Evaluating compliance with alcohol industry self-regulation in seven countries in Africa: AN EXTERNAL EVALUATION OF THE MAMPA (MONITORING ALCOHOL MARKETING PRACTICES IN AFRICA) PROJECT

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Kate Robaina, MPH
Thomas Babor, PhD, MPH
Jonathan Noel, MPH
Department of Community Medicine & Health Care, University of Connecticut School of Medicine
263 Farmington Avenue, Farmington, CT 06030-6325 USA
Executive Summary

Introduction

The Monitoring Alcohol Marketing Practices in Africa (MAMPA) Project was a public health surveillance program devoted to monitoring alcohol marketing activities in the African region as well as youth exposure to these marketing activities. The first project report was the subject of a World Health Organization (WHO) technical meeting in Brazzaville in 2012, where it was recognized that MAMPA had methodological limitations that precluded definitive conclusions about the extent to which alcohol marketing in four countries within Africa violated international guidelines regarding the exposure of young persons to potentially harmful advertising content. It was recommended that content of advertisements should be analyzed using a coding scheme developed by a panel of experts.

Following the meeting, the WHO Regional Office for Africa asked researchers from the University of Connecticut School of Medicine to systematically evaluate the marketing materials collected as part of the MAMPA project, and to expand the study to include the second wave of data collected from three other sub-Saharan African countries: Kenya, Malawi, and Namibia.

The purpose of this report is to describe the results of an independent analysis of the MAMPA data. The specific aims of the re-analysis of the MAMPA marketing data were: 1) to provide estimates of the prevalence of code violations in alcohol advertisements within and across these seven African nations, 2) to determine which sections of the Code were violated most often; 3) to determine if different producers and media had more violations than others; and 4) to test the feasibility of a new standardized rating procedure to evaluate code violations in alcohol marketing materials (Babor, Xuan & Damon, 2013a). Developed initially for television and print media, the procedure is applied for the first time in this study to radio ads and outdoor advertisements.

Methods

Ethnographic field methods were used to collect marketing materials from rural and urban areas of seven countries: Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, the Gambia, Kenya, Malawi and Namibia. These countries were selected to provide a range of social availability climates (according to religion and culture) and regulatory environments (ranging from a ban on alcohol advertising to only partial restriction).

Examples of unique marketing materials (N=282) used by both domestic and foreign alcohol producers were obtained by trained observers recruited from public health NGOs and research NGOs working on alcohol prevention and operating at the national level within each country. Observers were trained to collect digital recordings of visual stimuli across four types of media: TV, radio, print and outdoor advertising. In order to conduct this secondary analysis of the data collected in the original four MAMPA countries and in the three additional countries, all unique alcohol ads from each country were identified from the available recordings and abstracted into individual video, audio, or image files.

Because of between-country variation in alcohol marketing regulations, a set of guidelines developed by the alcohol industry (ICAP’s Guiding Principles: Self-Regulation of Marketing Communications for Beverage Alcohol) were chosen as the standard code to compare all advertisements. Using an objective Delphi rating procedure developed and validated in prior alcohol marketing research (Babor, Xuan & Proctor,
2008; Babor et al., 2013a), the ads were subjected to an evaluation by 9 trained raters across two rounds, the second of which allowed the raters to see the average ratings of the group. Each rater had experience in public health, substance use, or public health, and was considered to have the necessary expertise to protect vulnerable populations. Raters were from Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria and the US. Interrater reliability between the raters was assessed using violation level and item-level data and was found to be high.

Results

In total, 282 unique examples of alcohol advertising were analyzed. Observers collected the largest number of marketing examples in Uganda (25.2% of all examples) and Nigeria (24.8%). The Gambia, where there is a ban on alcohol advertising, contributed only 1.4% of the total ads collected. Over seventy percent (70.6%) of ads collected from all countries were obtained from outdoor media (billboards, posters, signage, etc.).

Overall, 78 advertisements (27.7%) were found to contain at least one violation, representing an industry compliance rate of 72.3%. Advertisements collected from Kenya were the most likely to contain a violation. Guiding Principle 5, which refers to “the effects of alcohol,” accounted for the largest number of violations (77 ads). This guideline was most often scored as a violation because of the suggestion that alcoholic beverages can enhance attractiveness and/ or remove social or sexual inhibitions (n=51) and/ or presenting alcohol as necessary for social success or acceptance (n=63). The second most frequently violated guideline was Guiding Principle 3 (69 ads), which speaks to health and safety aspects in marketing communications. This principle was most often violated for presenting alcohol as a stimulant, sedative or tranquilizer (50 ads), and suggesting that alcohol can “prevent, treat or cure illness or resolve personal problems” (29 ads).

Violation rates significantly differed between media (p = <.001), with television ads having the highest proportion of violations (72.2%) and outdoor ads having the lowest (21.6%). Certain types of outdoor ads, however (e.g. billboards and posters), contained higher violation rates (37.3% and 30.8%, respectively).

Conclusion

The findings suggest that code violations of the ICAP Guiding Principles were prevalent in the four types of media sampled during the MAMPA project in the seven countries. It is interesting to note that the country with the fewest marketing materials recorded (n = 4) was The Gambia, which is a Muslim country with a ban on most forms of advertising. Despite the limitations of the prior MAMPA project and the current re-analysis, this research establishes a basis for a monitoring and regulating alcohol advertising in African countries. The methodology offers a systematic way to evaluate media advertisements of alcoholic beverages to determine whether their contents comply with generally accepted guidelines for responsible advertising practices.

Based on the evidence described above, governments and policymakers should give serious consideration to the key messages emerging from the Consultative meeting on addressing alcohol marketing in the African Region (WHO, 2012) and from the PAHO Expert Meeting on Alcohol Marketing Regulation (PAHO, 2013).
2016), which are consistent with the well-documented premise that alcohol is not an ordinary commodity (Babor et al., 2010) and should not be marketed as such.

These findings provide evidence of violations in the seven countries studied and the need for systematic surveillance of alcoholic beverage marketing to protect vulnerable populations such as youth, who may already be experiencing problems related to their alcohol use.

Our secondary analysis of the original MAMPA marketing data confirms the conclusions of the original MAMPA report, in that it provides strong evidence of code violations in all media evaluated, and suggests that exposure to potentially harmful alcohol marketing content is widespread in six of the seven countries studied. These reports also raise questions about the effectiveness of current industry efforts to regulate alcohol marketing.
Introduction

The Monitoring Alcohol Marketing Practices in Africa (MAMPA) project was a public health surveillance program devoted to monitoring alcohol marketing activities in the African region as well as youth exposure to these marketing activities. MAMPA was commissioned by the World Health Organization (WHO) Regional Office for Africa and managed by the Dutch Institute for Alcohol Policy (STAP), in close cooperation with WHO and non-governmental organizations (NGO’s) in participating countries.

MAMPA was conducted in two phases. The first phase was conducted in 2010. Ethnographic field methods were used to collect marketing materials from rural and urban areas in four countries: Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, and the Gambia (de Bruijn, 2011). A subsequent wave of data collection was conducted in 2012 in Kenya, Malawi and Namibia. While country selection was made by convenience, these seven countries provided a range of social availability climates (e.g., related to religion and culture) and regulatory environments (e.g., complete ban to no restrictions).

The results of the first wave of data collection were described in the MAMPA 2010 report by de Bruijn (2011) and results from the second wave were described in MAMPA 2012 (de Bruijn, 2014). The investigators photographed examples of alcohol billboards in front of elementary schools, use of cartoons to market beer on television and other evidence of noncompliance with industry self-regulation codes. The report also documented ad content linking alcohol with financial, social and athletic success. It was concluded that the major alcohol producers do not adhere to their own self-regulation codes when marketing their products in Africa.

Motivated by the need to systematically evaluate the data collected during the two rounds of the MAMPA project, the WHO Regional Office for Africa asked researchers from the University of Connecticut School of Medicine to systematically evaluate the marketing materials collected as part of the MAMPA 2010 project, and to expand the study to include the second wave of data collected from three other sub-Saharan African countries: Kenya, Malawi, and Namibia.

The purpose of this report is describe the results of an independent analysis of the MAMPA marketing data. The specific aims of the re-analysis were: 1) to provide estimates of the prevalence of code violations in alcohol advertisements within and across these seven African nations, 2) to determine which sections of the Code were violated most often; 3) to determine if different producers and media had more violations than others; and 4) to test the feasibility of a new standardized rating procedure to evaluate code violations in alcohol marketing materials (Babor et al., 2013a). Developed initially for television and print media, the procedure is applied for the first time in this study to radio ads and outdoor advertisements.

Background

Effects of Alcohol Advertising

As North America and Europe reaches market saturation in the consumption of beverage alcohol, the African Region represents a massive ‘untapped’ market, with rising income levels, lax regulations and a large youth population. Taking advantage of this situation, alcohol marketing activities have increased dramatically (Jernigan & Obot, 2006; Ferreira-Borges et al. 2015a; Babor, Robaina & Jernigan, 2015). Advertising of alcoholic beverages includes television commercials, sports and event sponsorship, point-of-sale information, promotions, labeling, packaging and merchandising. Among these activities, print,
billboard, radio and television advertising are by far the most visible methods of marketing in the African continent. As many countries within the region have lax or nonexistent regulations for alcohol marketing, vulnerable groups (e.g. youth) are likely to be influenced by aggressive advertising campaigns (Jernigan & Babor, 2015).

Exposure to alcohol beverage advertisements is associated with early onset of alcohol use and an increasing risk of problem drinking, particularly in teenagers and young adults (Hastings et al., 2005; Anderson et al., 2009; Smith & Foxcroft, 2009; Gordon, Mackintosh & Moody, 2010; Grenard, Dent & Stacy, 2013; Jernigan, Noel, Landon, Thornton & Lobstein, 2016). The influence of alcohol advertising on underage consumption has been demonstrated in both cross-sectional (Atkin, Hocking, & Block, 1984; Smart, 1988; Wyllie, Zhang & Casswell, 1998) and prospective longitudinal studies (Connolly et al., 1994; Casswell and Zhang, 1998; Stacy, Zogg, Unger & Dent, 2004; Snyder et al., 2006; Grenard et al., 2013). Alcohol advertisements are associated with intentions to drink alcohol (NIAAA, 2000), more drinking problems (Wyllie et al., 1998; Grenard et al., 2013), and drinking greater amounts of alcohol (Adlaf & Kohn, 1989; Aitken et al., 1988; Connolly et al., 1994; Grass & Wallack, 1994; Grenard et al., 2013).

Within the African Region, a study exploring the effects of alcohol advertisements on alcohol consumption among 40 adolescents in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa revealed that those exposed to more alcohol advertisements were more likely to consume alcohol (Moyo, 2014), and that alcohol advertising makes adolescents aware for different brands (Hlatywayo et al., 2014). Studies generally do not control for advertising content, which varies from rather benign brand promotions to highly suggestive depictions of sexual activity in association with drinking (Noel et al., 2016b), although a recent study concluded that exposure to ads containing a “party” theme were associated with increased alcohol initiation and binge drinking initiation in youth (Morgenstern et al., 2016). Further evidence on both alcohol and tobacco advertising suggests that ad content designed to appeal to adolescents’ developmental needs promotes the use of these products (National Cancer Institute, 2008; Hastings et al., 2005; 2010; Smith & Foxcroft, 2009; Gordon et al., 2010). It is presumed that the impact of advertising on alcohol consumption is even stronger in developing countries (Jernigan & Obot, 2006).

To the extent that the contents of these advertisements violate the alcohol industry’s self-regulation codes, they are more likely to influence drinking by young persons. Dring and Hope (2001) found that alcohol advertising appealed to Irish youth through humor, animation, bright colors, music, and tends to reinforce the link between drinking and socialization. Grenard et al. (2013) found that exposure to alcohol ads and liking of those ads in seventh grade predicted future drinking and may influence some youth to drink more heavily and experience alcohol-related problems later in adolescence.

**Alcohol Advertising Codes**

Despite these findings, only a few nations have complete bans on alcohol advertising. Most countries have either no controls or partial bans that are predominantly controlled through voluntary self-regulation agreements with the alcohol industry. These codes specify the exposure markets and the types of content that are permissible for alcohol marketers, and the compliance mechanisms needed to enforce them. Alcohol advertising codes vary by medium and alcohol product, but there is general agreement that alcoholic beverages should not be marketed to children and young adults, and that the content should not encourage excessive drinking. Individual companies may produce their own self-regulation codes, and industry-sponsored social aspect/ public relations organizations (SAPROs) have also taken responsibility for designing, monitoring and enforcing codes of practice. A decade ago, the then
International Center for Alcohol Policies (ICAP) published *A Toolkit for Emerging Markets and the Developing World* (Pedlow, 2002) and has since actively promoted self-regulation as an alternative to government regulation of alcohol advertising in developing countries (e.g., Bakke and Endal, 2010). In 2011, ICAP issued the “Guiding Principles for Responsible Beverage Alcohol Marketing” (ICAP, 2011), herein referred to as the Guiding Principles, developed to set “global standards” for alcohol marketing across industry sectors (see Appendix A).

Self-regulation codes have been criticized because of the difficulties involved in their interpretation and enforcement (Noel et al., 2016; Hastings et al., 2010). In an extensive review of alcohol marketing in 24 nations of the European Union, the ELSA Project (Anderson, 2007) concluded that sanctions have low punitive power, evaluations of adherence to regulations are not coherent, and structural monitoring of adherence to regulations is needed at the regional level. The project found that industry organizations generally report positive experiences with self-regulation, whereas governments, scientists, and NGOs report that national regulations are not effective in protecting young people, with evidence of many marketing practices breaching the code. After investigating the effectiveness of existing alcohol advertising policies in Canada, Fortin and Rempel (2005) concluded that “alcohol industry self-regulation is limited as a means of preventing public harm.” One reason for this lack of compliance with industry self-regulation codes is the absence of any reliable and valid procedure to evaluate these guidelines from both the viewer’s and the regulator’s perspectives.

In an effort to improve the methodology used to monitor and evaluate code violations in industry self-regulation codes, several studies have used expert raters to evaluate the content of alcohol advertisements. Donovan et al. (2007) rated ads obtained from 35 magazines considered to be popular with young people. Using the Australian Alcoholic Beverages Advertising Code as the benchmark, two thirds of the magazines were found to have alcohol ads or promotions, and many of the ads were judged to have code violations. The content guidelines considered most likely to be violated were “strong appeal to children/teens,” actors “not clearly over age 25,” and content “promoting positive social, sexual, and psychological expectancies of consumption.”

In the USA, Babor et al. (2013a) evaluated advertising code violations using the Delphi rating technique, which was applied to all beer ads (N = 289) nationally broadcast during the 1999 to 2008 National Collegiate Athletic Association basketball tournament games. Ratings were completed by 15 public health professionals using quantitative scales measuring the content of alcohol advertisements (e.g., perceived actor age, portrayal of excessive drinking). Depending on the code version, exclusion criteria and scoring methodology, expert raters found that between 35% and 74% of the ads had code violations. Guidelines most likely to be violated included the association of beer drinking with social success and the use of content appealing to persons under age 21.

Vendrame et al. (2010) evaluated perceived violations in the Brazilian alcohol marketing self-regulation code, using five ads designated by school children as being the most appealing to them. The ads were rated by a sample of Brazilian high school students. All ads were found to violate multiple sections of the code.

To date, almost all of the research on alcohol marketing self-regulation has been conducted in high- or middle-income countries, with only one study focusing on the emerging markets that have recently been the focus of the large multinational producers (Farrell and Gordon, 2012). Data from the African Region is limited.
In summary, qualitative and quantitative research indicates that self-regulation codes governing content are frequently violated (Noel et al., 2016a). Additionally, the codes regulating exposure may not prevent young persons, the primary vulnerability group the codes are designed to protect, from being exposed to alcohol marketing (Noel et al., 2016a). Finally, the complaint and adjudication process used to determine whether a particular ad has violated the code guidelines is considered inefficient and possibly biased in favor of industry interests (Noel et al., 2016c; Marin Institute, 2008; Babor et al., 2010).

Importance of Evaluating Industry Regulations on Alcohol Advertising

Due to dramatic changes in alcohol production, consumption, and harm occurring in Africa in recent years (Jernigan and Babor, 2015; Ferreira-Borges et al., 2016), and the relative lack of alcohol policies and controls (Babor, Robaina & Jernigan, 2015; Ferreira-Borges et al, 2015b), there is an urgent need to improve the capability of African nations to develop national alcohol policies regarding alcohol marketing. While many African countries have no government restrictions on advertising (WHO, 2014), there is some evidence that countries are adopting self-regulatory codes. However, neither a third-party review of compliance of self-regulation nor how to evaluate media advertisement for compliance has been discussed. In order to monitor compliance of self-regulation codes being promoted, we adapted a methodology developed by Dr. Babor to evaluate media advertisements of alcoholic beverages to determine whether they comply with generally accepted guidelines for responsible advertising practices (e.g. ICAP’s Guiding Principles).

Given recent calls by both the WHO (2010; 2012; 2014; PAHO, 2016) and industry representatives for independent, third party monitoring and evaluation of compliance, the innovative methodology developed in this study should be useful in providing a tool for a more systematic evaluation of compliance issues, particularly those identified by both WHO and the Global Producers Group.

Methods

Collection and screening of marketing materials

In the original study, ethnographic field methods were used to collect marketing materials from rural and urban areas of seven countries: Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, the Gambia (de Bruijn, 2011). Later, additional materials were collected from Kenya, Malawi and Namibia (de Bruijn, 2014). These countries were selected to provide a range of social availability climates (according to religion and culture) and regulatory environments (ranging from a ban on TV and radio advertising [Gambia] to no restrictions [Namibia]). Table 1 describes the alcohol marketing regulations, social availability climates and figures on alcohol use in each country. The table indicates that the countries represent a wide range of regulatory models, population characteristics and alcohol consumption levels.

Examples of unique marketing materials (N=282) used by both domestic and foreign alcohol producers were obtained by trained observers recruited from public health NGOs and research NGOs working on alcohol prevention and operating at the national level within each country. Observers were trained to collect digital recordings of visual stimuli across four types of media: 1) TV. Publically available television channels were monitored for alcohol commercials and shows that were sponsored by the alcohol industry, such as concerts and sporting events. Product placement appearing in television shows or movies were not included. Observers attempted to record two channels in each country during both
evening and weekend hours, however this was not always possible due to electricity outages.  2) Radio. Examples of alcohol marketing on the radio were collected by recording one to two national radio stations one weekday and one weekend day in four countries. Observers attempted to record both morning and evening programing.  3) Print. The number of daily newspapers and monthly magazine monitored was based on availability and varied in each country. In addition to regular product ads, advertising of events sponsored by the alcohol industry were also included. Due to limited availability of magazines and monthly newspapers in most countries, more daily newspapers were analyzed.  4) Outdoor advertising. Observers searched and took pictures of all instances of outdoor advertising. This includes all alcohol promotions in the public arena (e.g., billboards, posters, flags, stacked crates and also tables and chairs and other miscellaneous materials visible from the street). For the purposes of this report, the “alcohol industry” has been broadly defined to include wholesalers and retailers. Therefore, marketing practices evaluated in this analysis included any outdoor signage, even if not necessarily paid for by an alcohol producer. Point-of-sale (POS) materials were only included if there was an outdoor sign which clearly stated that alcohol was sold there. Stacks of branded alcohol crates were accepted when clearly visible. (See MAMPA reports [de Bruijn, 2011; de Bruijn, 2014] for more information on collection methods used in each country.)

In the course of obtaining the original MAMPA data files and assessing their representativeness and completeness, we identified several methodological limitations that need to be taken into account in the interpretation of the results of our secondary analysis of these data. First, country-level data collection procedures varied according to the contracted organization and its resources. Some countries followed the data collection protocol carefully, whereas others were only able to provide limited and at times sporadic samples from the different media. Second, data quality varied between countries. Due to constrained resources in some countries, file quality varied, possibly resulting in ads being disproportionately removed from some countries.

Given the limitations of the data collection methods, the representativeness of the selected examples cannot be determined. Most of the problems resulted in a reduced time frame or observational period, rather than giving evidence of selection bias. Some types of marketing materials (e.g., billboards) seem to be more representative than others (e.g., radio ads), and for this reason the prevalence rates of code violations may not be accurate, especially in the countries included in the second wave. To conduct our secondary analysis of the data collected in the original four MAMPA countries, and in the subsequent initiative in three additional countries, all unique alcohol ads from each country were identified from the available recordings and abstracted into individual video files. Twenty-three ads were removed because of poor quality photos or recordings (e.g. a photo of a billboard with an obstructed view) which would make coding difficult to near impossible. To ease the time burden on raters, the research team screened the remaining 282 ads to eliminate those that clearly did not contain a violation based on the ICAP Guiding Principles. We adopted a conservative criterion of agreement among three expert raters to classify an ad as having no violation. These materials consisted of plain signage or packaging crates that only included the name of the brand or product (see Figure 1 for example of type of ads). Using this procedure, 177 ads were eliminated from further consideration, although these ads were included in the denominator in calculating descriptive statistics and prevalence rates for ad violations. That left a total of 105 ads that were rated by the subsequent rating panel. The brand, alcohol producer, presence of a responsibility message, and type of beverage (beer, wine, distilled spirits, or hard cider) being advertised was collected by study staff for each included ad.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of alcohol marketing regulation</th>
<th>Social availability climate</th>
<th>Liters of pure alcohol consumed per capita (15+)</th>
<th>Prevalence of heavy drinking, *drinkers only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strict regulation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>Partial ban. TV and radio advertising not permitted.</td>
<td>Predominately Muslim; 87.9% lifetime abstainers</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Partial restrictions on time/place/content for TV and radio. Partial restriction on content for billboards and print media.</td>
<td>Majority Christian, with a significant Muslim minority. 64.6% lifetime abstainers</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Partial restrictions on national TV, radio and print advertising. Partial restriction and general tax on billboards. No advertising near schools or places of worship</td>
<td>Mixed Christian and Muslim; 39.2% lifetime abstainers</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Self-regulation. Time restriction for TV and radio.</td>
<td>Mixed Christian and Muslim. 64.1% lifetime abstainers</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Self-regulation. No restrictions for TV, radio, billboard or print. New tax on billboards in district of Kampala</td>
<td>Majority Christian, with a significant Muslim minority. 41.4% lifetime abstainers</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>Self-regulation. No restrictions for TV, radio or billboard.</td>
<td>Majority Christian, with a significant Muslim minority. 67.9% lifetime abstainers</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>Self-regulation. No restrictions for TV, radio, billboard or print media.</td>
<td>Majority Christian. Ranks 5th in alcohol consumption for African continent. 48.7% lifetime abstainers</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Consumed at least 60 grams or more of pure alcohol on at least one occasion in past 30 days

Source: WHO Global Health Observatory data repository and WHO Global Status Report, 2014
Industry Code

Because of between-country variation in alcohol marketing regulations, ICAP’s Guiding Principles were chosen as the standard code to compare all advertisements. These are based on guidelines found to be common across a variety of international content codes compared in a publication by ICAP and are intended to apply to all alcoholic beverages and to all media (ICAP, 2001). In addition, they have been endorsed by all major alcohol producers (ICAP, 2011), thereby making them particularly relevant to the criticisms made by industry representatives.

Each guideline provides additional sub-guidelines that addresses specific content. Operational measures of most of these content guidelines have already been developed and validated in our previous research on the US Beer Institute Code (Babor et al., 2013a; 2010; 2008). The Guiding Principles include almost all of the provisions of the prior codes but also add several sub-guidelines that forbid the depiction of at-risk groups such as pregnant women, the presentation of alcoholic beverages as a stimulant, sedative or tranquilizer, or that portray abstinence or moderate consumption in a negative way.

Rating Procedure

Experts rated each ad against ICAP’s Guiding Principles on a web-based platform using the Delphi Technique. The Delphi technique is a procedure to build group consensus around policy-relevant decisions that have no clear objective referent. It utilizes two successive rounds of rating (Hasson et al., 2000; Powell, 2003). During round 1, all content items are rated independently by a panel of expert raters. During round 2, all content items are rated again, but each rater is given the mean rating from round 1 as well as the rater’s prior rating from round 1 and comments provided by other raters.

The rating questionnaire consisted of 40 questions that were based on guidelines and sub-guidelines in the Guiding Principles (ICAP, 2011). Each item was accompanied by a question-by-question guide, which provided guidance on how to code the item (Appendix B).

Each guideline or sub-guideline was operationally defined by one of two types of measurement scales. The first scale consists of 5-point Likert ratings designed to measure the viewers’ agreement or disagreement with statements of fact and opinion (e.g. “This ad conveys a message that drinking is associated with being more popular or accepted” or “This ad depicts situations where alcohol is being consumed excessively”). These items were rated using the following response categories: Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Disagree nor Agree, Agree, Strongly Agree. A second type of measurement utilized numerical responses to determine the perceived age of the youngest actor/actress (e.g. “How old do you think this actor is?”) and how many drinks this individual is perceived to consume in the situation shown in the ad (e.g. “How many drinks do you estimate this person is likely to consume in the situation shown in the ad?”).

At the conclusion of each round, code violations were determined using the individual scoring criterion (Babor et al., 2008). Briefly, each individual item-level level was dichotomized to determine an item level violation. For Likert scale, age perception, and drink perception questions, scores ≥ 4 (Agree), < 18 years old, and ≥ 5 drinks were considered violations, respectively. Since multiple items can pertain to the same sub-guideline, a sub-guideline violation was indicated if there were any item-level violations among the items associated with the sub-guideline. Similarly, a guideline violation was indicated if any sub-
guidelines associated with a guideline were violated. An ad was considered to contain a code violation if more than 50% of the raters agreed that the same sub-guideline or guideline violation existed.

Following the first round of ratings, all ads that clearly did not contain a violation (n = 21) were removed from the web-based rating platform prior to the second rating in order to ease the burden on the raters (see Figure 2 for example). Both rounds of ratings were completed by nine expert raters. Each rater had experience in public health, substance use, marketing, or public health, and was considered to have the necessary expertise to protect vulnerable populations.

Inter-rater reliability between the raters was assessed using item-level data and was considered excellent (ICC = .877 - .998). Differences in code violation rates based on ad characteristics were determined using the Freeman-Halton extension of Fisher’s exact test. Statistical analysis was performed using SPSS version 20.0 for Windows and statistical significance was set at 0.05.

Results

Sample characteristics are summarized in Table 2. Observers collected the largest number of marketing examples in Uganda (25.2% of all examples), followed by Nigeria (24.8%). The Gambia, where there is a ban on alcohol advertising, contributed only 1.4% of the total ads collected. Over seventy percent (70.6%) of the ads collected were outdoor media (billboards, posters, signage, etc.). In the Gambia, only stacks of branded crates were found. No billboards or posters for alcohol were observed. However, in all other countries monitored, posters were the most common type of outdoor advertising used (23.0%). Television, radio, and print ads accounted for 6.4%, 14.5% and 14.5% of the ads, respectively. Several different types of alcoholic drinks advertisements were collected, with beer being the most common (71.3%), followed by spirits (17.1%), malt beverages/cider (3.2%), wine/Champagne (2.8%), and advertisements which displayed multiple types of alcohol (3.5%). Four ads from retailers were also included.

Table 2. Ad Characteristics and Percent (n) of Violations according to country, type of alcohol, advertising medium, whether an ad included a responsibility message, and brand type (n = 282) a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Total ads</th>
<th>Ads with any violation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent b (n)</td>
<td>Percent c (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Country</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>1.4 (4)</td>
<td>25.0 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>16.3 (46)</td>
<td>37.0 (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>11.7 (33)</td>
<td>39.4 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>9.2 (26)</td>
<td>19.2 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>11.3 (32)</td>
<td>15.6 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>24.8 (70)</td>
<td>21.4 (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>25.2 (71)</td>
<td>31.0 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alcohol Type</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer</td>
<td>71.3 (201)</td>
<td>26.9 (54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malt Beverages/Cider</td>
<td>3.2 (9)</td>
<td>22.2 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple</td>
<td>3.5 (10)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retailer</td>
<td>1.4 (4)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirits</td>
<td>17.1 (50)</td>
<td>42.0 (21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wine/Champagne  
Media*
Outdoor  70.6 (199)  21.6 (43)
Print  14.5 (41)  34.1 (14)
Radio  8.5 (24)  33.3 (8)
TV  6.4 (18)  72.2 (13)
Outdoor Media*
Billboards  18.1 (51)  37.3 (19)
Crate  4.3 (12)  8.3 (1)
Misc.  6.4 (18)  11.1 (2)
Poster  23.0 (65)  30.8 (20)
Signage  18.8 (53)  1.9 (1)
Responsibility Messages*
No  53.9 (152)  21.7 (33)
Yes  39.0 (110)  37.3 (41)
Legal Purchase Age Only  7.1 (20)  20.0 (4)
Brand Type%
Continental  51.8 (146)  30.1 (44)
Intercontinental  48.2 (136)  25.0 (34)

*Overall violation rate = 27.7%; *Percent of Total; *Percent within category; "Differences in Any Violations by Country (p = 0.149), Alcohol Type (p = 0.041), Media (p < 0.001), Outdoor Type (p < 0.001), Responsibility Message (p = 0.017), and Brand Type (p = 0.354)"

Overall, 78 advertisements (27.7%) were found to contain at least one violation, representing an industry compliance rate of 72.3%. Advertisements collected from Kenya were the most likely to contain a violation, although no significant differences between countries were observed (p = 0.149).

Guiding Principle 5, which refers to “the effects of alcohol,” accounted for the largest number of violations (77 ads) (see Figures 3-5). This guideline was most often scored as a violation because of the suggestion that alcoholic beverages can enhance attractiveness and/or remove social or sexual inhibitions (n=51) and/or presenting alcohol as necessary for social success or acceptance (n=63). The second most frequently violated guideline was Guiding Principle 3 (69 ads), which speaks to health and safety aspects in marketing communications (see Figure 3). This principle was most often violated for presenting alcohol as a stimulant, sedative or tranquilizer (50 ads), and suggesting that alcohol can “prevent, treat or cure illness or resolve personal problems” (29 ads). Guiding Principle 2 (“Responsible Consumption”) received 15 violation ratings (see Figure 6). This principle includes sub-guidelines such as “marketing communications should portray only moderate and responsible consumption”. Four ads (1.4%) depicted minors or individuals likely to be perceived as minors, defined as persons under the minimum legal purchase age (i.e. 18 years of age) (see Figure 7).

Violation rates significantly differed among media (p = .001), with television ads having the highest proportion of violations (72.2%) and outdoor ads having the lowest (21.6%). Certain types of outdoor ads, however (e.g. billboards and posters), contained a much higher violation rate (37.3% and 30.8% respectively). In Kenya, nearly 80% (77.8%) of all billboards contained a violation (Table 3).
Table 3. Percent (n) of Guideline Violations in Billboards by Country (Gambia excluded) (n = 51)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guideline</th>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Kenya</th>
<th>Malawi</th>
<th>Namibia</th>
<th>Nigeria</th>
<th>Uganda</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>25.0 (1)</td>
<td>77.8 (7)</td>
<td>11.1 (1)</td>
<td>18.8 (3)</td>
<td>60.0 (3)</td>
<td>50.0 (4)</td>
<td>0.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1. Responsible Marketing</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G2. Responsible Consumption</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>11.1% (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0.686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G3. Health/ Safety</td>
<td>25.0 (1)</td>
<td>55.6 (5)</td>
<td>11.1 (1)</td>
<td>18.8 (3)</td>
<td>60.0 (3)</td>
<td>50.0 (4)</td>
<td>0.129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G4. Minors</td>
<td>25.0 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G5. Effects of alcohol</td>
<td>25.0 (1)</td>
<td>77.8 (7)</td>
<td>11.1 (1)</td>
<td>18.8 (3)</td>
<td>60.0 (3)</td>
<td>50.0 (4)</td>
<td>0.017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was a significant difference in the overall violation rate based on beverage type (p = .006) (Table 4). This included differences in Guiding Principle 2 (responsible consumption, p = 0.040), Guiding Principle 3 (health and safety aspects, p = 0.047), and Guiding Principle 5 (effects of alcohol, p = .006). In all cases, spirits ads were found to have the highest violation rates. Over forty percent (42.0%) of spirits ads violated Guideline 5.

Table 4. Percent (n) of Guideline Violations by beverage type (n = 282)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guideline</th>
<th>Beer</th>
<th>Spirits</th>
<th>Other a</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>26.9 (54)</td>
<td>42.0 (21)</td>
<td>9.7 (3)</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 1</td>
<td>1.5 (3)</td>
<td>6.0 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>.097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 2</td>
<td>4.5 (9)</td>
<td>12.0 (6)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>.040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 3</td>
<td>24.4 (49)</td>
<td>34.0 (17)</td>
<td>9.7 (3)</td>
<td>.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 4</td>
<td>1.5 (3)</td>
<td>2.0 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>.750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 5</td>
<td>26.4 (53)</td>
<td>42.0 (21)</td>
<td>9.7 (3)</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a"Other" includes cider, wine, Champagne, and ads for multiple types of alcohol.

There was a significant difference in the overall violation rate of advertisements for spirits (p = .020) but not beer (p = 0.060) across countries (Table 5 and Table 6). Nevertheless, there were significant differences at the Guideline level, including Guideline 5 for both beer and spirits (spirits, p = 0.020; beer, p = 0.043). Spirits advertisements from Ghana (66.7%) and Nigeria (66.7%) had the highest rates of violations, while Kenya (52.9%) and Uganda (35.7%) had the highest violation rates for beer ads.

Table 5. Percent (n) of Guideline Violations in Spirits Ads by Country (Gambia excluded) (n = 50)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guideline</th>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Kenya</th>
<th>Malawi</th>
<th>Namibia</th>
<th>Nigeria</th>
<th>Uganda</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>66.7 (12)</td>
<td>23.1 (3)</td>
<td>50.0 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>66.7 (2)</td>
<td>25.0 (1)</td>
<td>0.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 1</td>
<td>11.1 (2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>16.7 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0.636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 2</td>
<td>27.8 (5)</td>
<td>7.7 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0.405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 3</td>
<td>55.6 (10)</td>
<td>15.4 (2)</td>
<td>50.0 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>33.3 (1)</td>
<td>25.0 (1)</td>
<td>0.063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 4</td>
<td>5.6 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 5</td>
<td>66.7 (12)</td>
<td>23.1 (3)</td>
<td>50.0 (3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>66.7 (2)</td>
<td>25.0 (1)</td>
<td>0.020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were no advertisements for spirits collected from the Gambia.

Table 6. Percent (n) of Guideline Violations in Beer Ads by Country (n = 201)
Table 7 shows guideline violations according to whether the ad included a responsibility message, with messages devoted to the legal purchase age reported separately. Ads with a responsibility message were found to have a higher violation rate than other ads (see Table 2).

Table 7. Percent (n) of Guideline Violations According to the Presence or Absence of a Responsibility Message (n = 282)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guideline</th>
<th>No Responsibility Message</th>
<th>Responsibility Message</th>
<th>Legal Purchase Age Only</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>21.7 (33)</td>
<td>37.3 (41)</td>
<td>20.0 (4)</td>
<td>0.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 1</td>
<td>3.3 (5)</td>
<td>0.9 (1)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0.619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 2</td>
<td>5.3 (8)</td>
<td>5.5 (6)</td>
<td>5.0 (1)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 3</td>
<td>17.8 (27)</td>
<td>34.5 (38)</td>
<td>20.0 (4)</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 4</td>
<td>0.7 (1)</td>
<td>1.8 (2)</td>
<td>5.0 (1)</td>
<td>0.181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 5</td>
<td>21.1 (32)</td>
<td>37.3 (41)</td>
<td>20.0 (4)</td>
<td>0.012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 shows differences in guideline violations between brands that are exclusively sold in Africa (continental brands) and brands that are also sold outside of Africa (inter-continental brands). Inter-continental brands are more likely to be produced by multinational corporations while continental brands are more likely to be produced by local brewers, distilleries, and wineries. No significant differences were detected between continental and inter-continental brands.

Table 8. Percent (n) of Guideline Violations According to Brand Type (n = 282)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guideline</th>
<th>Continental Brands</th>
<th>Inter-Continental Brands</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>30.1 (44)</td>
<td>25.0 (34)</td>
<td>0.354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 1</td>
<td>2.1 (3)</td>
<td>2.2 (2.2)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 2</td>
<td>6.8 (10)</td>
<td>3.7 (5)</td>
<td>0.293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 3</td>
<td>25.3 (37)</td>
<td>23.5 (32)</td>
<td>0.782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 4</td>
<td>2.1 (3)</td>
<td>0.7 (1)</td>
<td>0.623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 5</td>
<td>30.1 (44)</td>
<td>24.3 (33)</td>
<td>0.287</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

The initial MAMPA project collected marketing materials from a broad range of broadcast and print media to monitor alcohol marketing. Because the initial evaluation of these materials was based on an unstandardized, subjective interpretation of code violations, we evaluated the same materials using a standardized procedure using the alcohol industry’s own guidelines.
This study applied an objective rating procedures to a broad collection of alcohol marketing materials, including outdoor and radio advertisements. The findings suggest that code violations of the industry’s Guiding Principles were prevalent in the four types of media sampled during the MAMPA project in the seven countries. It is interesting to note that the country with the least marketing materials recorded (n = 4) was Gambia, which is a Muslim country with a ban on most forms of advertising.

Overall, 27.7% of the unique ads documented in MAMPA were found to contain at least one violation. Violation rates differed among media, with television ads having the highest proportion (72.2%) of violations and outdoor ads having the lowest (21.6%). The violation rate among television ads is consistent with violation rates reported in developed countries (Babor et al., 2013b). Although outdoor ads were found to have the lowest violation rates, 30.8% of full-size posters and 37.3% of large billboards contained violations and these media can provide constant exposure to young persons. The lower violation rate of all outdoor advertisements is attributed to outdoor ‘signage’ (n=53), which tended to only include the name of the brand or product and no content, and therefore only produced a violation rate of 1.9%.

Guiding Principle 5, which refers to “the effects of alcohol,” accounted for the largest number of violations. This core principle was most often scored as a violation because the ad material presented alcohol as necessary for social success or acceptance, and/or as a means to reduce inhibitions, achieve sexual success, or make an individual more sexually attractive. The second most frequently violated guideline was Guiding Principle 3, which speaks to health and safety aspects in marketing communications and was most often violated for depicting alcohol as a stimulant, sedative or tranquilizer.

Ads containing violations were more likely to include a responsibility message. Ads with responsibility messages appeared particularly prone to violations of Guideline 3 and Guideline 5 of the Guiding Principles. G3 is important because it involves health, safety, and depictions of at-risk populations. G5 involves associations with success. The findings suggest that ads with a ‘Drink Responsibly/Live Responsibly’ message also contain messages that may make individuals think success or resolution of problems requires alcohol.

Our results raise questions about the effectiveness of the alcohol industry’s current self-regulatory advertising guidelines and are consistent with a systematic review (Noel et al., 2016a) of more than 100 studies that concluded industry codes are largely ineffective at reducing youth exposure to potentially harmful sales promotions and restricting content potentially harmful to youth. Of the 19 studies evaluating a specific marketing code and 25 content analysis studies reviewed, all detected content that could be considered potentially harmful to children and adolescents, including themes that strongly appeal to young men. Of the 57 studies of alcohol advertising exposure, high levels of youth exposure and high awareness of alcohol advertising were found for television, radio, print, digital, and outdoor ads.

**Limitations**

There are several limitations that should be noted, some of which were described earlier in this report. First, only nine raters were used, as opposed to the 15 expert raters suggested by Babor et al. (2013a). Although the ratings (and the prevalence estimates) based on nine raters may be less reliable (Babor et al., 2013a), there was a high level of inter-rater reliability, and it is likely that the results will not differ significantly from what could be expected from a larger sample of raters given the high inter-rater reliability among the raters. Additionally, ads should be interpreted by raters who are familiar with
language and culture to ensure cultural relevance. As four of raters were from the US, some issues of cultural significance may have been missed (i.e. celebrities, symbols). This may have limited the identification of code violations.

A second limitation lies with the selection of the marketing materials. Although standardized protocols were employed, these were not applied with the same consistency across the countries. For example, in the Gambia and Ghana, a 500 meter radius was monitored in both a city center and a village while in Uganda and Nigeria, the areas monitored were 500m². Therefore, comparisons across the seven countries may be unwarranted because of the variability across countries in the collection of marketing materials and the small numbers in each type of media for some of the participating countries. Because data collection methods were so different between countries, overall violation rates should be interpreted cautiously. Furthermore, while the research would have benefited from more extensive monitoring of television and radio across a longer time period, the monitoring exercise, coding methods and analysis are extremely labor intensive and this was not possible. As such, the generalizability of the findings may be limited. Although more extensive and systematic sampling is needed, it is unfortunate that the alcohol and advertising industries do not make data available, such as TV ads, for public health surveillance.

Furthermore, the continent is comprised of 54 countries, 2,000 languages, and over 3,000 ethnic groups, further limiting the generalizability of the findings. However, it should be noted that all countries, despite their level of marketing restrictions and social availability, had a significant number of violations (15.6%-39.4%), often in media where wide youth exposure was possible.

Finally, our findings are do not speak to the temporal association between the content of alcohol advertising and drinking behavior. Thus, further research on the effects of content and exposure on young persons in countries within Africa, where the impact might be expected to be greater because the message and often the product are completely new and are not contradicted by traditional cultural attitudes, may be required.

Despite the limitations, this research establishes a basis for a monitoring and regulating alcohol advertising in African countries. This methodology offers a systematic way to evaluate media advertisements of alcoholic beverages to determine whether their contents comply with generally accepted guidelines for responsible advertising practices. The current study represents the first time this procedure has been applied to radio ads and outdoor advertisements. Future research may build on this study, recognizing that this type of monitoring is labor intensive and can be costly. For example, the monitoring process (i.e. recording, viewing 100s hours of TV/radio recordings) took months of intensive training and analysis, in addition to the initial planning and coordination of the data collection. In the future, surveillance centers could be established in representative countries and language areas, and the industry could be asked to cooperate by providing free access to their commercial marketing materials. Local NGOs are well-placed to play an important and complementary role.

Further, this research contributes to the knowledge base resulting from international collaboration, which is becoming necessary to cope with global public health issues, such as alcohol production, consumption and advertising (Babor et al., 2003). Finally, it provides meaningful information and useful tools relevant to the current alcohol advertising situation in seven low- and middle-income countries in Africa.
Conclusions

Alcohol consumption is an important risk factor for morbidity, mortality and social harm worldwide. The African continent has been expanding its beer production, particularly under the leadership of multinational companies like SABMiller and Heineken (Jernigan & Babor, 2015). These developments, combined with unmonitored industry self-regulated alcohol advertising, increasing alcoholic beverage supply, and vulnerability to severe consequences of alcohol use in certain population segments, have the potential to be highly detrimental to African society from a public health perspective. In Africa, alcohol use is related to poverty, road traffic crashes, sexual intercourse among adolescents, unprotected sex, risks for sexually transmitted infections, and depression. Exacerbating these problems, heavy episodic drinking is the norm in the region and is prevalent among young adults in several African countries (WHO, 2014). The risk of alcohol use among youth, who comprise a significant proportion of the continent's population, is an especially urgent public health concern.

Our findings underscore the need for policy strategies to more effectively monitor and regulate alcohol advertising across all media outlets. These findings provide evidence of violations in the seven countries studied and the need for systematic surveillance of alcoholic beverage marketing to protect vulnerable populations, such as youth, who may already be experiencing problems related to their alcohol use. Guidelines and sub-guidelines most likely to be violated included Guideline 5 – the association of drinking alcohol with success (social, physical and/or sporting) and Guideline 3 – presenting alcohol as a stimulant, sedative or tranquilizer.

In our prior methodological work in the development of this rating procedure (Babor et al., 2008; 2010; 2013a; Noel et al., 2016b), we considered various procedural issues that have direct relevance to the ways in which industry code compliance could be monitored with greater efficiency and effectiveness. Currently the framework consists of review boards set up by industry-funded organizations. The boards review only ads that receive complaints from the public. The boards are often dominated by industry-appointed consultants having no public health experience. The review procedures are not standardized.

Expert rating procedures, such as those employed in this study, may enhance the ability of regulatory agencies to monitor the content of alcoholic beverage advertising, but it remains to be seen whether they can be incorporated into a co-regulation framework that would provide advertisers, industry representatives, government regulators and public health officials with a means to rapidly review and report code violations before or soon after an ad or other form of marketing is released in various media outlets.

In order to reduce code violations and limit exposure to vulnerable populations, WHO policy documents (e.g. Global Strategy to Reduce the Harmful Use of Alcohol [2012], the consultative meeting report on alcohol marketing in the African Region [WHO, 2012] and a recent report from the Pan American Health Organization [PAHO, 2016]) suggest a variety of options, including complete bans on alcohol advertising. France, for example, restricts the content of radio and print advertisements to specific elements such as product name, ingredients, alcohol strength, method of production and conditions of sale; and requires that advertisements include moderation messages. Alternative strategies could include a partial ban or other restrictions, such as independent third-party pre-vetting of alcohol advertisements, or third-party monitoring of alcohol marketing activities.
There were methodological limitations in the original MAMPA data collection that may have affected the interpretation of the data that were collected. Our analysis does not speak to the methods used to assess youth exposure through focus groups, but this was not a major part of the original MAMPA study. While the original report had been criticized for not being representative, the selection of a Muslim country proved to be very informative in terms of the low rates of exposure and violations and as such, the sample of countries seems to represent the broad range of cultures found in Africa.

Our secondary analysis of the original MAMPA marketing data confirms the conclusions of the original MAMPA report, in that it provides strong evidence of code violations in all media evaluated. Both studies provide ample evidence to question the effectiveness of current industry efforts to regulate alcohol marketing.

Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful to FORUT for funding that made the collection and analysis of these data possible. The authors would also like to thank STAP for providing the data for analysis, Dr. Ferreira-Borges for her support to the MAMPA project and assistance with the recruitment of country raters and to Ziming Xuan for maintaining the rating website. Finally, this work would not have been possible without local NGOs in the region, and those who served as expert raters.

References


Figure 1. Example of pre-screened ad without clear violation
Figure 2. Example of ad with no violation (poster, Uganda)
Figure 3. Example of violations G3 and G5 (poster, Malawi)
Figure 4. Examples of violation of G5 (Uganda)
Figure 5. Example of violation of G5 (Gambia)
Figure 6. Example of violation of G2 (poster, Nigeria)
Figure 7. Example of ad rated by experts as depicting minors (billboard, Ghana)
Appendix A

ICAP Guiding Principles

1. Responsible Marketing Communications

Alcohol beverage marketing communications should

a. be legal, decent, honest and truthful, and conform to accepted principles of fair competition and good business practice
b. be prepared with a due sense of social responsibility, not using themes, images, symbols, or portrayals likely to be considered of offensive, derogatory, or demeaning;
c. comply fully with relevant national self-regulatory codes;
d. respect human dignity and integrity;
e. avoid any association with violent, aggressive, hazardous, illegal, or antisocial behavior;
f. avoid any association with, or reference to, drugs or the drug culture.

2. Responsible consumption

Alcohol beverage marketing communications should

a. portray only moderate and responsible consumption by people of legal age to consume alcohol beverages;
b. avoid condoning or trivializing excessive or irresponsible consumption or intoxication;
c. avoid portraying abstinence or moderate consumption in a negative way.

3. Health and safety aspects in marketing communications

Alcohol beverage marketing communications should not

a. suggest that alcohol beverages can prevent, treat, or cure illness or resolve personal problems;
b. present alcohol beverages as a stimulant, sedative or tranquilizer;
c. depict or be addressed to at-risk groups, e.g., pregnant women;
d. portray or encourage drinking prior to or during activities requiring sobriety or a high degree of skill or precision, such as controlling a motor vehicle or operating machinery.
4. Minors*

Alcohol beverage marketing communications should

   a. avoid the use of themes, icons, music, games, or characters that appeal primarily to minors;
   b. avoid showing minors (or people likely to be perceived as minors) drinking alcohol beverages;
   c. be placed only in media which can reasonably be expected to meet stated audience composition targets, where at least 70% of the audience is of the legal purchase age.

5. The effects of alcohol

Alcohol beverage marketing communications should not

   a. mislead consumers about the nature and strength of alcohol beverages;
   b. present high alcohol strength as a principal basis of appeal;
   c. suggest that alcohol beverages can enhance physical, sporting, or mental ability;
   d. present alcohol beverages as necessary for social success or acceptance;
   e. present alcohol beverages as a means of removing social or sexual inhibitions, achieving sexual success, or making an individual more sexually attractive.

*Minors is defined by LPA. In countries where there is no LPA, minors refers to anyone below 18 years of age.
Question by Question Guide for MAMPA Ratings

These guidelines explain how the different content items and rating scales should be interpreted in relation to alcohol industry guidelines for responsible marketing. Each question represents a particular guideline that is included in one or more industry codes. The third column of the guide describes how you should interpret each question.

Most of the Items (#’s 1-38) are rated on a five-point “agree-disagree” scale.
1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither agree nor disagree (neutral)
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly Agree

Use the extreme ends of the scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree) when the content of the ad applies to the item in a way that is clear, definite and unambiguous. For example, score 5 on item 28 (“This ad shows illegal activity”) only when the content of the ad clearly shows an example of violence, theft or other illegal activity. In some cases, the “illegal activity” can be portrayed for humorous purposes. In other cases it could be portrayed for dramatic purposes. If the content is clearly illegal (regardless of whether it is for humorous or dramatic purposes), score 5. If the situation is ambiguous or unclear, score 3. If there is definitely no illegal situation portrayed in the ad, code a score of 1. If you are not sure about a particular rating, score it in the less extreme range (2 or 4). In general, please rate the ads objectively according to the specific content of the ad.

In some instances alcohol marketing materials are intended to be humorous, and as such contain content or portray situations that are untruthful, derogatory, illegal or undignified. If the ad shows these activities or situations and they can be considered as likely to condone inappropriate behavior, code Agree.

***Please send your questions about the interpretation of a particular item or suggestions for improving the guidelines or terms used to Kate Robaina (email: robaina@uchc.edu).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating Question</th>
<th>Relevant Guideline from Universal Code (UC) or Guiding Principles (GP)</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. This ad shows situations where people are drinking an alcoholic beverage excessively, or otherwise encourages immoderate consumption. | (UC) Encouragement of immoderate/ excessive drinking not allowed  
(GP) Should portray only moderate and responsible consumption by people of legal age to consume alcohol beverages | Moderate alcohol consumption is defined as having up to 1 drink per day for women and up to 2 drinks per day for men.  
- If the ad portrays or suggests that one should drink excessively (the equivalent of 2 standard drinks per day for a male, or 1 for a female), code ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’. |
| 2. This ad shows situations where people are drinking alcohol irresponsibly.       | (GP) Should portray only moderate and responsible consumption by people of legal age to consume alcohol beverages | Irresponsible drinking may be defined as consuming alcohol in a way that is likely to result in intoxication. Drinking that may result in physical injury, legal trouble, or failure to meet work or school commitments is also considered irresponsible.  
- If there are no situations with people drinking, choose ‘Strongly Disagree.’ |
| 3. This ad suggests that being drunk or intoxicated is acceptable.                | (UC) Depiction of intoxication not allowed  
(GP) Should portray only moderate and responsible consumption by people of legal age to consume alcohol beverages | If there are no situations with people drinking, or no suggestion of drinking is made, choose ‘Strongly Disagree.’ |
| 4. This ad uses symbols, language, music, gestures, or cartoon characters that are associated with or are intended to appeal primarily to persons below legal purchase age [18]. | (UC) Appeal to underage not allowed  
(GP) Should avoid the use of themes, icons, music, games, or characters that appeal primarily to minors | Advertising or marketing material has a “primary appeal” to persons under the legal purchase age if it has special attractiveness to such persons above and beyond the general attractiveness it has for persons above the legal purchase age. In most African nations the legal alcohol purchase age is 18.  
Raters should take into account the following elements: symbols, language, music, gestures, entertainers or celebrities, cartoon characters, animals, groups, and organizations. |
| 5. This ad shows traditional heroes or current celebrities, such as entertainment figures and athletes, who appeal primarily to people below legal purchase age. | (UC) Appeal to underage not allowed  
(GP) Should avoid the use of themes, icons, music, games, or characters that appeal primarily to minors | Advertising or marketing material has a “primary appeal” to persons under the legal purchase age if it has special attractiveness to such persons above and beyond the general attractiveness it has for persons above the legal purchase age. In most African nations the legal alcohol purchase age is 18. |
6. The ad associates performance success with drinking the alcohol product.  
   - (UC) Implication of enhanced ability (physical) not allowed  
   - (GP) Should not suggest that alcohol beverages can enhance physical, sporting, or mental ability.  
   - If the ad features a successful performance in association with the alcohol product, choose ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree.’  
   - If the association is ambiguous, code ‘Neutral’  
   - If you think that there is no association, code ‘Disagree’ or ‘Strongly Disagree’

7. This ad conveys the message that drinking is linked to being more energetic or dynamic.  
   - (UC) Implication of enhanced ability not allowed  
   - (GP) Should not present alcohol as a stimulant  
   - This can refer to a social situation or an individual.  
   - Score ‘Strongly Agree’ if this ad directly associates the product with increased energy, a dynamic personality.  
   - Score ‘Agree’ if the association is indirect.  
   - Score ‘Neutral’ if the association is unclear.

8. This ad conveys the message that alcohol improves femininity/masculinity, and/or improves the capacity to be more attractive to others.  
   - (UC) Implication of enhanced ability (sexual) not allowed  
   - (GP) Should not present alcohol beverages as a means of removing social or sexual inhibitions  
   - This can refer to a social situation or an individual.  
   - Score ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad suggests that the product makes an individual more sexually attractive, or improves masculinity or femininity.  
   - Score as ‘Neutral’ if the association is unclear.

9. This ad suggests that drinking leads to an exciting adventurous life.  
   - (UC) Implication of enhanced ability (social) not allowed  
   - (GP) Should not present alcohol beverages as necessary for social success or acceptance  
   - This can refer to a social situation or an individual.  
   - Score ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad portrays drinking alcohol with an exciting and/or adventurous lifestyle.

10. This ad suggests that drinking has a positive emotional benefit, such as reducing anxiety or depression.  
    - (UC) Claiming unsubstantiated medical and/or therapeutic benefits not allowed  
    - (GP) Should not suggest that alcohol beverages can prevent, treat, or cure illness or resolve personal problems;  
    - (GP) Should not present alcohol as a sedative or tranquilizer  
    - Score ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad portrays the alcohol product has having an emotional benefit, or if alcohol consumption of the product is presented as having a sedative or calming effect.

11. This ad conveys the message that drinking leads to having a more independent/individualistic or cool personality.  
    - (UC) Implication of enhanced ability (social) not allowed  
    - (GP) Should not present alcohol beverages as necessary for social success or acceptance  
    - Score ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad associates the product with enhancement of social ability (makes you cool, unique or individualistic).
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<tr>
<td><strong>12. This ad suggests that drinking will help a person to relax or relieve stress.</strong></td>
<td>(UC) Claiming unsubstantiated medical and/ or therapeutic benefits not allowed (GP) Should not suggest that alcohol beverages can prevent, treat, or cure illness or resolve personal problems (GP) Should not present alcohol as a sedative or tranquilizer</td>
<td>• If the ad claims that the product will help the viewer relax or relieve stress, score ‘Strongly Agree’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13. This ad portrays the alcohol product as key to sexual success.</strong></td>
<td>(UC) Implication of enhanced ability (sexual) not allowed (GP) Should not present alcohol beverages as a means of removing social or sexual inhibitions, achieving sexual success, or making an individual more sexually attractive.</td>
<td>• Score ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad implies that the alcohol product is necessary for sexual success. • Score ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad shows sexual activity resulting from consuming alcoholic beverages. • Score as ‘Agree’ if the ad suggests that there is an association between the product and sexual success.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14. This ad associates the alcohol product with removing social and/ or sexual inhibitions.</strong></td>
<td>(UC) Implication of enhanced ability (sexual) not allowed (GP) Should not present alcohol beverages as a means of removing social or sexual inhibitions, achieving sexual success, or making an individual more sexually attractive.</td>
<td>• Score ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad suggests that drinking lowers inhibitions, or facilitates romantic or sexual involvement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15. This ad conveys a message that drinking is associated with being more popular or accepted.</strong></td>
<td>(UC) Implication of enhanced ability (social) not allowed (GP) Should not present alcohol beverages as necessary for social success or acceptance.</td>
<td>• Score ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad presents the consumption of alcoholic beverages as necessary for social success, popularity or acceptance. • Score ‘Agree’ if the ad suggests that drinking enhances popularity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>16. This ad associates improvement of social status with drinking the alcohol product.</strong></td>
<td>(UC) Implication of enhanced ability (social) not allowed (GP) Should not present alcohol beverages as necessary for social success or acceptance.</td>
<td>• Score ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad presents the consumption of alcoholic beverages as necessary for enhancing social ability. • Score ‘Agree’ if the ad associates drinking with improvement of one’s social status. • Score ‘Neutral’ if the association is not clear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17. This ad suggests that drinking will help to alleviate boredom or loneliness.</strong></td>
<td>(UC) Implication of enhanced ability (social) not allowed (GP) Should not present alcohol beverages as necessary for social success or acceptance. (GP) Should not present alcohol as a stimulant</td>
<td>Can refer to an individual(s) or a situation, such as a party.</td>
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<td><strong>18.</strong> This ad associates solving social, personal or physical problems with drinking the alcohol product.</td>
<td>(GP) Should not suggest that alcohol beverages can prevent, treat, or cure illness or resolve personal problems.</td>
<td>• Score ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad suggests that drinking will prevent or resolve social or personal problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>19.</strong> This ad associates social, professional, mental, educational, athletic or financial success with drinking the alcohol product.</td>
<td>(UC) Implication of enhanced ability not allowed (GP) Should not suggest that alcohol beverages can enhance physical, sporting, or mental ability. (GP) Should not present alcohol beverages as necessary for social success or acceptance.</td>
<td>• Score ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad suggests enhanced success or ability as a result of drinking the alcohol product. • If the association is ambiguous, code ‘Neutral’ • If you think that there is no association, code ‘Disagree’ or ‘Strongly Disagree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>20.</strong> This ad shows drunk driving, or suggests that drunk driving is acceptable.</td>
<td>(UC) Depiction of unsafe conditions not allowed (GP) Should not portray or encourage drinking prior to or during activities requiring sobriety or a high degree of skill or precision, such as controlling a motor vehicle or operating machinery.</td>
<td>If there is no driving or no suggestion of driving, choose ‘Strongly Disagree’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>21.</strong> This ad shows or suggests the use of an alcohol product before or during activities requiring sobriety or a high degree of alertness or coordination, such as driving an automobile, operating machinery, boats, working in a hazardous situation, playing sports, etc.</td>
<td>(UC) Depiction of unsafe conditions not allowed (GP) Should not portray or encourage drinking prior to or during activities requiring sobriety or a high degree of skill or precision, such as controlling a motor vehicle or operating machinery.</td>
<td>Alcohol marketing should not portray or encourage drinking prior to or during activities requiring sobriety or a high degree of skill or precision. • If the ad shows the use of alcohol before or during such an activity, score as ‘Strongly Agree’. If it is implied or suggested, score as ‘Agree.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>22.</strong> This ad shows one or more people in a state of drunkenness.</td>
<td>(UC) Depiction of intoxication not allowed (GP) Should portray only moderate and responsible consumption by people of legal age to consume alcohol beverages</td>
<td>Consider any model or actor shown in the ad. • If the characters appear to be drunk, score as ‘Strongly Agree.’ • If characters appear to be mildly intoxicated, score ‘Agree.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>23.</strong> This ad suggests that it is acceptable for people to consume an alcoholic beverage to a point where they appear to lack control over their behavior, coordination, or speech.</td>
<td>(UC) Depiction of intoxication not allowed (GP) Should portray only moderate and responsible consumption by people of legal age to consume alcohol beverages</td>
<td>Consider any model or actor shown in the ad. • If the characters appear to be drunk, score as ‘Strongly Agree.’ • If characters appear to be mildly intoxicated, score ‘Agree.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>24.</strong> This ad suggests drinking is associated with violent, aggressive, antisocial, and/ or hazardous behavior.</td>
<td>(UC) Association with violence not allowed (GP) Should avoid any association with violent, aggressive, hazardous, illegal, or antisocial behavior</td>
<td>Consider both physical and verbal acts of hostility or aggression, even if it’s meant to be humorous.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 25. This ad gives the impression that the alcohol product has special or unique qualities, or that it has curative or therapeutic benefits. | (UC) Claiming unsubstantiated medical and/or therapeutic benefits not allowed  
(GP) Should not suggest that alcohol beverages can prevent, treat, or cure illness or resolve personal problems.  
(GP) Should be legal, decent, honest and truthful, and conform to accepted principles of fair competition and good business practice. | This item refers to physical health, for example a low-calorie alcoholic beverage may be portrayed as a way to stay healthy.  
- If the ad claims that the beverage has medical, curative, and/or therapeutic benefit, score ‘Strongly Agree.’  
- If the ad is suggestive, score as ‘Agree.’ |
|---|---|---|
| 26. This ad makes scientifically unsupported claims about the effect of an alcohol product on people’s health. | (UC) Claiming unsubstantiated medical and/or therapeutic benefits not allowed  
(GP) Should not suggest that alcohol beverages can prevent, treat, or cure illness or resolve personal problems  
(GP) Should be legal, decent, honest and truthful, and conform to accepted principles of fair competition and good business practice | Research on the health benefits of alcohol indicates that low doses (1-5 drinks/week, no more than 1 or 2 drinks/day) may reduce the risk of several health conditions.  
- Rate “Strongly Agree” if you think that the statement is definitely unsupported scientifically.  
- If this ad makes any medical claims about the alcohol product, score “Neutral” or “Agree.” |
| 27. This ad refers to the alcohol content of the advertised product directly or indirectly. | (UC) Emphasis of high alcohol content not allowed  
(GP) Should not present high alcohol strength as a principal basis of appeal | - If the ad emphasizes the alcohol content (alcohol proof or strength), score ‘Strongly Agree.’  
- If you think the ad is only suggestive, or the reference is indirect, code ‘Agree’.  
- Score as ‘Disagree’ or ‘Strongly Disagree’ if the alcohol content is not referred to in any way. |
| 28. This ad shows illegal activity. | (GP) Should avoid any association with violent, aggressive, hazardous, illegal, or antisocial behavior. | Consider any activity considered illegal within your country, including trespassing, drinking and driving, interpersonal violence, etc., even if it’s meant to be humorous.  
- If there are no situations or no implication of illegal activity, score ‘Strongly Disagree.’ |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Guidance</th>
<th>Score Criteria</th>
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</table>
| 29. This ad misrepresents the alcohol product and is dishonest or untruthful. | (GP) Should be legal, decent, honest and truthful, and conform to accepted principles of fair competition and good business practice. | Alcohol marketing is supposed to be “legal, decent, honest and truthful, and conform to accepted principles of fair competition and good business practice.”  
  • Code ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’, as appropriate, if the situation in the ad seems to be untruthful, or if the ad misrepresents the alcohol product (for example in its health claims) or is dishonest or untruthful (for example in its portrayal of a competing brand). |
| 30. The ad condones or trivializes excessive or irresponsible alcohol consumption. | (GP) Should avoid condoning or trivializing excessive or irresponsible consumption or intoxication. | Score ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’ if this ad portrays excessive or irresponsible consumption or intoxication, even if it uses humor to downplay irresponsible consumption. |
| 31. The ad portrays abstinence or moderate alcohol consumption in a negative way. | (GP) Should avoid portraying abstinence or moderate consumption in a negative way. | Score ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’ if ad portrays abstinence or moderate consumption in a negative way, even if it’s meant to be humorous. |
| 32. The ad associates drinking with improvement of basic living conditions or personal problems. | (GP) Should not suggest that alcohol beverages can prevent, treat, or cure illness or resolve personal problems. | • Score ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad suggests that the alcohol product is necessary for resolving personal problems or improving ones conditions.  
  • Score ‘Agree’ if ad suggests an association between the product and improved conditions.  
  • Score ‘Neutral’ if the association is ambiguous. |
| 33. The ad depicts or appears to be addressed to at-risk groups, such as pregnant women, women of childbearing age, people under legal purchase age, college students, ethnic minorities, alcoholics, or other vulnerable groups. | (GP) Should not depict or be addressed to at-risk groups. | Score ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’ if ad is targeted at, and/ or features any of the groups mentioned. |
| 34. This ad presents alcohol as a stimulant, sedative or tranquilizer. | (GP) Should not present alcohol beverages as a stimulant, sedative or tranquilizer. | • Score ‘Strongly Agree’ if ad presents alcohol as a stimulant, sedative or tranquilizer,  
  • Score ‘Agree’ if the ad suggests the product has a sedative or calming effect.  
  • Score ‘Neutral’ if the association is ambiguous or unclear. |
<p>| 35. This ad depicts the country’s flag, maps, national colors, or national sport’s team. | | Score ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad depicts the country’s flag, maps, national colors, or national sport’s team. |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th>36. This ad portrays the alcohol product as being a part of the national tradition or a source of national pride.</th>
<th>Score ‘Agree’ or ‘Strongly Agree’ if the ad portrays the alcohol product as being a part of the national tradition or a source of national pride.</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>(GP) Prepared with a due sense of social responsibility, not using themes, images, symbols, or portrayals likely to be considered of offensive, derogatory, or demeaning;</td>
<td>The dictionary defines “offensive” as “causing resentful displeasure; highly irritating, angering, or annoying.” Derogatory means “tending to lessen the merit or reputation of a person or thing; make a person or thing seem of little importance or value; belittling, contemptuous, demeaning. Offensive/ derogatory themes or images can depend on geographic location, history and culture of a particular region. Offensive/ derogatory portrayals are often based on religion, race, ethnicity, sex, color and disability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. This ad uses themes, images, symbols, or portrayals likely to be considered offensive, derogatory or demeaning.</td>
<td>Code ‘Strongly Agree’ of most people in your country would be offended, irritated, angered or annoyed by the content of the ad or if the ad clearly shows someone being degraded or demeaned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(GP) Respect human dignity and integrity</td>
<td>Code ‘Agree’ if the situation is inappropriate but not clearly offensive, derogatory or demeaning, or if some people would consider it so.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. This ad is in conflict with generally accepted principles concerning respect for human dignity and integrity.</td>
<td>Code Neutral if you are not sure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(UC) Subjects in advertisements being under 25 years of age avoid showing minors (or people likely to be perceived as minors) drinking alcohol beverages</td>
<td>If it is unclear, code as ‘Neutral’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. How old do you think the youngest person in this ad is?</td>
<td>Please type in a two-digit number that represents your estimate of the age of the youngest looking character shown in the ad. Please estimate the age in years (no decimals).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(UC)</td>
<td>- Use ‘0’ if there is no person is shown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. How many drinks do you estimate this person is likely to consume in the situation shown in the ad?</td>
<td>(UC) Encouragement of immoderate/ excessive drinking (GP) portray only moderate and responsible consumption by people of legal age to consume alcohol beverages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>