa, as Farley and Lehman (1994) show, cross-national differences in response to alcohol advertising are relatively small, making these global findings relevant outside of the immediate study country.

Bans on outdoor alcohol marketing are in place in Australia, and in Baltimore in the United States (Saffer, 2000, Meisel et al., 2015). These bans have been found to reduce consumption in these populations. Furthermore, these bans have been particularly impactful at removing alcohol advertising in low socioeconomic areas which was found in this study to be the areas that have higher numbers of alcohol advertisements.

4.10 Alcohol marketing, impact, and protection of young people

There were more than 25 schools in the study area, and this proximity to schools would suggest that children are among those exposed to the advertisements in the study area in spite of the requirement that children are supposed to be protected by the industry code. This is backed up by a recent study in Tshwane, Pretoria, which found that more than 90% of adolescents reported seeing outdoor alcohol advertisements in the past six months (Morojele, 2017), as well as other evidence (Saffer and Dave, 2006, Letsela et al., 2018).

The existing literature notes that young people are more exposed to alcohol advertising than adults on television, radio, and in magazines (Naimi et al., 2016, Jernigan et al., 2017, Parry et al., 2018b, Parry et al., 2018a). Young people are also significantly more likely than adults to report past 30-day exposure to alcohol marketing on most media, including on the Internet, radio, billboards, and television (De Bruijn et al., 2014, Jernigan, 2013b, Jernigan et al., 2017, Parry et al., 2018b, Morojele et al., 2018).This is particularly important given that there is extensive evidence that children who are exposed to alcohol advertising are more likely to consume alcohol at an earlier age and to drink more than those children who are not exposed to alcohol advertising (Morojele et al., 2018, Ramsoomar and Morojele, 2012, Anderson et al., 2009b, Naimi et al., 2016). The high number of schools in the study area of the current study therefore suggests that high numbers of children are exposed to outdoor alcohol marketing; and that this exposure will also encourage and increase youth consumption of alcohol in the study area.

The WHO Global Alcohol Strategy has a guiding principle that “Children, teenagers and adults who choose not to drink alcohol beverages have the right to be supported in their non-drinking behaviour and protected from pressures to drink”(WHO, 2010a). However, the non-drinking segments of the population seem to be overlooked when national alcohol policies and strategies are designed, as is the case with existing legislation in South Africa.

The high number of outdoor alcohol advertisements collected in this study in the Johannesburg area indicates that neither the alcohol companies nor the government are taking any action to protect the rights of children and teenagers under the age of 18. The rights of adults who choose not to drink, as well as the rights of those who have given up alcohol to be protected from the pressures to drink, are also not protected. Studies in the Los Angeles area in the United States also found that Black and Hispanic youth aged 11 to 14 were exposed to twice as many alcohol advertisements as non-Hispanic white youth. Girls were also exposed to 30% more alcohol advertisements than boys. Although this

study looked at advertisements in all media, most of these exposures to alcohol advertisements were in outdoor media, with television exposure being the second-most likely place for these youth to see advertisements (Collins et al., 2016).

4.11 Policy implications

There is currently no policy in South Africa that says there should be no or restricted outdoor alcohol advertising nor is there any specific legislation that makes comment about the location of alcohol advertisements in relation to distance from schools, places of worship, or playgrounds. The Draft Liquor Amendment Bill of 2017 has proposed that there be no billboard advertisements less than hundred (100) meters away from junctions, street corners or traffic circles. In addition, there is the Self-Regulatory Code of the alcohol industry which states that there should be no alcohol advertisement placed less than 200 metres away from a school. The Code can be found in Appendix A, and is called the Advertising Code of Practice. ARA refers to the Industry Association for Responsible Alcohol Use.

South Africa signed the Declaration on the Prevention and Control of NCDs in 2011, which necessitates action on reducing alcohol consumption and has included a commitment to "reduce by 20% the per capita consumption of alcohol by 2020 in the National Strategic Plan on NCDs" (Strategic Plan for the Prevention of Non-Communicable Diseases 2013-2017). The existing evidence on the link between alcohol advertising and consumption referred to above, would provide strong motivation for outdoor alcohol advertising to be banned. The findings from this study which shows the high incidence of outdoor alcohol marketing in Johannesburg in areas that have high numbers of schools would also support a policy that bans alcohol advertising, marketing and sponsorship near schools.

There is currently a proposal to include a restricted ban on advertising in the Liquor Amendment Bill of 2017 which has been introduced by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI). This will be an amendment to the National Liquor Act of 2003. This Bill proposes new restrictions on the marketing of alcohol but falls short of the complete ban proposed by the Department of Health in 2013. An economic and health impact assessment of the proposed legislation suggests that if passed, it will contribute to a 3%-7% drop in alcohol consumption(Genesis Analytics, 2017). Some of the proposals for the restriction of advertising in the Liquor Amendment Bill of 2017 include:

- That there must be no false or misleading advertising
- That advertising must not aim to attract people under the age of 21

- That there be no billboard advertisements less than hundred (100) meters away from junctions, street corners or traffic circles;
- That there is no distribution of pamphlets containing liquor advertisements; and

That there be no radio and television airing of advertisements beyond the time slots, as prescribed by the Minister

4.12 Limitations

The data was collected in a 5km radius from the Dunkeld West area between June 2014 and late 2014. The number and content of advertising changes frequently and is influenced by the time of year, celebration or season(SAARF, 2013).

This is a descriptive study of alcohol advertisements in a defined area of Johannesburg. It is therefore not possible to generalise results from this study to all other areas of South Africa.

Given the data that was available on income at ward level in the study area, as well as prior knowledge, the study area was divided into higher and lower socioeconomic areas.

In both the higher socioeconomic area, and the lower socioeconomic area, a limited number of alcohol outlet owners did not allow photos to be taken. This would lead to a small underestimation of the number of advertisements in the study area. This study only looked at outdoor marketing so it is not possible to comment on the extent of alcohol marketing that communities or individuals are actually exposed to.

The content analysis is based on subjective interpretation of adverts, based on the codes that were determined by the researcher. Themes were developed by the researcher and discussed with supervisors and agreement reached. This was a qualitative process and it is possible that other researchers might apply different interpretations to the same adverts and therefore reach different conclusions.

Data for this study was collected in 2014, while communication from the Minister of Health had indicated since late 2010 that restrictions and even an outright ban on alcohol marketing was being proposed. It is possible that alcohol marketing companies changed outdoor alcohol advertisements by this time to conform to a greater extent to the self-regulatory code or that more aggressive marketing messages were diluted as a result.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

The aim of this study was to collect and analyse the characteristics and content of outdoor alcohol advertisements in central Johannesburg, South Africa, and to look at whether there were differences in the characteristics and content between lower socioeconomic areas and higher socioeconomic areas of the city.

Overall, the findings of this study show that there are a high number of outdoor alcohol advertisements in the Johannesburg area. The findings support the conclusion that alcohol advertising is implemented differently based on the socioeconomic status of the area that the advertisements are located in. In particular, there are more outdoor alcohol advertisements in poorer neighbourhoods than in wealthier neighbourhoods. The study shows the widespread exposure of young people to alcohol advertising in urban settings, and the careful socioeconomic segmentation of the target population to increase alcohol consumption. The study further supports the need to restrict or ban alcohol advertising rather than rely on self-regulation, as this will lead to a reduction in the high levels of alcohol consumption in South Africa, especially among youth (WHO, 2010a, World Health Organization, 2014). Furthermore, it is necessary to ban the alcohol industry from participation in the policy development process, exactly as the tobacco industry is banned from participation in the tobacco policy development process (World Health Organization, 2003).

5.1. Recommendations

5.1.1 Stronger alcohol advertising policy and enforcement of policy

- There is a need for more research on outdoor alcohol advertising, at a national level, to better understand where outdoor alcohol advertising is found, and to use this knowledge to inform policy development on outdoor alcohol advertising.
- Given the high density of outdoor advertising and proximity to schools, there is a need for the introduction of an outdoor alcohol advertising policy to protect both poorer communities, as well as young people, from outdoor advertising. Policies that bans outdoor alcohol advertising have been found to be effective elsewhere and should be considered (Meisel et al., 2015).
- These policy changes if introduced, would benefit from a monitoring component to ensure that the alcohol and advertising industries are complying with the legislation.

- A ban or restriction on alcohol advertising is only one measure to reduce alcohol consumption. It would be necessary to introduce a broader package of interventions such as increased taxation on alcohol, reduced hours of alcohol sales and reduced alcohol outlet density to impact more broadly on levels of alcohol consumption.
- Should outdoor adverts be restricted rather than banned, an independent outdoor advertising association with a code of ethics that includes the need to protect children and non-drinkers from ubiquitous outdoor alcohol advertising is recommended.
- Similarly, industry compliance with legislation must be monitored and feedback on alcohol advertising be gathered from communities, schools and religious institutions. Lack of compliance by alcohol and advertising companies should result in a fine or removal of a license to act as a deterrent to aggressive outdoor marketing by alcohol companies.

5.1.2 Review the Self-Regulatory Code

The findings of this study suggest that there is a need for the Industry Association for Responsible Alcohol Use Code to be reviewed. However, the stronger recommendation is that self-regulation be completely removed, and that government introduce legislation to regulate or ban all alcohol advertising, including outdoor alcohol advertising. In addition, a system for monitoring compliance with the legislation must be introduced, as well as s a system of fines or withdrawal of advertisements where there has been non-compliance.

5.1.3 Learning from tobacco: a complete ban on all alcohol marketing, advertising and sponsorship

The successful example of the banning of all tobacco marketing, advertising and sponsorship that was introduced in South Africa in 1999 led to an almost 40% drop in tobacco use since then, with around 20% of South Africans consuming tobacco products today (National Department of Health, 2017). South Africa's progressive tobacco control policies are enabled by the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), which is direct about the tobacco industry's conflict of interest with public health, and transparent about the need to keep the tobacco industry out of any policy-making process (WHO, 2003). Alcohol consumption can also be reduced through a ban on marketing, advertising and sponsorship, and this is recommended. In addition, it is recommended that the alcohol industry be excluded from policy making processes, as the tobacco industry is excluded from such processes in terms of the FCTC (WHO, 2010a, World Health Organization, 2014).

5.1.4 Comprehensive package to address alcohol related harm

The banning or restricting of outdoor alcohol marketing or all alcohol marketing has been shown to be effective in other countries (France, Norway) and with tobacco advertising in South Africa (1996). However, as recommended by the Global Strategy on Alcohol (WHO, 2010a), the best way to reduce alcohol-related harm and consumption, is to introduce a comprehensive package of measures including those listed below which are particularly applicable to South Africa:

a. Reduce alcohol availability

There is higher alcohol consumption when alcohol is easily available, both in terms of proximity as well as in affordability. Increases in taxation and the price of alcohol products have been shown to reduce alcohol consumption.

Current hours of sale of alcohol are from 10:00am in the morning until 2am the next morning. This makes alcohol too easily available and creates an alcohol-friendly environment. Alcohol outlet density is also high and needs to be reduced, especially in residential areas.

b. Increase the minimum drinking age

Alcohol harms the developing brain (Anderson, 2009). It is therefore, recommended that the minimum drinking age be increased from 18 to 21.,

c. Introduce a no-drinking and driving policy

Driving under the influence of alcohol has been found to impact on judgement and co-ordination. A policy that limits driving to those who have not been drinking will reduce drink driving-related motor-vehicle accidents.

5.2 Further Research

a. **Strengthening monitoring systems**

- There is a need to investigate and understand how outdoor alcohol advertising is done, and what kind of advertising is common around schools, and whether outdoor advertising changes at different times of the year.

- There is also a need to develop an understanding of the extent of alcohol advertising in different media.
- Monitor complaints from the public around alcohol advertising.
- Monitor industry compliance with the current self-regulatory code.
- Monitor industry compliance with the current and future alcohol legislation.

b. **Burden of disease study linked to advertising**

There is a need to understand the link between advertising and consumption in SA.

c**. Economic, social and health impact assessments**

The direct and indirect health, economic and social costs of alcohol consumption in South Africa must be quantified so that this cost can be used to calculate the appropriate tax on alcohol.

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Appendix 2: Alcohol Advert Record Sheet

uniqueID	Type_ad	Size	Location	Description	Brand	Type_alcohol	Message	Target_for_message	Picture	Primary_advertising_hook	Secondary_Advertising_Hook
1											
2											
3											
4											

Appendix 3: Codebook for data collection

Type of ad	1=street sign 2=shop (name) sign 3=sign giving directions e.g. Castle turn back 250m 4=Other sign e.g. old age home 5=umbrella/fridge 6=billboard 7=banner 8=pole sign 9=painted ad 10=other
Size	1=small 2=medium 3=large 4=large billboard
Location refers to where the ad is located	1= Shebeen, tavern or bar 2=supermarket 3=sports centre 4=transport hub/taxi stand/bus stop 5=Church/temple/mosque 6=street/side of road 7=other building 8=other
Excluded:	Hats, t-shirts, packaging, taxis, buses, actual shebeen, bar or tavern, sign saying "alcohol" but not specifying,
Included:	permanent ads, fridges on wheels, umbrellas, all branded signs, billboards on the ground of fast food store

Code sheet for content analysis of adverts

Type of advert

1. poster

2. banner
3. billboard
4. wall art

Target Audience
1. women
2. men
3. Both

Type of alcohol
1. beer
2. spirits
3. wine
4. sorghum beer
5. ready to drink

Primary Advertising Hook Code
1: Sporting Prowess
2: Glamour
3. Social Mobility
4. Sexuality
5. Masculinity
6. Fun and Excitement

Secondary Advertising Hook Code
1: Sporting Prowess
2: Glamour
3. Social Mobility
4. Sexuality
5. Masculinity
6. Fun and Excitement

Appendix 4: List of Schools in Johannesburg

Unique ID	S	E	Schools
1	-26.1851	28.0516	Barnato High
2	-26.185692	28.035092	Parktown Boys
3	-26.1563	28.0220	Parktown Girls
4	-26.1878	28.0357	Rand Girls High
5	-26. 113192	28.2132	Vector High School
6	26.105259	28.25976	Newgate High School
7	-26.1933	28.0474	St. Enda's High School
8	-26.194742	28.0419220	Vector College
9	-26.185828	28.046802	St Paul's School
10	-26. 121631	28.24333	Watersrand High School
11	-26.17877 28.063099		United Church Schools
12	-26.1620	28.0455	Saxonwold Primary School
13	-26.1238	28.0408	Hyde Park High School
14	-26.134606	28.041272	Vuleka St Martins School
15	-26.1388	28.0468	Pridwin Preparatory School
16	-26.0828	28.0249	Rosebank Primary School
17	-26, 144769 28.037876		Rosebank Mercy Convent
18	-26.1442	28.0371	St Theresa's
19	-26.084716	28.0244	Kingsmead College
20	-26.1414	28.0456	St Vincent School for the Deaf
21	-26.1022	28.347	King Edward School

22	-26.17799	28.0476069	Rodean School
23	-26.1679	28.0462	Holy Family College
24	-26.1852	28.0509	Berea Primary School
25	-26.1837	28.0514	Johannesburg Girls Preparatory School
26	-26.17454	28.049549	Asteri Primary School
27	-26.2052	28.0692	Jules High School
28	-26.1865	28.0222	John Orr Technical High School
29	-26.1022	28.347	King Edward VII School
30	26.1022	28.347	King Edward VII Preparatory School
31	-26.194089 28.082601		Jeppe High School for Boys
32	-26.1964	28.0527	IH Harris Primary School
33	-26.1802	28.0202	McCauley House School
34	-26.1860	28.0438	Roseneath Primary School
35	-26.1377	28.0206	Parkhurst Primary School
36	-26.1816	28.0384	Grantley College
37	-26.1723	28.0271	The Ridge School
38	-26.1776	28.0275	St Katherine's School

Appendix 5

R14/49 Ms Savera Kalideen

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (MEDICAL)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE NO. M141136

NAME: (Principal Investigator)	Ms Savera Kalideen
DEPARTMENT:	School of Public Health Soul City Institute, Dunkeld West
PROJECT TITLE:	Outdoor Alcohol Advertising in Two Economically Diverse Johannesburg Residential Areas: Soweto and Dunkeld West
DATE CONSIDERED:	28/11/2014
DECISION:	Approved unconditionally
CONDITIONS:	
SUPERVISOR:	Dr Nicola Christofides and Dr Renay Weiner
APPROVED BY:	Professor C Feldman, Co-Chairperson, HREC (Medical)
DATE OF APPROVAL:	17/12/2014

This clearance certificate is valid for 5 years from date of approval. Extension may be applied for.

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary in Room 10004, 10th floor, Senate House, University.
I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the above-mentioned research and I/we undertake to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated, from the research protocol as approved, I/we undertake to resubmit the application to the Committee. **I agree to submit a yearly progress report**.

Principal Investigator Signature Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix 6

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG | FACULTY OF HEALTH SCIENCES

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION TO BE SIGNED BY ALL HIGHER DEGREE STUDENTS

SENATE PLAGIARISM POLICY: APPENDIX ONE

I, Savera Kalideen, (Student number: 591622) am a student

registered for the degree of Master of Public Health in the academic year 2012.

I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that the work submitted for assessment for the above degree is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signature: _____ Date: 19/03/2018