

FOUL PLAY?

ALCOHOL MARKETING DURING UEFA EURO 2016

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CONTENTS

Executive Summary	03
Acknowledgements	04
1. Introduction	05
1.1 Alcohol Marketing and Football	05
1.2 UEFA EURO 2016 and the Loi Évin	08
2. Methods	09
2.1 Design	09
2.2 Selection of Broadcasts	09
2.3 Defining Alcohol Marketing References	10
2.4 Coding of Alcohol Marketing References	10
2.5 Procedure	10
2.6 In-play References Across the Three Countries	11
3. Results	12
3.1 UK Broadcasts of UEFA EURO 2016 Football Matches	12
3.2 France Broadcasts of UEFA EURO 2016 Football Matches	13
3.3 Republic of Ireland Broadcasts of UEFA EURO 2016 Football Matches	14
3.4. Commercial advertising	15
4. Discussion	16
4.1 Key Findings	16
4.2 Alibi Marketing: How the alcohol industry responds to ‘dark markets’	17
4.3 Explaining the Presence of Alcohol Marketing, Despite the Loi Évin	18
5. Conclusion	21
5.1 What does this study tell us about the influence of the Loi Évin on alcohol marketing at UEFA EURO 2016	21
5.2 Challenges and recommendations	22
6. References	23
7. Appendices	27

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This research was carried out by researchers at the Institute for Social Marketing, University of Stirling and funded by the Institute of Alcohol Studies (IAS), Scottish Health Action on Alcohol Problems (SHAAP), and Alcohol Action Ireland.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND: International football tournaments provide a high-profile platform for alcohol marketing. UEFA EURO 2016, however, was held in France where the national law governing alcohol advertising and sports sponsorship (the ‘Loi Évin’) was the most restrictive to apply in the tournament’s history. This study examined alcohol marketing references in the UEFA EURO 2016 football tournament through broadcasts in the UK, France, and Republic of Ireland.

METHODS: Eighteen matches were selected, representing each of the tournament stages. All of these were recorded as broadcast in the UK. Ten of the 18 matches were recorded as broadcast in Ireland and eight were recorded as broadcast in France. A customised tool was used to identify and categorise all alcohol marketing references (e.g. location, duration, brand featured, and number of identical references). A reference was defined as any reference to an alcohol brand, lasting one second or more and included electronic and static pitch-side advertising, branded merchandise, television advertisements, sponsor lead-ins and branded packaging.

RESULTS: On average, there were more than 100 alcohol marketing references per broadcast in each country. The average number of alcohol marketing references per minute was 0.69 in French broadcasts, 0.65 in the UK broadcasts, and 0.59 in Irish broadcasts. Most references appeared during the match, where the footage was the same in all three countries. The most popular location and format was electronic pitch-side advertising. Almost all the marketing references were indirect (i.e. the brand was only identifiable from signifiers such as phrases from the brand slogan). There were limited differences between the three countries.

CONCLUSIONS: The frequency of references to alcohol marketing was high. Although the overall proportion of direct brand references was low, the high proportion of indirect references demonstrates that alcohol producers were able to circumvent the Loi Évin using ‘alibi marketing’. The limited differences between the three countries highlight the importance of a host nation’s regulations for international tournaments. Regulations to limit alcohol advertising need to be rigorously enforced and monitored, with clear lines of accountability explicitly outlined in law.

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INTRODUCTION

International football tournaments provide a high-profile platform for alcohol marketing. The UEFA EURO 2016 football tournament, however, was held in France where the national law governing alcohol advertising and sports sponsorship (the ‘Loi Évin’) was the most restrictive to apply in the tournament’s history. This report examines the nature and frequency of alcohol marketing references observed in matches from the UEFA EURO 2016 football tournament as broadcast in the UK, Republic of Ireland, and France. It considers (1) the response of the alcohol industry to the Loi Évin; and (2) how the volume and type of marketing differed in broadcasts across the three countries.

1.1 Alcohol Marketing and Football

Alcohol marketing is an important focus for investigation because of its potential to influence drinking behaviour, particularly amongst young people. There is a wealth of evidence that exposure to alcohol advertising increases the likelihood that young people will start to consume alcohol and will drink more if they already do so (Anderson et al., 2009; Jernigan et al., 2017; Smith and Foxcroft, 2009). There is also increasing interest in the potential influence of marketing on those who are already regular users of alcohol, particularly those who are heavy or problematic users (Booth et al. 2008; Meier, 2011).

Although ‘marketing’ refers to all the techniques used to communicate and manage relationships with consumers (Scott et al., 2016), one aspect which has received particular recent attention is sport sponsorship (Alcohol Action Ireland, 2015; Alcohol Concern, 2013; Alcohol Focus Scotland, 2017; Dobson, 2012; Gilmore, 2015). Sponsorship is a particularly important marketing strategy as it allows brands to associate themselves with attractive and emotionally-arousing cultural phenomena such as music, celebrity and sport, thereby increasing their visibility, appeal, and power among target consumers (BMA, 2009; Hastings et al., 2009; Purves et al., 2014). The influence of sponsorship is also not limited to any one media channel, and can instead also be used to enhance the salience and reach of other marketing such as competitions, television advertisements, and product packaging (Alcohol Action Ireland, 2015).

Research suggests that alcohol sponsorship does reach young people. A study of sports sponsorship in Ireland found high awareness of alcohol sponsorship among 7-13 year olds, indicating that sponsorship reached those well below the legal age of purchase of addictive substances (Houghton et al., 2014). A survey conducted by Alcohol Concern found that half of 837 children aged 10 and 11 surveyed in England and Scotland associated beer brands with their favourite football teams and tournaments, whilst one in two children associated the brand Carlsberg with the English national team (Alcohol Concern, 2015). The same survey also found that brand recognition of Foster’s lager was higher than that of McVitie’s biscuits, McCoy’s crisps, and Ben and Jerry’s ice cream. Exposure to alcohol sponsorship has also been shown to be associated with positive attitudes and expectations regarding alcohol consumption (Babor et al., 2010), and with increased levels of alcohol consumption and risky drinking amongst schoolchildren and sportspeople (Brown, 2016).

There is a longstanding association between alcohol brands and international football tournaments (Alcohol Concern, 2014). For example, Budweiser, owned by Anheuser-Busch InBev (AB InBev), has been a main sponsor of the FIFA World Cup since 1986 (FIFA, 2014), and also latterly the FIFA Confederations Cup (FIFA, 2013). AB InBev has also used sponsorship of the Campeonato Sudamericano Copa América (a continental tournament in South America) to promote Brazilian beer Brahma and Argentinian Cerveza Quilmes (AdAge, 2016; SportsProMedia, 2011). Miller Lite, owned by Molson Coors, has been a main sponsor for the CONCACAF Gold Cup (a continental tournament in North America) while Kirin, a Japanese brewer, has been one of the main sponsors of the AFC Asian Cup (a continental tournament in Asia and Oceania) (Asian Football Confederation, 2016).

International football tournaments provide alcohol brands with a high-profile platform for sponsorship, through being an official partner, and for broadcast advertising. The final of the 2014 FIFA World Cup, for example, attracted an average global television audience of around 570 million (Kantar Media, 2014). In Europe, the UEFA European Championships (or EURO) reaches similarly large audiences, with televised broadcasts of the UEFA EURO tournament attracting more than 300 million viewers across 230 worldwide territories (UEFA, 2016). Previous research has found a high volume of alcohol marketing references in both the FIFA World Cup and the UEFA EURO tournaments (Alcohol Concern, 2014; Adams et al 2014). Although the measures used to record alcohol references differed between the studies, analyses of broadcasts featuring the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the UEFA EURO 2012 tournaments both found a very high level of alcohol marketing per broadcast.

Beer brand Carlsberg has been one of the main sponsors of the UEFA EURO tournament since 1988 (Harman, 2013). Sponsorship of the tournament is a key part of Carlsberg's marketing strategy, with the company describing the UEFA EURO 2012 tournament as having 'surpassed all expectations' in terms of fan engagement and beer sales (Carlsberg, 2012). Carlsberg was again named as one of the 10 key sponsors of UEFA EURO 2016, alongside sportswear manufacturer Adidas, soft drinks brand Coca-Cola, Continental Tires, Hisense Electronics, carmaker Hyundai/Kia, fast-food chain McDonald's, Orange Mobile telecoms network, Socar Oil Company, and Turkish Airlines (UEFA, 2016). As part of their sponsorship deal, Carlsberg were entitled to have their logo on pitch-side electronic sponsor boards and other areas (e.g. interview boards), exclusive marketing rights for alcoholic beverages within stadiums and 'Fan Zones', and use of the tournament logo on their products. Examples of some of Carlsberg's wider sponsorship activity associated with the tournament are shown in the images on the following page (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Examples of wider sponsorship activity during UEFA EURO 2016



1.2 UEFA EURO 2016 and the Loi Évin

UEFA EURO 2016 differed from previous editions of the tournament in two ways. First, the number of teams increased from 16 to 24, which increased the number of matches played and the interest from television audiences in competing nations (UEFA, 2016). Second, it was the first time that the tournament had been held in France since the introduction of the Loi Évin in 1991 (France last hosted the Euro tournament in 1984). This law applies to the marketing of all drinks that are over 1.2% alcohol by volume, and is underpinned by three principles (Gallopel-Morvan et al., 2016; Lecas, 2016):

- **MEDIA LIMITATIONS:** Alcohol marketing may only feature through named media channels (e.g. outdoor and billboard or internet marketing). Other forms of media are prohibited (e.g. sponsorship and television). Any channel that is not explicitly stated is also considered to be prohibited, as are any forms of media targeted towards young people.
- **CONTENT LIMITATIONS:** Marketing may only contain messages that refer to the qualities and characteristics of products (e.g. alcohol % and origin). Any content not listed is prohibited (e.g. evocative images, associations with pleasure, success etc.)
- **INFORMING CONSUMERS:** Marketing must contain a mandatory health warning ('Abuse of alcohol is dangerous for health. Consume with moderation').

The UEFA EURO 2016 tournament therefore provided a key opportunity to examine the alcohol industry's response to the Loi Évin. Because UEFA EURO 2016 matches were broadcast in all of the participating countries, there was also an opportunity to examine differences between the amount and type of alcohol marketing observed during tournament broadcasts in countries that had different approaches to regulation (Appendix 1). For example, it would be expected that there would be more alcohol marketing observed during broadcasts of the tournament in the UK than in France, because of the tighter regulations in France.

2. METHODS

2.1 Design

We conducted a frequency analysis of all alcohol marketing references observed in the UEFA EURO 2016 tournament during a sample of matches as broadcast in the UK, France, and the Republic of Ireland. The design was informed by previous studies into alcohol sponsorship of televised top flight English club football (Graham & Adams, 2014) and the UEFA EURO 2012 football tournament held in Poland and Ukraine (Adams et al., 2014).

2.2 Selection of Broadcasts

Eighteen matches were selected, representing each of the tournament stages. All of these matches were recorded as broadcast in the UK (on BBC or ITV/STV). Ten of the 18 matches were also recorded as broadcast in Ireland (on RTÉ1) and eight were recorded as broadcast in France (on TF1 or Métropole 6). It was intended to have 10 matches as broadcast in both Ireland and France with an identical distribution across the tournament. There were, however, technical problems with recording matches in France. Only eight French matches were captured, with differences over the tournament, although the sample does still include at least one match from each stage (Table 1). Due to technical limitations, matches from France also did not contain audio and therefore no verbal references were recorded.¹ Furthermore, in five French matches a small proportion of footage was omitted. A summary of the games affected, and estimates of missing footage, is provided in Appendix 2.

All the selected matches were video recorded using recordable DVD players. Each recording included normal playing time, added time, extra time, penalty-shoot outs, pre- and post-match interviews and discussion, half-time analysis, and commercial breaks. The recording excluded any pre- or post-match discussion, interviews or highlights not part of the scheduled programme that featured during the match. For example, French broadcasts often had a separate programme before and after the match that presented news from the tournament in general or provided highlights from other matches (e.g. 'Le Mag').

Table 1: Sampling of matches broadcast in UK, France, and Ireland

Group Stages			Round of 16			Semi-Finals		
UK	France	Ireland	UK	France	Ireland	UK	France	Ireland
FRA V ROM		FRA V ROM	FRA V IRE		FRA V IRE	POR V WAL	POR V WAL	POR V WAL
FRA V ALB			ITA V ESP			GER V FRA	GER V FRA	GER V FRA
SWI V FRA	SWI V FRA		ENG V ICE	ENG V ICE	ENG V ICE			
ENG V RUS	ENG V RUS		Quarter-Finals			Final		
ENG V WAL								
SLO V ENG			UK	France	Ireland	UK	France	Ireland
IRE V SWE		IRE V SWE	POL V POR			FRA V POR	FRA V POR	FRA V POR
BEL V IRE		BEL V IRE	WAL V BEL	WAL V BEL				
ITA V IRE		ITA V IRE	FRA V ICE	FRA V ICE	FRA V ICE			

¹ There were no verbal-only references in UK broadcasts and Irish broadcasts. This suggested that the lack of audio in French broadcasts was unlikely to miss many, if any, references.

2.3 Defining Alcohol Marketing References

A reference was defined as any reference to an alcohol brand, lasting one second or more. A reference was counted each time it appeared, irrespective of how long it lasted or whether it had been previously seen (e.g. a pitch-side advertising board seen in-play first and then again in a replay). A new reference was counted each time the camera changed shot, even if the reference source remained the same (e.g. pitch-side advertising first viewed from behind the goal and then again when the camera reverted to the horizontal broadcast view). A new reference was also counted if a source went out of shot for more than a second (e.g. if the camera panned away from the pitch-side advertising and then back again). If different references were presented at the same time (e.g. static and electronic pitch advertising), each was recorded as separate references. If multiple identical references were visible at the same time (e.g. if the same brand name or slogan appeared multiple times on the pitch border) they were recorded as 'identical references visible at the same time' (see below).

2.4 Coding of Alcohol Marketing References

A detailed codebook was developed based on two similar previous studies (Adams et al. 2014; Graham & Adams, 2014). The codebook was initially developed and piloted on a match from the FIFA World Cup 2014, as broadcast on STV, and revised based on feedback and discussion. The following information was recorded for each reference using pre-defined categories for answers (a glossary of categories and descriptions is provided in Appendix 3).

- Time of reference in broadcast (HH:MM:SS).
- Broadcast segment (e.g. pre-match, first half, half-time).
- Location (e.g. pitch border, interview area, pre-recorded video segments).
- Format (e.g. static advertising, electronic advertising, and commercial advertisement).
- Duration (in seconds).
- Identical reference visible at same time (e.g. multiple pitch borders).
- Alcohol brand featured (e.g. Carlsberg, Fosters).
- Nature of brand reference (e.g. direct reference – such as brand names/logo – or indirect reference – although a name/logo did not appear, the brand was identifiable from other signifiers such as phrases from the brand slogan, colour, and typeface).

2.5 Procedure

All DVDs were played using a media player, using the pause and rewind function as required. Data was coded into an Excel spreadsheet designed around the codebook. A separate spreadsheet was used for each broadcast and separate spreadsheets were used to record information about the commercial breaks (e.g. synopsis of the advert).

2.6 In-play References Across the Three Countries

During coding, it was identified that broadcast footage of each match was identical across the three countries. We confirmed this by conducting a detailed comparison of in-match footage from France (England versus Russia) and Ireland (Ireland versus Sweden) with the same matches as broadcast in the UK. This was consistent with press coverage explaining that international broadcasters joined the 'world' feed' supplied by UEFA's International Broadcast Centre and overlaid their own commentary (Neild, 2016; Roder, 2015; Temperton, 2016). Therefore, in-play footage for all matches was coded from the UK broadcasts only, while the out-of-play sections (e.g. pre-match and post-match studio discussions) were coded for all the broadcasts.

3. RESULTS

3.1 UK Broadcasts of UEFA EURO 2016 Football Matches

The 18 matches recorded in the UK provided 55.6 hours of footage. Within this, 2,213 alcohol marketing references were recorded, an average of 123 per broadcast and an average of 0.65 per broadcast minute (Table 2). This equated, on average, to an alcohol marketing reference once every 92 seconds. The total duration of alcohol references was 5.41 hours, which represented almost 10% of the total broadcast time captured. Most references appeared in-play (62%). The most popular location for references was around the pitch border, pre-recorded video segments (e.g. other match highlights), and in the crowd (e.g. branded merchandise). The most frequent format was electronic pitch-side advertising boards, static visuals (e.g. interview boards) or branded merchandise (e.g. football shirts in crowd). Almost all references were indirect (91%) and the brand which featured in the most references was Carlsberg (96%). The median duration of references was 4.47 seconds.

Table 2: Summary of alcohol brand references in UK broadcasts

Total references	2,213
References per match	123
Average per minute of broadcast	0.65
Proportion references in play	62%
Proportion references out of play	38%
Popular locations of references	Pitch border, Video segments, Crowd
Popular format for references	Electronic pitch-side advertising, Static advertising, Branded merchandise
Most featured brand	Carlsberg (96%)
Median duration of references	4.47 seconds
Total duration of references	5.41 hours
Proportion of indirect references	91%
Proportion of direct references	9%
Number of adverts promoting alcohol	37 (average of 3.36 per broadcast)

3.2 France Broadcasts of UEFA EURO 2016 Football Matches

The eight matches recorded in France provided 20.6 hours of broadcast footage. Within this, 849 alcohol marketing references were recorded, an average of 106 per broadcast and an average of 0.69 per broadcast minute (Table 3). This equated, on average, to an alcohol marketing reference every 87 seconds. The total duration of all alcohol references was 1.61 hours, which represented almost 8% of the total broadcast time captured. Most references appeared in-play (65%). The most popular location for references was around the pitch border, references in the crowd (e.g. branded products), and in short video introductions featuring sponsors which began or ended a segment of broadcast (see 3.4.3). The most frequent format for references was either electronic pitch-side advertising boards or static visuals (e.g. interview boards). Almost all the references were indirect in nature (89%) and the brand that featured in most references was Carlsberg (99%). The median duration of references was 4.00 seconds.

Table 3: Summary of alcohol brand references in France broadcasts

Total references	849
References per match	106
Average per minute of broadcast	0.69
Proportion references in play	65%
Proportion references out of play	35%
Popular locations of references	Pitch border, Crowd, Sponsorship lead-in
Popular format for references	Electronic pitch-side advertising, Static advertising, Product or packaging
Most featured brand	Carlsberg (99%)
Median duration of references	4.00 seconds
Total duration of references	1.61 hours
Proportion of indirect references	89%
Proportion of direct references	11%
Number of adverts promoting alcohol	0

3.3 Republic of Ireland Broadcasts of UEFA EURO 2016 Football Matches

The 10 matches recorded in the Republic of Ireland provided 34.9 hours of broadcast footage. Within this, 1,233 references to alcohol marketing were recorded, an average of 123 per broadcast and an average of 0.59 per broadcast minute (Table 4). This equated, on average, to an alcohol reference once every 102 seconds. The total duration of alcohol references was 2.94 hours, which represented almost 8% of the total broadcast time captured. Most references appeared in-play (66%). The most popular locations for references were around the pitch border, video segments, and commercial breaks. The most frequent format for references was either electronic pitch border advertising or static advertising. Almost all the references were indirect in nature (92%) and the brand featured in most references was Carlsberg (98%). The median duration of references was 4.00 seconds.

Table 4: Summary of alcohol brand references in Irish broadcasts

Total references	1,233
References per match	123
Average per minute of broadcast	0.59
Proportion references in play	66%
Proportion references out of play	34%
Popular locations of references	Pitch border, Video segments, Commercial break
Popular format for references	Electronic pitch-side advertising, Static advertising, Commercial break
Most featured brand	Carlsberg (98%)
Median duration of references	4.00
Total duration of references	2.94
Proportion of indirect references	92%
Proportion of direct references	8%
Number of adverts promoting alcohol	34 (average of 3.4 per broadcast)

3.4 Commercial advertising

3.4.1. Commercial breaks in the UK

In the UK, commercial adverts were only observed in programmes on ITV/STV (the BBC does not have commercial breaks). Thirty-seven adverts were recorded for alcohol brands (an average of 3.36 per match) over the 11 programmes recorded on ITV/STV. Fourteen appeared in the pre-match build-up, 12 featured at half-time, 11 featured post-match, and one featured the half-time break in extra time. Overall, adverts related to 13 different alcohol brands (six beer, three cider, two spirit and one wine). One advert was for a supermarket and included price offers for a range of brands (both alcohol and non-alcohol). Of the 13 different brand adverts, seven predominately featured males, three featured a mixture of genders, two featured no genders, and only one predominately featured females. The locations depicted in the adverts included breweries, pubs and bars, music venues, a sporting stadium, and an office environment. The main themes of the adverts included product quality or taste (e.g. “Premium refreshment”), sociability (e.g. enjoying a drink with friends), celebrity endorsement (including former football player Eric Cantona and film star Mila Kunis), and humour.

3.4.2 Commercial breaks in the Republic of Ireland

In the Republic of Ireland, 34 adverts were observed in the commercial breaks for the 10 programmes (an average of 3.4 per match). In contrast to the UK, most of these appeared during the half-time break (16), followed by the post-match (10) and then the pre-match (8). The majority of adverts were for supermarket or convenience shops (16) and depicted a range of products, including alcohol brands. The remainder of the adverts were produced by three beer brands (Heineken, Guinness and Carlsberg). Given that the majority of adverts were for retailers, the main theme was price offers. The main theme of the brand adverts were humour, product characteristics and an advert that made direct association to UEFA EURO 2016 by depicting a mock-French revolution that featured the tournament iconography and a famous French footballer (former captain Marcel Desailly).

3.4.3 Commercial breaks in France

Due to the stipulation of the Loi Évin, there were no official adverts for alcohol brands in the commercial breaks. French broadcasts did, however, have alcohol marketing references that appeared in sponsorship lead-ins. These represented a series of short films (approx. 3–5 minutes) entitled ‘Paroles des Supporters’ [‘Words of Supporters’], sponsored by biscuit manufacturer, Belin. These short films, which featured during advertising breaks, followed supporters on days when they watched the French national football team play. One short film, in particular, followed fans to one of Carlsberg’s official tournament bars (‘Le Carls’) where Carlsberg references (including products) could be seen.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1 Key Findings

How did the alcohol industry respond to the French Loi Évin regulations during the UEFA EURO 2016 tournament?

- Despite Loi Évin regulations explicitly prohibiting alcohol sponsorship of sporting events, on average, there were over 100 alcohol marketing references per programme in each of the three countries.
- The majority of alcohol marketing references appeared during the matches, thus providing exposure during peak audience interest and in sections of the broadcast where the Loi Évin should have applied.
- Almost all of the alcohol marketing references were indirect. These were references in which the brand name or logo did not appear, but the brand was still evident from other signifiers such as phrases from the brand slogan, colour, and typeface.
- Most references appeared in high-profile locations in the broadcast, in particular on electronic pitch-side advertising boards during the match (or highlights) and static advertising pre- and post-match (e.g. logos on interview boards post-match).
- The alcohol industry also used subtle consumer-endorsed marketing, such as branded merchandise (e.g. wigs or unofficial replica football shirts) and products or packaging, which were shown in footage of the stadium crowds or official tournament 'Fan Zones'.
- Alcohol marketing also featured in some sponsorship lead-ins in France through product placement, which circumnavigated the restrictions on television adverts in commercial breaks.

What differences were observed between broadcasts in the three countries?

- There was no difference in the average number of alcohol marketing references per broadcast programme in the UK, Ireland, and France.
- There was no difference in the average number of marketing references per minute of broadcast in France, the UK, or Ireland.
- There was no difference for the marketing references that appeared in-play, as the actual match footage was the same across all three countries.
- Direct references accounted for a marginally greater proportion of alcohol marketing references in French broadcasts (11%), compared to the UK (9%) and Ireland (8%). This was because French broadcasts tended to include more coverage of official tournament 'Fan Zones' and footage of the supporters taking their seats in the crowd during the pre-match or half-time, where fans could be seen holding branded alcohol product packaging and wearing merchandise (e.g. wigs or replica shirts).

- As per the Loi Évin, French broadcasts contained no overt commercial adverts for alcohol, whereas UK and Irish broadcasts contained between three and four commercial advertisements per match. The only alcohol marketing reference in a French commercial was in a Française des Jeux advertisement (French equivalent of the National Lottery) which incidentally featured a pitch-side Carlsberg logo in match highlights/footage from 2012 UEFA EURO football tournament.

4.2 Alibi Marketing: How the alcohol industry responds to 'dark markets'

The Loi Évin has had some success in restricting alcohol marketing in sports tournaments in the past. In 1998, when France hosted the FIFA World Cup, the French government maintained that the Loi Évin prohibited alcohol marketing within the stadiums, despite legal appeals to the European Commission by main sponsor Budweiser (AB InBev). Consequently, Budweiser agreed to sell their pitch-side allocation to an electronics manufacturer, Casio, and ran a national billboard campaign that made no reference to the tournament (Hare, 1999). During the 2007 Rugby Union World Cup in France, Heineken (one of the main sponsors) were also ordered to remove various marketing promotions (e.g. banners which linked the brand to the tournament) as they were deemed to be in contravention of the Loi Évin (Palmer, 2015).

Experiences in other countries, however, suggest that pressure from sport governing bodies, for example FIFA and UEFA, can lead to weakening of national regulations on alcohol (Gornall, 2014; Włoch, 2014). Prior to the 2014 FIFA World Cup, the Brazilian government was pressured into relaxing a 2003 law that banned alcohol consumption in stadiums for the duration of the tournament (Nicholls, 2016; Vendrame, 2016). Restrictions on alcohol marketing have also been relaxed in Russia to coincide with the build-up to the 2018 FIFA World Cup which will be hosted in the country (EUCAM, 2016). This precedent raised a key question about whether similar changes to existing legislation would occur in France to coincide with UEFA EURO 2016, or if the French Government would maintain the same position as the football and rugby World Cups in 1998 and 2007.

Despite previous tough stances, however, there is recent evidence of alcohol marketing appearing in sporting events held in France, despite the Loi Évin. This has been achieved through 'alibi marketing', a practice which emerged in the 1990s to promote tobacco products within 'dark markets' where advertising was restricted

Figure 2: Examples of Marlboro 'alibi marketing' (Source: Grant-Braham & Britton, 2012)

	F1 Marlboro BRM - 1972
	F1 McLaren - 1988
	F1 Ferrari - 1993
	F1 Ferrari - 2007
	F1 Ferrari - 2008
	F1 Ferrari - 2009

(Grant-Braham & Britton, 2012). A high-profile example of this concerns Ferrari's use of a barcode logo on their Formula One cars (Figure 2). Ferrari have used the barcode design on their cars since 1972 and have been accused of using subliminal marketing to contravene regulations preventing tobacco advertising in Formula One by using the barcode design to promote Marlboro (Jamieson, 2010). Although Ferrari have denied using the barcode to promote Marlboro, the tobacco company Philip Morris continues to be a sponsor of the Ferrari Formula One team (Duff, 2015).

Alibi marketing involves distilling a brand identity into its key components — for example phrases from the brand slogan, colours or typeface — and using these in place of a conventional logo or brand name. This strategy has since been adopted by alcohol marketers and there are previous examples of this practice being adopted in France. For example, Heineken sponsored the European Rugby Champions Cup from 1995-2014 and during this time the competition was referred to as 'The Heineken Cup'. Loi Évin restrictions meant that when games were played in France the tournament was branded as the 'H Cup' and all pitch-side advertising reflected this change whilst maintaining the Heineken branding of a red star on a green background. Another example featured the Welsh brewery, Brains, which has sponsored the Welsh national rugby team since 2004. For games played in France, the brewer dealt with restrictions on shirt sponsorships by switching the logo on the kit from "Brains" for "Brawn" in 2005 and to "Brawn Again" in 2007 (Kemp, 2009).

Our study therefore provides further evidence of alibi marketing in France to promote alcohol (Figure 3). These alibi marketing techniques also appear to be effective. For example, market research from four European countries found that 50% of people could recall Carlsberg as one of the main sponsors of UEFA EURO 2016, and over a third could specifically recall seeing either the slogan 'Probably' or '...the best in world' during the tournament (Glendinning, 2016). These estimates were comparable to other tournament sponsors McDonald's and Coca-Cola, even though these brands were able to explicitly promote their products using their brand names and logos. Evidence that alibi marketing is also reaching French consumers is provided by recent cross-sectional survey research which has found that 31% of young people in France recalled seeing alcohol marketed through sporting events and concerts at least once in the past month (Gallopel-Morvan et al., 2016).

4.3 Explaining the Presence of Alcohol Marketing, Despite the Loi Évin

There are two hypotheses which may explain why alcohol marketing appeared at the UEFA EURO 2016 tournament. The first explanation is that the Loi Évin is not equipped to deal with alibi marketing or does not prohibit its use. The Loi Évin, however, works by specifying forms of marketing which are allowed (e.g. adult print press) and those which are not (e.g. television). Any form of marketing that is not explicitly stated is prohibited (Lecas, 2016). Therefore, the fact that alibi marketing is not specified in the Loi Évin does not provide a mandate for it to be used at UEFA EURO 2016. This is further supplemented by the explicit stipulation that sport sponsorship is prohibited. Carlsberg responded to Loi Évin regulations by replacing its brand name with its advertising slogan 'Probably the best in the world'. By not explicitly advertising its alcoholic beverages or its brand, Carlsberg was able to navigate its way around the existing regulations without abandoning its sponsorship of the event.

The second explanation is that the Loi Évin is not being enforced effectively and the alcohol

Figure 3: Alibi marketing from UEFA EURO 2016



industry is not upholding the spirit of the law. In support, this study also found that in instances where marketing did appear it was not compliant with the other two components of the Loi Évin. Specifically, Carlsberg's replacement of its brand name with the phrase 'Probably the best in the world' does not contain factual information about the product and, outside of the commercial breaks in the UK and Ireland, no health warnings were observed. This is in contrast to previous examples of alibi alcohol marketing in France which have included health warnings, such as Heineken's sponsorship of the UEFA Champions League competition where Heineken's usual branded pitch border advertising was replaced in French matches with an 'Enjoy Responsibly' message which is at least in the spirit of the Loi Évin. Responsibility for enforcing the Loi Évin regulations is also a matter which requires greater clarity. Marketing which does not adhere to the regulations is punishable by penalties which are bestowed by the French courts. However, these penalties can be as little as €30,000-50,000 which is greatly outweighed by the potential financial benefits of sponsoring a major sporting occasion (Lecas, 2016). Bringing a case to court also represents another challenge as it is often a time-consuming and costly process. The ANPAA (Association Nationale de Prévention en Alcoologie et Addictologie) has been responsible for bringing 64 cases before the courts since 1991, with a success rate of 80 percent (Lecas, 2016).

Another observation which suggests that the Loi Évin was deliberately circumvented was

that in three France matches (v Albania, Switzerland and Iceland), Carlsberg's electronic pitch border advertising was replaced with advertising for Tourtel Twist (Figure 4). This is a 0% alcohol beer product produced by the Kronenbourg Brewery, which is owned by the Carlsberg Group. As Tourtel is 0% alcohol, marketing for this product is legally permitted under the Loi Évin and therefore was not coded as an alcohol marketing reference in this study. That this change only occurred in three France matches, however, shows some awareness of, and attempts to abide by, the Loi Évin for broadcasts where the main audience was likely to be in France. Notably, however, this change did not occur in other France matches which arguably had a higher profile or larger global audience (e.g. the opening match of the tournament and the final, both of which featured France). With the exception of match highlights from the three aforementioned matches, Tourtel pitch-side advertising was not recorded in any broadcast that did not feature France. This raises questions about Carlsberg's strategy about when to use direct Tourtel marketing and when to use indirect marketing for the Carlsberg brand.

Figure 4: Example of Tourtel pitch-side advertising at UEFA EURO 2016



5. CONCLUSION

5.1 What does this study tell us about the influence of the Loi Évin on alcohol marketing at UEFA EURO 2016?

Alcohol marketing featured frequently across broadcasts of the UEFA EURO 2016 tournament, despite the Loi Évin prohibiting sport sponsorship in France (the tournament hosts). References included high-profile and visible marketing (e.g. electronic pitch-side advertising) as well subtle consumer-orientated marketing (e.g. branded merchandise or products and packaging in the crowd or Fan Zones). Most of these references were indirect and only featured Carlsberg's brand slogan rather than its brand name, thus showing some attempts to disguise the explicitness of the marketing. Building on other recent examples, this shows the persistence of the alcohol industry to use alibi marketing to promote their products in sporting contexts despite such practice being prohibited. Most of the marketing references that were observed also did not follow the other two key Loi Évin principles, to only include information about the qualities or characteristics of a product and display responsible drinking messages or health warnings. This shows little attempt to uphold the spirit of the Loi Évin law.

The Loi Évin was successful in prohibiting explicit advertising in commercial breaks in French broadcasts, which contrasts favourably with commercial adverts in UK and Ireland broadcasts. Adverts broadcast in both the UK and Ireland featured humour, music venues and celebrity endorsements from footballers and Hollywood movie stars. Previous research has shown that young people are particularly attracted to marketing messages which feature humour, music and celebrities and find product-focused aspects of advertising unappealing (Winpenny et al., 2012). This absence of explicit advertisements, however, is tempered by the presence of alcohol references in some sponsorship lead-ins/short films which circumvented these restrictions. As these short films were sponsored by a biscuit manufacturer, Belin, this raises questions about the applicableness of the Loi Évin when alcohol marketing references appear in the content of a manufacturer whose main goal is not to promote alcohol. While it is conceivable that such exposure could be incidental, in one short film the manufacturer's logos on the football shirts fans wore were obscured as they had been made by Nike rather than tournament sponsors, Adidas. This suggests that the official tournament sponsors had some control over the content of the films, and suggests that the inclusion of Carlsberg and Tourtel in these short films was deliberate.

There was little difference in the volume, frequency, and type of alcohol marketing references in broadcasts across the three countries (despite the UK, Ireland and France having different approaches to alcohol marketing regulation). This highlights the importance that regulations in the host country have on the amount and frequency of marketing exposure on an international scale (Noel et al., 2017). In effect, the single 'world-feed' footage of matches is exempt from the local laws of where the footage is eventually received and therefore can facilitate exposure in countries where policies are designed to be restrictive, or reduce exposure in more liberal markets. This global nature is recognised by French media regulators, who agree they cannot legislate on footage from multinational events filmed in other countries (Faber, 2017). This helps to explain why alcohol references featured in France during broadcasts of the 2014 FIFA World Cup, which was held in Brazil (Noel et al.,

2017). UEFA EURO 2016, however, was held in France where it would be presumed that broadcast footage should have subscribed to the Loi Évin. This therefore highlights the need for transparency into which stakeholders, and what processes, were involved in the decision to allow alcohol marketing and what rationale was used to decide when to show marketing for non-alcoholic products instead (e.g. Tourtel in some France matches).

5.2 Challenges and recommendations

The French Loi Évin explicitly prohibits the use of sport sponsorship as a platform to market alcohol. The wider discussion therefore highlights that the presence of alcohol marketing at the UEFA EURO 2016 tournament is more likely due to the law not being enforced correctly, concessions being allowed due to pressure from stakeholders, marketers not adhering to the spirit and letter of the law, or a combination of all these factors. We would make a number of recommendations to improve the effectiveness of policies to restrict alcohol marketing in sports contexts in France, the UK, Ireland and other countries:

- Regulations need to reflect contemporary sponsorship practices, including alibi marketing and featuring alcohol brands in commercial adverts for other products, and to have clear processes and timescales for incorporating new developments into legislation.
- There needs to be effective monitoring and upholding of regulations, with clear lines of accountability explicitly outlined in law.
- Sanctions need to outweigh any potential benefits to dissuade marketers from circumventing the regulations.
- Global sport governance organisations, and organisers of domestic and international tournaments (e.g. FIFA and UEFA), should ensure that marketers respect the legal intention to prevent and reduce alcohol marketing exposure to children and young people.

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7. APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Regulatory approaches adopted in three selected countries

United Kingdom	Mixture of self and co-regulation, administered by independent regulator the Advertising Standards Authority, ² OFCOM, and the industry funded Portman Group. The latter is responsible for guidelines for sport sponsorship (Portman Group, 2014). There are no known plans to alter this arrangement.
France	Statutory legislation (the Loi Évin) that heavily controls marketing, with sport sponsorship prohibited. There are no current plans to alter this arrangement.
Republic of Ireland	Mixture of self and co-regulation, administered by the Broadcasting Authority for Ireland and independent regulator Advertising Standards Authority for Ireland, with the latter responsible for sports sponsorship. All alcohol advertising, including broadcast adverts, are required to be pre-vetted through independent body CopyClear. ³ These regulations, however, are subject to debate through Public Health (Alcohol) Bill, which proposes a Loi Évin approach to marketing (Alcohol Action Ireland, 2016).

Appendix 2: Review of French broadcasts with missing footage

England v Russia	The recording omitted some of the post-match discussion. As M6 coverage in other broadcasts often transitioned from L'Après match to a separate tournament review show (100% Euro: Le Mag) it is estimated that around 10 minutes of footage is missing. ⁴
Switzerland v France	The recording omitted some of the post-match discussion. As M6 coverage in other broadcasts often transitioned from L'Après match to a separate tournament review show (100% Euro: Le Mag) it is estimated that around 10 minutes of footage is missing.
France v Iceland	The recording omitted some of the pre-match build up. The countdown timer at the start of the broadcast suggests there are 21:23 minutes until kick-off. As no other M6 broadcast was found to have more than 30 minutes of build up before kick-off, it is estimated that around 9 minutes of footage is missing.
Portugal v Wales	The recording omitted some of the post-match discussion. As M6 coverage in other broadcasts often transitioned from L'Après match to a separate tournament review show (100% Euro: Le Mag) it is estimated that around 10 minutes of footage is missing.
Portugal v France	<p>The recording omitted some of the pre-match build up. The countdown timer at the start of the broadcast suggests there are 29 minutes until kick-off. As no other M6 broadcast was found to have more than 30 minutes of build up before kick-off, it is estimated that only 1 minute of footage is likely to be missing.</p> <p>The recording ends while the trophy is being engraved. This means the recording does not include the trophy presentation and thus, using the UK broadcast as a guidelines, is likely to omit at least 10 minutes of footage.</p>

Appendix 3. Glossary

Time

Point in the broadcast the alcohol reference *begins*, measured in hours, minutes and seconds (e.g. 01:15:27). Measured using media player time-stamp.

Segment

Definitions for broadcast segments		
Segment	Definition	Example
Pre-match	From beginning of broadcast until the first half kicks off, excluding advertising breaks.	Highlights from previous match; pre-match video segment.
First half	The point in which the match referee indicates the start of the first half.	Pitch-side advertising.
Half-time	Any content featured between the end of the first half and start of the second, excluding commercials.	Verbal reference in television studio; highlights from first half; players walking off.
Second half	The point in which the match referee indicates the start of the second half, including injury time.	Pitch-side advertising.
Post-match	Content after the referee has indicated the end of the match until the end of the programme, excluding commercials.	Interviews; highlights from match; players walking off.
If required in elimination stages....		
Extra-time	Any open play required after the conclusion of the second half in order to settle the match.	Pitch-side advertising.
Extra-time half-time	Coverage of the broadcast that occurs during breaks in extra time as indicated by the match referee, excluding commercials.	Verbal reference in television studio; highlights of match.
Penalties	Period after the end of extra-time and until the match result has been settled.	Pitch-side advertising.

Verbal, Visual or Both

Visual is simply defined as any reference which is *visible* anywhere on screen. Verbal is simply defined as any reference which is *only heard* during the broadcast. It is possible some references may be *both* verbal and visual (e.g. a sponsorship lead-in at the end of commercial breaks or commentator reference and graphic for man of the match). If so, these are to be recorded as 'Both'. If suitably different or unrelated verbal and visual reference are both presented at the same time (e.g. commentator reference and pitch-side advertising) these should be recorded as two separate references on separate lines of data.

Location

Location criteria for alcohol reference		
Location	Reference which are....	Example
Crowd	Anywhere in the stadium crowd.	Supporter wearing alcohol branded merchandise.
Field of play	Within the marked confines of the pitch.	Pre-match pitch covering (e.g. in centre circle).
Interview area	In the area where match participants are interviewed.	Sponsor boards behind interviewees.
Pitch border	Borders the pitch or in the space between pitch and crowd.	Static and electronic hoardings.
On-screen graphic	Is part of either a permanent or temporary on-screen graphic.	Transitions to replays; score indicators; team line-ups.
Off-screen	Is verbal and does not feature visually on screen.	Commentator or pundit reference.
Stadium interior [Fixed]	Semi-permanent fixtures anywhere in the stadium.	Advertising displayed around the upper tiers; billboards at the back of stands.
Stadium interior [Temporary]	Temporary fixtures anywhere in the stadium (excluding aspects in crowd and on pitch).	Sponsor flag; floating banners.
Stadium [External]	Features on the external façade of the stadium or in a broadcast from other venue.	Blimps; banners on stadium roofs; Fan-Zones; interviews outside the stadium; other venues.
Sponsorship lead-in	Sponsored reference that signals beginning, end or break in the broadcast.	Short lead-in to programme showing official sponsors or partners.
TV Studio	Features within any studio used for the broadcast.	Product placement; merchandise; posters; logos.
Video segment	Features in a pre-recorded video segment that features in the build-up to match, half time or post-match analysis.	Pre-recorded player or fan interviews; replays from previous tournaments; highlights of previous matches.
Other	Does not conform to any of the above.	N/A
Unsure	Cannot be sure which of the above categories (please indicate in notes).	N/A

Format

Glossary for format criteria	
Format	Definition
Static advertising	Advertising which is fixed in location or is static, and does not change or move.
Electronic advertising (All)	Instances of electronic advertising that cover all of the available pitch-side boards.
Electronic advertising (Part)	Individual instances of electronic advertising which do not cover all the boards.
Product or packaging	Image of an actual alcohol product, or packaging.
Commentator or pundit verbal reference	Any reference to alcohol that is verbally made by either a pundit or match commentator.
Fan or supporter verbal reference	Any reference to an alcohol brand that is verbally made by either a pundit or match commentator.
Merchandise	Any item beyond the actual product that shows the brand logo, slogan or other iconography.
Integrated or graphic	On-screen graphics or sponsorship announcements.
Sponsorship lead-in	Short graphic or advert which comes before, or at the end, or just at the end of each broadcast segment.
Other	Any other format which does not clearly conform to any of the above definitions (please indicate in notes).
Unsure	Cannot be sure which of the above categories (please indicate in notes).

Number of references depicted

The total number of references *visible at any one point in the duration*. If the camera moves to show more identical references, still only record the maximum number visible at any one point, and *do not* record the total over the total duration.

Duration

Please note the total duration, in seconds, the reference lasts for. If a reference is intermittently disrupted but returns quickly (within 1 or 2 seconds), without the broadcast visibly changing camera shot, then record the total duration, not separate instances. For example, if pitch-side advertising is intermittently hidden behind a player as the camera pans along the line during national anthems, this should be recorded as a long duration.

Brand

The alcohol brand depicted. If you are '*unsure*' indicate a guess in the notes section (as this can be latterly be verified by a second coder).

² Funded through a levy on the advertising industry.

³ Funded through a levy on the alcohol industry.

⁴ http://tvmag.lefigaro.fr/programme-tv/euro-2016-m6-s-offre-la-finale_12bb662c-2998-11e6-b6bf-0c9d116f3891/

Type of reference

Definitions for the type of reference	
Format	Definition
Direct brand reference	Reference contains information that could directly identify the brand, for example the name or logo.
Indirect brand reference	Although a name/logo did not appear, the brand was identifiable from other signifiers such as phrases from the brand slogan, colour, and typeface.

Image credits:

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