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Title: Is popular radio a source of exposure to alcohol references in mid to later life? A content analysis.

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Abstract

Background: There is increasing concern around older adults' alcohol consumption yet little understanding about what influences this behaviour. There is no previous research that explores the extent to which older adults may be exposed to alcohol references in the media. This project aimed to determine the frequency of alcohol references on radio stations with a high proportion of older adult listeners.

Methods: Content analysis of alcohol references on four popular UK music-based radio stations with a high proportion of listeners aged 55-64 years over three time points.

Results: Alcohol references occur frequently, but vary by time of year and type of radio station. When alcohol is mentioned its consumption is portrayed as the norm and without negative consequences. On the three commercial stations, the majority of mentions came from advertising, whereas on BBC Radio 2 nearly all references were talk-based. All adverts for direct promotion of alcohol were by supermarkets. Alcohol was frequently portrayed as something associated with celebrations, socialising, or as something to consume for its own sake.

Conclusions: Older people, in the age group 55-64, may be exposed to references to alcohol that could serve to reinforce norms of consumption of alcohol and promote purchases of cheap alcohol.

Word count: 200 (Max 200)

Introduction

Alcohol consumption remains a significant global public health problem¹⁻². Consequences of drinking are related to consumption amounts and patterns, with many western societies' characterised by chronic overconsumption or acute, high-intensity, consumption³. Exposure to alcohol promotion is associated with initiation and progression of alcohol use, as well as pro-drinking attitudes, in younger people⁴⁻⁷. Such exposures are found in different media, such as music lyrics and videos, television programmes and sponsorship, radio advertising, magazine articles and advertising, and social media⁸⁻¹⁰. Despite research investigating these effects in younger people, no research has investigated the prevalence of alcohol promotion in media that might be more likely to influence adults in mid to later life.

In the UK, mid to later life is typically associated with the transition from full-time paid work to retirement. Because of the increasing proportion of the population in mid to later life there is interest in the health-related behaviours of this group and the ways in which healthy ageing may be influenced¹¹⁻¹³. This cohort are of particular interest because of their unique characteristics: they currently represent the first generation to have been consistently exposed to mass media advertising throughout their lives¹⁴; they have been the first generation to grow up in a consumer society and be relatively wealthy throughout most of their adult lives¹⁴; and many have large amounts of disposable income, and thus are an economically powerful group¹⁵. It is for these reasons, along with evidence of increasing levels of drinking in older adults¹⁶, that further research exploring the links between alcohol, the media and older people is crucial. There is a need for greater understanding about what influences older adults' perceptions and norms of drinking behaviour, and ways in which harmful drinking in this age group might be addressed.

Research exploring alcohol portrayals in the media has focused on television, films and print media with little attention to other forms such as radio. One previous UK study which investigated alcohol references and radio broadcasting focused on the likely exposure on adolescents and younger

adults¹⁷. This study found that alcohol was often used to create and maintain a shared identity between presenters and the audience, and alcohol references tended to reinforce socio-cultural norms¹⁷. The aim of this project was to conduct a content analysis of UK broadcast radio, with a high proportion of listeners in the 55-64 age group, to determine the frequency, type and content of references to alcohol.

Methods

Identifying stations

Data were obtained from Radio Joint Audience Research (RAJAR) which is responsible for measuring radio audiences in the UK¹⁸. RAJAR reports on around 310 stations, including all British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) stations as well as the vast majority of local commercial and community radio stations. A report was obtained that provided a breakdown of listenership data for the peak period of 1600 to 1900 hours during weekdays. This provided a further breakdown of listenership by age bands, so that the proportion of listeners in the 55-64 age band to all adult listeners could be identified. Data reported by RAJAR provided average hours per listener and overall population reach, for each radio station reported on. RAJAR data was sorted to rank stations in order of population reach (the total number of adults aged over 15 years who live within the area in which a station's audience is measured). In order to include only stations with a large population reach (and thus most likely to have impact on large numbers of peoples' behaviours), only stations with a population reach above the median population reach for all stations were included.

For each station, the ratio of average hours for listeners in the 55-64 age group, to the average hours for all adult listeners, was calculated so that both the average hours, and the proportion of listeners in the age group of interest compared to all listeners, were taken into account. The rationale for this was to ensure that the selected stations had a disproportionately large number of listeners in the category of interest, as opposed to a high absolute number of older listeners. As this data is available to, and potentially used by, commercial organisations, this was hypothesised to be of importance, as advertisers may seek to target older listeners by identifying stations that have a high proportion of older listeners, coupled with substantial population reach.

Finally, sampled stations were primarily music-based, as much UK commercial radio broadcasting is of this nature. Including different types of station, such as talk-based radio, would lead to comparing

across heterogeneous categories of programming. Stations were thus sorted by the ratio described above and then selected based on the following five criteria:

1. Primarily a music-based station, e.g. not talk-, news- or sport-based
2. Not targeted at a particular demographic that precludes mentions or advertising of alcohol, e.g. stations targeted at British Asians
3. A commercial radio station (funded by the selling of advertising airtime)
4. Available to be listened to via traditional mediums (FM and digital radio)
5. Shown as an individual station (not a station grouping) and available to record using Audials internet-recording software.

One national BBC radio station was selected as a comparator, so that the contributions to alcohol references from advertising alone could be compared with a station not reliant on advertising revenue, and other mentions of alcohol could be compared between stations with and without paid advertising. The BBC radio station selected was the first on the sorted list (as described above) that was primarily music-based.

Data collection

Recording was pre-programmed using Audials internet-radio recording software over three purposively sampled two-week periods during December 2014, February and April 2015. The first time period was chosen to correspond with the approach to Christmas and New Year, during which it was anticipated that there may be a large number of references to alcohol. The other two time periods were chosen as the corresponding weeks of the month at approximately two-month intervals from December onwards. The software was set to record for each selected radio station between 1600 and 1900 hours at 3 time points, all of which were weekdays. Each sample consisted of recordings made over a ten day period, of which three days were then selected for coding and analysis using random numbers generated using Minitab software¹⁹. In the case of failed recordings, the next available day before or after the selected day were chosen for coding. This process was

repeated for each recording period. It was planned that each day would contain twelve hours of radio broadcasts (three hours for each of the four selected stations) to give a total of 108 hours of radio programming to be coded and analysed.

Content analysis

Content analysis is a systematic way in which to analyse media, and is frequently used to reveal patterns in media output²⁰. To quantify references to alcohol made during broadcast radio programmes, not only was the frequency of references counted, but also detailed characteristics of the reference. These were:

- Type and duration of reference, e.g. advert, presenter mention
- Part of programming that reference occurred, e.g. commercial break, chat segment
- Reference type, e.g. reference to effects of alcohol
- Whether the reference encouraged consumption per se, or a specific type, e.g. excessive
- Whether a 'drink responsibly' message was provided
- Contextual information about the reference, e.g. location, type of drinking, drinking prompt
- Emotions or experiences linked to consumption or purchase of alcohol

A codebook (available on request) was formulated and piloted, based on a previous content analysis of references to alcohol during televised football matches²¹, but adapted to be used for coding radio programmes. A previous study that assessed the content of radio programming in relation to alcohol and younger people was also reviewed for additional coding categories¹⁷. For commercial stations only, total advertising time was also captured in order to calculate the proportion of alcohol advertising as a percentage of total advertising time. Analysis, conducted in SPSS v13²², was descriptive, presenting counts, frequencies, percentages and averages of numbers of references to alcohol, stratified by time period and radio station. Examples of verbatim quotes from the radio

broadcasts are used to illuminate findings. To ensure reliability of coding, a second researcher coded ten percent of the total recorded broadcast hours. Krippendorff's alpha was calculated²³⁻²⁴.

Results

Thirty-six broadcasts totalling 103 hours were coded.

Sample

Four stations were selected comprising three commercial stations and one BBC station (see table 1). The commercial stations covered different geographical areas in the UK and had a large population reach; BBC Radio 2 covers all of the UK. XFM had the highest ratio of listeners in the 55-64 age category to all adult listeners (for the time band of interest: weekdays 1600-1900). BBC Radio 2 had a broad age range of listeners but, because of its national coverage, was most likely to reach the largest absolute number of adults in the 55-64 age group. The commercial stations all had similar formats, typically comprising 10-20 minutes of continuous music followed by a 2-3 minute commercial break segment, brief interludes of presenter talking, hourly news, and occasional other segments such as phone-ins or competitions. BBC Radio 2 had a slightly different format, in that it did not include commercial advertising (as with all domestic BBC broadcasting). Because of this, there were extended talk-based, guest and topical segments compared to the commercial stations.

Table 1 here

Frequency

We identified 151 references to alcohol (see table 2). Time point 1 (T1 - December 2014) had the highest total number and mean number of references per hour. BBC Radio 2 had the highest number of references to alcohol overall (n=49). Adverts for alcohol, or which made reference to alcohol, made up over 90% of all references to alcohol on commercial stations. Greater variation in reference length (11.1 seconds to 33.0 seconds) was seen for BBC Radio 2, where references were typically talk-based and more varied in context.

Table 2 here

Types of references

On BBC Radio 2, the greatest proportion of references to alcohol came from presenters reading out listeners' social media messages. The small proportion that came from adverts on BBC Radio 2 were adverts for other BBC shows (see figure 1).

Figure 1 here

On all stations, around two thirds of alcohol references were for specific types of products, i.e. wine or beer; with wine the most frequently mentioned product. The remainder referred to drinking in general, the effects or consequences of drinking, or sensible drinking messages. For commercial stations, there was a modest amount of advertising promoting sensible drinking. Drunkenness was mentioned more on BBC Radio 2 than on commercial stations; any references to drunkenness were talk-based rather than advertising (see table 3).

Table 3 here

Adverts

There were 155 brand mentions across 92 adverts. Over two thirds (n=61; 66.3%) were specific promotions for alcohol products or brands. These were all by supermarkets or convenience store chains; there were no adverts by alcohol producers (see table 4). A small number of adverts made reference to alcohol but were not actually alcohol-specific, for example, an advert for soup that made reference to wine:

“...what counts as one of your 5-a-day, I thought red wine might, because it's got grapes in it, but sadly not...”

Table 4 here

The proportion of advertising devoted to alcohol ranged from 6.2% at T1 to 4.2% at T3. In contrast, counter-advertising (messages warning about alcohol's effects) was only evident at T1, and was less

than half that of the remainder of advertising. Supermarkets' adverts for alcohol represented the largest proportion of alcohol advertising time at 2.6% overall (range 0.9% - 4.3%). Over 70% (n=46) of adverts provided a 'please drink responsibly' warning (see table 5).

Table 5 here

Given that the majority of adverts were by supermarkets for branded products, supermarket names were counted (see figure 2). Co-operative had the largest number of adverts, often promoting itself as a place to shop for last-minute or forgotten items, for example in the following advert for Taylor's Port:

Character 1 - female: [sound of door opening] "David, you did remember the port and cheese for tonight didn't you?"

Character 2 - male: "Er, yes" [sound of door closing again]

Voiceover - female: "With Taylor's Port half-price, help is only a Co-op away this Christmas."

Figure 2 here

Content

On commercial stations the most frequently suggested location of drinking was in a bar, pub or restaurant. However, in over half of cases, no location was suggested. To a lesser extent were suggestions of drinking either at a party or at home. Most location references were from commercial adverts, except for 'at a party', where 5 out of 13 references were talk-based and mainly made by presenters in reference to attending Christmas parties. On BBC Radio 2 the majority of references to alcohol did also not suggest a drinking location (see table 6).

Table 6 here

In total, 159 consumption prompts were identified. Just under half, on commercial stations, were related to celebration with around a third linked to socialising. However, on BBC Radio 2, no intake prompts were identified for just under half of the sample (see table 7). A small proportion of

references, on both commercial stations and BBC Radio 2, suggested that alcohol be consumed with food (11%), and a small proportion was also linked to suggestions of binge drinking (9%) (see table 8).

Table 7 and 8 here

Alcohol was often implied as a staple, necessity or norm, or as something to give as a gift. Many adverts for alcohol invoked humour; talk-based references also frequently associated alcohol consumption with humorous outcomes. Around 90% of all associations identified were either positive or neutral, with few associations being negative or discouraging of drinking (see table 9).

Table 9 here

Inter-rater reliability

Most variables had good or excellent inter-rater reliability scores e.g. segment of programme ($\alpha=0.78$, 95%CI=0.48-1.00); type of alcohol ($\alpha=0.98$, 95%CI=0.93-1.00); type of consumption ($\alpha=0.92$, 95%CI=0.77-1.00); level of consumption ($\alpha=0.77$, 95%CI=0.42-1.00); and presence or absence of 'drink responsibly' warning ($\alpha=0.87$, 95%CI=0.67-1.00). However agreement on some variables was poor, particularly ones that required a judgement about implied as well as explicit associations with the reference e.g. location ($\alpha=0.50$, 95%CI=0.25-0.75); socio cultural associations ($\alpha= 0.42$, 95%CI=0.25-0.58); prompts ($\alpha=0.43$, 95%CI=0.26-0.63).

Discussion

Summary of findings

This research demonstrates that references to alcohol on both commercial and non-commercial UK radio stations likely to have a high proportion of older listeners occur frequently, but vary between time of year and type of radio station. On commercial stations, the majority of alcohol references came from advertising, whereas on BBC Radio 2 nearly all references were talk-based. Further, where alcohol is mentioned its consumption is often portrayed as the norm and without negative consequences. Some counter-advertising was identified on the three commercial stations, mainly in the form of an anti-drink-driving campaign around Christmas time. Nevertheless, the majority of alcohol references were overwhelmingly neutral (neither discouraging of alcohol nor explicitly prompting consumption) or positive in their portrayals of alcohol. Few references were categorised as negative; and adverts often used humour or were light-hearted in tone. Alcohol was frequently portrayed as something associated with celebrations and socialising. Whilst responsible drinking messages were provided in 70% of identified alcohol references, these were often vague and ambiguous, for example by simply stating 'please drink responsibly' at the end of an advert.

Strengths and limitations

This study is the first of its kind to investigate references to alcohol during radio broadcasting with a specific focus on listeners in the 55-64 age group. Selection of radio stations was based on objective data on UK radio reach and listenership and data were collected at three time points to allow for seasonal variation. It was not possible within the constraints of this project to obtain data about the socio-demographic profiles of stations' listeners, which may have allowed for exploration as to how different stations have the potential to differentially influence different socio-demographic groups. Only one part of the day was selected for recording. Although this part of the day may attract the most listeners in absolute terms, it may not be the time of day or day of the week when listeners attend most to adverts or talk-based references. The expected sample at time point 2 was not

achieved due to multiple software failures. Thus, some of the days that were selected to be used in the sample had to be changed to other days that had recorded successfully. Although these software failures appeared to be a random occurrence, there is the possibility that reselection of days could have led to some bias in the results. Finally, inter-rater reliability for some of the coded variables was poor. These were mainly subjective in nature, where it was expected that there may be some level of disagreement.

Comparison to other literature

Research has previously explored the prevalence of talk-based references to alcohol on radio stations likely to have a high proportion of younger listeners¹⁷. Our research suggests that the prevalence of talk-based references to alcohol on stations sampled to have a larger proportion of older listeners may not be dissimilar. In the present study, few talk-based references were found on commercial stations, whilst the opposite was true in the research by Daykin¹⁷. As with the present study, seasonal trends were found, with references peaking around Christmas time.

On commercial stations, most references were from advertising. Whilst there is evidence that alcohol advertising influences drinking behaviour and intentions, at least in younger adults²⁵, much less is known about how talk-based references to alcohol may differentially influence behaviour or norms. Whilst not directly comparable, it has been shown that alcohol portrayals in movies, music video and soap operas can influence the onset and progression of alcohol consumption in young people, suggesting that it may not just be advertising that is responsible for such influences²⁶.

All direct promotions for alcohol on commercial stations in this sample were by supermarkets or other retailers, but not alcohol producers, and were mainly price- or offer-based promotions rather than general promotion of a brand or product. This may suggest that alcohol producers are choosing not to use radio as a medium to advertise their products, at least not on the stations sampled, yet supermarkets are. This raises the question of whether supermarkets are using alcohol as a loss-leader. In a 2008 briefing paper by the Institute of Alcohol Studies, the tactic of supermarkets using

alcohol as a loss-leader was discussed at length²⁷. The aim of such commercial behaviour is to attract customers to one of the company's stores to buy alcohol in the hope that customers will buy other products.

Public health has traditionally focused on the effects of advertising on younger people, meaning that the effects that such influences might have on other demographic groups have been overlooked. Whilst UK government policy and cabinet strategy has been vocal on the issues of binge drinking, particularly that engaged in by younger people in town and city centres, it has been oddly silent on the increasing numbers of older adults potentially developing serious health problems because of heavy drinking undertaken at home, arguably facilitated by cheap and readily available alcohol available from supermarkets²⁸. Whilst this study can in no way make any claims as to the likely impact upon drinking behaviour and actual alcohol consumption, the findings show that older people, in the age group 55-64, are being exposed to references to alcohol that could serve to reinforce norms of excessive consumption and promote purchases of cheap alcohol. Given the increase of the ageing population, many of whom have been shown to often drink above recommended levels and to be particularly vulnerable to the deleterious health effects of alcohol, increasing attention should be paid to how patterns of drinking in older adults are influenced, and the role that the media may play in shaping and reinforcing norms around alcohol.

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Table 1: Description of the radio stations selected for analysis, including population reach and the ratio of average hours for listeners in the 55-64 age group to average hours for all adult listeners

<i>Station</i>	<i>Geographic area</i>	<i>Population reach</i>	<i>Ratio</i>	<i>Genre</i>
<i>Capital Birmingham</i>	West Midlands	440,000	3.3	Pop & current chart
<i>Downtown Radio</i>	Northern Ireland	269,000	2.0	Adult contemporary*
<i>XFM</i>	Greater London	417,000	4.0	Alternative, indie & rock
<i>BBC Radio 2</i>	UK (national)	15,014,000	1.0	Adult contemporary*

* - typically 60s, 70s, 80s, 90s and current pop and chart music

Table 2: Count of all references, mean number (SD) of references to alcohol per hour and mean (SD) reference length, by station and time point

<i>Station</i>	<i>T1</i>			<i>T2</i>			<i>T3</i>		
	<i>n</i>	<i>Per hour</i>	<i>Length*</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Per hour</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Per hour</i>	<i>Length</i>
<i>Cap. B'ham</i>	26	2.9 (2.0)	27.2 (9.3)	3	0.3 (0.5)	26.3 (11.0)	10	1.2 (1.0)	25.0 (5.3)
<i>Downtown</i>	28	3.2 (2.5)	21.5 (5.6)	4	0.4 (1.0)	20.0 (0.0)	12	1.3 (1.4)	20.8 (2.9)
<i>XFM</i>	16	1.8 (1.1)	24.3 (7.6)	3	0.3 (0.5)	19.0 (11.5)	0	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
<i>BBC R2</i>	23	2.6 (2.2)	11.1 (9.3)	3	0.7 (1.0)	17.7 (12.5)	23	2.5 (3.4)	33.0 (43.5)
<i>Overall</i>	93	2.6 (4.5)	21.0 (10.0)	13	0.4 (0.9)	20.7 (8.7)	45	1.3 (2.4)	28.0 (31.3)

* - length is in seconds

Table 3: Type of mentions - brand specific, type specific or other general/indirect mentions

<i>Type</i>	<i>Commercial (n=102*)</i>	<i>BBC (n=49)</i>
<i>Direct mention – brand or type specific</i>		
<i>Wine</i>	38 (37.3)	14 (28.6)
<i>Beer/lager/cider</i>	16 (15.7)	12 (24.5)
<i>Spirits or cocktails</i>	13 (12.7)	5 (10.2)
<i>Multiple products</i>	1 (1.0)	1 (2.0)
<i>Alcohol in general – general drinking</i>	8 (7.8)	6 (12.2)
<i>Alcohol in general – drunkenness</i>	3 (2.9)	6 (12.2)
<i>Alcohol in general – implications/consequences</i>	7 (6.9)	2 (4.1)
<i>Counter-advertising (or responsible drinking)</i>	10 (9.8)	0 (0.0)
<i>Encouraging responsible consumption</i>	8 (7.8)	0 (0.0)
<i>Alcohol for use as other than a drink</i>	0 (0.0)	3 (6.1)

* - two mentions were given two sub-type codes (as per protocol) and so are double counted, hence column total is 104

Table 4: Count (%) of number of adverts for the three commercial stations, broken down by type of advert and pooled across time points

	<i>Capital Birmingham (n=36)</i>	<i>Downtown Radio (n=43)</i>	<i>XFM (n=13)</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Advert by supermarket for specific brand(s)</i>	11 (30.6)	28 (65.1)	10 (76.9)	49 (53.3)
<i>Advert by supermarket for own brand</i>	1 (2.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.1)
<i>Advert by supermarket for alcohol in general (no brand)</i>	4 (11.1)	7 (16.3)	0 (0.0)	11 (12.0)
<i>Counter-advertising/sensible drinking</i>	8 (22.2)	4 (9.3)	3 (23.1)	15 (16.3)
<i>Advert for a bar/pub/restaurant</i>	8 (22.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	8 (8.7)
<i>Other advertising that mentions alcohol</i>	4 (11.1)	4 (9.3)	0 (0.0)	8 (8.7)

Table 5: Total minutes of alcohol advertising, also shown as a percentage of all advertising time.

Shown by time point; data pooled across all stations.

	T1	T2	T3	Overall
<i>Advert by supermarket for specific brand(s)</i>	9.7 (3.3)	2.3 (0.9)	5.0 (2.9)	17.0 (2.1)
<i>Advert by supermarket for own brand</i>	0.3 (0.1)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.3 (0.0)
<i>Advert by supermarket for alcohol in general (no brand)</i>	2.7 (0.9)	0.0 (0.0)	1.0 (0.4)	3.7 (0.5)
<i>Counter-advertising/sensible drinking</i>	8.1 (2.8)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	8.1 (1.0)
<i>Advert for a bar/pub/restaurant</i>	2.0 (0.7)	0.0 (0.0)	1.8 (0.7)	3.8 (0.5)
<i>Other advertising that mentions alcohol</i>	3.5 (1.2)	0.0 (0.0)	0.5 (0.2)	4.0 (0.5)
<i>All advertising that mentions alcohol</i>	26.3 (9.8)	2.3 (1.3)	8.3 (3.3)	36.9 (5.0)

Table 6: Count (%) of drinking locations mentioned or implied, by commercial/BBC and by advert/non-advert

<i>Location</i>	<i>Commercial (n=102)</i>	<i>BBC Radio 2 (n=49)</i>	<i>All (n=149)</i>
<i>Bar/pub/restaurant</i>	26 (28.3)	11 (22.5)	37 (24.5)
<i>Party</i>	13 (14.1)	2 (4.4)	15 (9.9)
<i>Festival/outdoors</i>	1 (1.0)	3 (6.1)	4 (2.7)
<i>At home</i>	8 (7.8)	5 (11.1)	13 (8.6)
<i>Unspecified/no mention</i>	54 (53.9)	28 (57.1)	81 (54.3)

Table 7: Count (%) of drinking prompts mentioned or implied

<i>Location</i>	<i>Commercial (n=107)</i>	<i>BBC Radio 2 (n=52)</i>	<i>All (n=159)</i>
<i>To alleviate negative emotions</i>	0 (0.0)	1 (1.9)	1 (0.6)
<i>Peer pressure</i>	1 (0.9)	1 (1.9)	2 (1.9)
<i>Belong to a group</i>	2 (1.9)	1 (1.9)	3 (3.8)
<i>To socialise</i>	29 (27.1)	1 (1.9)	30 (18.9)
<i>To enhance an experience</i>	5 (4.7)	8 (16.7)	13 (8.2)
<i>To celebrate</i>	45 (42.1)	4 (8.3)	49 (30.8)
<i>For its own sake</i>	12 (11.2)	11 (21.2)	23 (14.5)
<i>For health benefits</i>	2 (1.9)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.3)
<i>No intake prompts</i>	11 (10.3)	25 (48.1)	36 (22.6)

Table 8: Count (%) of consumption type mentioned or implied

<i>Location</i>	<i>Commercial</i> <i>(n=102)</i>	<i>BBC Radio 2</i> <i>(n=49)</i>	<i>All</i> <i>(n=149)</i>
<i>Binge/drinking to get drunk</i>	10 (9.8)	3 (6.7)	13 (8.6)
<i>Slow/moderate consumption</i>	5 (4.9)	4 (8.9)	9 (6.0)
<i>Consuming specifically with food</i>	8 (7.8)	8 (16.3)	16 (10.6)
<i>Counter-advertising/responsible drinking</i>	10 (9.8)	0 (0.0)	10 (6.6)
<i>Negative effects of drinking</i>	2 (2.0)	1 (2.0)	3 (2.0)
<i>Not enough information given</i>	67 (65.7)	33 (66.7)	100 (66.2)

Table 9: Count (%) of all socio-cultural associations with references to alcohol

<i>Type</i>	<i>Commercial (n=182)</i>	<i>BBC (n=86)</i>	<i>All (n=268)</i>
<i>Sexual desire/success</i>	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.4)
<i>Reward/success</i>	10 (5.5)	4 (4.7)	14 (5.2)
<i>Relaxation</i>	6 (3.3)	4 (4.7)	10 (3.7)
<i>Social status</i>	9 (4.9)	7 (8.1)	16 (6.0)
<i>Creative expression</i>	0 (0.0)	4 (4.7)	4 (1.5)
<i>Humour</i>	23 (12.6)	15 (17.4)	38 (14.2)
<i>Good taste/artisanal</i>	13 (7.1)	10 (11.6)	23 (8.6)
<i>Glamorousness</i>	11 (6.0)	1 (1.2)	12 (4.5)
<i>Emotional disconnection</i>	0 (0.0)	1 (1.2)	1 (0.4)
<i>Empathy/bonding</i>	3 (1.6)	1 (1.2)	4 (1.5)
<i>Sport-related</i>	1 (0.5)	1 (1.2)	2 (0.8)
<i>Alcohol as a gift</i>	19 (10.4)	3 (3.5)	22 (8.2)
<i>Alcohol as a staple/necessity/norm</i>	44 (24.2)	25 (29.1)	69 (25.8)
<i>Nutritional/health benefit</i>	2 (1.1)	1 (1.2)	3 (1.1)
<i>Shame/embarrassment</i>	11 (6.0)	2 (2.3)	13 (4.9)
<i>Legal implications</i>	1 (0.5)	1 (1.2)	2 (0.8)
<i>Detrimental health impacts</i>	2 (1.1)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.8)
<i>Other negative outcomes</i>	7 (3.8)	1 (1.2)	8 (3.0)
<i>Benefits of responsible drinking</i>	14 (7.7)	1 (1.2)	15 (5.6)
<i>Forgetfulness</i>	0 (0.0)	2 (2.3)	2 (0.8)
<i>Silly behaviour</i>	1 (0.5)	2 (2.3)	3 (1.1)
<i>Impaired performance</i>	4 (2.2)	0 (0.0)	4 (1.5)

Figure 1: Frequency distribution of the show segments in which references to alcohol were made, split between commercial and non-commercial station; data pooled across all time points

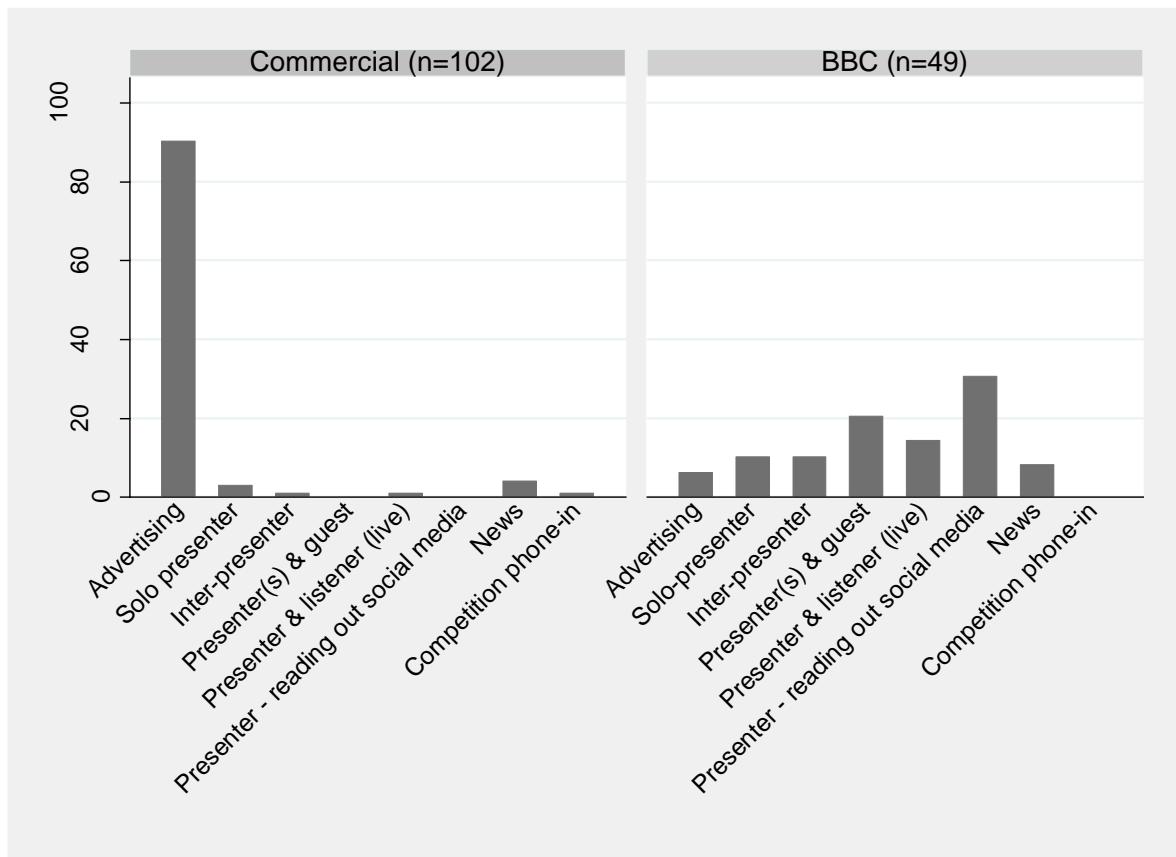


Figure 2: Frequency of adverts by individual supermarkets, wine shops or convenience stores

