THE MARKETING OF FOOD TO CHILDREN: MOVING THE DEBATE BEYOND TELEVISION ADVERTISING

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

Whilst food marketing to children has been heavily discussed in both the political and marketing arenas over the past few years, it has predominately concentrated on television advertising. However, it is now recognised that contemporary marketers are moving away from television advertising and expanding their range of communications. Therefore, this thesis looks to widen the debate to other forms of food marketing communications.

From previous literature and four background interviews a conceptual framework is developed which highlights the importance of four parties: the food companies (and their communication agencies), the regulatory bodies, parents and children. The first two parties are predominantly investigated using secondary data, whilst the primary research for this study concentrates on the second two parties. As such fourteen qualitative family interviews with children aged between seven and eleven are undertaken.

From my findings, the original conceptual framework is developed into an expanded framework. The framework has four sections. The first section details seventeen types of communications currently being used by the UK food industry. The second shows four types of restrictions (two frequency restrictions and two impact restrictions) which parents use to mediate some of these communications. The third section confirms that children possess differing levels of understanding across the range of communications. Finally the fourth section highlights (1) that there are five communications (television advertising, free gifts, price promotions, tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters and children's speciality foods) which children perceive they encounter frequently and which have an impact on their purchase requests and (2) that there are seven communications (print advertising, product placement in television and films, product placement in video games, online advertising, advergames, in-school communications and branded toys) which they perceive they infrequently encounter and which have little impact.

Overall this thesis is, to my knowledge, the first to present a holistic consideration of the marketing of food to children in the UK. It not only includes a full range of communications but also all the complete process, from the food companies to the children.

Table of contents

List of tables

List of figures

1 Introduction to the thesis

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present an introduction to the thesis by setting out the research agenda. I begin by providing the reader with the story of how this research began and evolved into the study presented in this thesis. I follow this with the identification of the research opportunity and aim - to provide a holistic consideration of the marketing of food to children in the UK. I end the chapter with an overview of the thesis structure.

1.2 The origins and evolution of this study

When I began this research project it was titled "Measuring the impact of integrated marketing communications on children by the UK food industry: Complexities and solutions". I was primarily focusing on the theory of integrated marketing communications and more specifically its measurement which, according to all researchers in that domain, was (and still is) one of the main barriers to the subjects development (Kitchen and Schultz, 2009; Ewing, 2009). At that time I considered both children and the food industry as the secondary context in which the research was set. However, it soon became apparent from reviewing the literature and the analysis of the first few interviews (these included the background interviews discussed in section 1.3 below and the first stage of family interviews discussed in chapter 4) that it was going to be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to be able to answer the initial research question and objectives. This was principally due to two reasons, first the theory of integrated marketing communications being in a pre-paradigm state and therefore lacking a strong academic base (Schultz and Kitchen, 2000) and secondly the inherent problems of measuring the success of many traditional communications (Kitchen and Schultz, 2009). One of the respondents from my background interviews summed up this difficulty when he began to answer my question on how companies measure their success of their campaigns:

> Extract from a stakeholder interview:
> Nicki   In your experience how do companies normally measure how effective or successful their campaigns were?
> Stakeholder You won't get a straight answer, because if I knew how to do it then I wouldn't be sitting here, I'd be sitting in the West Indies

When deciding on a new focus I followed the advice of Silverman (2005) and allowed the data collected and analysed so far to suggest the new focus. Therefore, from my

analysis of the first six family interviews (see chapter 4 for a full account of the research process taken) it was this data that led me to revise the primary focus of the project to concentrate on how children consume the marketing communications from the food industry. From this initial data analysis a number of new (to this study) theoretical concepts were raised leading to a new literature review (as presented in chapter 3). After I reflected on this new literature and the re-analysis of the data collected in light of the new literature, I developed a new research aim, question and objectives.

1.3 Identifying the research opportunity and aim

"There is growing concern about the link between food and beverage promotion to children and the global rise in childhood obesity" (The Polmark Project, 2010a:4).

One of the most recent and on-going controversial debates within the UK political arena is the impact and effectiveness of food marketing targeted at children. Previously this debate has concentrated on advertising and more specifically television advertising (Hastings et al., 2003; McDermott et al., 2008). However, there is now a recognition that contemporary marketers are moving away from television advertising and by using a collection of integrated marketing tools such as websites, text messaging, emails, free gifts, creative packaging and the link-up with cartoon characters, pop stars, sporting heroes and popular children's films, they are expanding their range of marketing communications (Institute of Medicine, 2006). Therefore, it is vital that "the scope of research examining the relationship between food marketing and childhood obesity must be more comprehensive than a study of television advertising alone" (Desrochers and Holt, 2007:183).

Back in November 2004 the UK government published its response to the debate, 'Choosing Health'. It threatened that if the food industry did not improve the balance and nature of its food marketing to children by early 2007, it would force change through thus ensuring there was a "clearly defined framework for regulating the promotion of food to children" (Department of Health, 2004:36). It has since followed through on part of this threat and introduced advertising, predominately television advertising (see section 2.4.1.1 p.46/47) restrictions for any foods which are high in fat, salt or sugar (hereafter known as HFSS foods). However, to date many of the other communications used by the food industry to target children are at best covered by industry codes of practice and at worst unregulated. This lack of consistency amongst

the communications can, in the main, be attributed to the historical concentration on television advertising. From its extensive and systematic review of the current literature, the Institute of Medicine (2006:7) concluded

> "the available peer-reviewed literature focuses predominately on television advertising, but food and beverage marketing extends far beyond television and is changing rapidly to include integrated marketing campaigns that extend to new media platforms that target multiple venues simultaneously. Virtually no scientific studies are available to assess these other techniques."

This statement echoes those made previously by Hastings et al. (2003) and more recently by Cairns' et al. (2009). In all cases the authors warn about not only the lack of research on the effects of these other communications but also on the lack of research which considers the effects of using an integrated mix of communications. To date, academics have tended to concentrate their research on an individual communication rather than an integrated mix of communications which food companies are currently using when marketing to children.

Whilst there has been a move by the food industry towards the use of a wider range of communications, television advertising (as will become apparent throughout this thesis) is still the dominant communication, and the communication which children interact with the most (Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al., 2006; Hastings et al., 2003). Nevertheless, in today's multimedia environment, children are coming into contact with new and different types of communications, such as product placement in films and video games (Calvert, 2008) or new online communications such as advergames (Moore, 2006). The food industry has even been growing its use of in-school communications (Matthews, 2007). As a result, the industry is under much criticism due to the subliminal nature of these types of communications which are blurring the lines between advertising and entertainment (Moore and Rideout, 2007; Calvert, 2008). Adding to this is the growing use of integrated marketing communications (by this I mean the tactical use of an integrated mix of communications within a campaign – my justifications of this is in section 3.6) by the food industry thus making the evasion of communications that much harder for children and their parents (Livingstone, 2005).

Within the marketing of food to children there are two central debates; the first is about children's ability to understand marketing communications (O'Sullivan, 2005); and the second concerns the effects that marketing communications have on children, specifically the effects on their purchase requests and diets (Buijzen, 2007). In addition to these two central debates there is a third issue which has cut across them both, this is parental mediation of marketing communications. This can, in certain circumstances, either increase or decrease a child's level of understanding (Bijmiolt et al., 1998) as

well as to reduce the persuasive nature of communications (Buijzen, 2007; Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2005). Again, previous research has concentrated not only on television advertising but also on one of these individual arguments. This has resulted in very little consideration being given to whether or how these issues fit together.

The reason why academics and marketing practitioners have been part of these arguments is that many academics believe children do not have the required cognitive skills to be able to defend themselves against the persuasive nature of communications (Kunkel et al., 2004; Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007). They therefore argue that children need special consideration to prevent them from being exploited and coerced (Moodie et al., 2006). Alternatively, practitioners argue that children are a legal and legitimate target market (and lucrative; it is estimated that in the UK children's spending alone is worth £4.89 billion annually) and it would be impossible to isolate them from the commercial world in which they live (Brown, 2004a; Preston, 2005).

To achieve the required level of understanding children need to develop two forms of cognitive defences (Rozendaal et al., 2008). They first need to be able to recognise and differentiate the commercial content from the editorial content, i.e. be able to identify a television advertisement from a programme, and secondly, be able to understand the persuasive intent of the communication (Kunkel, 2001). Whilst there now appears to be agreement, at least between academics if not practitioners, that children can recognise a television advertisement by the time they reach the age of five and begin to understand its persuasive intent around the age of eight (Kunkel et al., 2004; Oates et al., 2003a), very little is known about when children reach the same understanding for other communications (McDermott et al., 2008). The small amount of research which has taken place, predominately around new media such as online advertising, suggests that even twelve year old children have difficulty in simply recognising these newer forms of communications (Ali et al., 2009; Owen, 2009). Furthermore, there are still many communications where no research has taken place. Consequently there are a number of gaps in the literature on children's understanding which still need to be urgently filled.

The main reason why food marketing to children has been at the forefront of many countries' political agendas is due to its potential links to the rising levels of childhood obesity. Around the world there are currently 42 million under five year olds and 155 million under ten year olds classified as overweight or obese (The Polmark Project, 2010a). Furthermore, the UK currently has the second highest rates for childhood

obesity across Europe (The Polmark Project, 2010a). Added to this is the fact that the majority of promotions undertaken by the food industry are for unhealthy foods such as sugary breakfast cereals, fast food restaurants, soft drinks, confectionery and snacks, it soon becomes evident that children are predominately coming into contact with an advertised diet that is not only too high in fat, salt and sugar but that also lacks fruit and vegetables (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Hastings et al., 2003).

The effects of food communications can generally be divided into two categories: the intended effects, such as product/brand awareness, preferences and requests, and the unintended effects, sometimes seen as the side-effects of advertising, such as materialism, poor diets and parent-child conflict (Buijzen, 2007; Institute of Medicine, 2006; Hastings et al., 2003). It is the intended effects which this research concentrates on. Over the past few decades there has been a number of studies which have proposed links between food communications (usually television advertising) and children's purchase requests (Arnas, 2006; Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003) and children's diets (Dixon et al., 2007; Halford et al., 2007; Halford et al., 2004). However, a number of these studies have been criticised for being methodologically weak and ignoring other factors, such as the sedentary nature of watching television or playing online (Young et al., 2003a; Zywicki et al., 2004). Nevertheless, whilst there are many other social, economic, environmental, genetic and psychological factors contributing to the obesity problem, the food industry has accepted it has a role to play in finding a solution (Brown, 2004a).

By implementing some form of mediation parents can attempt to influence the effect of these communications (Buijzen, 2007; Mizeriski, 1991). Past literature has proposed that there are three forms of mediation which are available to parents – restrictive mediation, active mediation and social co-viewing, with active mediation having the greatest effect in reducing the impact of communications (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2005). Parental mediation can also have an effect on the children's understanding, helping to either increase (active mediation) (Buijzen, 2007) or alternatively decrease their cognitive defences (restrictive mediation) (Bijmolt et al., 1998).

Therefore, I propose that the marketing of food to children might helpfully be thought of as a jigsaw puzzle with the past research fitting together a number of the pieces of the puzzle, for example television advertising and children's understanding or even television advertising, children's understanding and parental mediation (see Figure 1.1 below). However, to date nobody has attempted to complete the whole puzzle.

Therefore, the aim of this research is to fit together all of the pieces of the puzzle – i.e. to provide the first holistic consideration of the marketing of food to children in the UK. However, I do have a word of caution, one PhD study, this study, cannot and does not provide all of the missing answers to the many gaps in the literature. What this study does do, as the first study of its kind, and staying with pictorial analogies, is to provide other researchers with an initial sketch of the picture in the form of an expanded framework. From this expanded framework both myself and other research can design and undertake future research (as detailed in the final chapter) to refine and complete the picture (see Figure 1.2). Therefore this research provides, using the words of astronaut Neil Armstrong, one small step for this researcher but one giant leap for the research community.

Figure 1.1: The jigsaw puzzle: Marketing food to children

Television advertising

Children's understanding

Parental mediation

The marketing of food to children
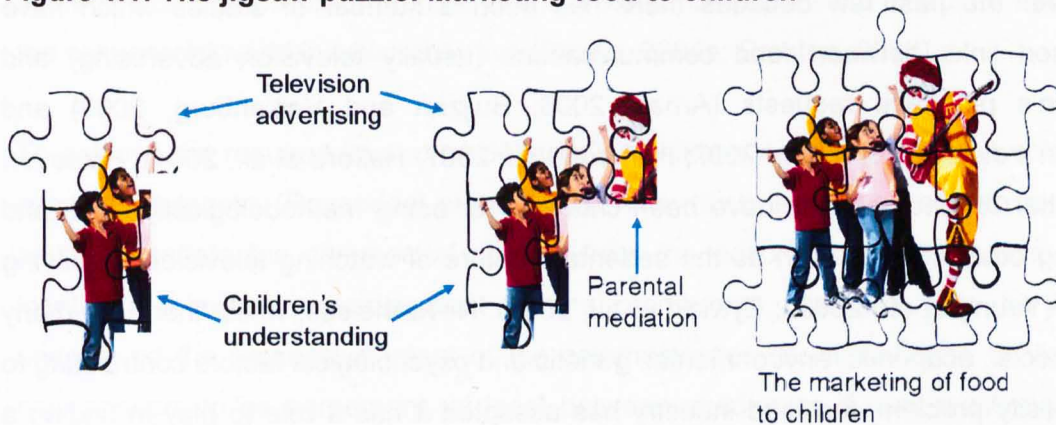
Figure 1.2: My thesis and future research

My thesis   Future research
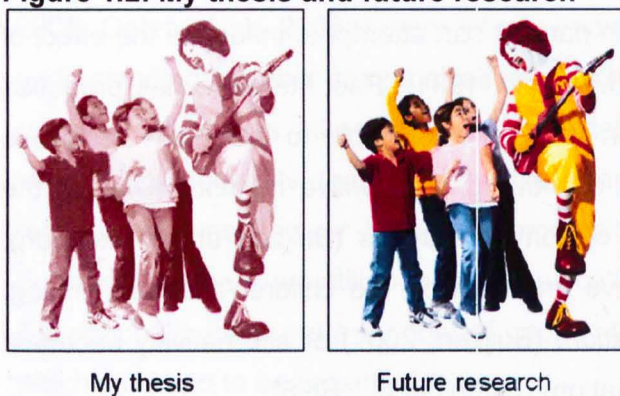
Here in the UK the debate as to whether the food industry should be allowed to market their products, especially those considered as unhealthy or junk foods, to children involves not only the food industry and the UK government but also a wide range of stakeholders. One the one hand there are those, including many health organisations

and consumer groups, which are campaigning hard for more restrictions and regulations (Powell and Longfield, 2005), whilst on the other hand, fighting against them, are the food and communication industries (Long, 2007). Between these two sides are the British and European regulators who are, as discussed in chapter 2, taking different approaches to the issue. The UK government has already implemented some new regulation (Ofcom, 2007) whilst the European regulators have preferred a voluntary approach (Lobstein, 2009).

As the aim of this research is to provide a holistic view of the current situation, I have always been mindful to place myself between these two sides, as a neutral observer. In order to fully understand this debate, and the parties involved, I undertook a series of interviews with four of the prominent stakeholders. These included representatives from Sustain (a highly vocal and active consumer group), the Food and Advertising Unit (a subsidiary of the Advertising Association, one of the communication industry's trade associations), the Office of Communications (hereafter known as Ofcom) and the Advertising Standards Authority (two of the parties involved in UK regulation). Whilst these interviews have not been used as part of the research findings, they did provide me with an invaluable insight into the debate and understanding of the contextual background of the research (as detailed in chapter 2). As a neutral observer I made a conscious attempt not to side with or even against any of these parties (or the families during the main data collection process).

> Extract from a stakeholder interview:
> Stakeholder   ... but you've got time because yours (research) is an academic thing to some degree isn't it?
> Nicki   Yes it is
> Stakeholder   Well it is an academic. You can be more..
> Nicki   As I said it's not sponsored by any particular organisation or angle coming from, I talk to everybody, listen to everybody's opinions and
> Stakeholder   Yes you've been very good at not feeding in your opinions, I thought.
> Nicki   I try, but sometimes it's quite difficult
> Stakeholder   Exactly, yes, you can see on occasions where you liked to. But yes you are right to be, of course, that is what you have to do, otherwise you could make me more radical than I already am.

The main reason for undertaking the above interviews was that when I embarked on this research I had virtually no understanding or knowledge about the theories, policies or practices of marketing food to children. I began the study as a dispassionate observer, having no preconceived feelings about whether food companies should or should not be allowed to market to children. I therefore felt able to take the middle ground described above. Even though the background interviews and reading provided

me with the necessary understanding of the debate, theories and polices, I found that the consumer perspective was lacking from much of the current literature. Other studies have shown the value of listening to children (Marshall and O'Donohoe, 2010) and their parents (Ip et al., 2007). Therefore, although my conceptual framework (see below and chapters 2 and 3 for a full discussion) highlights that there are four dominant parties involved in the process of marketing food to children, I felt it was important to concentrate on two of those parties, the parents and the children. As a result I have only considered the factors which impact on how children consume these marketing communications.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The structure of this thesis is presented in Figure 1.3 below. The thesis begins with an introduction to the project; this includes the origins and evolution of the research, identifying the research opportunities and the structure of the thesis. Chapters 2 and 3 present a conceptual framework (see Figure 1.4 below) for the marketing of food to children here in the UK. The framework brings together the contextual background of the UK food industry (chapter 2) with the theoretical perspectives of marketing food to children (chapter 3). Chapter 2 presents an overview of the UK food industry, its communications and the surrounding regulation. This is followed in chapter 3 by an extensive literature review of the different theoretical issues, these include children's understanding of marketing communications, the effects of food marketing communications on children's purchase requests and diets and parental attitudes and mediation of food marketing communications.

Chapter 4 presents all of the methodological details of the research. A methodological framework (Figure 4.1, p.112) is presented along with a detailed step by step discussion of (1) the research aim, question and objectives, (2) the research design – a qualitative study using in-depth family interviews, (3) the data collection process – the pilot studies, sampling, interview design and (4) the data collection, and (5) the methods used to analyse the data – the Miles and Huberman (1994) framework. The results of the data collection and following analysis are presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 5 addresses research objectives one and two by presenting the findings in relation to the children's frequency of contact and corresponding perceived impact of the different individual and integrated communications. This is followed by chapters 6 and 7 which address the third research objective and present two factors which affect the frequency of contact and/or the subsequent perceived impact. Chapter 6 presents

Figure 1.3: Thesis structure

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│        Chapter 1 – Introduction to the thesis │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘

  A conceptual framework for the marketing of food to children
  ┌──────────────────────────┬──────────────────────────────┐
  │ Chapter 2 – Setting the scene │ Chapter 3 – Literature review │
  └──────────────────────────┴──────────────────────────────┘

           ┌───────────────────────────┐
           │ Chapter 4 – Methodology: The │
           │      research process        │
           └───────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────┐ ┌─────────────────────────┐ ┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Chapter 5 – Findings 1: The │ Chapter 6 – Findings 2: Children's │ Chapter 7 –Findings 3: Parental │
│ frequency and perceived     │ understanding of marketing        │ perceptions                     │
│ influence of marketing      │ communications                    │                                 │
│ communications              │                                   │                                 │
└─────────────────────────┘ └─────────────────────────┘ └─────────────────────────┘

           ┌───────────────────────────┐
           │ Chapter 8 – Discussion and │
           │ Conclusion: An expanded framework │
           │ for the marketing of food to children │
           └───────────────────────────┘
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Figure 1.4: Conceptual framework of the marketing of food to children

The food industry (Ch.2.2)
- The stakeholders
- Promotional spending

Regulation (Ch.2.4)
- Regulation in the UK
- International regulation
- Going forward

Types of marketing communications (Ch.2.3)
- Advertising
- Sponsorship
- New media
- In-school communications
- In-store communications
- Other communications

Chapter 2 – Setting the scene

Chapter 3 – Literature review

Children as consumers
- Children as consumers (Ch.3.2)
- Children's understanding of marketing communications (Ch.3.3)
- The impact of food marketing (Ch.3.4)

The rise of integrated marketing communications (Ch.3.6)

Parental perceptions (Ch.3.5)
- Attitudes towards food marketing
- Parental mediation
- Attitudes towards the regulation of food marketing

the first factor of children's understanding of marketing communications whilst chapter 7 presents the second of parental perceptions.

Chapter 8 addresses the final research objective by advancing the conceptual framework presented above and discussed in chapters 2 and 3. The findings from chapters 5, 6 and 7 are initially used to develop an advanced conceptual framework before developing this further into the final expanded framework of the marketing of food to children. Whilst this framework confirms that there are four main types of parties involved in the process of marketing food to children – the regulatory bodies, the food companies, parents and children, it concentrates on the roles of the latter two parties. The framework not only highlights the differences in both children's understanding and how parents mediate for the different communications but also how these factors may relate to how often children encounter these communications and the resulting perceived impact. By presenting the expanded framework the research's contribution to theory, practice and policy are also highlighted. A further contribution to methodology is followed by a reflection on the research's limitations before finishing with some suggestions for the direction of future research.

2 Setting the scene

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present part one of the conceptual framework which was introduced in chapter 1 (Figure 1.4, p.9), it provides a contextual background (see Figure 2.1 below) for the research by considering the structure, the marketing communications used by the UK food and soft drink industry (hereafter known as the UK food industry) in addition to the wider environment. The chapter has been developed from not only traditional academic literature but also a range of industrial sources. These sources include websites, industry conferences and, as detailed in chapter 1, four personal interviews. I begin the chapter with a review of the UK food industry and its wider environment. This is followed by an analysis of the food industry's promotional spending and a comprehensive review of the different marketing communication activities it currently employs. Finally, I consider how the industry is currently regulated, both here in the UK and internationally.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework of the marketing of food to children (part 1)

The food industry (Ch.2.2)
- The stakeholders
- Promotional spending

Types of marketing communications (Ch.2.3)
  Advertising
- Sponsorship
- New media
- In-school communications
- In-store communications
- Other communications

Regulation (Ch.2.4)
- Regulation in the UK
- International regulation
- Going forward

Chapter 2 – The UK Food Industry
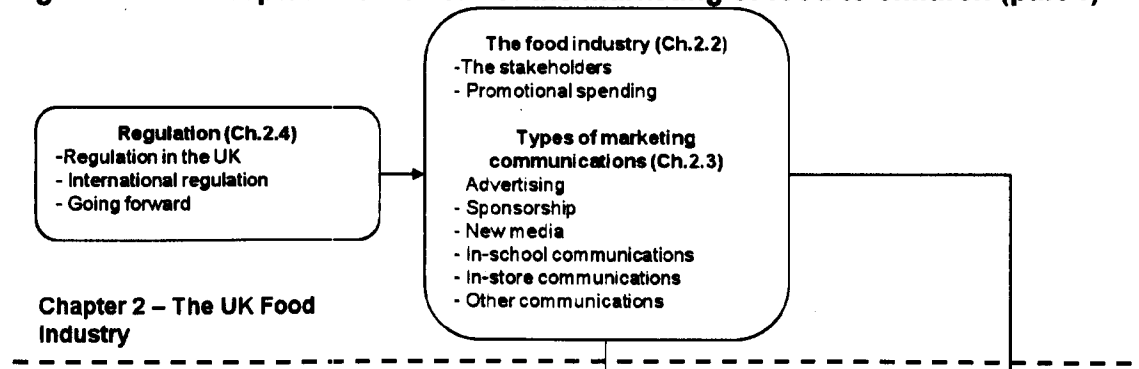
2.2 The UK food industry and its surrounding environment

As with all industries, the UK food industry does not exist in a vacuum. It is surrounded by a number of stakeholders which directly or indirectly influence how the industry and individual companies operate. Over the past few years the debate concerning whether many of these companies should be allowed to market their products to children has been fiercely fought with many of the stakeholders taking an active role. In order to be able to understand the variety of stakeholders and their position in the debate I developed the following continuum (see Figure 2.2 below).

11

Figure 2.2: A continuum of stakeholders

Ban/Restrict all unhealthy food marketing to children		No restrictions to food marketing to children

	Regulators	
Sustain		Food companies
The Food Commission		Communication agencies
WHO	**UK government** — **European Commission**	The Advertising Association & Food Advertising Unit
The British Heart Foundation	Ofcom	Food & Drink Federation
Which?	Advertising Standards Association	British Retail Consortium
Consumers International		
International Obesity Task Force	Food Standards Agency	European Association of Communication Agencies

← Parents →

← Academics →

The continuum begins on the left hand side with those stakeholders who would like to see either the marketing of all food or at least unhealthy/'junk' food to children banned or restricted in some form. On the right hand side there are those stakeholders who would like the industry to remain unchanged and have been fighting against further regulation. In the middle are the regulatory forces of the UK government and the European Commission. Over the past few years the UK government has moved its position to the left by implementing additional regulation (see section 2.4.1.1 below). However, the European Commission has not followed through on the initial threats it made back in 2004 for European legislation, appearing to favour the use of self-regulation and voluntary codes (see section 2.4.2 below for a fuller discussion) (Lobstein, 2009; Parker and Mason, 2005). In addition to these two parties, I, as highlighted in chapter 1, purposely placed myself in the middle of the continuum in an attempt to be, as much as possible, a neutral observer.

The stakeholders on the left hand side of the continuum are made up of consumer and health NGOs. Both Sustain and the British Heart Foundation were heavily involved in the Children's Food Bill and the subsequent Food Products (Marketing to Children) Bill (Powell and Longfield, 2005; Sustain, 2005; Whitehead, 2008). The bills were submitted before parliament three times and were defeated on each occasion

(Anonymous, 2004; Anonymous, 2007; BBC News, 2008; Curtis, 2005). Sustain, the British Heart Foundation and Which? all have current campaigns on their respective websites encouraging parents to sign their petitions to increase the current restriction on the marketing of unhealthy foods to children. Over the past five years, in an attempt to increase parental support, Which? has published a number of reports detailing the 'tricks' that the food industry are using to promote unhealthy foods to children (Which?, 2005; Which?, 2006a; Which?, 2006b; Which?, 2007). On a more global level, the World Health Organisation (hereafter known as WHO), with the help of the International Obesity Task Force and Consumers International, have campaigned for an international code to restrict the marketing of unhealthy foods (Consumers International, 2008). Following consultations with NGOs and the food industry the WHO has recently passed its own set of recommendations to restrict the marketing of food and non-alcoholic drinks to children (World Health Organisation, 2010).

On the right hand side of the continuum are those stakeholders which represent the industry, the food companies themselves and the communications industry. Those on this side of the continuum believe that the food industry has been made out to be the villain in this debate and it is not actually possible to force people to eat a healthier diet (Hawkins, 2004). Many in the industry, including the Food Advertising Unit, point out that obesity is a complex problem and is made up of more than just children's exposure to food promotions (Clarke and Preston, 2003). Following the changes to broadcast advertising in 2007 (see section 2.4.1.2 for full details), some in the communications industry believe Ofcom went too far by placing unnecessary restrictions on the advertising industry, especially as they believe the restrictions will not achieve the ultimate aim of reducing childhood obesity (Conlan, 2007; Long, 2007). Their anger has been recently re-ignited with the banning of HFSS products from the new product placement regulations (see section 2.4.1.1 for more details) (Johnson, 2010). However, many in the industry acknowledge that it should shoulder some responsibility but feel that any solution has to be evidence based and proportional (Brown, 2004b). Whilst the UK food industry has not been able to prevent its government implementing new regulation, the European food industry seems to have had much more influence in Europe. It has so far prevented the European Union following through on its 2004 threat of regulation (Garde, 2008; Parker and Mason, 2005).

At the peak of the debate some commentators believed that the industry faced an uphill battle and was unlikely to win (Kleinman, 2003). As a consequence, some of the food companies decided take things into their own hands and began to reduce the amount

of marketing they undertook to children (Moore and Rideout, 2007). Kraft Foods introduced a policy to limit its advertising (television and online) to its range of 'Sensible Solution' products (Daigler, 2006; Samson, 2005; Yngve, 2007) and during 2006 it also phased out its marketing communications of unhealthy food (Page and Brewster, 2007). According to Kraft's website, Sensible Solution products are those with "limited amounts of calories, fat, sugar and salt" but no further details are given of what constitutes 'limited' (Kraft, 2010). Interestingly, I feel I should note here that Kraft never intended to reduce the amount of money it spent on its marketing aimed at children, but to move it to its healthier options (Page and Brewster, 2007). In 2007, Kellogg's also announced that it was phasing out the marketing of food to children younger than twelve years of age which did not meet their specific nutritional profiling guidelines (Desrochers and Holt, 2007).

On similar lines, just before Ofcom started its consultation process both Burger King and Pepsico agreed not to target children through television advertising here in the UK (Hawkes, 2005; Kisilevsky, 2008). In addition, Burger King removed all children's marketing from its website and began a review of its policy on the use of licensed film and television characters within its children's meals (Kisilevsky, 2008). However, this may have been due to being singled out by the Centre for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI) as one of the companies who was not taking any proactive action in changing its marketing to children (Yngve, 2007). Additionally Coca-Cola pledged to stop all advertising to children under twelve, and removed its advertising from all vending machines in schools (Murphy, 2004). It is possible Coca-Cola believed that by making this gesture it could have prevented the government removing the machines from all schools.

There are two major discrepancies between these two sides; the first is how they define a child. UK regulation, the World Health Organisation and the NGOs all define a child as anyone under the age of sixteen. Whereas, as detailed above, the global food industry defines a child (for the purpose of marketing to them) as anyone under the age of twelve years. The food industry defends this position by stating there is clear evidence that by twelve years old children can understand the persuasive intent of advertising (World Health Organisation, 2008b). Whilst this may be true for television advertising, the evidence is not so clear for other marketing communications, including online advertising (see sections 3.3.2.2 and 3.3.3 for a full discussion of this). The second discrepancy is how the two sides define children's marketing; the food industry applies its restrictions to television, print and online advertising, therefore excluding

many other communications, and only when the audience is made up of more than 50% of children (World Health Organisation, 2008a; World Health Organisation, 2008b). The NGOs believe that the food companies should apply their guidelines to all communications and in addition taken into account the absolute number of children in the audience not just the percentage (World Health Organisation, 2008a).

At the bottom of the continuum are parents and academics. Parents have a range of views on whether further restrictions should be introduced (Dens et al., 2006; Ip et al., 2007; Young, 2003a). These views are considered in more detail both in section 3.5.4 and 7.4.2. Whilst some academics firmly state that there is a direct link between food marketing and children's food preferences and choices (Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al., 2006; Hastings et al., 2003; Institute of Medicine, 2006), others believe that the issue is more complex and whilst food marketing may have a small effect there are other factors which must also be considered (Eagle et al., 2004b; Young, 2003b). Again this is given further consideration in sections 3.2.2.1 and 3.4 below.

2.2.1 Promotional spending by the UK food industry

Whilst it would be nice to provide a comprehensive report of all marketing spending by the UK food industry, unfortunately, this is not possible due to the lack of available data (Hastings and Cairns, 2009). The majority of marketing spending which is currently reported is either based solely on advertising spending and/or is based on spending in the USA (Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Institute of Medicine, 2006). At the beginning of this century the global advertising budget for food products was estimated to be around $40 billion (Lobstein, 2006), with just under half of that figure being spent by companies ranked in the top one hundred global advertisers (as ranked by global advertising spending) (Advertising Age, 2008). Since that time food advertising spending in the USA alone has increased by a further 20% (Warren et al., 2008).

Whilst there are no figures for all food marketing spending in the UK, advertising spend has been relatively constant since 2005 (Ofcom, 2010b). In 2009 food and drink advertising spend totalled £863m, and as can be seen from Figure 2.3 below, the majority (61%) of the expenditure was on television advertising. In addition, from data of the top one hundred UK advertisers (based on annual advertising spending) there are nineteen different types of food and drink companies ranked within the top one hundred advertisers and between them their total advertising spending totals over £891m (Clark, 2010). Table 2.1 (p.17) below provides a breakdown of the companies

and again the majority (£451m) was spent on television advertising (Clark, 2010). Unfortunately, both of these sets of advertising figures are for all audience with no break down between adult and children audiences. Nevertheless, from the companies listed in Table 2.1 it is evident that the most advertised food categories (ignoring the supermarkets) are breakfast cereals, fast food restaurants, soft drinks, confectionery and dairy. Furthermore, the companies in Table 2.1 are those which the families in this study discussed the most (see chapters 5, 6 and 7).

Figure 2.3: UK food and drink advertising spending
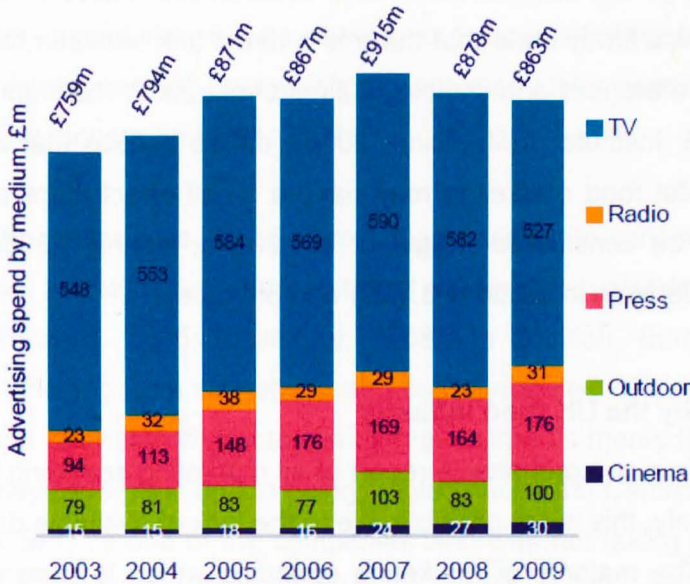
(Source: Ofcom, (2010b) HFSS advertising restrictions: Final review. London, Ofcom, p.25.)

From a recent review of UK food and drink advertising spending, Billetts Media Monitoring found that whilst spending across all media has risen by 37% since 2003, there was actually a decrease in child-themed food and drink advertising by 32% during the same period (Watts, 2009). It also found two other trends in the spending through the same period. In contrast to the decrease above, the first was a rise of 89% in internet child-themed advertising, thus showing a clear move by food companies to online communications (Watts, 2009). The second trend was a 64% rise in health-themed advertising (Watts, 2009) which is rather surprising considering the difference in advertising spending between the different categories of food. Fruit and vegetable advertising is typically less than 1% of sales compared to carbonated drinks at 8.5% of sales, and some confectionery as high as 20% of sales (Hastings and Cairns, 2009).

Table 2.1: UK food industry advertising spending in 2009

Ranking in top 100 (UK)	Company	UK (£)
3	Unilever	129,055,516
5	Tesco	105,560,954
6	Asda	98,655,121
9	Kelloggs Co of GB	80,129,987
11	Nestle	63,526,346
12	Wm Morrison Supermarket	61,596,682
13	Sainsbury's supermarket	59,127,736
22	McDonald's Restaurants	41,698,214
28	Coca-Cola Great Britain	40,240,651
36	Mars UK	29,008,988
48	Cadbury Trebor Bassett	23,626,945
51	Danone Holding UK	23,460,667
54	Mars confectionery	22,769,283
59	Kraft Foods (UK)	22,131,534
66	Kentucky Fried Chicken GB	21,374,981
72	Muller Dairy (UK)	19,825,226
78	Aldi Stores	18,143,296
82	Premier Foods	16,659,601
94	Somerfield Stores	15,349,567
Total		891,114,841

(Adapted from: Clark, N. (2010) Top 100 advertisers. Marketing, 24th March, p.28-31.)

2.3 Types of communications used to target children

As previously mentioned in chapter 1, whilst food companies have widened their range of communications when targeting children, the dominant communication is still advertising, and more specifically television advertising (Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al., 2006; Hastings et al., 2003). According to Livingstone (2005:1) there appears to be little known about other forms of promotion apart from television advertising, and as a result, it is "difficult to map the ways in which children are targeted by food promotions or by a promotional culture more broadly." Therefore, as Hastings et al. (2003) state, it is time the research agenda was widened and the research community began to consider the variety of other communications which children are currently coming into contact with. This is especially true here in the UK where the recent Ofcom regulations have restricted some food companies' use of television advertising during children's programmes, forcing them to move to other communications (Buckingham, 2009).

Table 2.2: Summary of communications used by food companies

Category	Media or method
Broadcast	TV & radio advertising
	TV & radio programme sponsorship
	TV programme product placement
Non-broadcast	Cinema advertising
	Film product placement
	Posters and advertising boards
	Print media: magazines and comic books
	Branded books: e.g. counting books for pre-schoolers
	Internet: e.g. email clubs, chat rooms, free ring tones
	Websites: e.g. puzzles, interactive games
	Promotional sales by telephone
	Text messaging to mobile phones
	Direct marketing: e.g. home catalogues, mail shots, leafleting
	Sponsorship of events and venues
	Sponsorship of teams and sports 'heroes'
	Cross branding logos on household goods
	Branded toys: e.g. fast food store as a playhouse
	Branded computer games, product placement in computer games
In-store	On shelf displays
	Displays at checkout tills
	Special offers and pricing incentives
	Purchase linked gifts, toys and collectables
	Free samples and tasting
On or in the product	Product formulation: colour & shapes
	Product portions: e.g. 'King' size
	In-pack promotions: e.g. gifts, vouchers
	On pack promotions: e.g. games, puzzles, vouchers
	Packaging design: imagery, colours, play shapes
In school	Sponsorship of educational materials and equipments
	Vending machines in schools and youth clubs
	School participation in promotions and sampling schemes

(Source: Lobstein, T. (2006) Marketing to children: Understanding the need for an international standard. London, International Association for the Study of Obesity, p.4.)

The range of communications being used to market food to children was summarised by Tim Lobstein in his review for the International Association for the Study of Obesity (Lobstein, 2006). Table 2.2 above shows the range and variety of media and methods currently being used by food companies. Although each communication is considered separately in the following sections of this review, I feel I should note that in reality things are not that simple. A more realistic view is that

"[m]arketing campaigns aimed at children and young people move smoothly between different formats, perhaps combining product placement in blockbuster films; which in turn feature characters who will appear on food products and in interactive games; backed by websites offering music downloads and movie clips, containing yet more inducements to buy..." (The Food Commission, 2005:3).

In response to this, section 3.6 considers the rise of integrated marketing communications (hereafter known as IMC) and how this may affect the issues and theories discussed between now and then. Returning to this section, to help simplify the range of communications which are included in this thesis I have summarised them into the following categories, advertising (television and other advertising), sponsorship and product placement (in television, film and video games), new media (online advertising, websites and advergames), in-school communications, in-store communications (sales promotions, tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters [hereafter known as tie-ins] and point of sale merchandising) and finally any other communications which do not fall into any of these categories.

2.3.1 Advertising

> Advertising is "any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods or services by an identified sponsor" (Kotler and Armstrong, 2006:455).

As just mentioned above, advertising, more specifically television advertising, continues to dominate the communications budgets (Cairns et al., 2009; Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Hastings et al., 2006; Hastings et al., 2003; Hawkes, 2004; Institute of Medicine, 2006). Considering food advertising in particular, research shows that television is the largest single source of media messages which children, especially young children, come into contact with (Oates et al., 2003b; Story and French, 2004). Furthermore, even with the growth of new digital communications television still remains the most popular medium for food and drink companies and perhaps surprisingly online advertising being the least popular (Advertising Association, 2007).

2.3.1.1 Television advertising

In 2007 annual television advertising spend in the UK for food, soft drinks and chain restaurants was in excess of £610 million (Ofcom, 2008), with approximately £30.5m of this being spent during children's airtime. However, following the introduction of Ofcom's regulations the proportion spent on children's airtime has reduced from 25% in 2003 to 5% in 2007 (Ofcom, 2008). In addition, the total amount spent between 2005 and 2009 on television advertising fell by 6.1% (Ofcom, 2010b). Nevertheless, over 75% of food manufacturers and 95% of fast food restaurants advertising budgets are still allocated to television advertising (Story and French, 2004). In line with this, during 2007, of the top twenty brands (based on television advertising expenditure) there were seven cereal, three dairy and two carbonated drink brands, all of which also appear in Table 2.1 above (Nielsen, 2009).

Children's exposure to television and advertising

One reason many authors are concerned about television advertising to children is that children's exposure has increased rapidly over the past few decades. There are two major reasons for this, the first is the widespread adoption of television generally and the second is the more recent expansion of dedicated children's channels on satellite, cable and digital television (Kunkel et al., 2004). In the UK, 49% of five to seven year olds, 67% of eight to eleven year olds and 77% of twelve to fifteen year olds have a television in their bedrooms (Ofcom, 2010c). Furthermore, 92% of households with children aged between five and fifteen have access to digital television (Ofcom, 2010c). It is perhaps then unsurprising that children are "familiar and comfortable" with television advertising in their lives (Duff, 2004:42)

Estimates of children's exposure to television advertising varies across different countries (see Table 2.3 below) and over time as the number of commercial channels, particularly those dedicated to children, increases (Lobsein, 2006). It is estimated that American children spend more time watching television than on any other activities, apart from sleeping (Dens et al., 2006). Here in the UK, as shown in Figure 2.4 below, television is still the most popular medium for children (Ofcom, 2010c). In 2009, British children spent, depending on their age, between 14.9 and 16.9 hours per week watching television (Ofcom, 2010c). However, this figure may be reducing; according to the Broadcasters' Audience Research Board (BARB) the time children spend watching television decreased by almost 10% between 2002 and 2006 (Advertising Association, 2007).

Table 2.3: Average time children spend watching television

Country	Average time children spend watching television
Chile	5 hours per day
USA	4.5 hours per day
Ukraine	3.7 hours per day
Australia	2.5 hours per day
New Zealand	2.33 hours per day
Switzerland	2 hours per day
Philippines	1.5 hours per day

(Adapted from: Hancox and Poulton, 2006; Lobstein, 2006; Neville et al., 2005; Rideout et al., 2010; Vereecken et al., 2006)

Not only does the amount of time children spend watching television vary between countries but also the number of advertisement broadcast per hour varies significantly. In Australia an average of thirteen minutes or thirty four advertisements per hour are

Figure 2.4: Children's media consumption in the UK during 2009
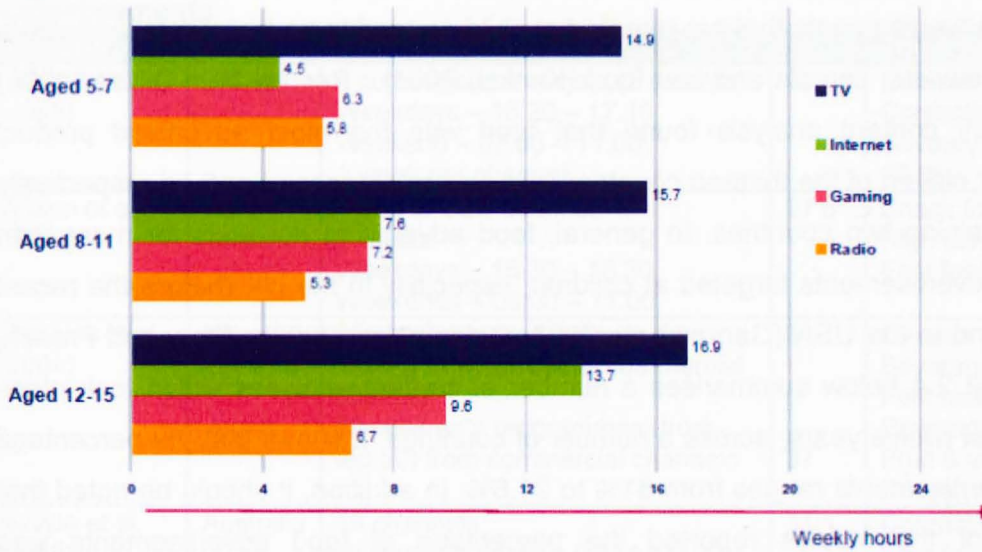
(Source: Ofcom, (2010c) UK children's media literacy. London, Ofcom, p.30)

broadcast compared to Sweden and Norway who broadcast a minute or less than one advertisement per hour (Dibb, 1996). Other countries that tend to broadcast more advertisements per hour are, perhaps unsurprisingly, the USA (average of eleven minutes or twenty four advertisements per hour) and the UK (average of nine minutes or seventeen advertisements per hour) (Dibb, 1996). These two factors result in children in the USA seeing between 20,000 and 40,000 advertisements a year or alternatively 360,000 advertisements before they finish high school (Story and French, 2004). In the UK the figures appear to be much less with some estimates putting the number of advertisements seen per year at 18,000 (Carvel, 2000 as cited in Oates et al., 2002). However, these figures are dependent on the age of the child, Gantz et al. (2007) found that in the USA as children get older they see more advertisements.

One point just to add is that children do not only watch dedicated children's programmes and as such constantly come into contact with programmes and advertisements that are not directly targeted at them (Kunkel, 2001). It is thought that from the age of nine children begin to stop watching programmes designed specifically for them and begin to watch series that are designed for adults (Bergadaa, 2007). Here in the UK, only 33% of children's television viewing is in children's airtime, leaving the remaining 67% in adult time (Ofcom, 2010b) Of the adult airtime, only 15% is spent viewing non-commercial channels leaving 52% of all children viewing on commercial adult channels (Ofcom, 2010b).

Children's exposure to food advertising

Television advertisements that are targeted at children tend to be for toys or food, more specifically sweets, cereals and fast food (Kunkel, 2001). Results from Dibb's (1996) multi country content analysis found that food was the most advertised product category for eleven of the thirteen countries and was rated second or third respectively for the remaining two countries. In general, food advertising accounts for more than half of all advertisements targeted at children, especially in the UK (before the recent changes) and in the USA (Gantz et al., 2007; Oates et al., 2003b; Story and French, 2004). Table 2.4 below summarises a number of content analyses which took place over the past twelve years, across a number of countries. It shows that the percentage of food advertisements ranges from 61% to 21.6%. In addition, it should be noted that nearly all of the studies reported the percentage of food advertisements was considerably higher in dedicated children's airtime than at any other time (Desrochers and Holt, 2007; Gantz et al., 2007).

Table 2.4 also highlights that the five product categories which dominate television advertisements are soft drinks, pre-sugared cereals, confectionery, snacks and fast food restaurants, the same ones as highlighted in section 2.2.1 above. Overall, these foods are high in fat, salt and sugar and also have a high additive content (Preston, 2005). More specifically, in children's airtime advertisements for cereals, snacks and dairy tend to be more dominant with perhaps, more surprisingly, the fast food companies broadcasting only a third of their total advertisements at that time (Desrochers and Holt, 2007; Warren et al., 2008). This mix of food was confirmed by Powell et al. (2007) whose study found that in the USA 97.7% and 89.4% of food products in advertisements viewed by two to seventeen year old children respectively were high in fat, salt or sugar. Additionally, Wilson et al. (1999) found from their content analysis of advertisements targeted at children in Australia that there would be a substantial negative effect on children's diets if they only ate the types of food found in the advertisements. Similarly, Hastings et al. (2003:84), in their systematic review of the literature, found that there was "a clear pattern emerg[ing] that the advertised diet was too high in fats, sugars and salt and also that it was lacking in meats, fruit and vegetables (especially fresh, non-processed meat, fruit and vegetables)."

From the number of advertisements children are exposed to and the percentage of food advertisements broadcast, it is estimated that US children see on average one food advertisement for every five minutes of television viewing, totalling up to three hours of food advertisements a week (Story and French, 2004). In the UK, since the

Table 2.4 Summary of content analysis studies – percentage of food advertisements

Author(s)	Country	Sample	%	Top 3 types of food
Lewis & Hill (1998)	UK	4 commercial channels (2 satellite) Weekdays – 15.30 – 17.10 Weekend – 07.00 – 11.00 1 week per channel	49.4	Cereals – 30.1% Confectionery – 29.8% Savoury snacks – 30.6%
Wilson et al. (1999)	New Zealand	1 free to view channel 2 weeks Weekdays – 15.30 – 18.30 Weekends – 08.00 – 11.00	27.5	Snack foods – 73% High fat/sugar – 63% Fast food – 14%
Hawkins et al. (2004)	New Zealand Japan	25 children's programmes (from top 50) from terrestrial commercial channel 22 children's programmes (from top 50) from commercial channels	61 37	Cereals – 21% Beverages – 20% Fast food – 18% Beverages – 22% Fruit & veg – 17% Cereals – 14%
Neville et al. (2005)	Australia	15 channels Weekday – 06.30 – 07.30, 09.00 – 09.30, 15.00 – 16.30 Weekends – 07.00 – 11.30 1 week per channel	31.1	Confectionery – 17% Fast food – 13% Dairy – 10%
Harrison & Marske (2005)	USA	4 channels – 40 most watched children's programmes (07.00– 22.00)	29.9	Convenience– 46.5% Confectionery – 36.1% Cereals – 9.1%
Arnas (2006)	Turkey	5 commercial channels Saturday morning – 07.00 – 11.30 1 day per channel	44	Confectionery – 29% Crisps – 23% Milk & milk products – 13%
Connor (2006)	USA	3 commercial children's channels (2 cable & 1 PBS) 4x4hrs blocks 09.00 – 13.00	34.8	*Fast food – 65.8% Cereals – 23.7% Candy/snacks – 10.5%
Folta et al. (2006)	USA	3 channels (2 cable & 1 network) Tues/Wed/Thur – 07.00 – 10.00 & 15.00 – 18.00 Saturday 07.00 – 13.00	35	Cereal – 27% Restaurant – 19% Confectionery – 13%
Gantz et al. (2007)	USA	13 channels (top 10 channels for children aged 2-17) 126 hours per channel	22	Confectionery & snacks – 34% Cereals – 28% Fast food – 10%
Desrochers & Holt (2007)	USA	57 channels (7 network, 50 cable) Programmes that had 50%+ children audience	21.6	Cereals – 24.7% Confectionery & Desserts – 16.2%
Page & Brewster (2007)	USA	5 network channels (children's airtime) 15 Saturday mornings	44.8	Cereals – 25.9% Fast food – 23.8% Fruit-like snacks – 6.8%
Roberts & Pettigrew (2007)	Australia	2 commercial channels 3 weeks Weekdays – 07.00 – 08.30 Saturday – 07.00 – 09.00	22.3	HFSS – 72.2%
Warren et al. (2008)	USA	11 channels (6 network, 5 cable) 1 week per channel 14.00 – 22.00	4324 ads	Fast food – 24% Confectionery – 16% Cereals – 13%

(* only categorised advertisements targeted at children)

introduction of Ofcom's regulations, the number of HFSS food advertisements seen by children aged four to nine years old has dropped 52% (Ofcom, 2010b). A more detailed

review of the effects of the Ofcom regulations is in section 2.4.1.2 below. Nevertheless, whilst general exposure to television food advertising may have decreased since the 1970s, today's television food advertising is more heavily concentrated during Saturday morning, weekday afternoon or evening which are the times when children tend to watch television and therefore are exposed to the greatest number of advertisements generally (Desrochers and Holt, 2007).

2.3.1.2 Other advertising

Spending by the food companies on other forms of advertising is much less than that spent on television advertising. In 2009, as shown in Figure 2.3 previously, food and drink expenditure in the UK on print advertising was £176m (compared to £527m for television advertising), £100m was spend on outdoor advertising, £31m on radio advertising and finally £30m was spend on cinema advertising (Ofcom, 2010b).

In the UK, the most popular children's magazines for seven to ten year olds are Girl Talk, Beano, Smash Hits and Cartoon Network Comic, this changes to Sugar, Bliss, Official Playstation 2 magazine and What's on TV as children get older (British Market Research Bureau, 2006). Many of these teen magazines not only replicate certain women's magazine (such as Heat and OK) by focusing on celebrities and the entertainment industry but they also carry a number of food advertisements and product placements (Institute of Medicine, 2006). In addition to these forms of communications, the blurring of the lines between entertainment and advertising is also taking place in print media where children's magazines more often than not contain puzzles, games or editorials that are sponsored by food advertisers (Moore, 2004). Furthermore, many food and drink companies are now placing advertorials in magazines which are read by mothers (Samson, 2005).

In line with the above, Kelly and Chapman (2007) found from their content analysis of Australian children's magazines only 8% of food references were in advertisements compared to 55% in editorial content and 15% in competitions and activities. They found, similar to television advertising above, that the majority (63.7%) of the references were for unhealthy foods, however, the number of references to fruit was much higher (17.4%) than that found in television advertising (Kelly and Chapman, 2007). These results are comparable to Cowburn and Boxer (2007) who found that only 7.5% of the advertisements in UK children's comics and magazines were for food; however of those advertisements 79% were for less healthy food products. The

categories of foods found in the magazines were also similar to those found in television advertising, especially for the magazines targeted at six to ten year olds, they more often than not included cereals and confectionery. In addition, 10% of the free gifts given away with the magazines were confectionery (Cowburn and Boxer, 2007). Finally, the content analysis found that 43% of the advertisements directed the children to corresponding food, predominantly unhealthy food, websites, containing advergames, competitions and spokecharacters (see section 2.3.3 below for a more detailed discussion of these) (Cowburn and Boxer, 2007).

One final method of food advertising which has not been mentioned is the use of flyers, pamphlets and menu cards that are distributed through letterboxes by takeaway and fast food restaurants. Eagle and Brennan (2007) found of the thirty pieces of direct mail received to a UK house in a four month period, twenty seven of them featured unhealthy foods. More interestingly, if the direct mail had been television advertisements twenty of them would have been restricted under the new Ofcom regulations (Eagle and Brennan, 2007).

2.3.2 Sponsorship and product placement

2.3.2.1 Sponsorship

> Sponsorship is an "investment in cash or kind in an activity in return for access to the exploitable commercial potential associated with this activity" (De Pelsmacker et al., 2007:321)

Sponsorship by food companies tends to be either sponsorship of individuals or sponsorship of events, usually sporting events. In the UK over the past decade a number of leading personalities have endorsed food products. One of the longest running individual sponsorship deals is Gary Lineker and Walkers Crisps which began back in the 1980s (Walkers Crisps, 2008). Many food companies use celebrities, including sporting stars, which children aspire to and admire. Both Pepsi and Coca-Cola make frequent use of such celebrities including pop stars Britney Spears and Beyoncé and sporting stars such as David Beckham and Wayne Rooney (Coca-Cola, 2008; Pepsi, 2005).

In addition to sponsoring individuals to promote their brands food companies also sponsor a number of events. Both McDonald's and Coca-Cola have current sponsorship deals with the FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games (FIFA, 2008; International Olympic Committee, 2008). On a more local level, both companies

sponsor youth football (Watts, 2007). Coca-Cola sponsors the Minute Maid Schools Cup, a knock out competition for boys aged twelve to thirteen years of age (Advertising Association, 2009). In order to try and compete with Coca-Cola's sponsorship of the 2006 FIFA World Cup, Pepsi made its own reality television series which was aired in twelve countries just before the tournament took place (Clark, 2005). Using football stars such as David Beckham and Ronaldinho, backed by a budget of £4 million and the support of major clubs such as Manchester United and AC Milan, the programmes offered teenage boys the chance to join a professional football team and win prize money of £50,000 (Clark, 2005). Additionally, both Kellogg's Frosties and Cheesestrings sponsor the UK Amateur Swimming Awards and the Amateur Swimming National Championships respectively (Amateur Swimming Association, 2010). In addition to sponsoring the events, at the event itself the food companies provide product samples and branded merchandise to the children (Federal Trade Commission, 2008).

Over the past twenty years one of the fastest growing forms of sponsorship in the UK has been broadcast sponsorship. Spending grew from around £50 million at the end of the 1990s to nearly £114 million in 2004 (Ofcom, 2005). This has become an extremely popular form of communication for food companies, back in 2006 Cadbury paid £20m for the two year sponsorship of Coronation Street (Brook, 2006). As this form of sponsorship is regulated in line with television advertising, HFSS products are now prevented from sponsoring children's programmes. However, recently Mars expanded its range of programme sponsorship to include prime time Saturday evenings by sponsoring Harry Hill's TV Burp and Ant & Dec's Push the Button (Reynolds, 2010), both of which are popular with children but fall outside the current regulations. From their content analysis of British children's television programmes Oates and Newman (2010) found that even though all of the references contained in the programme sponsorship were for healthy foods, more than half of the references found in the idents were for unhealthy foods. Idents are the segments which link the programmes, these and programme trailers do not fall under the restrictions; however, their use is increasing, particularly in designated children's airtime (Oates and Newman, 2010).

2.3.2.2 Product placement

> Product placement is "the process of arranging for a company's products to be seen or referred to in the media, such as during television and radio programmes, videos, video games and cinema films" (Pickton and Broderick, 2005:564).

In television programmes and films

Product placement began occurring in films from the 1940s and its use has been growing since then (Nelson, 2002). However, the first time it gained real public attention was in 1982 in Steven Spielberg's ET: The Extra-Terrestrial when, within a month of the movie's release, the sales of Hershey's Reese's Pieces (a peanut butter flavoured confectionery) increased by 65% (Lobstein, 2006). More recently it has been used by Dr Pepper to quench Spiderman's thirst in the Spiderman films and by Heinz Tomato Ketchup in the series of Scooby-Doo films (Institute of Medicine, 2006). Product placement in all television programmes and programme sponsorship has been growing substantially since the 1980s (Hawkes, 2002; Karrh et al., 2003). In the USA product placement spending in 2004 represented only 1% of all advertising spending but was growing at over 30% per year (Ofcom, 2005). It was estimated to be nearly $3.5 billion, of which $1.9bn was in television programmes, $1.3bn in films and the remainder in video games, music, magazines and the Internet (Institute of Medicine, 2006), and it is now estimated to be in excess of $10bn per year (Costa, 2010).

As discussed in sections 2.4.1.1 and 2.4.2 below, the UK government and the European Union recently relaxed the current restrictions on product placement in European television (including British) programmes. Within the next five years this could potentially be worth £25 - £50 million to the UK broadcasting market (Ofcom, 2005). In the USA the majority of placement comes from the transportation, clothing, food and drink and travel and leisure industries (Ofcom, 2005). In 2006, US food and drink companies placed their products in nineteen children's movies and over a dozen children's television programmes including Curious George, Click and The Simpsons (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). To prevent this from happening within UK programmes the UK government has placed restrictions, not only on the use of product placement in all children's programmes, but also on all HFSS food products (see section 2.4.1.1 below for more details) (Bradshaw, 2010; Ofcom, 2010a). However, as already discussed above, children watch the majority of television outside children's programmes and therefore will still come into contact with many of the most popular food brands (Roper, 2009).

Placement fees can range from between $5,000 to $100,000, although some are waived in exchange for the film/programme being included in the products regular marketing activities (Cassady et al., 2006). However, the fees are higher when the products are consumed by any of the characters (Cassady et al., 2006). Most product placements are arranged through third party product placement agencies apart from

Coca-Cola which has its own product placement office in Hollywood (Cassady et al., 2006). Coca-Cola previously paid $20 million for product placement in American Idol, a show which is popular with children and teenagers both in the US and here in the UK (currently shown on ITV2) (Linn, 2004). It has been expected for some time that with diminishing revenues from traditional television advertising product placement will become an increasingly important revenue source for broadcasters (Karrh et al., 2003).

There are two reasons why this form of communication is becoming increasingly popular, the first is that it offers a captive audience and the second is that it allows the product to be shown in its natural environment (Nelson, 2002). It is also used by companies as a way of launching a new trend (Bergadaa, 2007). According to Cassady et al. (2006) embedding a product in the content of a movie or television programme will lead to an increase in credibility with the target audience. Additionally movies and television programmes have longer shelf lives and global distribution (Karrh, et al., 2003). However, when used in children's films or television it is often seen as an underhand way of exposing children to a product or brand without their knowledge due to its subliminal nature (Auty and Lewis, 2004a; Bergadaa, 2007). Due to this preconscious nature it has been argued that it is most effective in young children (Auty and Lewis, 2004b). It is a further way of blurring the lines between entertainment and advertising in a broader sense (Karrh et al., 2003; Moore, 2004).

One study which investigated the use of product placement in films by drink companies found that of the top one hundred films (between 1991 and 2000) forty three depicted a soft drink, and of those, thirty one included branded drinks (Cassady et al., 2006). Perhaps unsurprisingly Coca-Cola and Pepsi accounted for 85% of the films, although what may be slightly more unexpected was that the split was nearly even, Coca-Cola 44% and Pepsi 41%. (Cassady et al., 2006). There was only one film which contained competing brands; Wayne's World had integrated both Pepsi and Dr Pepper in the film's story (Cassady et al., 2006). In addition, branded drinks were fifteen times more likely to appear in a film than non-branded soft drinks, five times more likely than branded beer and four times more likely than other branded alcoholic drinks (Cassady et al., 2006).

In video games

Product placement began to be used in other media, apart from film and television, during the mid 1990s (Nelson, 2002). The advantage of placing products in games, as

opposed to more traditional media, is that it allows for increased targeting, higher exposure (games are usually played for between two and twenty five hours) and finally increased interaction (Grigorovici and Constantin, 2004; Nelson, 2002). It is especially ideal for reaching children as 98% of four to fourteen year olds have a games console in their home (Handley, 2010) and it is no longer the domain of the boys (Auty, 2005; Roberts, 2010a). According to Ofcom (2010c), and presented in Figure 2.4 previously, British children (aged between five and fifteen years of age) spend between 6.3 and 9.8 hours per week playing console games. In addition, the videogame industry has been growing rapidly; it is expected to overtake both the film and music industry reaching a market value of over $54.6 billion (Farrand et al., 2006).

As with product placement in television and film product placement in video games can be used to add realism to the overall gaming experience (Chester and Montgomery, 2007). However, it also allows marketers to, not only incorporate their brands into the game's storyline, but also to respond in real time to players' actions by adding or changing the advertised message to appeal to specific individuals (Chester and Montgomery, 2007). Considering this, it is perhaps surprising that this potential has only been seized by a handful of major brands such as McDonald's, Nike and Intel (Farrand et al., 2006). Brands are included within games in a variety of ways from background displays or props, to more central forms such as characters or equipment (Nelson, 2002). Some computer games have been especially written for brands, for example, a game written for the Nintendo and Sega platforms called 'Cool Spot' was based on a character from a 7-UP advertisement (Nelson, 2002). However, the majority of placements are for advertisements and appear in games where it would look odd without them, such as sports games (Nelson, 2002). Not to miss out on an opportunity McDonald's paid to have its brand placed in the popular 'The Sims' series of games (Megagames, 2002). Gamers are able to trade in McDonald's products to earn points and their characters can even earn health bonuses by eating the products and therefore improve their standing in the game. This is especially concerning as the demographic for this types of game is children and particularly teenage girls (Megagames, 2002).

Finally, for a number of reasons the use of product placement in this type of media is not without its critics. Firstly, it is adding to the large amount of advertising clutter that is already out there and secondly, is it again blurring the lines between advertising and entertainment making it more difficult for children to distinguish between the two (Balasubramanian, 1994 as cited in Nelson, 2002; Shrum, 2004).

2.3.3 New media

As children tend to be early adopters of new technologies, they are likely to become heavy users of this media and therefore companies are finding new efficient ways of entering their lives (Roberts et al., 2005). The age at which children are surfing the internet is getting younger resulting in it becoming a larger part of their lives both at home and in school (Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007). This new media includes websites, banner ads, mobile phones, iPods, podcasts, webisodes and advergames (Alvy and Calvert, 2008; Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Weber et al., 2006). However, one point that should be noted here is that studies of media use have shown this new media is not displacing television viewing but rather supplementing it (Moore, 2004). The common view is that people (including children) are multitasking (Bennett, 2006), for example a recent Neilson report showed that half of two to eleven year olds were using the television and the internet simultaneously (McDonough, 2009).

It is estimated that in the USA and Western Europe 65.3 million children (five to seventeen years) have access to the internet at home and in most instances in their own bedrooms (Bennett, 2006; Nikken and Jansz, 2006). In the UK, 78% of five to seven year olds, 81% of eight to eleven year olds and 85% of twelve to fifteen year olds have access to the internet at home (Ofcom, 2010c). As presented in Figure 2.4 above, British children spend between 4.5 and 13.7 hours per week online, and as presented in Figure 2.5 below, their favourite activities (not including doing their homework) are surfing the net for information, communications with friends and playing games (Ofcom, 2010c).

In 2009 UK online advertising spend on food and drink products was £8.7m, a rise of 353% since 2005 (Ofcom, 2010b). Furthermore, between 2003 and 2008 internet child-themed food advertising spending had increased by 89% (Watts, 2009). Although this rise had come from a very small base, in 2006 UK food companies only spent 0.53% of their total advertising budget online (Advertising Association, 2007). However, the expectation is that online food advertising spending will soon exceed 15% of that currently spent on television (Lobstein, 2006). For example, US advertising in online games increased from $77 million in 2002 to $230 million in 2007 (Calvert, 2008). This should not be too unexpected considering the lower costs involved, it is estimated that television advertising can cost anywhere between $7 and $30 per thousand viewers whilst online advertising can be as low as $2 per thousand (Moore, 2006).

Figure 2.5: Internet activities carried out at least once a week

QC13A-M – Thinking about what you do when you use the internet at home, do you use the internet to do any of these? (prompted responses, multi-coded) – PERCENTAGES SHOWN REFLECT THOSE THAT UNDERTAKE ACTIVITY AT LEAST WEEKLY
Base: Children aged 5-15 who use the internet at home (280 aged 5-7 in 2007, 308 aged 5-7 in 2008, 340 aged 5-7 in 2009, 499 aged 8-11 in 2007, 527 aged 8-11 in 2008, 562 aged 8-11 in 2009, 587 aged 12-15 in 2007, 614 aged 12-15 in 2008, 645 aged 12-15 in 2009). Significance testing shows any change between 2008 and 2009
Source: Ofcom research, fieldwork carried out by Saville Rossiter-Base in April to May and September to October 2009

(Source: Ofcom, (2010c) UK children's media literacy. London, Ofcom, p24.)

Calvert (2008) compared the techniques used to target children by food companies when marketing on the internet to those used in television advertising (see Table 2.5 below). When companies target children online they not only use those techniques which have proven successful when used on television, but in addition, they now have a number of new techniques available to them, such as advergames (see below for further discussion on advergames), viral marketing and online interactive agents. Whilst some food companies devote space on their websites for children's content others go a step further and develop independent websites for their food brands with the aim of specifically appealing to children (Federal Trade Commission, 2008).

Many company websites have been described as 'branded entertainment,' as can be seen from Table 2.6 below (p.33) they usually contain both interactive and entertainment features such as online games, puzzles, contests, music, downloadable software, kid's clubs and online stores which children find attractive (Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Moore and Rideout, 2007; Page and Brewster, 2007). Also many feature popular product spokecharacters or cartoon characters such as Tony the Tiger (Story and French, 2004). The Chupa Chups website previously encouraged children to take part in a survey in the Lollipop Lab; the survey asked them which of their favourite flavours they wanted to be included in the Tropical Mix Lollipop Assortments (Bennett, 2006). This type of activity allows for "brand immersion" by demanding the

Table 2.5: Television and internet marketing techniques

Marketing techniques	Definition	Used on TV	internet
Repetition of the message	Repeating the same commercial message over and over.	√	√
Branded characters	Popular animated characters used to sell products ranging from cereal to vacations.	√	√
Attention-getting production features	Audio-visual production features such as action, sound effects, and music.	√	√
Animation	Visually drawn moving images.	√	√
Celebrity endorsements	Popular actors, athletes, and musicians are either depicted on the product itself or are shown using and approving of the product.	√	√
Premiums	Small toys or products that are offered with product purchase; for example, a toy in a Happy Meal or screen savers for filling out an online survey.	√	√
Product placement	Placing a product within program content so it does not seem to be an advertisement; for example, E.T. eating the candy Reese's Pieces.	√	√
Advergames	Online video games with subtle or overt commercial messages.		√
Viral marketing	The "buzz" about a product that is spread by word of mouth.		√
Tracking software and spyware	Software that makes it possible to collect data about time spent on a website.		√
Online interactive agents	A virtual form of stealth advertising where robots are programmed to converse with visitors to a website to maintain and increase interest in the site and its products.		√
Integrated marketing strategies	Marketing products across different media; for example, the toy in a cereal box is also a product placement in a film.	√	√
Video news releases	Circulated stories to news media about a product that are broadcast as a news release.	√	√

(Source: Calvert, S. (2008) Children as consumers: Advertising and marketing. *The Future of Children*. 18(1) p.208.)

children's attention and also allowing the marketer to interact directly with the children and for longer (Moore and Rideout, 2007:203). Websites are also designed to attract repeat visits and for children to encourage their friends to also use the site (Page and Brewster, 2007). It is estimated that these types of websites receive approximately forty nine million hits per year from children aged between two to eleven years of age (Moore and Rideout, 2007). Furthermore, Table 2.6 clearly shows, in line with the other forms of marketing already discussed, the balance of food marketing online is skewed towards unhealthy foods. However on a positive note, it also highlights the rise in the addition of nutritional information, previously it had appeared on only 17% of food websites (Weber et al., 2006) compared to 100% in the more recent studies (Jones and Reid, 2010).

Table 2.6: Summary of content analysis of studies – children's food websites and children's websites

Author(s)	Country	Sample	Top 5 contents
Weber et al. (2006)	USA	23 children's food website	Picture/product logo – 100% Graphics/movement/sound – 100% Advergame – 100% Cartoon characters – 96% Branded downloads – 91%
Moore & Rideout (2007)	USA	66 children's food websites	Downloads – 76% Picture/product logo – 75% Viral marketing – 74% Advergame – 73% TV advertisements – 60%
Cowburn & Boxer (2007)	UK	25 food websites (from advertisements in children's magazines)	Advergames – 64% Nutritional information – 44% Competitions – 40% Membership – 36% Spokecharacter – 32%
Kelly et al. (2008)	Australia	119 children's food websites	Picture/product logo – 99% Brand benefit claims – 90% Educations material – 79% Links to other websites – 74% Nutritional information – 66%
Watts (2009)	UK	20 children's food websites	Nutritional information – 95% Educational on food/health – 80% Competitions – 45% Advergames – 45% Viral marketing – 40%
Jones & Reid (2010)	Australia	8 children's food websites	Nutritional information – 100% Picture/product logo – 100% Downloads – 63% Membership – 63% Advergames – 50%
Author(s)	**Country**	**Sample**	**Top 3 foods**
Alvy & Calvert (2008)	USA	10 popular children's websites	Confectionery – 80% Cereals – 14% Fast food – 3%
Jones et al. (2008)	Australia	5 children's magazine websites	Confectionery – 53% Ice-cream – 13% Fast food – 13%
Kelly et al. (2008)	Australia	196 children's websites	Unhealthy foods – 60.8% Healthy foods – 39.2%

Not only do the top food brands have their own websites but they also place competitions and games on popular children's websites such as Nickelodeon and Cartoon Network (Samson, 2005). Additionally, food companies are posting video news releases on social networking sites such as UTube, these are made to look like amateur videos to disguise their real source (Calvert, 2008; Hastings and Cairns, 2009). In some circumstances it is not obvious who is sponsoring the websites, for example the Fantasy World of Fun (www.fantasyworldoffun.com) website used to contain no obvious Nestlé branding, however, it did contain numerous links to its cereals throughout the site (Watts, 2007). Some of the most popular websites for children are Candystand, a Kraft sponsored site and Neopets where children can 'buy'

food, including Oreo cookies, for their virtual pets (Calvert, 2008; Chester and Montgomery, 2007). Children can also earn further Neopoints by watching cereal advertisements or by taking part in marketing surveys (Institute of Medicine, 2006). Consequently companies have been accused of stealth marketing as they are said to be disguising their advertisements as video news releases or using characters to promote brands, thus making it more difficult for children to distinguish between entertainment and marketing (Calvert, 2008). Furthermore, it is thought by some authors that by using an entertainment medium it can be an effective way of increasing children's openness to brand messages as they are less sceptical of this form of media and therefore increasing brand loyalty (Moore and Rideout, 2007; Samson, 2005).

2.3.3.1 Advergames

> "Advergames are online games designed for the specific purpose of marketing a single brand or product" (Winkler and Buckner, 2006:37).

Advergames are a cross between advertising and computer games, advergames implant product or brand related items as game pieces, hidden treasures or in any other part of the game (Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007). Advergaming differs from product placement in video games, which was discussed above, as in an advergame the brand is the central feature of the game as opposed to being part of the background (Winkler and Buckner, 2006). In addition, advergames are usually commissioned by the brand's marketing department and found on the corporate website (Winkler and Buckner, 2006). Brands are integrated into the advergame in two ways; as an active game component which could be a tool or piece of equipment or a primary or secondary object which is required to win the game, such as collecting M&M's (see below for more details) (Lee et al., 2009). Alternatively, the brands can be embedded in or around games as traditional advertising, such as billboard advertising at a basketball game (Lee et al., 2009).

Many different types of organisations are now using advergames as part of their marketing strategy (Winkler and Buckner, 2006). This is hardly surprising as research has shown that nearly two thirds of five to fourteen year olds access the internet in order to play games, and children can play each game in excess of one hundred times (Dahl et al., 2009; Moore and Rideout, 2007). In addition, a survey in the USA found that whilst half of children surveyed played for less than five hours per week, the other half played for between six and sixteen hours per week (NPD Group, 2007). It was estimated that US spending on advergames would be in the region of $676 million by

2009 (Johannes and Odell, 2007 as cited in Lee et al., 2009) and the number of advergames would have increased fivefold by 2010, with some advertising agencies launching new videogame divisions to meet this demand (Moore, 2006).

Advergames allow children to play with the brands, maybe through an associated character, in a fun and enjoyable context with no time restrictions (Moore, 2006). They are also used for viral marketing by encouraging the children to tell their friends about the game, usually by sending an email directly from the site, endorsing the message thus increasing its credibility with the receiver (Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007). The advantages of advergames are that they not only improve branding and boost product awareness but they also allow for the collection of detailed data about existing and potential customers (Winkler and Buckner, 2006). Advergames are also more effective than other online marketing devices in increasing the amount of time spent on the advertiser's website (Grigorovici and Constantin, 2004). They provide a deeper and longer interaction with the children than traditional advertising ever could and often the brand message is interpreted more like information gained from their own experience than from an advertisement (Moore, 2004; Moore, 2006). Generally the more entertainment on offer the more favourably the brand is received by the child (Lee et al., 2009; Moore, 2004).

A number of studies have found that these types of games are extremely common on food companies' websites (see Table 2.6 above) and that each game tends to have more than one prominent brand mark in it (Lee et al., 2009; Moore and Rideout, 2007). From content analyses of food companies' advergames both Moore and Rideout (2007) and Lee et al. (2009) found that the most common brand identifiers are brand logos followed by food items, packaging and branded spokecharacters, however, it should be noted that many of the advergames contained multiple numbers of these. Moore and Rideout (2007) also found that food advergames tend to include other features such as music or sound effects, customisation options, time limits, multiple levels of play and game scores. The food brands which are heavily involved in advergames are Nestlé, Kellogg's, Mars, Proctor and Gamble, General Mills, Kraft and McDonald's (Chester and Montgomery, 2007). For example, one of M&M's previous advergames called for children to play the part of a M&M's brand spokescharacter 'Crispy', who in order to win the game must collect as many pieces of chocolate M&M's as possible (Lee et al., 2009). From their content analysis Lee et al. (2009) found that this type of brand integration strategy (active game components) is the second most common (67.1%) strategy just behind placing advertisements around the frame of the

game (67.9%), whilst placing advertisements in the game is the least used option (54.3%). In all of these three integration strategies the use of a brand logo is the most common tactic (Lee et al., 2009).

In their study Lee et al. (2009) also considered the educational use of advergames, specifically in helping to promote a healthy diet, unfortunately, they found only 2.7% of advergames included any educational content on nutrition and health, only a further 2.7% attempted to teach children about the product's characteristics and finally just 1.4% had some other form of educational content such as teaching the alphabet. In addition to this, they found that 83.8% of the food products in the advergames were HFSS products (Lee et al., 2009). In line with the content analyses of television advertising, the most common foods were confectionery (28.6%), cereals (19.5%), soft drinks (9.5%) and savoury snacks (7.5%) (Lee et al., 2009). Dahl et al. (2009) reviewed fifteen child orientated UK food company websites and found that thirteen contained advergames, on those sites the actual number of games varied greatly, the smallest being one and the greatest over eighty. In line with other studies, they also found that the complexity of games differed significantly, some games contained many sub-sections and levels of difficulty, requiring children to spend longer periods of time on the site or even to make return visits (Dahl et al., 2009).

2.3.4 In-school communications

Not so long ago schools became a target area for the current childhood obesity problem, especially with vending machines offering crisps, sweets and soft drinks, the selling-off of many school playing fields and more obviously the nutritional content of school dinners (House of Commons Health Committee, 2004). In addition to this, there has also been much criticism over the use of product placement on text books and writing material, and the sponsorship of new buildings and facilities by companies such as McDonald's and Pepsi (Geraci, 2004). Yet other communications are sometimes seen as acceptable, such as the sponsoring of sports competitions, providing loyalty schemes that reward pupils for gathering coupons and even advertising in school newspapers (Geraci, 2004). In his review of the communications used by food companies, Lobstein (2006) found twenty two types of commercial activities in US schools, these ranged from direct advertising in schools and on school buses, indirect advertising by the sponsorship of IT programmes, contests and market research which even included taste tests. In addition, the Federal Trade Commission (2008) estimate that $186 million was spent, in the main by drink manufacturers, in US schools in 2006.

Similar activities take place in schools all over the world; in New Zealand schools short on funding have been known to accept branded teaching aids from companies, and in India Coca-Cola and Pepsi offer a number of sponsorships to schools particularly for sporting activities (Eagle and De Bruin, 2000; Vadehra, 2004). A recent article in the Guardian highlighted how companies are using schools and their playgrounds to conduct their market research, distribute free samples and to advertise their brand logos (Shepherd, 2009). The 'free' text books given out by the food companies tend to be full of product placements, for example calculating the grams of fat in a Burger King Whopper or geometry questions involving Oreo cookies (Kennett and Matthews, 2007). Here in the UK, food and drink companies such as Adsa, Kellogg's, Cadbury and Nestlé are not only sponsoring exercise books but also school awards and even schools themselves (Advertising Association, 2009; Shepherd, 2009). The National School Partnership defends the sponsorship of educational material by stating the content of the material is relevant and educationally credible (Noble, 2008). However, in the past material content has been found to contain a high proportion of biased information (Rodhain, 2002).

According to the Institute of Medicine (2006) there are four reasons why companies are increasingly making use of in-school marketing: a desire to increase sales, to generate product and brand loyalty, the ability to reach large numbers of children in a confined setting and finally the current shortage of funds to schools. However, presently it is unclear whether communications found in the school environment have more, less or even the same influence and impact on children as those found in other contexts, and perhaps more importantly, whether they have an adverse effect on children's educational experience (Farey-Jones, 2010; Kunkel, 2001; Rodhain, 2002). Nevertheless, due to the current public concerns over healthy eating in schools some food companies have made changes, in 2004 Coca-Cola removed all of its advertising from vending machines in UK schools (Murphy, 2004). Even though the UK government has since removed all HFSS products from school meals and vending machines, there is to date nothing to stop these companies promoting their products within schools.

2.3.5   In-store communications

For ease of reference I have broken down in-store communications into three forms of communications: sales promotions, tie-ins and finally point of sale material. Whilst each

is considered separately below, in reality they are often used together, as a result there is some overlap in the discussions especially between sales promotions and tie-ins.

2.3.5.1 Sales promotions

> Sales promotions are "short term incentives to encourage the purchase or sale of a product or service" (Kotler and Armstrong, 2006:469).

Sales promotions are another popular form of communication which are used by the food industry to target children. Consequently, it is perhaps unsurprising to find the use of competitions, free gifts and other promotions are amongst the most popular types of appeal used within television advertisements (Connor, 2006; Gantz et al., 2007). Furthermore, these types of appeals are particularly popular amongst fast food companies who use them in over a third of their advertisements (Kunkel and Gantz, 1992). However, it should be noted that for HFSS products these types of appeals are no longer allowed within many types of advertising here in the UK (Committee of Advertising Practice, 2007; Ofcom, 2007). Story and French (2004) point out that when targeting children the use of sales promotions has increased. In 2006 US food companies spent $67 million on these types of promotions, plus a further $360 million was spent by the fast food restaurants on the toys distributed with their children's meals (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). When added together these two expenditures place spending on sales promotions second behind US television advertising (Federal Trade Commission, 2008).

Three of the most popular sales promotions used to target children are long term collection schemes, such as collecting tokens from packaging, direct contact where children gain an instant reward such as a free toy and finally, membership of clubs (Gilbert, 1999 as cited in Wilson and Wood, 2004). Whilst the frequency of these types of promotions may be increasing, many of them, such as the free collectable toys, have been a staple communication for many companies since the 1950s (Kurnit, 2005). Back in the 1930s Coca-Cola was one of the first companies to use sales promotions to market to children, it gave away yoyos, marbles, kites and whistles (Institute of Medicine, 2006). Whilst today sales promotions are used across the food industry, they are predominately used by breakfast cereal companies and fast food chains (Lobstein, 2006; Page and Brewster, 2007; Story and French, 2004). It is now common practice in the UK for McDonald's fast food children's meals to be accompanied by a free toy (whilst Burger King has stopped this practice in the UK, it still uses it in most other countries), usually one that has a tie-in to a film or television programme (a fuller

discussion of the use tie-ins follows below), and usually as part of a collectable series (institute of Medicine, 2006; Page and Brewster, 2007). As a collectable it is just one piece of a free toy set which requires multiple purchases for the children to collect the whole set (Page and Brewster, 2007). Back in 1999, a promotion by Burger King USA offered a collectable series of Teletubbies dolls which resulted in doubling the sale of its Kids Club meals, an increase of fifty million meals (Lobstein, 2006). Offering this free gift has been called a Trojan horse as it takes children and parents' eyes off the food and onto the toy (Pettigrew and Roberts, 2006).

From a survey of Australian supermarkets Chapman et al. (2006) discovered that all the promotions on biscuits, confectionery, savoury snacks, dairy snacks and ice-cream and 95% of the promotions on breakfast cereals were targeted at children (Chapman et al., 2006). They also found that the use of multiple promotions was common especially for savoury snacks and breakfast cereals. Perhaps surprisingly it was snack foods which had the highest use of giveaways and breakfast cereals the highest use of competitions (Chapman et al., 2006). Finally, of all the promotions 82% were used to market unhealthy foods and only 18% were used to promote a healthier alternative (Chapman, et al., 2006).

2.3.5.2 Tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters

> Licensed character – "in the absence of a host brand a character acts as the brand itself. Characters are often drawn from the world of TV and films." (Lawrence, 2003:45)

The use of branded characters has been around since the early 1900s with the first for children being Kellogg's Rice Krispies' Snap, Crackle and Pop in 1928 (Lawrence, 2003). However, more recently there has been a "proliferation of licensed merchandising and character based promotions" (Lawrence, 2003:46) One reason for this is the increase in children's channels and corresponding programmes which has resulted in a threefold increase in available characters (Lawrence, 2003). However, these characters actually come from a range of media sources such as cartoons, toy creations, live-action feature films, comic and fiction books, newspaper strip cartoons, video games and advergames (Institute of Medicine, 2006). In addition, food companies have moved away from using these characters just on the packaging to using them inside either as part of the product itself or as a free gift promotion (Hill and Tilley, 2002; Institute of Medicine, 2006). As a result, in 2006 $208 million was spent

by US food companies on these types of promotions (Federal Trade Commission, 2008).

It is therefore unsurprising to find that the US food industry has forged a close relationship with Hollywood and the television network studios; Burger King has links with Nickelodeon and McDonald's with Fox Kids Network and Disney (Story and French, 2004). Disney also has agreements with Coca-Cola and Kellogg's (Story and French, 2004). In 2006, films such as Superman Returns and Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest and television characters such as Dora the Explorer, Looney Tunes and Scooby-Doo promoted a range of different food and drink (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). These included fast food children's meals, breakfast cereals, confectionery, carbonated and still drinks, pasta, crisps and finally fruit and vegetables (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). In total, characters from forty eight children's television programmes and thirty films were licensed to US food companies (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). Not surprising then that a high percentage of fast food advertisements use these types of licensed characters to create positive associations towards their brands (Connor, 2006).

From a survey of Australian supermarkets Chapman et al. (2006) also found that it was dairy snacks, ice-cream, biscuits and savoury snacks which primarily used tie-ins when targeting children. In the UK, it should be remembered that since the introduction of Ofcom's and CAP's new restrictions, the use of licensed characters for HFSS foods is now constrained, especially with respect to advertising, which has resulted in a declining interest in using these characters (Carter, 2008). In addition, some of the television networks will now only allow their characters to be tied-in with healthier foods, for example Nickelodeon has removed SpongeBob Square Pants links to Burger King and he is now endorsing Kidsnax dried fruit pouches (Carter, 2008). Nevertheless, there are still many examples where licensed characters are being used such as Bratz Fruity Splitz, Disney Princess Dreamy Strawberry Iced Finger Biscuits and Pink Panther Wafers (Which?, 2008a).

Which character a company uses depends on the age and sex of the child (see Table 2.7 below), with younger children preferring a range of animated cartoon characters. It is not until children reach eight to twelve years of age that they prefer actual celebrities (Lawrence, 2003). In addition, gender also affects which tie-in characters or celebrities children are attracted to, with boys preferring action characters (Costa, 2010). To tie-in with the latest celebrity some own brand characters have been given a make-over,

Sugar Puffs turned its Honey Monster into Sugar Puff Daddy after the rap star (Hill and Tilley, 2002). In addition, tie-ins with children's movies has become more common, for example Coca-Cola spent $287 million on co-branding the first three Harry Potter movies, allowing them to tie-in with the movies and the individual characters on a range of marketing material such as product packaging, games, the website and in-store displays (Institute of Medicine, 2006).

Table 2.7: Children's age and tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters

Age range	Characteristics	Example
0-2 years old	Soft and safe	Barney Teletubbies
3-7 years old	Safe and traditional	Winnie the Pooh Scooby-Doo
7-8 years old	Aggressive	Tom and Jerry Sylvester and Tweety
8-12 years old	Edgier and sophisticated	The Simpsons Sport and music celebrities
Sex	**Characteristics**	**Example**
Boys	Action Heroes	Spiderman Dr Who, Ben 10, Scooby-Doo
Girls	Musical Fantasy	Hannah Montana Disney Princess, Hello Kitty

(Adapted from: Costa, 2010; Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Institute of Medicine, 2006; Lawrence, 2003)

2.3.5.3 Point of sale

> Point of sale is any "marketing communication activity that takes place where products are bought and sold" (Pickton and Broderick, 2005:640)

In the USA food companies spend on packaging and in-store display totals $195 million (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). Examples of in-store promotions include product specific bins, racks or displays cases, shelf-wobblers, hanging signs, floor advertising and mini-events including product sampling (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). Children targeted point of sale material tends to be more dynamic, interactive and less static than similar material aimed at adults (Murphy, 2004). It is also positioned at child height and often contains low cost and child friendly confectionery (Lobstein, 2006). It tends to include child friendly appeals such as bright colours, explosive graphics, themes around fun, energy and being cool (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). In some instances point of sale can have more impact and influence than advertising (Barlovic, 2006).

This type of promotion is heavily used as part of a cross-promotion or integrated campaign with tie-ins (see section 3.6 for more information) where displays of the film/television character are placed around the store or on packaging (Federal Trade

41

Commission, 2008). When attracting older children the focus often moves to sports theme displays (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). For example

> "a fruit and vegetable company used a cross-promotion with Discovery Kids character Paz the Penguin to get children's attention in stores and to remind parents to buy fresh produce for their children. The character's name and image were featured on hanging tags used in cold-case produce sections. In-store events with Paz the Penguin in 10 cities featured give-away activities for children, stickers, coupons for parents, and product samples" (Federal Trade Commission, 2008:33).

As with the example above, point of sale displays are also heavily integrated with sales promotions and television or sports events (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). One piece of good news is that many fruit and vegetable companies (as per the example above) are using a range of in-store promotions to reach children and their parents (Federal Trade Commission, 2008).

2.3.6   Other communications

One type of communication which is not often included when discussing the marketing of foods to children is the licensing deals between the food companies and toy manufacturers (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Page and Brewster, 2007). This is not the same as the free toys which are given away as sales promotions, as discussed in section 2.3.5.1 above. This is where toy manufacturers make smaller adaptations of the food companies' products, such as the McDonald's Drive Thru Toy Cart Playset or Marks & Spencer (previously Sainsbury's) play food groceries from the Early Learning Centre (Early Learning Centre, 2009; ToysRus, 2009). Generally, the toy companies purchase the registered trademark under a licence agreement which then allows them to co-brand their products (Institute of Medicine, 2006).

According to Story and French (2004) there is an increasing trend in these types of branded toys for pre-schoolers and young children. The Food Commission singles out a Cheerios counting book which encourages toddlers to place cereal pieces into the slots on the page and also a Nestlé customised book which allowes a child's name to be directly printed into a Milkybar Kid adventure (Freedland, 2005). This form of communication helps to form early and positive relationships between the child and the brand helping to promote brand awareness and preferences (Story and French, 2004). According to Moore (2004), it helps to provide children with a tangible reminder and reinforcement of the brand.

The final communications which is also often overlooked is word of mouth. As word of mouth is an informal marketing communications it is often outside the control of the organisations. However, whilst it may not be instigated by the food companies

themselves, it is known to have a substantial influence over children's eating habits especially when it originates from their peers or parents (Ip et al., 2007; Kelly et al., 2006). This influence is discussed further in sections 3.4.3 and 3.5.3. To overcome the problem of lack of control in the USA Proctor and Gamble introduced the concept of using tremors (Misloski, 2005). Tremors are usually thirteen to nineteen years of age and their mission is to plant information about the company's brands into the living rooms and schools of their friends (Wells, 2006). They are recruited for their extensive network of friends, family members and acquaintances with around 10% of those applying being chosen (Wells, 2006). The teenagers are not paid directly but receive free samples and money off coupons in addition to being the first to receive the cool new products, but more importantly they gain a feeling of excitement as they now see themselves as company insiders (Wells, 2006). It has proved so successful that now other companies are using tremors, either in collaboration with Proctor and Gamble or on their own (Wells, 2006).

Following on from this success a confectionery company recently hired a group of young snowboarders to hand out free samples at a snowboarding event (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). A flavoured milk brand has taken this premise online and has recruited brand ambassadors who can earn points by taking part in both online and offline promotional activities; these points can then be redeemed for gift cards, branded clothing and other merchandise (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). Even though to date this type of promotion appears to be targeted at older children, usually teenagers, there has been criticisms that using children, of any age, to help promote goods and services is unethical and companies should not be allowed to manipulate children in this way (Bergadaa, 2007; Wells, 2006).

In addition to the above, companies are now able to use the internet to help spread word of mouth communication. By using forms of viral marketing such as e-cards or 'send-to-a-friend' emails that contain hyperlinks back to the food companies' websites, companies are using children as ambassadors to promote their products and brands (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). In similar ways to the tremors above, companies are using trendsetters to send messages and brand preferences through blogs, internet chat rooms, social network sites or news groups (Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Institute of Medicine, 2006). In some instances companies are paying young actors to interact with unsuspecting consumers both on and off line (Institute of Medicine, 2006). Here in the UK, youth research and marketing agency Dubit and In4merz, a peer-to-peer website, were heavily criticised for their use of peer-to-peer marketing both off and

online (Roberts, 2010b). Dubit's criticism came after it was appointed by the Food Standards Agency to create a healthy eating campaign using social networks and viral marketing (Roberts, 2010b).

2.4 Regulation of the industry

In this final section of the chapter I present an overview of the regulation affecting food companies and thier communications. Regulation is complex with inconsistencies not only across the different communicaitons but also between different countries. To provide a brief but comprehensive review I begin the section by considering the regulation here in the UK, both in relation to marketing to children generally and then more specifically in relation to food marketing to children. This is then compared to corresponding regulation in other major countries around the world before finally considering some of the suggestions for how regulation could be developed in the future.

2.4.1 UK regulation relating to marketing to children

The UK communications industry is regulated by a mix of government legislation and industry self-regulation (the arguments for these different forms of regulation are discussed in section 2.4.3 below), but as already mentioned above, these regulations are inconsistently applied to the different communications. There are some communications such as advertising, sales promotions and direct marketing which are much more heavily regulated compared to communications such as non-broadcast sponsorship and public relations. Table 2.9 below highlights these inconsistencies in relation to the regulation of food marketing to children. It is estimated that there are just under three hundred government statutes and regulations which affect the communications industry, however, many of these Acts only affect very specific areas of business or specific industries, and therefore, are not applicable everyone (Pickton and Broderick, 2005). As a result, the UK tends to prefer self-regulation and the use of voluntary codes of practice, however, it should be noted here that whilst most communications have their own set of voluntary codes, some are more prominent and enforced than others (Pickton and Broderick, 2005). The dominant codes are the BCAP and CAP codes which self-regulate broadcast advertising (including radio and television advertising and broadcast sponsorship) and non-broadcast advertising (including print and online advertising, sales promotions and direct marketing) respectively (Committee of Advertising Practice, 2010c).

There is a general agreement that all communications should be legal, decent, honest and truthful (Advertising Standards Authority, 2005). In addition, when communicating to children companies must also not contain material which could lead to mental, physical or moral harm and must not take advantage of a child's credulity, loyalty, vulnerability or lack of experience (Dresden et al., 2003). In both the BCAP and CAP codes there are special clauses to protect children generally, and particularly from unsuitable products and services such as alcohol, gambling, sexual content and now unhealthy foods (Committee of Advertising Practice, 2010a; Committee of Advertising Practice, 2010b). For this purpose a child is anyone under sixteen years of age (Committee of Advertising Practice, 2010b). Additionally, two new set of codes have just come into force (with effect from 1st September 2010, although companies have until 1st March 2011 to ensure their websites comply with the new codes) which have increased the protection for children by increasing the digital remit of the CAP code, this includes more marketing communications on websites and non-paid for spaces such as social networking sites in addition to some extra rules (see Table 2.8 below for the extra rules) (Committee of Advertising Practice, 2010b; Committee of Advertising Practice, 2010d).

Table 2.8: Increased protection for children in the 2010 CAP and BCAP codes

Subject	Summary of change
Data collection	Rules to prevent marketers from collecting data from under 12s without obtaining the consent of their parent or guardian, and from under 16s about other people
Direct exhortation	New and revised rules that make clear the ways in which advertisers may fall foul of the ban on exhorting a child to buy a product or persuading adults to buy a product for them.
Computer & console games	New TV and radio scheduling restrictions to prevent ads for age-restricted games from appearing around programmes made for, or likely to particularly appeal to children.
Exploitation of trust	New TV and radio rule preventing advertisements from exploiting the trust that children and young persons place in parents, teachers and other persons.

(Source: CAP. (2010d) The new advertising codes – an overview. London, CAP, p.2.)

In addition to the above changes, as mentioned in section 2.3.2.2 above, the UK government recently announced changes to the restrictions on product placement. Previously all product placement in British television programmes had been banned, however, after a relaxation in the European Television without Frontiers Directive, and its own initial reluctance (Holton, 2009), the UK government made a u-turn and announced the removal of the restrictions (Brown, 2010). Following protests from consumer and health groups (Campbell and Curtis, 2010; Johnson, 2009) the new legislation is to contain exemptions in relation to children and food marketing (this is

discussed below), banning any product placement in all children's programmes (Bradshaw, 2010; Ofcom, 2010a). Ofcom finished its consultation on the 17th September 2010 and it is expected that the new regulations will come into force by the end of 2010 (Brown, 2010; Ofcom, 2010a). A futher change in relation to marketing to children came from The Word of Mouth Marketing Association (WOMMA), it recently added in its code of practice a clause which states that companies should take extra care when using word of mouth marketing directly to anyone under the age of eighteen, and that companies should not market directly to anyone under the age of thirteen (Roberts, 2010b). One final point in relation to the regulation of marketing to children is following the Conservative Party's pledge to crack down on irresponsible advertising and marketing, especially to children, in its recent party manifesto the communications industry is expecting further restrictions in the future (Roberts, 2010b).

2.4.1.1 Regulation of food marketing to children

In addition to the above regulation concerning marketing to children there are also further restrictions in relation to the marketing of food to children. Over the past six years there has been a substantial change in the amount and content of these additional regulations. As discussed earlier, in 2004 the UK government gave the British food industry three years to improve the balance and nature of food marketing to children (Department of Health, 2004). This was followed by a two year consultation period, led by Ofcom but involving the government, regulatory bodies, representatives from the food and communications industries, NGOs, representatives from consumer and health associations and the public, looking at the different communications being used by the food industry and their effects (Food and Drink Advertising and Promotion Forum, 2008).

Even though the consultation considered the full range of communications, the results were new restrictions for only broadcast and non-broadcast advertising, which were phased in from 2007 (for terrestrial channels) to 2009 (for satellite/cable designated children's channels) (Committee of Advertising Practice, 2007; Ofcom, 2007). Table 2.9 below summarises the details of the current regulations for the marketing of food to children. It is clear from the table that the majority of restrictions are concentrated around broadcast and non-broadcast advertising. However, as mentioned above, this may be beginning to change as following protests from a number of health and consumer groups (Campbell and Curtis, 2010; Johnson, 2009) the new product placement restrictions are expected to ban the placement of all HFSS products in any

Table 2.9: Current regulations for the marketing of food and drink to children

Communication	Type	Details
Television advertising	Timing restrictions	No HFSS product advertisements around children's (under 16) designated programmes No HFSS product advertisements around programmes with the 20% higher children than adult audience
	Content restrictions	Advertisements for HFSS products cannot encourage poor nutritional habits or an unhealthy lifestyle. Advertisements should not encourage excessive consumption, replacing meals with snacking or eating before bedtime. Advertisements should not encourage pestering or the feeling of inferiority or let down if they do not have the product. No use of licensed characters or celebrities popular with children in advertisements for HFSS products targeted at pre-school or primary school children No use of promotional offers in advertisements for HFSS products targeted at pre-school or primary school children
	Banned	Sponsorship by HFSS products of children's television programmes
Non-broadcast advertising (including online 3rd party, paid-for-search listings, in-game and viral advertising and advergames that include display advertisement)	Content restrictions	Advertisements cannot encourage poor nutritional habits or an unhealthy lifestyle. Advertisements should not encourage excessive consumption, replacing meals with snacking or eating before bedtime. Advertisements should not encourage pestering or the feeling of inferiority let down if they do not have the product. No use of licensed characters or celebrities popular with children in food advertisements, apart from fruit and vegetables targeted at pre-school or primary school children No use of promotional offers in advertisements for food products apart from fruit and vegetables targeted at pre-school or primary school children
Sales promotions (including those online)	Content restrictions	Should not encourage excessive consumption Should not encourage children to eat or drink just to take advantage of a current promotion For collection promotions they should not encourage children or parents to buy excessive quantities of food
Direct marketing (incl. emails, texting)		Nothing specific for food and drink targeted at children
Sponsorship		Nothing specific for food and drink targeted at children
Product placement		Restriction from children's programmes and for HFSS foods
Websites		Nothing specific for food and drink targeted at children
In school		Nothing specific for food and drink targeted at children
Packaging		Nothing specific for food and drink targeted at children
In-store promotions		Nothing specific for food and drink targeted at children

(New restrictions from February 2007/09, March 2011, end of 2010)
(Adapted from: Bradshaw, 2010; Committee of Advertising Practice, 2010a; Committee of Advertising Practice, 2010b).

programme (Bradshaw, 2010). This has angered the food industry (Johnson, 2010), especially as many still believe (as stated earlier) the previous restrictions by Ofcom

and CAP (as highlighted in red below) were at best too restrictive and at worst unnecessary (Conlan, 2007; Long, 2007).

Even within the current restrictions there is nothing to prevent specific brands, such as those for unhealthy foods, being advertised so long as they do not include any of their HFSS products within the advertisements. Following on from this, whilst companies cannot use licensed characters or sales promotions in their advertisements for HFSS products, there is not anything to prevent their inclusion on the packaging or undertaking the sales promotions themselves. This concentration of regulation on advertising, specifically television advertising, has resulted in major inconsistencies across the communications and has left many of the other forms of communications, especially the newer forms, subject to little if any regulation and a possible alternative path for food companies (Hawkes, 2004; Nipper, 2006).

In addition to the detailed regulation there are also a number of other voluntary codes that companies may follow, such as the International Chamber of Commerce, the International Code of Advertising Practice, the European Code of the Confederation of the Food and Drink Industry, the UK Food and Drink Health Manifesto and finally individual Company Codes (Watts, 2007). None of these codes go beyond the current regulation detailed in Table 2.9.

2.4.1.2 A review of the HFSS restrictions

In respect to compliance of the new Ofcom and CAP restrictions (but not including the scheduling restrictions) the Advertising Standards Authority (2009) found that out of 1,110 food advertisements in October 2009, across all broadcast and non-broadcast media, there were only seven breaches and none were in respect of the new codes (Advertising Standards Authority, 2009). Previous to this there had only been one breach of the new codes; in 2008 a television advertisement for Coca-Cola's Oasis drink was found to be in breach of good dietary practice by suggesting it, a drink which contained sugar, was a suitable replacement for water (Advertising Standards Authority, 2008). To date there has been four breaches of the scheduling restrictions; half of the breaches were in respect of HFSS advertisements being shown during children's airtime and the other half were in relation to broadcast sponsorship (Ofcom, 2010b).

In addition, Ofcom recently reported that since 2005 there has been a 52% reduction in the number of all HFSS food advertisements seen by younger children (four to nine years) and a 22% reduction for older children (ten and fifteen years) (Ofcom, 2010b). This small percentage (22%) highlights how much television children, especially older children, watch outside that of designated children's programmes and where the number of HFSS advertisements has actually risen by 124% since 2005 (Ofcom, 2010b). Furthermore, 75% of the HFSS advertisements still seen by children were likely to be appealing to both children and adults (Ofcom, 2010b). In addition, between 2003 and 2007 all forms of print advertising saw a growth of over 100% in the number of HFSS advertisements (Cavendish, 2008).

Which? (2008b) also published its research which showed that during the first two weeks of January 2008, of the top twenty programmes watched by children under the age of sixteen, only four of them, of which three were actually children's films rather than television programmes, were covered by the new restrictions. The remaining sixteen programmes/films still legally carried advertisements for HFSS foods (Which?, 2008b). The reason for this was that even though many of these programmes were popular with children, such as the Saturday night reality shows or soap operas, as their proportion of adult audience was higher than that of children they were not included in the restrictions (Watts, 2007). For example, in 2009 the three programmes (excluding Christmas specials) which recorded the largest children's audience (four to fifteen year olds) were The X Factor (2.261million), Britain's Got Talent (2.146 million) and Harry Hill's TV Burp (1.462 million) (Ofcom, 2010d). As mentioned earlier, Mars has now begun sponsoring Saturday evening prime time programmes including Harry Hill's TV Burp (Reynolds, 2010).

2.4.2 Regulation relating to food marketing to children in other countries

Whilst there has been some movement here in the UK, the European Commission has continually delayed acting on its threat of regulation made back in 2004, preferring to keep a voluntary approach (Lobstein, 2009; Ross-Thomas, 2006). Additionally Garde (2008), after reviewing the current European Union regulations, found that they are currently too loosely written to be used to restrict unhealthy food marketing. In line with the European Union's preference for voluntary schemes eleven companies, including Coca-Cola, Nestlé, Mars and Burger King, have signed up to the EU pledge in which they agreed to stop marketing, in any traditional advertising media, unhealthy food to children under twelve years of age (Lobstein, 2009; Sweney, 2007). The closest

Europe has come to implementing any form of legislative restrictions was back in 2001 when Sweden held the presidency of the European Union. It attempted to impose a complete ban on all television advertising to children under twelve, similar to its current domestic arrangements (Caraher et al., 2006; Young et al., 2003).

In the USA there have been similar debates and discussions as here in the UK. Back in 2004 the American Academy of Paediatrics called for a ban on junk food advertising in television programmes that were primarily watched by children (Page and Brewster, 2007). Following this the US government instigated a review by the Institute of Medicine on how to tackle its obesity problem (Hawkes, 2005). However, its results were a little different from Ofcom's with the Institute of Medicine suggesting that the first step should be a voluntary approach by the US food industry, which could then be followed by more stringent regulation if the industry failed (Hawkes, 2005; Institute of Medicine, 2006). As a result, in late 2006, the Council for Better Business Bureau and the National Advertising Review Council set up the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative in the hopes of preventing the US government bringing in similar regulation to that in the UK (Moore and Rideout, 2007). Ten of the top food companies have signed up to the initiative which involves spending at least half of their advertising budgets on healthier foods or messages to encourage fitness or nutrition, as well as reducing the use of licensed characters in unhealthy food promotions (Gantz et al., 2007; Page and Brewster, 2007). Similar patterns have occurred over the border in Canada with the introduction of the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative in Canada (Bate and Reed, 2009) and in Australia with the introduction of the Responsible Children's Marketing Initiative (Harrison and Chalmers, 2010).

In a study of the global regulatory environment for the marketing of food to children, Hawkes (2007) found that since her 2004 review (Hawkes, 2004) a further ten countries, eight from Europe, had implemented self-regulatory codes and a further two countries had implemented statutory regulation in relation to food marketing (Hawkes, 2007). As a result thirty four of the seventy three countries now had some form of regulation in relation to food marketing. However, the amount of regulation still varied greatly amongst different countries, some countries such as Sweden ban all television advertising to children under twelve whilst others, such as India and China, having no restrictions at all (Nipper, 2006; Vadehra, 2004; Valero, 2009; Young et al., 2003). In her initial review Hawkes (2004) found that only advertising, and again concentrated around television advertising, had restrictions and regulations specifically for food. The other communications such as in-school marketing, sponsorship, product placements,

internet marketing and sales promotions, whilst having specific clauses relating to children, did not consider food separately (Hawkes, 2004). However, since that review a number of countries, particularly some Western European countries, have begun to make changes. In her second review, Hawkes (2007) found that a few countries had begun to widen the scope of their regulations, particularly in relation to in-school communications.

In a more recent review of the regulation of marketing food to children in the European Union, The Policies on Marketing Food and Beverages to Children project (hereafter known as the PolMark project) found that whilst all twenty seven countries had some form of regulation which affected marketing to children generally, only ten countries had policies specifically on food marketing to children (The PolMark Project, 2010b). Figure 2.6 below provides a summary of those policies. Of the ten countries only four countries have implemented some form of statutory regulation, the remainder have chosen self- regulatory codes with the majority of codes concentrating on advertising. The range of foods included in the regulations also varies from all foods, to processed foods, to finally, in the UK, HFSS foods (The PolMark Project, 2010b). This confirms earlier findings from Matthews (2008:7) who reported "an ineffective and incoherent pattern of regulation as few governments imposed tough restrictions with most preferring to persuade industry to voluntarily act with responsibility."

2.4.3 Going forward

Going forward one of the key debates is whether countries should implement legislation and/or self-regulation. There are those researchers who believe that self-regulation does not work, often citing the example of the tobacco industry where companies either ignored the voluntary codes or found ways around them due to the lack of control or a supervisory body, resulting in governments having to implement legislation (Powell and Longfield, 2005). Furthermore, Gereaci (2004) found that only 24% of the youth workers he surveyed felt that the food industry is policing itself sufficiently with respect to advertising to children. A further point which has been raised is that regulation which aims to restrict advertising is actually against the principles of self-regulation and therefore should be dealt with by government legislation (Hawkes, 2005).

Hawkes (2005) believes that self-regulation can work to control clearly deceptive and misleading food advertisements which are targeted at children, i.e. it can control the

Figure 2.6: Summary of characteristic of food marketing policies in the European Union

Country	Type of policy	Objective of policy	Sector coverage	Media channels covered	Marketing techniques covered	Guidance/ restrictions/ messaging	Type of restriction
EU 27							
Belgium	Approved self-regulation	Responsible advertising	Signatories to code	Not stated	Advertising	Guidance	NA
Denmark	Approved self-regulation	Reduce exposure	All advertisers	TV, radio, Internet, cell phones, print.	Advertising, sponsorship	Restrictions	Communications channels
Finland	Governmental guidelines	Responsible marketing	All	All	All	Restrictions & guidance	Specific techniques
France	Statutory regulation & approved self-regulation	Nutrition awareness	All	All media with advertising	Advertising	Messaging & guidance	NA
Germany	Approved self-regulation	Not stated	All	Advertising	All commercial communication tools used to promote foods and beverages	Guidance	NA
Ireland	Statutory regulation	Protect children	All	Broadcast media	Advertising, teleshopping, sponsorship; any form of commercial promotion in a broadcast context	Restrictions & guidance & messaging	Specific techniques
Netherlands	Approved self-regulation	Protect children	Signatories to code	All media with advertising	Advertising	Guidance	NA
Portugal	Approved self-regulation	Reduce exposure	All	All media with advertising	Advertising	Guidance	NA
Spain	Approved self-regulation	Responsible marketing	Signatories to code	All media with advertising (except labelling & packaging)	Advertising, product placement, & promotions, prize draws, competitions, & children's clubs mentioned in advertising	Restrictions & guidance	Specific techniques
UK	Statutory regulation & approved self-regulation	Reduce exposure	All	Television	Advertising, sponsorship, use of promotional offers and celebrities in TV advertising	Restrictions & guidance	Communications channel & specific techniques

(Source: The PolMark Project (2010b) Review of regulation in EU member states. London, International Association for the Study of Obesity, p.6).

excesses and illegality (Abernethy and Wicks, 2001) but it cannot control the amount, location, types of appeals that are being used and the cumulative effect of the promotions, i.e. it cannot prevent marketing from doing its job. She states that self-regulatory organisations should be responsible for preventing harm and consumers being misled but should not be responsible for public policy (Hawkes, 2005). In line with this, others authors highlight how, to date, the focus has been on individual advertisements and their content, not on the more important cumulative effect of food promotions (Gunter et al., 2005; Sustain, 2005).

On the other side of the argument, Eagle et al. (2004b) state that whilst the food industry may be an easy target, they have found little evidence that legislative bans or restrictions would significantly impact on the obesity problem, and as a result they finish up being inadequate and ineffective. For example, Nelson and Young (2001) found that across seventeen different countries, compared to countries with no restrictions, the restriction of alcohol promotions had had no effect on alcohol consumption. Others researchers agree with this argument and state a further concern that the reducing of advertising revenue, particularly for niche children's channels, will have severe implications for the future investment in children's programming (Eagle et al., 2005; Eagle and De Bruin, 2000; Preston and Paterson, 2005). Since the Ofcom restrictions came into force, ITV (the main terrestrial commercial channel) has announced that it will no longer commission children's programmes, instead it will import all new programmes from Japan and the USA (Buckingham, 2009).

However there are worries that now advertising is restricted in the UK then companies will re-route their funds to other forms of communications, specifically below the line and new media which are less controlled (Buckingham, 2009; Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al., 2006; Murphy, 2004; Watts, 2007). As previously discussed, advertisers are also likely to devise creative strategies to combat any new regulation (Preston, 2004). According to Cavendish (2008) the UK government is very aware that children are still seeing promotions for HFSS products through other forms of communications and in response it plans to bring forward any proposals it may have for these other types of communications.

According to Cararher et al. (2006:603) any future global codes or regulations are likely to come from the WHO, and any future national or European standards should actually come from a new independent agency that can cut through the "battleground of evidence and counter evidence, interpretation and spin that is placed on this evidence".

A number of researchers and organisations have put forward their recommendations as to what should happen in the future. The most common suggestions are summarised in Table 2.10 below. Overall, it appears that many authors would like to see further restriction on the marketing of unhealthy foods. In addition, they would like for those communications which are currently being used successfully to promote unhealthy food, to be used in future by companies and governments in the promotion of healthier alternatives such as fruit and vegetables. If it is not possible to implement future regulation, mainly due to the strength of the food industry (Garde, 2008), then an alternative way to force change on the industry could be by changing public opinion and habits as happened with the Super-size Me film (Alderman and Daynard, 2006). Following the film McDonald's removed the extra larger portion size from its menu, although it has always denied that it was in anyway influenced by the film and the public's response to it (Alderman and Daynard, 2006).

Table 2.10: Summary of recommendations for future regulation of food marketing to children

Recommendation	Author(s)
Time period restrictions for HFSS products	Hawkes, 2005; Lewis, 2006; Pedersen, 2008; Which?, 2008a
No marketing of HFSS foods using new media (such as social networking sites, viral marketing and SMS)	Pedersen, 2008
No advertising of HFSS foods targeting parents	Pedersen, 2008
No branded promotional activity in specific locations (such as schools)	Hawkes, 2005; Pedersen, 2008
No targeting of certain products at children	Hawkes, 2005
Restriction of certain marketing practices used to target children (sales promotions, viral advertising & product placement)	Hawkes, 2005; Lewis, 2006; Pedersen, 2008; Which?, 2008a
Restriction on the use of tie-ins	Hawkes, 2005; Lewis, 2006; Pedersen, 2008; Which?, 2008a; Institute of Medicine, 2006
Regulation should be applied to all promotions equally	Hawkes, 2005; Lewis, 2006; Which?, 2008a
More sophisticated marketing of healthy food and drink	Lewis, 2006, Institute of Medicine, 2006
European Directive to ban all television advertising of HFSS foods	Matthews, 2008

2.5 Summary

Throughout this chapter I have presented a comprehensive review of the UK food industry (part 1 of the conceptual framework) and how it markets its goods to children. It is evident from the review that the industry is large, both in power and in monetary value, but here in the UK it has been through difficult times and is likely to continue to face them in the future. In relation to the marketing communications used by the

industry, whilst there is evidence of a move to a wider range of communications and a more integrated approach (as discussed section in 3.6), television advertising remains the dominant communication used and encountered by children. In the next chapter I consider part 2 of the conceptual framework by reviewing how children understand these communications, the effect of the communications on children's food preferences and diet and how parents mediate these effects.

3   Literature review

3.1   Introduction

In this chapter I present the theoretical perspectives of marketing to children (see Figure 3.1). In order to provide a comprehensive review of the subjects I have sourced the literature from a number of disciplines including, marketing, psychology, sociology, health and public policy. I begin the chapter by briefly considering the role children play as consumers and the corresponding children's market. I then move on to present a review of the literature on children's understanding of and the perceived effects of marketing communications, specifically by the food industry. This is followed by the role of parents and finally there is a consideration of the possible impact from the increased use of IMC

Figure 3.1: Conceptual framework of the marketing of food to children (part 2)

Chapter 3 – Literature review

Children as consumers
- Children as consumers (Ch.3.2)
- Children's understanding of marketing communications (Ch.3.3)
- The impact of food marketing (Ch.3.4)

The rise of integrated marketing communications (Ch..3.6)

Parental perceptions (Ch.3.5)
-Attitudes towards food marketing
- Parental mediation
- Attitudes towards the regulation of food marketing
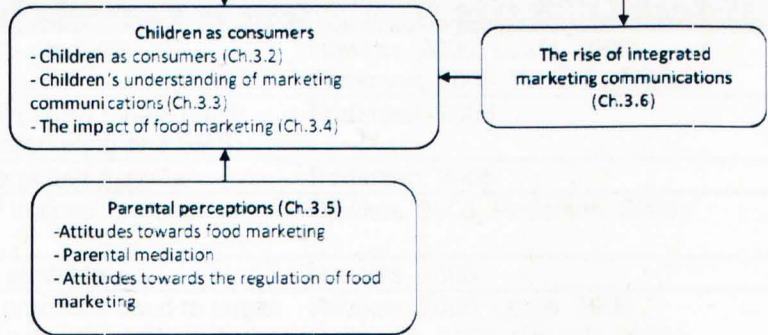
3.2   Children as consumers

Research on children as consumers started to gain visibility within the marketing discipline in the 1970s following a number of public policy concerns about the consequences of advertising to young children (Roedder John, 1999a). As this concern has grown so has the interest in children as consumers (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2005). However, due to the rapid growth in new forms of media there has been very little research undertaken that can help us, as a research community, to understand either the levels of exposure or the amount of engagement children today have with these alternative forms of communications, let alone the influence they may be having on their lifestyles (Marshall et al., 2006). This is something I return to towards the end of the chapter.

The process by which children develop into consumers is known as consumer socialisation. According to Ward (1974:2) consumer socialisation is "the processes by which young people acquire skills, knowledge and attitudes relevant to their functioning in the market place". He qualifies this statement by stating that whilst the focus is specifically on childhood socialisation, researchers also need to recognise that young people continue to learn throughout their lives (Ward, 1974). Much research has been undertaken on how children acquire and develop these skills. Most of it has found that marketing communications, in the form of mass media and in particular television advertising, along with parents and peers are the major agents that aid children in the socialisation process (Buckingham et al., 2009; Marquis, 2004; Marshall et al., 2006). According to the Institute of Medicine (2006:2) "[a]mong the various environmental influences, none has more rapidly assumed a central socialising role for young people than the media, in its multiple forms."

There is little doubt that children appear to becoming more aware of the commercial world and are developing a more adult consumer behaviour at an earlier and earlier age (Choueke, 2010). It is not unusual to find preschool children who can recall brand names and are even beginning to connect those brands to their own image (Maher et al., 2006; Roedder John, 1999a). This is happening at a stage where children are adsorbing information at an incredible rate and gaining more knowledge than at any other time of their lives (Hind, 2002). This recalling of brands is especially true for companies which use cartoons or licenses characters, such as Tony the Tiger or Ronald McDonald, to sell their products (Connor, 2006). For example, Robinson et al. (2007) found that children as young as three are able to identify food wrapped in McDonald's packaging.

By the time children reach primary school they are able to recognise many brand names and symbols, and by the time children reach the age of eight they have acquired considerable brand knowledge (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Marshall et al., 2006; Roedder John, 1999a). It needs to be remembered that this is all taking place whilst they are still in the process of developing an understanding of how branding works (Roedder John, 1999a). However, according to Nickelodeon's senior vice president for research,

> "the latest European research shows that product preferences develop at a much earlier age than anyone had ever thought... As people begin to understand this, to see how brand loyalty transfers to adulthood, there is almost nothing that won't be advertised as for children" (Linn, 2004:369).

It is thought that the average British child is familiar with up to four hundred brand names by the time they are ten years of age (Freedland, 2005). However, Hsieh et al. (2006) found that in Taiwan children younger than ten years of age have no significant brand awareness and have difficulty in distinguishing brands. From this age onwards children begin to develop preferences for particular brands especially over generic alternatives, and by the time they reach adolescence they will have acquired a relatively sophisticated understanding of brands and their meanings (Costa, 2010; Roedder John, 1999a).

In relation to food and drink brands, research recently undertaken for Marketing Week reported that food and drink brands record the highest awareness for six to eleven year olds, more than 90% of the children in its study correctly matched the brand logos for Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Sprite, Fanta, Tropicana and Ribena (Costa, 2010). In addition, when asked to rank brands by their coolness the six to eight years olds named Frosties, Cheerios, Coco Pops, Petit Filous, Munch Bunch and Babybel compared to the nine to eleven year olds who preferred Innocent drinks, Sprite and Kentucky Fried Chicken (Costa, 2010). Costa (2010) believes that once children reach the age of ten they move away from the traditional children's brands and move towards teenage and adult brands. Following on from this, research recently carry out for Marketing found that McDonald's and Coca-Cola are the two most noticed brands by teenagers (Bashford, 2010).

According to some researchers this increase in commercial pressure has resulted in children being more susceptible to advertising and other communications (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Livingstone and Helsper, 2006). In a survey undertaken by public relations agency Ketchum, 83% of the public thought that children today had too many commercial pressures put on them (Farey-Jones, 2008). However, a study by Dubit (2009b) found that children do not feel pressurised by material goods or by youth marketing. Due to advances in technology children today are reported to be more technically advanced, smart and savvy than any previous generation (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Costa, 2010; Dubit, 2009b; Livingstone and Helsper, 2006).

3.2.1 The children's market

The children's market is one of the fastest growing market segments of recent times (Livingstone, 2006b; Wilson and Wood, 2004). The current size of the market means it is inevitable that companies have and will continue to target it (Paine et al., 2002). As

such marketing to children has become big business and is getting bigger (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Kennett and Matthews, 2007). There are three reasons why the power of children as consumers is growing, the first is the growth in their own spending power, second is their role as future consumers and finally it is their power over adults, usually their parents' or grandparents' purchases (Calvert, 2008; Lindstorm, 2004; McNeal, 2007). This final role as a consumer is considered further in section 3.2.1.1 below.

Since the late nineties, in the USA alone, children's (four to twelve year olds) own spending has grown from $24 billion to over $40 billion, in addition the amount of family spending they influence has risen from $260 billion to $700 billion (McNeal, 2007; Moore, 2004). The average weekly income for a seven to ten year old in the UK is £4.92, increasing to £8.22 for eleven to fifteen year olds (Prabhakar, 2009). This equates to children's own annual spending of £4.89 billion, and as in the USA, British children also influence up to £30 billion worth of parental spending (Fielder et al., 2007; Prabhakar, 2009). So what are children spending this money on? Generally it is considered that children spend their money on snacks and toys (Institute of Medicine, 2006). Figure 3.2 shows recent research by O_2 Money and the London School of Economics who found that seven to fifteen year olds in the UK spend their money on sweets followed by clothes and shoes, games and toys, magazines and books and then meals (Prabhakar, 2009).

Studies from around the world show similar patterns, children in New Zealand, Hong Kong and Demark save their money for larger items such as holidays (Andersen et al., 2008; Marshall et al., 2007), whereas children in the USA spend their money on confectionery, soft drinks, fast food and breakfast cereals (Institute of Medicine, 2006). However, American teenagers follow a similar pattern to the British teenagers, preferring to spend their money on clothes, closely followed by fast food, confectionery, soft drinks and salty snacks (Institute of Medicine, 2006). It is clear from all of the studies, that when purchasing food and drink children tend to buy confectionery and soft drinks (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Marshall et al., 2007). However, when it comes to purchasing food it is still the parents who make the majority of purchases (Marshall et al., 2007).

As discussed above, a further reason why children are targeted is because they are viewed as a future market and as a result are often targeted by brands with the aim of forging brand loyalty at an early age (Connor, 2006; Moore, 2004). Maybe this should

Figure 3.2: How children spend their money

£

Chart showing spending categories with values from 0.0 to 4.0 £, comparing 11-15 year olds (light blue) and 7-10 year olds (dark blue). Categories: Sweets; Clothes and shoes; Meals; Magazines, books, newspapers, stationery; Games, toys, hobbies, pets; Computer software; Mobile phones (incl. purchase and charges); Personal care (e.g. make up, hair gel); Film and TV (video, DVDs, cinema); Visiting places; Music; Watching or playing sport; Travel; Internet purchases; Other spending.

(Source: Prabhaker, R. (2009) Teen and tweeneconomics: A study into the teenage and tweenage pound in Britain, 2009. London, London School of Ecomomics, p.2)

not be surprising considering it is estimated that around half of brands used in childhood and adolescence continue to be used by the time the child reaches adulthood (Hsieh et al., 2006). Even though children, especially teenagers, are more brand loyal when buying personal hygiene products as opposed to food, when purchasing food, fizzy drinks and fast food restaurants have the highest levels of brand loyalty (Institute of Medicine, 2006).

3.2.1.1 Children's role in family purchases

According to Kotler (2002), due to its spending power the family is now seen as the most important consumer buying unit, and as such, all family members are seen as an influential primary reference group. In the past research has concentrated on the roles of the parents, neglecting the vital role that children can play in these purchase decisions, and as such it has misrepresented the reality of family purchasing behaviour (Commuri and Gentry, 2000; Thompson and Laing, 2003). One reason for this is that previously parent-child relationships were based more on authority and command and where children were not encouraged to participate in the decision making (Valkenburg,

2000). Today the relationship is more about negotiation resulting in more children participating in the decision making process (Valkenburg, 2000).

As discussed above, as well as being one of the fastest growing market segments in their own right, children are also exerting larger amounts of influence over family purchases across a growing number of different product categories (Wilson and Wood, 2004). There has been a number of studies which investigate the role that children take in family decision making (Geuens et al., 2002; Lee and Beatty, 2002; Lee and Collins, 2000; Shoham and Dalakas, 2005). These studies consider the influence that children have on purchase decisions across different product types, different cultures, different family styles, and finally different theoretical bases such as social power (Belch et al., 2005; Flurry and Burns, 2005; Geuens et al., 2002; Labrecque and Ricard, 2001; Shoham and Dalakas, 2005; Thomson et al., 2007). In addition, these studies find that the influence children have over their parents' purchase decisions is both direct and indirect in nature (Norgaard et al., 2007).

According to Hill and Tilley (2002:768) "the influence that children can have on parental purchases is extensive." They also report that this influence is at its greatest when the children are aged between five and twelve years of age (Hill and Tilley, 2002). However, as children become older the number of requests being made does appear to reduce, although this may be due to their increasing sophistication of dealing with their parents (Robertson, 1979). Conversely, whilst the number of requests reduces with age, the likelihood of them being granted appears to increase (Ward and Wackman, 1972). Additionally, children influence a range of products, including high involvement products such as holidays, cars and home decoration (Buckingham et al., 2009; Mintel, 2003; Thomson et al., 2007). However, they have the greatest amount of influence over daily purchases, especially products that they like to consume or use such as breakfast cereals or toys (Batounis-Ronner et al., 2007; Kelly et al., 2006; Kim and Lee, 1997; Robertson, 1979; Shoham and Dalakas, 2005).

From those studies which concentrate on how children influence family food purchases there is evidence of negotiation between the children and their parents (Wilson and Wood, 2004). Studies as far back as 1972 showed that children are more likely to influence their mothers when it came to food purchases (Ward and Wackman, 1972). Some studies estimate that children influence up to 80% of the family's food budget (Hunter, 2002 as cited in Eagle et al., 2005). Others report that mothers who food shopped with their children are likely to increase their spending by a third and for

fathers the increase could be up to 70% higher (Caruana and Vassallo, 2003). For food purchases this influence is thought to be stronger for children aged between five to eight years of age (Tilston et al., 1991). However, both Batounis-Ronner et al. (2007) and Geuens et al. (2002) found that the influence children have over these types of family purchase decreases as the number of children in the family increases.

Furthermore, when considering at what stage of the decision making process children have the most influence, studies found that whilst children exert influence at all stages, it is most prevalent at the initiation and choice stage (Lee and Beatty, 2002; Norgaard et al., 2007; Wut and Chou, 2009). Studies also show that children have more influence over foods which are either easy to prepare such as cereals and snacks or in-between meal foods such as soft drinks, biscuits and confectionery (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Norgaard et al., 2007). In addition, the Institute of Medicine (2006) conclude that children not only influence the types of foods their parents buy but also the actual brands they purchase.

Children also exert indirect influence over their parents, where parents are aware of their child's preferences they will, without any direct requests from the child, take these into account when making purchases (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Lee and Beatty, 2002; Norgaard et al., 2007). Nevertheless, according to Stratton (1997) even though children have a role to play in the purchase decision, it is far from the popular belief that parents constantly feel pressure to give in to their children's unhealthy food requests. Spungin (2004) found that whilst 80% of parents had been asked to buy an advertised product by their children only 14% of them allowed their children to have the product without vetting it first. Furthermore, nearly half of the parents stated they would first think about the nutritional value before making a decision, while a third said they would consider the cost (Spungin, 2004). Overall though, the parents felt that after the nutritional content the most important consideration when buying food was what the children preferred (Spungin, 2004). As a result parents are still the main gatekeepers of their children's food intake and as such remain in control of the family spending leaving them with the final decision (Buijzen et al., 2008).

However, it should be remembered that whether this influence is being exerted either through being part of the decision making process or simply by harassing parents, it is all part of children developing their role as a future consumer (Bergadaa, 2007). By taking part in this decision making process children are learning to function as independent consumers (Thomson and Laing, 2003). In addition, co-shopping with

parents is also thought to further a child's socialisation, as discussed above, whereby children are observing their parents' buying behaviour and maybe even beginning to take part in the purchasing process (Blackwell et al., 2006). Finally, it is also a way for them to develop manipulating strategies to gain some leverage over their parents (Bergadaa, 2007).

3.2.2 The ethics of marketing to children

We have now entered a new age of marketing to children where communications are everywhere and both marketers and children have unprecedented access to one another (Kurnit, 2005). This rise in new media technologies has resulted in a larger degree of age specific programmes and corresponding marketing communications, particularly for younger children (Kunkel et al., 2004). Some authors feel that it is therefore time for all parties including parents, governments and media companies to reconsider, not only what is effective, but also what is now appropriate when marketing to children (Kurnit, 2005). Therefore once again, whether it is ethical for companies to market, or more specifically advertise, their products to children has emerged as an important issue (Ip et al., 2007). This has resulted in companies now needing to behave in a more ethical and socially responsible manner when dealing with children (Costa, 2010).

When considering the ethics of marketing to children there are two main approaches (Kjorstad, 2000). The first is a critical approach, this sees marketing as a negative factor in children's lives and consequently there is a need for laws to protect them (Kjorstad, 2000). Many believe that the negative factors children need to be protected from include the promoting of hazardous products, misleading information and, according to some, the excessive number of commercial message (Bergadaa, 2007; McNeal, 2007; Nipper, 2006). In addition to these factors, it is argued that marketing to children can increase materialism, selfishness, and increased purchase requests leading to parent-child conflicts (Bergadaa, 2007; Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2005). Finally, there are those who feel that children have the right to be protected from commercial exploitation, and as such, there is a moral need to implement precautionary principles to protect their welfare (Moodie et al., 2006). The second approach is an interpretative approach, this is where children need to master life and as such need to be exposed to commercial messages (Kjorstad, 2000). Those who favour this approach believe there is a positive role for children's marketing, in that it provides information on what is available, education in media literacy, and finally,

provides some form of entertainment for them (Nipper, 2006). Many industry advocates argue that it is not possible to isolate children from the commercial world, and therefore, it is better to educate them on how to manage it (Brown, 2004a). However, there are those who work in the youth industry who feel that many children are insufficiently equipped to deal with the current media environment (Geraci, 2004).

In reality, the marketing communications industry takes more of a middle ground, and argues that it has the right to go about its business so long as it behaves ethically and honestly, and that if it is legal to sell a product it should be legal to market it (Eagle et al., 2005). In addition, if children are said to be consumers in their own right then it should also be ethical to market directly to them, so long as companies follow the rules and regulations that are in place to protect children (Preston, 2005). When faced with the increased pestering argument by those taking the critical approach, the industry maintains that even without advertising children would pester their parents for items and that peer pressure is the real culprit (Preston, 2004).

3.2.2.1 The obesity debate

In recent times this ethical debate has tended to focus more specifically on the marketing of food to children. The overreaching reason for this is the ever rising rates of childhood obesity around the world. It has been estimated that worldwide forty two million children under the age of five are overweight or obese with this figure swelling to 155 million by the time the children reach the age of ten (The PolMark Project, 2010a). In addition, in the UK obesity has doubled among pre-school children and has trebled between 1990 and 2002 in school aged children (Livingstone, 2006a). Consequently, the UK now has the second highest rates for childhood obesity within in Europe (The PolMark Project, 2010a). To make matters worse for every $1 that the WHO spends on trying to improve the nutritional intake of the world's population, $550 is being spent by the food companies in promoting processed foods (Pedersen, 2008).

There has been numerous claims made that the main cause of this rising obesity is the marketing, more specifically the television advertising, of junk food to children (International Association of Consumer Food Organisations, 2003). Even the WHO has published a report which claims the heavy marketing of energy dense food and fast food outlets is a probable cause of the increasing obesity and that a strategy to stop this would be to reduce children's exposure to this type of marketing (Food Standards Agency, 2004). In addition to this, over the past few years there have been many

misleading and emotive headlines within the press which have added to the confusion for many parents about what is causing obesity (Douglas, 2004).

Whilst some researchers have shown that obese and overweight children recognise more food advertisements than other children (Halford et al., 2008; Halford et al., 2004), others have argued that the research making these claims is methodologically weak (Young, 2003a; Zywicki et al., 2004). Additionally, Eagle et al. (2004b) state that there is no clear cause or effect between television viewing and obesity. Also, Zywicki et al. (2004) found, from their extensive review of the economic and public health literature, that there is little empirical evidence of television advertising causing the rise in obesity. However in reality, it is a combination of factors which are contributing to the problem; environmental, social, economic, psychological and genetic factors have all been highlighted as possible contributions (Young, 2003b). In addition to these factors, Eagle et al. (2002) report a widespread inertia amongst the population to take any action as they failed to see that the problem relates to themselves or their family. According to O'Sullivan (2005:372) "convictions rather than evidence dominate this controversy". Considering the importance of this argument, there is a review of the literature on the effects of food marketing communications on children's purchase requests and their diets in section 3.4 below.

If it is not possible to provide a simple answer to what is causing the increase in obesity levels, then it is fair to say that there is not going to be a simple answer to how to stop this growth, and who is responsible for it. Whilst those responsible for food marketing acknowledge they are legitimate stakeholders, and have a responsibility to be part of the solution, they also argue that any solutions must be evidence based and proportionate (Brown, 2004a). Other writers widen the net even further and state that any solution will require a partnership between governments – local, national, regional and global – manufacturers, retailers, restaurants, industry associations, professional bodies, advertising and marketing executives, the media, health services, schools, consumers, investors, parents and children (Nixon, 2004). However, this will be difficult to achieve until both sides of the debate (as discussed in section 2.2.1) are prepared to concede that neither side is fully right nor fully wrong and are ready to search for some common ground (Ambler, 2004).

3.3 Children's understanding of marketing communications

As discussed in sections 3.2 and 3.2.2 above, many authors believe children require special protection from marketing messages currently being targeted towards them (Kunkel et al., 2004; Moodie et al., 2006). The main reason for this is children's lack of ability to comprehend what companies are attempting to achieve. Therefore, within this next section I provide a review of the different issues within children's understanding of marketing communications. I begin the section with a review of how children develop the skills to process the communications, linking back to the theory of consumer socialisation already discussed in section 3.2. I then move on to consider what is meant by 'understanding'; this is considered with reference to advertising, more specifically television advertising due to the concentration of studies in this area. Finally in this section I consider how children may or may not understand other forms of communications.

3.3.1 Children's cognitive development

It is generally agreed in the literature that young children do not have the correct skills to mediate their experience with promotions (Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007). As such, it is inferred that they are therefore unable to defend themselves against the persuasive nature of those communications (Kunkel et al., 2004; Roedder John, 1999b). This notion of vulnerability is also based on the assumption that as children age and develop they move from this vulnerable state to a more sophisticated one which is similar to that possessed by adults (Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007; Wright et al., 2005).

According to consumer behaviour literature children are said to develop in stages. These stages are based on Piaget's theory of cognitive development which suggests that children's cognitive development can be classified into four stages: sensorimotor (zero to two years), preoperational (two to seven years), concrete operational (seven to eleven years) and finally formal operation (eleven to adulthood). It is from this that Roedder (1981) proposes her model of consumer socialisation based on a child's age. The model helps researchers to characterise children's response to understanding advertising (Chan and McNeal, 2006). The model classifies children into one of three segments: limited processors (under seven years), cued processors (seven to eleven years) and strategic processors (twelve years and older) (Roedder, 1981; Roedder John, 1999a). Table 3.1 below details the main characteristics of each of these socialisation stages. According to Roedder-John (1999a) children in the perceptual

stage are only able to consider their own perspective and are constrained in understanding and organising information and therefore can only make decisions based on limited information. Children in the analytical stage have increased information processing abilities and can often think from the perspective of another, such as a parent or a friend, which allows them to make more thoughtful decisions (Roedder, 1981; Roedder John, 1999a). Finally, once children reach the reflective stage they have developed sophisticated information processing skills and can think from a number of perspectives, allowing them to be more reflective in their thinking, reasoning and decision making (Roedder, 1981; Roedder John, 1999a).

Table 3.1: Consumer socialisation stages

Consumer Socialisation			
Characteristics	Perceptual stage 3-7 years	Analytical stage 7-11 years	Reflective stage 11-16 years
Knowledge structures:			
Orientation	Concrete	Abstract	Abstract
Focus	Perceptual features	Functional/underlying features	Functional/underlying features
Complexity	1 dimension Simple	2+ dimensions Contingent	Multi-dimensions Contingent
Perspective	Egocentric	Dual perspective	Dual perspective in social context
Decision making & influence strategies:			
Orientation	Expedient	Thoughtful	Strategic
Focus	Perceptual/salient features	Functional/underlying /relevant features	Functional/underlying /relevant features
Complexity	Single attributes Limited repertoire of strategies	2+ attributes Expanded repertoire of strategies	Multiple attributes Complete repertoire of strategies
Adaptivity	Emerging	Moderate	Fully developed
Perspective	Egocentric	Dual perspective	Dual perspective in social context

(Source: Roedder-John, D. (1999) "Consumer socialization of children: A retrospective look at twenty five years of research." *Journal of Consumer Research*, 26(3), p.186.)

According to Moore (2004:164) "there is little evidence to suggest that children's understanding of advertising and how it works can be accelerated beyond their capabilities at key points in their cognitive development." For example, Fox (1981 as cited in Livingstone and Helsper, 2006) found differences in cognitive measures such as knowledge, understanding and distinguishing between programmes and advertisements between four to five years olds and nine to ten year olds. Moore and Lutz (2000) also found that older children, with their more sophisticated levels of processing capacity and knowledge, are more able to integrate different information. Consequently, some authors believe that by advertising to children younger than seven years of age marketers are exploiting the developmental stages discussed above (Bergadaa, 2007).

As an alternative to the above, some authors propose that it is more useful to consider models such as the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) of Persuasion (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006), the theory of mind (Moses and Baldwin, 2005) or the Persuasion Knowledge Model (Friestad and Wright, 2004), when trying to understand how children develop an understanding of marketing communications. With respect to the ELM model, it is suggested that whilst older children may take the central route, in line with usual adult behaviour, younger children on the other hand are more likely to take the peripheral route (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006). However, Te'Eni-Harari et al.'s (2007) study of five to fourteen year olds,found that children take neither the central nor peripheral route, and therefore suggests that children take a 'special' route which blurs the lines between the two more well recognised routes.

Moses and Baldwin's (2005:197) theory of mind proposes

> "a better criterion should be derived from an assessment of how well entrenched children's advertising concepts are, how flexibly they can deploy these concepts in real-world contexts, and the extent to which their subsequent behaviour is guided by these concepts. Merely having the concepts in some latent form does little if anything to prevent children from being led astray by advertising."

They suggest that this flexibility is gained through adolescence into early adulthood, much later than the traditional theories put forward by Roedder (Moses and Baldwin, 2005). On similar lines Goswami (2008:2) proposes that rather than the traditional Piaget's age related development discussed above

> "it is now recognised that children think and reason in the *same* ways as adults from early childhood. Children are less efficient reasoners than adults because they are more easily misled in their logic by interfering variables such as contextual variables and because they are worse at inhibiting irrelevant information".

Both of these theories appear to provide support for Friestad and Wright's (2004) who believe children and adults both make use of their persuasion knowledge model (PKM) (Wright et al., 2005). They suggest persuasion knowledge enables consumers to "recognise, analyse, interpret evaluate and select and execute coping tactics believed to be effective and appropriate" (Friestad and Wright, 2004:3). They propose that consumers', including children's, persuasion knowledge, i.e. knowledge about marketers' motives and tactics, continues to develop throughout their life. It is this persuasion knowledge which shapes a child's attitudes and thoughts about marketing communications and in turn helps them to identify how, when and why persuasion attempts are made (An and Stern, 2011). However, it is not until late adolescence that children gain sufficient persuasion knowledge through their market place experiences that they can automatically and effortless execute their persuasion coping activities (Wright et al., 2005). An and Stern's (2011) recent study found that only one of the 112

eight to eleven year olds possessed sufficient persuasion knowledge to recognise the commercial purpose of an advergame.

The PKM model also proposes that where children do not possess sufficient persuasion knowledge they may instead rely on their topic and/or agent knowledge (the knowledge they possess on the on the brand or the product) to help them evoke their coping behaviours (Friestad and Wright, 2004; Wright et al., 2005). Hove et al., (2011) suggest the reason why the twelve to fourteen year olds in their study found the commercial and brand websites to be less reliable and trustworthy sources of health information was due to their pre-existing perceptions of the brands (i.e. agent knowledge). Therefore, as a child's experience of interacting with brands and their commercial message increases their corresponding topic, agent and persuasion knowledge increases resulting in a "change-of meaning" (Friestad and Wright, 2004:13). Now when the child encounters future persuasion episodes they will understand the message differently. This will lead them to evoking a different coping behaviour such as disengaging from and being more sceptical about the message (Wright et al., 2005).

Following on from the above, Livingstone (2009) also suggests that whilst the traditional theory may have fitted with the evidence obtained from research on television advertising during the 20th century, it does not fit with the diversity of the 21st century multi-media environment. This is something I return to in my discussion in chapter 8.

3.3.2 Children's understanding of advertising

Children, especially young children, are usually not discerning enough to realise that advertisements contain empty promises and often believe the information within advertisements to be true and reliable (Bergadaa, 2007). In order to understand whether children understand advertising researchers have made comparisons between the abilities of children and adults (Moses and Baldwin, 2005; Wright et al., 2005). This may be slightly dubious when adults themselves are not always completely guarded against advertising (Moses and Baldwin, 2005). Nevertheless, to date there is no fixed age at which it can be said, with any certainty, that the majority of children understand advertising. All that can be said is that their understanding changes between the ages of five and twelve from an entertainment to a persuasive nature (Young, 2003a). Most of the studies in this area concentrate on two forms of cognitive defences, firstly the

recognition of advertising – can children distinguish between advertisements and television programmes; secondly their understanding of advertising – do children understand the persuasive intent of advertising (Rozendaal et al., 2008).

3.3.2.1 *Distinguishing between advertising and programmes*

Before children can recognise the persuasive or selling intent behind advertising they must first be able to distinguish between the advertisement and the television programme. Whilst this and the next sub-section are discussed in relation to television advertising, it should be noted that these criteria can still be applied to all communications. Where this has taken place the results are discussed in section 3.3.3 below.

Children under five usually find it difficult to determine between advertisements and programmes, often viewing advertisements as just another form of entertainment (Kunkel, 2001; Kunkel et al., 2004; Livingstone and Helsper, 2006; Roedder John, 1999a). Bijmolt et al. (1998) in their study found that whilst 90% of the five to eight year olds could recognise the difference when using non-verbal measures, only 20% could recognise the difference when using verbal measures. This then raises the question of the methodology being used, a factor which I return to in the next section. When comparing children's ability to recognise advertisements with that of an adult Rozendaal et al. (2008) found that only the children aged eight to nine years recorded a significantly lower recognition score than the adults, although none of the children (eight to twelve years) achieved the same level of recognition as the adults.

Other factors which impact on children being able to distinguish between advertisements and television programmes include the use of cartoon characters and some types of trailers. Lawlor and Prothero (2003) found from their study of eight to nine year old children that even though children are able to distinguish between advertisements and programmes, some of them found it more difficult when the same characters were in both the programme and advertisement. Furthermore, Oates et al. (2003a) report that most of the six year olds and some of the eight year olds in their study found it difficult to distinguish between the advertisements and programmes when the trailers looked like advertisements. Children use a range of characteristics to help them recognise an advertisement, such as advertisements are funnier (affective characteristic) or advertisements are shorter than programmes (perceptual characteristics) (Kunkel, 2001; Kunkel et al., 2004; Roedder John, 1999a). Other

characteristics include not having names/titles or knowing the programmes or even being told the programme was going for a break (Lawlor and Prothero, 2003). However, whilst visual separators do aid some children with the distinction, verbal separators are much less effective (Kunkel, 2001; Kunkel et al., 2004).

Recall

Despite the fact that there are many studies, using different methodologies, which all show that children are able to recall the content of advertisements they have been exposed to (Kunkel et al., 2004), Halford et al. (2007) found that most of the five to seven year olds in their study could not identify, from a list of twenty advertisements, the ten advertisements they had just seen. Where children are able to recall advertisements they recall them for a variety of products and services, and beyond those which are specifically targeted at them, such as cars and financial services (Costa, 2010; Duff, 2004; Marshall et al., 2007). From a recent survey of seven to eleven year olds, of the top sixteen television advertisements recalled, eight were for food, six were for entertainment products, one was for toiletries and the final one was a public service announcement (Dubit, 2009a). Similarly, Hitchings and Moynihan (1998) found for nine to eleven year olds the most frequently recalled advertisements are for breakfast cereals, confectionery and soft drinks. However, even when young children can distinguish between advertisements and programmes, and can even recall the advertisements; this does not necessarily mean that they are aware the content of the advertisements is any different to that found in the programmes (Kunkel, 2001). This requires a deeper and more complex level of understanding.

3.3.2.2 Understanding the persuasive intent of advertising

Not only at what age do children 'understand' advertising but also what do we, as a research community, mean by the term 'understand' has been heavily debated in the literature for many years. For the age at which children start to understand the meanings behind advertisements a range of ages from three to twelve has been proposed, although most researchers suggest it is around seven to eight years of age (Oates et al., 2003a). There is a general agreement that in order for a child to understand the persuasive intent of advertising a number of criteria needs to be met. Roberts (1982 cited in Kunkel, 2001) defines these criteria as, firstly, a child needs to be able to identify the sponsor of the advertisement, secondly, a child needs to be able to recognise that the source has a different perspective to its own, thirdly, a child needs to realise that the source intends to persuade him/her to make a purchase, fourthly, the

child must recognise the persuasive messages are biased and finally, that the biased message demand interpretation. More recently Lawlor and Prothero (2008) added a further criterion of being able to recognise other parties, apart from the advertiser, that have an interest in advertisements, such as television stations. From this they propose four possible levels of understanding (see Table 3.2 below for details) from unsophisticated to highly sophisticated (Lawlor and Prothero, 2008).

Table 3.2: Children's levels of understanding

Level	Understanding	Basis for level
First	Unsophisticated	Inability to recognise persuasive intent/decipher the advertiser's intended message
Second	Basic rudimentary	Ability to discern between advertising and programming through use of cues such as length of ad, programme credits
Third	Semi-sophisticated	Ability to recognise the advertiser's persuasive intent
Fourth	Highly sophisticated	Recognition that advertising facilitates the advertisers in addition to other interests such as the viewer and host television station

(Source: Lawlor, M.A. and Prothero, A. (2008) Exploring children's understanding of television advertising – beyond the advertiser's perspective. *European Journal of Marketing*, 42(11/12), p.1217.)

Children with low cognitive levels (as discussed above), usually children under eight years of age, have difficulty in achieving the above criteria (Kunkel, 2001; Roedder John, 1999a). From a review of the literature it is generally believed that children around seven to eight years of age can identify the persuasive intent (Kunkel et al., 2004; Preston, 2004; Young, 2003c). However, it is less clear when they begin to learn that the messages may be biased and consequently begin to form strategies to counteract them (Kunkel et al., 2004). As a result, it is thought that children can recognise this persuasive intent at eight but they do not tend to use this knowledge spontaneously and must be cued to do so (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006; Roedder John, 1999a). Some researchers argue it is not until children reach around twelve that they fully articulate this understanding, including the intention of the sponsors (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006; Roedder John, 1999a; Young, 2003c). However, there is evidence to support that even when children are able to recognise and understand advertising, this does not mean that they are less susceptible to its effects (McDermott et al., 2008; Rozendaal et al., 2009).

When asked 'what advertising is' the eight and nine year olds in Lawlor and Prothero's (2003) study and the seven to eleven year olds in Duff's (2004) study gave a range of

similar answers. These included informational aspects, such as to learn something about the product, to find out what is in the shops, to demonstrate the product, as well as commercial aspects, such as to get people to buy the product and as a source of funding for programme makers, and finally other aspects, including for entertainment, to make time to do other things such as get a snack (Duff, 2004; Lawlor and Prothero, 2003). However, Marshall et al. (2006) found that whilst the majority (80%) of the eight to eleven year olds in their study recognised the selling intent of an advertisement less than a fifth of them identified the financial arrangement of advertising. On similar lines, Oates et al. (2003a) and Oates et al. (2002) found that only some of the ten year olds in their studies appeared to understand the persuasive intent of advertising.

Some researchers believe one reason why children do not appear to reach understanding until at least eight years old is that they are unable to verbalise what they can and cannot understand (Owens et al., 2007). Many refer to Donohue et al.'s (1980) study which found that by using non-verbal methodology children reach an understanding at a much younger age. However, this study has been heavily criticised for having a weak methodology (result could be due to chance), and when Macklin (1987) replicated the study she found that as the number of possible responses is increased, the number of children showing an understanding decreases. Nevertheless, during both Bijmolt et al.'s (1998) and Owen et al. (2007) study they show that when using non-verbal measures to measure children's understanding the results are significantly higher than when they using verbal measures. There are those researchers who argue that other factors, in addition to a child's age, should be considered (Oates et al., 2003a; Roedder John, 1999b). Furthermore, in a review of the literature Martin (1997) finds that age alone can only explain around 10% of the difference in children's advertising knowledge. In addition, she finds that the relationship between age and understanding becomes weaker in the more recent studies (Martin, 1997). Chan and McNeal (2006) also find that in addition to age, attention to television advertising, household income and the presence of public service announcements all have a significant effect on children's understanding.

Amongst people working within youth marketing there are a mix of opinions, some state that children cannot view advertising critically or cannot effectively separate fantasy from reality in the media until they reach the age of nine (Geraci, 2004). Whereas others argue that children understand advertising better than adults give them credit for and develop this understanding at an early age (Clarke and Preston, 2003). Yet, other studies report that it is not until children reach the age of ten or eleven that

they can understand multiple meanings and fantasy in advertisements (Moore and Lutz, 2000).

However, regardless of how understanding is interpreted, research does show that as children become older and gain a 'full' understanding, their negative attitude towards advertising increases, becoming sceptical and even distrustful of advertising (Buijzen, 2007; Chan and McNeal, 2004; D'Alessio et al., 2009; Livingstone and Helsper, 2006; Oates et al., 2003a). Although, Marshall et al. (2006) found that children aged between eight to eleven years of age are generally more positive towards advertising per se, and their criticisms are targeted towards particular campaigns or brands, predominately those for toys. In line with this, other studies have found that whilst perceived truthfulness may decrease as children become older, their liking of advertisements does not (Buijzen, 2007; Duff, 2004; Livingstone and Helsper, 2006). Both Duff (2004) and Derbaix and Pecheux (2003) found that children particularly like advertisements that entertained. However, Moore and Lutz (2000) found that children's prior experience with products is also a factor in their level of confidence in the brand and its advertisement.

3.3.3   Other communications

According to Calvert (2008), the move to new marketing strategies, such as online advertising and different forms of product placement, are making not only children under eight especially vulnerable due to their lack of lack of cognitive skills to understand the persuasive intent, but also older children whose defences are being undermined. These new more sophisticated forms of communications are often seen as working at the subliminal level and as a result are not recognised even by older children (Lewis, 2006; McDermott et al., 2008). One reason for this is that those forms of communications which blur the lines between entertainment and advertising are not making any explicit claims for children to evaluate (Fine, 2007).

As an alternative to the above Nairn and Fine (2008b:460) suggest that for types of communications which work at a subliminal level, such as advergames, product placement and celebrity endorsements, then these communications work by "manipulating consumer behaviour via implicit attitude change." Therefore, children need the appropriate and different cognitive skills to defend against this implicit persuasion (Nairn and Fine, 2008a). By considering work from neuroscience and psychology, mainly in relation to dual process attitude models, they deduce that these

skills are not acquired until during adolescence and it is not until early adulthood that they are fully developed (Nairn and Fine, 2008b).

Other advertising

All research on children's understanding of advertising has concentrated on television advertising and then the dubious (as is highlighted and discussed later in the thesis) assumption that these findings can be generalised to other forms of advertising, such as print advertising, has been made. The only research available before this study took place considers children's awareness and recall of different advertising. Although not as common, children are aware of food advertisements outside of television, in a survey by the National Children's Bureau, children cite cinemas, stands, magazines, displays in shops, posters and billboards as places they frequently see advertisements for food (Lewis, 2006). They think that non-broadcast advertising for food is "everywhere you look," and that the advertisements are usually for what they consider unhealthy products such as sweets, chocolate, fizzy drinks and fast food (Lewis, 2006:4). Additionally, over 75% of the children said they never, or very rarely, see an advertisement for fruit or vegetables and they believe that all the unhealthy promotion is drowning out any messages they receive on healthy eating (Lewis, 2006). However, Duff (2004) reports that children's awareness of advertising in comics and magazines is somewhat limited, with older children being more familiar with the advertisements, boys being aware of specialists' advertisements in their computer games or sports magazines and the girls picking up on the clothing or make-up advertisements (Duff, 2004).

New media

According to Moore and Rideout (2007), young children (three to seven year olds) are not even aware that websites and advergames are explicitly designed to promote different food brands. A number of studies report that children of all ages find it more difficult to recognise newer forms of advertising, such as online advertising and advergames (Lewis, 2006; Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007; Owen, 2009) Ali et al.'s (2009) study of children in the UK and Indonesia found that children in both countries who took part in the experiment lacked the skills to be able to distinguish online advertising, the six year olds recognised only a quarter of the advertisements, the eight year olds half of advertisements and the ten to twelve year old recognised nearly three quarters of the advertisements on a webpage. Wollslager (2009) also found that before any media literacy training a third of the nine to twelve year olds in her study

recognised advertising on the Neopets website. Even after receiving some media literacy training, the number of children who recognised the advertising only rose to 44% (Wollslager, 2009). Similar results were also found by Nairn (2008), where a group of eleven to twelve year olds girls when presented with a webpage and asked to count the advertisements gave answers ranging from one to six.

There has been mixed results when considering whether children understand the persuasive intent of advergames. Mallinckrodt and Mizerski (2007) found in their study of advergames over half of the children (five to eight years of age) recognised that the intent of the advergame was to either persuade them to buy or to eat the cereal from the game. In addition, the recognition of both the persuasive intent and identification of the sponsor did increase significantly with age (Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007). Conversely, as discussed above (p.68) An and Stern (2011) found that only one of the 112 children (eight to twelve year olds) in their study correctly identified the commercial content and sponsor of the 'Be a Pop-Star' advergame. In addition, Wollslager (2009) found of the nine to twelve year olds in her study, before any media training, only a third of the children understood the persuasive intent of advergames, and even after some media training, a third of the children still did not understand the intent. By disguising communications as games or in entertainment, researchers believe that it is making it much more difficult for children, even older children, to be sceptical of the commercial messages (Fielder et al., 2007; Moore, 2004). According to Moore and Rideout (2007), marketing practitioners are using this form of communications as a way of effectively reducing this scepticism and opening up children to the brand message. In addition, they feel, as discussed in section 3.3.2.2 above, that if children do not automatically invoke their defences when watching television advertisements then it is even less likely that they will do so when online (Moore and Rideout, 2007). This is due to when playing online children's primary focus of attention is playing the games, thus leaving the brand logos and messages to be processed peripherally (Moore and Rideout, 2007).

In line with this, Fielder et al. (2007) found that when discussing the internet children are often aware of the danger of viruses, talking to strangers and giving away personal information, however, they very rarely consider advertising and its persuasive intent. Furthermore, for those children who are aware of online advertising, they see it as an obstacle to overcome and a hindrance (Fielder et al., 2007). Andersen et al. (2008) found that over two thirds of the children (ten to thirteen year olds) in their study felt that pop-up advertisements online are annoying. It is also pointed out that both the

intentions behind online advertising (being brand advocate, building bonds) and the basic economic concepts are different from television advertising meaning that children are even less likely to have the skills to defend against it (Nairn, 2008; Nairn and Drew, 2007). According to Livingstone (2009:170)

> "although adults know that online, mobile and gaming platforms are commercial in nature, this does not mean they can detect when and how they are being targeted or by what messages, for adult awareness of persuasive intent may apply only at the most general level"

Therefore considering many adults are not able to defend themselves, then it is even less likely that children will be able to do so (Livingstone, 2009; Nairn, 2008). Livingstone (2009) also states that for this new media environment there is no universal relationship between understanding and age, understanding is more dependent on the types of media and the circumstances in which children interact with the communications.

Product placement and Sponsorship

With regards to product placement, there is an urgent need to consider at what age do children start explicitly noticing it, and more than that, at what age do they recognise the commercial intent behind the placement (Auty and Lewis, 2004a). Some authors argue that children are particularly vulnerable to this form of communication as they have not developed a sensitivity to this type of subtle communication (Avery and Ferraro, 2000). In addition, Hackley et al. (2008) consider how ethical product placement is when children are the target market due to their lack of developmental skills in identifying the commercial side of the communication from its editorial side. From the little research which has taken place, Auty and Lewis (2004b) found no significant difference between younger (six to seven year olds) and older (eleven to twelve year olds) children in their ability to recall the product placement from the film clip they showed.

The only research and this has been very limited, which has taken place on the understanding and recall of product placement in video games used young adult males, predominately university students, as the sample. To date, nobody has investigated children's recognition and understanding.

Even less research has considered whether children can identify forms of sponsorship, and at what age they understand the intent behind it. In Oates et al.'s (2003a) study the six to eight year old children found it difficult to understand the meaning of sponsorship, although they could give examples. However, where children do understand the intent

Lewis (2006) found that British children are very critical of unhealthy product brands sponsoring sporting events (as previously discussed in section 2.3.2.1).

Tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters

Children as young as three can recognise a number of brand characters and their associative products (Mizerski, 1995). However, children of that age also find it more difficult to distinguish the commercial message from the editorial content when these types of tie-ins are used (Kunkel, 2001; Preston, 2004). This is due to young children being less able to distinguish between reality and fantasy (Nairn, 2008) and the blurring of the lines between entertainment and marketing (Moore, 2004; Page and Brewster, 2007). However, as children get older they are more able to decode these subtle forms of brand imagery and values (Lawrence, 2003). As children become increasingly "marketing savvy", by the time they reach the ages of seven to twelve years of age, the appeal of these licensed characters has been substantially compressed and the use of these characters can actually alienate children from the brand (Lawrence, 2003:45).

According to Lewis (2006), whilst young children recognise the cartoon characters on packaging and in other forms of communications, they do not recognise it as marketing and the intentions behind its use. However, Hill and Tilley (2002) found that the ten and eleven year olds in their study could not only recognise the characters on cereal packets but they also understood their use. Similar results were reported by Lawlor and Prothero (2003) who found that the eight and nine year olds in their study were familiar with a company's rationale for using celebrity endorsements. Yet, Ross et al. (1984) found that boys aged eight to fourteen are less likely to believe an advertisement is staged or exaggerated when a celebrity endorsement is used. They also found that boys are more likely to believe the endorser has some form of expertise, decreasing their scepticism of the advertisement (Ross et al., 1984).

Sales promotions

Research into which type of sales promotions are more popular with both parents and children, in relation to food products, found that for children having a free gift in the packaging is slightly more popular than tie-ins to movie characters, whereas for parents the results are reversed (Lawrence, 2004). As part of the same research Lawrence (2004) also found that promotions on breakfast cereals are the most popular, followed by those on crisp packets, and also, these types of promotions are most popular with

seven and eight year olds. It is thought that the use of competitions and sweepstakes may be appealing to children, as due to their lack of understanding and resulting naivety, they will have unrealistic expectations about their chance of winning (Page and Brewster, 2007). However, Lewis (2006) found that children are more likely to have a level of cynicism of companies who use these types of promotions. This result is similar to that of Hill and Tilley (2002:773) who found that the ten and eleven year olds in their study were aware of why there was a free gift in their cereal packet, using phrases such as "they just do it to make you buy that cereal".

3.4 The impact of marketing communications on children

As previously discussed in section 3.2.2.1, one of the major reasons why food marketing to children has been a subject of major debate over the past few years is its link to the current obesity debate. It is therefore important to consider the impact of these communications by reviewing their effects on children's purchase requests and their corresponding diets. It should be noted here, that again, the majority of the research in this area has concentrated on television advertising and there has been little consideration of other, especially newer, communications (Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al., 2003; Institute of Medicine, 2006). The effects of advertising can generally be divided into two categories, intended effects, such as product/brand awareness, preferences and requests, and unintended effects, sometimes seen as the side-effects of advertising, such as materialism, poor diets and parents-child conflict (Buijzen, 2007). In relation to this research I am only considering the intended effects of food preferences and requests followed by the effect on children's diets.

3.4.1 The impact of advertising on children's purchase requests

Whilst the Institute of Medicine's review of food marketing to children includes all aspects of communications in relation to what companies are currently using, when considering how these communications impact on children's purchase requests it only contains evidence in respect of television advertising (Institute of Medicine, 2006). It openly admits that scientific research on other forms of communications is currently missing (Institute of Medicine, 2006). However, from its review of the literature, it does conclude that children's food preferences are influenced by two primary factors: sweetness and familiarity (Institute of Medicine, 2006). In addition, it reports that children are also likely to prefer unhealthy foods, as they believe unhealthy foods taste nicer than healthier foods (Institute of Medicine, 2006). In line with this, Wardle and Huon (2000) found that children are less likely to give a positive liking response and to

ask their parents to purchase a drink in the future when the drink is labelled as a 'healthy new drink' as opposed to a 'new drink'. In addition, Davis and White (2006 cited in Marshall et al., 2006) found that the seven to twelve year olds in their study whilst they recognised the healthier food options, when given a choice 83% chose the unhealthy snacks. On similar lines, the children in Lewis's (2006) study report that they find the temptation of unhealthy food too hard to resist. Additionally, for younger children being cool and fun seems to be the most important factors when trying to stimulate product requests, however, older children do appear to be more influenced by taste (Federal Trade Commission, 2008).

Whilst the Institute of Medicine (2006) proposes that there is strong evidence for television advertising influencing the food beliefs, requests and preferences of children under twelve, it failed to find sufficient evidence to support this for older children. As a result, for children under twelve, the review finds that due to the high number of television advertisements for high calorie and low nutrient products it could be concluded that television advertising is influencing children's preference for unhealthy food and diets (Institute of Medicine, 2006). From a similar review of the literature, Cairns et al. (2009) also finds a causal relationship between exposure to food promotions and children's food preferences, purchasing and consumption. However, Livingstone and Helsper (2006:576), in contrast to the Institute of Medicine above, state whilst the literature points to advertising having an effect, the evidence does "not support the widely held belief that younger children are more influenced by advertising".

Ward and Wackman (1972) found, from a range of twenty two heavily advertised products, mothers in their study reported food products as the most frequently requested by their children with cereals being the most frequently requested. This is probably not surprising as according to Story and French (2004:3) "a child's first request for a product occurs at about twenty four months, and 75% of the time, this request occurs in the supermarket." Kunkel (2001) reports that products requested during supermarket visits are usually those which have been advertised on television. More recent studies also find that the most common advertisements which result in a purchase request are for food products (Duff, 2004), and one third of food purchases are as a result of children's requests (Preston, 2005). The types of foods requested are breakfast cereals, snacks and drinks and are often for branded products (Story and French, 2004).

From a review of the literature Robertson (1979) found that a number of studies from the 1970s report positive correlations between the number of hours children watch television, children's attitudes to advertising and the number of purchase requests for food products children make to their parents. Therefore, the more frequently a product or brand is advertised, the more frequently children will request it from their parents (Fan and Li, 2010; Taras et al., 2000). However, as previously mentioned (in 3.2.1.1), the frequency of requests was found to decrease as children age (Arnas, 2006; Robertson, 1979). A more recent review also concludes that food promotion "does also encourage children to request food purchases from their parents" (Hastings et al., 2003:532). Marshall et al. (2006) also report that of the eight to eleven year olds in their study, three quarters reported that seeing an advertisement for food resulted in them wanting it sometimes or often, and two thirds reported pestering their parents for the food. The types of food requested were not only breakfast cereals, confectionery and snacks but also inputs into meal items and their school lunch boxes (Marshall et al., 2007).

Other recent evidence also shows a direct correlation between food advertising and children's purchase requests. Table 3.3 below provides a summary of some of the studies which report finding a relationship between television food advertisements and purchase requests. In addition, Buijzen (2007) found that the most important determinant in children's product requests is whether they liked the advertisement. This is similar to Moore and Lutz (2000) who found that for younger children (seven to eight years) the liking of an advertisement influences their attitude about the brand. One final point is that whilst Arnas (2006) found no correlation between the amount of time children spend watching television and the number of requests they make, other studies have reported relationships between television viewing and both the amounts children eat (Halford et al., 2004) and the types of food children eat (Dixon et al., 2007; Halford et al., 2008).

Table 3.3: Summary of studies showing the relationship between food advertisements and children's purchase requests

Author(s)	Sample	Methods	Results
Brody et al. (1981)	57 mother/children (3-5 years) (USA)	Experiment	Children from the treatment groups requested more and a wider range of the advertised food products
Taras et al. (2000)	237 families, (min 1 adult, 1 four year old) (USA)	Survey	176 items requested from television advertisements Most common requests for breakfast cereals, fast food, and confectionery
Borzekowski & Robinson (2001)	46 2-6 year olds (USA)	Experiment	49% of children made request for advertised food product 57% of children made request to go for advertised fast food
Buijzen & Valkenburg (2003)	360 parent/child (Holland)	Survey	Significant relationship between advertising exposure and purchase requests
Arnas (2006)	347 parents (Turkey)	Content analysis Survey	40.3% of children made requests for advertised food products Most common requests for confectionery, ice-cream, biscuits, cakes and soft drinks
Chamberlin et al. (2006)	827 children 392 parents (USA)	Survey	Television viewing was significantly associated with requests for food products

3.4.2 The impact of advertising on children's diets

According to the Institute of Medicine (2006), there has been a substantial change in children's diet over the past few decades, with children today having higher than recommended intakes of saturated fats and salt and a lower than required intake of calcium, potassium, fibre, magnesium and many vitamins. It also states that this is due to many children's diets being low in fruits, vegetables, whole grains and dairy products and worryingly intakes of high calorie and low nutrient foods and drinks (Institute of Medicine, 2006). It reports, in line with what has been just discussed in section 3.4.1, that there is also strong evidence to support the claim that television advertising influences the short term consumption in younger children, however, the evidence is much weaker when considering the longer term (Institute of Medicine, 2006). In addition, Hitchings and Moynihan (1998) found a relationship between the food advertisements recalled by the nine to eleven year olds in their study and the foods that they reported eating; the relationship was strongest for soft drinks, crisps and savoury snacks. However, they do accept that this alone does not show a causation, it may have been that the children were more likely to remember advertisements for foods they were already familiar with (Hitchings and Moynihan, 1998).

Hastings et al. (2003) proposes that whilst television advertising has a small direct effect on children's food preferences, it does have a much larger but unquantifiable indirect effect. The report says that this effect is at both product category and brand level (Hastings et al., 2003). For instance, "advertising can shift children's preferences not just between different brands of chocolate biscuit, but between chocolate biscuits and crisps or apples" (Hastings et al., 2004:21). Whereas Livingstone (2004; Livingstone, 2006b) and Livingstone and Helsper (2004) propose that even though the evidence does support television advertising having a modest direct effect on children's food choices there is insufficient evidence concerning the larger indirect effect. They continue to say that there are a range of other influencing factors, including food costs, birth order, cultural meaning of food, family eating habits, parental regulation of media and advertising, peer norms and family obesity levels, and as yet there has been little, if any, evidence weighing these factors against each other in order to determine their relative influence (Livingstone, 2006a; Livingstone and Helsper, 2004). Other authors argue that food advertising only works at a brand level and works against a background of already determined food preferences from family and peers (Young, 2003b).

Research by Borzekowski and Robinson (2001) found that preschool children who were exposed to advertisements whilst watching cartoons, compared to those children who watched the cartoon only, were more likely to prefer the advertised brand rather than a similar generic product. Following on from this, Robinson et al. (2007) found that young children with more television sets in their home are much more likely to express a preference for McDonald's branded food. Furthermore, Dixon et al. (2007) found that older children (ten and eleven year olds) who report higher television viewing, and therefore a higher exposure to television advertising, tend to have more positive attitudes towards and a higher consumption of advertised 'junk' food. Finally, a WHO study of eleven to fifteen year olds across Europe, the USA and Canada links high levels of television viewings with overall poor nutritional intake (Vereecken et al., 2006).

Studies as far back as the 1970s report finding relationships between television advertising and food choices. Goldberg et al. (1978) found that the preferences of five and six year olds in their study reflected their viewing experience, whether that was television advertisements for sugar snacks or a healthy eating public service announcement. More recently, Halford et al. (2008) and Wiecha et al. (2006) found that watching television advertisements not only influences children's brand choice of food, but also their choice of food more generally. From an earlier study they also found that the more food advertisements the children (nine to eleven year olds) in their study saw,

the more of the available food they ate (Halford et al., 2004). They also discovered that the children who see more food advertisements are more likely to eat more sweet and high fat foods, whereas, those children who see less food advertisements are more likely to eat more low fat savoury food (Halford et al., 2004). Furthermore, Borzekowski and Robinson (2001) found that by showing an advertisement more than once it increases its influence on children's food choice. Children have also reported that exposure to non-broadcast food advertising influences their food choices, steering them towards branded products over supermarket options and products that tend to be high in fat, salt and sugar (Lewis, 2006). '

Cherin (2008) found that all children, regardless of their age (five to eleven year olds), show a significant and positive association between their exposure to advertisements and their product preference, questioning the assumption that younger children are more persuadable than older children. This confirms similar findings, already mentioned above, from Livingstone and Helsper (2006) who, from a review of the literature, conclude that older children are influenced just as much as younger children. It has also been reported that older children are influenced just as much as younger children by both product placement (Auty and Lewis, 2004b) and the use of celebrity endorsements (Ross et al., 1984). Both of these are discussed further in section 3.4.3 below.

Others authors go further and heavily criticise food advertising to children for influencing children's nutritional choices, which in turn has led to the increase in childhood obesity (Harrison and Marske, 2005; Kaiser Foundation, 2004). As was discussed in section 2.3.1.1, the vast majority of the food advertisements (although less since the new Ofcom regulations in the UK) are for unhealthy foods which are influencing children to prefer unhealthy food to healthier options. Harrison and Marske (2005) calculate that if a child's diet replicates the foods being advertised then it will exceed the daily limits for salt and sugar and contain insufficient amounts of fibre, vitamin A, calcium and iron. Lobstein and Dibb (2005) also report significant positive associations between the number of advertisements for sweet and fatty foods and the prevalence of overweight children (seven to eleven year olds) across thirteen countries. Similarly Halford et al. (2007) proposes that the exposure to food advertisements increases the intake of all types of foods, apart from fruit, with the greatest increase being in sweet foods.

However, Buijzen et al. (2008) only reports a relationship between advertising exposure and the advertised brand with energy dense food and not to food consumption over all. Overall, they found that television viewing is related to the quality of children's diets rather than the quantity they eat (Buijzen et al., 2008). Furthermore, Boynton-Jarrett et al. (2003) found that television viewing is inversely associated with the consumption of fruit and vegetables amongst the ten to twelve year olds. For each additional hour of television children watch per day their consumption of fruit and vegetables decreases by one serving every six days (Boynton-Jarrett et al., 2003). Nevertheless, both Veerman et al. (2009) and Haby et al. (2006) report that reducing children's exposure to food advertising on television, especially HFSS products, will provide the greatest health benefits and reduce obesity.

However, there are those authors who argue that any research which links food advertisements to children's food choices is methodologically weak (Eagle et al., 2004b; Young, 2003a). They report that the link between television viewing and overweight children is more likely to be due to the sedentary nature of watching television and the related lack of energy use (Eagle et al., 2004c; Young, 2003a). In addition, they claim that children develop their nutritional awareness mainly from their family and friends and the role of advertising is overemphasised (Eagle and De Bruin, 2000). Others authors suggest that there are four groups of factors which influence food choice: individual (psychological and biological), interpersonal (family, friends and networks), community (school food policy and local facilities) and finally societal (mass media and culture), with advertising just one part of the final group (Story et al., 2002 cited in Livingstone and Helsper, 2006). This is confirmed by studies which have investigated how people make their food choices and where the role of advertising was rarely mentioned (Spencer, 2004).

Research into the effects of advertising on children's food preferences and consumption has predominately used experimental research techniques (Borzekowski and Robinson, 2001; Chernin, 2008; Dixon et al., 2007; Goldberg et al., 1978; Halford et al., 2008; Halford et al., 2007; Halford et al., 2004; Robinson et al., 2007). Whilst these studies demonstrate that children's food choice is affected by watching television advertisements, they took place in a controlled environment and as a result may not be generalised to more naturalistic contexts (Buijzen et al., 2008). However, there are some studies which have attempted to overcome this problem by setting their research in a more natural setting by using survey or diary methods (Arnas, 2006; Buijzen et al., 2008; Marshall et al., 2007; Wiecha et al., 2006). A further criticism of research in this

area is that studies have used television viewing as a proxy for exposure to advertisements; this lacks the details of how many and what types of advertisements children were exposed to (Slater, 2004). Finally, the majority of the studies were designed to identify correlations rather than causes and contained small samples with simple measures (Livingstone, 2005).

3.4.3 The impact of other communications

New media

As discussed above, research to date has focused almost extensively on television advertising which is a non-interactive communication. However, when attempting to understand the influence new communications can have it is important to understand the concept of 'interactivity', (Friestad and Wright, 2005). Early research into the effects of online communications found that nearly half of primary school children said they would buy and eat more of a food brand if they had seen it online or played a game about it (Watts, 2007). Furthermore, 20% reported that they often went online to find out more about their favourite foods and snacks (Watts, 2007).

Some authors argue that advergames are more persuasive than traditional forms of advertising as they not only engage children with the bright colours, imagery and animation, but they also capture their attention for much longer periods of time (Moore, 2006; Nairn, 2008; Pavlou and Stewart, 2000). Research by Mallinckrodt and Mizerski (2007) found that even when children understand the persuasive intent of an advergame (as discussed in section 3.3.3 above), those children who play the game still record a higher preference for the branded products than those who do not play the game, and this preference is higher for the older children. In addition, Hernandez and Chapa (2010) found that advergames influence the product choice of older children (ten to fifteen year olds). On a positive note, Pempek and Calvert (2009) also found that whilst advergames affect children's product choice, this can be used to help increase the choice of healthy snacks.

Product placement

Research on how placements work is extremely limited, even with adult audiences, due to problems with methodology. According to Balasubramanian et al. (2006) laboratory based research often limits the movie/programme to short five minute clips which do not capture the whole movie experiences. Whilst field studies have the problem of

detangling the impact of the placement from other communications, especially when an integrated (IMC) approach is used to seamlessly combine the communications (Balasubramanian et al., 2006). The research which has been carried out has not been specifically concerned with children or food. According to Auty and Lewis (2004a:117) "apart from studies of smoking initiation, almost no research has been done on how TV-and-film-mediated understanding affects children's choice of the branded goods commonly displayed within programming." Previous research concentrates on products such as cigarettes and alcohol, quite rightly, but now there is a need to also consider the portrayal of food, especially unhealthy food, and the messages it is providing children (Cassady et al., 2006; MacFayden et al., 2001).

Health behaviours frequently shown in movies and television programmes can become accepted as normal behaviour, such as replacing healthy drinks i.e. milk or water with unhealthy options such as Coca-Cola or Pepsi (Cassady et al., 2006; Roper, 2009). Whilst this may appear fairly benign to have Pepsi included in a scene in the film Home Alone, it is important to recognise the potential power of product placement messages and the suitability of those messages (Auty and Lewis, 2004a; Auty and Lewis, 2004b). From their study Auty and Lewis (2004b) report that children who see product placement are more likely to choose that brand (e.g. Pepsi) over an alternative (e.g. Coca-Cola), and the brand preference increases with repeated viewings. Following on from this, research undertaken by a soft drink company in the USA found that product placement within the story line of a television programme alongside advertisements before, during or after the programme results in high levels of product recall, recognition and purchase intent by teenagers (Federal Trade Commission, 2008).

From the limited research which has been carried out on product placement in video games it was found that if a brand placement can break through the attention barrier of the game, then it can influence brand preference, at least in the short term, and with constant repetition in the longer term (Auty, 2005).

Tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters

Using tie-ins with characters or celebrities creates a greater reaction and more attention from children (Lawlor and Prothero, 2003; Neeley and Schumann, 2004; Wilson and Wood, 2004). For younger children the link with cartoon characters, and for older children the link with a celebrity, can be what makes the product exciting to them (Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Lewis, 2006; Livingstone and Helsper, 2006;

87

Neeley and Schumann, 2004). In relation to using celebrities, Ross et al. (1984) found that children's preference for a product increases when endorsed, and children believe that the celebrity is an expert in that product. Recent research has found that 80% of six to eleven year olds are influenced by celebrity or character endorsement, with girls being more influenced than boys in the study (Costa, 2010). However, some research has found that children over the age of eleven years of age are less influenced by celebrity endorsement than their younger counterparts (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006). Similar research has also found that by using popular characters it can increase the liking and desire for a particular product (Kunkel, 2001; Lewis, 2006; Ogba and Johnson, 2010). Yet findings from Lawlor and Prothero's (2003) discussions with eight and nine year olds show that whilst using a celebrity endorser increases the attractiveness of advertisements, it does not always translate into purchase requests. Similar results were found by Neeley and Schumann (2004), the young children (two to five year olds) in their study even though they were attracted to the characters in the advertisements this did not transfer into high rates of product preference, intention or choice.

Research by US food and drink companies show that the use of licensed characters, usually animated characters, particularly when the character is associated with fun and/or being 'cool', is an important factor in children's product requests (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). According to Fine (2007:15),

> "when a much loved character endorses products through TV programmes or movie tie-ins, there is nothing remotely rational about the preschooler's desire for the endorsed yoghurt".

UK children of all ages are attracted to brightly coloured packages covered in characters, celebrities and jokes (Lewis, 2006; Ogba and Johnson, 2010). In a report by Freedland (2005), one British mother states that her five year old child will not eat normal shop spaghetti but tucks in once he has seen Bob the Builder on the tin.

Sales promotions

According to McNeal (1999 as cited in Page and Brewster, 2007) sales promotions, such as competitions or collectables, are a way of increasing short term product sales because more often than not the children will want the items (e.g. figures from a movie, CDs or DVDs) over the actual food product. This is especially true for younger children who may see this exciting giveaway as the main feature of the product (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006). In a US study, 65% of children state that by including a free toy or

game with a product that this would have the greatest impact on them trying a new healthier food (Story and French, 2004).

Other research has found that younger children prefer small items which come inside the packaging, whereas older children prefer larger items which require saving tokens and/or sending in proof of purchase (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). For tweens (nine to twelve year olds) an increasing popular form of sales promotion is to enter a code from the product's packaging onto the company's website (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). In addition, according to the Institute of Medicine (2006:196) "viral marketing may be effective with teens, particularly if discounts, desirable products, and free premiums are provided." The free gifts found in fast food children's meals are more effective on younger children than teenagers (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). On similar lines, Lewis (2006) found that in the UK nearly all of the children (five to sixteen years old) in her study would buy products which were on special offer (such as BOGOF), over two thirds would by a product if it was a limited edition, and over half would buy a product if it came with the free gift. Also, in a US study children (three to twelve years old) purchasing breakfast cereals were more influenced by the free gifts than the nutritional information (Atkin, 1978). Hill and Tilley (2002) also found that children (ten and eleven year olds) are more likely to request certain breakfast cereals if they are collecting the gifts, even if they do not particularly like the taste.

In-School marketing

As mentioned previously, presently it is unclear whether communications found in the school environment have more, less or even the same influence and impact on children as those found in other contexts, and perhaps more importantly whether they have an adverse effect on children's educational experiences (Kunkel, 2001; Rodhain, 2002). However, there has been research on interventions in school to increase the consumption of fruit and vegetables which used a number of marketing communications techniques (Lobstein, 2006). The project centred on four cartoon characters – the Food Dudes, and involved videos, free gifts and a website (Tapper et al., 2003). "The results showed a large and long-lasting increase in fruit and vegetable consumption in both the classroom and home contexts" (Tapper et al., 2003:20). According to Hastings et al. (2004:23) "schools play a key role in shaping children's food choices and dietary health", and should therefore be promoting a culture of healthy eating and discouraging the consumption of less healthy alternatives. The report also states that schools should consider the wider environment, such as the

commercially sponsored classroom materials, vending machines and canteen signs and finally the confectionery and crisp companies collection schemes as they are all influential (Hastings et al., 2004).

Following on from this Hamilton et al. (2000) found that the nine to seventeen year olds in their study reported being influenced by their peers when choosing between school meals and packed lunches. Nearly a third of the children reported always eating the same food as their friends and nearly half sometimes ate the same (Hamilton et al., 2000). This is perhaps not surprising, as for younger children the influence from their parents is greater, however as they become older and more sophisticated they become more influenced by their peers at school (Kelly et al., 2006; Marshall et al., 2007; Wilson and Wood, 2004). One interesting difference here is that peers are more likely to have a positive influence over unhealthy food choice, whilst parents are more likely to favour healthier choices (Marshall et al., 2007).

3.5 Parental perceptions of marketing communications to children

As discussed in section 3.2 above, alongside marketing communications parents are a major aid in children's socialisation process. For younger children, particularly pre-adolescent children, parents are often thought to be the primary agent in the process (Caruana and Vassallo, 2003; Dotson and Hyatt, 2000). The interaction between parent and child can not only influence the child's decision making process, it can also determine the effect promotions have on the child (Mizerski, 1995). I therefore feel that it is important to consider their role in the marketing of food to children. To do this, the next section considers parental attitudes to marketing communications and how they believe communications affect their children. Following on from this is how parents attempt to mediate for the effect of marketing communications and finally the review considers parental attitudes to the regulation of marketing communications to children. However, and now unsurprisingly, the majority of studies have only considered advertising and as a result this communication will again dominate the following sections.

3.5.1 Parental attitudes to marketing communications to children

A survey by the UK National Family and Parenting Institute found 84% of parents believe that there is too much marketing targeted at children (Freedland, 2005). Similarly, parents in the UK and New Zealand report that there are too many advertisements, especially those targeted towards children during their programmes,

and more specifically that there are too many HFSS food advertisements (Buckingham et al., 2009; Eagle et al., 2004a; Family and Parenting Institute, 2008; Young et al., 2003). On similar lines, parents in Australia have negative and critical views about the food advertising on television, they believe that the advertisements are taking advantage of their children's naiveté and playing with their emotions (Ip et al., 2007). They think this is especially true for their younger children, they believe that children under five years of age judge the advertised messages literally (Ip et al., 2007). Similar results have been found in China where parents generally hold negative attitudes towards advertising to children, particularly the parents of younger children (Chan and McNeal, 2003b).

In the USA, Walsh et al. (1999) found that all of the two hundred and nine parents in their study expressed negative attitudes towards advertising to children. Similar results were found by Young et al. (2003) in Sweden and the UK, although Swedish parents were more disapproving of advertising to children than their UK counterparts. This higher level of disapproval may be due to UK broadcasting more advertisements than Sweden (as discussed in section 2.3.1) which is likely to be due to Sweden's increased level of regulation (as discussed in section 2.4.2). Even though parents in Belgium also report having negative views on advertising to children in general, they only rate their concerns about the dangers of advertising as moderate (Dens et al., 2006; Dens et al., 2007). Some parents also object to high-profile personalities being used to promote unhealthy foods (Family and Parenting Institute, 2008; Ip et al., 2007). Perhaps surprisingly, in Hong Kong half of the parents who took part in a survey reported having a neutral attitude to the statement that advertising takes undue advantage of children, the other half were equally split between agree and disagree (Andersen et al., 2008). Rose et al. (1998) also found less negative attitudes amongst Japanese mothers compared to their American counterparts.

Again, nearly all of the research concentrates on parents' attitudes to advertising and there is virtually nothing on their attitudes to other forms of communications. Having said that, Fielder et al. (2007) did talk to parents about their attitudes to online advertising, however, they found that compared to television advertising of food parents' concerns are very low. Parents are, perhaps unsurprisingly, more worried about the safety of their children online and their contact with unsuitable advertisements, such as advertisements for gambling or those with a sexual content (Fielder et al., 2007). This is in contrast to Swedish parents who are more worried about the increasing amount of advertising on websites (Plogell and Wardman, 2009).

With respect to the fast food chains' promotional activities, especially the free toys and tie-ins to movie and cartoon characters, mothers feel that their children are being "tantalised by clever promotional campaigns that effectively engaged their children and take advantage of their vulnerability" (Pettigrew and Roberts, 2006:62). In addition, most parents feel that the toys themselves are gimmicky trinkets and of poor quality, and are first and foremost a marketing strategy to increase sales (Family and Parenting Institute, 2008; Pettigrew and Roberts, 2006). Nevertheless, overall mothers are in conflict with regards to fast food children's meals, they want to provide their children with healthy food but also want to give their children an exciting experience and the same toy as their peers (Pettigrew and Roberts, 2006).

In relation to in-school marketing, Watts (2004) found that less than a third of parents in her study were aware of businesses' involvement in their child's school. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the only form of marketing most parents in the study could spontaneously name was the voucher collection schemes (Watts, 2004). Parents are often critical of these schemes and sceptical as to whether the school even receives the final benefit (Watts, 2004). However, overall parents feel confident that the school management and the teachers would not allow overt commercial activity in their school (Watts, 2004). As a result the majority of parents feel that some commercial involvement is either very or quite acceptable, and only a small number think it is not acceptable at all (Watts, 2004). On similar lines, Buckingham et al. (2009) report that whilst some parents are more concerned about marketing in schools than television advertising, others feel that the schools would only allow acceptable marketing in their schools. Acceptable involvement includes work experience and sponsored educational activities, whereas advertising and branded vending machines are seen as unacceptable (Watts, 2004). In addition, certain types of companies are also seen as unacceptable, these include firms associated with junk food or unhealthy eating, smoking, drinking or unethical behaviour (Watts, 2004).

Parents also report that they find the marketing, not just advertising, of unhealthy foods is making it difficult for them to provide a healthy diet for their children (Preston, 2005). Yet on the other hand, there are other reports of parents not showing any negative attitudes towards advertising and, even taking into account the types of foods being advertised to their children, believing it does not distort their children's diets (Stratton, 1997). One additional point, Ward and Wackman (1972) found that regardless of whether mothers have a positive or negative view on advertising, it has no effect on

whether children make purchase requests. However, they did find that it could make a difference on whether the mother agrees to that request (Ward and Wackman, 1972). Whether parents have a negative view on advertising to children or not, it has now become common for parents to question the ethics of any brand that is solely targeting children, and as a consequence, be more open to brands that are beginning to recognise and respond to their concerns (Samson, 2005). As a result many brands have been placing advertorials in women's magazines and placing nutritional information on their websites (Samson, 2005).

3.5.1.1 *The impact of marketing communications on children – the parental view*

Parents in Australia and China report that television advertising and peers are the main ways by which their children find out about new food products (Fan and Li, 2010; Ip et al., 2007). Parents also believe that television advertising is the most powerful form of marketing communication, and along with their children's peers, has the most influence over their children's food preferences and desires (Fan and Li, 2010; Ip et al., 2007; Kelly et al., 2006; Pettigrew and Roberts, 2006). In addition, they report that by using premiums, particularly free toys, within the advertisement the impact is increased (Ip et al., 2007). Similarly, parents in New Zealand agree that television advertising encourages their children to want products that they do not need, however, they think that it is not as large as the influence their friends have (Eagle et al., 2004a). In addition, parents in the UK, Sweden and New Zealand believe advertisements cause their children to pressure them for the advertised good, and the more advertisements the children come into contact with, the more they want, and therefore the more they pressure (Young et al., 2003).

In contrast to the above, when shopping, mothers in Wilson and Wood's (2004) study believed that their children were more influenced by packaging, taste and free gifts, more than television advertising and their peers. Yet parents in Kelly et al.'s (2006) study mothers thought that television advertisements were more influential than in-store promotions. Parents also think that by using themes of fun and happiness, along with a visual impact, this increases the attractiveness to their children (Ip et al., 2007). In addition, Kelly et al. (2006) reports parents find it difficult to decline their children's requests when the product is endorsed by celebrities or cartoon characters. On a similar point, parents believe that the toys which accompanied fast food chains' children's meals are the primary source of attraction (Pettigrew and Roberts, 2006). Some parents report that the attraction of the toy is the deciding factor on where to eat

(Pettigrew and Roberts, 2006). Overall, parents state that all marketing of unhealthy foods has made it more difficult for them to encourage their children to eat a healthy diet (Powell and Longfield, 2005).

In Belgium parents believe that they have as much influence over their children as television advertising (Dens et al., 2007). Furthermore, when asked how they make their family food choices parents rarely mention food advertising, however, when asked specifically about their attitudes towards the marketing of foods to children they consider it to be very influential in their food choices (Spencer, 2004). On similar lines, some parents consider that whilst advertising has some influence over their children's food choices, other factors such as positive teaching by schools and parents can help to negate this (Eagle et al., 2004a). Furthermore, parents in New Zealand think that schools have an important role in educating children on their food choices (Eagle et al., 2004a). However, they also state that peer pressure and nearby 'unhealthy' retail locations can cancel out the good work (Eagle et al., 2004a).

Whilst children may be increasingly attempting to influence their parents' food purchases, in the end it is the parents who are the primary gatekeepers for their children's food intake by setting the rules on snacking and determining what is for dinner (Buijzen et al., 2008). Others authors argue that the "right upbringing", i.e. knowing when and how to use the word 'no' can reduce the impact of advertising (Barlovic, 2006:28). How parents control their children's diets is considered in section 3.5.3 below. There is one final point to raise here, one of the reasons why parents from different countries have differing attitudes towards marketing communications and their perceived effects could be due to the differing amounts and types of regulation (as discussed in section 2.4.2) in each of their respective countries.

3.5.2   Parental mediation of marketing communications

According to Buijzen (2007:412) there has been a number of studies which have "convincingly shown" that forms of advertising mediation or interventions are able to modify children's responses to television advertising. For example, Buijzen and Valkenburg (2003) propose that forms of mediation can modify the effect of advertising on purchase requests. The amount of mediation parents use is, perhaps unsurprisingly, related to the age of the child, with mediation being more often directed towards younger children (Nathanson, 2001). From the literature, there are three forms of mediation used by parents in relation to their children's media use. Restrictive

mediation – setting rules about children's media viewing, either in relation to time or the content of the media, active mediation, sometimes called instructive mediation – talking to children about the media, and social co-viewing – engaging in the media with the children but without any discussion (Borzekowski and Robinson, 2007; Nathanson, 2001; Valkenburg et al., 1999). These forms of mediation are not exclusive with some parents employing multiple styles simultaneously (Borzekowski and Robinson, 2007).

Watching television is a social activity which allows parents and children to have conversations about the programmes they are watching, however, playing video games is often more of a solitary activity (Roberts et al., 1999). Therefore, you might expect that these two forms of media require different forms of mediation. However, Nikkken and Jansz (2006) found that parents employ similar forms of mediation to their children's videogame exposure as they do to their television exposure. Whilst these are discussed in more detail below, one interesting point should be noted here. Parents sometimes use the mediation of videogame playing for different reasons than when used with television exposure. Parents are more concerned about the appropriateness of the games their children are playing, e.g. the amount of violence, use of alcohol, drugs and bad language, as opposed to the commercial content (Nikken et al., 2007). It is therefore not surprising to find that the amount of mediation employed by parents is, firstly, inversely related to the age of their children, and secondly, positively related to how convinced parents are of the negative effects of video games on their children's behaviours and attitudes (Nikken and Jansz, 2006; Nikken et al., 2007). In addition, Nikken et al. (2007) found that all forms of mediation are positively related to the amount of time the children spend gaming, the more children play, the more mediation parents use.

3.5.2.1 Restrictive mediation

One possible way to limit the amount of advertisements children come into contact with is to place limits on the amount of television they watch (Harrison and Marske, 2005). It is reported that setting rules on television watching can mitigate the dangers of advertising to children (Armstrong and Brucks, 1998 as cited in Eagle and De Bruin, 2000). As a result, parents who are more concerned about the negative effects of television are more likely to restrict their children's viewing of at least the commercial channels (Nathanson, 2001; Valkenburg et al., 1999; Vandewater et al., 2005). In addition, restrictive mediation tends to be used more by smaller families (Van der Voort et al., 1992 as cited in Nikken and Jansz, 2006). However, Bijmolt et al. (1998) found

that where there are higher levels of control over children's television viewing, the children's understanding (as discussed in section 3.3.2.2 above) is reduced. As a result parents are causing their children an unintended side effect (Bijmolt et al., 1998).

Whilst overall there is an inverse relationship between the amount of restrictions and the age of the child (Nathanson, 2001), for very young children (up to six years old) the opposite is true with the amount of restrictions increasing as the children age (Vandewater et al., 2005). This is because parental influence over children's television viewing diminishes as they grow older, for example children now watch television in their bedroom (Buijzen, 2009). In addition, unlike for active mediation (see below) it appears that restrictive mediation does not reduce the amount of purchase requests children make (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2005; Ward and Wackman, 1972). However, whilst Buijzen (2009) did find this same result for the older children (nine to twelve year olds) in her study, for the younger children (four to eight year olds) she found a positive relationship between restrictive mediation and a reduction in energy dense food consumption.

Parents in Australia turn off the television or switch to non-commercial channels as ways of controlling the amount of food advertisements their children see (Ip et al., 2007). In addition, both Ward and Wackman (1972) and Dens et al. (2007) found that parents who restrict their children's television viewing are also more likely to have stricter controls over their children's diet (see section 3.5.3 below for a discussion of this). These parents are the ones who report having stronger negative feelings towards the advertising of food on television to children (Dens et al., 2007). The number of parents who place restrictions on television viewing differs greatly. Roberts et al. (1999) found that in the USA 38% of the eight to eighteen year olds in their survey reported having no rules placed on their television viewing and nearly all of them watched television without their parents. Of the younger children (two to seven year olds) in the survey only 19% watched television with their parents (Roberts et al., 1999). However, this differs considerably from a study by Vandewater et al. (2005), also in the USA, who reports that for young children (up to six years old) 67% of parents have time rules and 88% of parents have programme rules. In addition, Rose et al. (1998) report American mothers have more control over their children's television viewing than Japanese mothers. Whereas in China, 98% of parents of six to fourteen year olds report having some form of control over their child's television viewing (Chan and McNeal, 2003b).

Restrictive mediation is the most common form of mediation used by parents on their children's exposure to video games (Nikken and Jansz, 2006). This includes not only monitoring the amount of time spent gaming but also acquiring and reading information about the games before allowing their children to play (Nikken and Jansz, 2006). Nikken and Jansz (2006) found that parents who have higher concerns over the negative effects of gaming are more likely to employ restrictive mediation; in addition, the extent to which parents apply this form of mediation significantly diminishes with the age of the child. One final point, in relation to online behaviour, Clarke (2002) found that parents are more likely to limit the time spent online as opposed to the sites visited. Furthermore, as with other forms of media, the number of parents imposing limits reduces as children age, 80% of parents with children younger than seven year of age impose restrictions compared to 65% of parents with children aged thirteen and older (Clarke, 2002).

3.5.2.2 *Active (Instructive) mediation*

According to Buijzen (2007) there is an impressive body of research which shows that parents can reduce the unwanted effects of advertising by talking to their children about the content of media. It is proposed that talking about the media will enhance a child's cognitive defences (as discussed in section 3.3.1 above), allowing them to develop their understanding of advertising, and therefore be more critical (Chan and McNeal, 2006). As a result where parents discuss advertising this can reduce or even neutralise its effects (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Chan and McNeal, 2003a). Buijzen and Valkenburg (2005) found that the relationship between advertising exposure and purchase requests is significantly less for parents who use active mediation as opposed to those parents who do not. In addition, they did not find similar results for the other mediation styles, concluding that active mediation is preferable for reducing the relationship between advertising exposure and purchase requests (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2005).

It is suggested for those parents who agree to their children's purchase requests that they are encouraging their children to pay attention to advertising and that they will continue to make future requests, whereas, those parents who discuss the requests are encouraging their children to develop skills in interpreting the information and media and as such developing a barrier to future communications (Ward et al., 1986 as cited in Caruana and Vassallo, 2003). Buijzen et al. (2008) report family communication is an important moderator between exposure to advertising and food consumption. In a

later study Buijzen (2009) goes on to discover that active mediation is successful in reducing the consumption of energy dense food for children of all ages.

How many parents implement active mediation? On the one hand, Arnas (2006) found that 95% of Turkish families discuss the nutritional values of the foods being advertised. Yet on the other hand, in a study by Brody et al. (1981) mothers and their young children (three to five years old) were recorded watching television either at home, or in a controlled setting, and neither set of mothers discussed the advertisements they saw with their children or provided any alternative information concerning the food contained in the advertisements. Following on from this, Chan and McNeal (2003b) found that Chinese parents are not motivated to take an active role in educating their children about commercial communications, less than half of the 1665 parents in their study reported they sometimes discussed television advertising with their children. Finally, other studies report Japanese mothers spend more time discussing television advertising with their children than American mothers (Rose et al., 1998).

Nathanson (2001) found that, unlike with restrictive mediation above, parents with either positive or negative views on the effects of television viewing employ active mediation. However, Chan and McNeal (2003b) found that parents with negative attitudes towards advertising to children are less likely to use active mediation. Additionally, it is argued that commenting on and explaining media can have positive effects on children's television viewing behaviours, such as an increased learning from educational programmes (Cho and Cheon, 2005). Valkenburg et al. (1999) also found that parents of younger children are more likely to take part in active mediation than parents of older children.

Again, this form of mediation is also employed by parents in relation to their children's videogame playing (Nikken and Jansz, 2006). It tends to be used by parents who are more concerned about the negative effects of gaming on their child's behaviour and attitudes (Nikken and Jansz, 2006; Nikken et al., 2007).

3.5.2.3   Social co-viewing

Parents who are more convinced about the positive effects of television viewing are more likely to employ co-viewing as a form of mediation (Chan and McNeal, 2003b; Nathanson, 2001; Vandewater et al., 2005). Co-viewing is also more likely for younger

children (Nathanson, 2001). However, there are suggestions that by co-viewing parents are endorsing and reinforcing the content of the media (Nathanson, 2001), which also includes the advertisements and their messages. Valkenburg et al. (1999) found that co-viewing is predicted by children's viewing time, therefore the more television children watch the more they view with their parents. In addition, unlike the previous two forms of mediation, they found that there is no difference between parents of older and younger children in the use of co-viewing (Valkenburg et al., 1999).

In Holland co-viewing tends to be the most popular form of mediation (Valkenburg et al., 1999). In addition, Rose et al. (1998) found that Japanese mothers report higher levels of co-viewing than their American counterparts. Whereas in China there appears to be only a moderate amount of co-viewing, although, this does increase at weekends (Chan and McNeal, 2003a). However, it is thought that those parents who watch more television with their children do have a greater influence over their children's attitudes to advertising (Chan and McNeal, 2003a). In addition, Ward and Wackman (1972) report that the more time mothers spend watching television with their children, the more purchase requests the children are likely to make, and in turn the more the mothers are likely to agree to those requests.

For gaming this form of mediation is employed by parents although to a lesser extent than the previous two forms (Nikken and Jansz, 2006). It is more usually employed by parents with younger children, and as opposed to active and restrictive mediation above, by parents who are more convinced about the positive effects of gaming (Nikken and Jansz, 2006; Nikken et al., 2007).

3.5.3   Parental mediation of children's diets

As mentioned previously (see section 3.4.2), some authors argue that food preferences are determined by family and peers before children even come into contact with any advertising (Eagle et al., 2004c; Young, 2003b). Some of the authors also state that these parental and family influences are much stronger than policy makers recognise (Eagle et al., 2004c). In addition, as previously mentioned, parents are the gatekeepers for their children's food intake. In light of this, it is perhaps unsurprising that parents believe by standing between the advertisers and their children they have more influence than the advertisers over their children's diet, and as a result are in control of the family's food intake (Spungin, 2004). In line with this, Australian parents report that even though television advertising has the greatest influence over their

children's food preferences, in the end they ultimately have control over what their children eat (Ip et al., 2007). However, most parents do allow their children to have some input into their food intake. In the UK, Wilson and Wood (2004) and Kelly et al. (2006) found that mothers agree their children do have some influence, both direct if they are present and indirect based on their preferences, over the products purchased at the supermarket. From one of the studies, mothers rated cereals as the product children had the greatest influence over followed by frozen foods, ice-cream, fruit juices and crisps (Wilson and Wood, 2004).

It appears that parental influence over children's food intake decreases with age. Hamilton et al. (2000) found that older children (fifteen to seventeen year olds) have more control over their food choices, whilst for younger children (nine to eleven year olds) it is their parents retaining the majority of the control. This is in line with Tilston et al. (1991) who found that parental influence is at its greatest when children are between five and eight years old. A third of the eight to eleven year olds in Marshall et al.'s (2007) New Zealand study reported that their choice of snacks at home was always or often restricted by their parents, 45% reported it was sometimes restricted, whilst 23% reported it was rarely or never restricted. However, overall the children felt that it was their parents who in the end decided whether they could have a snack and what that snack would be (Marshall et al., 2007). These results were replicated in both the UK and Canada, although Canadian children do feel that they are slightly less restricted by their parents than those in the UK and New Zealand (Marshall et al., 2006).

Tiggemann and Lowes (2002) investigated the types of controls parents of five to eight year old children implement over their children's diets and found that most common are to encourage their children to eat fruit and vegetables and to limit the amount of junk food. Other controls reported were keeping a close watch on what their children ate and only occasionally allowing them to eat what they wanted (Tiggemann and Lowes, 2002). In addition, Brown and Ogden (2004) found a significant correlation between the types of snack food children and their parents eat, indicating similar diets for the parents and their children, regardless of whether they are healthy or unhealthy. Whilst their study shows that parental eating behaviours and attitudes closely correspond to those of their children, overall their results show no effect of parental control on the snacks within their children's diets (Brown and Ogden, 2004).

One other area where children feel they have some influence is in their school packed lunches. As discussed in section 3.4.3 above, their choice may actually be influenced by their peers (Hamilton et al., 2000). In New Zealand, children feel that whilst they have some choice it is not entirely free and depended on what is permitted by their parents (Marshall et al., 2007). The final result is often due to some form of negotiation, trading off some form of healthy option (such as fruit) with some less healthier options (such as crisps or sweets) (Marshall et al., 2007).

Another restriction which parents employ is not to take their children to the supermarket. As previously stated in section 3.2.1.1, there are reports that when mothers take their children shopping they can spend up to 30% more than they originally planned and for fathers it can be as high as 70% (Caruana and Vassallo, 2003). As a result, Pettersson et al. (2004) found that this form of mediation is common for parents in Sweden; they claim it avoids much of the stress and exhaustion. Similarly, Ip et al. (2007) found this is a common way for parents in Australia to control the influence of television advertising on their children. Whilst in the UK, a study by Wilson and Wood (2004) found that parents are evenly split between yes, no and do not mind when asked whether they would, if they had a choice, take their children with them to the supermarket.

When being taken to the supermarket, nearly half of children in Marshall et al.'s (2007) study reported having few restrictions placed on their choice of purchases, and conversely less than a third reported having little or no choice when shopping with their parents. Leading on from this Spungin (2004) found that only 14% of British parents in his study reported they would first check out a product before they agreed to any requests. This result was similar to that found in India, where parents are much more likely to buy the product without any enquiry (Thakur et al., 2007). In addition, from observations in supermarkets Atkin (1978) found that only 27% of children's cereal requests are declined by their parents. As mentioned above, breakfast cereals are one of the types of foods that parents allow children more influence over.

O'Dougherty et al. (2006) found from reviewing the literature that parents agree to all types of food requests between 45% and 65% of the time. In their own supermarket observational study they found that children are involved in the decision making 58% of the time, and where children initiate the request parents agree 48% of the time (O'Dougherty et al., 2006). Of the refused requests just over half are for cereals, confectionery or snacks, the remainder are for pre-packaged meals (such as

101

Lunchables), hot dogs, cheese, chocolate milk, fruits and vegetables (O'Dougherty et al., 2006). In addition, Ward and Wackman (1972) found that whilst there is a significant correlation between the number of requests made and their success, there is also a negative relationship between agreement and the age of the child. Therefore, even though younger children make more requests to their parents, parents are more likely to agree to them when the children are older (Ward and Wackman, 1972).

3.5.4 Parental attitudes to the regulation of marketing communications

A number of bodies around the world, including the American Psychological Association, have called for more restrictions in respect to advertising to children (Kunkel et al., 2004). Whilst Young et al. (2003) found that parents in both Sweden and the UK want stronger regulation; the feelings are stronger for UK parents. On similar lines, Dens et al. (2006) found that parents in Belgium and New Zealand who are either more concerned about the types of foods being advertised, or who express stronger negative views about advertising to children, are more in favour of additional legislation. Similar results were found in China where parents support a ban on advertising during children's programmes due to their concerns over the influence of unhealthy food advertising on their children's diets (Chan and McNeal, 2003b).

However, earlier studies in New Zealand found that whilst parents do have some concerns over the influence of food advertising, they do not support any ban of advertising as they believe it is not the critical factor in influencing their children's eating habits (Eagle et al., 2004a). Spungin (2004) found similar results in the UK, where parents believe that their children are influenced by advertising but see it as part of modern day life, and as result only 12% want to see it banned. Whereas in Australia there is mixed support for a ban on food advertising on television, some parents want to see a complete ban on all food advertisements during children's programmes, whilst others believe that industry pressure would stop this from happening (Ip et al., 2007). Some also feel that no ban is necessary as parents should be the ones in charge of their children's viewing habits and food intake (Ip et al., 2007).

Nevertheless, on the lead up to Ofcom's recent changes (see section 2.4.1.1) there were a number of reports of parental support for the restriction of unhealthy foods advertisements during children's programmes (Powell and Longfield, 2005). In March 2004, 81% of parents taking part in a BBC survey, and the following May, 87% of mothers in a Women's Institute survey, all supported the ban (Powell and Longfield,

2005). In addition, there were reports by a number of consumer groups such as Which? and the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd who again found support amongst parents for a ban on unhealthy food advertising during children's programmes (Powell and Longfield, 2005). More recently, a Which? survey found that 80% of parents are in favour of increasing the current restrictions to include programmes which have large numbers of children watching (Which?, 2008b).

One alternative to complete bans which has been put forward by parents is to restrict food advertisements between certain hours, such as before and after school (7-9am and 3-6pm), or until 8.30pm (Ip et al., 2007; Moodie et al., 2006). Other suggestions by parents have been for more stringent enforcement of current advertising restrictions, and also an improvement in the types of food advertised to include more healthier options, such as more advertisements for fruit, and the creation of more health related policies which look to improve children's food and lifestyle choices (Ip et al., 2007; Moodie et al., 2006). Parents also think that advertisers should use similar techniques to advertise healthy foods as are currently used to advertise unhealthy food in order to make them more appealing to children (Ip et al., 2007; Samson, 2005).

3.6   The rise and effect of integrated marketing communications

The final theoretical concept to be considered is that of IMC. Throughout the literature which was reviewed for both this and the previous chapter, authors repeatedly made reference to how food companies are now integrating their communications and how it is no longer feasible to consider communications in isolation. However, before considering how the food industry has engaged with IMC, I first need to briefly introduce and clarify the concept of IMC. It is clear from reviewing the IMC literature that academics and practitioners do not place the same meaning on the term IMC, in fact there is no one accepted definition for the term even after 20 years of being recognised as a marketing theory (Kitchen and Schultz, 2009; Kliatchko, 2008). For many who research IMC and champion it as a marketing theory they believe it to be:

> "a strategic business process used to plan, develop, execute and evaluate coordinated, measurable, persuasive brand communication programmes over time with consumers, customers, prospects and other targeted, relevant external and internal audiences" (Schultz and Schultz, 1998:18).

Whereas, for those authors who are not IMC specialists (such as those who are marketing to children specialists), they use the term in relation to the tactical coordination of marketing communications within a campaign rather than the higher level of financial and strategic integration defined above (Schultz and Schultz, 1998).

Therefore, within this thesis I am following the lead of the marketing to children authors and interpreting the term IMC to mean:

"a concept of marketing communications planning that recognizes the added value of a comprehensive plan that evaluates the strategic roles of a variety of communications disciplines, e.g., general advertising, direct response, sales promotion and public relations - and combines these disciplines to provide clarity, consistency and maximum communications impact" (American Association of Advertising Agencies, 1989 cited in Kliatchko, 2005:12).

This is the equivalent to level one: tactical coordination of marketing communications, in Schultz and Schultz's (1998) pyramid of the different levels of integration.

To date only a few studies have considered the integration or cross promotional aspect of the communications used by the food industry. Two studies, both from the USA, include a range of communications such as packaging, in-school promotions, use of tie-ins and sponsorship. The first is by the Institute of Medicine published in 2006, and the second is by the Federal Trade Commission published in 2008 (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Federal Trade Commission, 2008). It should be remembered at this point, as already pointed out in section 3.4, whilst these reports consider a substantial number of communications currently being used by food companies, when it came to reviewing the impact of these types of communications neither of these reports have been able to offer any new insights and base their evidence solely on previous television advertising research.

There has also been a report published by Matthews et al. (2005) on behalf of the European Heart Network titled 'The marketing of unhealthy food to children in Europe', disappointingly the report is extremely vague and does not provide any specific information on the types of communications being used, the amounts being spent, and the effects on the children of the twenty countries covered by the report. As yet there has been no corresponding study undertaken here in the UK. The studies which originate from the UK (Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al., 2006; Hastings et al., 2003) are all systematic reviews of the literature and, unlike the US studies above, fail to include data from the UK food industry. Finally none of the studies include their own empirical data. Therefore, the majority of this final section is based on material originating outside the UK.

The Federal Trade Commission (2008:ES4) found that for promotional campaigns targeted at the youth market (two to seventeen year olds) they are more likely to be an integrated campaign with "themes encountered in television ads carried over to package materials, promotional displays in stores or restaurants, and the internet". As

discussed in chapter 2, films, such as Superman Returns and Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest, have been used to endorse a wide range of food and drink. However, these promotions were part of wider integrated campaigns by these companies with both films also appearing in television and cinema advertisements, on the internet via websites and in advergames, on packaging, sales promotions such as competitions and free gifts and in-store displays for their respective products (Federal Trade Commission, 2008).

On similar lines, the Institute of Medicine (2006:34) found

> "[b]usinesses are increasingly using integrated marketing strategies to ensure that young consumers are exposed to messages that will stimulate demand, build brand loyalty, and encourage potential and existing customers to purchase new products. A variety of measured media channels (e.g. television, radio, magazines, Internet) and unmeasured media channels (e.g. product placement, video games, advergames, in-store promotions, special events) and other venues (e.g. schools) are used to deliver promotional messages to young consumers."

It also states that "[i]ndustry and marketing sources suggest that food and beverage companies and restaurants have been progressively reducing their television advertising budgets, reinvesting in other communication channels, and using integrated marketing strategies to reach consumers more effectively" (Institute of Medicine, 2006:166).

The Federal Trade Commission (2008) found tie-ins are more frequently part of a larger promotional campaign, and as a result feature heavily with the television advertising of those campaigns and on company websites. Occasionally the products are also featured in the programme itself (product placement), for example one fizzy drink company's products were shown during One Tree Hill (an American teen drama) in addition to the tie-in being shown in television advertisements, in-store promotions, on packaging and on the internet (Federal Trade Commission, 2008). However, in today's media environment it is more usual for the internet to act as the central organising platform for any integrated communications plan as it allows synergies to be created among the different brand building programs (Aaker, 2002, as cited in Moore and Rideout, 2007).

In summary, the variety of communications currently being used to target children is immense. McNeal (2007) refers to this as surround selling which operates on a 24/7/360 basis, being all the time (24/7) and all around us (360°s). Many authors now see integrated campaigns as the "marketplace norm," resulting in marketing activities intruding pervasively into everyone's everyday life (Friestad and Wright, 2005:183).

The reason for this, although as yet unproved, is that it is thought when messages are sent as part of an IMC plan they are likely to be better recalled and more persuasive due to their appearance in multiple communication vehicles (Moore and Rideout, 2007; Livingstone and Helsper, 2006). In addition, it is thought that by children using a range of media simultaneously the effects of those communications are potentially much more significant (Marshall et al., 2006). By using multiple platforms the companies are capitalising on the specific advantages of each communication channel (Moore, 2004), plus making it much more difficult for children to evade the communications (Livingstone, 2005).

One constant theme which has run through this review is the dominance of television advertising. As already mentioned, even those who have attempted to consider the wider remit have found it a near on impossible job and as a result have reverted back to the studies on television advertising (Hastings et al., 2003; Institute of Medicine, 2006; Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Cairns et al., 2009). Consequently, there has been little written on how children understand, or are affected by, other communications. In addition, whilst some researchers have speculated by integrating communications food companies are increasing their persuasiveness (Moore and Rideout, 2007; Livingstone and Helsper, 2006), there has not been the research to confirm this. Moreover, whilst there is some agreement on children's understanding of television advertising, and the likelihood that the age of understanding will rise for other communications, such as online advertising, there has not been any consideration of how, or even if, children understand the integration of communications.

In the field of IMC the majority of research over the past two decades has concentrated on 'what is it' and 'how do companies implement it' and as yet has found little agreement on either (Kitchen or Schultz, 2009). As a result the vast majority of the research has concentrated on communications agencies, specifically advertising and public relations agencies (Kitchen and Schultz, 2009). There has been little research on how integrated campaigns impact on consumers (Ewing, 2009), and where consumers have been considered, these have always been adults. In addition if it is the consumer who automatically integrates communications (Devon, 2010; Schultz, 1996), are children capable of this, and if, so at what age? To date nobody has considered children as the target market.

The food industry has justified its decision to market its foods to children over twelve (as discussed in section 2.2.1) as by this age the children are able to understand the

persuasive intent of television advertising. However, these companies are employing more than television advertising when marketing to children, often using more subtle communications which are believed to work at a subliminal level, such as product placement or advergames. From the review contained in this thesis, it is reasonable to assume some twelve year olds may not be able recognise these forms of communications, and most twelve year olds will not understand their persuasive intent. So, at what age is it ethical to use an integrated campaign when marketing to children? The age at which the audience understands the persuasive intent of all the communications involved in the campaign, or the age at which children understand integration, or the higher of the two? This then raises the question (again), is it ethical for food companies to market to children?

3.7   Identifying the research gap

The last two chapters bring together a number of different strands of literature all relating to the marketing of food to children. As discussed previously in section 1.2 I developed the content of these chapters after a preliminary analysis of the data collected from six family interviews. I therefore acknowledge that whilst a number of theoretical issues in relation to food marketing to children have been included there are others which have been purposefully excluded, such as family communication styles and parent-child interaction around commercial communications. Due to the limits of time and space I have only been able to include those strands of literature which correspond with the induced findings. The development of the conceptual framework of marketing food to children (Figure 1.4 p.9) which has been reproduced below as Figure 3.3 below for ease of reference provides a representation of how these different strands included in chapters 2 and 3 link together.

By reviewing the authors contained in this chapter it highlights one of the gaps within the researching of marketing to children that was identified in chapter 1. Previously academics have tended to concentrate and specialise in just one of the areas covered within this chapter, whether that is children's understanding, the perceived effects of food marketing or parental mediation. There is no author, or groups of authors, that appear in every section in the chapter. In each section there is a group of prevalent authors such as Deborah Roedder-John, Margaret-Anne Lawlor and Andrea Prothero in relation to children's understanding of advertising or Moniek Buijzen and Patti Valkenburg in relation to parental mediation of advertising. However, there are a small number of authors who have researched and written across two of the topics such as

Figure 3.3: Conceptual framework of the marketing of food to children

The food industry (Ch.2.2)
- The stakeholders
- Promotional spending

Regulation (Ch.2.4)
- Regulation in the UK
- International regulation
- Going forward

Types of marketing communications (Ch.2.3)
- Advertising
- Sponsorship
- New media
- In-school communications
- In-store communications
- Other communications

Chapter 2 – Setting the scene

Chapter 3 – Literature review

Children as consumers
- Children as consumers (Ch.3.2)
- Children's understanding of marketing communications (Ch.3.3)
- The impact of food marketing (Ch.3.4)

The rise of integrated marketing communications (Ch.3.6)

Parental perceptions (Ch.3.5)
- Attitudes towards food marketing
- Parental mediation
- Attitudes towards the regulation of food marketing

Kara Chan. I therefore feel confident to propose that this is the first study to consider the 'whole puzzle' (see p.6 for my analogy) by investing how these traditionally distinct areas within marketing to children fit together.

Due to this separation in research topics each of the areas has its own preferred methodology. Parental mediation and parental attitudinal research predominately uses quantitative questionnaires (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2005; Nathanson, 2001; Vandewater et al., 2005). Using such a methodology only allows for predetermined hypothesis to be tested and therefore excludes the possibility of new research findings, such as new forms of parental mediation, to be discovered. Additionally, this method does not allow researchers to investigate parents' rational for their implementation or even their non-implementation of the different forms of mediation. Therefore, in order to widen our understanding of this topic a different methodology is required.

Similarly, as highlighted at the end of section 3.4.2 (p.85/86) one of the main concerns in relation to the effects of marketing communications on children's food preferences and consumption is the choice of methodology. Most methods do not allow researchers to draw a solid conclusion about the cause and effect relationship between the different variables in a natural setting (Buijzen et al., 2008). Quantitative experiments (Dixon et al., 2007; Halford et al., 2007; Halford et al, 2004; Robinson et al., 2007) take place in a controlled environment whereas those in more natural settings such as qualitative

questionnaires or more qualitative diary methods (Arnas, 2006; Wiehca et al., 2006) rely on the respondents' memory to account for any relationship between marketing communications and their possible effects. In addition, different studies use different definitions of variables and measures (such as using television viewing time for a proxy of advertising exposure) which also make it more difficult to infer valid conclusions (Cherin, 2008).

Even though when researching children's understanding of marketing communications a wider variety of methodologies are used including qualitative focus groups (Lawlor and Prothero, 2008; Oates et al., 2003), quantitative experiments (Cherin, 2008; Owen et al., 2007) and occasionally quantitative questionnaires (Chen & McNeal, 2006) there are still concerns over other methodological issues such the use of verbal or non-verbal response mechanisms. As highlighted in sections 3.3.2.1 (p.70) and 3.3.2.2 (p.71) researchers using non-verbal response mechanisms tend to find that children appear to understand advertising at a significantly earlier age than those studies using a verbal response mechanism. It could therefore be inferred that replying on age as the primary factor when studying children's understanding is limiting and that it may be more useful to consider if there are any other factors which effect how children understand rather than the concentration on when (Tziorti, 2008). Other reasons for the variances in the findings could be due to the different interests in the source undertaking the research whether that is academic, commercial, public policy or a special interest organisation or alternatively it could be due, as raised in section 3.3.2.2 (p.71), to the difference in definitions of terms like advertising understanding.

An additional methodological issue that is common throughout the chapter is the choice of research sample. To date researchers have tended to use either parents (Ip et al., 2007; Nathanson 2001) or children (Halford et al., 2004; Oates et al., 2003a). The small numbers of studies which have included both parents and children within their research sample have then gone on to treat them as two independent research samples. Taking an 'either or' approach to the research limits the response to a single perspective. For example those academics researching into children's understanding predominantly use children as their sample, however, would it not be interesting, and I would suggest useful, to understand how parents perceive their children's understanding of the different marketing communications and how this differs from their children's own perspective.

It is extremely evident from both chapters that previous research across all of the research areas has predominately concentrated on advertising and more specifically television advertising. Very little, and in some cases nothing, is known about other communications. This not only relates to the research areas discussed in this chapter, but also at a more basic level how often are companies using these communications and consequently how often are children interacting with them. This lack of knowledge about these other types of communications could be why current regulation (especially in the UK) is heavily concentrated on advertising and inconsistently applied across other communications. This concentration on television advertising means that as a research community we do not know how these current theories and understanding of the topics change when applied to different communications, or even, if they can be transferred to another communication. For example, are the three forms of parental mediation (as detailed in section 3.5.2 above) appropriate for all communications or are new forms of mediation required? This type of question can be applied to all of the research areas discussed within the last two chapters.

Why it is important for us as researchers to widen our research and thinking beyond advertising was highlighted in section 3.6 above. Food companies, and in fact all types of companies that are marketing to children, are now using an increasing range of different communications and more often than not within an IMC campaign. If we wish to understand what is happening it is now not appropriate to consider communications in isolation but rather to replicate the food companies' activities and to consider the full range of communications.

3.8 Summary

In this chapter I have presented a comprehensive review of the theoretical perspectives involved in the marketing of food to children (part 2 of the conceptual framework). The review has again highlighted the dominance of television advertising, but this time in relation to previous research on children's understanding, the effects of food marketing on children's preferences and choices and on parental mediation. It is evident that whilst children may understand television advertising by the age of seven or eight years, they do not have the cognitive skills to understand other communications. On a similar line, even though there is evidence to show television advertising can affect children's food preferences and choices there is very little corresponding evidence for other communications. As part of this thesis both of these issues are investigated further in the coming chapters.

4 Methodology: The research process

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present a comprehensive analysis of the steps taken to complete the methodology for this study by providing an explanation and justification of the methods chosen for the data collection and analysis. I start the chapter by presenting the research design which includes the research question and objectives and a consideration of the philosophical position within which the research took place; this is followed by a detailed explanation of the data collection and analysis processes. I finish the chapter by considering the reliability of the chosen research process.

4.2 Research design

The research design was formed based on the research topic, questions and the gaps found in the initial literature review. To understand how both this chapter and the research process fits within the whole research project Figure 1.3 (p.9) has been expanded to show the research process (Figure 4.1 below). The research design or methodology is contained within the red dotted lines. The research is an exploratory, qualitative study which consists of a pilot study of one children's focus group and one family interview and a main study consisting of thirteen family interviews. As according to Daly (2007:83)

> "methodology involves giving attention to the relationship between on the one hand, inherited theories, concepts, and ontological assumptions, and on the other hand, techniques and practices used in the process of empirical inquiry,"

it is important that Figure 4.1 contains these two sides of the methodological position. Therefore the flowchart identifies each stage undertaken during the research process, beginning with philosophical assumptions and the research paradigm followed by the data collection and analysis methods being employed.

Figure 4.1: Expanded thesis structure – the research process

```
Industry review  ◄──  Choose research topic  ──►  Preliminary literature review

                        Research paradigm  ◄──  Preliminary
                                                 research problem,
Background study  ◄──                            research
                                                 questions &
Stakeholder interviews                           objectives

Reliability & validity  ◄──  Qualitative methodology      Redefined
                                                           research problem,
                             Family interviews            research
                                                           questions &
                             Fieldwork – pilot study      objectives

                             Family interview design

        ──────►  1st stage
        ------►  2nd stage   Data collection

                    Sampling & access      Ethical considerations

                             Data analysis

                    Using CAQDAS      The Miles & Huberman Framework

                        Revised literature review

Conceptual framework for the marketing of foods to children

                        Concepts & themes

        Amended framework for the marketing of foods to children

        Extended framework for the marketing of foods to children

                        Conclusions

Implications for theory    Implications for policy    Implications for practice    Implications for methodology
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| Chapter 1 - Introduction | Chapter 2 – Background & context | Chapter 3 – Literature review |
| Chapter 4 - Methodology | Chapter 5, 6 & 7 – Findings | Chapter 8 – Discussion & Conclusion |

4.2.1 Research question and objectives

Following on from gaps identified at the end of the last chapter (see section 3.7) and the research aim presented in chapter 1, the research aim, question and objectives for this thesis are presented in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: The research aim, question and objectives

Research		
Aim		To provide a holistic consideration of how British children consume marketing communications by the UK food industry.
Question		How do British children and their parents perceive their interaction with the UK food industry's marketing communications?
Objective	1	To determine which food marketing communications children believe they come into contact with and their perceived frequency and impact.
	2	To investigate the awareness of children and their parents of integrated marketing communications (in relation to food marketing communications).
	3	To explore any factors which may affect children's frequency of contact and the corresponding impact of the food industry's marketing communications.
	4	To develop a framework which could aid all parties (food companies, the Government, parents or other stakeholders) in understanding the complexities of children's consumption behaviour in relation to the marketing food to children.

As shown in Figure 4.1 above (and as introduced in section 1.2), following the background interviews, the analysis of the first six family interviews and the completion of a new literature review I felt it was necessary to redefine the original research question and objectives. The above question and objectives now allow me to begin to fill the gaps which I identified at the end of the last chapter.

4.2.2 Philosophical paradigms

The way an individual conducts their research, the design, collection of data and analysis of that data, is a result of their beliefs about the world. In other words, it stems from their epistemological and ontological beliefs and assumptions (Guba and Lincoln, 1998; Hussey and Hussey, 1997). It is therefore extremely important for anyone undertaking a piece of research to recognise and understand their personal paradigm at its varying level, philosophical, a person's basic beliefs about the world; social, to guide how a person conducts their endeavours; and finally technical, which methods and techniques a person uses when conducting their research (Morgan, 1979). As Fraser and Robinson (2004:59) state "no piece of empirical research is perfect." Consequently researchers have to use their philosophy reflexively to justify their strategies.

Within the social science community there has been a debate between the two main competing paradigms for the previous three decades: the positivist or empiricist approach and the constructivists or phenomenological approach (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). The war has been fought over several conceptual issues, including the nature of reality (ontology), the relationship of the researcher to the research object (epistemology), whether theory is value laden (axiology), if generalisation can be made and if there are causal linkages (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). With on the one hand, the positivists mainly being associated with quantitative studies and on the other, the constructivists being associated qualitative studies (Hussey and Hussey, 1997; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). According to some these two paradigms are complete opposites (see Table 4.2 below), i.e. positivists believe that there is only one reality out there to be discovered, whilst constructivists believe that there are many realities which can be constructed, and as a result a marriage between the two is impossible (see Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998).

Table 4.2: Contrasting beliefs and implications of positivism and social constructionism

Beliefs & implications	Positivism	Social Constructionism/ phenomenology
Ontology	Traditional realism Facts are concrete	Relativism Facts are all human creations
Epistemology	Objective point of view	Subjective point of view
The observer	Must be independent	Is part of what is being observed
Human interests	Should be irrelevant	Are the main drivers of science
Explanations	Must demonstrate causality	Aim to increase general understanding of the situation
Research progresses through	Hypotheses and deductions	Gathering rich data from which ideas are induced
Concepts	Need to be operationalised so that they can be measured	Should incorporate stakeholder perspectives
Units of analysis	Should be reduced to simplest terms	May include the complexity of 'whole' situations
Generalisations through	Statistical probability	Theoretical abstraction
Sampling requires	Large numbers selected randomly	Small numbers of cases chosen for specific reasons

(Adapted from: Easterby-Smith, et al., (2001) Management Research, An Introduction. 2nd Ed. London, Sage Publications.)

Nevertheless, it should be made clear that these are not the only paradigms in social science research but two ends of a continuum (Daly, 2007). According to Guba and Lincoln (1998) the main four paradigms are positivism, postpositivism, critical theory and constructivism. Additionally, under the heading of constructivism there are many other paradigms, including constructivism, idealism, relativism, humanism,

hermeneutics, postmodernism, interpretivism, advocacy/participatory, pragmatism and phenomenology (Creswell, 2007; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Even though it would make a researcher's life easier, although possibly less challenging, no one methodological philosophy is clear cut with a defined set of principles and practices. Consequently in order to gain some understanding the researcher "must enter into a quagmire of contradictions and conflicting philosophies," not only across the different paradigms but also within each one (Goulding, 1999:862). In addition, the paradigms used by qualitative researchers have continually evolved over time and are not mutually exclusive, allowing researchers to use multiple paradigms (Creswell, 2007).

This aim of this research is to investigate the consumption of food marketing to children by capturing the rich complexity of the social situation. Following the approach of Woodruffe-Burton and Wakenshaw (2011:70) "the research was based on an interpretive approach with understanding, rather than quantifying, as the principle objective." By interviewing families I hoped to learn about how they perceived, felt and thought about the phenomenon, in addition to any underlying assumptions which may have been at the root of their thoughts and beliefs (Saunders et al., 2000). In addition an interpretive approach allowed me to recognise that multiple realities and interpretation may have existed whilst helping me to understand the complexities of the social phenomena under study (Lawlor and Prothero, 2011). By undertaking this approach I was able to, as detailed in Table 4.2 above, increase my understanding of the whole situation, gather rich data, induce a number of ideas and finally begin to abstract and build new theories (Easterby-Smith et al., 2001).

Therefore, this approach is well suited for research involving families as its aim is to describe the meaning for several individuals and what the participants have in common as they experience the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). In relation to families, the aim of this research is to "understand and describe the participants' experiences of their everyday world as they see it, this may involve the formation of characteristic themes that emerge from the collective experience of the phenomenon" (Daly, 2007:98). The emphasis of this form of study is to understand how families experience the mundane, taken-for-granted aspects of their daily lives by describing and classifying family experiences as they appear in the mind of the family (Daly, 2007). However, unlike studies with individuals, there is an additional need to understand the individual and collective experiences of the family (see below for more discussion on issues relating to the use of family interviews) (Daly, 2007).

4.2.3 Qualitative methods

As just stated above, whilst qualitative research is usually associated with the constructivist and phenomenologist paradigms (Saunders et al., 2000), it is important to understand it actually occurs within a variety of epistemological and ontological stances (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Symon and Cassell, 2004). Just as not all quantitative researchers are positivists, there is no one doctrine underlying all qualitative research (Silverman, 1998). Within this type of research there are many 'isms' (as mentioned above); for example postmodernism, feminism, social construction and interactionism (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). However, it can be said in general,

> "qualitative research focuses on people's experiences and the meanings they place on the events, processes and structures of their normal social setting. Such research may involve prolonged or intense contact with people and groups in their everyday situations. This provides a holistic view, through the participants' own words and perceptions of how they understand, account for and act within these situations" (Skinner et al., 2000:165).

In addition, compared to quantitative methods, qualitative research is often characterised by small samples, the potential requirement for interaction between the researcher and respondent, the process by which the data is collected and analysed, and finally, by the inevitable requirement for researchers to use their subjective judgement when interpreting the data (Halliday, 1999). Consequently, considering not only the paradigm choice discussed above, but also the research question, aim and objectives of this study, a qualitative approach was the most sensible and logical choice (see section 4.2.5 below for a further clarification of my choice).

According to Matthyssens and Vandenbempt (2003), the dominant scientific method within marketing research has been the deductive hypotheses-testing approach, which they believe has resulted in the over-reliance on quantitative techniques, with the use of qualitative techniques being considered as less scientific. This position may now be changing. As Brown (2003) states, within the field of marketing, the positivism versus interpretism debate is showing signs of slowing down, with a growing acceptance of the diverse range of methods of representing marketing phenomena. In line with this, there is a growing recognition among both marketing academics and practitioners for the need to use more qualitative methodologies in order to be able to gain well-founded insights, develop theory and support effective decision making (Goulding, 2005). Qualitative research methods can be used to explore context-rich description which can be used in the formulation and implementation of marketing strategy (Matthyssens and Vandenbempt, 2003). Additionally, when dealing with complex or new issues or phenomena, qualitative research can offer more valuable recommendations to practitioners (Matthyssens and Vandenbempt, 2003).

116

The reliance on the positivist paradigm and quantitative methods has posed some serious limitations for different marketing phenomena (Fournier and Mick, 1999). As a consequence it is now, according to Fournier et al. (1998:50), important for marketers to understand the consumer by "getting into their heads" and this in turn will require a greater use of qualitative methods that are dedicated to "richly describing and interpreting people's lives". For example Milburn (1995) shows with his research into family food choices that qualitative methods helped to illuminate the social and cultural contexts which structured the participants' attitudes and meanings, which in turn influenced their behaviours in respect to their food choices. He argues that such contexts "are best uncovered by the exploratory, inductive and less structured approaches offered by qualitative methods" (Milburn, 1995:36). Further research (see for example Elliott and Leonard (2004) or Moore and Lutz (2000)) also confirms that using an interpretive qualitative method is more appropriate than experimental research for gathering rich descriptive data from children. As such the use of qualitative methods was chosen for this research. By using a combination of inductive and empirical qualitative research this then allowed for major themes to emerge, these themes were then used to construct and characterise theories within marketing food to children.

According to Punch (1998) there are two possible situations where a descriptive qualitative study would be valuable. The first is in the development of a new area of research where there is the need for exploratory studies, and the second is to discover the important factors in a complex social process that are to be used in future explanatory or confirmatory studies (Punch, 1998). Usually this type of information can only be extracted by qualitative methods, as it is highly subjective, individualistic and fluid in nature (Halliday, 1999). The aim of this study is to uncover the important factors in how children consume food marketing communications; this is not only (as was highlighted by the previous two chapters) an extremely complex social process but also in parts a relatively new area of research. Whilst the marketing of food by television advertising has been consistently researched over the past three decades there has been very little research concentrating on many of the other communications and even less on the 'big picture'. Consequently, to explore this large, complex and relatively unknown phenomenon a qualitative approach was required.

4.2.4   In-depth interviews

"Interviewing is rather like a marriage; everybody knows what it is, an awful lot of people do it, and yet behind each closed door there is a world of secrets" (Oakley, 1986:231, as cited in Jones, 1991:203). Even so, the interview is one of the main data collection tools in qualitative research; it is a good way of accessing people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations, and constructions of reality (Punch, 1998). Yet asking the questions and getting the answers is a much harder task than it may at first seem (Fontana and Frey, 1998). The spoken (or written) word will always contain some ambiguity no matter how carefully the questions are worded or the answers are reported and coded (Fontana and Frey, 1998). Lummis (1986:62) reports that "the art of good interviewing lies in being able to keep most of the interview conversational while following various digressions, remembering which questions the flow of information has answered and yet being prepared to question more deeply and precisely when necessary."

Any in-depth interview should go beyond a constructed survey and aim to explore the respondent's pre-existing beliefs and outlooks, any events or situations that can and do trigger actions, the social contexts in which choices are made and the consequences of those choices, and, finally, any long-term interpretations they have developed within their lives (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). The interview methodology assumes it is feasible to investigate a social phenomenon through talking to those involved (Mason. 2002). Consequently, by listening and interpreting how and what has been said, the researcher is able to construct some knowledge about it (Mason, 2002). Mason (2002) also states that interviewing is about construction rather than excavation, and the skills required by the researcher are those of organising, asking and listening in order to create the best conditions for the construction of that knowledge.

It was originally thought by some authors, especially those from a positivist paradigm, that it was important for the researcher to build rapport and create trust with the respondent whilst remaining impartial and at a distance from the respondent (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). However, other researchers now feel that the interview should take the form of a two-way conversation with all parties contributing equally, where the two parties engage in a conversation, with give and take, which allows the respondent to express his personal feelings (Fontana and Frey, 1998). Within qualitative research there has been a move from the view of the researcher as a detached outsider, to one where the researcher is now an insider interacting and building a relationship with the respondent (Jones, 1991). Nevertheless, both sets of writers do agree that researchers

should do their best to eliminate any preconceptions they may have, so to allow themselves to be open to any new possibilities of change (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). As discussed above, it is important that researchers put themselves in the role of the respondent and attempt to see the situation from their perspective and not to impose the world of academia or any of their preconceptions upon them (Fontana and Frey, 1998).

A successful interview also depends on the respondent's ability to "recall the past, comprehend the present and consider the future," as some interviewees will be able to recall a large amount of detail whereas others will find it more difficult to recall past events or contemplate future events and actions (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002:211). Regardless of how interesting a single interview has been, it is only by comparing a series of them that patterns will begin to emerge, with each one adding to the final story (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). Obviously, there have been those who have criticised the use of interviews, saying that there are problems due to vagaries of memory, selection and deception by respondents in their accounts (Mason, 2002). Additionally there are problems with using language, the different divergent linguistic codes and the fact that it is used in power relations and struggles (Mason, 2002). Consequently it is very important to ensure that there is a shared meaning in which both parties understand the contextual nature of the interview (Fontana and Frey, 1998). How I tackled any of these issues if they arose is discussed in the following sections and chapters.

In addition to the above, in-depth interviews are often used where studies are focusing on people's lived experiences as it allows for a detailed description of the reality from a range of people experiencing the same phenomenon (Creswell, 2007; Daly, 2007; Marshall and Rossman, 1999). For this research, both from a philosophical approach and in relation to the research question, aim and objectives, the perceptions, meanings, understandings and interpretations of the participants were the most important aspect of the research. As such in-depth interviews allowed me to gain these aspects from the participants in relation to marketing food to children both as a family but also as individuals.

4.2.4.1 Family interviews

Historically, family methodologies have not been widely used in consumer or marketing research (Hamilton and Catterall, 2006). A family is defined as "persons who... are in

committed relationships, have a shared sense of personal history, and who usually but not always have legal and biological ties" (Gilgun, 1992:24). They are a distinctive focus of study which have several unique characteristics including,

"a collective consciousness that is not readily available to nonfamily members, relationships rooted in the blood ties, adoption contract or marriage and intended to be permanent, share traditions, intense involvement, ranging from the most violent to the most intimate, and a collage of individual interests, experiences and qualities" (Daly, 1992:3).

Obviously, what is considered to be a family today is very different from the historical nuclear family. In today's context a family could include single parent, binuclear, two-parent lesbian or two-parent gay (Handel, 1992). Traditionally, family research has used quantitative data collection methods which have relied on taking the data from only one family member and then projecting it to make generalisations about the entire family (Communri and Gentry, 2000; Uphold and Strickland, 1989). Alternatively, in those studies which did include more than one family member, they were separated at the point of data collection (Hamilton and Catterall, 2006). However, today it is understood that the views of one family member do not necessarily represent the views of the whole family, it is just one person's reality, and consequently this type of family research is believed to result in a biased perspective of the family phenomena under study (Astedt-Kuri et al., 2001; Uphold and Strickland, 1989).

It has therefore been suggested that to gain greater insight into family phenomena researchers need to include the responses from multiple family members (Epp and Price, 2011; Epp and Price, 2008; Uphold and Strickland, 1989). As a result, qualitative research methods are now seen as one of the most appropriate methodologies for family research as they are better equipped to accommodate multiple perspectives, deal with the different relationships, and facilitate richer accounts of the lived family experience (Handel, 1989, as cited in Daly, 1992). According to Daly (2007:72) "qualitative methods focus on the process by which families create, sustain and discuss their own family realities" by focusing the attention on the processes by which household members negotiate their everyday lives (Daly, 1992; Gregory, 1995). As groups, family members construct both individual and shared meanings and it is these multiple meanings that allow qualitative research to provide richer accounts and closer approximations of the lived family experience (Daly, 2007; Epp and Price, 2008). Therefore, data obtained from multiple family members not only describes the family but also provides information on the characteristics, attitudes and events of the family as observed by the family members, thereby allowing the researcher to obtain a broader perspective on the phenomena being studied (Asted-Kuri et al., 2001).

When interviewing a multi-generational group there are a number of issues which need to be considered. First, the theme must be suitable for all members of the group and all of the people involved must have a basic knowledge of the subject and be able to relate their experiences to the interviewer (Asted-Kuri and Hopia, 1996). Additional issues relating to including children as research participants are discussed separately below. Second, there is no requirement for any agreement or disagreement between the group members (Asted-Kuri and Hopia, 1996). There may be times when members of the family hold opposing views, whilst there may be other times when they are in complete agreement. Therefore, as a researcher it is important to consider the individual view against the view of the whole family (Asted-Kuri et al., 1999). Third, whilst it is generally recognised that questions should involve more than one family member within the research process, there are times when some questions and circumstances will result in a question being directed at a particular family member (Daly, 1992; Gilgun, 1992).

Fourth, there may be certain sensitive topics where the required self-disclosure may make family members feel uncomfortable, thus preventing an open discussion (Hamilton and Catterall, 2006). In addition, there may also be a tendency for one member of the family to take the role of the family spokesperson; in particular, mothers often try to exert control over the children's responses. In these cases, in order to prevent a barrier to obtaining multiple perspectives forming, it is important that the researcher encourages all the members of the family to participate (Hamilton and Catterall, 2006; Mauthner, 1997). It is thought that this tends to happen more often when the families are trying to uphold a certain public image of their family life (Mauthner, 1997). According to Mauthner (1997:19) families are trying to portray "the preferred presentation of the family or individuals within it as 'a family'." Thus in wishing to present a picture of a healthy, happy and harmonious family, family members may feel the need to agree with the views of other family members (Asted-Kuri and Hopia, 1996; Jordan, 2006). Both Ross (1985) and Kortteinen (1992, both cited in Astedt-Kuri and Hopia, 1996) labelled this behaviour as the 'happiness façade' that families set up in order to given an impeccable picture of themselves and their families.

In addition to the above, there are also times when families hide experiences from researchers due to them being thought of as routine and repetitive behaviour. Families take these experiences for granted and therefore do not consider them as important (Daly, 2007). It is therefore important as qualitative researchers to question the taken-for-granted, or what has not been said, in order to obtain a more elaborated view of

family meanings and interactions (Daly, 2007). The final consideration is raised by Epp and Price (2008) in relation to understanding the families' identity. The authors propose that families can have a range or bundle of identities; these include collective, relational and individual identities. In addition, Epp and Price (2008:57) believe that "individual family members should both share and be able to articulate similar descriptions of the family's identity. However, we would expect variations across families in the degree of agreement among family members about collective and relational identities." Therefore, it is possible for different family members to interpret the same object or activity as symbolic of their collective identity whilst incorporating a range of meanings to them (Epp and Price, 2008).

Children as research participants

Historically it was thought that research involving children had very little value; however, more recently there has been a shift in contemporary social and political thinking (Hill, 2005; Porcellato et al., 2002). This has resulted in not only their rights being encoded in domestic and international legislation and conventions, but also an acknowledgement that their contribution to research is a valuable source of information (Hill, 2005; Porcellato et al., 2002). Children are now seen as agents in their own right with their own perspectives rather than as adults-in-waiting (O'Sullivan, 2005). In relation to family research, there has been a move to see children as active agents in the construction of family worlds and therefore to being more interested in bringing children's voices into our understanding of family meaning-making (Daly, 2007). To allow children to meaningfully fulfil this role, researchers should make use of the appropriate methods, tools and environment, thus providing a forum that will allow the children to describe their personal experiences and put forward their points of view (Banister and Booth, 2005; Porcellato et al., 2002). When including children as research participants it is advised that the interview should not last longer than thirty minutes and that the children should ideally be kept occupied during that time (Tilston et al., 1991). Different techniques, such as pictures, photography and games, have been employed to do this. Preferably, the chosen method should be interesting and quick to complete, so as to decrease the chance of boredom and loss of concentration (Banister and Booth, 2005; Owen et al., 1997).

Additionally, researchers need to consider the age of the children involved when deciding on what activities to introduce, plus they need to ensure they are using the same language as their participants (Banister and Booth, 2005). Ellis (2001) during his

study of children's and adolescents' food choices found that younger children are more receptive to visual techniques, whereas older children find it easier to generalise from their own experiences. Portcellato et al. (2002) also found from their study of children's perceptions of smoking that whilst it was necessary for them to use different tasks to keep the children interested, overall they obtained considerable depth and breadth of data from the study. Finally, O'Sullivan (2005) encountered a number of problems when researching what children thought about advertising, the first was how quickly the children became bored, the second was the difficulty in using audio equipment as the level of children's voices was too high, and, finally, there was limited chance for observation. Nevertheless, he did find that using a domestic setting permitted him to compare different age ranges and create a more relaxed and comfortable environment for the children (O'Sullivan, 2005). Even though all of these issues were taken into consideration when designing and implementing the family interviews (see sections 4.3.2.2 and 4.3.4 below), I still encountered them all for myself.

4.2.5   Research design epilogue

At the beginning of this chapter I presented my study's aim, research question and objectives (reproduced below as Table 4.3 for ease of reference). I followed these with a critical review of my methodological choices which looked to justify my choice of research design including my research paradigm, methodology and methods. Whilst I believe the above explains my choices in relation to the overall research aim and question it does not explicitly defend the relationship between my choices and the specific research objectives, particularly objective 1.

Table 4.3: Reproduction of the research aim, question and objectives

Research		
Aim		To provide a holistic consideration of how British children consume marketing communications by the UK food industry.
Question		How do British children and their parents perceive their interaction with the UK food industry's marketing communications?
Objective	1	To determine which food marketing communications children believe they come into contact with and their perceived frequency and impact.
	2	To investigate the awareness of children and their parents of integrated marketing communications (in relation to food marketing communications).
	3	To explore any factors which may affect children's frequency of contact and the corresponding impact of the food industry's marketing communications.
	4	To develop a framework which could aid all parties (food companies, the Government, parents or other stakeholders) in understanding the complexities of children's consumption behaviour in relation to the marketing food to children.

The wording of the first objective in addressing issues of perceived frequency and impact would on first consideration tend to suggest a quantitative approach such as a questionnaire due to the standard and descriptive nature of the objective (Saunders et al., 2000). However, I felt there were two reasons why questionnaires were not appropriate for this study. The first was in relation to the choice of respondent, in particular the inclusion of children in the research sample. In general it is thought that questionnaires are not a suitable method when researching children's attitudes, knowledge or behaviour (Owen et al., 1997). More specifically, questionnaires are often believed to provide misleading information due to children's linguistic and writing deficiencies and also their difficulty in recalling information (Dockrell et al., 2000). Therefore, whilst I expected all of the children to be able to answer questions on television advertising, I was doubtful of their ability to answer questions on many of the other forms of communication without additional explanation and guidance. Secondly, as discussed below in section 4.3.3.1, I intended to use these questions on frequency and impact as a starting point to develop further discussion about the families' experience with each of the communications. This was to lead into gathering data which could then be used to investigate the other research objectives. Consequently, even though some numbers were generated during the data collection process, they were analysed alongside the more typical qualitative data, and as discussed in chapter 5 next, aided in developing some, I believe, interesting findings.

4.3 Data collection

Whilst the above section provided a rationale for the research design, the next two sections of the chapter present a step by step guide of how the research was conducted: the data collection process and the how the data was analysed. I began the data collection with a pilot study, the results of which I used both in the design of the main interviews and in deciding on the criteria for the research sample. The main study was split into two phases with the results of the initial analysis being used to re-design the second phase of interviews.

4.3.1 Pilot study

4.3.1.1 Exploratory children's focus group

Before any interviews can actually take place there needs to be some theoretical analysis and pre-testing that guide researchers in the selection of their sample and in the construction of an interview schedule (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). Therefore, a

two part pilot study was undertaken, the first part being an exploratory focus group made up of four children aged between six and eight years old, and the second part being a family interview. Due to my own lack of knowledge of children's media consumption and awareness of food campaigns, I decided to begin the data collection with an exploratory focus group. This focus group had a number of objectives (see Table 4.4 below). These included how the data was to be collected (the method) and which data was to be collected (the design of the method). The children for the focus group were approached via a personal contact who was an afterschool childminder for three of the children and the fourth child was a classmate who lived close by. A discussion guide for the focus groups was drawn up (see Appendix 1) which allowed the children to talk about their contact with food and different communications. The results of the focus group are also presented in Table 4.4 below. To help the children relax and be more comfortable the focus group took place after school at the childminder's home (O'Sullivan, 2005) and took approximately thirty minutes to complete.

As highlighted in Table 4.4 there were a number of important findings from the focus group. In relation to how to collect the remaining data, I decided to change from children's focus groups to family interviews. The reasons for this were due to problems with access, location and the children's ability to participate. I felt that using family interviews would help overcome these issues by having the parents act as gatekeepers to their children, and, for the most part this was the result (Devers and Frankel, 2000; Tinson, 2009). In addition I wanted to keep a 'group' format as this would allow the children to 'spark off' other members of the family and hopefully keep the conversation going (Wilson and Wood, 2004). However, I still had some difficulty with access, which is discussed in section 4.3.2.2 next. With regards to which data was to be collected (the design of the method,) it was evident from the focus group that children are most familiar with breakfast cereal and fast food brands and come into contact with a range of communications, although television advertising was the dominant communication. Additionally, the children needed help with recalling some of their experiences, again confirming the use of family interviews. They also needed an activity to keep them interested in the process (Tilston et al., 1991). Therefore, in designing the family interviews I decided to include some visual aids of the latest campaigns for children's food products (concentrating on cereal and fast food brands). The visual aids consisted of laminated cards with pictures of children's food products and some children targeted food communications (see section 4.3.3 for more details).

Table 4.4: Exploratory focus group's objectives, findings and implications

Objectives	Findings	Implications/Changes
To investigate which food brands' communications children frequently came into contact with	**Breakfast cereals**: Kellogg's Rice Krispies & Coco Pops Nestle's Cheerios & Shreddies Weetabix's Weetabix & Ready-brek Sugar Puffs **Fast food:** McDonald's Burger King **Sweets:** Cadbury's Flake & Dairy Milk	Use the latest cereal and fast food brands campaigns in the interview design
To investigate which of the current food campaigns children were aware of	Kellogg's Rice Krispies Nestle Cheerios Burger King	As above
To investigate the types of communications used by food companies the children were aware of	Television advertising Free gifts Competitions Tie-ins with television and film characters	Children are aware of more than television advertising To include the most popular communications in the interview design
To investigate whether children at the younger age of the proposed sampling criteria (see 4.3.2 below) had the skills to take part in the research	All children participated in the focus group All children had problems recalling some experiences Needed the help of the child minder to prompt some experiences Children lost focus and interest	To consider the presence of an adult To use visual aids
To investigate the feasibility of children's focus groups as research method	Problems: Access to children Children's ability to fully participate (as above) Possible locations to ensure children felt comfortable Even though the children knew each other, the location and me they were still shy at the beginning	To change to family interviews to help with: Access Location Children's comfort Children's recall

4.3.1.2 Pilot family interview

The main aim of the pilot family interview was to test the interview schedule (see Appendix 2) which was designed from the findings of the exploratory focus group above. The aim was to assess whether the questions were clear, unambiguous and understandable so any alterations could be made before the commencement of the main study (Arksey and Knight, 1999). A volunteer family was found through personal contact which consisted of father and two children – a boy aged ten and a girl aged eight years old. The interview took place on a weekday evening at their home to help the children feel more comfortable and relaxed (O'Sullivan, 2005). The interview took just over forty-five minutes to complete: - the children took part in the first thirty minutes, and the final fifteen minutes was a one-on-one interview with their father. The

interview was voiced-recorded for transcription and analysis purposes and a field note sheet was completed (see section 4.3.4 below for more discussion of the data collection process used). From the process of transcribing and analysing, the following technical issues were raised and the appropriate changes were made for the main data collection (see Table 4.5 below). The process of transcribing and analysing the interview also helped me to familiarise myself with the processes of data collection and analysis.

Table 4.5: Issues raised and changes required based on the pilot family interview

Issues	Changes Required
Questions	Need to ask more 'why' questions and probe further into reasons for choices Additional question in Fast Food section "Would you still want to eat at the fast food restaurants if they didn't offer the free toys? Which ones? Why (yes/no)
Slides/Pictures	Need to ask the person talking to state aloud which product/picture they are pointing to and/or talking about Need to condense number of cereal promotion slides to maximum of 2 slides Need to concentrate on the promotions on the cereal packets rather than the brands/products
Overall	Need to stay closer to the questions on the schedule (links to the first point above)

4.3.2 Sampling and recruitment

In most instances, and as is the case for this piece of research, it is not feasible to include the whole population in the research. This is usually due to the population size being too large, causing problems with access, time and costs (Saunders et al., 2000). Therefore a sampling strategy is necessary; this then enables researchers to obtain answers to their questions from a moderately small group of people in an efficient and effective way (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). Researchers first need to develop a sampling frame, i.e. "the criteria for selecting subjects" who are capable of answering the questions (Devers and Frankel, 2000:264). In developing a sampling frame researchers need to choose the sampling strategy which is most appropriate for their research design. In quantitative research, sampling is considered to be more scientific, being guided by the principles of representativeness and the use of probability sampling. Sampling in qualitative research is more guided by the pragmatic concerns of identifying and accessing participants who have experienced the phenomenon, consequently it is more informal and purposive (Daly, 2007; Saunders et al., 2000; Tinson, 2009). Therefore, in qualitative research, the selection of the sample will have a major effect on the final quality of the research (Coyne, 1997; Marshall and Rossman, 1999).

In qualitative research, all forms of sampling can be placed under the broad term of purposeful sampling (Patton, 2002). According to Coyne (1997:629)

"all sampling in qualitative research is purposeful sampling. Thus the sample is always intentionally selected according to the needs of the study. However, there are many variations of sampling contained within purposeful sampling."

Miles and Huberman (1994) in their sourcebook of qualitative data analysis list sixteen types of sampling in qualitative research. In general, all purposeful sampling is designed to develop the researcher's understanding of the selected individual's or group's experience, and from that to be able to build theories and concepts (Devers and Frankel, 2000). To do this researchers select individuals or cases which will provide them with the greatest insights into the research question, otherwise known as information-rich individuals or cases (Devers and Frankel, 2000; Patton, 2002). As a result the researcher is selecting those individuals which can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem under study (Creswell, 2007).

In addition to the above, it is common in qualitative studies to use purposeful sampling which represents the phenomenon under study (Marshall and Rossman, 1999) and where all of the participants have experienced the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). As a result there tends to be a much narrower range of sampling strategies used (Creswell, 2007) with criterion and snowballing being the most commonly used strategies (Creswell, 2007; Daly, 2007). One way of deciding the criteria for the sample is for the researcher to ask the following questions:

"What are the personal characteristics required for participation? (e.g. age, sex, ethnicity)
What kind of social or phenomenological experience must they have had?
Are there characteristics or experiences that would exclude them from participating in the study?" (Daly, 2007:176)

In addition, in family research, as discussed in section 4.2.4.1 above, it is also important to define what is meant by 'a family' (Daly, 2007; Epp & Price, 2008).

For this study, whilst I attempted to use both criterion and snowballing strategies, the latter proved too difficult. I will return to this in section 4.3.2.2 below. In addition, for the exploratory focus group discussed above, I used a convenience strategy. Whilst this may not provide the most credible responses (Miles and Huberman, 1994), it was sufficient for the purpose of the pilot study. For the main study (and the pilot family interview), I first applied a criterion sampling strategy as this allowed me to be confident that all of the participants, especially the children, would have the skills to take part in the interview. The criteria used and an explanation for my choices are detailed in Table 4.6 below. As mentioned above, following the results of the exploratory focus group, I decided to use family interviews as opposed to children's focus groups, and therefore

defined my family to be at least one parent/guardian and at least one child aged between seven and eleven years of age. However, if a family had other children who did not fall within this criterion (i.e. older or younger siblings), and they wished to take part, they were not excluded. Often, younger siblings began the interview with the rest of the family but would often become bored and/or not be able to understand the conversations and as a result would leave part way through. In nearly all cases, their contributions were not used in the final analysis. There was only one family where an older sister wished to take part in the interview (Family 13) and where her contributions have been used the effect of her age was always considered in the analysis.

Table 4.6: Criteria (and explanations) for the study's sample

Question	Criteria	Explanation
What are the personal characteristics required for participation? (e.g. age, sex, ethnicity)	Each family must contain at least: - 1 parent/guardian	As detailed in 4.3.1 above a parent/guardian was required to help/prompt the children when needed As part of the interview design (see 4.3.3) there are parent only questions
	- 1 child aged between 7 -11 years of age	Based on the children's understanding literature (see 3.3) it was expected younger children would not have the skills to participate in the study This age range was also in line with the government's study (see 2.4.1.1) which was also running at that time.
What kind of social or phenomenological experience must they have had?	Must have had contact with some food marketing communications	Self-explanatory.
Are there characteristics or experiences that would exclude them from participating in the study?"	No parent/guardian present	To ensure all questions can be answered (see 4.3.3 below of details of the questions) To provide help/prompts for the children when needed
	Children under 7	Based on the children's understanding literature (see 3.3) it was expected younger children would not have the skills to participate in the study

4.3.2.1 Sample size

Once the sampling strategy had been decided the next step was to determine the sample size. According to Daly (2007:178), deciding on the sample size "is probably one of the most difficult and contentious aspects of qualitative research design." Many authors point out that the literature on sample size is ambiguous and making the decision is a complex and problematic one (Daly, 2007; Easterby-Smith et al., 2002; Hussey and Hussey, 1997; Saunders et al., 2000). There is little agreement on what constitutes an adequate sample size, and as a result qualitative studies are often

wrongly criticised for having a low 'N' due to being judged on positivist assumptions which are not appropriate for interpretive studies (Daly, 2007:178). However, the general agreement is that qualitative studies use small samples which focus on the depth of understanding (Tinson, 2009) and where the researchers' knowledge comes from their data collection and analysis skills, not the number of interviews, therefore ensuring the quality of the data is the most important factor (Daly, 2007; Saunders et al., 2000).

For interpretive designed interviews some authors recommend a sample size of between five and twenty five interviews (Creswell, 2007), whereas others recommend much lower numbers such as studying three to ten subjects (Dukes, 1984). In this study a total of fourteen family interviews were undertaken (one pilot and thirteen as part of the main study. Details of the families and how they were recruited are presented in section 4.3.2.2 below. As discussed below, recruitment of the families was extremely difficult and therefore it was felt that due to time pressures (see section 4.3.4 below for details of the time taken to undertake the data collection) and the analysis carried out to that point, fourteen family interviews enabled me to answer the research question, aim and objectives and to generate theory (see section 4.2.5 below for a further reflexive consideration of the sampling process).

4.3.2.2 Recruitment

Once the criteria for the research sample had been decided, the recruitment could begin. As mentioned previously, I did not fall into this criteria (I do not have children) and therefore had no direct access to suitable participants. However, due to the high level of trust which is required when conducting this type of qualitative research i.e. research involving children, I felt using some form of personal contact would benefit the recruitment process (Devers and Frankel, 2000). I began by sending an email to my university contacts, including staff in the Management School, anyone associated with the Centre for Childhood Study (a cross-disciplinary centre in the university of which I am a member) and any other contacts which I thought may be suitable. From this I generated eight responses, six of which resulted in family interviews. Even though the other two responses initially agreed to take part, neither replied to any further correspondence. In addition to my own personal contact, one of my supervisors and my parents also acted as personal contacts, providing a further six possible families. From this group, four families took part, and, as above, I was unable to arrange interviews with the remaining two.

To find additional families to take part in the research, I attempted to use different forms of advertising (Devers and Frankel, 2000). I first tried to place advertising flyers in local libraries, but after leaving thirty flyers with Sheffield Central Library to distribute amongst all of the local libraries, I was informed that they no longer accepted any notifications/flyers which were not directly associated with the libraries or their premises. As a result, the flyers were returned unused and no families were found. Following on from this, I placed an advertisement on Sheffield Forum's website (an internet forum). As an incentive for families to take part I offered a £5 Meadowhall voucher (the local shopping centre). This generated a further four initial responses, of which three resulted in interviews taking place. Whilst this recruitment method was initially successful, all of the responses came within the first forty eight hours of the advertisements being placed. Due to the nature of the internet site, the post quickly moved from the main page and was lost amongst all of the other advertisements. Due to the rules and regulation of the website, it was not possible to keep posting the advertisement so that it stayed on the first page where more people were likely to see it, nor was it possible to place it on more than one part of the forum, as a consequence it was only successful for a short period of time.

As mentioned above, I also attempted to use snowballing as part of my sampling strategy. Snowballing involved asking the families who took part to recommend other families from their social networks who also fitted the criteria (Browne, 2005; Daly, 2007). Even though I asked all of the families who took part if they knew of any other families who would be willing to also take part (and earn themselves the shopping voucher), and nearly all of the families took the flyers and/or my business card to pass on, only one further family was recruited in this way. All of the arrangements for the interviews were undertaken either by phone or email, depending on the preference of the families, and took place in the family's home (apart from one which took place at a local community centre) and at a time which was convenient for them (see section 4.3.4 for a full discussion of the data collection process). I believe my experience highlights the difficulties in recruiting families, especially those with children, for academic research.

In total fourteen families took part in the research. This included sixteen parents and twenty nine children, although seven of the children did fall outside the age criteria of seven to eleven years old. Table 4.7 and 4.8 below provides the details of the families who participated in the study. In all but one of the interviews (Family 1) the mother was present, and for two interviews (Families 6 and 7) both parents took part in the

interview. The father was at home for a further three interviews (Families 3, 13 and 14), but did not participate; he was usually given the job of looking after the remaining younger children who were also not taking part in the study. In addition, three of the families (Families 4, 5 and 8) were one-parent families, with the mothers being the lone parent. Even though for five of the families there were other children who did not take part in the interview (usually because they were too young), this did not prevent the families including their experiences in their discussions.

Table 4.7: Details of the families who participated in the study (1)

Family	Mother/ Father		Child 1	Age	Child 2	Age	Child 3	Age	Children not present	Ages
1		√	Boy	10	Girl	8				
2	√		Boy	11	Boy	8	Boy	5		
3	√		Girl	8					Girl	4
4	√		Boy	11	Girl	7			Boy	14
5	√		Boy	12	Girl	8				
6	√	√	Boy	10	Girl	8				
7	√	√	Boy	8	Boy	6			Girl	4
8	√		Boy	12	Boy	8				
9	√		Girl	7					Boy Girl	5 3
10	√		Boy	9	Boy	7	Boy	5		
11	√		Girl	11	Boy	8			Boy	2
12	√		Girl	11	Boy	9			Girl	2
13	√		Girl	14	Girl	10	Girl	6	2 Girls 1 Boy	under 4
14	√		Girl	9	Girl	5				

Table 4.8: Details of the families who participated in the study (2)

Family	Description
1	Live in a semi-detached house in a quiet residential area made up of privately owned properties, both parents work full time, the mother (who was not present) is a nurse and has considerable input into the family's nutritional intake and the father is a lecturer at a University, neither parents have any marketing knowledge. The family has access to one television (no digital channels) and one computer which are situated in communal rooms. The family rated their television viewing as below average.
2	Live in a semi-detached house in a quiet residential area made up of privately owned properties, the father works full time and the mother works part time as a lecturer at a University, neither have any academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family have access to one television (no digital channels) and one computer which are situated in a communal room and office respectively. The children are discouraged from watching television and therefore rate their viewing as below average.
3	Live in a terraced house in a residential area made up of privately owned properties, mum works part time as a teaching assistant at a local primary school and dad is a lecturer at a University, neither have any academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family has access to one television (no digital channels) and one computer which are situated in communal rooms. All internet access is supervised.
4	Live in a semi-detached house in a quiet residential area made up of privately

	owned properties, the family is a one parent family with mum working full time as a lecturer at a university with no academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family has access to two televisions and one computer, one television and the computer are in communal rooms and the second television is in the eldest son's (who did not take part in the research) bedroom. All children had access to their own mobile (but not smartphones) phones.
5	Live in a terraced house in residential area made up of privately owned properties, the family is a one parent family with mum working full time at a University with no academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family has access to one television (no digital channels) and one computer both situated in communal rooms. All internet access is supervised and the family have a Sony PlayStation.
6	Live in a terraced cottage in the centre of a village in the Peak District, mum is a full time PhD student and the dad works full time, neither have any academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family has two televisions (no digital channels) and one computer, one television is in a communal room, the other is in the parents' bedroom and the computer is in an office.
7	Live in a detached house in a quiet residential area of privately owned properties, both parents work full time, mum is a junior school teacher and dad works in IT for the local council, neither have any academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family has one television (with digital channels) and one computer both are in communal rooms.
8	Live in a semi-detached house in a residential area made up of local authority housing, the family is a one parent family with mum working part time for an insurance company and has no academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family has at least one television (with digital channels), one computer and a video game console.
9	Live in a terraced house in a residential area made up of privately owned properties, the mum is a housewife and the dad works full time, neither appear to have any academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family has one television (no digital channels) and one computer in communal rooms.
10	Live in a large townhouse in a new residential housing estate made up of privately owned properties, mum is a housewife and dad is a chef and has nutritional knowledge, neither have any academic or professional marketing knowledge. The family has two televisions (with digital channels), one in the lounge and one in the children's playroom, one computer and a video console game.
11	Live in a large detached house in a residential area made up of privately owned properties, mum is a housewife and dad works full time, neither have any academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family has one television (with digital channels), one computer and a video console game, all situated in communal rooms. The children are limited to 30 minutes of screen time (across all media) per day.
12	Live in a large detached house in a quiet residential area made up of privately owned properties, mum is a housewife and dad works full time, neither have any academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family has at least one television (with digital channels) and one computer in a communal room and the children have an Xbox and a Nintendo DS.
13	Live in a semi-detached house in a new residential housing estate made up of privately owned properties, mum is a housewife and dad works full time, neither have any academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family has one television (with digital channels), one computer and a video console game all situated in communal rooms. Only the eldest child (14 years old) had a mobile phone.
14	Live in a semi-detached house in a new residential housing estate made up of privately owned properties, both parents work full time, mum is a high school teacher but neither parent has any academic or professional marketing or nutritional knowledge. The family has at least one television (with digital channels), one computer and one video console game, all situated in communal rooms.

4.3.2.3 Sampling and recruitment process: Reflexive considerations

It should be obvious from the above that I found this particular part of the research process extremely challenging. Recruiting families to take part in academic research is exceedingly difficult unless you have either professional or personal contacts with your chosen sample. To try to encourage families to participate, I did (as detailed above) offer an incentive of a £5 Meadowhall voucher. When deciding on any incentive, especially a financial payment, researchers one the one hand need to offer a payment that is not so attractive to the chosen sample that it cannot be refused. This undermines the element of free choice in taking part in the research. On the other hand, the payment needs to be sufficient to represent the value of the participant's contribution (Dockett et al., 2009). In addition, I had to consider the financial cost to myself. However, with hindsight, due to the lower than expected numbers, I could have afforded to increase the monetary value. Some of the mothers did express the incentive was a strong reason for participating, whilst others refused to take the payment. In addition to the above, to prevent any alienation of any family which did agree to take part, I decided not to ask any personal or what may have been conceived as sensitive questions. Consequently, Table 4.8 above has been constructed using information freely given either during the formal interview or informally during any conversations that took place both before and after the interview.

In selecting to use criterion sampling, I purposefully attempted to set criteria that would allow all variations of families to take part. Ideally I would have liked to have a maximum variation purposive sample (Saunders et al., 2000) which included all forms of families from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds. However, as detailed above, recruiting families from outside my (or my supervisors' and parents') personal contacts proved the most difficult, resulting in only one family from one of the 'poorer' areas of Sheffield and Chesterfield and all of the families being white British. However, I did manage to include both one- and two-parent families within the sample. During the analysis of the interviews (see the following three chapters for details of the findings from my analysis), I did not find any differences in the families' responses due to their family status. Therefore, the families were a purposive homogeneous sample which according to Saunders et al. (2000:174) is one of the common purposive samples which allows the researcher to

> "focuses on one particular sub-group in which all the sample members are similar. This enables you to study the group in great depth."

Whilst no form of purposive sampling allows any generalisation to the larger population, only a probability or representative sample associated with large quantitative studies would allow this (Saunders et al., 2000), purposive sampling methods do allow for generalisation from case to case, or in this research, family to family (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In addition, due to the small and purposive nature of the sample, any patterns which do emerge are likely to be of particular interest and value, and are likely to represent the key themes of the findings (Patton, 2002). Finally, whilst it is acknowledge that this was a relatively small sample size it is in line with other interpretive consumer research studies as the focus was on in-depth understanding and preliminary insights which necessitates the use of smaller sample sizes (Carrigan and Szmigin, 2006; Dewsnap and Jobber, 2009).

4.3.3   The interview design (stage 1)

According to Saunders et al. (2000), there are three types of interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured, and each type has a different purpose. For exploratory research, the use of in-depth semi-structured interviews is recommended, as they reveal and understand the 'what' and the 'how' (Saunders et al., 2000). In addition, whilst semi-structured interviews allow researchers to maintain a focus on the research question, unlike structured interviews they are not too prescriptive and therefore allow for changes as the interview process develops (Daly, 2007). It was therefore decided to use in-depth semi-structured interviews for this research.

As semi-structured interviews are made up of a set of topics and related questions, it is recommended that researchers design and use an interview schedule (Daly, 2007; King, 2004). An interview schedule should not only allow for researchers to guide the respondent through "the maze of life experiences in an orderly fashion and within a limited time period", it should also leave room for researchers to uncover the unexpected and unknown (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002:204). In addition, it should not be fixed from the first interview, but constantly developed during the interview process with, not only the addition of new probes or even topics which have emerged from the interview process, but also the removal of any questions or topics which consistently fail to obtain relevant responses (Daly, 2007; King, 2004).   Thus an initial interview schedule was prepared from a preliminary literature review (see Figure 4.1 above) and the results of the exploratory focus group (see section 4.3.1.1 and Table 4.4) then amended following the pilot family interview (see section 4.3.1.2 and Table 4.5).

When designing the interview schedule for a family interview there are a number of additional considerations which would not usually be present when interviewing an individual adult. The considerations can be classified into two categories, firstly, those which arise when group interviewing – and specifically when interviewing families – and, secondly, those additional issues which arise when interviewing children. The theories behind both of these have been briefly discussed in section 4.2.4.1 above; therefore, in this section I discuss only how I dealt with these considerations when designing my initial interview schedule, and below (see section 4.3.3.1) in designing the interview schedule for the second stage of the interview process.

One way to understand a family experience and to appreciate the shared and divergent perspectives is to interview members of the same family (Daly, 2007). Furthermore, individuals from the family can be chosen to give their own perspectives on some aspect of family life (Daly, 2007). However, it should be noted that each member of the family can only tell of their version of the shared experience, and versions can differ between family members (Astedt-Kurki and Hopia, 1996; Uphold and Strickland, 1989). Therefore, whilst most of the questions were directed towards the family as a whole in order to elicit their shared experience of the phenomenon, there were a small number of questions which were asked either only to the children or to the parent(s). A further reason for asking many of the questions to the family unit was the need to create a natural context for the children (Eder and Fingerson, 2003), who by having their parents there to confirm their responses felt sufficiently comfortable and confident to answer the questions.

As mentioned above, the interviews were designed from the data collected from the exploratory focus group, and as such they were structured around the brands and types of communications that the children had been most aware of. I took the decision not to directly ask the families about each possible type of communication the children may have come into contact with, but to open the discussion with the families' experiences of the most common, thus allowing the families to develop the conversation to other forms of communications and brands. At this point I felt it was important for the families to recall their experiences on their own. Unfortunately, this approach did lead to a number of problems and after six interviews and some preliminary analysis it was decided to re-design the interview schedule (see sections 4.3.3.1 and 4.4 for further discussions of this).

As highlighted in section 4.2.4.1 above, when researching with children it is essential to design the data collection method to be child-centred. Research which is child-centred is "research which attempts to negotiate an understanding of research aims in a situation and in terms that make sense to the children" (Fraser, 2004:23). Therefore, whilst qualitative interviews are commonly used to explore how children understand and interact with commercial messages (McDermott et al., 2008), it was still necessary to add something extra to the interview process (Eder and Fingerson, 2003; Greene and Hill, 2005; Marshall and Rossman, 1999). When deciding on what to add there are a number of issues to bear in mind. The first is that to keep enthusiasm and motivation children require methods which are not too complex or laborious (Hamilton et al., 2000). The second is that children have a short attention span (Tinson, 2009) and therefore need constant stimulation, and finally, whilst researchers must use relevant vocabulary (Fraser, 2004) they should also not take children's language or terminology for granted (Wescott and Littleton, 2005).

One way of achieving the above, in addition to helping children provide a fuller account of their experiences, is to use tools or artefacts (Wescott and Littleton, 2005). In addition Wright et al., (2005) propose that by providing children with visual cues it will help to orientate their mind and therefore aid their memory retrieval. I therefore chose to use picture associations to capture the children's attention and maintain their interest (Hamilton et al., 2000; Norgaard et al., 2007). However, as discussed below (see section 4.4 and also chapter 5), the pictures themselves can influence the children's responses (Tinson, 2009). From the responses of the exploratory focus group I made a number of laminated slides with images of recent food campaigns, some of the images were downloaded from the internet whilst others were photographs of actual products. All of the slides are shown in Figure 4.2 below; each slide was A4 in size but has been reduced in the figure below for ease of inclusion. The slides are shown in the order they were discussed in the interview. The interviews themselves were designed to move from the general to the specific (Hennessy and Heary, 2005) and where possible using open rather than closed questions (Wescott and Littleton, 2005). The overall interview format, the use of the pictures and which family member the questions were directed to are all presented in Table 4.9 below (p.139). In addition the full interview transcript for Family 5 is presented in Appendix 3 as an example of the interview procedure for this stage of data collection process.

Figure 4.2: The laminated slides used in the family interviews (stage 1)
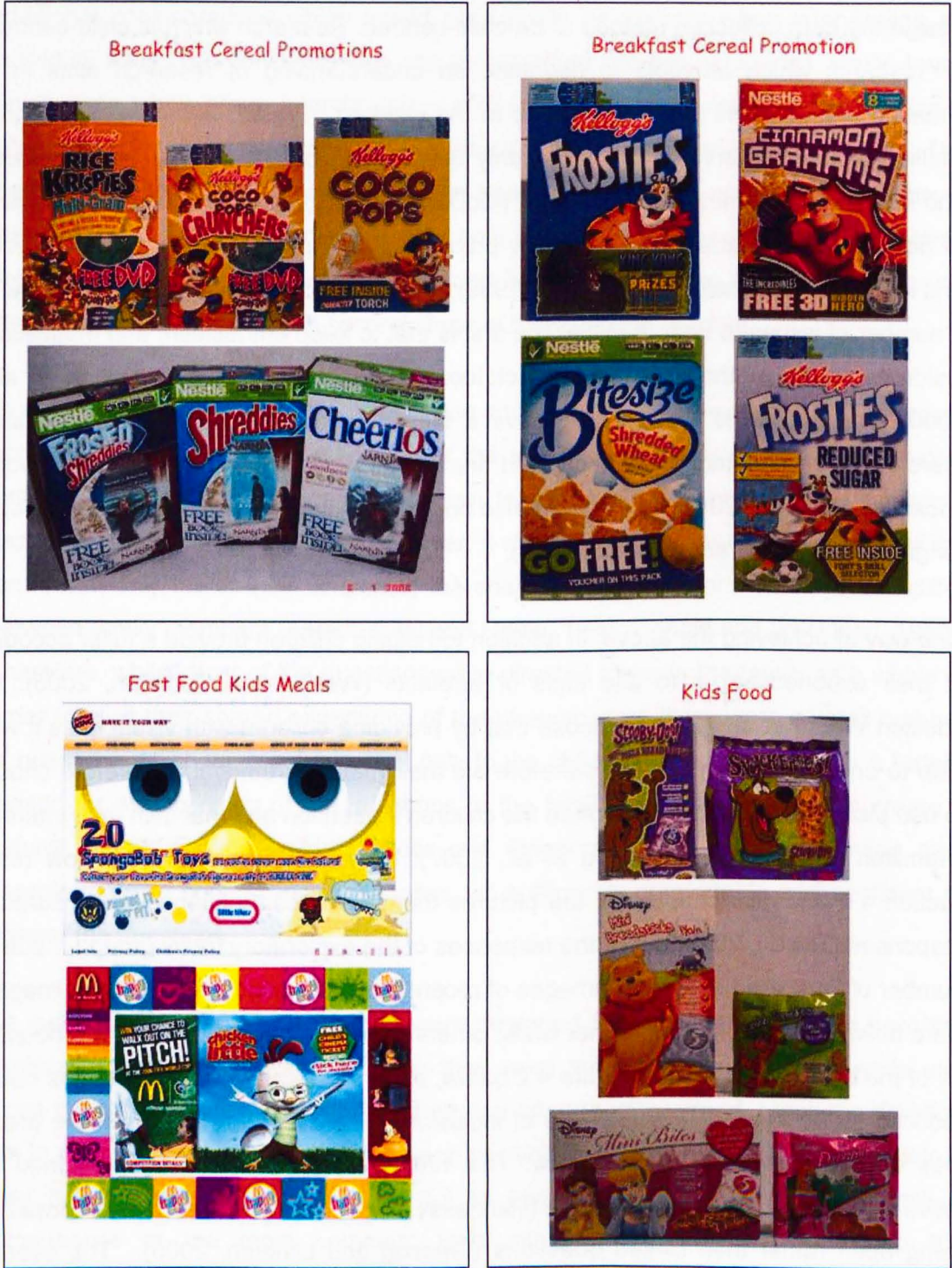
Kids Food 2

Breakfast Cereal Websites

Fast Food Websites
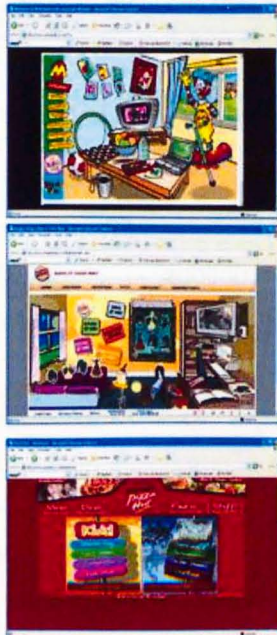
Other Kelloggs Websites

Toys
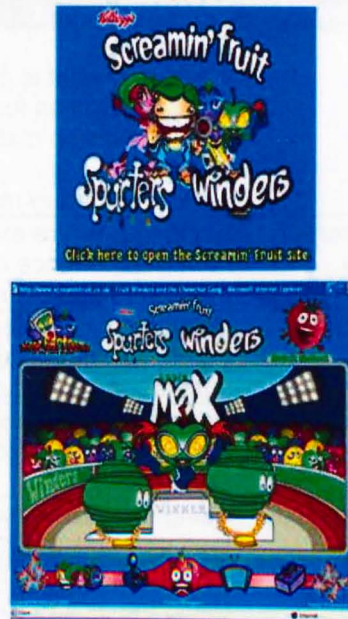
Table 4.9: Summary of the family interview schedule (stage 1)

Subject area	Question topics:	Directed at:
General	Introduction: Who am I, what is going to happen	The family
	Initial feelings on food marketing to children	Parent(s)
	Family decision making for food consumption and purchase including: Roles of family members and other influences	The family
Breakfast cereal promotions	Using the picture examples: Breakfast cereal promotions x2 Family experience of breakfast cereal promotions, purchases and consumption	The family
Fast food kids meals	Using the picture examples: Fast food kids meal Family experience of fast food companies' promotions, purchases and consumption	The family
Kids food	Using the picture examples: Kids food x 2 Family experience of kids food promotions, purchases and consumption	The family
New technologies	Using the picture examples: Breakfast cereal websites, fast food websites and other Kellogg's websites Family experience new media use and promotions.	The family
Other food marketing	Using the picture examples: Toys Family experience of other marketing campaigns including: Positive and negative associations	The family
	Sport sponsorship Attitudes to food marketing after taking part in the interview Knowledge of food marketing regulation	Parent(s)
Other	Any questions from the family	The family
	Snowball for other families	Parent(s)

4.3.3.1 Reflection and changes (stage 2)

As detailed above, the above interview schedule was re-designed after six family interviews had taken place. As is discussed below (sections 4.3.4 and 4.4) after each interview had taken place it was transcribed and the process of data analysis took place. As can be seen from Figure 4.3 below, after the first stage of interviews had taken place a number of themes and preliminary findings were extracted from the data. From these a new restructured literature review was designed and constructed. Using this improved understanding of the literature the interviews were re-analysed, leading to a re-design of the interview structure which then allowed these emerging themes and findings to be investigated in more depth. From this I was then able to either confirm or disregard any of the themes and findings. It was evident from these preliminary findings that the families had found it difficult to recall all of their experiences of interacting with different food communications. As discussed in following three chapters, this was likely due to the dominance of television advertising and/or the families' lack of awareness of some of the other communications.

Figure 4.3: The interview design: Stages 1 and 2
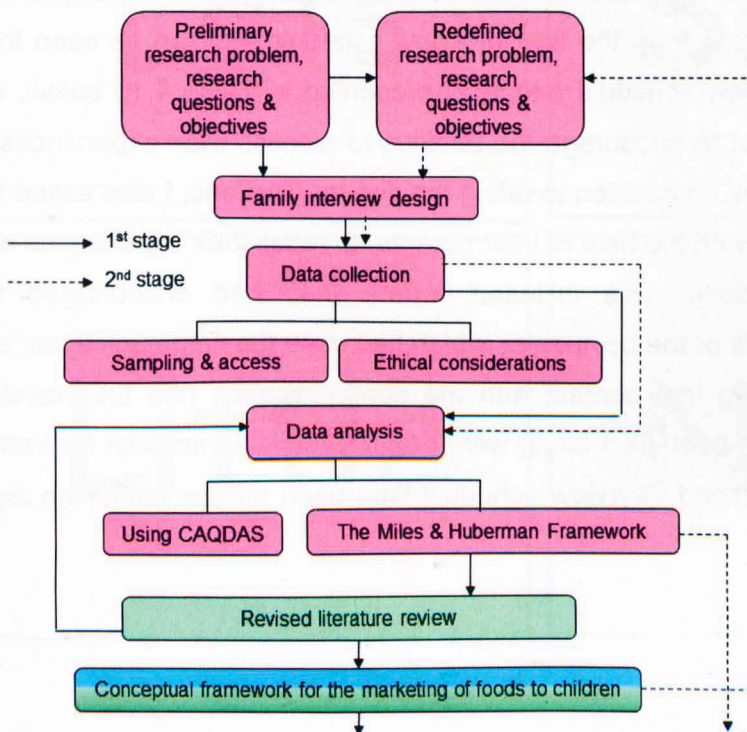
To overcome this problem, the new interview schedule was designed to directly ask the families to discuss their experience with the full range of marketing communications currently used by UK food companies. Using the picture associations had proved

successful, in not only keeping the children's attention, but also in providing an aid in understanding what was being discussed. I therefore decided to continue to use picture associations. However, for the second stage of interviews, rather than just discussing the pictures, I decided to turn them into an activity for the family to complete. New laminated slides were constructed each showing images of a particular marketing communications being used by a food company in the UK. Again some images were downloaded whilst others were photographs.

This time the families were asked, firstly, to rate how often they came into contact with each communication, and then how often that contact resulted in a purchase request. To keep the possible responses simple the families were given a choice of none, some and lots (Fraser, 2004). In section 4.3.4 below I provide details of how the task was undertaken and Figure 4.4 shows all of the laminated cards used in the activity. The rating cards were A4 in size and the picture cards were A5 in size, however, they have all been decreased for ease of inclusion below. During the interviews, the picture cards were not shown in any prescribed order, and are therefore presented in the order discussed in future chapters for ease of reference. This new task replaced the breakfast cereal promotions, fast food kids' meals, kids' food, new technologies and other food marketing sections from the first interview schedule. As can be seen from the summary of the interview schedule (stage 2) presented in Table 4.10 below, the task was used as a prompt to encourage the families to discuss their experiences of each of the communications. In addition to rating the communications, I also asked the children, where necessary with the help of their parents, to recall their experiences with each of the communications. This included, where they had encountered the communications, the brands or the companies which had used the communication, and the consequence of coming into contact with the communication (the full interview schedule is reproduced in Appendix 4 along with the full interview transcript for Family 12 in Appendix 5). The second interview schedule was used for the remaining eight family interviews.

Table 4.10: Summary of the family interview schedule (stage 2)

Subject area	Question topics:	Directed at:
General	Introduction: Who am I, what is going to happen	The family
	Initial feelings on food marketing to children	Parent(s)
	Family decision making for food consumption and purchase including: Roles of family members and other influences	The family
Awareness of food marketing	Using rating and picture cards Families experience of contact with the different marketing communications (examples, brands, places)	The family
Perceived influence of food marketing	Using rating and picture cards Families experience of the impact of different marketing communications (examples, brands, places)	The family
Other issues	Attitudes to food marketing after taking part in the interview Knowledge of food marketing regulation	Parent(s)
Other	Any questions from the family Snowball for other families	The family Parent(s)

Figure 4.4: The laminated rating and picture cards used in the family interviews (stage2)
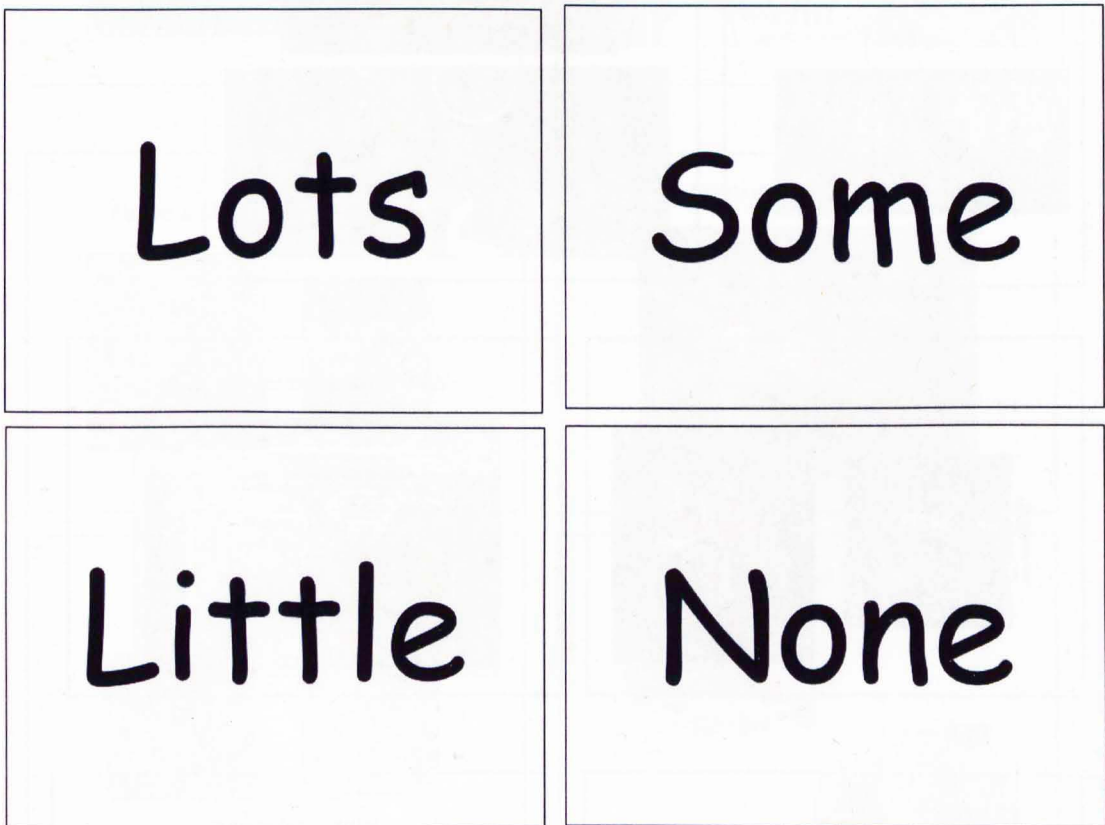
TV Advertising

Print Advertising

Top of the Pops   Girl

Sponsorship
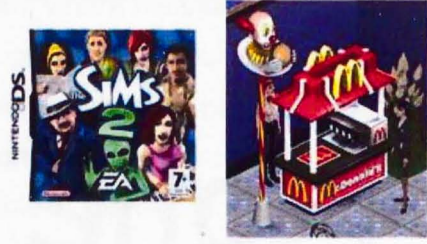
Amateur Swimming
Association

Product placement

Computer Games

Websites & Advergames

In School Branding

Public Relations

Free-Gifts

Price Promotions

Vouchers to Collect

Competitions

Movie and Character Tie-Ins

Supermarket Displays

Children's Food

Toys

Word of Mouth
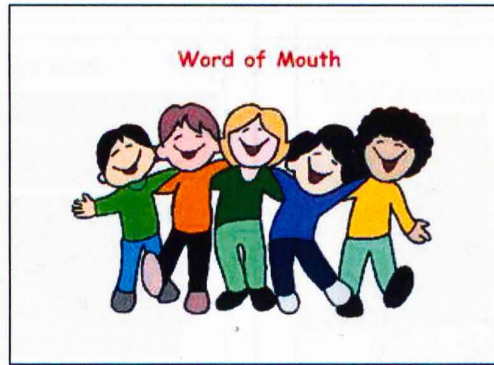
4.3.4   The data collection process

The process of data collection, the exploratory focus group and fourteen family interviews, took place between January 2005 and May 2007, with the duration of each interview being between fifty minutes and one hour thirty minutes. As mentioned above (in section 4.3.2.2), all of the families had the choice of location and time for the interviews to take place. As a result all but one (Family 8) of the interviews took place in the family home. The remaining interview took place in a local community centre which was familiar to the family as the mother had recently taken an active role in restabilising the centre within the community, consequently during this time the centre had become a second home to the family.

The interviews took place either in the living or dining room of the families' homes and in all cases there was nobody else in the room (Easton et al., 2000). Other disturbances were kept to a minimum such as turning off the television (Easton et al., 2000). Two of the interviews were interrupted by either a telephone call or a visitor, these could not have been avoided in advance and were only minor disruptions lasting for a few minutes. The interviews in dining rooms took place around a table and the picture cards (as discussed above) were placed in the middle of the table. For interviews which took place in the living room, I sat on the floor in a circle with the children and sometimes the parents, and the picture cards were placed in the middle of the circle. I felt that it was important to remain on the same level as the children to maintain eye contact and to give the feeling that we were all playing the game (Wescott and Littleton, 2005).

There were a couple of additional points that I was aware of during the interviews. Firstly, it was important not to interrupt the children and to be prepared for long pauses whilst they thought and decided on their responses (Westcott and Littleton, 2005). Secondly, on the occasions when the children did not understand a question or an instruction I needed to rephrase, usually with the help of the parents, using different words (Wescott and Littleton, 2005). In addition, during the second stage of interviews, when the family was taking part in the task, it was important to realise family members do not always tell the same version of an experience (Astedt-Kurki and Hopia, 1996; Uphold and Strickland, 1989), and therefore, there were often mild disagreements of how to rate the communications. These mild disagreements tended to be between the children, I therefore allowed them to place the picture card between two of the rating cards to show all of the family's views. Whilst there were no major disagreements between the family members, none of the families appeared to agree with each in order to present a happiness façade (Astedt-Kuri and Hopia, 1996). On a small number of occasions, either one of the children and the parent would either disagree or make a comment to show their disapproval of the other's view (see section 7.3.3 p.255 for an example from Family 5). Finally, there was only one family where, in the beginning, the mother tended to dominate the conversation and would answer the children's questions (Mauthner, 1997). Unlike as suggested by Mauthner (1997), her motive did not appear to be presentation of a perfect family, she just appeared to be very excited to be taking part and over enthusiastic to help. To ensure she did not completely take over the interview I would either repeat the questions again directly to either one or more of the children or specifically ask one of the children for their experience or opinion.

One important decision when designing the data collection process is whether to use audio and/or video recordings to capture the data (Devers and Frankel, 2000). Table 4.11 below presents the advantages and disadvantages of audio recording interviews. I decided for this research the advantages of recording the interviews were greater than the disadvantages. My main reasons were firstly due to the research involving families, particularly children, and secondly, in the second stage the task did not allow sufficient time to take notes. Additionally, during the interviews often more than one member of the family was talking (I will return to this issue again in light of the problems it caused during transcription) which also made note taking too difficult. I used a digital voice recorder which eliminated the problem of having to change tapes and it produced a better quality of recording. It also allowed for the digital sound file to be stored electronically. I always took spare batteries to every interview even though new batteries were used after alternative interviews (Easton et al., 2000). As part of the

ethics code (see section 4.3.5 below for a full discussion of this) all of the families were asked their permission to record the interview (Saunders et al., 2000).

Table 4.11: Advantages and disadvantages of audio recording interviews

Advantages	Disadvantages
Allows the interviewer to concentrate on questioning and listening	May adversely affect the relationship between interviewee and interviewer (possibly focusing on the recorder)
Allows questions formulation at the interview to be accurately recorded for use in later interviews where appropriate	May inhibit some interviewee responses and reduce reliability
Can re-listen to the interview	Possibility of a technical problem
Accurate and unbiased record provided	Disruption to discussion when changing tapes
Allows direct quotes to be used	Time require to transcribe
Permanent record for others to use	

(Source: Saunders et al. (2000) *Research for business students* (2nd Ed). Harlow, Prentice Hall, p.262.)

As most of the children were intrigued by the voice recorder, I used it as an ice breaker by asking them to record a sentence or two before playing it back to them so they could hear what they sounded like. However, once the interview progressed the children very rarely mentioned or considered the recorder again. In fact, it was more often the parents who referred to it, when one of the children was being silly one mother threatened to keep the recording and use it against her son at a later date, similar to showing embarrassing baby photos to a future girlfriend. To try and ensure the best quality of recording the voice recorder was placed in the middle of the participants, and was sat on a book or magazine rather than directly on the floor or table, this avoided any vibration noises (Easton et al., 2000). Finally, in addition to recording the interviews, field notes were also completed immediately after each interview, these included comments on the interview process and any important emerging issues (Bryman, 2001; Lapadt and Lindsay, 1999; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

As highlighted in Table 4.11 above, even though recording the interviews provided an accurate and unbiased record of the interviews, the process of transcribing the recordings was extremely time-consuming. Even for experienced transcribers, which I was not, a one hour interview can take in excess of half a day to transcribe (King, 2004; Saunders et al, 2000). Furthermore, there is no universal transcription format amongst qualitative researchers and the process of transcribing can result in a number of errors (Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999; McLellan et al., 2003; Poland, 2003). These errors can arise from inaccurate punctuation, or from the mistyping of words due to misunderstanding, or the misinterpretation of what has been said (Easton et al., 2000; McLellan et al., 2003; Poland, 2003). Other problems when transcribing can, and most

did in this research, include incomplete sentences, overlapping speech, a lack of clear-cut ending in speech, poor audio quality and background noise (McLellan et al., 2003; Poland, 2003). As recommended by Easton et al. (2000) to try and reduce some of these possible errors I undertook all of the transcription. Another reason for transcribing the recordings myself was that "transcription facilitates the close attention and the interpretive thinking that is needed to make sense of the data" and therefore could be considered as the first stage of the data analysis discussed below. (Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999:82; McLellan et al., 2003).

Whist there is no universal transcribing format McLellan et al. (2003) recommend using a their transcription protocol (see Table 4.12 below), this improves the quality of the transcription process by minimizing the chance of incompatible transcripts and reduces the chance of data analysis being compromised or delayed. Following this protocol I did not clean-up the transcripts and after checking them against the recordings for any of the possible errors mentioned above, I "settled on" on the final version (McLellan et al., 2003:65; Poland, 2003). It should be noted here, even by following the protocol "no textual data will ever fully encompass all that took place during the interview" (McLellan et al., 2003:65). The fourteen family interviews produced 261 pages of transcription containing 106,927 words of data. Each interview varied between eleven and twenty nine pages of transcript, the average being nineteen pages per interview and 4,670 and 12,561 words, the average for this being 7,638 words per interview.

Table 4.12: Transcription protocol

Transcription Protocol
Transcripts should be verbatim including mispronunciations, slang, grammatical errors and nonverbal sounds (laughs, sighs)
All participants, including the interviewer, should be assigned an unique label which is used every time they speak to allow for easy identification of the text
All transcripts should follow an identical structure and appearance to help with analysis
All transcripts should contain a header or cover sheet which contains either a profile or set of characteristics of the interviewee(s)

(Adapted from: McLellan et al. (2003) Beyond the qualitative interview: data preparation and transcription. *Field Methods*, 15(1), 63-84.)

4.3.5 Ethical considerations

For any researcher the prime consideration when conducting their research is to behave in an ethical manner respecting all of the participants. To do this a number of measures (presented in Table 4.13 below) were followed. To ensure the research complied with these measures I obtained departmental ethics approval. The procedure to obtain the approval involved providing all participants with an information sheet

before the interview commenced (see Appendix 6). This provided the families with details of the purpose of the research, their rights in the research process, details of the research process, details of what would happen to their contribution and who to contact should they be unhappy with any part of the research process. If the families were happy to continue (they all were) then they were asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix 7). All of the families were given a copy of the information sheet and the signed consent form to keep.

Table 4.13: Ethical issues affecting the research process

Ethical issues affecting the research process
Privacy of possible and actual participants
Voluntary nature of participants and the right to withdraw partially or completely from the process
Consent and possible deception of participants
Maintenance of the confidentiality of data provided by individuals or identifiable participants and their anonymity
Reactions of participants to the way in which you seek to collect data
Effects on participants of the way in which you use, analyse and report your data
Behaviour and objectivity of the researcher

(Source: Saunders et al. (2000) *Research for business students* (2nd Ed). Harlow, Prentice Hall, p.132.)

Even though the original access and consent form were signed by one of the parents, it was just as important to ensure that all of the children were happy to take part (Hill, 2005). As the information sheet was too technical for most of the children to read, before the interview started I provided a brief explanation of the research, the children's involvement in it, along with what would happen to their contribution (Hill, 2005; Tinson, 2009). They were all given the opportunity to leave at that point and also at any time during the interview process; only one boy (family 6) left part way though. When I decided to use family interviews, rather than children only focus groups, I needed to be happy that the children would be comfortable and willing to discuss their experiences and feelings in front of their parents. I decided that the topic of food marketing was not too sensitive or embarrassing, in fact a number of the children revealed details their parents were not aware off, one of the girls admitted to throwing away unwanted food from her school packed lunch much to her mum's astonishment.

4.4 Data analysis

Whilst the collection of data is extremely important, how researchers analyse that data is of equal importance, yet in many reports based on qualitative research, the data collection is described at length whilst the detail about the analysis and interpretation of data is limited (Gummesson, 2005). According to Sofaer (2002:334), "the analysis of

150

qualitative data is probably the most challenging aspect of the use of these methods". The term analysis originates from quantitative research where it is associated with explicit and rigorous techniques that could be replicated by others (Gummersson, 2005). Whereas in qualitative research, the emphasis is more about interpretation, where the process may not be explicit, transparent or orderly, therefore making replication difficult (Gummesson, 2005). As I discovered it is messy, time consuming, creative and usually does not progress in a linear fashion (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). Nevertheless, any analysis whether transforming, interpreting or making sense of the data must be done in a rigorous and scholarly way (Punch, 1998). It is important that researchers distinguish between their observations and their interpretations of those observations, and an explicit and systematic system of collection, coding and analysis is used (Sofaer, 2002).

There is no one single approach or framework to qualitative data analysis and as such there is no right way, therefore within the used methods there is much variety and diversity (Punch, 1998). Marshall and Rossman (1999:151) offer a continuum of analysis strategies (see Figure 4.5 below) where at one end are the technical, scientific and standardised strategies, more usually associated with positivist approach, whilst at the other end are the immersion strategies "which do not prefigure categories and which rely heavily on the researcher's intuitive and interpretive capabilities". In between are template and editing strategies, with template strategies using a set of codes, which may be altered as the analysis progresses, and editing strategies where the researcher naively searches the text for segments which illustrate categories of meaning (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). This research followed a strategy which rested between the editing and immersion styles of analysis, where understanding was developed, shifted and modified during the data collection and data analysis stages.

Figure 4.5: A continuum of analysis strategies

Prefigured technical			Emergent intuitive
←			→
Quasi-statistical Analytical style	Template analysis	Editing analysis style	Immersion/ crystallization style
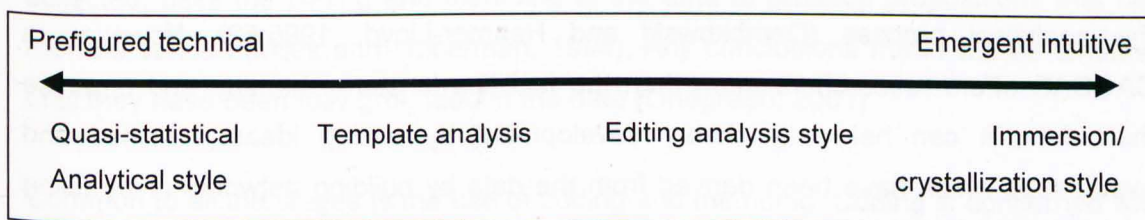
(Source: Marshall & Rossman (1999) Designing Qualitative Research (3[rd] Ed.) California, Sage Publications, p.151.)

However, one of the main aspects of qualitative research analysis, which tends to be common to all methods, is the comparison of the data with other data, with existing

theories, and with results from previous research (Gummesson, 2005). It is from this continuous comparison that patterns are formed and turned into concepts, categories and theories (Gummesson, 2005). On the one hand, some researchers believe that the codes which are used to categorise and organise findings are developed in situ (Gilgun, 1992). Whilst on the other hand, others believe that it is only after careful reading, and once the researcher has begun to get a feel for the interview data; that it is time for the process of creating analytical codes and categories to begin (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). The codes and categories used in any analysis are not fixed nor should the analysis wait to start until all the data has been collected (Allan, 1991). The analysis should take place alongside the data collection. The researcher can then develop ideas about how the material fits together, links together different episodes of action, especially those that originally did not seem similar, and finally decide which phenomena are important, although this will change as the research process unfolds and the researcher develops a better and fuller understanding of the issues involved (Allan, 1991; Marshall and Rossman, 1999). It is once new interviews start to confirm earlier insights, rather than spark any new discoveries, that there is a good chance that theoretical saturation is likely to have been achieved (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002).

4.4.1 Using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software

As part of the data reduction stage of the Miles and Huberman framework for qualitative data analysis (see section 4.4.2 below for the full discussion) I made use of a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (otherwise known as CAQDAS) programme. Computer software programmes can help researchers to organise and manage the vast amounts of data in a qualitative study, in addition to helping enhance the researcher's relationship with the data (Bringer et al., 2004; Dembkowski and Hanmer-Lloyd, 1995; Devers and Frankel, 2000). The software can be seen as a "workhorse" which undertakes the mechanical or clerical tasks (such as copy and pasting or cutting out sections of text), thus allowing the researcher to concentrate on the analytical process (Dembkowski and Hanmer-Lloyd, 1995:52). However, a CAQDAS offers researchers more than the facilities to store, manage and organise their data, it can help with theory development by testing ideas, hunches and hypotheses which have been derived from the data by building networks or by using hypertext functions to build multidimensional relationships (Dembkowski and Hanmer-Lloyd, 1995).

From the range of programmes available, such as ATLAS.ti5 or MAXqda2, I chose QSR NVivo7 (Lewins and Silver, 2007). My reasons for using this CAQDAS programme included the user friendly interface, the availability of guides and information such as Bazeley (2007), Richards (2005) and Lewins and Silver (2007) and finally the easy access though the university computer network. Nevertheless, whichever programme is chosen it must be noted that any programme will not be theory neutral and the developers will have brought their methodological background to the software design (Bringer et al., 2004; Dembkowski and Hanmer-Lloyd, 1995). For example it is reported that Atlas/ti and NUD*IST programmes were designed to facilitate grounded theory analysis (Bringer et al., 2004). However, NVivo7 has sufficient options for each of the processes, such as document preparation, coding, retrieval of data and visual representations so as not to prescribe the method of analysis (Bringer et al., 2004).

4.4.2   The Miles and Huberman framework

To help with the strategies described above the Miles and Huberman framework for qualitative data analysis was used. It is based around a four stage interactive process (see Figure 4.6 below). As can be seen from the diagram this is a cyclical process which ideally continues until data saturation is complete (Lindgreen, 2001). The data reduction stage takes place continually throughout the analysis by initially editing and summarising the data, followed by coding and memoing the data to find themes, patterns and clusters, and finally by conceptualising and explaining (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The data display stage is used to organise, compress and assemble information during all stages of the research process into graphs, charts and diagrams to aid with the visualisation and understanding of the data (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Punch, 1998). Finally, the drawing and verifying conclusions stage, which takes place concurrent with the previous two stages but is not finalised until all the data has been collected, uses the coding and memoing of the data to produce propositions that can then be verified (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Any conclusions made will be tentative until they have been fully grounded in the data (Lindgreen, 2001).

Common to all the stages is the use of coding and memoing. Coding is concerned with applying tags, labels or names against small or large chunks of data (Punch, 1998). These codes are then used to index the data for storage and retrieval and to help identify themes and patterns (Punch, 1998). According to Miles and Huberman (1994) there are two types of codes, descriptive, which are used initially to illustrate the data,

Figure 4.6: The Miles and Huberman Framework
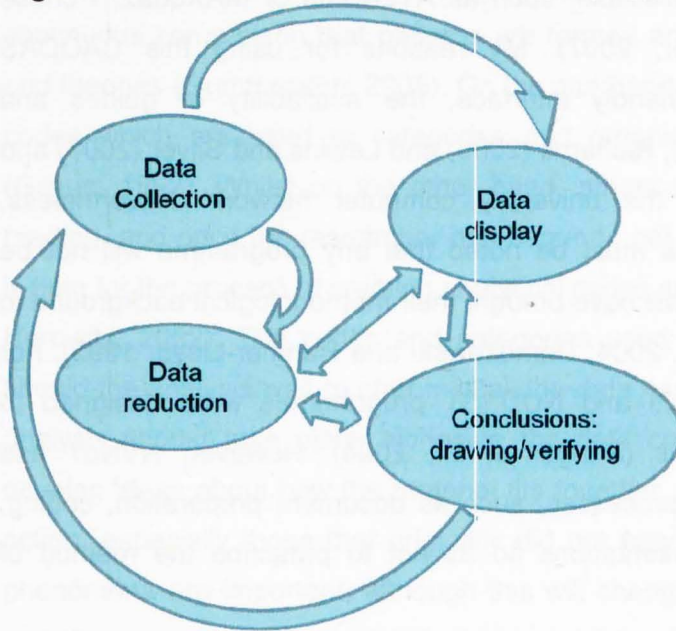
(Source: Miles, M. B. and Huberman, M. A. (1994) *An Expanded Sourcebook: Qualitative Data Analysis.* 2nd Ed. California, Sage Publications, p.12.)

and inferential, which are used to categories patterns in the later stages of the analysis. It is possible to either start with some pre-determined codes, possibly from the existing literature, or alternatively to let them emerge from the data (Punch, 1998). Memoing begins at the same time as the coding and is a record of substantive, theoretical, personal or methodological ideas or linking codes which can be developed into propositions (Punch, 1998). The concepts contained in the memos are deeper than those in the codes, they are more than descriptive and have moved from an empirical level to a conceptual one (Punch, 1998).

4.4.2.1   Stages 1 and 2: Data collection and reduction

The process of data collection has already been discussed above (see section 4.3.4) as has the first stage of data reduction, the transcribing of the interviews. By deciding on what and what not to transcribe in the transcripts, such as including speech patterns (for example intonations and emotions) or excluding body language, although these were contained in the summary memos (see below for a discussion of these), I began my data reduction (Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999; McLellan et al., 2003). Once I had transcribed each interview (following the protocol presented in Table 4.12 above) I re-listened to the recording to check the transcription's accuracy. Each interview was transcribed into a Word document to allow for easy importation into the NVivo7 programme discussed above.

As previously mentioned, the amount of data generated was voluminous, I had 261 pages of transcript containing over 100,000 words, this amount of data can leave a researcher feeling overwhelmed and with an impossible task ahead (Patton, 2002). Therefore further reduction was necessary and this was done by coding the data. According to Kelle (2004:475)

> "the purpose of qualitative coding is not to extract quantifiable information from unstructured textual data, but to develop theoretical concepts and categories from the data."

Therefore, coding should not be considered as only a technical task but also as a way of developing an understanding of the data (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). However, before I began coding it was important to read, then re-read, and re-read again the transcripts as this ensured I was intimately familiar with the data (Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999; Marshall and Rossman, 1999). From this and the field notes which were written immediately after the interviews had taken place, I was able to write summary memos (see Figure 4.7 below for an example) on the individual family members and the family as a whole. These memos included my thoughts on any contributions made to answering the research question, as well as some initial analytical ideas or concepts. These memos were written directly into the NVivo7 programme and linked to the corresponding family and family member.

Figure 4.7: Extract of a summary memo
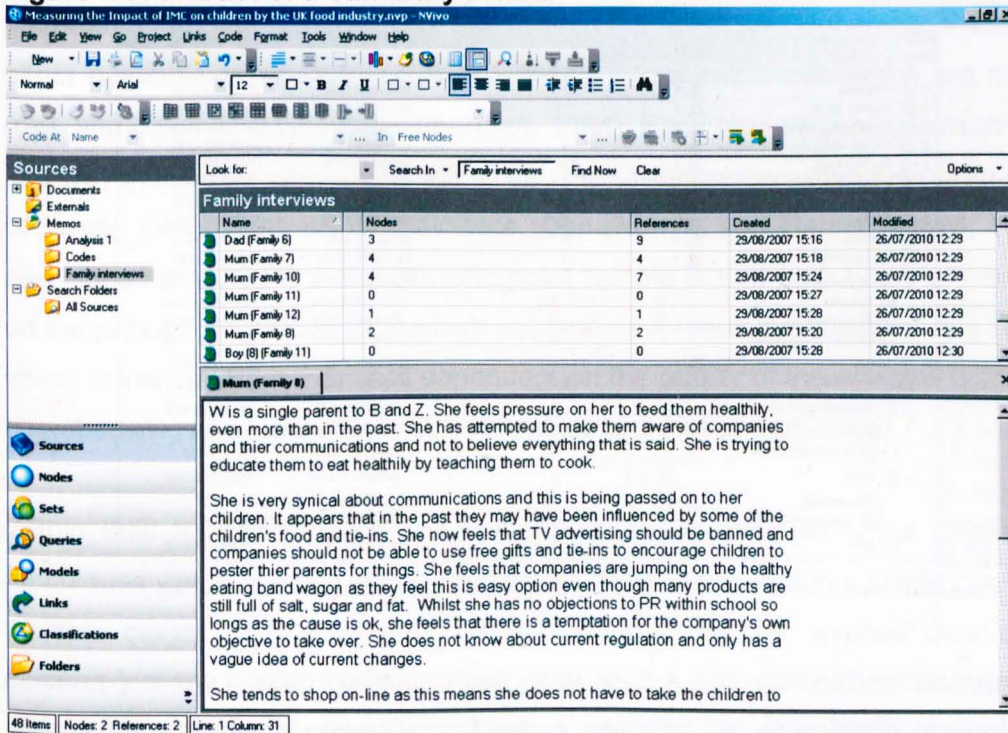
I began by using heuristic codes which I had derived from the preliminary literature review and the research questions, these codes were general and broad in nature (Kelle, 2004; Marshall and Rossman, 1999; Miles and Huberman, 1994). By using NVivo7 it was possible to code a word, a phrase, a sentence, a passage of speech or even a whole transcript (Bazeley, 2007; Lewins and Silver, 2007). Whilst the latter may have been rather excessive, it was important to retain as much detail as possible by keeping the entries (coded parts) as thick as possible (Miles and Huberman, 1994). To ensure consistency during the coding process all of the codes were given a definition (Miles and Huberman, 1994). When some of the original heuristic codes become too bulky they were broken down into small sub-codes, commonly called tree-codes (Kelle, 2004; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Figure 4.8 below shows an illustration of a section of the coding structure. By using NVivo7 it was possible for me to multiple code parts of the data, i.e. apply more than one code to a piece of text, which allowed me to better uncover the richness and complexity of the data (Dembkowski and Hanmer-Lloyd, 1995).

Figure 4.8: Section of the coding structure

Name	Sources	References	Created	Modified
Advertising	5	7	18/10/2006 18:09	07/10/2009 16:46
Breakfast cereals	4	10	18/10/2006 17:29	30/10/2006 18:09
Children's food choices	2	3	18/10/2006 17:27	10/10/2007 14:39
Decision making about food choices	3	3	18/10/2006 17:23	04/10/2007 12:59
Fast Food Meals	6	13	18/10/2006 17:35	07/10/2009 16:46
Feelings - General	2	2	18/10/2006 17:19	18/09/2007 18:37
Internet	11	24	18/10/2006 17:52	07/10/2009 16:46
Kids food	3	6	18/10/2006 17:40	10/10/2007 16:05
Regulation	4	4	18/10/2006 18:57	19/09/2007 14:38
Sales promotion	1	1	18/10/2006 18:14	04/09/2007 15:24
Competitions	11	18	23/10/2006 15:55	10/10/2007 18:15
Free gifts	12	33	18/10/2006 18:14	07/10/2009 16:46
Price promotions	14	43	18/10/2006 18:15	07/10/2009 16:46
Vouchers and collectables	3	3	18/10/2006 18:15	02/11/2006 12:13
Schools	4	5	23/10/2006 17:12	05/10/2007 14:27
Understanding	0	0	04/09/2009 15:05	04/09/2009 15:05
Distinguishing the communication	0	0	04/09/2009 15:06	04/09/2009 18:26
Advertising	13	33	04/09/2009 15:07	03/11/2009 12:56
Other communications	14	93	04/09/2009 15:07	03/11/2009 13:09
Intent	0	0	04/09/2009 15:07	04/09/2009 15:07
Advertising	7	10	04/09/2009 15:08	07/10/2009 15:00
Other communications	12	45	04/09/2009 15:08	03/11/2009 12:56
liking	2	4	04/09/2009 15:11	04/09/2009 18:36

As discussed above (see section 4.4.2) using this framework was a cyclical process and therefore, in addition to the heuristic codes being broken down into sub-codes, where appropriate, new codes were added. This was especially true when moving from the first to the second stage of the data collection process. As can be seen from Figure

4.3 (p.141) above, from the initial analysis of the data collected during stage one the literature review was revisited. From this additional codes were added, which along with new codes from the second stage of data collection, resulted in me having to revisit the transcripts from the first stage and to recode where necessary. In addition to the summary memos mentioned above, I also wrote summary memos for each of the codes which this time were linked (by hyperlinks) to relevant places in the texts. This firstly allowed me to develop ideas about the codes and their relationships to each other, and secondly, to move from the empirical data to conceptual data ready for the next stage of the framework (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

4.4.2.2 Stages 3 and 4: Data display and conclusions: drawing and verifying

Whilst NVivo7 was able to help with the tasks detailed above, it cannot perform any of the conceptual or creative tasks, such as interpreting or making deductions which are associated with the analysis of the data (Dembkowski and Hanmer-Lloyd, 1995). One way to help makes sense of the data is to place it in some form of display (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Displays are "a visual format that presents information systematically so the user can draw valid conclusions and take needed action" (Miles and Huberman, 1994:91.) Therefore, by using different displays (see below for which displays were used) and looking for convergences and divergences I was able to find patterns in the data. The displays used within the Miles and Huberman Framework are either networks, which consist of nodes and links, or matrices which are made up of rows and columns (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Each type of display presents the data in a way that helps researchers either see the relationships within their data (networks) or to see interactions within their data (Dembkowski and Hanmer-Lloyd, 1995; Miles and Huberman, 1994). However, one point to note is that both types of displays work on the principle of rubbish in, rubbish out, and as a result the quality of any conclusions which are drawn from them are dependent on the quality of the entrants placed in them (Dembkowski and Hanmer-Lloyd, 1995; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Within their handbook Miles and Huberman (1994) detail thirty six different display techniques which can be used to help researchers, either within a single case or across multiple cases, to explore and describe or to order and explain their data. After reviewing many of the data displays, and in line with Miles and Huberman's own suggestion, I took a number of the displays and adapted them, taking what was useful, to help me explore, describe, order and explain my data. Based on their context chart, checklist matrix, thematic-concept matrix, two-variable case ordered matrix and

scatterplots I constructed my own analysis. During stage one of the data collection process I used an adaptation of the context chart to draw out the major factors from the phenomenon under study. In addition I broke down some of the variables further (such as regulation, see Table 4.14 below) and again used a context chart to look for patterns within the data. As coherent interpretations emerged from my analysis, it was the negative instances which led me to decide new data collection and analysis was needed (as discussed in section 4.3.3.1 above) (Marshall and Rossman, 1999).

As warned by Miles and Huberman (1994) it was not always easy to find the display which best presented the data in a way where I could see the patterns and develop my findings. This was especially true when analysing the families' frequency of contact and resulting perceived impact with the different communications (i.e. the results of the activity detailed in section 4.3.3.1). I began by placing the data (initially just for family interviews 7-14) into two matrices, one for the frequency of contact and one for the perceived impact (see Table 4.15 below for the frequency matrix). I then amalgamated and summarised these matrices into a two-variable case matrix (see Table 4.16 below). However, neither of these displays clearly showed any patterns. I therefore decided to, firstly separate each family's results (giving me eight matrices to compare), and then to separate by communication (giving me eighteen matrices to compare). An example of each of these matrices is presented in Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10 (p.162) below. Whilst these matrices did help me to develop my findings, I found when presenting these findings in chapter 5, scatterplot displays were a better way of illustrating the patterns and relationships within my data.

Table 4.14: Example of a context matrix

	Family 1	Family 2	Family 3	Family 4	Family 5	Family 6	Family 7	Family 8	Family 9	Family 10	Family 11	Family 12	Family 13	Family 14
Awareness of current regulation	No "I'm blissfully ignorant"	Little "I assume there is but its not something that I am aware of"	No	No "I thought they weren't allowed to have certain things at the tills but they do."	No "I know there are guidelines or there are restrictions but I wouldn't know what they are"	No	No	No "I haven't got a clue, absolutely no idea"	No "I'm totally oblivious to all that I'm afraid" "Is there a foods standard agency?"	No	No	No	No	No
Awareness of proposed changes	No	Little Aware of initiatives for healthy eating – Jamie's school dinners	Little Aware of changes to food labelling and amount of salt. Also aware of Jamie's school dinners	Little Aware of changes to food labelling and Jamie's school dinners	Some Missing details "I'm aware there is a campaign to get rid of advertising to children, junk food advertising to children and there is the Jamie Oliver campaign to have more healthy eating in classrooms"	Some Missing details "I've got a vague awareness that there is some controversy at the moment about whether they should be doing it in children' television programmes"	Some Missing details "they are going to stop advertising certain sugary foods at certain times or during children's programmes"	Some Missing details "I am aware that there was talk about bringing in legislation where they couldn't advertise certain products before 8 o'clock or during children's tv"	No	Some Missing details "I know there has been a lot of coverage recently where they are saying we don't want certain things advertised on kids tv, not shown before 9pm or something"	Some Missing details	Some Missing details "Certainly I'm aware that they are looking at banning the advertisements"	Little Aware of changes to food labelling and school dinners "I didn't know about the changes in advertising, what's that?"	Some Missing details "I did hear that McDonalds weren't allowed to show kids eating food anymore but then they have seems to got their way around that"
Own changes	Wont do anything "[a company] is just going to find ways around the regulation" Remove the toy from fast food meals	None Insufficient impact	Ban TV advertising at breakfast time Ban anything in schools	Reduce the amount of packaging	Total ban "I'd go for a full ban"	A full ban Minimum watershed ban on TV advertising Ban on celebrity endorsements (D) Reduce the quantity of TV advertising	No change "It would be a shame if it went completely… like the little characters on things" (D) Ban marketing for unhealthy food	Ban TV advertising, product placement, children's food, tie-ins	No marketing in school, especially PR General agreement with Ofcom proposals	Ban use of toys Ban marketing in schools Ban TV advertising Restrict which companies can sponsor children's events/sports	Total ban of marketing to children If not, ban sales promotion and sponsorship of children's activities	Ban TV advertising & product placement Restrict which companies can sponsorship children's activities Ban children's food, free-gifts, tie-ins Ban PR in schools	Ban use of toys Ban advertising of junk food No marketing in schools Ban free-gifts Stop direct mail from fast food places	Ban TV advertising on children's tv. No marketing in schools

Table 4.15: First analysis of the frequency of contact for the different communications

Frequency	Family 7	Family 8	Family 9	Family 10	Family 11	Family 12	Family 13	Family 14
Lots	TV advertising Children's food Free gifts Price promotions Character tie-ins Vouchers to collect Direct mail	TV advertising Product placement Children's food Free gifts	Print advertising Product placement Supermarket displays Competitions Children's food Price promotions Character tie-ins Vouchers to collect Word of mouth	TV advertising Product placement Websites & adgames Supermarket displays Children's food Price promotions Character tie-ins Vouchers to collect	TV advertising Price promotions Vouchers to collect	TV advertising Product placement Sponsorship Price promotions Vouchers to collect	TV advertising Supermarket displays Competitions Children's food Free gifts Price promotions Character tie-ins Vouchers to collect Direct mail	Supermarket displays Children's food Free gifts Price promotions Vouchers to collect
Some	Toys Product placement Sponsorship Supermarket displays Competitions	Computer games Websites & adgames Price promotions Character tie-ins Market research Direct mail	TV advertising Toys Sponsorship	Print advertising Sponsorship Competitions Free gifts	Children's food Free gifts	Children's food Free gifts	Toys Product placement Computer games Websites & adgames Word of mouth	TV advertising Sponsorship Character tie-ins
Little	Print advertising Websites & adgames Public relations Word of mouth	Print advertising Toys Sponsorship Supermarket displays Competitions Vouchers to collect In-school branding	Websites & adgames Free gifts	Word of mouth	Print advertising Toys Websites & adgames Sponsorship Supermarket displays Character tie-ins Public relations Word of mouth	Print advertising Toys Websites & adgames Supermarket displays Competitions Character tie-ins Public relations Word of mouth	Print advertising In-school branding	Toys Product placement Computer games Competitions Public relations Word of mouth
None	Computer games In-school branding	Public relations Word of mouth	Computer games Public relations In-school branding	Toys Computer games Public relations In-school branding	Product placement Computer games Competitions In-school branding	Computer games In-school branding	Sponsorship Public relations	Print advertising Websites & adgames In-school branding

Table 4.16: Example of a two-variable case matrix

	Family 7		Family 8		Family 9		Family 10		Family 11		Family 12		Family 13		Family 14	
	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I	F	I
TV advertising	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Some	Some	Lots	Lots	Lots	Some	Lots	Some	Lots	Some	Some	Some
Print advertising	Little	Little	Little	None	Lots	Little	Some	None	Little	Little	Little	None	Little	Little	None	Some
Toys	Some	Little	Little	None	Some	None	None	None	Little	None	Little	None	Some	None	Little	None
Product placement	Some	None	Lots	Little	Lots	None	Lots	None	None	None	Lots	None	Some	Some	Little	None
Computer/video games	None	None	Some	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	Some	None	Little	None
Websites and adgames	Little	None	Some	None	Little	None	Lots	None	Little	None	Little	Some	Some	Some	None	None
Sponsorship	Some	None	Little	None	Some	Little	Some	None	Little	None	Lots	None	None	None	Some	None
Supermarket displays	Some	Some	Little	Some	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Little	Some	Little	None	Lots	Little	Lots	Lots
Competitions	Some	Little	Little	None	Lots	Little	Some	None	None	None	Little	None	Lots	Lots	Little	None
Children's food	Lots	Lots	Lots	Some	Lots	Some	Lots	Some	Some	Some	Some	Little	Lots	Lots	Lots	Some
Free gifts	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Little	Lots	Some	Lots	Some	Some	Some	Little	Lots	Little	Lots	Some
Price promotions	Lots	Lots	Some	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Some
Movie & charac tie ins	Lots	Some	Some	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Lots	Little	Little	Little	Little	Lots	Some	Some	Some
Vouchers to collect	Lots	Little	Little	None	Lots	None	Lots	None	Lots	None	Lots	None	Lots	None	Lots	None
Public relations	Little	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	Little	None	Little	None	None	None	Little	None
Word of mouth	Little	Little	None	None	Lots	Some	Little	Little	Little	Little	Little	Lots	Some	Some	Little	Little
In-school branding	None	None	Little	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	Little	Some	None	None
Direct mail	Lots	Little	Some										Lots	Lots		
Market research			Some													

Figure 4.9: Examples of a communication matrix (each family is represented by their number)

Movie characters & tie ins

	None	Little	Some	Lots
Lots			7 13	9 10
Some			14	8
Little		11 12		
None				

Freq

Influence

Figure 4.10: Example of a family matrix

Family 7

Frequency: Lots / Some / Little / None

Influence: None / Little / Some / Lots

There are many tactics which can be used to generate meaning, these include noting patterns, clustering, counting, making contrasts and comparisons, noting relationships between variables, finding intervening variables and building a logical chain of evidence, all of which I used to help me to generate meaning from the data displays discussed above (Miles and Huberman, 1994). As discussed above whilst the analysis was continually ongoing during the data collection process it did, in reality, fall into two halves. The analysis of the first six family interviews (including the pilot interview) allowed me to find out what I had learnt so far and where the holes in the data collection were, both of these were then used to direct the second stage of the data collection process (Miles and Huberman, 1994). By using these two distinct data

collection stages, this not only improved the data collection (by filing the holes), but it also gave a deeper and more detailed analysis of the patterns and propositions I had developed during the first stage (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This then resulted in a much richer conceptual framework (after stage 1) and my own expanded framework (stage 2).

As presented in Figure 4.1 (p.112) at the beginning of this chapter, I began by building a conceptual framework (presented in chapters 2 and 3), and by adding my findings (presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7), I developed my own framework of the marketing of food to children (presented in chapter 8 and Figure 4.11 below). I found that developing this framework was similar to assembling a jigsaw puzzle; first similar pieces were gathered together in piles (parental mediation, children's understanding, frequency and perceived impact of contact and the integration of communications), then the pieces in each of the piles were fitted together to form chunks of the picture, before finally identifying linking pieces so the chunks could be fitted together to form the complete picture (LeCompte, 2000). However, the picture alone cannot provide an explanation of the phenomenon under study; it requires interpretation (LeCompte, 2000). When interpreting my framework (see chapter 8 for my interpretation of the framework) I searched for other probable explanations of the data, as alternative explanations always exist, and as such I needed to explain why my explanations were the most plausible (Marshall and Rossman, 1999; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Figure 4.11: My framework of the marketing of food to children
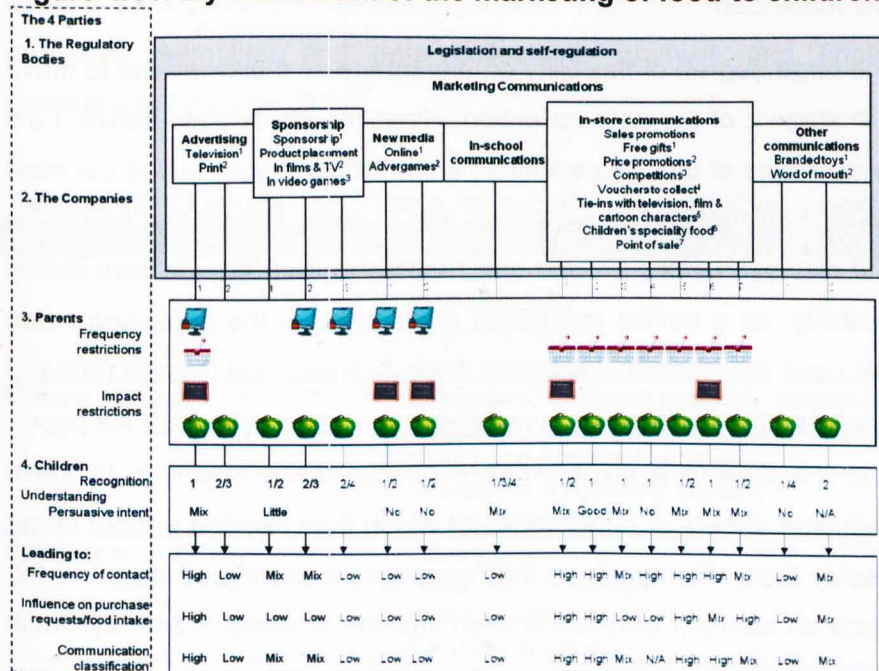
4.4.2.3   The Miles and Huberman framework: Reflexive considerations

There were three reaons why I chose to use the Miles and Huberman framework, the first was that it and the corresonding text is considered "by far the most influential text" in relation to qualitative analysis (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002:119). The framework aims to help researchers build theory which accounts for a real world by using methods which are "credible, dependable and replicable in qualitative terms" (Miles and Huberman, 1994:2). Secondly, I found by following Miles and Huberman's combination of within- and cross-case analysis this allowed me to firstly understand each family's consumption patterns including insights into why particular behaviour or situations existed (within-case analysis) before looking for patterns of simularities and differences between the families (Dewsnapp and Jobber, 2009).

Finally, the four stage framework whilst provding me with a procedural way of capturing the complexity of a mass of qualitative data is extremely flexible to fit with a wide variety of circumstances (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002). In reality, stages 1 and 2 of the framework (data collection and data reduction) are extremely similar with other forms of qualitative data analysis such as template analysis. It is stage 3 (data display) which is the core of the framework (Nadin and Cassell, 2004). Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that the key to buidling data displays (either matrices or networks) is to make large amounts of data accessible and meaningful whilst retaining the complexity of the data. To do this all matrices or networks must be displayed on a single page, regardless of the size, otherwise it has little advantage over analysing pages and pages of text (Nadin and Cassell, 2004).

In general, I found the large degree of flexibility an advantage as it allowed me to move easily from stage 1 to stage 2 of the data collection. However, as detailed above, I did find having such a large range of displays available a challenge. Trying to find the most appropriate display was extremely time consuming and in some instances I had to try four different types of displays before I found one that highlighted any patterns in my data. Due to this flexibility, as a novice qualitative researcher, in the beginning I was always unsure if I had used the 'correct' display. In line with Nadin and Cassell (2004), I also found it difficult to keep the matrices on one page, even when using size A3 paper, without over reducing the data to a point where it obscured the meaning. In those instances I had to sellotape sheets of paper together which then needed a room larger than my office to display them. However, as the framework and method do allow the researcher to introduce an element of quantification into the anaylsis (Easterby-Smith

et al., 2002) I did find this useful when analysising the frequency and percieved influence (see chapter 5 for my analysis of this).

4.5 Ensuring scientific rigour

Whilst there is a general consensus that qualitative researchers need to demonstrate their studies are credible (Creswell and Miller, 2000), historically research has been critiqued using the four criteria of internal validity, reliability, external validity and objectivity which originated from the positivist paradigm. However, over the past few decades many authors have argued that this is inappropriate for qualitative studies and new criteria specially designed for qualitative research is required (Dixon-Woods et al., 2004; Johnson et al., 2006; Spencer et al., 2003). To date a number of perspectives have been published. These perspectives appear to fall into two camps, on the one hand there are those who propose a set of criteria which are applicable for all qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Marshall and Rossman, 1999; Spencer et al., 2003) (see Table 4.17 below for their proposed criteria), whilst on the other hand, there are those who believe that due to the variety of epistemological and ontological paradigms and the variable methods within qualitative research it is not possible to have a one size fits all set of criteria, and any criteria used should be dependent on the researcher's theoretical position (Creswell and Miller, 2000; Johnson et al., 2007). In her systematic review of the literature on quality in qualitative research Meyrick (2006) found that there are two guiding principles which were common to most sets of criteria; transparency and systematicity. She proposes both of these principles should be applied throughout the research process from the theoretical position, the process (methods, sampling and data collection), analysis and finally the results and conclusions (Meyrick, 2006).

Table 4.17: Examples of criteria for quality in qualitative research

Authors	Quality criteria
Lincoln & Guba (1985)	1. Credibility 2. Transferability 3. Dependability 4. Conformability
Marshall & Rossman (1999)	1. Design and methods explicitly detailed 2. Research questions and the data's relevance explicitly and rigorously argued 3. Situated in a scholarly context 4. All records kept
Spencer et al. (2003)	1. Contributory 2. Defensible in design 3. Rigorous in conduct 4. Credible in claim

To ensure the quality and credibility of this research I followed both of these principles. Throughout the thesis (and specifically within this chapter) I have ensured transparency by carefully explaining and detailing my theoretical position, sampling strategy and sample, data collection design, data analysis process (including details of my audit trial) and finally by grounding my findings in the data (see chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8). In addition, I have shown the systematic nature of the research through the justification of the methods chosen in relation to the research question, aim and objectives, and the use of the Miles and Huberman framework to ensure consistency in the data collection and analysis methods (Meyrick, 2006). By following these principles I have been able to condense highly complex and context bound data into a format which tells a story in a way which I believe is fully convincing to the reader (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002). In agreement with Halliday (1999), I have provided an account which is persuasive, credible and provides an important insight into the phenomenon being studied.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the methodology employed throughout this research. In the research design I explained my theoretical position and my rational for the type of research and the methods chosen. I followed this by a detailed explanation of both the data collection and data analysis methods I employed. The research was a qualitative study consisting of one children's focus group and fourteen in-depth family interviews. I analysed the data by means of the Miles and Huberman framework for qualitative analysis, using both matrices and network displays. The results of my analysis are presented in the following three chapters (chapters 5, 6 and 7) with the expanded framework being presented and discussed in chapter 8.

5 Findings 1: The perceived frequency of contact and influence of marketing communications

5.1 Introduction

Following on from chapter 4, in the next three chapters I present the findings from my analysis of the fourteen family interviews. As just discussed the family interviews took place in two distinct phases where the analysis and resulting topics of the first phase were used to design and structure the second. In order to answer the research question, aim and objectives presented in chapter 4 five topics were pulled out of the interviews. The five topics, their corresponding objectives and which chapter they are presented in are in detailed Table 5.1 below. Comparisons with the current literature (as reviewed and presented in the conceptual framework in chapters 2 and 3) are not made until the presentation of my expanded framework in chapter 8. However, for any findings which are presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7 and do not appear in the final framework, comparisons are made.

Table 5.1: Research objectives and corresponding topics

Objective	Topic	Chapter
1 To determine which marketing communications children believe they come into contact with and their perceived frequency and impact	Children's perceived frequency of contact with individual communications	Chapter 5
	The individual communication's perceived influence over children's purchase requests	Chapter 5
2 To investigate the awareness of children and their parents of IMC	Awareness of IMC	Chapter 5
3 To explore any factors which may affect children's frequency of contact and perceived impact of marketing communications either individual or integrated communications	Children's understanding of the individual communications	Chapter 6
	Parental perceptions	Chapter 7
4 To develop a framework that could aid all parties in understanding the complexities of children's consumption behaviour in relation to the marketing of food to children.	An expanded framework of the marketing of food to children	Chapter 8

In relation to the presentation of the findings, firstly even though I have made use of quotations which I believe best illustrate the interpretation being presented (Spencer et al., 2003). I have also tried to use quotations from all of the families who took part in the research. In addition, where appropriate, I have attempted to unpack the quotations

by looking at the confirming and negotiating behaviour between siblings and also between the children and their parents. This allowed me to analyse how the family members constructed their individual and shared meanings and how these different accounts of their individual realities helped me understand each family's lived experience of the phenomena under study (Asted-Kuri et al., 2011; Daly, 2007; Epp and Price, 2008). Finally, the use of words such as 'few' or 'most' in relation to the number of families, parents or children exhibiting a particular behaviour should be seen as informative and not as a means of attempting to generalise the findings.

I begin the chapter by examining both how often the children believe they interacted with each of the individual communications and the effect of that interaction on their purchase requests. As mentioned in chapter 4 (p.157), to summarise the findings and show the relationship between the two factors, a scatterplot display is presented for each of the communications. From these displays comparisons between the results for each of the communications are then made. The chapter ends with an examination of the awareness of IMC. As stated in the previous chapter (p.123) whilst it is more usual to find the use of quantitative methods when investigating perceived frequency and perceived impact it was decided that due to having children as a respondent this would not be appropriate. More importantly, it was the collection of the data for this results chapter which acted as a starting point for the wider discussion on the children's consumption of the different marketing communications. It is from this additional data that the following two results chapters are produced.

5.2 The marketing communications children believe they come into contact with and their corresponding perceived influence

Due to the two distinct phases of interviews some of the following communications were not considered by all of the families. This results in the analysis being based on the data from the second phase of interviews and only where possible data from the first phase of interviews. Consequently not all of the families are included in every scatterplot. Where this happens a clarification of how many families are included is given both in the text and in the legend for that figure. Additionally, in order to provide the reader with some consistency the communications appear in the same categories as they did in chapter 3.

5.2.1 Advertising·

Considering that most of the general public consider marketing and advertising to be one and the same (Kotler and Armstrong, 2006), it was important to recognise that when a member of the family used the term advertising they may have not necessarily been using it in the academic sense of the word. Therefore, where the meaning was not clear I sought clarification from the family member who had used the term. It is also important to remember that most of the data was collected as the Ofcom consultation was taking place and therefore before any of the current restrictions came into place.

5.2.1.1 Television advertising

Perhaps unsurprisingly considering that as detailed in Table 4.8 (p.131-132) previously all of the families had at least one television in their homes, the majority of the families reported television advertising as the communication which they believed their children came into contact with the most frequently. When rating the frequency of contact all of the families reported at least some contact and most gave it the highest ratings. This was the same during both phases of the interviews. More interestingly for me, television advertising was nearly always the first type of communication parents thought of when asked more generally about what food marketing their children came into contact with, thus confirming the continuing dominance of this particular communication.

> Family 5   Mum: Television really, it's the one that they are most subject to.

As the above quote from Family 5's mum was extremely typical of all of the parents' responses I felt further analysis was required, therefore, I return to this finding again in chapter 7 (p.240).

Talking with the children revealed that they could all recall a number of different television advertisements, the most popular being for cereals such as Kellogg's Coco Pops and Frosties, children's speciality food such as Dairylea Lunchables and Dunkers, and fast food restaurants such as McDonald's.

> Family 2   Js (boy,11): Lots of cereals.
> Jn (boy,5): I know, I know.
> Js (boy,11): They have this stupid cartoon thing on Coco Pops where there is a load of animals and there's a crocodile and it's naughty and it's trying to steal the Coco Pops, but they end up getting it off him
> M (boy,8): And they do this cow advert.
> Js (boy,11): Lunchables, that's what they're called.

The children could not only recall who the advertisement was for, but they could recall the advertisement in some detail, this included the story line, the characters and the

music which accompanied the advertisement. Many of the children could also sing the jingles and took great pleasure in showing off their renditions.

> Family 7   A (boy,8): The crocodile he wears this costume, everyone mistakes it as someone's.... I think its Coco's Aunty. And then Coco the monkey, he says "do you want crispy or chocolaty?" and then the crocodile decides and then his costume comes off. And then Coco hits the lion, a big lion comes out. Then Coco says "silly croc" then they are both mixed together.

In addition to the advertisements specifically targeted at them, many children could also recall other, more adult targeted, food advertisements, such as Dolmio Pasta Sauces and Uncle Ben's Stir Fry Sauces. This ability to recall different advertisements is considered in more detail in chapter 6 when examining the children's ability to understand television advertising.

More surprisingly for me was that their parents found it much more difficult to recall any food advertisements and often had to ask their children for suggestions. Even with a detailed description from their children the parents still could not recall having seen the advertisement.

> Family 10   R (boy,9): There's the one with the Aberdeen Angus burger.
> J (boy,7): It goes "can we have a Aberdeen Angus burger?" ha ha ha.
> R (boy,9): He goes 'can we have an Angus burger' this man, seriously an Angus burger.
> Mum: I haven't seen any of these.
> R (boy,9): They're like, a man says it to the people at the restaurant and they go "no we don't have Angus burgers here" and they pass it on and it goes to this man that is in charge of this thing called fast burger, and he goes "an Angus burger' he goes 'you'd better be joking" and then someone comes up with a newspaper and it says 'Burger King the new Angus burger come and get it soon'. And he goes cough, cough, like that
> Mum: Oh right, missed that one as well. I obviously don't watch the same telly as you.

Whilst parents found it difficult to recall specific advertisements they did believe there were too many advertisements aimed at children on television. They highlighted that during children's programmes, particularly at breakfast time, and for those families who had access to non-terrestrial channels (see Table 4.8, p.131-132 for details of which television services each family had access to) the dedicated children's channels such as Nickelodeon and Boomerang were the worst offenders.

> Family 3   Mum: Breakfast time is the worst like with television and channel 5 it's terrible for advertising. You know from 6, half 6 or whatever 7 till 9 it's just advertising totally for kids.

> Family 14   Mum: That's why we keep them away from such things as Nickelodeon and Boomerang because the advertising is so in your face.

A further criticism common amongst the parents was that the types of foods being advertised were nearly all unhealthy or 'junk' foods. They all agreed that they would be less concerned with the amount of television advertising if the food companies were promoting healthier food and drinks. Of course, as already stated, this was before the recent changes which have addressed both of these issues. Parental attitudes to all of the communications are considered in more detail in chapter 7.

> Family 12   Mum: I don't think I've ever seen anything advertised on television for children that were healthy; it's all a complete load of rubbish.

> Family 13   Mum: Well I'm not very impressed about television marketing which I see in-between children's programmes. It is usually things I would see as being unhealthy.

From the above, it is clear that both parents and children predominately come into contact with advertisements for unhealthy foods. The children only recalled advertisements for sugary cereals, fast and processed foods whilst the parents held the overall impression that all food advertising on television was for unhealthy foods. As detailed in the previous chapters, the data collection took place before the introduction of the Ofcom restrictions on HFSS advertising. Therefore, considering the findings of the content analyses in chapter 2 (p.23), the children's recall and the parent's perceptions of the dominance of unhealthy food advertising could be considered as an accurate representation for that period of time.

In relation to the amount of perceived impact, i.e. whether contact with the communication was likely to result in a purchase request from the children, again nearly all of the families gave it the higher ratings. Some of the parents highlighted how their children, when out shopping, would ask for products which had been advertised on the television.

> Family 10   Mum: I think that [television advertising] is what influences kids, like puts a switch on, like if you are going around a supermarket they remember it because they've seen it on the telly and they want it.

In some instances the desire to have the product was strong enough for some children to purchase the products for themselves after their requests had been refused.

> Family 10   Mum: You had that time where you kept seeing them baby bop lolly things, on the telly, didn't you? And you really wanted one of them and I wouldn't buy you one but when you got some money he did buy it himself.

Furthermore, the parents tended to think that the impact and resulting influence of television advertising was greater when the children were younger. As the children became older they began to realise they should not believe everything they see in the

advertisement. This usually came as a result of being disappointed by a product which they had previously seen on a television advertisement but had not lived up to their expectations. Again this is considered further in chapter 6 when examining children's understanding.

> Family 2   Js (boy,11): I used to pester them to get stuff that they advertise on TV and they say it's really tasty and it's a good cereal to have in the morning and when you end up getting it it's not as good as you thought it would be. So I've kind of learnt to avoid those sorts of things.

Interestingly for me, purchase requests were more common when the advertisements were for either new food products or new flavours or when the appeal used in advertisement was a sales promotion, usually as a free gift. The children appeared to be drawn to the appeal of something 'new' and 'exciting'.

> Family 7   Mum: What adverts have you seen for food that you've asked me to buy?
> A (boy,8): Definitely Coco Pops because there's a new sort of one comes out.
> C (boy,6): Yeah, new Coco Pops.
> A (boy,8): Coco Rocks they're called, Mega Munchers, that's still Coco Pops. They're quite nice, well they look nice.

When discussing their contact with television advertising there was a considerable amount of confirming behaviour between siblings. Quite often the younger siblings would confirm their older sibling's responses as shown in the quotation directly above and also in the quotation from Family 2 (p.169) and Family 10 (p.170) above. These quotations also show how the younger siblings, in an attempt to show they knew as much as their older siblings, would try and finish their siblings examples. Whilst the confirming behaviour could be interpreted as the children portraying a collective identity, the actions of the younger children attempting to show their own knowledge could be constructed as them portraying their individual identity (Epp and Price, 2008).

5.2.1.2 Other advertising

As in chapter 3 other advertising here considers print advertising, outdoor advertising and leaflets/flyers which have been received through direct mailings. Unlike television advertising these other forms of advertising were less popular with the children and in both phases of the interviews the children had to be prompted when recalling their examples. Both outdoor and direct mailing flyers were only discussed when initiated by the family as children are not usually the target market.

For print advertising there was a mix of responses from all of the families, although overall perceived frequency of contact tended to be low. The children tended to come into contact with this type of advertising in their comics and magazines.

Family 12   Nicki: Do you see any advertisements in your comics?
L (girl,11): Occasionally you see like, very occasionally there's like worm sort of sweets and yoghurts but that is about all.

Even though the children rated their contact with printed food advertisements as little, they were aware of other types of advertisements in their comics and magazines. In line with Cowburn and Boxer (2007), these advertisements were usually for toys, computer games or clothes.

Family 13   Z (girl,14): Don't think there is any food or drinks…sometimes they have clothes advertising on the back like Adidas.

A communication which I had not expected but which a number of families included in their discussion was food advertisements on billboards. Even though not all of the families made a specific reference to this form of advertising, for those that did, it appeared that the children's perceived frequency of contact was higher than it had been for comics and magazines but still much less than it had been for television advertising.

Family 10   R (boy,9): I've seen them [billboards]. I've seen Ready Brek down Chapeltown.

There were also a small number of families who included direct mail leaflets and flyers in their discussions. In agreement with Eagle and Brennan (2007) these tended to be either flyers from local take-away restaurants such as pizza parlours, Chinese or Indian takeaways or alternatively pamphlets from local supermarkets containing that week's special offers. Whilst the later was received both positively and negatively, the takeaway flyers were usually seen as unwanted 'junk' mail.

Family 7   Mum: I look every week in the Coop advert thing that comes around.

Family 6   Mum: We get things through the door, you know the free things. I can't be bothered to look at those, I just put them in the bin, even it is the one from Morrison's, and I just put it in the bin. I don't want them shoving that through my door.

In line with the perceived frequency of contact, families believed that the impact of print advertising was reasonably low. Although, the parents with younger children did think that this may change once their child's reading improved and their contact with comics and magazines increased. Again, mirroring the frequency patterns above, those families who had included billboards in their discussion rated their impact higher than print advertising but lower than television advertising.

Family 9   Mum: The children do notice the advertisements, you know at

the bus stop, and things like that. And billboards they notice. So if we are travelling in a car it does hit them, they do notice them.

To help with the comparison of the individual communications in section 5.3 below all of the communications' scatterplots have only been colour coded. Whether there is a relationship or not between the two factors, i.e. for television advertising has the high levels of contact caused the high levels of perceived influence, is considered in chapter 8. For some of the communications (print advertising being one) the scatterplots diagrams highlighted two interesting anomalies. The first was were the frequency rating was substantially higher than the perceived influence rating, these are circled in blue on the diagrams and the second is where the perceived influence rating was considerably higher than the frequency rating, these are circled in red.

Due to the limited amount of discussion around print advertising during the first phase of interviews, it his only been possible to include one of the families from that phase along with the responses of the families who took part in the second phase of interviews (9 families) on the scatterplot below. In addition, across both phases too few families discussed billboards and direct mail flyers to be able to represent them on the chart. In contrast all families are included in the analysis of television advertising.

Figure 5.1: Perceived frequency and influence of television and print advertising

174
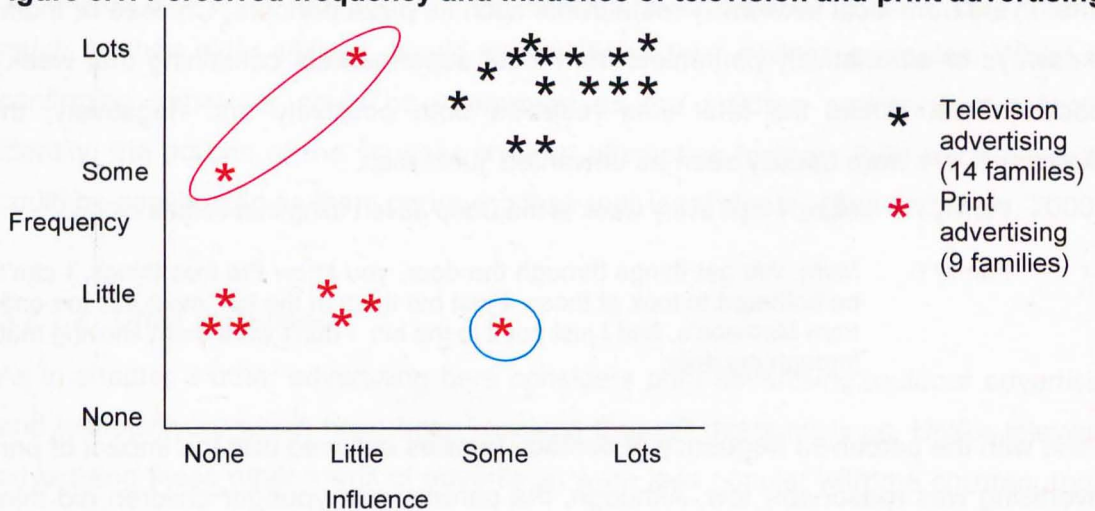
5.2.2 Sponsorship and product placement

5.2.2.1 Sponsorship

The sponsorship of sporting activities was the first and most frequent sponsorship with which the families believed they had come into contact with. Whilst, a number of the children recognised the sponsorship of professional sports teams which they had seen on the television, the most frequent contact was with Kellogg's sponsorship of the Amateur Swimming Association's awards. In many cases it was the children who knew the sponsor of their swimming badges and certificates rather than their parents. A number of the parents seemed totally unaware they contained any sponsorship.

> Family 14   Mum: You go swimming but that's not sponsored.
> E (girl,9): Yes Frosties.
> Mum: Oh is it Frosties.

Other examples of sports sponsorship which were given by the children included the sponsorship of school and local football teams. Whilst these sponsorships tended to be by local firms and unrelated to food, for example local solicitors or shops, there were a couple of instances of fast food companies sponsoring local sports teams.

> Family 4   D (boy,11): M's (older brother) sponsored by Crystal Palace.
> Mum: Crystal Peaks.
> D (boy,11): Crystal Peaks yeah.
> Mum: I think he's played against a football team that was sponsored by McDonald's.

Negotiation of the families' account of their consumption was extremely common, the above two quotations from Family 14 and Family 4 show differing examples. The interaction shown by Family 4 was more common, i.e. where the parent is negotiating the child's account to correct for any errors in the child's recollection. However, at times there was evidence of roles being reversed, as in Family 14 above, and the children filling in gaps in the parent's recall or even knowledge. A further example of this type of interaction has already been given by Family 10 (p.170) above where the two boys were trying to explain a television advertisement to their mum who could not recall watching it.

A few children also discussed broadcast sponsorship as an alternative form of sponsorship. Rather than giving examples of children's programmes which were sponsored by food companies such as Petits Filous' sponsorship of Channel 5's Milkshake programmes (a series of children programmes shown between 6am and 9.15am everyday) (Oates and Newmam, 2010), their examples tended to be more adult orientated.

> Family 10   P (boy,5): Paul O'Grady sponsors Schwartz.

> R (boy,9): Five movies are one...and Wild at Heart sponsored by Carte D'Or chocolate.

In addition, the above quotation also shows how siblings would often try and compete with each other to show who knew the most; this was particularly common where the younger sibling provided the first example and the older sibling felt he/she needed to provide a more sophisticated answer in order to show his/her superior knowledge or understanding. This again, as discussed earlier in relation to television advertising (p.172) could be constructed as the children portraying both a collective and individual identity (Epp and Price, 2008).

There was a mix of responses across the families to their frequency of contact with sponsorship. The difference appeared to be related to whether the children took part in any sporting activities which contained corresponding sponsorship. Nevertheless, regardless of how often contact was made, all of the families believed that the perceived influence of sponsorship was very low. There was only one family that could recall an instance where a broadcast sponsorship had influenced a purchase.

> Family 8   Mum: We specifically did Dominos because The Simpsons did Dominoes, the first time we did Dominos.

Overall it appeared that, even when the children come into frequent contact with different forms of sponsorship, the families did not consciously believe anyone in the family was being influenced by the communication.

As sponsorship was not discussed during all of the phase one interviews only three of these families, plus all of the eight families from the second phase of interviews are included in the scatterplot below.

Figure 5.2: Percieved frequency and influence of sponsorship
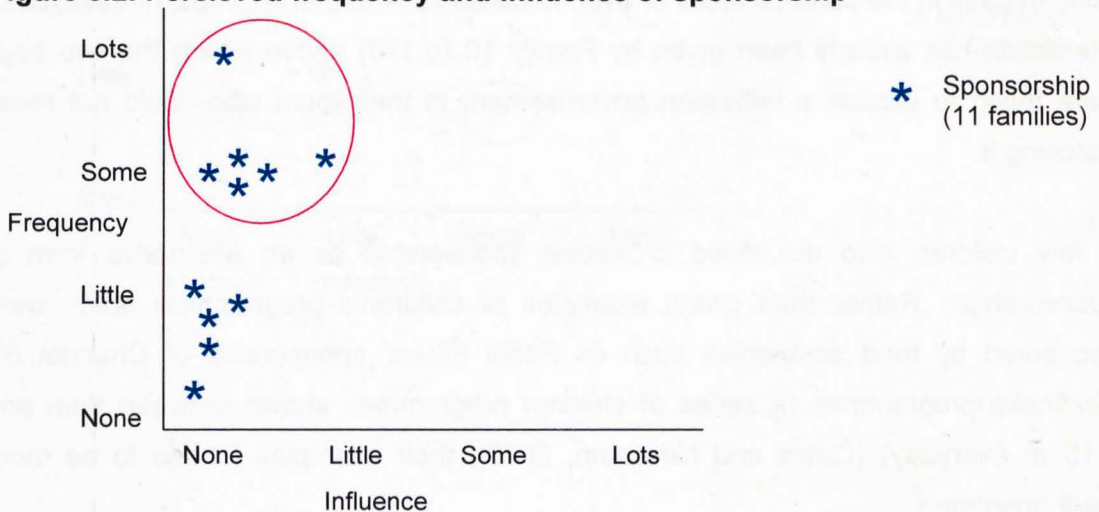
5.2.2.2 Product placement

Even though product placement was, at the time the data collection took place, restricted in British made television programmes (as discussed in sections 2.3.2.2 and 2.4.1.1) and therefore the children could only encounter it through either imported, usually from the USA, television programmes or films, the awareness amongst the children from the second phase of interviews was reasonably high. Some children could recall in detail the scenes, usually from films, where the placement took place.

> Family 8   Z (boy,12): He goes to the service station and comes out with a Dr Pepper.
> B (boy,8): He comes out with seven six packs of Dr Pepper and they are tracking what he's thinking and on the screen it says 'wouldn't you like to be a pepper too?'
> Z (boy,12): It's funny.
> B (boy,8): Yeah and like on Wayne's World where like he drinks the Pepsi and goes 'the choice of the next generation.'

This quotation again highlights how the children used confirming behaviour between siblings to tell the story, or in this case describe their experience of seeing the product placement, together.

However, without a specific prompt the families from the first phase of interviews did not include any product placement in their discussions. Therefore, unlike most of the other communications discussed so far this chapter, product placement was not automatically considered by the families when asked which communications they had come into contact with. Overall, from those families who did discuss product placement, the ratings were again mixed but they did tend to be towards the higher and middle ratings.

As with sponsorship above, despite the fact that the majority of the families rated their perceived frequency of contact in the two higher categories, most of them rated it as having very little, if any, impact or influence over the children's purchase requests. One reason for this low rating could have been that a number of parents believed, especially with regards to their younger children, that their children did not notice this type of communication. Again, I will return to children's understanding of this communication in chapter 6.

> Family 14   Mum: To be honest it goes completely over their heads.
> Dad: Unless it's McDonald's.
> Mum: Well Z (daughter, 5) might notice it's McDonald's but that's about it.

On the small number of occasions where both parents were present (as with Family 14 above), when one parent, in this instance the father, either disagreed or attempted to

change the statement in some way, the other parent, in this case the mother, would usually immediately then qualify the original statement in an attempt to negotiate her account as the correct account.

In video games

Due to this type of communication being a relatively new medium for companies, it was probably not that surprising that the majority of the families who owned a video game console (see Table 4.8, p.131-132 for details of which six families from the second phase of interviews owned this form of media) believed they had not yet encountered this form of communication. Those children who believed they had encountered food placements had done so when playing games with an adult rating. Interestingly, but perhaps not surprising considering the previous literature, was that all of the placements the children recalled were for fast food restaurants.

> Family 8   Z (boy,12): In San Andres you can get a Burger King.
>   Mum: Can you? What's San Andres?
>   Z (boy,12): Grand Theft Auto San Andres.

> Family 14   E (girl,9): In Sims 2 it's [McDonald's] in the buffet near the hotel

One possible concern here could be that a number of parents did not even realise that food companies had begun to use this type of communication.

> Family 12   Mum: I didn't even know that McDonald's would be allowed to
>   have a virtual shop in a game.

In a slight change to the other forms of product placement, regardless of the perceived frequency of contact, the families believed that this form of placement did not have any influence over their children's purchase requests. Both types of product placement (film/television and video game) are presented in Figure 5.3 below. Due to the limited amount of discussion during the first phase of interviews (as already detailed above) it was felt that is was not appropriate to include these families on the scatterplot. However, both families (Family 7 and Family 9) from the second phase of interviews who did not have a video game console in their homes have been included. These two families account for two of the five none, none ratings.

Figure 5.3: Perceived frequency and influence of product placement
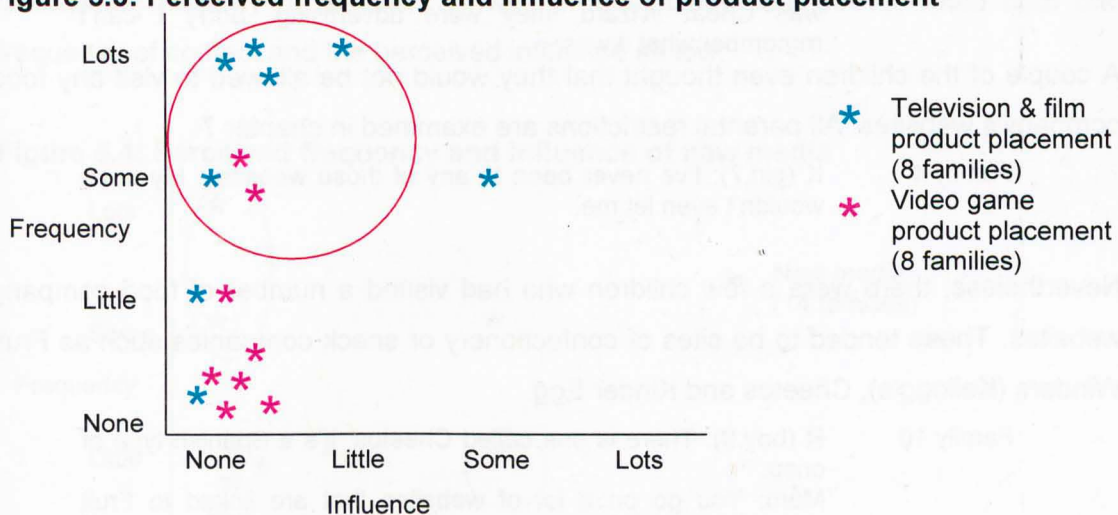
5.2.3 New media

Considering the literature presented in chapters 2 and 3 and that all of the families had a computer in their homes (see Table 4.8, p.131-132 for full details of the availability of media in the families' homes), it was surprising to me that that the children in this study did not appear to use the internet as frequently as I might have expected them to (a full comparison with the literature will follow in chapter 8). Consequently, there was a mix of responses from the families in relation to the perceived frequency with which the children came into contact with either on-line food advertising or visited food company websites. However, that is not to say that the children did not spend time on the internet, just when they did it was predominately on none food related sites. The most common sites visited by the children were related to either their school work or alternatively linked to their television viewing such as CBBC and Tracey Beaker (a BBC children's programme). A common response was:

Family 1   A (boy,10): No not really, we don't really go onto food websites.

Family 4   K (girl,7): I go on Bratz, Polly Pocket, Paper Doll Heaven and CBBC.

Some of the older children visited different social networking sites, with MSN being the most popular at that time. It is worth noting here that many of today's popular social networking sites, such as Facebook, were not running at the time these interviews took place. Some of the children thought that they may have seen banner or pop-up advertisements for food on different sites but could not remember any specific brand names. This may have been related to them having difficulty in recognising an advertisement; a point I return to in more detail in chapter 6.

Family 1　　　A (boy,10): On Cheat Planet they were advertising, oh no it was Cheat Wizard, they were advertising. Sorry I can't remember what it was.

A couple of the children even thought that they would not be allowed to visit any food company's websites. All parental restrictions are examined in chapter 7.

Family 4　　　K (girl,7): I've never been to any of those websites. My mum wouldn't even let me.

Nevertheless, there were a few children who had visited a number of food company websites. These tended to be sites of confectionery or snack companies such as Fruit Winders (Kellogg's), Cheetos and Kinder Egg.

Family 10　　　R (boy,9): There is one called Cheetos, it's a Spanish type of crisp.
Mum: You go on a lot of websites that are linked to Fruit Winders and stuff like that.
J (boy,7): Yeah.
R(boy,9): Fruit Winders and Kinder Eggs.

Here in the above quotation is an example of a family using confirming behaviour, however, unlike the quotations highlighted above, this citation shows how this type of behaviour was not restricted to just between siblings or between parents but in many instances was between children and their parents. In contrast to the boys' portrayal above (p.172), here the boys are happy to show a collective identity with their mother (Epp and Price, 2008).

What was interesting for me to note was that all of the children who had visited these sites recalled playing the advergames on the sites.

Family 9　　　I (girl,7): I've been on a chocolate one and I've played a game on a chocolate website, it was caramel.

In fact, playing advergames was the most common activity the children undertook when visiting any site (Moore and Rideout, 2007; Dahl et al., 2009).

Family 6　　　I (girl,8): I go onto television programme sites quite a lot because they have games on. I just like to fiddle and play the games.
Family 10　　　Nicki: When you go on a website, what do you do?
R (boy,9): Just play games.

In line with the small number of children who had visited any food company websites, most families believed that this form of communication had very little influence on their children's purchase requests. There were a small number of families who felt it may have some influence. However, some of the parents did believe that the impact was likely to increase the more time the children spent on the different websites.

Family 7　　　Dad: They don't appear to use it, but they are certainly aware of it, but it is a big one, or could be if they did it.

Overall the majority of families, as with product placement above, rated both their frequency of contact and the perceived influence as low.

Figure 5.4: Perceived frequency and influence of new media
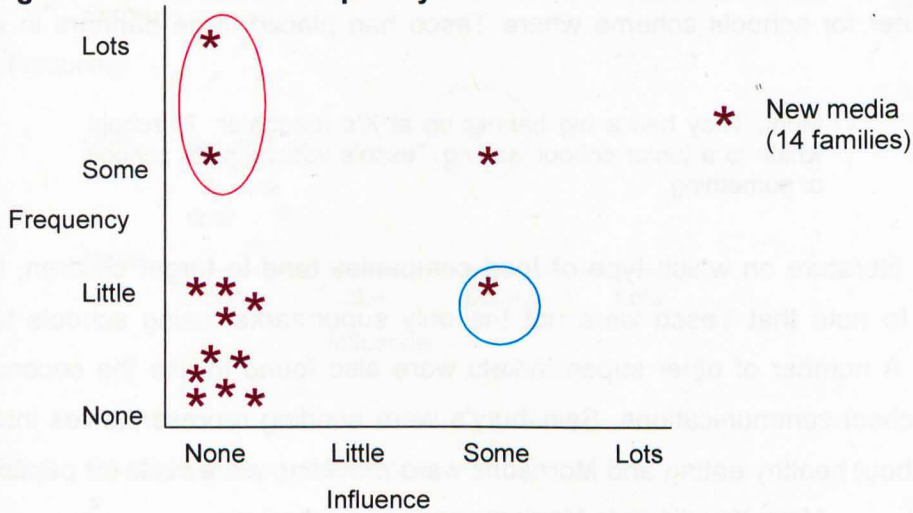
5.2.4   In-school communications

I have split the types of communications discussed by the families into two categories. The first category contained the branding of educational material, such as text books, and the more general branding on school premises, such as on vending machines. The second category included food companies' use of public relations, usually in the form of visits to the school to give talks and presentations. However, as all but one of the children interviewed were in either infant or junior schools, and in contrast to recent reports (Shepherd, 2009), there was very little in-school communications to be found. Consequently, only two families had encountered instances of branding of educational material, one by a bottled water company and the second was none food related.

> Family 7   Mum: Only the reading diaries, but it's a recycling company that sponsors nearly all the rulers and pencils and everything.

> Family 8   Mum: You've got Buxton mineral water, that's it.

In relation to branding on vending machines, it was confirmed by all of the families that during the last two years, following the implementation of the improved school meals initiative by the government, all of the vending machines had been removed from their children's schools. The only instance of branded vending machines was in a senior school and here the unhealthy branding and food had been replaced by healthier options.

> Family 13   Z (girl,14): We've had some kind of healthy eating thing at our

> school where like the vending machines give out breakfast
> bars and sports bars and flapjack.
> Mum: But had it any names of companies on it?
> Z (girl,14): Yes but I can't say what because I don't stay down
> there.

There was also one instance of a company advertising in school. This was in order to promote a voucher for schools scheme where Tesco had placed large banners in a school.

> Family 4   Mum: They had a big banner up at K's (daughter, 7) school,
> which is a junior school, saying Tesco's vouchers for schools
> or something.

Considering the literature on which type of food companies tend to target children, it was interesting to note that Tesco were not the only supermarket using schools to target children. A number of other supermarkets were also found to use the second category of in-school communications. Sainsbury's were sending representatives into schools to talk about healthy eating and Morrisons were providing store visits for pupils.

> Family 6   Mum: You did go to Morrisons once on a school trip.
> I (girl,8): That was when it was Safeway. It was really cool
> because you went places you couldn't normally go.

> Family 3   Mum: Sainsbury's had like a healthy eating thing and
> Sainsbury's were all like 'we'll come and do this and that'.

The quotations from Family 13 and Family 6 above provide examples of how often the parent would try to help their children either recall or provide more details of a previous experience. Sometimes the parents would make an assertion, as in Family 6 above, in the hope that their children would confirm their account of the experience and therefore portray a collective identity (Epp and Price, 2008).

As the perceived contact with these types of communications was limited, it was not then surprising, considering the pattern which was forming from the previous communications, to find that all of the families reported the amount of perceived influence to be very low. Whilst, it was unclear as to whether they believed that the communication would have a greater impact if the frequency of contact was increased, all of the parents were adamant that they would not wish to see any increase in in-school communications (see 7.2 for parental attitudes to the different communications).

Following on from other communications above, only those families who provided sufficient data are included in the scatterplot below. This includes three families from the first phase and all eight families from the second phase of interviews.

Figure 5.5: Perceived frequency and influence of in-school communications
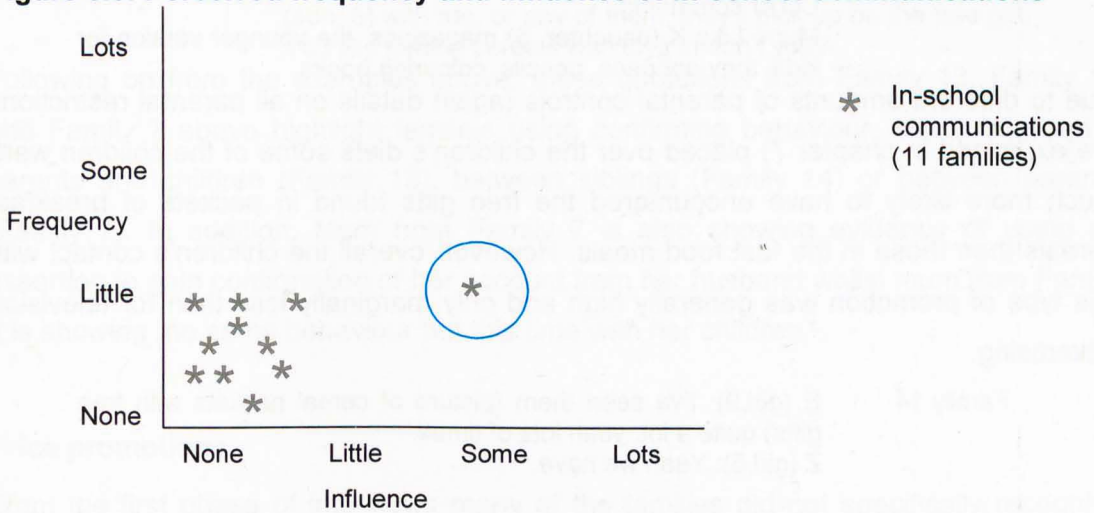
5.2.5   In-store communications

Due to the variety of in-store promotions discussed by the families, they have been split into four categories. Whilst the first three of sales promotion, tie-ins (or in-store merchandising) are in line with chapter 3, the fourth children's specialty food, despite its strong links with a number of the other communications, has been given its own category due to the level of popularity with the children.

5.2.5.1   Sales Promotions

Within sales promotions families discussed a number of consumer promotions which included free-gifts, price promotions, competitions and vouchers to collect. It should be pointed out at this stage, price promotions and vouchers to collect (usually for either sports or computer equipment for schools) are predominately targeted at parents, whilst free gifts and competitions being discussed are those which are directly targeted at children. Due to the difference in responses to each of these sales promotions (unlike the in-school communications discussed above) all of these consumer promotions will be considered and represented individually on Figure 5.6.

Free gifts

The children's awareness of free gifts was almost as high as it had been for television advertising. The majority of the free gifts came from two sources, the first from packets of breakfast cereals and the second as part of a child's fast food meal. However, other sources also included in comics or magazines or with laundry detergent.

Family 13   Z (girl,14): I get some magazine which get like a free sample
             CD or something.
             Mum: Like K (daughter, 6) magazines, the younger version for
             kids, they get pens, pencils, colouring books.

Due to different amounts of parental controls (again details on all parental restrictions are examined in chapter 7) placed over the children's diets some of the children were much more likely to have encountered the free gifts found in packets of breakfast cereals than those in the fast food meals. However, overall the children's contact with this type of promotion was generally high and only marginally less than for television advertising.

Family 14   E (girl,9): I've seen them (picture of cereal packets with free
             gifts) quite a lot, yeah lots of times.
             Z (girl,5): Yeah we have.

Again, free gifts appeared to have a similar high amount of influence over children's purchase requests as television advertising.

Family 3   L (girl,8): If I like the toy and I like the cereal I would probably
             ask mum for it and she'd probably would say yes.

The attraction of this form of consumer promotion was clearly greater for the younger children. The attraction of these free gifts was so great that in many cases the younger children based their product choice on the free gift (Atkin, 1978).

Family 7   Dad: The big one we've not said is going to McDonald's and
             Burger King for the free gifts. That's the only reason we go. It's
             not for the food, they like the food but it's for the toy.
             Mum: Once we had this thing, didn't we? Because you (son, 8)
             didn't want to go [to Burger King] because it was a boring art
             set and you (daughter, 4) wanted to go to the other one.

Family 2   Nicki: Do you choose your cereal because you like the taste or
             because you want the free toy?
             M (boy,8): The toy, the toy.
             Js (boy,11): The taste.
             Jn (boy,5): Best toy.

Nevertheless, the influence did decline as the children became older. Many of the children, particularly the older ones, made comments about the gifts; such as they thought the toys were 'rubbish', 'cheap' and 'always broke'.

Family 2   Js (boy,11): They'll just break, if they were in the shops they
             would be like 5p. They break easily.

One final point concerning this consumer promotion, in agreement with Wilson and Wood (2004), nearly all of the parents felt the pressure from their children to purchase the products with the free gifts increased when the children went shopping with them. In line with other parental restrictions, whether the parents shopped with their children or not, is examined further in chapter 7.

Family 2   Mum: But it can be a real pain in the supermarket when you

> are walking around, particularly around the cereals, if I have J
> (son, 5) with me, or any of them, they'll pick up on the free gift.
> You like getting cereals with toys in don't you?

Following on from the examples above, these quotations from Family 13, Family 14 and Family 7 above highlight families using confirming behaviour, either between a parents and children (Family 13), between siblings (Family 14) or between parents (Family 7). In addition, Mum from Family 7 is also showing evidence of using an assertion to gain confirmation of her account from her husband whilst mum from Family 2 is showing the same behaviour but this time with her children.

Price promotions

From the first phase of interviews many of the families did not specifically recognise price promotions as a form of marketing communications, however, when asked what influences their purchases in the supermarket all but one of them stated price or special offers being a major factor.

> Family 1   Nicki: What influences what you buy when you are in the
> supermarket?
> Dad: I would say price and special offers. I think we are very,
> when it comes to food shopping, we're price conscious.
> Morrisons are quite big on two for ones and three for twos and
> we will buy them but it doesn't keep us loyal to the brand as
> the minute the offer goes we do tend to switch back to what is
> on offer that week.

From the second phase of interviews price promotions recorded the highest amount of contact, even above that of television advertising. This high rating was repeated for the amount of impact and perceived influence this type of promotion had on the families' food purchases. Nevertheless, most of the families would only take advantage of the promotion if it was on something they already bought, either on a regular basis or as a treat. Most of the parents agreed that they would not buy something just because it was on offer.

> Family 5   Mum: I do those quite a lot but only if it's something I want
> anyway.
> D (boy,11): We're not the sort of people who say oh it's buy
> one get one free so we'll buy that.

By suggesting that as a family they do not buy products just because they contain price promotions, mum and D are portraying an identity of a family which is not easily influenced by this type of communication (Epp and Price, 2008). This could be interpreted Family 5 using this marketing communication as a means of differentiating themselves from other families who would, in contrast, be happy to be influenced by price promotions. Family 5 appeared to regard price promotions as negative unless

approached with caution. Both mum and D were presenting themselves as discerning consumers.

Even though this type of communication is usually targeted at the parents, in a number of instances it was actually the children who were using it as a tactic to try and persuade their parents to purchase something they wanted.

Family 4	Mum: I think when they get to a certain age they start to realise what promotions might be more attractive to you. K (daughter, 7) always comes and tells me two milkshakes for the price of one. So I think, you know, they start to realise what kinds of promotions are more attractive.
Family 7	Mum: A (son, 8) might say 'look mum this is on offer' Dad: A (son, 8) would say 'there's a sale on.' Mum: He'll say 'this is good' won't you? Like these were buy one get one free the other day, weren't they? Well the Dairylea strips were weren't they? A (boy,8): I said these are good value, buy two get one free or something.

In the above quotation Family 7 were exhibiting a number of behaviours; these include negotiation between the three family members and assertions from the parents. The negotiation began between the parents about how A (their eldest son) would react to a price promotion. Mum then made an assertion by asking A to confirm either account by referring him to a recent experience. A then provided his own account of the experience in which he appeared to avoid siding against either parent, but, providing an account which fell somewhere in between. Unlike Family 5 above, Family 7 did not attempt to create a more discerning consumer position, and price promotions were viewed in a positive light.

Competitions

Considering the lack of literature, competitions were surprisingly more popular than I expected. The most common competitions tended to come from either confectionery or snack products, such as a Nestlé chocolate bar competition to win a Willy Wonka's Golden Ticket and a Walkers Crisps competition to win an iPod. In addition, competitions which involved winning instant money were also very popular.

Family 8	Mum: You did buy the Willy Wonka bars because you wanted to win a trip to the chocolate factory.
Family 13	Mum: I have. Especially Walkers crisps if they've got free money in it, like win a tenner. Also Polo's win a tenner. Z (girl, 14): Yes Polo's, I'm always like, let's have a look, open it up.

Most families included them in their discussion, even during the first phase of interviews where there was no prompting for this type of communication. Nevertheless, across all of the families there was a mixed response to the perceived frequency of contact.

Regardless of their level of perceived contact there was only one family who believed that competitions had some influence over their food purchases. The remaining families all thought that it had very little or no influence.

> Family 13   Mum: Probably more me than the kids because I do like a competition. I've got an eye out and I zoom in on them. If it's a one in five chance I'll buy five.

One reason could have been due to a number of the older children being sceptical over whether they would actually win anything if they entered. This can of course be linked to a child's understanding of the persuasive intent which is considered in chapter 6.

> Family 8   Nicki: you ever get mum to buy you any food or sweets because it's got a competition on it?
> Z (boy,12): Not really because we know it's a con.
> B (boy,8): Yeah we know it's a con.

The above quotation from Family 8 is a further example of confirming behaviour between siblings. This was the more usual occurrence where the younger sibling by confirming his older brother's account was trying to show he knew as much as his older sibling. However, their assertion that competitions were a con goes against their mother's recall of the Willy Wonka bars above. Therefore, whilst the boys may insist the competitions do not affect their behaviour, there is evidence to the contrary.

Vouchers to collect

The final consumer promotion that was discussed by the families was the voucher to collect schemes. The most common types of schemes were for those issued by the supermarkets in order to provide schools with sports or computer equipment. All of the families reported collecting these types of vouchers and as a result the perceived frequency of contact was very high.

> Family 12   L (girl,11): We get them for school a lot.

> Family 14   Mum: Lots don't we?
> Z (girl, 5): Lots and lots.

In contrast to television advertising or free gifts, regardless of this high rating for the perceived frequency of contact, all families agreed that the vouchers did not impact on where they did their shopping. Whilst these vouchers may not influence where the

parents shopped, the processes of collecting them did appear to have some impact on the children. Some of the children pestered their parents to collect the vouchers.

> Family 4   Mum: We always collect those.
> K (girl,7): We should do because we need them at school but you never give me any.
> Mum: Sometimes B or nana gives them to you.
> K (girl,7): yes but you should get them as well and give them to me.

Whilst it may appear from the above that all families fully participated in these schemes, a few families did actually comment that sometimes they were not aware which supermarket was currently offering the vouchers and therefore, only collected them when they were offered them at the checkout.

> Family 2   Mum: I'm not even aware of them. A neighbour came to me with the Sainsbury's ones and I didn't even know that Sainsbury's were running a promotion.

The quotation from Family 14 above is further evidence of a parent using an assertion to obtain a confirmation of the family's consumption activities in order to show a collective identity (Epp and Price, 2008). However, in contrast K in Family 4 was determined to retain her individual meaning to the experience of collecting supermarket vouchers for her school. She was clearly showing a lack of harmony between herself and her mother whilst her mother was attempting to negotiate an agreeable account of the situation.

As can be seen from Figure 5.6 below there was a range of responses to the different consumer promotions. Whilst both price promotions and the voucher to collect schemes were rated highly in respect of their perceived frequency of contact, they had opposite responses in relation to their perceived influence over children's purchase requests. Free gifts and competitions responses were more mixed with free gifts being rated higher on both perceived contact and influence. Whilst all the families (14 families) are included for free gifts, price promotions and vouchers to collect, there was only sufficient data to include 11 families for competitions.

Figure 5.6: Perceived frequency and influence of sales promotions
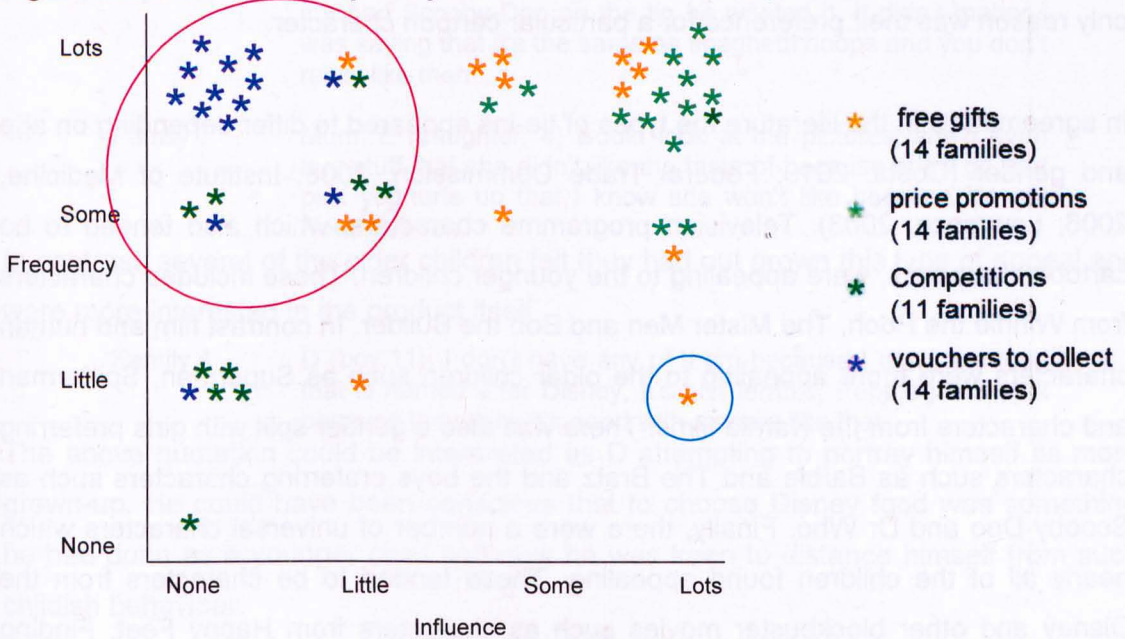
5.2.5.2 *Tie-ins with television, films and cartoon characters*

Whilst tie-ins are often found on food packaging they are also frequently used in conjunction with free gifts (as discussed above) and children's speciality food (discussed below). Considering this it was perhaps unsurprising to find that the families reported similar levels of frequency of contact as those communications. The most common tie-ins which the families discussed were children's speciality food closely followed by packaging and finally the free gifts in fast food children's meals.

Family 7	Mum: You like Scooby-Doo and all them, don't you?
	C (boy,6): A few days ago Uncle P gave us the wrong thing.
	A (boy, 8): Yeah, because me and J (cousin, 4) was going to have Spiderman (tinned spaghetti) and C (brother, 6) and E (sister, 4) were going to have Scooby-Doo. But he put Scooby-Doo on mine and Spiderman's on C, Spiderman on E and Scooby-Doo on J. E and J swapped but me and C couldn't.
	Nicki: Why? Do they taste different?
	C (boy,6): No.
	A (boy, 8): Not really.

The two siblings in Family 7 were again displaying more confirming behaviour. However, in the above extract the older brother was also attempting to show his superior knowledge by providing a more detailed account of the experience. In addition, following on from Daly's (2007) suggestion to ensure the children did not miss out part of their account due to them taking it for granted, I felt I needed to question their account further to try and find out why it was important for each of them to eat the

correct shape of spaghetti. However, it appeared from the children's responses that the only reason was their preference for a particular cartoon character.

In agreement with the literature the types of tie-ins appeared to differ depending on age and gender (Costa, 2010; Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Institute of Medicine, 2006; Lawrence, 2003). Television programme characters, which also tended to be cartoon characters, were appealing to the younger children. These included characters from Winnie the Pooh, The Mister Men and Bob the Builder. In contrast film and human characters were more appealing to the older children such as Superman, Spiderman and characters from the Narnia films. There was also a gender split with girls preferring characters such as Barbie and The Bratz and the boys preferring characters such as Scooby-Doo and Dr Who. Finally, there were a number of universal characters which nearly all of the children found appealing. These tended to be characters from the Disney and other blockbuster movies such as characters from Happy Feet, Finding Nemo and the Toy Story films.

> Family 12   Mum: I think when L (daughter, 11) was about 4 when she was
> heavily into Barbie, you know it would be Barbie pasta, Barbie
> toothbrush, Barbie, you know chocolate or whatever it was and
> the same for D (son, 9) and Scooby-Doo.
> L (girl,11): Once I got older I was into Bratz a lot.

The above quotation highlights how children's socialisation has changed over time. It is an example of children getting older younger (Choueko, 2010), whereas, it might be expected that an eleven year old girl would be just coming out of a Barbie phase, L above was playing with her Barbie at the age of four and has now moved to more sophisticated brands. However, this is in contrast to I (girl, 8) from Family 6 who is still in the Barbie stage (as evident from the quotation on p.217 detailing her frequent visits to the Barbie website).

All of the families reported at least some contact and most of them considered the frequency of contact to be relatively high. On similar lines, all of the families agreed that these tie-ins did have some influence over their children's purchase requests. Across the families there was a range of ratings, however, I expect this was at least partly due to the different ages of the children in the families. The families with younger children tended to rate the perceived influence higher than those with older ones. Following on from this a number of parents stated that their rating would have been higher if their children had been a few years younger. In agreement with Freedland (2005) the influence over the younger children was particularly strong and often led to them to request products which they actually did not like to eat.

Family 12	Mum: D (son, 9) a few years ago was in to Scooby-Doo and so if it had Scooby-Doo on the tin he wanted it. It didn't matter I was saying that it's the same as spaghetti hoops and you don't really like them.
Family 7	Mum: E (daughter, 4) would look at the pictures, she'd even buy stuff that she didn't like the taste of because she'll go and pick yoghurts up that I know she won't like because it's got Pooh bear on.

In contrast, several of the older children felt they had out grown this type of appeal and were more interested in the product itself.

Family 4	D (boy,11): I don't have any of them because I don't like food that is named after Disney, it's just terrible. People just buy it because they think it's good with a name like that.

The above quotation could be interpreted as D attempting to portray himself as more grown-up. He could have been conscious that to choose Disney food was something he had done as a younger child and now he was keen to distance himself from such childish behaviour.

As can be seen in Figure 5.7 below, the overall picture of responses is similar to that for free gifts (above) and children's food (below).

Figure 5.7: Perceived frequency and influence of tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters
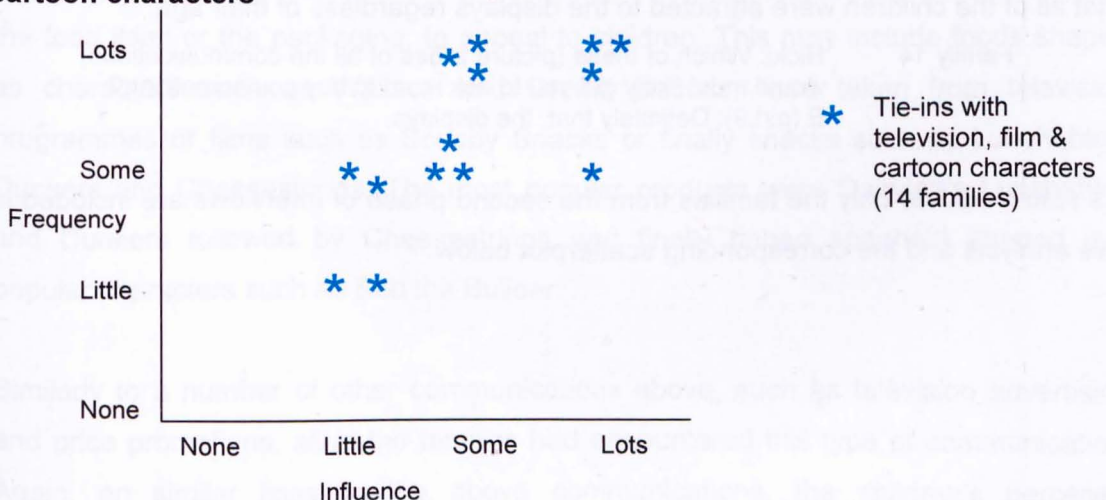
5.2.5.3 Point of sale

This is one of the forms of communication which was only discussed during the second phase of interviews. Even though in the first phase of interviews there were discussions around taking the children to the supermarket (see chapter 7 – parental considerations) none of the families specially mentioned any in-store merchandising. This is in stark

contrast to the other three in-store communications which were frequently discussed. It is unlikely that these families had not come into contact with this type of communication as all of the families from the second phase reported at least some contact, with a number of the families even giving it the highest rating. In agreement with the Federal Trade Commission (2008), it was mentioned that in order to raise children's awareness to the point of sale material many companies were including a tie-in from above within the merchandise.

> Family 7   Mum: He (son, 6) saw a Scooby-Doo one, it was in a freezer and it had a big poster over the top with Scooby-Doo on, didn't it and a price. He's looking around and saw the poster otherwise he wouldn't have noticed it.

One of the reasons families in the first phase did not include point of sale communications in their discussions may have been due to all of the parents preferring to shop alone, and therefore as the children rarely visited the supermarket their contact is very limited. This of course could also be true for the families in phase two who also preferred to shop alone; however, more of those parents did report shopping with their children. As with their frequency of contact the families gave a mix of responses to the amount of perceived influence and impact the communication had on the children. However, in contrast to previous communications, such as tie-ins above, it did appear that all of the children were attracted to the displays regardless of their age.

> Family 14   Nicki: Which of these (picture slides of all the communications) would most likely get you to ask mum to buy you something?
> E (girl,9): Definitely that, the displays.

As stated above, only the families from the second phase of interviews are included in this analysis and the corresponding scatterplot below.

Figure 5.8: Perceived frequency and influence of point of sale

*Figure 5.8: Perceived frequency and influence of point of sale. Vertical axis: Frequency (Lots, Some, Little, None). Horizontal axis: Influence (None, Little, Some, Lots). Legend: * Point of sale (8 families)*
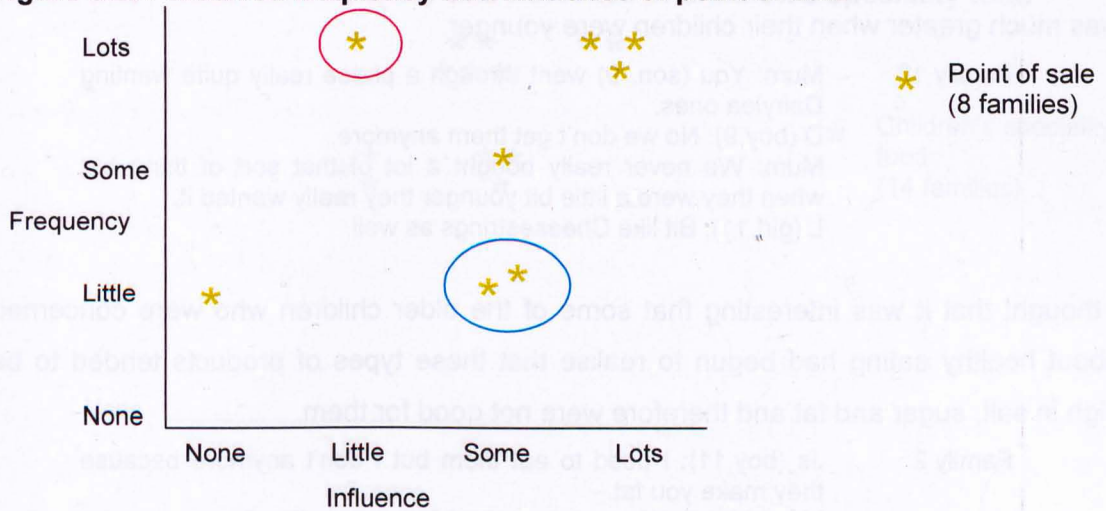
5.2.5.4 Children's speciality food

Children's speciality food is usually not a recognised communication and as such was not specifically discussed in the literature reviews (chapters 2 and 3). However, I felt that whilst there are links to some of the other communications within this section, such as tie-ins, it was still sufficiently distinct to warrant its own discussion. Children's speciality foods are those food products which have been specifically designed, either the food itself or the packaging, to appeal to children. This may include foods shaped as characters such as Wallace and Gromit biscuits, food taken from television programmes or films such as Scooby Snacks or finally snacks such as Lunchables, Dunkers and Cheesestrings. The most popular products were Dairylea's Lunchables and Dunkers followed by Cheesestrings and finally tinned spaghetti shaped into popular characters such as Bob the Builder.

Similarly to a number of other communications above, such as television advertising and price promotions, all of the families had encountered this type of communication. Again, on similar lines to the above communications, the children's perceived frequency of contact was thought to be reasonable high.

> Family 14   E (girl,9): We've had them lots of times (referring the examples
> of children's food on the slides).
> Z (girl,5): We always like them, we have lunches like that.

Whilst all of the families believed that these types of food products had some influence over their children's food requests, it did not appear to be quite as high as some of the other communications such as television advertising. However, it did appear to have a greater influence over children's purchase requests than tie-ins. A full comparison is

presented in section 5.3. In line with tie-ins most parents believed that the influence was much greater when their children were younger.

> Family 12   Mum: You (son, 9) went through a phase really quite wanting Dairylea ones.
> D (boy,9): No we don't get them anymore.
> Mum: We never really bought a lot of that sort of thing but when they were a little bit younger they really wanted it.
> L (girl,11): Bit like Cheesestrings as well.

I thought that it was interesting that some of the older children who were concerned about healthy eating had begun to realise that these types of products tended to be high in salt, sugar and fat and therefore were not good for them.

> Family 2   Js (boy,11): I used to eat them but I don't anymore because they make you fat.
> Mum: Yes they're not very good for you are they?
> Js (boy,11): Most of the things, like those Cheesestrings, they're like rubber more than real cheese. They do these adverts saying they are like, they are almost 100% cheese but they are only like 20% cheese.

Again, the above shows evidence of confirming behaviour between siblings (Family 14 above) and in contrast an example of contradicting behaviour by D in Family 12. This in turn resulted in the mother having to negotiate a comprise account of the past behaviours. Finally this was followed by L (the older sibling) showing her support for her mother by providing a confirming example. Within Family 2 above the mother was firstly supporting her eldest son and then made an assertion to encourage him to show his deeper understanding of the subject. In addition it could be interpreted that both Jn and mum from Family 2 are using their accounts to portray that family identity as a health conscious family (Epp and Price, 2008).

Figure 5.9 represents the families' ratings for this communication. As expected due to the close ties the figure is very similar to that for tie-ins with no families rating one factor significantly higher or lower than the other.

Figure 5.9: Perceived frequency and influence of children's speciality food

Perceived frequency and influence of children's speciality food. Axes: vertical axis "Frequency" with labels None, Little, Some, Lots; horizontal axis "Influence" with labels None, Little, Some, Lots. Legend: * Children's speciality food (14 families)
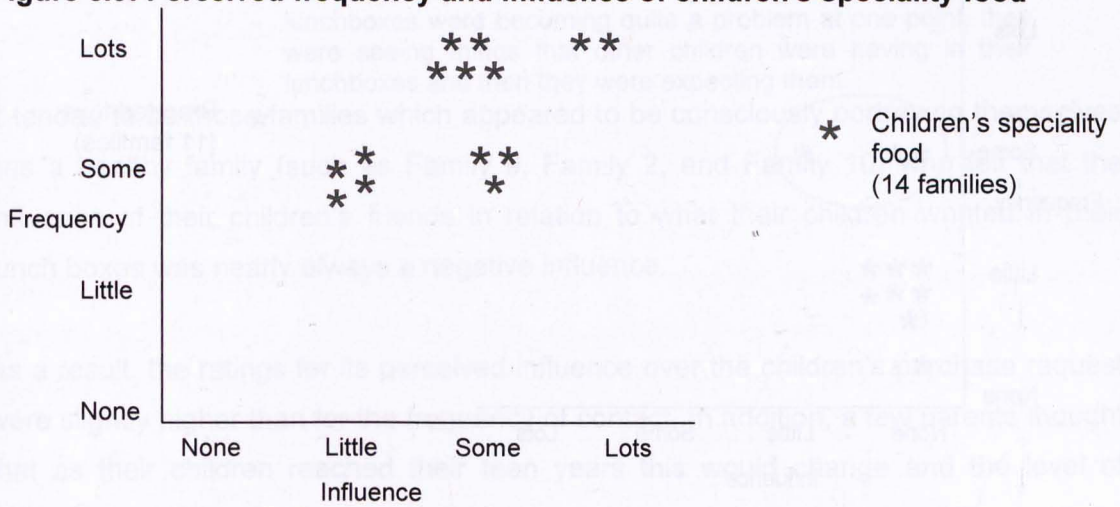
5.2.6 Other Communications

5.2.6.1 Branded toys

The most common examples of branded toys by the food industry were the Early Learning Centre's play food branded by Sainsbury's and the McDonald's McFlurry maker and cash register. As a side note, since the interviews took place the Early Learning Centre's play food is no longer branded by Sainsbury's but is now branded by Marks & Spencer (Early Learning Centre, 2009). As this form of communications is probably one of the least common it was perhaps not surprising to find that the overall level of perceived frequency of contact was low. Half of the families from the first phase of interviews did not include this form of communications in their discussions.

> Family 6
>
> Mum: You (daughter, 8) have got some; you know the play food that was Sainsbury's.
> I (girl,8): Was it, I don't know. I didn't really know where it came from.
> Mum: It's got Sainsbury's all over it. I think it, I can't remember whether it came from Sainsbury's or the Early Learning Centre, I think it might be. I think that's the only thing we've had, we've never had anything like this.

Perhaps due to such low contact all of the families believed that the level of influence on their children was extremely low or none existent.

In line with a number of communications above only three families from the first phase of interviews provided sufficient data to be included with the phase two families in the scatterplot below.

195

Figure 5.10: Perceived frequency and influence of branded toys
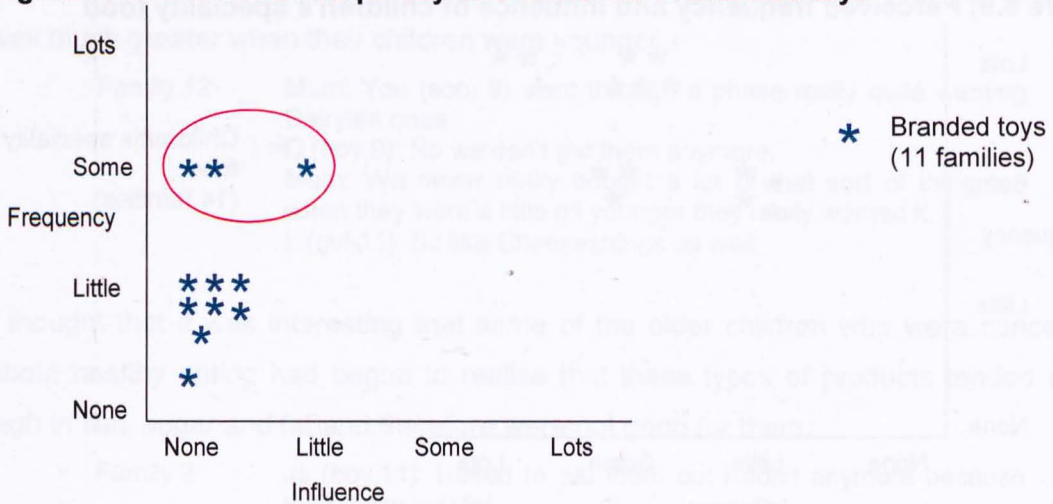
5.2.6.2 *Word of mouth*

Whilst word of mouth is generally considered to be outside the control of companies, as discussed in chapter 2, some companies have begun to recruit spokespersons known as tremors to spread their communications through word of mouth (Misloski, 2005). As this practice is predominately only found in the USA it was not unexpected to find that as yet none of the families had encountered this form of promotion. Consequently, the word of mouth the children had come into contact with was mainly through their friends, usually at school, or from other members of their family. Unlike other less obvious communications, all but one of the families included word of mouth in their discussions. However, whilst it appeared that this type of communication may have been common for products such as toys, computer games and clothes; it was not as common for food products.

Family 8   Z (boy,12): I've done loads of word of mouth things but not for food, like for games and stuff.

Nevertheless, a number of children had been introduced to new food products either when visiting a friend's home or through their friend's lunchbox. After television advertising this appears to be the next common source for the children to discover new types of food. Even so most families thought their children's frequency of contact was fairly low. However, where the children did encounter this communication it was likely to have an impact on them.

Family 4   K (girl,7): I wanted to try them because my friend has had that [pointing to than image on the slide] and my friend has had that [a second image] and I wanted to try that [a third image] because my friend said it was nice and my other friend said it was nice.

Family 9	Mum: They are influenced by their peers…you know lunchboxes were becoming quite a problem at one point, they were seeing things that other children were having in their lunchboxes and then they were expecting them.

It tended to be those families which appeared to be consciously portraying themselves has a healthy family (such as Family 9, Family 2, and Family 10) who felt that the influence of their children's friends in relation to what their children wanted in their lunch boxes was nearly always a negative influence.

As a result, the ratings for its perceived influence over the children's purchase request were slightly higher than for the frequency of contact. In addition, a few parents thought that as their children reached their teen years this would change and the level of influence would increase.

Family 7	Mum: I suppose as he gets older still you'll get more peer pressure, won't you? 'This is good, drink this.'

Only one of the families from the first phase of interviews could not be included in the scatterplot below.

Figure 5.11: Perceived frequency and influence of word of mouth
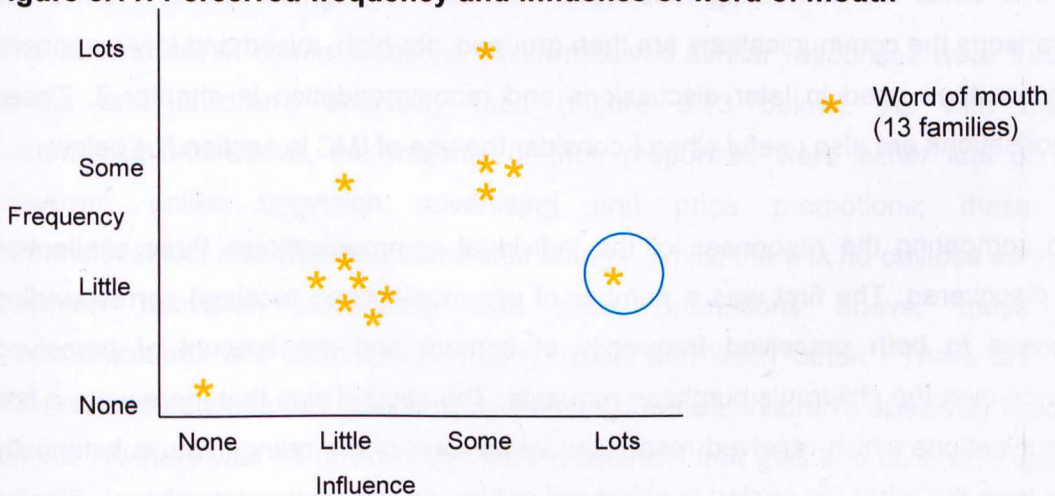
5.2.7 Marketing communications children come into contact with and their corresponding perceived influence: Reflexive considerations

As detailed at the beginning of this chapter (p167), in chapter 8, my discussion chapter, I present a detailed comparison of the above findings with the current literature reviewed in chapters 2 and 3. However, there is one form of communication – mobile advertising or short message service (SMS, or more commonly known as texting), which does not appear in the above findings, and therefore, by its absence needs at

least mentioning. From Table 4.8 (p.131-132) it can be seen that in total only three of the twenty nine children had access to a mobile phone, the two children from Family 4 and the eldest daughter from Family 13. Furthermore, it was made clear that from Family 4 K (girl; 8) had only been allowed a phone as it had been passed down to her from her older brother and that her usage was strictly monitored. As the data was collected during 2005, 2006 and 2007 the ownership of mobile phones, especially for children, was considerably less than it is today, and perhaps more importantly, the sophistication of the mobile phones was considerably reduced. Therefore, as detailed in my suggestions for further research in chapter 8, this form of communication should be included in any future research on how companies market to children.

5.3 Comparison of the different marketing communications used to target children

As previously indicated this next section considers how the responses to the individual communications compare to each other. The comparisons also include how the responses may change with the age of the children. In addition, this section considers in further detail the interesting responses that were highlighted above. From these comparisons the communications are then grouped into high, mixed and low responses which are then used in later discussions and recommendation in chapter 8. These categorisations are also useful when I consider the use of IMC in section 5.4 below.

When comparing the responses of the individual communications, three similarities were discovered. The first was a number of communications received corresponding responses to both perceived frequency of contact and the amount of perceived influence over the children's purchase requests. The second was that there were a few communications which received responses where one of the ratings was substantially higher than the other (as circled in either red or blue on the scatterplots above). Finally, the third similarity was how the perceived influence changed as the children became older. Whilst the findings are presented here, as stated at the beginning of the chapter, their importance and how they compare to current thinking is not discussed until chapter 8.

5.3.1 Similarities between the frequency and perceived influence

By comparing all of the individual communications I found that there were a number of communications which received very similar responses. The first similarity was

between television advertising and price promotions. As can be seen from Figure 5.12 below, all of their responses are located in the top right quadrant of the chart. From the responses these two communications were the ones which the families felt their children encountered the most frequently plus were the most likely to result in the children making a purchase request.

Figure 5.12: Comparison between television advertising and price promotions

The second set of communications which received similar responses were free gifts, tie-ins and children's speciality food (Figure 5.13 below). As with the two communications above, the majority of their responses were either lots or some, however, unlike television advertising and price promotions, these three communications also received some little ratings. Whilst there is no obvious connection between television advertising and price promotions above, these three communications are often used in conjunction with each other. There are strong connections between free gifts and tie-ins and between children's speciality foods and tie-ins. As there was no obvious connection between free gifts and children's speciality food, I deduced that the connecting factor was the use of tie-ins.

The third similarity was found between sponsorship, the two forms of product placement and new media. As can be seen by Figure 5.14 below, the majority of all the responses can found to the left hand side and predominately towards the bottom corner. Sponsorship and product placement in television and film appear in more of straight line on the left of the chart, whilst product placement in video games and new media appear to be more as a triangle pointing upwards but still on the left of the chart. The fourth comparison was between those communications which received responses across nearly all of the possible ratings. These include point of sale, word of mouth,

Figure 5.13: Comparison between free gifts, tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters and children's speciality food

free gifts and competitions, (Figure 5.15, p.201). Here there appeared to be an even spread of ratings showing very little agreement between the families. However, the responses to word of mouth and point of sale do appear to form a straight line from the bottom left to the top right. This would indicate to me that the greater the perceived frequency of contact, the great the perceived influence over the children's purchase request. The final comparison was between in-school communications, branded toys, new media, product placement in video games and print advertising where nearly all of the responses were either little or none. Whilst all of the communications received a small number of some and even a couple of lots, as can be seen from Figure 5.16 below the remainder of the responses are all located in the bottom left corner of the chart.

Figure 5.14: Comparison between sponsorship, product placement and new media
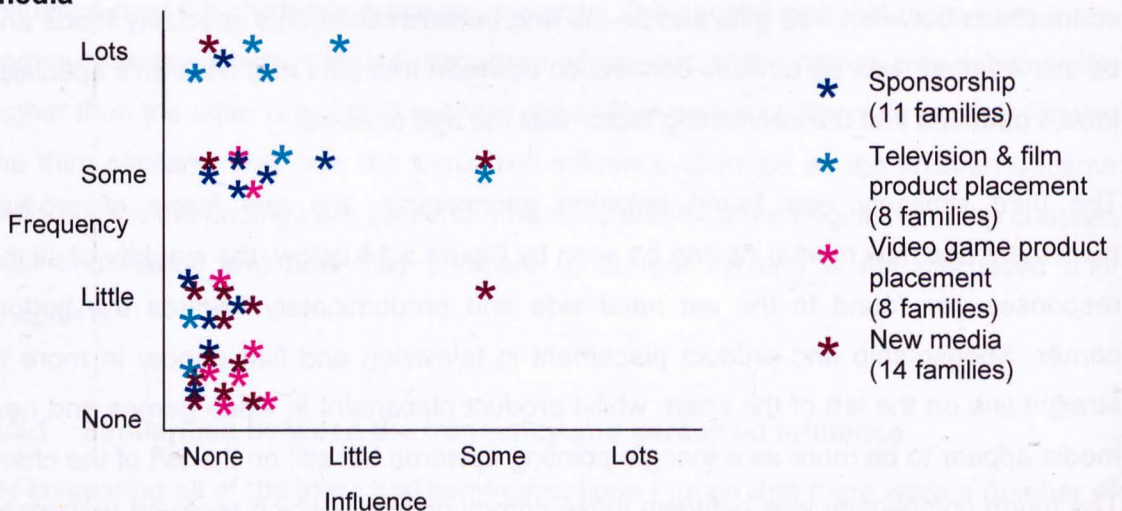
Figure 5.15: Comparison between point of sale, word of mouth, free gifts and competitions

Free gifts (14 families)
Competitions (11 families)
Point of sale (8 families)
Word of mouth (13 families)

Figure 5.16: Comparison between in-school communications, branded toys, new media, product placement in video games and print advertising

Print advertising (9 families)
Video game product placement (8 families)
New media (14 families)
In-school communications (11 families)
Branded toys (11 families)
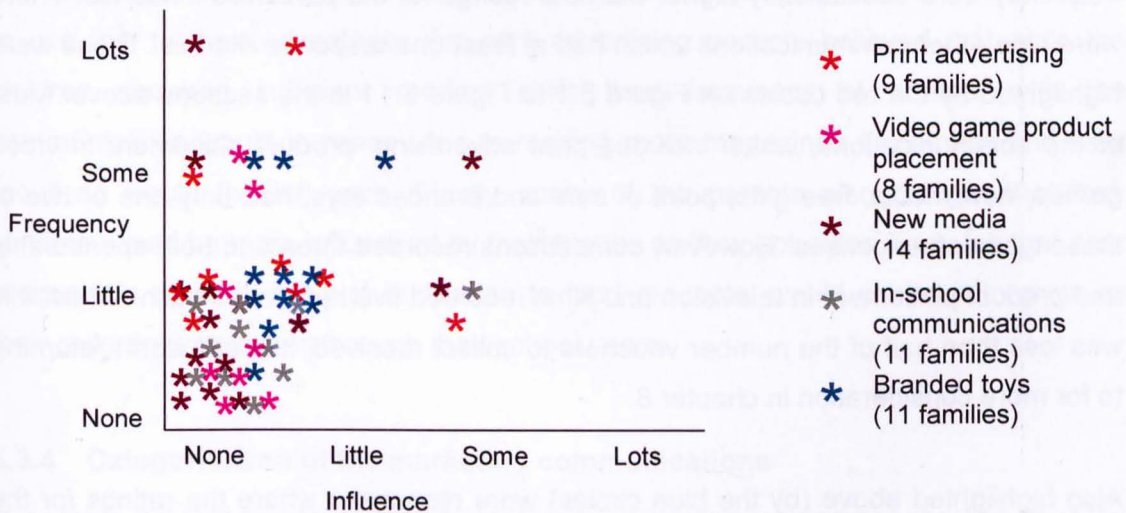
5.3.2 Differences between frequency and perceived influence

After completing the comparisons above I found that there was one communication which had not been compared to any of the others – the vouchers to collect scheme. This communication produced a unique pattern (see Figure 5.17 below) with nearly all of the responses being in the top left corner of the chart. This suggested that whilst there had been relatively high levels of perceived contact, the amount of perceived influence had been very low. This appeared to be counter intuitive and will therefore be considered again in chapter 8.

Figure 5.17: Perceived frequency and influence of vouchers to collect
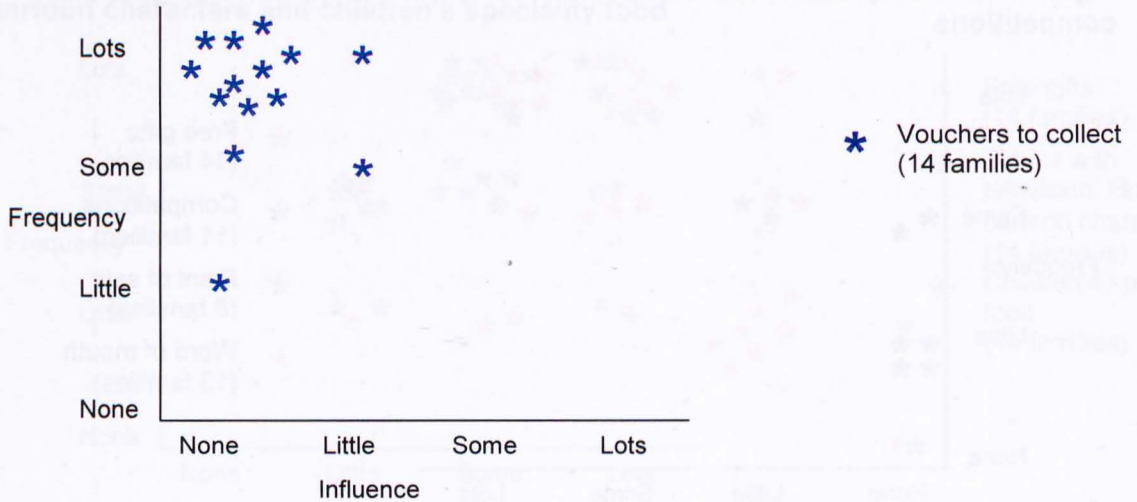
However, it was not the only communication where the ratings for the perceived level of frequency were substantially higher than the ratings for the perceived influence. There were nine other communications which had at least one response like this. These were highlighted by the red circles on Figure 5.1 to Figure 5.11 in the sections above. Most of the communications, which included print advertising, product placement in video games, new media, free gifts, point of sale and branded toys, had only one or two of these types of responses. However, competitions recorded three and both sponsorship and product placement in television and films recorded five responses each. Whilst this was less than half of the number vouchers to collect received, it is still worth returning to for more consideration in chapter 8.

Also highlighted above (by the blue circles) were responses where the ratings for the perceived influence of the communication were notably higher than the ratings for the perceived frequency of contact. This suggested that those families believed that even if their children had very little contact with the communication, that contact made a substantial impact on them. However, unlike above there were only four communications where this took place, once for print advertising, once for in-school communications, one for word of mouth and two for point of sale.

5.3.3   The impact of age

One final similarity which was briefly mentioned above was for those communications whose perceived influence was thought to alter as the age of the child changed. For some communications, as children became older the perceived influence would

increase and for other communications it would decrease. Those communications where the parents believed that the perceived influence was stronger when their children were younger were television advertising, free gifts, tie-ins and children's speciality food. Again, these final three have been grouped together. According to the parents (see p.189/190 for a quote from family 7) when children are younger they are more attracted to the visual aspects of these communications (Ip et al., 2007), and as to be discussed in chapters 6 and 8 the children have not yet developed the necessary skills to understand the persuasive intent they are coming into contact with.

In contrast there were three communications where the parents believed that their influence would increase as their children aged. These were for price promotions, print advertising and word of mouth. Unlike the communications above, the parents gave different reasons for why they believed the influence would increase. For price promotions parents thought it was once the children understood the intent they began to use this to their advantage. For print advertising parents believed that once the children acquired sufficient reading skills their frequency of contact with the communication would increase (due to reading more magazines or comics) and as a result so would the influence. Finally, many of the parents also thought that their children would be more influenced by their friends as they got older. They felt that peer pressure in general, not just in relation to food requests, would continue to grow as their children progressed through their school years.

5.3.4 Categorisation of the marketing communications

In order to be able to compare and categorise I compiled a summary chart of all of the individual communications (see Figure 5.18 below). I divided the chart into two sections; high to the top right and low to the bottom left.

Using Figure 5.18 I was able to classify the communications. The communications which I classified as high were those communications which the families had predominantly rated as lots and some. In contrast, I classified those communications which had received primarily little or none ratings from the families as low. However, there were a number of communications that did not fall into either the high or the low classification and I therefore required a third classification. This third classification, labelled mixed, contains those communications which had received a variety of responses from the families for either the perceived frequency of contact, the amount

Figure 5.18: Summary of responses
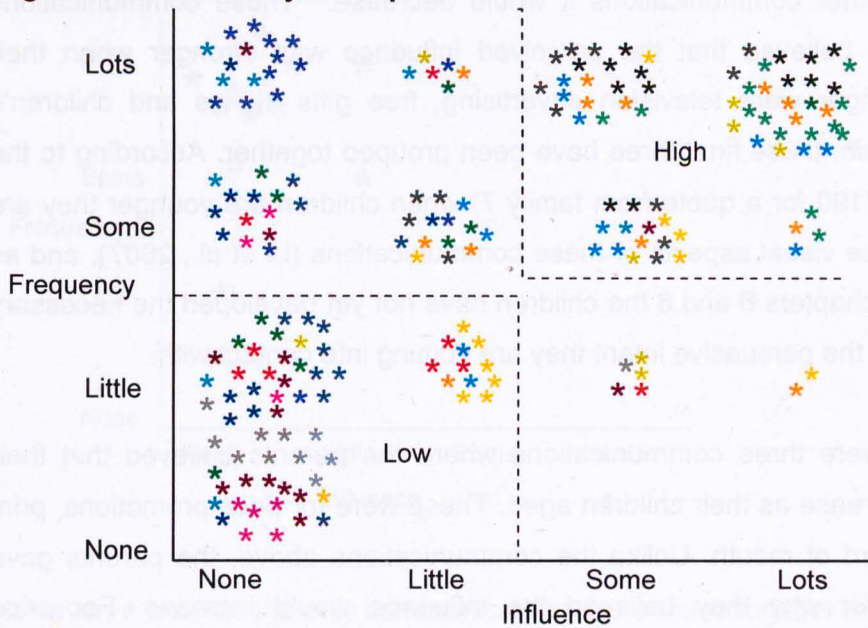
*	Television advertising (14 families)	*	Print advertising (9 families)	*	Sponsorship (11 families)
*	Television & film product placement (8 families)	*	Video game product placement (8 families)	*	New media (14 families)
*	In-school communications (11 families)	*	Children's speciality food (14 families)	*	Tie-ins with television, film & cartoon characters (14 families)
*	Competitions (11 families)	*	Vouchers to collect (14 families)	*	Price promotions (14 families)
*	Point of sale (8 families)	*	Free gifts (14 families)	*	Branded toys (11 families)
*	Word of mouth (13 families)				

of perceived influence over the children's purchase of requests or both. All of the communications, with the exception of vouchers to collect, were classified into one of these three categories. As discussed above, the vouchers to collect was the only communication which scored high responses for its frequency of contact and low responses for the level of perceived influence. Table 5.2 below provides a summary of how the communications were classified.

In the high category is television advertising and four of the in-store communications. These include price promotions, free gifts, children's speciality food and tie-ins. As already highlighted in 5.3.1, these communications had very similar scatterplot displays. In the mixed category is print advertising, competitions, point of sales, word of mouth, sponsorship and finally television and film product placement. Again, three of these communications (competitions, point of sale and word of mouth) were discussed

Table 5.2: Categorisation of the individual communications by perceived frequency and influence

Category	Communication
High	Television advertising Price promotions Free gifts Children's speciality food Tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters
Mixed	Competitions Point of sale Word of mouth Sponsorship Product placement in television and film
Low	Print advertising Video games product placement New media In-school communications Branded toys
Unclassified	Vouchers to collect

previously for having responses in all four of the categories. Furthermore, sponsorship and product placement in television and film also had very similar scatterplot displays. However, new media and product placement in video games, which also had a similar scatterplot displays to sponsorship and product placement in television and film were placed in the low category. Finally in the low category, in addition to the two communications just mentioned, are in-school communications and branded toys.

5.4 The awareness of integrated marketing communications

When asked directly very few of the families were able to suggest which combinations of communications food companies were using to increase the impact and influence on the children's purchase requests, despite all of them previously discussing some examples during other parts of the interview. However, there were only a couple of the families who, even after being referred back to their earlier comments, could still not answer the question.

> Family 9   Mum: McDonald's. I suppose Kellogg's is an obvious one, I think they probably do use that to great effect. I can't think of a particular, you know, brand. Is that what you are after? A brand?
> Nicki: I just want to find out if you notice the companies that use multiple ways of trying to get to children.
> Mum: I've never thought about it that much before.

The families began by naming between one and four combinations per family but increased to between two and ten when prompted by the interview cards. A full list of the combinations and their frequency of being named by families is presented in Table 5.3 below. As can be seen from Table 5.3 (p.207) two thirds of the combinations only

contain two communications, a fifth include three, only three families included four and only one family could name a combination of six communications. In relation to the communications which registered the most mentions, over two thirds of the combinations contained television advertising again showing itself as the dominant communication. Other common combinations included free gifts, ties-ins and/or children's speciality food. There were only three combinations that did not include any of these four communications which I had previously categorised as high.

These communications were followed by price promotions, point of sale, word of mouth and sponsorship as the next most frequent. Print advertising and new media only appeared twice and product placement in television and films once. This meant that there were three remaining communications which had not been included at all. These communications were product placement in video games, branded toys and in-school communications. With regards to the actual combinations, the most popular combination discussed by the families was television advertising and children's speciality food and free gifts and tie-ins. This was closely followed by children's specialty food and tie-ins and television advertising and free gifts. Therefore, the most popular combination of three communications was television advertising, tie-ins and free gifts, highlighting once again the dominance of these four communications in the marketing of food to children.

Following on from this I compared the findings of the individual communications in sections 5.2 and 5.3 to those just described above (see Table 5.4 p.208). Interestingly, it was those communications which I placed in the high category in Table 5.2 which received the greatest frequencies in Table 5.3. On similar lines, those communications which I had categorised as low were the communications which the families had failed to name in any of the combinations. For those communications I had classified as mixed, here again the results were mixed, whilst some communications appeared in a number of the combinations others did not appear in any.

Table 5.3: The families' combination of communications

Combinations of Communications	Frequency
Two communications	
Television advertising & children's specialty food	11
Free gifts & tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters	11
Speciality food & tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters	9
Television advertising & free gifts	7
Competitions & tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters	3
Television advertising & tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters	3
Free gifts & new media	3
Word of mouth & children's speciality food	3
Television advertising & point of sale	2
Word of mouth & tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters	2
Word of mouth & free gifts	2
Television advertising & vouchers to collect	1
Television advertising & competitions	1
Television advertising & word of mouth	1
Print advertising & children's speciality food	1
Print advertising & price promotions	1
Word of mouth & point of sale	1
Sponsorship & free gifts	1
Price promotions & tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters	1
Price promotions & children's speciality food	1
Point of sale & price promotions	1
Three communications	
Television advertising & tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters & free gifts	5
Television advertising & free gifts & price promotions	2
Television advertising & tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters & children's speciality food	1
Television advertising & point of sale & children's speciality food	1
Television advertising & point of sale & vouchers to collect	1
Television advertising & free gifts & sponsorship	1
Four communications	
Television advertising & free gifts & price promotions & tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters	1
Television advertising & free gifts & tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters & children's speciality food	1
Television advertising & free gifts & sponsorship & new media	1
Six communications	
Television advertising & competitions & sponsorship & product placement in television & films & free gifts & price promotions	1

Table 5.4: Frequency of communications used in combinations

Category	Communication	Frequency
High	Television advertising	17
	Price promotions	8
	Free gifts	12
	Children's speciality food	8
	Tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters	10
Mixed	Competitions	3
	Point of sale	5
	Word of mouth	5
	Sponsorship	4
	Product placement in television and film	1
Low	Print advertising	2
	Video games product placement	0
	New media	2
	In-school communications	0
	Branded toys	0
Unclassified	Vouchers to collect	2

By comparing the findings from throughout the chapter I have been able to show that whilst companies may use a wide variety of communications within their IMC campaigns, children and their families are more likely to see, remember and be influenced by a group of five communications. One final point to highlight is that during the interviews there were a number of brands which nearly all of the families named when recalling their experiences. These brands were McDonald's, Kellogg's Coco Pops, Dairylea Lunchables and Cheesestrings. These brands were also the most recalled examples when discussing the use of multiple communications particularly McDonald's and Kellogg's. Unsurprisingly, it is these brands which always make repeated use of the top five communications and more often than not in the form of an integrated campaign.

5.5   Summary

In answering the first two research objectives I have presented three of the topics which arose from the analysis of both phases of the family interviews. Based on those findings I have confirmed that the food industry is using a wide variety of communications to target children. However, the frequency with which the children came into contact with these communications and the resulting perceived influence over their purchase requests did differ considerably. By comparing the frequency of contact and perceived influence I was able to classify the communications into three categories of high, mixed and low. In addition, a similar pattern emerged amongst the communications in relation to how often the families believed they were used in an IMC campaign. Finally, there were a number of brands which were named more frequently

by the families. These were McDonald's, Kellogg's Coco Pops, Dairylea Lunchables and Cheesestrings.

In addition, by looking at how the families discussed each of the communications there has been considerable evidence of all of the families using confirming behaviour. This took place either between the parents and their children, the siblings or between two parents. Furthermore, it was not uncommon for family members to portray both collective identities as well as individual ones (Epp and Price, 2008).

In the next chapter I begin to answers the third research objective by presenting the fourth topic which arose from the analysis of the family interviews. As detailed in Table 5.1 at the beginning of this chapter this is children's understanding of marketing communications.

6 Findings 2: Children's understanding of marketing communications

6.1 Introduction

Following on from chapter 5 in this chapter I discuss the fourth topic which was pulled out of the analysis of the family interviews. This topic is children's understanding of the different marketing communications. In line with chapter 3, I split the chapter into whether the children could identify the different marketing communications (i.e. if they could distinguish between an advertisement and a programme) and secondly whether they understood the persuasive intent of the communications they were coming into contact with. As advertising was clearly the dominant communication, both in the past literature (as per chapters 2 and 3) and in the previous findings chapter, this is considered independently first before moving onto the other communications.

6.2 Identifying the individual marketing communications

The first step in deciding if the children understood any of the individual marketing communications was to determine whether they could identify what they were seeing as a type of communication. In other words, could they distinguish between the commercial and editorial content. As already discussed in chapter 4, the children were shown picture cards (as presented in chapter 4) each containing examples for each type of communication as visual cue to help them orientate their mind to remembering and recalling their previous experiences (Wright et al., 2005). During the second phase of family interviews the children were asked firstly whether they could recognise the type of communications, with a further explanation being provided for those they could not identify. Previously for advertising research this yes or no response has been sufficient for determining children's ability to distinguish the commercial content from the editorial content. However, I felt due to the presence of the picture cards that for some of the other communications it was possible for children to guess some of their responses. Consequently I felt that I needed to add something extra to ensure I was certain that the children either could or could not recognise the communication. Where the children were hesitant to join the discussion I helped to break the ice by asking them to identify the sponsor in the picture. In addition, where there had been some hesitance in identifying the communication, i.e. possible guessing, I also asked them to describe a second example from their own experience.

6.2.1 Advertising

As the majority of the children who took part in the research were aged between seven to eleven years of age, there was an expectation, based on the previous literature that they would be able to recognise the different types of advertising on the picture slides.

6.2.1.1 Television advertising

As expected, all of the children, even the younger ones aged five and six years old, easily recognised the television advertisements on the picture slide. All of the children were able to name the products in the pictures and some even gave a more detailed explanation of the content of the advertisement.

Family 10	R (boy,9): I've seen Haribo a lot.

Family 7	A (boy,8): Definitely Coco Pops because there's these new sort of ones just come out. C (boy,6): Yeah new Coco Pops. A (boy,8): Coco Rocks they're called, Mega Munchers, that's still Coco Pops. They're quite nice, well they look nice.

In addition, as already detailed in 5.2.1.1, all of the children recalled other food advertising which had been targeted at them. Some of the children provide more detail and either sang the jingle, told me the story from the advertisement or just mimicked the advertisement.

Family 5	J (girl,8): I love Petit Filous. D (boy,12): 'My mum says if you eat Petit Filous you'll get big and strong' (imitating the young girl on the advertisement). J (girl,8): Oh that's the advert.

Furthermore, some of the children recalled food advertisements which had not been specifically targeted at them such as Morrisons or Muller Rice yoghurts. On similar lines, a number of children recalled advertisements for other adult non-food related products such as mobile phones or razor blades (Costa, 2010; Duff, 2004; Marshall et al., 2007)

Family 14	Mum: What about the ones you know the song for? E (girl,9): That new orange phone.

When discussing the different television advertisements the children had encountered, whilst a few of the children showed a higher level of awareness by acknowledging the fact that the BBC channels, such as CBBC, do not contain advertisements, some of the older children still had difficulties remembering which channels show advertisements and which do not.

Family 2	Js (boy,11): We normally watch CBBC but the BBC don't have adverts so you don't see them.

Family 7	A (boy,8): We've definitely seen them when we are watching digital channels (pointing to the pictures of television advertisements).

Family 12 L (girl,11): Sometimes it depends on what channel we're watching because they don't usually have adverts on CBBC.

Family 1   R (girl,8): I watch BBC.
       A (boy,10) : But that's just got kids adverts on, aint it? It has adverts on like Coco-pops and stuff.

In relation to the different advertisements that the children recalled, they all tended to have similar characteristics. They were either fully or partially animated, usually contained some form of humour either in the story or visually and finally they tended to have a catchy jingle (Connor, 2006; Dens et al., 2007; Kunkel, 2001; Lewis and Hill, 1998).

Family 10 Mum: You like fun adverts like Fruit Winders, yes?
       R (boy,9): Yeah and stuff like McDonald's where someone is parachuting down on a grape, holding onto a nugget in a race.
       Mum: Are you making this up?
       R (boy,9): No. They've got like these parachutes and they are holding onto strings and they've got grapes as balloons and they are standing on a nugget and they are floating down.
       P (boy,5): And there's a racing car.
       R (boy,9): Made out of chicken nuggets and there's a boy that gets inside it and there's a girl that stands on the chicken nugget but and they start driving down to McDonald's.

As was evident in the previous chapter, the above again highlights that there was a considerable amount of confirming behaviour between the siblings. This behaviour took two forms; the first can be seen in the quotation from Family 5 where a simple confirmation of the example took place. However, the second form of confirming behaviour was slightly more complex, as in the quotations from Family 7 and Family 10 highlight; this was where the siblings would help each other in describing the example.

6.2.1.2 Other advertising

The only other form of advertising which was included on the picture cards was print advertising. Both outdoor advertising and leaflets and flyers were introduced into the interviews by the families themselves and therefore I could only consider whether the children from those families were able to recognise them. In addition, the children's frequency of contact for all other types of advertising was considerably lower than that found for television advertising (as discussed in section 5.2.1.2 previously), and as a result, some of the children found it more difficult to recall their own experience of encountering the communications.

The two examples of print advertisements on the picture cards were advertorials as opposed to a standard advertisement. Consequently all of the children found it more difficult to determine which products the advertisements were for. This resulted in all of

the children needing the communication to be explained to them before they could recall their own experiences. In contrast to television advertising above, it tended to be only the older children (nine years and older) who could recall their experiences and provide any examples. Furthermore, those recollections were vague and unsure.

> Family 12   L (girl,11): I get them (magazines) occasionally but they don't usually have that sort of thing in them. Occasionally you see like, very occasionally, there's like worm sort of sweets and the things that are nice and sort of cheap. They show those sorts of things and yoghurts but that's about all.

With regards to the families who introduced outdoor advertising into the discussion, their children were able to recognise the communication and recall their experiences. The children remembered not only what the advertisement was for but also where they had seen it, for example on a bus shelter.

> Family 8   Mum: If you never watched any more TV you would never know about any more new food.
> Z (boy,12): Actually we would because we see it everywhere because they have got all billboards and stuff on buses.

Interestingly in the above quotation, Z, rather than feeling pressured to agree with his mother and present a collective identity, was happy to show his individual identity by providing an alternative account of his own (Epp and Price, 2008).

When considering leaflets and flyers, firstly only a few of the families included this type of communication in their discussion and secondly, it was the parents alone who had seen the communication. Consequently I was not able to determine whether the children had been able to recognise the flyers as a type of communication.

6.2.2   Other marketing communications

In contrast to television advertising above and as highlighted in chapter 3, there is little, if any, research available in relation to children being able to distinguish other types of marketing communications. It was therefore unclear whether the children would firstly be able to recognise the communications, and secondly, be able to recall any experiences of their own

6.2.2.1   Sponsorship and product placement

The laminated card for sponsorship contained a picture of a youth football team which clearly showed its shirt sponsorship of McDonald's and the Amateur Swimming Association's logo containing its Kellogg's Frosties sponsorship. All of the children recognised the communication and the companies in the sponsorship with little, if any,

additional explanation. A number of the children had taken part in the amateur swimming awards and therefore had seen the logo before on their own certificates and badges. From those children who had not taken part many of them recalled other forms of sponsorship, either linked to their siblings' sporting activities or from professional teams. However, similar to print advertising, some of their recollections were vague and confused. Nevertheless, the children did show they could recognise a piece of sponsorship.

Family 12   D (boy,9): I think in our school, in say the football team, we have special shirts that we wear and they are sponsored by something.
Nicki: Can you remember who they are sponsored by?
D (boy,9): No not really. I just remember seeing the logo mid way up their top.
L (girl, 11): I've seen them on the swimming awards I used to do at Virgin. They were sponsored by Frosties. At school our bibs for hockey, they've got sponsored by some sort of cereal. I can't remember which but everywhere you sort of see things sponsored by companies.

Family 8   Z (boy,12): Aqua Pura sponsors UK athletics.

Even though the children were not shown an example of broadcast sponsorship some of them did recall this form of sponsorship when talking about their experiences. As already mentioned in chapter 5, it was interesting to note that the types of programmes recalled by the children tended to be more adult-orientated such as Paul O'Grady's tea-time chat show rather than sponsorship of the children's programmes on Channel 5 or CITV.

Family 10   R (boy,9): They advertise that beer on the sponsorship for movies on Channel 5.

Family 13   G (girl,10): Like on Coronation Street, at the start it goes sponsored by Snaps.

Some of the children, particularly the younger ones, tended to confuse broadcast sponsorship with either advertising or with the sponsorship of televised events such as football matches. Here the children spoke of the advertising found around a football pitch as a form of sponsorship.

Family 11   W (boy,8): Also you see sponsorship when you watch football on Sky or the cricket.
Nicki: Do you mean before the programme starts?
W (boy,8): No during the match, it's all around the pitch.

The card for product placement contained a picture of American Idol showing glasses of Coca-Cola strategically placed in front of the three judges and an advertisement for a competition to visit the Spiderman movie set containing the Dr Pepper logo. Although all of the children identified both companies on the laminate, they all required further

explanation of the actual communication before they could recall their own experiences. This clearly demonstrates that whilst children may have some agent knowledge (i.e. they could identify the company) and topic knowledge (they all knew the products), they will not necessarily be able to recognise that they are encountering a persuasion episode (Friestad and Wright, 2004; Wright et al., 2004). I return to develop this point further in section 6.2.3 below. Nearly all of the children's examples were from films and tended to be for carbonated drinks or fast food restaurants.

Family 10   R (boy,9): I've seen people in movies going to McDonald's and Burger King and Pizza Hut and stuff like that.

Family 8   B (boy,8): I've seen one with Spiderman.
             Mum: What was Spiderman doing?
             B (boy,8): No not Spiderman Spiderman's girlfriend, she was..
             Z (boy,12): Spiderwomen.
             B (boy,8): No Sarah Jane, she was walking eating a hamburger, it was a Burger King.

During the interviews many of the children, of all ages, confused the different forms of sponsorship, particularly broadcast sponsorship with product placement.

Family 12   L (girl,11): Oh yeah they have them at football matches, when I'm flicking channels, all the way around the ..
             D (boy,9): All the way round the course, like Coca-Cola.
             L (girl,11): They have sponsor things, I try and watch X-Factor when it's on. I don't know why. You just get into it when it starts, they have sponsor by Nokia or something.

Family 8   Nicki: Can you think of any other product placement on television?
             Z (boy,12): What like Big Brother and the Car Phone Warehouse?
             Mum: No that's sponsoring a programme.

Many of the parents believed their children, especially the younger ones, would not notice the placement and therefore would be unable to recall any examples.

Family 12   Mum: I don't know how much they would consciously recognise

Family 9   Mum: Product placement, she (daughter, 3) would never be aware of and L (son, 5) who's 5 would never be aware but I (daughter, 7) would. She's 7 and she would definitely be aware of that.

During the interviews individual members of a family often had to negotiating their account of their experience with other members of the family. As can be seen from the quotation from Family 8 at the top of the page where B successfully negotiated his mother's interruption and more importantly his older brother trying to provide his alternative account of the story. This is in contrast, to the Family's second quotation where his older brother Z had to accept his mother's correction of his account.

For product placement in video games the children were shown a still from a video game of one of the game's characters at a fast food restaurant. Even though all of the children had agent knowledge and could identify the company, the large McDonald's arches were instantly recognisable; I had to explain the communication itself to nearly all of the children. Even after the explanation very few of the children were able to remember and recall any of their own experiences. This may have been due to either the lack of contact with the type of communication, it was rated as low in the previous chapter (in addition I return to the lack of marketplace experience in section 6.2.3 below) or because many parents, as discussed in product placement in television and films just above, believed their children would not consciously notice company placements in this medium.

> Family 8   Z (boy,12): In San Andres you can get Burger King.

However, there was one family who had actually played the game on the card (Sims 2) and their children could remember the McDonald's placement and were able to provide details of where the placement was in the game.

> Family 14   Nicki: From the games you've played have you ever seen any
>   companies in the game?
>   E (girl,9) Yes.
>   Mum: Have you really? Where?
>   E (girl,9) In Sims 2 ....it's in the buffet near the hotel.

The children's father went on to make what I thought was an interesting comment about this form of communication.

> Family 14   Mum: to be honest it (product placement) goes over their
>   heads.
>   Dad: Unless it's McDonald's.

The above quotation is in line with Friestad and Wright (2004) who firstly believe that to gain any of the three forms of knowledge in the PKM children must build up their marketplace experience. Secondly, any knowledge is context bound and therefore the children who had played the game found it easier to recall experiences than those who had not (Wright et al., 2005).

6.2.2.2   New media

The examples of new media shown to the children were a number of food companies' websites and an advergame. All of the children very easily recognised the different websites even though none had actually visited them. As discussed in section 5.2.3 only some of the children had visited other food company websites such as Cheetos and Fruit Winders. Furthermore, all of the children who had visited specific food company websites had not recognised the website themselves as a form of communication or advertising.

Family 12   L (girl,11): I think at one point D (brother, 9) found a website, it was Nestlé, that Nestlé website or bubblegum website or something. You found a bubblegum website to advertise some sort of bubblegum, a Nestlé one, but we didn't really look at the advertising sort of thing.
D (boy,9) I only play the games on the computer.

However, as discussed in chapter 5, all of the children had used the internet and as such could give examples of company websites they had visited. These websites tended to be linked with the television they watched such as the CBBC website, or for the girls they tended to be associated with their interests such as the Barbie website, or for the boys they tended to prefer websites containing different online games.

Family 6   Mum: What about when you're on Barbie.com and things like that?
I (girl,8): They only have toy adverts, which I'm not interested in.

Whilst all of the children easily recognised the company behind the advergame, a large image of Ronald McDonald in the middle of the game obviously helped, not all of them recognised it as a game. The children who recalled their own experiences of playing advergames appeared to fall into two camps. On the one hand were those children who had played similar games on specific company websites and could remember the name of companies involved. Whilst on the other hand, there were those children who had played similar games but this time on generic websites which contained a number of games. The children who fell into the second camp found it much more difficult, even impossible, to remember any company names or products that had appeared in the games.

Family 9   I (girl,7): I've been on a chocolate one (website) and I've played a game on a chocolate website. It was caramel I think.

Even though the children were not shown any third party advertising such as banners or pop-ups some of the children did include this form of communication in their discussions. For the children who had seen this form of advertising, their recollection was similar to that found for print advertising; it tended to be vague and unclear. This was the same for all of the children regardless of their age.

Family 1   A (boy,10): On Cheat Planet they were advertising, oh no it was Cheat Wizard they were advertising...sorry I can't remember what it was.
Dad: Was that from a pop-up?
A (boy,10) : Yes it was a pop-up. It was like win a year's supply of Kellogg's or something like that, I think.

The above highlights again that whilst the children had some agent and topic knowledge there was a considerable lack of persuasion knowledge (Friestad and

Wright, 2004). This lack of persuasion knowledge was evident in the quotations from D from Family 12 and I from Family 6 who both failed to recognise an advergame and a company website respectively as forms of communications. In contrast to product placement above, all of the children reported more marketplace experience of using the internet than that of playing video games, yet still possessed a low level of persuasion knowledge.

6.2.2.3 In-school communications

As examples of in-school communications the children were shown a picture of a vending machine in a school cafeteria which displayed Coca-Cola branding and a picture of some educational material on healthy eating by Sainsbury's. All of the children recognised the vending machines and the brand on them. As discussed in chapter 5, nearly all of the children attend primary schools where, due to the government's new healthy eating guidelines, all vending machines had been removed. As a result there was virtually no contact with this form of communication. The few children who attended secondary schools also confirmed that there had been a move by their schools to remove vending machines, although one family did report that their school still had some. However, even though the vending machines had been removed from the children's schools, many of the children recalled seeing similar machines in other places such as the local swimming pool.

> Family 9   I (girl,7): I've seen them (vending machines) in the swimming baths though where I go swimming. The school goes to a swimming baths and they have got them.

The only instance of a food company branding educational material was recalled by a mum, both of the children had either not noticed it or if they had noticed it had not remembered it.

> Family 8   Mum: You've got Buxton Mineral Water.
> Z (boy,12): That's all though.

Even though a few of the older children recognised Sainsbury's from the picture of its educational material, all of the children needed further explanation of the communication itself. Again the frequency of contact was low but even where there had been contact either from Sainsbury's or alternatively another commercial company none of the children had recognised this as a form of corporate communication. The children were not able to distinguish between corporate material and other educational material.

> Family 9   I (girl,7): This women about your teeth and not to eat sweets came in.

Mum: Was she from a company?

I (girl,7): She was from a place where they do your teeth.

Family 10   R (boy,9): We do get fruit from a supplier.

Mum: But is there any advertising on it?

R (boy,9): No.

Again the quotations above show evidence of confirming behaviour between family members. In the quote from Family 8 above Z is confirming his mother's account whilst negotiating his own. The quotes from Family 9 and Family 10 above show evidence of the mothers negotiating their children's accounts of their experiences in order to determine whether the account was relevant to the question being asked.

6.2.2.4 *In-store communications*

Within in-store communications the children were shown examples of the four different sales promotions (price promotions, free gifts, competitions and vouchers to collect), an example of a tie-in with a film character, examples of some children's speciality food (one of which also had a tie-in with a cartoon character) and finally a picture of a supermarket display designed to specifically attract children.

Sales promotions

As an example of free gifts, the children were shown a picture of a variety of breakfast cereal packets all containing free gifts. All of the children easily recognised the communication and the brands of cereals. They could also recall their own experiences of different free gifts which they had collected from breakfast cereal packets.

Family 2   M (boy,8): I've got that (a Mr Incredible toy) but they are rubbish.

Js (boy,11): M (brother, 8)) got one of those (King Kong toy).

M (boy,8): We've got them (King Kong toy).

Jn (boy,5): It broke, it broke.

Whilst recalling this type of experience appeared straightforward for all of the children, most of them then found it much more difficult to recall their experiences with other types of products. Even the older children questioned whether certain items would be classified as a free gift, this may have been due to the gifts not being from a well-known brand.

Family 13   Z (girl,14): Like K's (sister, 6) magazines, the younger version for kids, they get pens, pencils, colouring books. Would you say that was free gifts?

Nearly all of the children had previously admitted to eating a children's meal at a local fast food restaurant and the types of toys they liked to find in the box, however, none of them considered these toys as a free gift until prompted.

Family 7   Dad: The big one we've not said is going to McDonald's and Burger King for the free gifts. That is the only reason we go.

The children were shown pictures of a buy one get one free advertisement for Pringles and Wall's Carte D'Or Ice-cream and half price offer on Dairylea cheddar slices as examples of price promotions. Again all of the children recognised the communication and the brands without any further explanation. Even though most of them agreed that their mums were more interested in this type of promotion, they could all remember seeing different offers. However, even though the younger children could identify the communication on the card, most parents believed they did not fully understand the offer until they were able to read.

Family 7   Mum: He'll (son,8) say this is good, won't you? Like these were buy one get one free the other day. The Dairylea strips were.
A (boy,8): I said these are good value buy two get one free or something.

Family 8   Z (boy,12): That is B's (brother,8) excuse, He'll say 'mum I want that and mum I want that' then mum will say 'why?', and he'll say 'because it's buy one get one free'.

The children were shown examples of two competitions; the first was on a Nestlé sweet wrapper and was linked to the Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory film where the prize was a visit to a chocolate factory, and the second was on a packet of Walkers crisps with a prize of a mini iPod. As with the other types of sales promotions, the children had no problems identifying the type of promotion and the Walkers brand. The first example was more difficult as the product name was not on the picture; however, a number of the children had actually entered the competition and therefore recognised the brand. In line with product placement above, the children who had experienced the example in the same context had possibly gained more and found it easier to use their persuasion and agent knowledge (Friestad and Wright, 2004; Wright et al., 2005).

Family 10   R (boy,9): I've seen competitions like that millions of times on Walkers crisps.

Family 8   Mum: You did buy the Willy Wonka bars because you wanted to win a trip to the chocolate factory.

The frequency with which the children came into contact with competitions was mixed in the previous chapter, and therefore, for those children who had encountered this type of communication they could recall their experience. Nevertheless, all of the children could identify the communication.

Family 13   Z (girl,14): Polos I'm always like , let's have a look, open it up, have we won anything.

The final sales promotion which the children were asked to identify was for the vouchers to collect scheme. The children were shown a Tesco's computer for schools voucher which they all immediately recognised. Due the popularity of Tesco's voucher collection scheme nearly all of the children talked about their experience of collecting

those vouchers. A few children mentioned Sainsbury's voucher scheme as an alternative.

> Family 14   Nicki: Do you collect any vouchers?
> Z (girl,5) lots and lots.
> Mum: You (daughter, 5) take the Sainsbury's ones and you (daughter, 9) take the Tesco ones.

Again the above quotations show evidence of confirming behaviour between siblings (Family 2) and between parents and their children (Family 7 and Family 14).

Tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters

All of the children recognised the different characters, the Bratz and Superman, on the tie-ins pictures and most easily recalled their own experiences. Only the younger children (six years and below) had some difficulty initially, but, after some prompts by their parents they were also able to describe the tie-ins they had encountered. Again, this highlights how children find it easier to use any of their knowledge (agent, topic or persuasion) when they consider the context in which they encountered it (Wright et al., 2005).

> Family 13   G (girl,10): I've seen some Scooby-Doo yoghurts.

> Family 8   B (boy,8): Spiderman, I remember Spiderman was the one I've had recently.

In addition to the examples found on food targeted at children such as Scooby snacks and Bob the Builder pasta shapes, some of the children also discussed other types of products where they had encountered tie-ins. These products tended to fall into one of two categories; the first was products targeted at children (such as Brian Lara's cricket video game) and the second included adult products but where the tie-in was definitely aimed at children, for example Madagascar toilet rolls or fabric softener.

> Family 1   A (boy,7): They do have Madagascar toilet rolls and Lenor.

> Family 10   R (boy,9): Like Happy Feet Persil and stuff like that.

The older children were also more aware of companies using celebrities to help promote the products.

> Family 8   Z (boy,12): What I notice is that they always pay like celebrities to say slogans and stuff. The one that I can remember is when they paid Alan Shearer to say 'I'm lovin it'.

Children's specialty food

The next in-store communication was children's speciality food and for this the children were shown pictures of Dairylea Lunchables and Bob the Builder pasta shapes. In line with the other in-store communications above, all of the children recognised this type of food, and could discuss not only their experience with the two brands but also other

types of children's food which they had encountered. The most common types of speciality food tended to be linked to the tie-ins above, apart from the Dairylea products.

> Family 12   L (girl,11): We don't really get them anymore, we got them a bit, those sort of Dairylea ones.
> Mum: You went through a phase of really wanting Dairylea ones.
> L (girl, 11): A bit like the Cheesestrings as well.
> Mum: And those disgusting yogurts you suck out of a bit of plastic instead of using a spoon.
> L (girl,11): But they are beautiful.
> Mum: There was more pressure a few years ago. I think when L (daughter, 11) was about 4 when she was heavily into Barbie, you know it would be Barbie pasta, Barbie toothbrush, Barbie chocolate and the same for D (son, 9) and Scooby-Doo.

The above quotation is interesting, it shows on the one hand how the family members negotiated their accounts of their experiences to give a collective identity of their family. Yet on the other hand, L has still managed to demonstrate her own individual identity by giving her contrasting opinion of the yoghurts (Epp and Price, 2008).

Point of sale

The final communication was for supermarket displays or point of sale merchandising. The children were shown a picture of a confectionery display where to take the sweets you had to put your hand inside a wild animal's mouth. Unlike the other communications so far, this type of communication did not have a specific company for the children to identify. Most of the children could provide their own examples from the picture alone, however, a few of the younger ones (six years and below) did require further explanation and prompts from their parents. Nearly all of the examples were for generic foods and some included examples of free samples. Only one family recalled seeing a display for a specific product.

> Family 7   A (boy,8): They usually just have names on them (the supermarket displays).
> C (boy,6): Sometimes they have pictures on them. I like things with pictures on them.
> Mum: He (son, 6) saw the Scooby-Doo one..it was in a freezer and it had a big poster over the top with Scooby-Doo on. He's looking at the poster otherwise he wouldn't have noticed the product.
> A (boy,8): And there was a big, like a big thing to cover it up. It said Scooby-Doo on the top in purple and black or something like that.

The above quotation again highlights how the different family members together negotiate their collective account of an experience. Here in Family 7 the confirming negotiation is taking place between the two brothers and their mother.

6.2.2.5 Other communications

Here the children were shown pictures of a McDonald's cash register and plastic food (for playing 'let's pretend we work for McDonald's') and a variety of 'play' food branded by Sainsbury's. All of the children easily recognised the McDonald's play set and whilst all of them recognised the play food, it tended to be the older children who could read the Sainsbury's brand name. However, as at least eight of families owned the play food, their children already knew the brand name. As with the other communications which had been rated as low for their frequency of contact,' most of the children did not have experiences to recall. Nevertheless, a few children did discuss some other branded toys which they knew about, either from friends or from the Argos catalogue.

> Family 8   Mum: They didn't stop asking for a McFlurry machine when it first came out.

> Family 7   C (boy,6): We've got that, that (McDonald's till & ELC food on the slide).
> Mum: We've also got the Early Learning Centre because they link up with Sainsbury's.
> A (boy,8): Yes it has Sainsbury's on it.

The above quotation shows evidence of further confirming behaviour between family members. In this instance the negotiation of the account is between the two brothers and their mother providing a collective identity (Epp and Price, 2008). With Family 7, as highlighted on p.172, p.185, p.189, p.212 and p.222 above, this occurred continually throughout the interview.

The final communication was word of mouth which was represented pictorially by a group of animated friends. As this communication was particularly difficult to show using a picture, all of the children needed further explanation. However, after the explanation, a number of children talked about their experiences of discussing products with friends. As detailed in chapter 5, most of the products the children discussed were not food-related.

> Family 12   L (girl,11): Say if it's no uniform day and I say I like someone's top and then they tell me where they got it. I might go and get it. It's usually clothes or things like books, like little diary of things, notebooks, things we have at school.

6.2.3 Four levels of recognition

The above findings clearly highlight that the children's ability to recognise the different communications varied from an easy identification of the communication, as for television advertising, to no recognition at all. However, by asking the children to provide an example to this first stage of understanding, I was able to develop a more

detailed analysis of their abilities to recognise the communications. In contrast to previous research, where the only response to the question of whether a child recognised a communication was either yes or no, the new analysis has led, as detailed in Table 6.1 below, to four different levels of recognition.

Table 6.1: Levels of Recognition

Level of recognition	Definition
Level 1 – Full	Recognise the communication from the picture only. Examples provided are clear and correct.
Level 2 – Partial	Need further explanation of the communication Examples provided are vague or confused.
Level 3 – None	No recognition of the communication after further explanation No examples provided or examples are incorrect
Level 4 – Undetermined	Recognise the communication from the picture or explanation No examples provided

For children to reach level 1 – Full recognition, they had to be able to recognise the communication from the picture alone and also provide a clear example from their own experience. As discussed further in chapter 8, the skills required to achieve this level are in line with those of a cued-processor (as detailed in 3.3.1 p.66) (Roedder1981; Roedder-John, 1999). Level 2 – Partial recognition, could take a number of forms; it could have included those children who needed further explanation of the communication. It also could have included any children who found providing an example difficult and consequently gave either a vague or confused example. For level 3 – No recognition, for this the children showed no recognition of the communication even after further explanation. They also failed to give any examples or the examples given were incorrect. The final level of recognition, level 4 – Undetermined recognition, was necessary as there was some children who appeared to be able to recognise the communication from the picture or further explanation but could not provide their own example to confirm their understanding. This may have been due to their lack of contact with the communication but it also may be due to them not fully understanding the communication.

As can be seen from Table 6.2 below, there was a range of levels of recognition across all of the different communications. In addition, there was a range of recognition for individual communications. Where the recognition differed due to the age of the children, this is noted in the table by the use of a subscript 'o' for older children and 'y' for younger children. Where there is no subscript and more than one level is indicated, the children showed a range of responses but not related to their age. Overall, the older children recognised the majority of the communications and only had some

problems with print advertising, product placement (in film, television and video games) and word of mouth. The younger children also had problems identifying advergames, tie-ins and point of sale displays.

Table 6.2: Children's recognition of the communications

Communications	Levels of Recognition (Step 1)			
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
Television advertising	√			
Other advertising		√o	√y	
Sponsorship	√	√y(broadcast)		
Product placement (TV & Film)		√	√	
Websites & online advertising	√(websites)	√ (online adv)		
Advergames	√o	√y		
Product placement (video games)		√		√
In-school communications	√ (vending)		√ (PR)	√ (PR)
Free-gifts	√ (cereals)	√ (other)		
Competitions	√			
Price promotions	√			
Vouchers to collect	√			
Tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters	√o	√y		
Children's speciality food	√			
Point of sale	√o	√y		
Branded toys	√			√
Word of mouth		√		

There were only three communications which some of the children appeared unable to identify, namely other forms of advertising (usually print) for some younger children, product placement in television and films, and public relations in schools. It was not always possible to determine the level of recognition for this last communication, along with product placement in video games and branded toys, due to the low level of contact children had encountered with the communications. However, according to Wright et al., (2005), a child's persuasion knowledge for any communication will only develops through continual experience of encountering that communication (i.e. having a persuasion episode). Therefore, if the children had, through their perceived low contact with certain communications, very little experience the likelihood of them developing sufficient persuasion knowledge to be able to at least recognise the communication was fairly low

As mentioned above (p.206) to break the ice and to get the conversation going I also asked the children to name the sponsor in each picture. As detailed in chapter 3 (p.71) being able to recognise the sponsor is typically considered as one of the criteria for understanding the persuasive intent (Roberts,1982, cited in Kunkel, 2001) and

therefore I will return to this again below. However, by recognising the sponsor this also showed whether the children possessed any agent knowledge (Friestad and Wright, 2004). The above findings clearly highlight that all of the children contained some agent knowledge and that it was for those brands which are typically considered as unhealthy where this knowledge was the strongest. Following on from the argument above, for the children to possess high levels of agent knowledge for certain brands would indicate that they must have encountered them on a high number of occasions (Wright et al., 2005). In chapter 8 when comparing these findings with the literature I return to not only this high level of contact between children and unhealthy brands' marketing communications, but also, this apparent relationship between children's level of contact with brands and their communications and their (the children's) levels of understanding.

6.3 Understanding the persuasive intent of marketing communications

As discussed in chapter 3, for children to fully understand the nature of marketing communications, they must not only be able to recognise a communication from its adjacent editorial content (as just discussed above), they must also be able to understand the persuasive intent behind the communication (Rozendaal et al., 2008). One point which should be noted here is that all of the children were told at the very beginning of the interview that the purpose of the talk was to find out how food companies influence them to eat their foods. As such, they were told that all of the communications they were about to be shown contained some persuasive intent. Therefore, when analysing this second stage of understanding other aspects need to be considered, such as, whether the children recognised the sponsor (which has been presented above) and that it had a different perspective to them and that the message may have contained some form of bias.

From the discussion above, it is clear that some of the children found it difficult to recognise some of the communications. Therefore, it could be said that they did not reach a sufficient level (i.e. level one or two in Table 6.1 above) of recognition to complete that stage. Having failed at this first stage, the children were then not expected to be able to continue to the next. Consequently, when analysing whether the children understood the persuasive intent of the communications i.e. the second stage of the understanding process, only the children who appeared to have achieved full or in some cases partial recognition were considered.

6.3.1 Advertising

The children in the study were at the ages where, according to past research, children have moved from seeing television advertising as another form of entertainment to understanding its persuasive intent (Young, 2003a). In addition, all of the children had successfully identified both the communication and the sponsor for the television advertising picture card. Most of the children, particularly the older children, appeared to understand that there may be bias or exaggeration contained with television advertisements, and as a result they realised that should not always believe what the advertisements were telling them.

> Family 10   Nicki: Do you think you can always believe what it tells you in the advertisement?
> R (boy,9): No.

> Family 2   Js (boy,11): Those Cheesestrings, they are like rubber more than real cheese. They do these adverts say they are like real cheese, they are almost 100% cheese but they are only like 20% cheese.

There was a mix of responses amongst the younger children; some were critical of the content of the advertisements, whilst others were happy to believe what they saw.

> Family 4   K (girl, 7): Morrisons are saying 1022 reasons to shop at Morrisons and I'm thinking well some people can go to Morrisons if they like but you don't have to go the reason to get the deals as you can go to other places.

> Family 7   A (boy,8): [talking about a television advertisement he had seen] Coco Rocks they are called, Mega Munchers, that's still Coco Pops. They're quite nice, well they look nice.

In addition to this, many of the parents also believed that their older children were more likely to be cynical and less trusting of advertising. They talked about how their children had been disappointed in the past when products, usually toys, had not lived up to their expectations from seeing the advertisement. In contrast, they thought that some of the younger children were still likely to believe what they saw in the advertisement.

> Family 4   Mum: I remember the first time they realised that advertising isn't always true. These (son, 11 & daughter, 7) are both past that stage now, well K (daughter, 7) is still a bit at that stage where she thinks a lot of it is true.

> Family 12   Mum: I think at 11 and 9 they now realise when they see something either in a magazine or on TV and they ask for it for Christmas or a birthday or they save up for it and get it, it's a complete disappointment.

All of the discussion concerning the children's understanding of the persuasive intent of advertising was directed at television advertising. Some of the parents did appear to imply that they expected their children to apply their understanding to all forms of

advertising. Regardless, as the majority of children had failed to fully recognise the other forms of advertising, it was not possible to examine this further.

6.3.2   Other marketing communications

As with identifying the marketing communications there is minimal research available on whether children understand the persuasive nature of other kinds of marketing communications.

6.3.2.1 Sponsorship and product placement

Whilst all of the children recognised the sponsor of an event, very few of them considered the sponsoring company's intentions. There was only one child who questioned why certain companies sponsored particular events, more specifically why unhealthy food companies would sponsor sporting events or teams. He was critical of the message this may be sending to other children.

> Family 2   Js (boy,11): (discussing Cheesestrings' sponsorship of the British Amateur Swimming Meets) It might make some people think that it is healthy because swimming keeps you healthy so that is what probably Cheesestrings are trying to achieve. They would probably ask their parents to get some from the supermarket. The unhealthy things seem to try and sponsor the healthy things.

From the above it could be interpreted that it is only children who have developed sufficient persuasion and agent knowledge, Js being one of the older children in the study, that have the required skills to critique this form of persuasion episode (Wright et al., 2005). Furthermore, even though Cheesestrings continually promote that their high calcium content helps to build strong bones and is therefore attempting to provide a link between their food and young swimmers (unlike, as detailed in chapter 2, Coca-Cola or McDonald's who appear to sponsor global sporting events for the fans); Js still strongly believes they are not a healthy choice of snack.

As with other types of advertising, many of the children could not fully recognise broadcast sponsorship. Therefore, as they did not complete stage one of the understanding process, it was not possible to investigate stage two. However, for the older children who had been able to recognise the promotion, they perceived it as another form of advertising on the television and therefore applied the same understanding as discussed above.

Again, the level of recognition amongst the children for product placement was low. Therefore, it was only a few of the older children who considered why companies were

228

using this form of communication. Possibly due to the examples used or just the fact that the research concentrated on food, the children were only critical of certain food companies, mainly the fast food companies, using product placement and how it may influence children.

> Family 12   L (girl,11): Don't you think something like that is bad because say if they don't have it and then they have got their favourite character and they go and their character likes to eat this food they are going to think because my character looks really cool I want to look like that so I'll eat that food.

Similar to Js in the quotation directly above, L here was also one of the older children in the study, and therefore, had built up sufficient persuasion knowledge to be able to be sceptical of this form of persuasion episode (Friestad and Wright, 2004).

6.3.2.2 New media

Whilst the children recognised companies' websites and the older children recognised advergames, nearly all of the children did not recognise the intent behind the companies' use of websites and more specifically advergames. Some of the children even went as far to tell me the advergames were on the websites to give the viewer something to do and not to sell them anything.

> Family 7   A (boy,8): I have been on a website for food, Cheesestrings website but it's not really tried to sell you anything though, it's like a challenge to do something.

Unlike television advertising, the children found it much more difficult to be critical about the online advertising they came into contact with. This may have been due to their difficulty in recognising the advertisement as discussed above.

6.3.2.3 In-school communications

From the discussion above, it was clear that the children either did not recognise when companies were coming into schools for a commercial purpose, or failed to show full recognition by not having their own experience to discuss. Nevertheless, some of the children, after hearing the explanation, did show some signs of understanding the intent behind the visits.

> Family 8   B (boy,8): So basically they are trying to get kids in to show them what nice people they are.

A few of the children did appear to understand why companies placed their branding on the vending machines.

> Family 10   R (boy,9): They have vending machines so they (children) have to take money to school every day to buy their stuff from the cafeteria.

6.3.2.4 In-store communications

Sales promotions

It was clear that the older children understood companies were using free gifts to make their products more appealing to them. Some of the older children were more critical of companies when they used a series of free gifts which made a complete set, they realised that to complete the set consumers had to purchase far more of the products and they still may not complete the set.'

Family 1   Nicki: If you look at the boxes (of cereals), they all have free gifts in them.
A (boy,10): Advertising.
R (girl,8): To try and get you to buy them.

Family 2   Js (boy,11): You don't always get what you want in these pack things so it seems a bit of a waste of time if you buy. If you've got all the things and then you only need one more and you are buying like ten before you get the one that you want, So I suppose that's a bit of a waste of money on those things.

The older children also recognised that companies used different types of free gifts to attract a range of children, girls and boys, older and younger.

Family 2   Js (boy,11): (Looking at the pictures of the free gifts) So some things might make girls go on with that and then they'll put something else up for boys and then that's for little kids.

Most of the older children likewise realised that the quality of the toys given away tended to be poor. They no longer believed the image portrayed by the companies on the packaging or in the advertisements.

Family 12   Mum: They have grown up and they have realised that the free gifts are a bit of rubbish.
L (girl,11): They never really work.

Family 2   M (boy,8): I've got them (a free gift toy on the picture slide) but they are rubbish.
Js (boy,11): They just break. If they were in the shops they would be like 5p. They break easily, they just snap.

On first look it would appear that M above has sufficient persuasion knowledge to be able to be sceptical when encountering free gifts. However, this may not necessarily be the case as earlier (see the quotation on p.184) he admitted to being more influenced by the free gift than the type of cereal when given a choice. This situation strongly supports the opinion that whilst children may possess some persuasion knowledge (i.e. may understand the persuasive intent of a communication) they do not always spontaneously use that knowledge unless cued (as promoted by my question) to do so (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006). Therefore, having persuasion knowledge does not necessarily make children less susceptible to the persuasion episode (McDermott et al., 2008; Rozendaal et al., 2009).

All of the parents believed that their younger children did not understand the purpose of the free gift, or that it may not live up to their expectations. They also said that younger children would often choose a product for the free gift regardless of whether they actually liked the product.

> Family 7   Mum: Sometimes they don't understand the free gifts when they are really little.

> Family 4   K (girl,7): We got Golden, what do you call them, Grahams, we got two one for me and one for D (brother, 11) and I said 'I don't like them I only want the toy'.
> Mum: I'd forgotten that.
> K (girl,7): When I was 4 I really, really liked the toy, it was a Finding Nemo one. And mum said 'we're going to have to give this packet to D (brother, 11) and buy you another one.

All of the children knew that price promotions were used by companies to encourage consumers to buy more products, and some were critical over their use as they encouraged people to purchase products that they would not usually buy.

> Family 6   I (girl,8): In Morrisons they kind of have loads and loads of deals so you spend more on having loads of deals. When it opened it kind of had, every single sign above your head was a great offer and all of that. It was, if you are just going to do that we'll buy more than we need.

Following on the discussion (see p.185 and p.186 above) of how a family's use of price promotions portrays them as a certain type of consumer, it could be interpreted that in the above quotation I was presenting herself, in a similar way to D (boy, 11) from Family 5, as a more discerning consumer.

However, many of the children did admit to using this type of communication to help them convince their parents to buy the products they wanted.

> Family 8   Z (boy,12): That's B's (brother, 8) excuse. He'll say 'mum I want that and mum I want that', then mum will say 'why' and he'll say 'because it's buy one get one free'.

Not only were some of the children aware of the intention behind this type of promotion, they were also aware their parents were often attracted to it and consequently made use of it when trying to get their parents to buy certain products.

> Family 4   Mum: I think when they get to a certain age they start to realise what promotions might be more attractive to you. K (daughter, 7) always comes and tells me two milkshakes for the price of one rather than two bags of apples for the price of one.

The older children appeared to realise the intent behind the use of competitions and were often very sceptical over the consumer's chance of winning a prize, especially the main prize. Some of them believed that the number of prizes was so low the chance of

winning was extremely remote whilst other even thought the prize may not exist and there would be no winner.

Family 8   Nicki: Do you ever get mum to buy you any food or sweets because it's got a competition on it?
Z (boy,12): Not really because we know it's a con.
B (boy,8): Yeah we know it's a con.
Z (boy,12): It's like the thing where you call in, like Deal or No Deal or the Paul O'Grady show, you've got to call in and it'll cost you a £1. So one person gets £1000 but they got a £1,000,000 from the people.
B (boy,8): Also on Deal or No Deal it says that every call will be charged but not all calls are successful.

Family 5   D (boy,12): You never win,
J (girl,8): No because there is only, like have you seen those Pringle things, where you win a trip to Hong Kong or something? There is only like five of them going around the world.
Mum: Because it is such a small number?
J (girl,8): Yes.
D (boy,12): Because they are tight.

As detailed on p.187 earlier, whilst the boys from Family 8 above appeared to possess some persuasion knowledge, they did not always use it spontaneously and on occasions were susceptible to this form of communications (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006; McDermott et al., 2008; Wright et al., 2005).

Even though all of the children easily recognised the voucher to collect schemes implemented by some of the supermarkets, it was only the parents who were sceptical about the supermarkets' motives and the number of vouchers required to obtain the computer or sports equipment. This scepticism is examined further chapter 7.

The above quotations again show evidence of family members using negotiating and confirming behaviour (see Family 8 and Family 5 directly above). In both instances the family members are providing a collective identity by supporting each other's account of the situation to show that as a family they are not naive enough to be taken in by the chance of winning the top prize (Epp and Price, 2008).

Tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters

All of the parents believed that when their children were younger they would ask for products due to the character on the packaging regardless of the actual product. This often resulted in the children asking for products which they did not like to eat. The children clearly did not understand that they were encountering a form of marketing communication.

> Family 7   Mum: E (daughter, 4) would look at the pictures; she'd even buy stuff that she didn't like because it's got Pooh Bear on it.

Some of the younger children were confused as to why companies often used film and television characters on either their packaging or their free gifts.

> Family 3   L (girl,8): (Discussing McDonald's Happy Meal toys) Why do they choose characters from films?

Even where some of the children understood that companies were using the tie-ins to encourage them to ask their parents to buy the products, they still admitted the appeal of some characters was too strong.

> Family 8   Mum: They have grown out of the idea of asking for things because they have got a box with a cartoon on, and things like that, haven't you?
> B (boy,8): Sometimes unless it is one of them that I, it is just a cartoon that I can't say no to, like Spongebob.

> Family 2   Js (boy,11): I think all people from twelve down to the younger probably will look at the advertising on the covers and they would probably go for things they like rather than things that might taste like things that they don't particularly line. I suppose you get out of the habit once you get to thirteen and ages like that.

As D (boy, 11) from Family 4 did on p.191, Js above was portraying himself as more grown-up by trying to distance himself from a behaviour he did when he was younger, and which he now considers it to be childish.

However, there were a number of children who were more interested in the content of the product rather than the character on the packaging. Sometimes this was because they realised the company's intention behind the packaging, however, it was more usually because they were fussy eaters.

> Family 3   L (girl,8): It doesn't matter what picture is on it (the packaging), it's not got that picture on the inside because you can't eat that picture.

> Family 4   D (boy,11): I don't have them because I don't like food that is named after Disney, it's just terrible. People just buy it because they think it's good with a name like that.

The quotation from Family 8 above is interesting, firstly it shows how B was trying to portray his own identity by qualifying his mother's statement (Epp and Price, 2008), and secondly, whilst B obviously possessed a level of persuasion knowledge (see section 6.3.3 for more discussion on the children's level and use of persuasion knowledge) he openly admitted that in certain circumstances he applies it very differently (Friestad and Wright, 2004).

Children's specialty foods

The level of recognition for this type of promotion was high amongst all of the children; however, it was only the older children who showed any kind of understanding of why companies used this form of promotion. These children tended to be critical of the types of foods, i.e. usually processed and unhealthy foods, which used this promotion. They had also learnt to be critical of claims made about these types of food. In addition to the food being unhealthy, they had also started to realise that this type of food no longer satisfied their hunger.

> Family 2   Js (boy,11): Those Cheesestrings, they are like rubber more than real cheese. They do these adverts say they are like real cheese, they are almost 100% cheese but they are only like 20% cheese.

> Family 13   Nicki: Can you remember at what age you became more critical of these types of products?
> Z (girl,14): Probably only a few years ago when I realised they didn't fill me up and I had to have something else as well to eat.

Whilst both Js from Family 2 and Z from Family 13 above clearly possessed sufficient persuasion knowledge to be sceptical about this form of communication, Z in her additional three years had clearly managed to gain a more sophisticated level of both knowledge and self-awareness. In line with Roedder-John's (1999) stage of socialisation, whilst Js could be interpreted to be just finishing the analytical stage, Z is clearly in the reflective stage.

Point of sale

As it was only some of the older children who could fully recognise this form of promotion, it was difficult to determine how well all of the children understand the persuasive intent. Nevertheless, there was one family whose children showed some understanding of why supermarkets use point of sale, specifically free samples in their stores. These children were critical of the types of foods were being given away and the fact that they were being encouraged to eat a less healthy diet.

> Family 12   D (boy,9): It would either be sort of unhealthy or we'd already have it. Because there was like the lamb and we liked it but we already buy that sort of thing. Then there would be some sort of chocolate yoghurt thing and it would be nice but really unhealthy so we wouldn't get that.

This quotation from D shows how he was trying to portray his family's collective identity, through the continual use of word 'we,' as one of being a 'healthy' family (Epp and Price, 2008).

6.3.2.5   Other communications

Whilst being able to recognise the sponsor of the branded toys, none of the children were able to appreciate the intentions behind this form of communication. They believed the purpose of branding the toys was to increase the authenticity of the toys and not for the commercial good of the companies involved.

> Family 12   Mum: You've got things like the Coca-Cola pencil case, haven't you?
> D (boy,9): There's quite a lot of room in it. It wasn't really because it had Coca-Cola on it.
> Mum: But if it had said 'pink fuzzy pop' you wouldn't have bought it. Would you?
> D (boy,9): No.

The above quotation is a further example of the family members negotiated their accounts of their experience. Within this quotation D used both negotiating and confirming behaviour with his mother in order to justify his choice of pencil case (i.e. there's quite a lot of room in it).

6.3.3   Understanding the persuasive intent

As with recognition above, the children showed different levels of understanding the persuasive intent for individual communications and also across the various communications. In general, it tended to be only the older children who appeared to have this next level of understanding. As can be seen in Table 6.3 below, there were a number of communications where very few, if any, of the children fully understood the persuasive intent. The younger children, as expected from the literature, showed the least amount of understanding. Some of them failed to understand any of the communications, whilst a few appeared to understand television advertising and price promotions. The older children did tend to show more understanding of television advertising, branding in school (mainly the use of branding on vending machines), free gifts, competitions, price promotions, tie-ins and children's specialty foods. However, it was not possible to say whether this level of understanding was present for all of the older children. The communications which all children found difficult to understand were sponsorship, product placement (in any form), online advertising and advergames, public relations in school, vouchers to collect and branded toys.

As detailed above (see section 6.2.3), even though all of the children possessed sufficient agent knowledge to be able to identify the sponsors in the pictures, only some of them had obtained a minimal amount of persuasion knowledge to be able to recognise the communication (Friestad and Wright, 2004). For the children in this study to understand the persuasive intent of the different communications they would have

had to encounter a "change of meaning'" (Friestad and Wright, 2004:13). It is clear from the above findings that this change of meaning had only taken place for some communications, such as television advertising and price promotions, and not for others such as advergames. For certain communications, for example most of the sale promotions, it was only the older children who had begun to realise this change of meaning.

Table 6.3: Children's understanding of the communications

Communications	Children's Understanding (Step 2)
Television advertising	Variety of levels of understanding Older children were able to recognise bias and exaggeration Some younger children still believed the content of the advertisement
Other advertising	Did not complete step 1
Sponsorship	Very little understanding shown Only one child was critical of unhealthy brands sponsoring sporting events
Product placement (TV & Film)	Did not complete step 1 One child was critical of the messages unhealthy brands could send
Websites & online advertising	No understanding
Advergames	No understanding
Product placement (video games)	Did not complete step 1
In-school communications	Public relations – Did not complete step 1 One child questioned why companies come to schools Branding (including vending machines) – some understanding
Free-gifts	Variety of levels of understanding Older children were critical of the quality and type of free gift Younger children showed very little understanding
Competitions	Variety of levels of understanding Older children were critical of chances of winning Younger children showed no understanding
Price promotions	Good understanding Some children were critical of companies influencing unnecessary purchases
Vouchers to collect	No understanding
Tie-ins with television, film and cartoon characters	Variety of levels of understanding Some children thought the product was more important Younger children showed no understanding
Children's speciality food	Variety of levels of understanding Older children were critical of the types of foods Younger children showed no understanding
Point of sale	Variety of levels of understanding Some older children critical of the type of foods Younger children did not complete step 1
Branded toys	No understanding
Word of mouth	Did not complete step 1

It is not until children have had this change of meaning and have developed sufficient persuasion knowledge that they can determine what is appropriate and fair in relation to the different marketing communications (Wright et al., 2005). There was some evidence of the children beginning to use their persuasion knowledge in evaluating whether they believed certain companies were using their communications appropriately (for example see Js from Family 2 comments on p.224 about Cheesestrings' sponsorship of British Amateur Swimming meet).

6.4 Summary

In beginning to answer the third research objective, I presented in this chapter the fourth topic of children's understanding of marketing communications. Based on those findings I confirmed that to fully understand marketing communications children firstly need to be able to recognise the communications and secondly be able to understand the persuasive intent. However, in contrast to previous literature, I proposed four new levels of recognition which can be used when investigating children's ability to recognise communications. By using these new levels of recognition the research found that the children possessed different levels of understanding, both at the initial recognition stage and the second persuasive intent stage. There were differences between the children for each individual communication, in addition to differences amongst the communications. In general, television advertising tended to have the highest level of understanding and product placement, in-school communications and new media communications such as advergames had the lowest levels.

Furthermore, whilst all of the children possessed some agent knowledge, it appeared their levels of persuasion knowledge varied from very little to some. In agreement with Wright et al., (2005), the children found it easier to use this knowledge when the persuasion episode was presented in the same context as their past experience. In addition, whilst a number of the older children appeared to possess reasonable levels of persuasion knowledge, it became evident that they had not been able to use it spontaneously, and were therefore, as susceptible to the communications as the younger children (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006; McDermott et al., 2008; Rozendall et al., 2009). Finally, as in chapter 5 previously, the families showed further evidence of confirming behaviour and to portray both collective and individual identities (Epp and Price, 2008).

Within the last two findings chapters (chapters 5 and 6) I have presented four of the five topics pulled from the analysis. The following chapter (chapter 7) considers the final topic of parental perceptions and in doing so completes the answer to the third research objective.

7 Findings 3: Parental perceptions

7.1 Introduction

Following on from chapters 5 and 6 in this chapter I discuss the final topic which was pulled out of the analysis of the family interviews – parental perceptions. As highlighted by the conceptual framework (Figure 1.4) presented in chapters 2 and 3, parents are one of the four parties involved in the phenomenon of marketing food to children. Parents are not only one of children's socialisation agents (as detailed in chapter 3, p.56) but they also act as gatekeepers, placing themselves between their children and the food companies. In this chapter I examine how parents undertake this gatekeeper role by investigating firstly, parental attitudes towards food marketing communications; secondly, parental mediation of the individual communications and finally, parental attitudes towards the regulation of food marketing to children.

7.2 Parental attitudes to marketing communications

Parents from all of the families were asked twice to describe their attitudes towards the marketing of food to children, once at the beginning of the interview and again at the end. I felt that the opening question was important as their answers provided a frame (i.e. positive, negative or neutral) for the remainder of the interview. The answers also provided me with an insight into which communications the parents were aware of and how they perceived their children's current level of contact with those communications. Together these two pieces of information helped supply me with a starting point for each of the families. Parents were then asked the question again at the end of the interview; this was to discover whether there had been any change to their responses as a result of taking part in the interview process.

When asked at the beginning of the interview to give their initial comments about the marketing of food to children, a high proportion of the parents' remarks were negative. Only three of the parents made comments which were neutral and none of the parents' comments were positive. The strength of the negative feelings was evident from the language used which included many strong and emotive words and phrases such as 'exploitative', 'in your face', 'insidious', 'too powerful' and 'excessive'. One common factor amongst these negative feelings was the fact that the majority of the products which were being marketed at their children were predominately considered as 'junk' or 'unhealthy' food.

Family 9   Mum: I don't like it generally. It's all convenience food. I just think most of the food is just stuff we wouldn't be interested in buying anyway.

The parents with more neutral views all cited their own and different reasons why they did not have any strong feelings either for or against companies marketing food to their children.

Family 10   Mum: I think there is an ok amount really. Because there are things that people are trying to get the children to eat healthier so I suppose if they are going to advertise and it's appropriate then there's an ok amount.

Family 7   Mum: I don't think there are any that particularly offend me. It doesn't bother me because I don't watch it half the time so I don't know half of what it is.

In contrast to the mums from Family 12 and Family 13 on p.171 above, and what was reported as being shown on television at that time (see the review in chapter 2), mum from Family 10 believed, although she was vague in her account, that there were some positive forces targeting her children. However, on p.170 and p.212 above she readily admitted that she did not watch the same television as her children and was often unaware of many of the advertisements they had seen. Whereas, mum from Family 7's lack of concern could be interpreted as coming directly from her limited awareness of what her children are exposed to. Nevertheless, these parents all considered the marketing of food to children as part of everyday life, believing that these companies should be allowed to undertake their business so long as they did not, in any way, exploit the target market.

As highlighted in chapter already 5, in response to the initial question all of the parents automatically began by discussing the food companies' use of television advertising, thereby equating the term marketing with the term advertising.

Family 13   Mum: I'm not very impressed about the sort of television marketing which I see between children's television programmes. ..overall there is a lot of, you know there are a lot of adverts out there.

In contrast to the mothers from Family 10 and Family 7 above (and in agreement with the mothers from Family 12 and Family 13 on p.171), mum from Family 13 did show more awareness and concern about the types of advertisements her children were being exposed to.

When asked what their thoughts were on any other forms of marketing communications which the food companies were currently using, many found it very difficult to recall any other communications. The parents who could recall other communications tended to focus on the use of free gifts and tie-ins. From the sixteen communications discussed

in chapter 5 most parents could only initially recall between one and four different communications.

Family 1	Dad: It depends on what you mean by marketing. We watch TV but the kids don't watch an enormous amount of TV so outside of TV marketing we don't see a lot of food marketing to children.
Family 2	Mum: I don't watch TV …but it can be a real pain in the supermarket when you are walking around, particularly the cereal if I have Jn (son, 5) with me.
Family 4	Mum: When they watch the television and all the adverts come on all the time and I also know when we go around the supermarket there are things specially targeted at them.

Also at this point, a few of the parents immediately began talking about specific brands as opposed to the types of communications. It was as if they saw the brand itself as a form of communication. The most common brands mentioned were McDonald's but others included fast food restaurants generally and breakfast cereal companies such as Kellogg's.

Family 3	Mum: Well it's a bit like McDonald's, it's a bit in your face. Like, you know Madagascar or whatever is in the cinema. It's more sort of aimed at McDonald's isn't it?
Family 13	Mum: And things like McDonald's I don't like the way they push everything at children.

By the second time parents were asked about their feelings towards the marketing of food to children at the end of the interview, there was only one parent who was still impartial and none of the parents had developed any positive feelings. There had also been a change to the range of communications which parents held negative views on, with more being added to those they thought should be banned or restricted (see 7.4.2 below for further details of these). One of the communications which had not received any comments the first time the question had been asked, but then received negative comments by nearly all of the parents at the end of the interview, was in-school communications. Parents were extremely sceptical about the motives of those companies which were being allowed into schools. One parent was an infant school teacher and from her own experience was critical of the company visit's educational value.

Family 9	Mum: I suppose the public relation thing. I would not be happy if I knew that a particular company went into schools and talked to them about things. I don't think I'd be happy about that.
Family 7	Mum: We had someone from Sainsbury's but they weren't very good. It had just not long opened, because it had swapped from Safeway to Sainsbury's, it is right at the end of our [school] street. They said 'can we come and bring some fruit;

> we want to talk to the children about healthy eating'. We thought this is good but they just diced some fruit up, but they said they would bring a range of fruit but they bought bananas, oranges, apples and grapes, there were four. They got these little dishes and they [the children] all had one piece. They came in and said 'does anyone want to ask any questions about fruit?' Well of course they [the children] don't, so they went 'all right just have a piece of fruit' and they went and that was it. They were only in about two or three minutes.

It could be interpreted that mum from Family 7 here was critical of Sainsbury's for firstly just coming into the school environment, secondly, when in school the visit did not add anything of value to the educational experience of the children, and finally, that the visit had been ill-thought out and executed solely as a public relations exercise.

A second communication which also received more negative comments later in the interview was the vouchers to collect scheme. Unlike the in-school communication above, which received more negative comments even though it was rated 'low' for both frequency of contact and influence by all families in chapter 5, the vouchers to collect was rated high for frequency of contact. Parents disliked this communication for two reasons; the first was linked to the in-school communications above and the second was for more political reasons. Some parents did not like that the supermarkets were allowed to advertise the schemes in schools, whilst other parents believed that it was not the responsibility of the supermarkets and the public to provide school equipment, particularly when the number of vouchers required to provide one piece of equipment was so high.

> Family 4   Mum: I disagree with that, they had a big banner up at K's (daughter, 7) school which is a junior school saying Tesco vouchers or something and I thought I really disagree with it because they are advertising.

> Family 7   Dad: I don't like the vouchers for schools, like Sainsbury's and Tesco.
> Mum: He'd (dad) rather they [the government] just gave the money to the schools rather than through the kids.
> Dad: Or the government gave proper amount of money to run decent schools in Britain. Rather than rely on people collect billions of bits of paper to get pencils. It's quite a sad thing really.
> A (boy,8): Yeah we get millions. Yeah but when we're doing it we get millions. Because in our classroom we are all like counting them all. They was just like 8000 of them or something, we were counting in 500s, something like that or 800 or something, not 800 something thousand. And that was just then
> Mum: You do you get hundreds of thousands. You need about 13,000 vouchers for a digital camera.

The above quotation from Family 7 again shows not only evidence of parents confirming each other's account, but also, of A attempting to contribute and further

confirm the account but misunderstanding the politics and mum then feeling the need to confirm his account rather than to correct the misunderstanding.

The final communication which received predominately negative comments at the end of the interview was free gifts. A number of parents spoke about the conflict they caused not only between themselves and their children but also between the children themselves. To prevent this type of conflict, a number of families had often bought more boxes of cereals than they actually needed.

Family 2   Mum: Well you do [sons, 11, 8 & 5], you fight over the toys in the Rice Krispies. I used to buy three to stop arguments and then we'd have three boxes of cereal open.

Family 12   L (girl,11): We used to get that [pointing to pictures of free gifts in cereal packets] quite a lot.
D (boy,9): We used to take it in turns.
L (girl,11): We used to get that a lot but we've stopped now
Mum: Partly of the amount of blood shed it caused...If I was buying cereal I would have made sure that they both had equal free gifts in or otherwise my life wouldn't have been worth living.

However, another communication, tie-ins, which was closely linked with free gifts in chapter 5, received more of a mixed response. Whilst a few parents had very strong negative views on whether it should be used in conjunction with children's food products, others had more positive views.

Family 5   Mum: I think it's insidious, very insidious advertising to children. And using things that are totally irrelevant, like Disney characters, what the hell has that got to do with a food item? Absolutely nothing. There is no correlation whatsoever, what can a fairy princess have to do with a pizza stick? Nothing

Family 7   Mum: It would be shame if it went completely, wouldn't it? Do you know what I mean, like little characters on things, I think it would.

Whilst parents had some different views on the individual communications, there was one theme which was continually repeated. Even though parents may not have objected to a particular communication per se, they did object to it when it was used by unhealthy or junk food brands. For example, a couple of parents had disagreed with some early vouchers to collect schemes as they had been implemented by Cadbury and Walkers Crisps.

Family 6   Mum: I think it's disgusting, I really do. You know the irony of it, the fact that they are doing it for sports equipment and you think right if you had a few less crisps you'd be a lot healthier.

Other parents made reference to being unhappy with these types of companies (unhealthy) using the other communications such as in-school communications and branded toys.

> Family 13   Mum: The one I don't like is toys, if that was a supermarket chain I'd be fine, it's because it's specifically McDonald's. If it said Pizza Hut I still wouldn't be fine, if it said KFC I still wouldn't agree it should be there. If it said Joe Bloggs the greengrocers I'd be fine.

> Family 3   Mum: I don't like advertising within schools sort of thing, if it's like Pepsi and things like that.

Overall parents tended to have negative attitudes towards marketing to children and more specifically the marketing of foods, especially unhealthy foods, to children. The parents' negative feelings were stronger for any communication which was associated with the school environment, including both the in-school communications and the vouchers to collect schemes. They also discussed their dislike of television advertising and, for some parents, free gifts. In addition to individual communications, many parents held negative attitudes towards specific brands especially those associated with unhealthy foods such as McDonald's, Cadbury and Walkers Crisps. In general parents were more likely to have negative views about any communication if it was being used to promote an unhealthy diet to their children.

From the above findings there are a number of issues which can be identified. Firstly, as has been highlighted in the previous two findings chapters, there was again evidence of confirmative behaviour between family members. This was clearly evident in Family 7 and Family 12 on p.243 above. The second issue was that a number of parents who appeared to be attempting to present themselves, and by association their family, as a healthy family (Epp and Price, 2008), for example Family 9 (top of p.240) and to a lesser extent Family 5 (middle of p.243) and Family 6 (end of p.243).

The third issue which can be raised from the above is the considerable differences in the parental views on the marketing of food to children between the beginning and the end of the interview. Considering this situation in the light of Friestad and Wright's (2004) persuasion knowledge model, whilst the families had encountered many persuasion episodes (this is clearly evident from the finding in chapter5) the parents were unable to recall their relevant persuasion knowledge without further prompting. In addition, the above findings highlight that the parents found it is easier to recall their agent knowledge (i.e. on p.241 they found it easier to talk about their experience of

particular brands) and their topic knowledge (i.e. unhealthy foods) than their persuasion knowledge.

However, by the end of the interview it appeared the parents had been able to use much more of their persuasion knowledge. The parents had been able to use the activity with their children as a memory cue and had therefore been able to orientate their minds to recall additional persuasion knowledge (Wright et al., 2005). As detailed in chapter 3, according to Friestad and Wright (2004) it is person's persuasion knowledge which allows them to determine which persuasion episodes are appropriate and fair. Therefore, by accessing this additional persuasion knowledge the parents had been able to make judgements on an increased number of persuasion episodes. In addition, where the family has not encountered a persuasion episode the process of talking about these possible episodes also led to the increase in the parents' persuasion knowledge and again allowed them to form opinions of the appropriateness of the marketing communication.

7.3 Parental mediation of marketing communications

All parents believed that they were primarily responsible for protecting their children from the food companies' marketing communications. Whilst many of them thought that the government could do more to help (as discussed in section 7.4 below), all of the parents were using different forms of mediation. From the analysis of the family interviews, four forms of mediation were discovered. Figure 7.1 below presents the four types of mediation used by parents (each represented by a different image). In connection to the themes in chapter 5, this analysis showed that these forms of mediation could be initially classified into two categories, either mediation which restricted the frequency with which the children came into contact with the communications or mediations which restricted the impact which the communication may have had on the children. The frequency restrictions took place both inside and outside of the home and are discussed further in section 7.3.1 below. There were also two forms of impact restrictions, the first was the use of media literacy which is discussed in section 7.3.2 and the second was in the form of dietary controls which is discussed in section 7.3.3.

Figure 7.1 below is a representation of the four types of restrictions which the parents used. At this point, the number of restrictions and their combinations are for illustrative purposes only. A full analysis of all of the families can be found in section 7.3.4 below.

The model has been designed to show the stages where the mediations take place. For example, the food company sends out its communications (represented by the arrows) to the child, however, before they reach the child their parents may have implemented restrictions either inside (represented by the TV) or outside (represented by the shopping basket) the home, or both, to prevent the communications reaching the child, resulting in a decrease in contact. In Figure 7.1 below the food company sends out ten communications, one is restricted by an in the home restriction, two are restricted by out of the home restrictions and one is restricted by both, resulting in six communications reaching the child.

For those communications which reach the child, i.e. where there are no frequency restrictions, parents may implement impact restrictions to reduce or even stop the influence the communications may have on their child's food intake. The impact restrictions can take the form of media literacy (blackboard) or dietary controls (an apple). In Figure 7.1 of the remaining six communications which the child encounters, the impact of one is restricted by media literacy, the impact of a further two are restricted by dietary controls and finally one is restricted by both. As a result of all four restrictions, from an original ten communications, only two reach the child unaffected with a further one reaching the child but whose effect has been reduced.

Figure 7.1: Four types of parental restrictions

Marketing communications

Frequency restrictions   In the home   Out of the home

Impact restrictions   Media literacy   Dietary controls
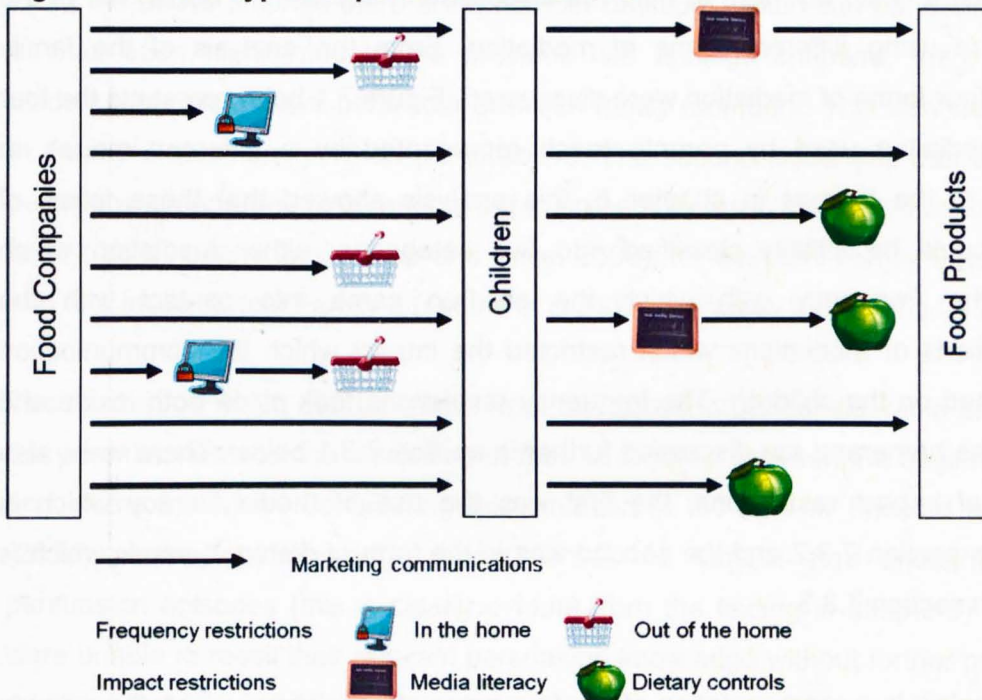
7.3.1 Restricting children's exposure to the marketing communications

As shown in Figure 7.1 above, parents attempted to reduce their children's exposure to food marketing communications both in and out of the home. In order to reduce their children's exposure to marketing communications in the home parents placed restrictions over their children's media use. In line with Nathanson (2001) this restriction was either content based, such as restricting which television channels the children were allowed to watch, or time related, such as only allowing children to play on their video games for thirty minutes per day, or both. Furthermore these restrictions were implemented formally, by setting rules, and informally by encouraging children to play outside or with alternative toys.

The most common form of medium which parents set formal restrictions (both content and time related) for was the internet. Considering the findings of chapter 5 (where new media was classified as low for frequency of contact and influence) this should have been rather surprising. However, the primary reason why parents imposed these forms of restrictions was not to reduce their children's exposure to its commercial content, such as online advertising or advergames, but to protect their children from the dangers of the internet. Parents were more concerned about their children coming into contact with unsuitable content such as material of a sexual, alcoholic or gambling related nature. In addition, they were also extremely concerned about their children's safety whilst on the internet. In line with this, a number of the parents placed restrictions on which internet sites their children were allowed to visit. In some cases, especially when the children were younger, they were not allowed to use the internet without a parent present.

Family 4   K (girl,7): I've never been to any of those websites [food website shown on the laminated card]. My mum wouldn't let me.

Family 5   Mum: He (son,12) gets in at 3pm or 3.30pm and I get in at 6pm so I don't really want the internet in the house. They can go on the internet if I'm around, then it's ok.

The second most common medium where parents implemented restrictions was television viewing. This was perhaps less surprising in view of the findings from chapter 5, yet only two of the families had formal restrictions, of those one was content-based and one was time-based.

Family 14   Mum: We keep them away from such things as Nickelodeon and Boomerang because the advertising is so in your face.

However, in line with the literature review it tended to be these parents who believed that television advertising had a strong impact and influence on their children

(Nathanson, 2001; Valkenburg et al., 1999; Vanderwater et al., 2005). Parents who had rated the influence lower were obviously less concerned and therefore less likely to implement this type of restriction. Whilst this type of restriction was more formal in nature, a number of the other parents had implemented a less formal type of restriction. This restriction usually took the form of the children being encouraged, from an early age, to find other ways of entertaining themselves, usually by playing outside when the weather permitted or, when playing inside, to play with toys rather than watching the television.

> Family 2   Js (boy,11): I'm more playing with my friends than watching [television] inside.

The above quotation could be interpreted as a further example (see quotations on p.228 and p.234) of Js attempting to portray his family identity as a healthy family (Epp and Price, 2008).

The final form of media on which parents placed restrictions was the playing of video games. These restrictions were similar to those found for watching television with children only being allowed to play for a set amount of time per day or only being allowed to play particular games, usually dependent on the age rating of the game.

> Family 11   Mum: They are only allowed thirty minutes a day to watch television or play on the Nintendo.

The amount of time children were allowed to play their video games did vary; the children from Family 11 above were given the least amount of time. The majority of the parents, whilst ensuring their children only played games which had an appropriate age rating, had not played the games for themselves and consequently were not aware that companies were placing their products within the games and therefore reaching their children.

> Family 12   Mum: I didn't know that McDonalds would be allowed to have a virtual shop in a game.

The above lack of awareness of how food companies were and were not allowed to target children is consistent with the later findings on parental awareness of regulations (see section 7.4.1 below).

By placing restrictions on television viewing, internet use and video gaming parents were restricting their children's contact with television advertising, broadcast sponsorship, product placement in television and films, new media (online advertising and advergames) and product placement in video games. In contrast to Van der Voort et al., 1992, cited in Nikken and Jansz, 2006) whilst the number of children in the family did not appear to be an indicator of whether the parents were likely to implement any of these restrictions, there were a couple of instances where parents had only put the

restrictions into place after their second child was born. It appeared that following the experiences of their first child and their contact with some of the communications, the parents had decided to put restrictions in place in order to reduce the contact of the communications with their second child. This type of change was especially common for television viewing more than for internet use or playing video games.

> Family 14   Mum: When she [daughter, 9] was younger we didn't restrict the advertising so she used to know all the adverts, all the songs, everything and she used to drive me crazy. ...You've got to stop them [daughters, 9 & 5] watching certain channels because they are going to be influenced.

This is interesting as often parents are thought to be more relaxed with subsequent children but here the opposite is true. This could be interpreted as, in line with Friestad and Wright (2004), by the time the second child has arrived the parents have increased their persuasion knowledge and are now able to develop different coping behaviours to deal with this form of persuasion episode.

7.3.1.1 Out of the home

As mentioned above, frequency restrictions also took place out of the home. The most common way in which parents attempted to reduce their children's exposure to food marketing communications in this respect was not to take their children to the supermarket. As discussed in chapter 2 there are a number of communications which can be found in the supermarket – the different sales promotions, tie-ins and point of sale promotions. As found in chapter 5, the first two of these can exert high levels of influence over children's purchase requests, especially younger children, and tended to be for unhealthy food products. It was therefore not surprising that parents looked for ways to reduce their children's exposure to those particular communications.

Out of all of the restrictions (both frequency and impact related) this was the most common amongst the families (see Figure 7.2 below). Only parents from two of the families said that they regularly took either all or some of their children shopping with them. All of the other parents made a considerable effort to avoid having to take them, although some of them did find this more difficult during the school holidays. The most common ways of shopping without the children were for one of the parents to go in the evening once the children were in bed, to go during school hours or, a more recent alternative, to shop on-line.

> Family 12   Mum: I must admit that the nagging is ferocious when, during the school holidays, when they are coming around with me.

> Family 7   Dad: They very rarely go to the supermarket because S (mum) goes at night.

Family 8 Nicki: Do you ever go shopping with your mum to the supermarket?
Z (boy,12): Sometimes.
Mum: Not if I can help it.
Z (boy,12): She prefers us not to go. Mum always orders stuff off the internet from Tesco.

This final quotation provides further evidence of how the family members negotiated their accounts. Above Z felt he needed to qualify his first response following his mother's comment in order to provide a collective identity (Epp and Price, 2008). Family 8 had previously demonstrated similar behaviour not only between Z and him mum (see p.218) but also between the two boys (see the quotations on p.117, p.215 and p.232).

The primary reason for not taking the children shopping was to stop them coming into contact with the in-store and sales promotion communications. Of these, parents singled out free gifts, especially those in the boxes of breakfast cereals, children's speciality foods and tie-ins, as the types of communications which tended to cause the most requests from their children (Wilson and Wood, 2004). As a result, these were the ones they avoided the most. A parallel can be drawn here with results from the chapter 5, as along with price promotion, which is also found in the supermarket, these are the communications which the families rated as high for influence over their children's food requests.

Family 13 Mum: K (daughter, 6) would definitely would go straight for the bright coloured versions which is why I don't take them shopping with me.

Again, as with the discussion in chapter 5, parents believed that the children were more likely to make requests if they came into contact with these communications when they were younger. In line with Caruana and Vassallo (2003), some mothers admitted that as a result of taking their children with them to the supermarket the cost of their shopping tends to increase substantially.

Family 2 Mum: I take them to Tesco so rarely for the reason I end up buying things I don't want.

Family 12 Mum: The shopping always comes to about £30 more when they are with me.

Nevertheless, the majority of parents did agree that as their children became older it was less of problem to take them shopping. There were two reasons for this, the first was that the children's understanding about what they were and were not allowed to eat prevented them from asking for certain items. The second reason was that the children's interest in the promotions was declining, this was either due to them becoming sceptical about the promotion and realising it would not live up to their

expectations (as discussed above) or the promotions were no longer based on themes they were interested in. Furthermore, as the children became older, many of the parents found having older children with them could be a help rather than a hindrance.

> Family 5   Mum: J (daughter, 8) tends to be very helpful, she'll make suggestions about things as we go round and I'll either say yes or no depending on how unhealthy it is and how generous I'm feeling.

Following on from an earlier quotation (middle of p.243) again the mother from Family 5 was emphasising that she wanted her family to be seen as a healthy family.

However, in contrast to the above, there was one parent who had used these types of promotions to her advantage when shopping with her younger children. She had managed to incorporate the attractiveness of the free gifts and packaging into a game which the children had played while she shopped. As a working single parent she had found it too difficult to arrange shopping alone and therefore had had to find her own solution to shopping with her children.

> Family 4   Mum: See one of the ways we used to entertain everybody when we went to the supermarket, so when D (son, 11) had to come with me when he was small enough to have to come with me and I couldn't leave him in his own, I used to say to him 'go and choose two cereals and he'd run off in the supermarket. So actually it was a good diversionary activity for the supermarket, he could go off and choose two cereals and bring them back and then we used to play this game, didn't we? Where we'd run off and come back, run off and come back with things.

The reason why only mum from Family 4 used this diversionary technique was likely to have been that the other parents thought it was unsafe to allow a young child to wander alone, and out of the sight of their parents, in the supermarket.

7.3.2   Reducing the influence of the marketing communications

As shown in Figure 7.1 above the parents also employed two forms of restrictions in an attempt to reduce the impact of the food marketing communications. The first type of restriction was to try and increase their children's media literacy by talking to them about the intent behind the communications. By talking to their children the parents were trying to increase their children's defences to the communications.

Parents only discussed four different forms of communications with their children: television advertising, free gifts, children's speciality foods and the internet. When discussing both advertising and free gifts parents tried to explain that bias and exaggeration may be present and that the end result, i.e. the product itself or the free gift, would probably not live up to their (the children's) expectations. For younger

children especially, parents often had to explain that the free gift was only there to encourage the purchase of the product which they (the child) did not actually like to eat.

> Family 8   Mum: I've always ingrained in them the fact that, it's [advertising] is a cynical thing. I've always said the reason they are putting that on the box is to try and get you to buy it.

> Family 4   K (girl,7): I just saw it (free gift) and asked and you (mum) said 'will you like it' in a menacing voice.

Mum from Family 8's constant reminding to her sons that they should be cynical when encountering different marketing communications appeared to be beginning to build their persuasion knowledge (as shown by the quotation on p.232), however, it is evident from the quotations on p.187 and p.233 that the boys did not have sufficient knowledge to always use it spontaneously (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006; Wright et al., 2005).

The reason for parents discussing the children's speciality food was different from the other two communications above. For this communication the parents were more concerned about the types of foods the companies were trying to sell using this type of communication. As previously discussed in this chapter and chapter 5, children's speciality foods tended to be processed foods and usually less healthy foods. For this reason, the parents attempted to educate their children about the products' content. To help them achieve their objective, the parents sometimes allowed their children to try the products in order to prove that they did not usually taste as good as the children expected. This point is raised again in the next section when parental influence over children's diets is considered.

> Family 2   Js (boy,11): (talking about children's speciality food) but as you (mum) said that they probably have got the same amount of fat in them.

> Family 12   Mum: If there has been something grotty that they have wanted to try I've maybe let them try it, like Cheesestrings, and they have realised actually they don't taste like very nice cheese.

Similarly to the quotation from Family 5 above, here both Js from Family 2 and mum from Family 12, by giving these specific examples, were attempting to portray their collective family identity as a healthy family (Epp and Price, 2008). For both of these families, the above quotations are consistent with earlier quotations (for Family 2 see p.194 and p.228 and for Family 12 see p.222 and p.234) where a similar identity was presented.

The final communication which was discussed by some families was the internet. However, as mentioned above, the discussions were not to warn children of the

commercial content but to warn them of other undesirable content. This was the only communication which parents admitted to undertaking with their children, especially the younger ones. Whilst it was possible parents also watched television with their children, none of the parents included it in their interviews. On the contrary, a number of parents admitted they often left the children to watch the television alone whilst they were busy elsewhere in the house.

> Family 3   L (girl,8): I'm only allowed on (the internet) when mummy or daddy are with me.

> Family 7   Dad: The kids just sit and watch the TV and we'll be doing something else while they are watching it.

The above quotation from Family 7's dad confirms the account that his wife gave earlier (see p.240) that as parents they were unaware of all of the television advertising that their children were exposed to.

In addition, for those families who did use this type of mediation they only discussed the communications from a negative viewpoint. As discussed in section 7.2 above, nearly all of the parents held negative attitudes towards the marketing of foods to children, and, as a result, were passing these views onto their children when attempting to increase the children's defences against the communications. None of the parents who had expressed more neutral views engaged in this form of mediation.

> Family 8   Mum: I've always ingrained in them the fact that, it's [advertising] is a cynical thing. I've always said the reason they are putting that on the box is to try and get you to buy it.

Furthermore, one parent went a little further and was teaching her children about the ethical behaviour of companies and why as a family they did not buy certain brands.

> Family 11   Mum: We don't buy Nestlé cereals because of their unethical business practices.
> I (girl,11): What does that mean?
> Mum: Can you remember me telling you about Nestlé trying to get new mums in Africa to buy their baby milk rather than breast feeding so spending money they don't have?
> I (girl,11):) Oh yes.

7.3.3   Parental influences over children's diets

The last parental mediation used to reduce the impact of food marketing communications was some form of dietary control. The primary aim for parents undertaking this form of mediation was to ensure that their children ate a healthy diet. All of the parents talked about wanting their children to be as healthy as possible and also about the extra pressure they were feeling to ensure they did not feed them any 'junk' in their diet. To influence their children's diets parents used two strategies. The

first was to teach their children about healthy eating and the second was to implement rules about which foods their children could and could not eat.

When teaching their children about what they should and should not be eating, as just mentioned above, rather than to ban foods outright and expect the children to believe their parents opinion about the quality and taste of certain products, a number of parents would often let their children try certain products in order to discover for themselves what the product was made from. Their hope was that by doing it in this way the children would come to their own conclusion over whether they liked the product and whether they would want to eat it again. The children who had found out for themselves that the product actually did not taste that nice were far less likely to ask their parents for that type of food again.

> Family 7   Dad: They actually like the taste of cheese better than Cheesestrings.

This type of behaviour was common for certain foods, Cheesestrings being the most popular (see the quotation from mum of Family 12 above, p.252). One parent, after being inundated with requests from her children for food they would like to eat, asked them, the children, to plan the family's meals for one week ensuring there was a balance of foods. The children only managed to agree on two days' worth of meals before giving up. This again reduced the number of requests for 'unhealthy' foods. In connection with parents educating their children on eating a healthier diet, many parents did comment that they were now being helped by parts of the school curriculum which looked at diet, nutrition and healthy eating. This had resulted in some of the children taking a strong interest in the food they were eating and actively seeking a healthy diet.

> Family 4   Mum: They get an awful lot of education at school. D [son, 11] was asking the other day about proteins. They [the children] are always asking me about what is good for you.

> Family 6   Dad: I [daughter, 8] regularly says 'I'm dividing my meal into sugars, proteins, starchy vegetables' and I think that is a good thing.
> Mum: She will come home and say 'you know what so and so had in their lunch box. There wasn't any fruit or veg in their lunch box'.

The above behaviour, parents encouraging their children to learn about nutrition and eat healthily, was common amongst other families (for example see the quotations from Family 2 on p.194 and 252).

In conjunction with the above, all of the parents also tended to implement some forms of rules detailing which foods their children could or could not eat. In all but one of the

families the children were allowed some choice in what they ate. However, in agreement with Marshall et al. (2006), this amount of choice did vary considerably amongst the families. In some of the families, in order to be allowed foods that were usually restricted, many of the children had learnt to negotiate for certain foods, usually treats (Marshall et al., 2007). Nevertheless, there was one parent who had very strict limits on what her children were allowed to eat with no negotiation permitted. Consequently, as the children became older and wanted to eat the same things as their friends, this lack of choice and negotiation was beginning to cause some resentment towards their mother.

> Family 5   Mum: I have to, I tend not to buy things like this [children's speciality food] because they are really offensive, really over-priced and hyped and full of stuff I wouldn't put in my own mouth never mind my children's to be honest. It's just complete crap
> J (girl,8): You have no taste though.
> D (boy, 12): Bad move J (sister).

Whilst J was happy to show her displeasure at her mother's rules and her own identity her older brother D was more concerned about ensuring they presented a collective family identity by not contradicting their mother (Epp and Price, 2008).

Next there were a number of parents that whilst giving their children some choice still had many rules in place, usually concerned with healthy eating. The final few parents provided their children with even more choice and did allow more treats and more of the 'unhealthy foods' on occasions. It was within these two types of families where the children tended to have more success in negotiating for treats.

> Family 13   Mum: I do say is there anything you particularly want me to get. Sometimes I take it on board and sometimes I think you're not having one of them.

> Family 7   Mum: Sometimes I'll let them have what they want, some of those flashy things that they want.

The above account from Family 7's mum was consistent with her, and her husband's, earlier accounts presented above (see p.243) and in chapter 5 (see p.184) and chapter 6 (see p.220).

Whilst not being the primary objective (as discussed above), having rules over what types of foods children are allowed to eat did help reduce the influence that the marketing communications had on the children's food requests. Obviously, it did not stop the communications being attractive to the children but it did help in reducing the number of children's purchase requests. When the children asked for foods which they were not allowed, their requests were usually declined, especially by those families with the stricter rules.

> Family 5   Nicki: Do you ever ask mum to buy you things that you've seen advertised on the telly or in magazines?
> D (boy,12): No.
> J (girl,8): No because it's normally like Dominos stuff and she won't buy it even if we asked.

However, as stated above, for those families which allowed slightly more negotiation, sometimes a compromise was reached or the product was allowed as a treat or one-off.

> Family 4   Mum: I do indulge them; I know what their favourite things are.

Finally, a number of parents felt the pressure to ensure that their children ate healthily had increased substantially over the past few years. Some parents believed it was beginning to go too far, for example, when they were being told what they could and could not put in their children's lunch boxes.

> Family 7   Mum: I feel quite strongly that people shouldn't dictate to parents what they put in the lunchboxes, and say 'you can't bring this, you can't bring that anymore'.

In contrast to previous quotations (see the quotations on p.240 and p.243) where mum from Family 7 had not presented any strong negative feeling towards the food companies who targeted her children, here she was clearly irritated by other parties, such as the Government, for telling her how to be a good parent.

7.3.4 Comparing how families use mediation

As mentioned above, all of the families employed at least one of the types of mediations. Figure 7.2 below provides a summary of which of the four restrictions each of the families implemented. Each type of mediation is represented as it was in Figure 7.1 above. In order to provide a more detailed analysis each type of restriction has been classified further to illustrate the extent to which the restriction was implemented. The classifications are based around high, medium and low implementation, as can be seen from the key to the right of the figure. In addition to the comparison with the literature found in chapter 8 (i.e. where the above findings relate to the presentation of my expanded framework), below further aspects of the findings which I believe to be noteworthy are highlighted.

Of the four parental restrictions there were two which were used by all families to some extent. The first was not taking the children to the supermarket to stop them coming into contact with a number of the communications. On the one hand, this is in line with Pettersson et al., (2004) and Ip et al., (2007) who both found this form of restriction to be common amongst parents in Sweden and Australia respectively. Yet on the other

Figure 7.2: Summary of families mediation use
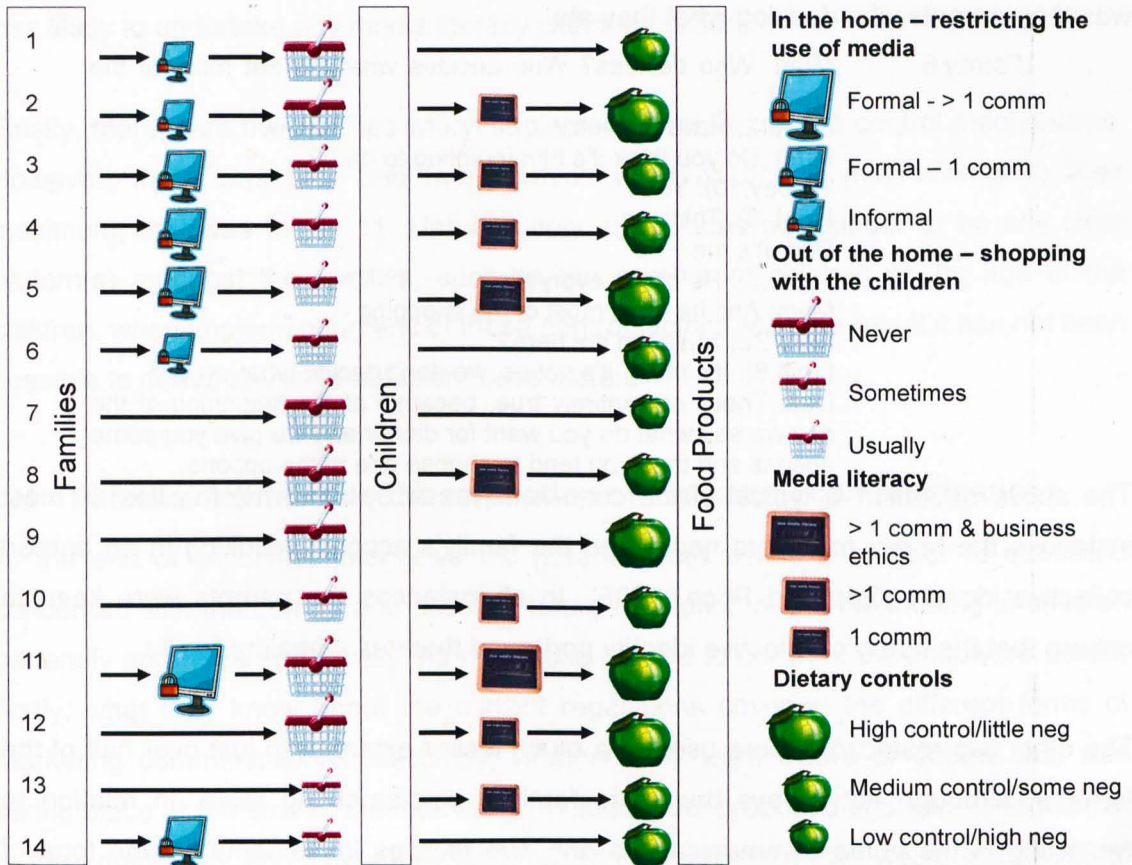
hand, when compared to Wilson and Wood's (2004) UK study my findings suggest more parents look to implement this form of mediation when possible.

The second restriction was having a set of rules which controlled, some to a greater extent than others, what the children were allowed to eat and, as a result, the influence the communication could have over the children's diet. Parent's implementing rules over their children's diet is again in agreement with previous studies (Ip et al., 2004; Kelly et al., 2006; Wilson and Wood, 2004). Furthermore, as detailed above, all of the parents believed that they had more control over their children's diets than the marketers (Spungin, 2004). Considering that all but one of the families reported a medium or high level of control over their children's diet it is possible that parental and family influences in relation to children's diets are stronger than policy makers recognise (Eagle et al., 2004c).

Following on from the above, it was not just the parents who believed they had the most control over their children's food intake, the children, in agreement with Marshall

et al.'s (2007) studies in the UK, Canada and Sweden, also when asked reported that it was their parents who decided what they ate.

> Family 6   Mum: Who decides? Who decides what we eat most of the time?
> I (girl,8): Have to think..
> Mum: Do you think it's him (pointing to dad)?
> W (boy,10): Yeah
> I (girl, 8): Think so
> Dad: It's me
> I (girl.,8): He cooks everything.
> Mum: And he does most of the shopping
> Dad: But when I'm not here?
> I (girl,8): It's mum, it's not us, we don't decide what we eat.
> Dad: That's not entirely true, because at the beginning of the day we say what do you want for dinner and we give you some options and then you tend to choose one of the options.

The above quotation is typical of the comments made by all of the families, in most instances the family members negotiated the family's account resulting in an agreed collective identity (Epp and Price, 2008). In all instances the parents were keen to ensure that the family's collective identity portrayed them as a healthy family.

The other two restrictions were used to a much lesser extent, with just over half of the families, although not always the same families, implementing them. In relation to restricting in the home communications only five families implemented some form of formal rules and most of these were in relation to using the internet. This result could be considered surprising in light of Dens et al.'s (2007) findings that it is more usual for parents with negative feelings towards the advertising of food to children. As detailed at the beginning of this chapter eleven of the parents in the study had negative views yet less than half had implemented any form of restriction. Overall, the parents in this study implement less of this type of restriction than the parents in other previous studies (Chan and McNeal., 2003b; Roberts et al., 1999; Rose et al., 1998; Vandewater et al., 2005).

Following on from the above the parents in this study also reported a relatively low level of media literacy. Only three of the families reported discussing two or more of the seventeen communications with their children. These findings are in stark contrast to Arnas (2006) who reported 95% of Turkish families discussed food advertising but are similar to the findings of Brody et al., (1981) in the USA and Chan and McNeal (2003b) in China who both found that parents were not motivated to take an active role in educating their children about marketing communications. One reason why so few families in my study implemented this type of restriction could be, as found by Chan

and McNeal (2003b), parents with negative views towards marketing to children are less likely to undertake any media literacy with their children.

Finally, there were five families which implemented all four of the control mechanisms. However, there was only one family which used all of the mechanisms to their maximum; that was family 11. Unfortunately, there does not appear to be any clear pattern(s) amongst the families, such as the number of children or the age of the children, when implementing any of these control factors and as a result it has not been possible to derive any links between these factors.

7.4   Parental attitudes to the regulation of marketing communications

At the end of all of the interviews the parents were asked a number of questions concerned with the current and possible future regulation of both marketing to children generally and more specifically the marketing of food to children. Parents were asked; firstly, what they knew about the current regulations covering the different forms of marketing communications; secondly, whether they were aware of debate that was taking place at the time of the interviews, including the proposed changes to regulation to food marketing; and thirdly they were asked what changes they would ideally like to see to marketing and food marketing to children. It should be noted that the second round of interviews took place as Ofcom's proposals were being debated and finalised and therefore there had been an increase in media attention on the subject.

7.4.1   Awareness of current regulation

Generally, parents had very little awareness of the current regulations companies should be following when marketing to children. Over three quarters of them admitted to having no idea whether there was any regulation in place or what it could possibly be.

> Family 1   Dad: I'm blissfully ignorant.

> Family 8   Mum: I haven't got a clue, absolutely no idea.

As is evident from the above quotations, the parents tended to be unconcerned, even proud, about their lack of awareness. Even the rest of the parents, whilst assuming there would be something in place, also did not know any of the specific details.

> Family 2   Mum: I assume there is but it's not something I'm aware of.

> Family 5   Mum: I know there are guidelines or there are restrictions but I wouldn't know what they are.

Only one parent attempted to name, although incorrectly, any of the agencies that could be responsible for ensuring children are protected.

> Family 9   Mum: Is there a foods standard agency?

Overall there was a complete lack of knowledge about current regulations even though many parents had expressed such strong negative feelings when asked about their attitudes to companies marketing to children in section 7.2 above.

7.4.1.1   The Ofcom changes

As previously discussed in chapter 2, this research took place during the government's 'Choosing Health' initiative and the corresponding review of food marketing to children by the Food and Drink Advertising and Promotions Forum. Whilst none of the parents were aware of the government's white paper, the majority of them were aware of some of its projects. The initiative that all of the parents were aware of was the change to school dinners which had been led in the media by celebrity chef Jamie Oliver. Even though most of the parents were not aware of its origins, all had witnessed the changes, mostly positive, to their children's school dinners.

> Family 5   Mum: There is the Jamie Oliver campaign to have more healthy eating in classrooms.

> Family 10   R (boy,9): Now it has changed completely to healthy stuff.

However, not all of the children, unlike their parents, thought the changes were for the better.

> Family 4   K (girl,7): They have changed the menu, they were supposed to try and make them nicer but they're not, they are making them fishier and meatier.

Just over half of the parents, with the majority being from the second round of interviews, were aware of the changes to be made to the advertising of unhealthy foods around children's television programmes. As already mentioned, these interviews did take place at the same as Ofcom's final proposals were published and its corresponding media attention. Although these parents were aware there were to be changes, as above, very little detail was known. The most common response to the changes, as mentioned above, was that food companies would no longer to able to advertise unhealthy food to children. However, there was some confusion over whether there was to be a 9pm watershed and what was to be classified as 'junk' or unhealthy food.

> Family 10   Mum: I know there has been a lot of coverage recently where they were saying we don't want certain things advertised on kids' television, not shown before 9pm or something.

Although, as one parent commented, they did not really need to know the detail, they just needed it to stop.

7.4.2 Future regulation

There was a mix of responses when the parents were asked which, if any, of the communications that had been discussed during the interview companies should not be allowed to use when targeting children. In agreement with Ip et al. (2007), the responses ranged from none of them to all of them. Those parents who believed no further restrictions should be put on food companies' marketing activities tended to be from the first round of interviews, before the media coverage of the changes had begun. There were a number of rationales for their responses. Some parents tended to think regulating the industry further would not make any difference as the companies would just find alternative ways around the regulation.

> Family 1   Dad: When regulation is brought in all those organisations who are determined to achieve their objectives in that respect are just going to find ways around the regulation.

Alternatively, other parents believed that as the impact and influence was minimal on their children that there was no need for further regulation (Eagle et al., 2004a: Spungin, 2004).

> Family 2   Mum: I'm not aware it has a great impact so yes it doesn't really bother me. I don't feel it has a great deal of impact on the things that I buy and what we eat.

At the other end of the spectrum, there were a number of families who wanted to see all food marketing communications to children banned.

> Family 5   Mum: I'd go for a full ban.

Whilst Family 2 and Family 5 were the families which continually and strongly presented themselves as healthy families (see p.252 for an example) their views on future regulation were completely different. Mum from Family 5 had shown strong negative attitudes throughout the interview (see the quotations on p.243, p.255 and p.256 above) resulting in her wish for a full ban. Whereas, mum from Family 2 had shown a mix of attitudes, for example annoyance at some in-store promotions (see the quotation on p.241 above) but an indifference towards television advertising. It appears that even though there were some communications which she found irritating, mum from Family 2 overall felt that she was able to control the effects of the different marketing communications, and therefore, felt she did not want outside help.

From all of the interviews there were parents at the two extremes, but more common, especially from the second phase of interviews, were those parents who only wanted to see particular communications restricted. Many of the parents who wanted either a complete ban or restrictions on a large number of the communications only wanted the ban for companies which were marketing unhealthy foods to children (Chan and McNeal, 2003b: Dens et al., 2006).

Overall, the most common communication which parents wanted to see restricted in some form was television advertising. This was not surprising as it was the most common communication that the children encountered and had the highest impact according to parents. It was also the communication which all families talked about when asked generally about the subject of food marketing to children.

> Family 10   Mum: Because it's the main thing, television advertising, I think that should stop straight away.

Again there was a mix of responses, from wishing to see all advertising banned around children's programmes to just those for unhealthy foods (Powell and Longfield, 2005; Which, 2008b). Even when concentrating on unhealthy food advertisements there were differences in opinions; firstly, wanting all unhealthy television advertising banned in its entirety; secondly, not to be shown before the 9pm watershed and around children's designated programmes; finally, to just reduce the number of unhealthy advertisements allowed (Ip et al., 2007; Moodie et al., 2006). However, these views were not common to all parents, and a few parents thought that the overall impact of television advertising on what their children ate was at best minimal and therefore were not concerned about it.

> Family 4   Mum: I don't think it's as much the TV advertisers, with K [daughter, 7] it's if she sees it in the shop....I don't think you've ever said to me you've seen something on the telly that you want, have you, to eat?

Perhaps more surprising for me was the communication which came second behind television advertising, in-school communications. However, in section 7.2 above, parents did show predominately negative attitudes towards it. All of the parents strongly believed that no companies should be allowed to target their children whilst they were in school.

> Family 14   Mum: I don't think they should be able to go in school.

This in itself is therefore not unexpected, but it does not seem to fit with the earlier results in chapter 5 where the parents rated the impact and influence of this type of communication as low. One explanation could be that they felt the influence rating was low as the perceived frequency of contact was currently low, but, should this change then the amount of impact and influence would also change accordingly. Furthermore, most of the parents believed that schools should be free from any commercial content. As detailed in chapter 2 (see p.37) traditionally there has been little, if any commercial content in UK schools. However, following the practices in other countries such as the USA and Australia this is now changing.

A few of the parents also wanted to see children's speciality food, tie-ins and free gifts banned.

Family 8   Mum: Marketing foods specially for children in the ways that they do at the moment, with the pretty colours and you know the tie-ins, I'd just say don't do it...But while ever you've got the choice between Sponge Bob Square Pants rubbers thrown at the bottom of a box of cereal or some porridge, porridge is not going to win.

Family 12   Mum: I think I'd ban these sorts of children's foods so that they can't link up with characters from movies.

Again, considering these communications were rated as having a high impact and influence this should not have been too unexpected. However, only a third of the number of parents who wanted to see television advertising restricted wanted to see these communications restricted. The reason for this may have been due to parents' own mediation of the communications which were discussed above. The parents felt that they were able to control the effects of these communications in their own way, such as not taking the children to the supermarket, and therefore did not need regulatory intervention. As above, some of the parents would like to see these types of communications banned altogether, and others would like to see them restricted to the promoting of unhealthy foods.

The other communications which parents wanted to see restricted in some form were branded toys, sponsorship and product placement.

Family 13   Mum: Don't think they should advertise specifically junk toys. I'd feel different if that said Tesco or Sainsbury's or something like that on top but because its McDonald's and that is always associated with junk and fast food, why can't you have Lion eggs on top or something. You know something like that instead, so toys I really don't think they should.

In line with in-school communications above, parents had previously rated the impact and influence of these communications as low. However, what was slightly different for these communications was that all of the parents only wished to see them restricted with regard to promoting unhealthy food. However, what each parent thought of as unhealthy did vary slightly, especially with regards to cereal manufacturers.

Family 12   Mum: The sponsorship maybe of it was Weetabix not Frosties I wouldn't be as up in arms as I am.

Both mum from Family 8 at the top of the page and mum from Family 12 directly above could be interpreted as being more concerned that the communications were influencing their children to choose unhealthy foods over healthy foods. Therefore, as suggested in chapter 8 next, it should be possible to use the communications to increase the appeal of healthy foods, for example, in line with mum's from Family 8 comments above, having Sponge Bob Square Pants on or in the box of porridge.

All through the above findings a common theme is evident; parents felt the need to protect their children from the marketing communications of unhealthy food brands. There was only the use of in-school communications which the parents believed to be unethical regardless of the sponsor. In all other instances, the parents only reported wanting to see the communication restricted or banned if was being used by a brand they believed to be unhealthy. By taking this stance parents are once again attempting to portray their family identity as a healthy family (Epp and Price, 2008).

7.5 Summary

In answering the final part of the third research objective, I have presented the fifth topic of parental perceptions. Within this topic I considered the following three aspects. I began the chapter by analysing parental attitudes towards food marketing communications, this was followed by an investigation into parental mediation of the different communications, and I concluded the chapter with a review of parental attitudes towards the regulation of food marketing communications. Overall, parents tended to have negative attitudes towards the marketing of food to children, particularly towards to the marketing of unhealthy foods. Their strongest negative views were towards television advertising, in-school communications and free gifts. In spite of these strong negative attitudes, there was more of a mix of opinions amongst the parents about whether certain communications should be restricted by government regulation. Nevertheless, there was a similarity between the communications for which parents had the strongest negative attitudes, and the communications where they felt further restrictions were necessary (Dens et al., 2006).

I found that parental mediation consisted of four types of restrictions, two of which restricted the frequency with which children interacted with the communications and two restricted the perceived influence of the communication on the children's purchase requests and/or diets. The frequency restrictions were used in the home by restricting the children's media use or out of the home by not taking the children to the supermarket. The impact restrictions were to increase a child's media literacy to help them understand the intent behind the communications or to place controls over the children's diets. All of the families used at least two of these mechanisms (out of the home and dietary controls) and half of the families implemented three or more.

However, the overwhelming feeling from parents was that, in the end, it was their responsibility to look after the health of their children and in order to do so they should be the ones to implement controls and rules.

> Family 6   Mum: I would prefer it if those adverts weren't there, but it's our responsibility in what we buy for our children, and I think that we as parents have to take responsibility for that and we need to set up your rules. So in the summer holidays you can have Weetos and Frosties and the rest of the time you can't. And when we are in the supermarket if you want a Star Wars chocolate well the answer might be yes and it might be no. So I don't think we can blame the advertisers, at the end of the day we have to take responsibility for what we are putting into our children's mouths or buying. And I think, you know, I understand that all of this does impact upon families and the way children behave and the way that they will pester their parents but I still think at the end of the day, in one respect it doesn't matter what is going on out there because it is up to you.

Compared to the previous two chapters there has been less evidence of confirming behaviour and the presentation of collective and individual identity in this chapter, however, this chapter has highlighted how the participants tended to show consistent behaviour throughout the three findings chapters.

Within the last three chapters (chapters 5, 6 and 7) I have presented the answers to research objectives 1, 2 and 3. The following chapter (chapter 8) not only considers the importance of these findings by relating them to the current literature (chapter 2 and 3) but also answers the final research objective by presenting my expanded framework of the marketing of food to children. It is while presenting this framework that the theoretical contributions of this study will be highlighted. The chapter also includes my methodological contributions and the implications of this study for both practitioners and policy makers. It is finished with a reflexive consideration of the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

8 Discussion and conclusion: An expanded analytical framework of the marketing of food to children

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I highlight the theoretical contribution of my thesis by comparing and contrasting the conceptual framework developed and discussed in chapters 2 and 3 with a new framework which I developed from the three findings chapters (chapters 5, 6 and 7) for the marketing of food to children. I begin the chapter with a general discussion of the findings before moving on to present and discuss the new framework. The new framework concentrates on parental mediation, children's understanding and the perceived effects of food marketing communications. I then highlight one of the growing issues within food marketing to children – the rise of IMC. The chapter then moves on to consider the thesis's methodological contributions before presenting the implications of the research for marketing practitioners and policy makers. I then provide a reflective consideration of the study and its limitations before concluding with my suggestions for future research.

8.2 General discussion of findings

It has been clearly demonstrated by both the literature chapters and the findings of this research that food companies are increasingly using a wider variety of marketing communications (Calvert, 2008; Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Hawkes, 2004; Institute of Medicine, 2006; Lobstein, 2006) and therefore it is now too simplistic, and not a true representation of reality, if studies only consider individual communications in isolation (Food Commission, 2005). Currently there are only a small number of studies which have attempted to 'widen their net' and those have been both systematic literature reviews and have tended to be based outside the UK (Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Institute of Medicine, 2006). All of these studies, including the leading UK study (also a systematic literature review) (Hastings et al., 2003) report finding it too difficult to consider more than just advertising, or even television advertising, due to the lack of available research on other communications. In addition to this lack of research on most of the individual communications, there is also a lack of research considering a range of communications (Marshall et al., 2006). Therefore, it has been extremely difficult to map the ways in which companies, and in relation to this study, food companies, target children (Livingstone, 2005). This research, as an

exploratory study, firstly begins to fill these gaps, but also (as is apparent through this chapter) raises a number of important questions which need to be urgently addressed.

Whilst the above is true, it should be recognised that television advertising is still the dominant communication used to target children (Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al., 2006; Hastings et al., 2003; Hawkes, 2004). It is also the communication which children encounter the most (5.2.1.1, p.169) and one of the communications the families in this study rated as having a high influence over their children's purchase requests. The children watched both dedicated children's programmes and more general/adult programmes (Advertising Association, 2007; Bergadaa, 2007) and as a result were extremely familiar and comfortable with television advertising (Duff, 2004). In line with other studies, television advertising was the most popular communication amongst the children whilst the popularity of newer communications, such as those online, lagged a considerable distance behind (Advertising Association, 2007). I return to this point again later in the chapter (see 8.3.5). Adding to this, when asked to talk about how food companies market their products to children, the parents in the study implicitly referred to advertising and more specifically television advertising. These two findings highlight whilst food companies may be increasing their use of other communications, it is not sensible to move completely away from television advertising when researching marketing to children.

One of the issues which is not discussed explicitly within the three results chapters, but nevertheless was clearly evident, is the socialisation of children and the different roles they play as consumers. The children in the study, in agreement with the literature, played all three consumer roles, as consumers in their own right by making their own purchases, as part of the family decision making and spending, and finally as future consumers (Calvert, 2008; Lindstrom, 2004; McNeal, 2007). Most of the children in the study still relied heavily on their parents for their food purchases (Marshall et al., 2007) and preferred to save their money to spend on larger items such as clothes, toys and computer games (Marshall et al., 2007; Andersen et al., 2008). As a result their parents were the main gatekeeper of the foods they ate (Buijzen et al., 2008; Wut and Chou, 2009). However, for those children who did spend their money on food they did tend to favour sweets, drinks and snack food (Andersen et al., 2008; Institute of Medicine, 2006; Marshall et al., 2007; Prabhaker, 2010).

Even though the children relied on their parents to purchase their food, they all played a role in the decision making process (Wilson and Wood, 2004). In agreement with previous studies, the children's influence was both direct and indirect (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Lea and Beatty, 2002; Norgaard et al., 2007) showing the importance of their role in the process (Commuri and Gentry, 2000; Hill and Tilley, 2002; Thomson and Laing, 2003). All of the parents reported they considered the children's likes and dislikes when deciding on which foods to purchase as well as any direct requests the children may have made. It was also clear that the children influenced all stages of the buying process; however, the amount of influence was greatest at the initiation and choice stage (Lea and Beatty, 2002; Norgaard et al., 2007; Wut and Chou, 2009). Whilst the children had some influence over many of the daily purchases (Kelly et al., 2006), it was more frequent for their own foods such as breakfast cereals, snacks and items for their school lunchboxes (Batounis-Ronner et al., 2007; Institute of Medicine, 2006; Kim and Lee, 1997; Robertson, 1979; Shoham and Dalakas, 2005).

Even though the research was concentrated around communications designed to target children, it was evident that the children also constantly came into contact with other communications which were targeting alternative audiences. The children could not only recall these other communications but were also forming product and brand preferences preparing them for their future role as consumers (Freeland, 2005). In agreement with the current literature, the research showed that parents, peers and mass media were the main socialisation agents helping the children to develop their skills as consumers (Buckingham et al., 2009; Marquis, 2004; Marshall et al., 2007). It was evident that all of the children, even those five years old and younger, had some brand knowledge and the older children (eight years old and above) knew a substantial range of brands (Costa, 2010; Institute of Medicine, 2006; Marshall et al., 2007; Roedder-John, 1999).

The parents who took part in the research tended to show overwhelming negative attitudes towards using television advertising to market food to children, particularly the promotion of unhealthy foods (Buckingham et al., 2009: Family and Parenting Institute, 2008). This is in agreement with parents from New Zealand (Eagle et al., 2004a; Young et al., 2003), Australia (Ip et al., 2007), China (Chan and McNeal, 2003b) USA (Walsh et al., 1999), Sweden (Young et al., 2003) and Belgium (Dens et al., 2007; Dens et al., 2006) and considerably more negative than those in Hong Kong (Andersen et al., 2008). Following on from this, whilst it may have been expected that the parents would

268

have had fewer negative attitudes towards online advertising (Fielder et al., 2007), the parents in this study, in contrast to Swedish parents (Plogell and Wardman, 2007) showed very little, if any, negative views in relation to online food marketing. However, they did, as in other studies, have concerns about their children's safety whilst online and their children coming into contact with unsuitable advertising (Fielder et al., 2007).

Some of the parents, in line with those in Pettigrew and Roberts' (2006) study, also showed strong negative feelings towards fast food companies and how they marketed their products to children. The parents felt that by using the tie-ins with the latest children's movie in conjunction with a free gift they were taking advantage of the children. They also felt it placed them in a conundrum, on the one hand not wanting to feed their children unhealthy food, but on the other wanting to allow their children to have the exciting experience and to be able to own the same toy as their friends (Pettigrew and Roberts, 2006). Some of the parents were also sceptical of the vouchers to collect schemes and for many of them this was the only type of in-school communications they were aware of (Watts, 2004). However, after discussing the in-school communications and the different forms it can take, nearly all of the parents felt it was inappropriate regardless of the form it took, this is in stark contrast to the 80% of parents in Watts' (2004) study who believed in certain forms it was acceptable.

Overall, the parents in this study held similar views to other parents around the world in regards to the marketing of food to children. Where they did differ was in the appropriateness of in-school marketing where they held much stronger negative views than those in other studies. As mentioned on p.91 (3.5.1) there are very few studies which have investigated parents' attitudes to other communications. One reason may be, as found in this study, that parents often equate marketing with advertising and more specifically television advertising and as a result often fail to even consider other communications. Due to the dominance of advertising, many parents do not have an immediate response for other communications and it is only after prompting or even a prolonged discussion they begin to articulate their views.

8.3 Theoretical contribution: An analytical framework of the marketing of food to children

8.3.1 Introduction to the framework

As highlighted at the very beginning of this thesis the aim of this study is to take a holistic look at how children perceive their consumption of the marketing communications from UK food companies. To differentiate itself from previous studies, this study not only considers a full range of communications rather than relying on television advertising alone, but also encompasses all aspects of the process from the companies, to regulation, parental mediation, children's understanding of communications and finally the perceived effects of the communications. Furthermore, following the increasing use of IMC (Calvert, 2008; Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Institute of Medicine, 2006) the research also begins to investigate how this change in marketing practice impacts on our (the research community) knowledge of the above process.

The presentation of my first framework (hereafter known as the 'amended framework') for the marketing of food to children begins by focusing on Figure 8.2 below. Figure 8.2 is a revised version of the conceptual framework (Figure 1.4, p.9) which was introduced in chapter 1 and reproduced here as Figure 8.1 for ease of reference. The amended framework continues to be split into two parts: the UK food industry and the marketing of food to children. Figure 8.2 provides a revised summarised representation of the thesis so far. It clearly identifies the four main parties involved within the process of marketing food to children, the food companies, the regulatory authorities, the parents and of course the children. Part 1 of the amended framework (above the red dotted line) was developed from chapter 2 whereas part 2 of the framework (below the red dotted line) was developed from chapter 3 and the three findings chapters (chapters 5, 6 and 7).

Above the red dotted line the first two parties in the process are responsible for the sending of the communications, the food companies themselves (and of course any communication agencies they have employed) and the regulatory bodies which decide on the legislation and self-regulatory codes to which the companies must adhere. Below the red dotted line includes the remaining two parties, parents and the children themselves. As discussed in chapter 7, parents use four types of practices to either restrict the frequency of contact between their children and the communications (in and

Chapter 8: Discussion and conclusion: An expanded analytical framework of the marketing of food to children

Figure 8.1: The original conceptual framework of the marketing of food to children

The food industry (Ch.2.2)
- The stakeholders
- Promotional spending

Regulation (Ch.2.4)
- Regulation in the UK
- International regulation
- Going forward

Types of marketing communications (Ch.2.3)
- Advertising
- Sponsorship
- New media
- In-school communications
- In-store communications
- Other communications

Chapter 2 – Setting the scene

Chapter 3 – Literature review

Children as consumers
- Children as consumers (Ch.3.2)
- Children's understanding of marketing communications (Ch.3.3)
- The impact of food marketing (Ch.3.4)

The rise of integrated marketing communications (Ch.3.6)

Parental perceptions (Ch.3.5)
- Attitudes towards food marketing
- Parental mediation
- Attitudes towards the regulation of food marketing

Figure 8.2: The amended framework of the marketing of food to children

The Government & Regulatory Bodies (Chapter 2)
- Legislation
- Self-regulation

Food Companies (Chapter 2)
- Advertising
- Sponsorship
- New media
- In-school communications
- In-store communications
- Other communications

The UK Food Industry

Children's consumption of marketing communications

Parents (Chapters 3 & 7)
- Frequency restrictions
  - In home
  - Out of home
- Impact restrictions
  - Media literacy
  - Dietary controls

Integrated Marketing Communications (Chapters 3 & 5)

Children (Chapters 3, 5 & 6)
- Understanding (Ch. 3 & 6)
  - Level of recognition
  - Persuasive intent

- Leads to (Ch. 3 & 5)
- Frequency of contact
- Influence on purchase requests/food intake

→ Results of the research

out of the home) or to restrict the impact of the communications on their children (media literacy and dietary controls).

The final party in the framework is the children (the recipients of the communications) and their ability firstly, to be able to recognise the communications they have come in contact with, and secondly, to understand the purpose behind those communications. This is followed by the result of the process, determined by the experiences of the families, the frequency of contact children have with the different communications and their corresponding perceived influence over the children's purchase requests. The final part of the framework (to the right hand side) considers the impact of the rise in use of IMC and how this affects the areas of research discussed within this thesis. Within the amended framework the solid arrows represent the relationships between the parties which have been considered within the research.

8.3.2   Expanding the framework

Whilst the above amended framework shows the four parties involved in the process of marketing food to children and the links between the parties, it omits to fully display the details of the findings from the research. It was therefore necessary to expand the main body of the framework further (hereafter known as the 'expanded framework', see Figure 8.3 below).   The expanded framework includes further details for three of the parties, the food companies, the parents and the children. For the food companies, it was expanded to show the seventeen communications discussed in the three previous chapters. Following on from this the parents' section was expanded to show the types of restrictions the parents used (as detailed in chapter 7) on each of these communications. On similar lines, the children's section shows the level of understanding (for both the level of recognition and the persuasive intent) for each communication (as discussed in chapter 6) along with its frequency of contact and corresponding influence on the children's purchase requests (as presented in chapter 5).

Before I consider the implications of my findings I feel that it is worth highlighting again one of the contributions of this study. As I have discussed on many occasions during this thesis, by concentrating previous research on television advertising, which at the time when most of the research took place (during the 1970s and 1980s) was correctly justified, the research community currently knows very little about other communications and how children interact with them (Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al., 2003; Institute of Medicine, 2006). Figure 8.4 (p.274) below highlights how little of the overall picture has been thoroughly researched with the red highlighted area

Figure 8.3: Expanded framework for marketing food to children

The 4 Parties

1. The Regulatory Bodies — Legislation and self-regulation

Marketing Communications

Advertising	Sponsorship	New media	In-school communications	In-store communications	Other communications
Television[1] Print[2]	Sponsorship[1] Product placement In films & TV[2] In video games[3]	Online[1] Advergames[2]		Sales promotions Free gifts[1] Price promotions[2] Competitions[3] Vouchers to collect[4] Tie-ins with television, film & cartoon characters[5] Children's speciality food[6] Point of sale[7]	Branded toys[1] Word of mouth[2]

2. The Companies

3. Parents
Frequency restrictions
Impact restrictions

4. Children
Recognition
Understanding
Persuasive intent

	Advertising		Sponsorship			New media		In-school	In-store communications							Other	
	1	2/3	1/2	2/3	2/4	1/2	1/2	1/3/4	1/2	1	1	1	1/2	1	1/2	1/4	2
Understanding Persuasive intent	Mix		Little			No	No	Mix	Mix	Good	Mix	No	Mix	Mix	Mix	No	N/A

Leading to:

	Advertising		Sponsorship			New media		In-school	In-store communications							Other	
Frequency of contact	High	Low	Mix	Mix	Low	Low	Low	Low	High	High	Mix	High	High	High	Mix	Low	Mix
Influence on purchase requests/food intake	High	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	High	High	Low	Low	High	Mix	High	Low	Mix
Communication classification	High	Low	Mix	Mix	Low	Low	Low	Low	High	High	Mix	N/A	High	High	Mix	Low	Mix

showing where the majority of research so far has taken place. As a result all aspects of marketing food to children, the frequency of contact, children's understanding, parental mediation and the effects have only been investigated in relation to advertising and more specifically television advertising.

A further consequence of this limited amount of knowledge is that many assumptions have been made, for example children should be able to recognise all communications by the age of five, which as this study has shown is not always the case (see 6.2 and 8.3.4 below). In addition, as researchers have only considered parental mediation in relation to advertising, they have failed to consider other possible types of mediation, such as the out of the home restrictions and dietary controls, which I found are also frequently used by parents to mediate the interaction and influence of other communications (see 8.3.3). Where other research has taken place (as highlighted by the green boxes in Figure 8.4**Figure 8.4**) but to a much lesser degree than that undertaken for television advertising, it has concentrated on one specific communication at one stage of the process, such as Dahl et al. (2009) on the frequency of use of advergames by the food industry, or Auty and Lewis (2004) and Pempek and Calvert (2009) on the

Figure 8.4: Expanded framework: Previous research
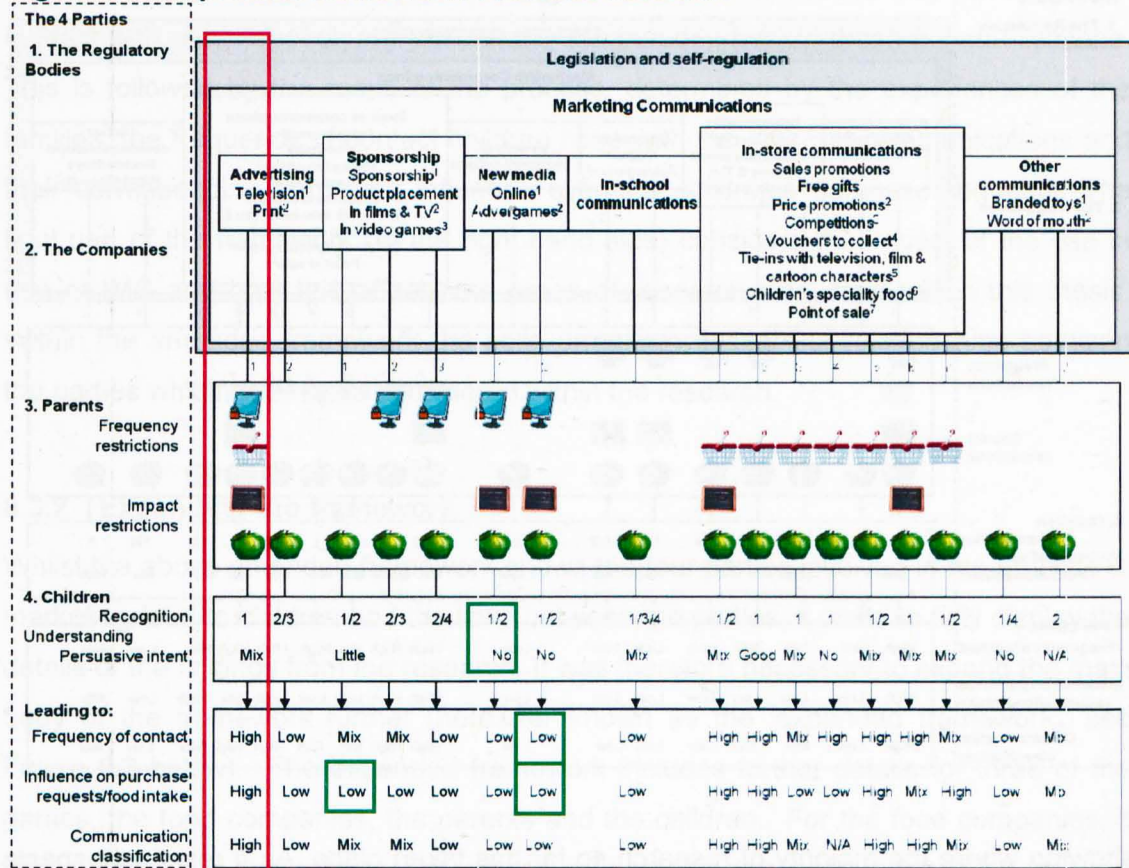
effect of product placement and advergames respectively on children's food choice, or Ali et al. (2009) on children's understanding of on-line advertising.

Within the next five sections I consider the results contained in this expanded framework in more depth by considering how my findings compare to the current research and highlight where new findings can begin to fill the gaps found in the literature.

8.3.3   The expanded framework: Parents

This research differs from previous research on parental mediation in a number of ways. Firstly, it considers how parents mediate for a wider range of communications than just television advertising. It also takes a new and different approach to the classification of parental mediation. Traditionally parental mediation has only been considered in relation to television advertising (Arnas, 2006; Borzekowski and Robinson, 2007; Brody et al., 1981; Buijzen, 2009; Buijzen, 2007; Buijzen and

Valkenburg, 2005; Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Buijzen et al., 2008; Caruana and Vasscello, 2003; Chan and McNeal, 2006; Chan and McNeal., 2003a; Chan and McNeal, 2003b; Dens et al., 2007; Harrison and Marske, 2005; Nathanson, 2001; Roberts et al., 1999; Rose et al., 1998; Valkenburg et al., 1999; Vanderwater et al., 2005; Ward and Wackman, 1972), although more recently there has been a small number of studies on the mediation of video games (Borzekowski and Robinson, 2007; Nikken et al., 2007; Nikken and Jansz, 2006) and online advertising (Clarke, 2002). To date only Borzekowski and Robinson (2007) have considered more than one communication when they researched US parental mediation of television and video games. However, there has been no investigation of the communications which children come into contact with outside of the home.

The above researchers have all followed the same classification of parental mediation types: restrictive mediation, active or instructive mediation and social co-viewing (as introduced and discussed in chapter 3). This was due to the research being rooted in television advertising. However, when I considered more than just television advertising, it became apparent that whilst these forms of mediation were appropriate for those communications encountered in the home (see just below for which communications this relates to) they were not appropriate for the communications children encountered when outside the home and therefore a new way of approaching parental mediation was required.

From this research it was evident that parents implemented restrictions for two distinct purposes, the first was to reduce the amount of contact their children had with the communication (I labelled these frequency restrictions), whilst the second was to reduce the communication's perceived impact or influence over their children's wants and desires (I labelled these impact restrictions). Both of these classifications of restrictions were then applied to all of the communications within this study. As introduced in chapter 7, each of these classifications took two forms. The frequency restrictions took place either in the home or out of the home and the impact restrictions took the form of either media literacy or dietary controls. How these new classifications of restrictions compare to the traditional classifications is discussed below (see 8.3.3.1). However, before I make these comparisons I think it is important to consider the overall picture and to highlight some of the important findings in relation to parental mediation.

Chapter 8: Discussion and conclusion: An expanded analytical framework of the marketing of food to children

From Figure 8.5 below it is clear that whilst parents attempted to restrict both the access to and impact of some communications, this was not the case for all of the communications included in the study. However, all of the communications were mediated by the dietary control impact restriction. As discussed in the previous chapter, whilst the mediation of the communications was not the primary purpose (that being to ensure the family had a healthy diet) this was a side effect of implementing the restriction. As this restriction was applied to all of the communications and was the not the primary purpose I have put it to one side for the next part of the discussion. However, I return to it later when considering each of the restrictions individually.

Figure 8.5: The expanded framework: Parents
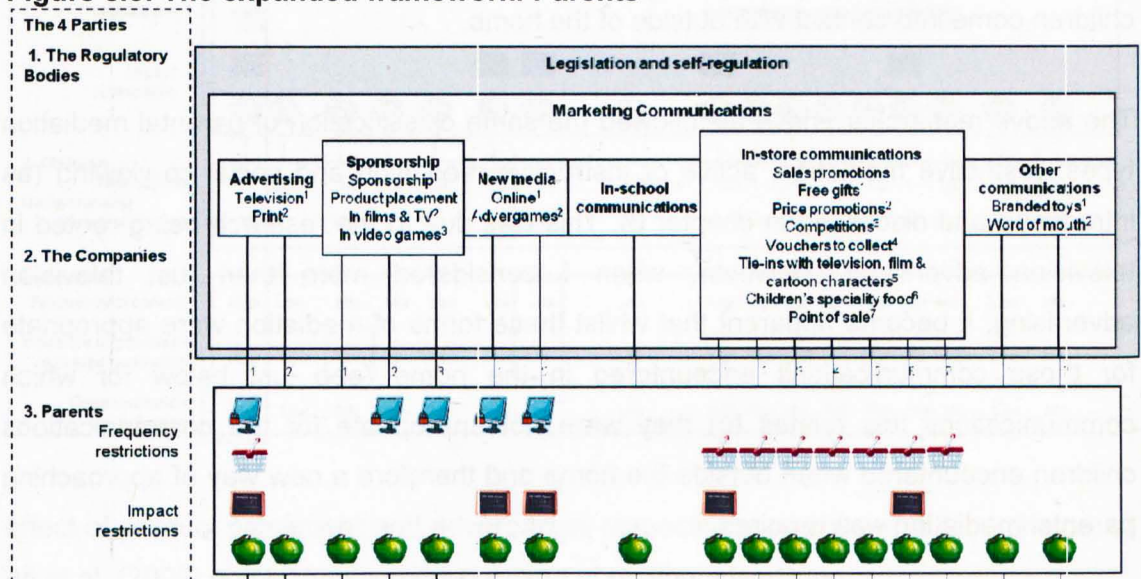
As there are seventeen communications in the expanded framework, I feel it is simpler to consider them in groups, those which the children encountered primarily in the home and those they usually came across out of the home. Of the seventeen communications seven were found in the home, these were television advertising, print advertising, product placement in television and films, product placement in video games, online advertising, advergames and branded toys. Consequently the children were more likely to encounter the remaining ten communications out of the home.

When I looked at the framework there was one communication which stood out as being the only one on which the families used all of the remaining three restrictions. Whilst there were a number of communications which had both types of impact restrictions, television advertising was the only communication which the families used either or both forms of frequency restrictions. At all other times when either frequency

restriction was used it was only implemented in relation to the matching type of communication e.g. in the home frequency restrictions were used on communications found in the home and out of the home restrictions were only used on those communications which were encountered out of the home. However, for television advertising, an in the home communication, the out of the home restriction was used by many parents (Ip et al., 2007).

This high level of attempted control suggests that parents were more concerned about television advertising than any of the other communications. From what has already been written there are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, television advertising has traditionally been and for most companies still is the dominant communication used to target children (Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al, 2006; Hastings et al., 2006; Hawkes, 2004). Following on from this, in chapter 5 all of the families rated it as high for both frequency of contact and influence, additionally, according to Kunkel (2001) when in the supermarket children are more likely to ask for products which have been advertised on television. Furthermore, it was the communication which the parents were most aware of and often even considered it to be marketing per se (see 7.2, p.240) and finally it was the communication on which the parents exhibited the most and the strongest negative views (see 7.2, p.240 and 8.2, p.268).

If these are the reasons why parents mediated for television advertising, did the parents then apply the same rationale for other communications? The simple answer was no. There were four other communications, price promotions, free gifts, children's speciality food and tie-ins, which the families rated as high for their frequency of contact and influence. As all of these communications were encountered out of the home the parents did apply the out of the home frequency restriction to them all, however, they only applied the impact restriction of media literacy to two of them (free gifts and children's speciality food). There were more negative feelings towards free gifts than tie-ins (see 7.2, p.240) which may explain the differences here, but what about the children's speciality food? The parents felt they needed to restrict this communication more heavily due to the products themselves being unhealthy (see 7.4.2, p.263).

As discussed in chapter 7 (see 7.2, p.241) and earlier in this chapter (see 8.2, p.269) the parents also held negative attitudes towards in-school communications, however, as can be seen from the framework, they did not make use of any further restrictions.

277

This could be explained by the following, firstly all of the families rated this communication as low for frequency of contact and influence, and furthermore, very few parents were aware this type of communication existed. As a result, the parents' level of concern for this communication was very low. Nevertheless, there were two other communications, online advertising and advergames, which the families also rated as low in chapter 5, but where the parents applied both in the home frequency restriction and the media literacy impact restriction. The reason for this, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, was whilst the parents' concerns were not related to food marketers' use of this communication, they were very concerned about their children's safety online and preventing them from coming into contact with unsuitable advertising (Fielder et al., 2007).

8.3.3.1   Comparing my parental mediation classifications with the previous literature

In order to compare the literature with my findings I need to compare and contrast my classifications with those already found in the literature. From the literature review (and as briefly mentioned earlier in this chapter) previously parental mediation had been classified into three forms: restrictive mediation, active or instructive mediation and social co-viewing (Borzekowski and Robinson, 2007; Buijzen et al., 2008; Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2005; Nathanson, 2001; Nikken and Jansz, 2006; Valkenburg et al., 1999) compared to my four restrictions of in the home and out of the home frequency restrictions and my two impact restrictions of media literacy dietary controls. Table 8.1 below shows how these two different sets of classifications of mediation compare. Table 8.1 clearly identifies that whilst two of my classifications (in the home and media literacy) are comparable to the traditional classifications, the remaining two (out of the home and dietary controls) have not previously been considered as forms of parental mediation. Even though neither of these restrictions are new to the general food marketing to children literature (see 3.5.2.2), as yet nobody has considered them as formal forms of parental mediation.

Table 8.1: Comparison of parental mediation classifications

My Classification		Traditional classification
Frequency restrictions	In the home	Restrictive mediation
	Out of the home	
Impact restrictions	Media literacy	Active mediation
	Dietary controls	

It should not be surprising to anyone who is familiar with the parental mediation literature that my in the home restriction is comparable with restrictive mediation. My findings demonstrated that this form of restriction was used to control how often children come into contact with in the home communications, and as the literature shows restrictive mediation is predominately used to control the amount of television advertising children come into contact with (Borzekowski and Robinson, 2007; Buijzen, 2009; Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2005; Chan and McNeal, 2003b; Dens et al., 2007; Nathanson, 2001; Roberts et al., 1999; Valkenburg et al., 1999; Vanderwater et al, 2005). In addition, restrictive mediation has also been applied to watching video games (Borzekowski and Robinson, 2007; Nikken and Jansz, 2006) and online advertising (Clarke, 2002). However, it should be remembered, as just discussed, for these communications parents often have different rationales for implementing them compared to television advertising (Nikken et al., 2007).

On similar lines it is relatively easy to agree that my media literacy is comparable to the traditional active (or instructive) mediation. The intention of this type of restriction is to reduce the effects advertising has on children (Borzekowski and Robinson, 2007; Buijzen, 2007; Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Buijzen et al., 2008; Ward et al., 1986 in Caruana and Vasscello, 2003; Chan and McNeal, 2003a). As with restrictive mediation above, active mediation has also been applied to video games (Borzekowski and Robinson, 2007; Nikken and Jansz, 2007) and online advertising (Clarke, 2002) but again for different reasons. Where my research differs from the previous research on active mediation is that I have applied it across all of the communications discussed in this study. Previously it had been restricted to communications only encountered in the home. Consequently the true nature of its application had not been considered. This research found parents were using this type of restriction on at least two of the out of home communications (free gifts and children's speciality food).

Before moving on to consider my two further restrictions, I need to explain why I did not include social co-viewing in my comparison. As discussed in the literature review, social co-viewing is more often used with younger children (Nathanson, 2001) in contrast to the children who took part in this research. In addition, it is also used when parents have positive attitudes towards advertising (Chan and McNeal, 2003b; Nathanson, 2001; Vanderwater et al., 2005) and therefore does not specifically restrict the frequency of contact or the impact the communication. Therefore I felt it did not correspond with any of my four restrictions or was used by any of my families. Whilst

many of the parents did accompany their children on the internet, they also entered into discussions about the medium and as such were participating in active mediation (or media literacy for my classification) not social co-viewing.

My two 'new' forms of parental restrictions are out of the home frequency restrictions and dietary controls impact restrictions. The most common way in which the parents implemented the out of the home frequency restriction was not to take their children with them when food shopping (see 7.3.1.1, p.249). This was by no means unique to the parents in my study (Ip et al., 2007; Pettersson et al., 2004), but as I have already mentioned above, it is the first time it has been thought of as a form of parental mediation. I would like to point out here that my out of the home restriction is actually an extension of restrictive mediation. As discussed above, restrictive mediation has to date only been applied to those communications encountered in the home. If this restriction were to be applied to the communications children came into contact with out of the home, it would make sense for this to take the form of my out of the home restriction. One further point I feel needs to be made, even though this research is focused on food marketing and as such this restriction has been applied to that context, it should not be discounted when considering other contexts. It is equally appropriate in other contexts when out of the home communications, particularly in-store communications, are being used to target children.

My final restriction is the impact restriction of dietary controls. As already mentioned (see 7.3.3, p.253 and 8.3.3, p.275) whilst the primary purpose of implementing the dietary controls restriction was to ensure that the family had a healthy diet, a side effect of this action was to restrict the perceived impact communications had on children's food preferences and choices. As with the out of the home restriction above, even though there has been much written about how parents influence and control their children's diets (Brown and Ogden, 2004; Hamilton et al., 2000; Ip et al., 2007; Kelly et al., 2006; Marshall et al., 2007; Spungin, 2004; Tiggerman and Lowes, 2002; Tilson et al., 1991; Wilson and Wood, 2004) to date it has not been considered as a form of parental mediation. However, unlike the out of the home restriction, this form of restriction can only be applied to this context i.e. the marketing of food to children.

In summary, parents implemented four types of parental mediation, in and out of the home frequency restrictions, media literacy impact restriction and dietary control restriction. These restrictions were not mutually exclusive with parents implementing

different restrictions for different communications and multiple restrictions for individual communications. Television advertising was the communication which parents restricted the most and was the only communication where all four types of restrictions were used. Furthermore, parents had a number of reasons why they implemented the different restrictions and by differing amounts. There were four rationales for implementing the different controls; however, it should be noted that these rationales were not consistently applied by all families and across all of the communications. These rationales were firstly, having strong negative feelings towards the communication, secondly, rating the communication as high for frequency of contact and influence, thirdly, to prevent the consumption of unhealthy foods and finally concerns for the safety of their children.

8.3.4   The expanded framework: Children's understanding

As in the parental mediation section just discussed, this part of the research differs from previous research in two ways. Firstly, it considers whether children can recognise and understand the persuasive intent of a wide range of communications, and secondly, it takes a different approach to how, as researchers, we determine when children can recognise the communications they have come into contact with. Previous research has, as I have constantly stated, concentrated on whether and how children understand television advertising (Bijmolt et al., 1998; Kunkel, 2001; Kunkel et al., 2004; Lawlor and Prothero, 2008; Lawlor and Prothero, 2003; Livingstone and Helsper, 2006; Oates et al., 2003a; Roedder-John, 1999; Rozendaal et al., 2008, Young, 2003a). There have been calls to increase the research both generally to other communications (Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al. 2003, Institute of Medicine, 2006; McDermott et al., 2008) and more specifically to communications such as product placement (Auty and Lewis, 2004a).   Unfortunately the response to these calls has been minimal with only a few researchers applying the criteria from the television advertising research to a few of the newer communications such as online advertising (Ali et al., 2009, Nairn, 2008; Owen, 2009; Wollslager, 2009) and advergames (Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007; Wollslager, 2009).

As discussed in chapter 3 (see 3.3.2) traditionally children's understanding of advertising has concentrated on two forms of cognitive defences, the first being whether children can distinguish between advertisements and programmes (usually known as recognition) and the second being whether children can understand the

persuasive intent of the advertisement (Rozendaal et al., 2008). Research which has investigated whether and when children recognised advertising has traditionally involved asking children to identify examples of advertisements within programmes or on websites, limiting their responses to yes or no answers. Whilst I began at this point (showing the children examples of the communications), it soon became apparent that this limited research method was failing to fully understand the depth of the children's ability to recognise the different communications. As such, a different approach was taken during the analysis; this led me to develop my four levels of recognition (see 6.2.3, p.223) which allowed for a deeper understanding.

There is a debate in the literature concerning how the use of either visual or verbal measures when collecting data can affect the findings (Bijmolt et al., 1998; Owen et al., 2007). As part of the methodology chosen for this research (see 4.3.2, p.129) the children taking part were required to be between the ages of seven to eleven years of age as this ensured they were not only able to express their knowledge and understanding verbally, but also they were able to understand other parties' perspectives, in addition to having a more advanced understanding of the market place (Roedder, 1981; Roedder-John, 1999). Consequently this research adds to the body of literature which has shown strong support for the use of verbal measures when investigating children's understanding (Lawlor and Prothero, 2003; Oates et al., 2003a).

8.3.4.1 Identifying marketing communications

Following on from the discussion above, I felt it was too simplistic just to answer yes or no when investigating if the children were able to identify the different communications currently being targeted towards them. As explained in chapter 4 (see 4.3.3 p.137), all of the children were shown images of the different communications and asked if they had seen either this communication or a similar one before. As the children were provided with the image they were first asked to identify the type of communication and then to provide their own example of this type of communication. For those communications the children failed to identify from the image alone, further prompts were provided and as a last resort they were given the name of the communication, along with a brief explanation, before being asked for their own example. By providing their own example the children were showing a wider recognition of the communication. In order to provide their own example the children had to show they

possessed at least some agent and persuasion knowledge (Friestad and Wright, 2004). From this process I developed the four levels of recognition which were introduced in section 6.2.3 and are shown again in Table 8.2 below.

Table 8.2: Reproduction of the levels of recognition

Level of recognition	Definition
Level 1 – Full	Recognise the communication from the picture only. Examples provided are clear and correct.
Level 2 – Partial	Need further explanation of the communication Examples provided are vague or confused.
Level 3 – None	No recognition of the communication after further explanation No examples provided or examples are incorrect
Level 4 – Undetermined	Recognise the communication from the picture or explanation No examples provided

For children to be able to identify the communication plus provide their own example (i.e. reach level 1 – Full recognition), they needed to have developed sufficient cognitive skills. The majority of the children who took part in the research (i.e. those who fell within the required criteria of seven to eleven years of age) were, according to Roedder-John (1999), in the analytical stage of their consumer socialisation and as such were cued processors. As cued processors the children should have had increased cognitive skills (see 3.3.1, p.66) which allowed them to analyse the stimuli (i.e. the image) on multiple dimensions, to be more flexible and thoughtful in their thinking and finally to think from a perspective other than their own (Roedder, 1981; Roedder-John,1999). Therefore these skills should have been enough to reach full recognition.

However, as can be seen from Figure 8.6 below, whilst this was the case for television advertising, the children failed to reach this level of recognition for a number of the other communications. This supports previous research which found that children could recognise a television advertisement by the age of five (Bijmolt et al., 1998; Kunkel, 2001; Kunkel et al., 2004; Livingstone and Helsper, 2006; Roedder-John, 1999; Rozendaal et al., 2008). As just highlighted, whilst the children recognised television advertisements this was not the case for all types of advertising. The children failed to fully recognise print advertising with only the older children reaching partial recognition (level 2). There was also mixed results for new media, in line with the limited amount of current research, all of the children had problems identifying online advertising (Ali et al., 2009; Lewis, 2006; Nairn, 2008; Owen, 2009; Wollslager, 2009) and the younger children in the study (seven to nine years old) also failed to fully recognise advergames (An and Stern, 2011; Lewis, 2006; Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007; Wollslager, 2009).

Figure 8.6: The expanded framework: Children's understanding

The 4 Parties

1. The Regulatory Bodies

Legislation and self-regulation

Marketing Communications

2. The Companies

Advertising Television[1] Print[2]	Sponsorship Sponsorship[1] Product placement In films & TV[2] In video games[3]	New media Online[1] Advergames[2]	In-school communications	In-store communications Sales promotions Free gifts Price promotions[2] Competitions[5] Vouchers to collect[4] Tie-ins with television, film & cartoon characters[5] Children's speciality food[6] Point of sale[7]	Other communications Branded toys[1] Word of mouth[2]

4. Children

	Recognition	1	2/3	1/2	2/3	2/4	1/2	1/2	1/3/4	1/2	1	1	1	1/2	1	1/2	1/4	2
Understanding	Persuasive intent	Mix		Little			No	No	Mix	Mix	Good	Mix	No	Mix	Mix	Mix	No	N/A

Even though there has been calls to investigate when children can recognise product placement (Auty and Lewis, 2004a) very little is actually known about how children interact with this form of communication. The children in this study found product placement to be one of the most difficult to recognise. As a general rule, the communications which the children failed to fully recognise were those which many authors believe work at the subliminal level, such as product placement or advergames (Fine, 2007; Lewis, 2006; McDermott et al., 2008; Nairn and Fine, 2008b). There is also a growing agreement, which this study supports, that children require a more advance set of cognitive skills in order to be able recognise these communications in the same way as they currently recognise television advertising (Nairn, 2008; Nairn and Drew, 2007; Nairn and Fine, 2008b). It is also suggested that children are unlikely to develop these skills until they reach early adulthood (Nairn and Fine, 2008b). Returning to Roedder-John's (1999) model of consumer socialisation, it may be it is not until children reach the reflective stage (eleven to sixteen years old) and gain the cognitive skills to be strategic processors that they are able to identify these types of communications. This therefore needs further investigation (see section 8.7 below).

Whilst the children also had trouble recognising broadcast sponsorship, many of them finding it difficult to distinguish it from advertising, they were, in line with previous findings, able to identify other forms of sponsorship (Oates et al., 2003a). There were also differing results for in-school communications and branded toys. The children did recognise promotions such as vending machines but found, in line with the discussion above, the more subliminal promotions such as corporate visits (i.e. public relations) much more difficult. In respect to the branding of toys, those children who had

encountered this promotion were able to make the identification whereas those children who had no experience tended to have difficulties. On a positive note, the children were able to recognise, mostly at the highest level, the whole range of in-store communications.

There is one final point which I feel needs raising. As detailed in chapters 5 and 6 there were some communications which the children frequently encountered whilst there were others where the contact had been extremely low, if ever. During my analysis I felt this was likely to have had an impact on their ability to identify certain communications, as with the branding of toys above. In line with Wright et al. (2005) it appeared that children in my study who had incurred a higher number of persuasion episodes with the different communications in the marketplace had been able to increase their levels and variety of persuasion knowledge. Consequently, these children were able to recognise a wider range of communications than those children who had not encountered the communications (Friestad and Wright, 2004). This lack of exposure to marketplace persuasion episodes may therefore have been one of the reasons why the children had more difficulty in recognising other communications such as print advertising, product placement in video games, online advertising and advergames, and were able to recognise television advertising and the in-store communications. I return to the issue of how the frequency of contact may have been a factor in other findings of the research below.

8.3.4.2 *Understanding the intent of marketing communications*

The second prerequisite to understanding communications is if children have the ability to see the persuasive intent of those communications which they have come into contact with (Kunkel et al., 2004; Rosendaal et al., 2008). As discussed in chapter 3 (see 3.3.2.2) this involves children meeting a number of criteria (Kunkel, 2001; Lawlor and Prothero, 2008). However, as detailed in chapter 6 (see 6.3, p.226), as part of the research design the children were told each of the communications they were about to see contained an intention to sell, removing one of the usual criteria. Consequently, the analysis was based on the remaining criteria. As this is the second step in the process of understanding, where the majority of the children had not reached full recognition (as for print advertising, product placement in television and films, product placement in video games and word of mouth) this second step was not considered.

It was expected, based on the majority of previous research findings (Kunkel et al., 2004; Oates et al., 2003a; Young, 2003a) and as the children in this study were all aged seven and above, that they would have been able to understand the persuasive intent of television advertising. However, whilst this was true for many of the children in the study, there were still a number of younger children (seven to eight year olds) who still believed the content of television advertisements to be true, i.e. they were not aware of the possible bias and or exaggeration. This finding highlights not only the danger in setting a 'magic' age for when children reach this stage of understanding, but also that age should not be the only factor considered when investigating children's understanding (Chan and McNeal, 2006; Martin, 1997).

The other types of communications where the children, again more usually the older children (nine to eleven year olds), showed an understanding of the persuasive intent were the in-store communications. As is evident from chapter 3, there is very little research available on whether children understand the persuasive intent of these types of communications. From this research I found there was one communication, price promotions, which all of the children showed evidence of understanding the persuasive intent, and one communication, vouchers to collect, of which none of the children appeared to understand the persuasive intent. The difference between these communications is intriguing as both of them were rated as high by the families for their frequency of contact. However, there was a stark difference in how the families rated their perceived influence, price promotions was rated as high whereas vouchers to collect was rated as low. This raises a question, not just whether the amount of contact (i.e. experience of persuasion episodes) is a factor in children's understanding (as previously mentioned) but also whether the perceived level of influence should be considered as another?

For the remaining in-store communications, it was only the older children (nine to eleven year olds) who showed an understanding of the persuasive intent. This supports previous research in relation to free gifts (Hill and Tilley, 2002) and tie-ins (Hill and Tilley, 2002; Lawrence, 2003; Lawlor and Prothero, 2003; Lewis, 2006). In line with Lewis (2006), the children were cynical of competitions run by the food companies. In contrast to Page and Brewster (2007), not only were the children sceptical of their chances of winning due to the small number of prizes available but some of them were even sceptical about whether the prizes themselves actually existed. One final point here, the older children's critical analysis of these types of communications showed a

much higher level of persuasion knowledge by going further than just why food companies would use these types of promotions; they also amalgamated this with their agent knowledge by criticising the type of companies who were using them (Friestad and Wright, 2004). The children also used their mix of knowledge to be critical of why it tended to be only those companies who, in their view, were selling unhealthy food products (Wright et al., 2005).

All of the children in the study failed to show any understanding of the persuasive intent of both of the new media communications. Whilst the children were aware of many of the other dangers of being online (Fielder et al., 2007), they failed to understand the persuasive intent of both corporate websites (Moore and Rideout, 2007; Owen, 2009; Wollslager, 2009) and advergames (An and Stern, 2011; Wollslager, 2009). Unlike the children in Mallinckrodt and Mizerski's (2007) study, the children in this study believed that the only purpose of the advergames is to be played. This supports those researchers who believe that for those communications where the primary focus for the children is diverted away from the communication, such as advergames, product placement in video games and even branded toys or school work for in-school communications, the children are much less likely to see the need to defend themselves against the communication itself (Moore and Rideout, 2007).

As already mentioned, one suggestion put forward for communications which are believed to work at a subliminal level, is that children need to use a different set of cognitive defences to those they use when coming into contact with television advertising (Nairn and Drew, 2007; Nairn and Fine, 2008b). However, there is an alternative suggestion. This is that children's understanding of the persuasive intent is not related to their age, but is more dependent on the specific type of media being used and how the children interact with the communication (Friestad and Wright, 2004; Livingstone, 2009). This research supports, not only the belief that children up to the age of eleven do not see the persuasive intent of these types of communications (McDermott et al., 2008) and as a result are unlikely to have developed the necessary cognitive skills to defend themselves (Nairn and Fine, 2008b), but in addition the circumstances of the interaction may also be a factor in their lack of understanding. Two likely factors, as highlighted above, are the amount of contact (i.e. experience with persuasion episodes) children have with this type of communication and their perceived effect. The children in this study reported very low levels of contact and

influence with these types of communications; this may have been a contributing factor in their lack of understanding.

In summary, when considering children's understanding of the different marketing communications a readjustment of the traditional first stage of the process is needed. To be able to fully understand children's ability to recognise a communications (the first stage), the more detailed, four levels, of understanding should be used. Whilst the children in the study recognised (using the new criteria) television advertising and the range of in-store promotions many of them (especially the younger ones) had much more difficulty recognising those communications which work at a subliminal level. It appeared that even though the children were at the analytical stage of their consumer socialisation they still did not have the required cognitive skills to recognise these types of communications.

In respect of children's ability to understand the persuasive intent of the different communications the findings highlight the danger of using age alone as the determining factor. It was clear, firstly, that there is no 'magic' age at which children understand a particular communication, and secondly, children find it much more difficult to understand those communications which work at the subliminal level. Finally, a point which I return to below, I expect that both the frequency of contact and the perceived influence of a communication could be additional factors in the development of children's understanding.

8.3.5 The expanded framework: Leading to:

In this final section of the expanded framework I consider which communications the children encountered and of those which had an influence over their purchase requests or food choices. From the structure of the expanded framework and the discussion so far in this chapter there appears to be sequential structure to this process. The framework appears to imply that the first barrier between the food companies (and their communications) and the children are the parents and their respective mediations, and the second barrier is the children's own level of understanding, with each of these barriers either preventing some of the communications in reaching the children or on contact reducing their influence. The first issue here is that this assumes that children will automatically use their understanding, if they have it, of the communications to defend themselves. However, according to previous research this is not always the

case. It is believed that children aged between seven to eleven years of age (i.e. the children in this study) usually need prompting to use their defences, and it is not until they are at least twelve years of age before they begin to automatically use their understanding to defend themselves (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006, Roedder-John, 1999). These ages are, of course, for television advertising and, as for recognition and persuasive intent above, there needs to be further investigation for other communications. Nevertheless, some researchers believe even if children understand the persuasive intent of communications this does not make them any less susceptible (McDermott et al., 2008; Rozendaal et al., 2009).

The second issue is the implication that the results of the previous sections in some way affected the findings of this last section. However, in those earlier sections I had already begun to question whether the results of this section had in some way contributed to their findings. I have therefore found myself with 'the chicken and the egg' scenario, which came first? Did the interventions of the parental mediation and the children's own defences influence the frequency of contact and the resulting perceived influence, or was it because of the frequency of contact and corresponding perceived influence that the parents mediated for certain communications and the children learnt the skills required to recognise and understand the communications? I would suggest from this exploratory piece of research there are merits to both scenarios and as such I return to this interesting conundrum in 8.3.6 below.

8.3.5.1   The frequency of contact

There are many studies, predominately content analyses, which have investigated how often food companies make use of certain communications. Traditionally these studies involve television advertising (Arnas, 2006; Connor, 2006; Desrochers and Holt, 2007; Folta et al., 2006; Gantz et al., 2007; Hawkins et al., 2004; Lewis and Hill, 1998; Neville et al., 2005; Page and Brewster, 2007; Roberts and Pettigrew, 2007; Warren et al., 2008; Wilson et al., 1999;) however, more recently there has been a number of studies involving the content of websites (Cowburn and Boxer, 2007; Jones and Reid, 2010; Kelly et al., 2008; Moore and Rideout, 2007; Watts, 2009; Weber et al., 2006) and the use of advergames (Dahl et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2009; Moore and Rideout, 2007).

In contrast to the above studies, this research focuses on which of the communications used by the food companies did the children actually come into contact with. Logically

you may expect this to be one and the same, surely food companies only use those communication children have a preference for. However, due not only to the introduction of new communications, but also with the increasing use of IMC (see 3.6 and 8.3.7) this is not necessarily always the case. It is evident from chapter 5 and Figure 8.7 below children do not have the same amount of contact with each communication.

Figure 8.7: The expanded framework: Leading to

The 4 Parties

1. The Regulatory Bodies — Legislation and self-regulation

Marketing Communications

	Advertising Television[1] Print[2]	Sponsorship Sponsorship[1] Product placement In films & TV[2] In video games[3]	New media Online[1] Advergames[2]	In-school communications	In-store communications Sales promotions Free gifts Price promotions[?] Competitions[5] Vouchers to collect[4] Tie-ins with television, film & cartoon characters[5] Children's speciality food[6] Point of sale[7]	Other communications Branded toys[1] Word of mouth[2]

2. The Companies

Leading to:

Frequency of contact	High	Low	Mix	Mix	Low	Low	Low	Low	High	High	Mix	High	High	High	Mix	Low	Mix
Influence on purchase requests/food intake	High	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	High	High	Low	Low	High	Mix	High	Low	Mix
Communication classification	High	Low	Mix	Mix	Low	Low	Low	Low	High	High	Mix	N/A	High	High	Mix	Low	Mix

As discussed in chapter 5 (5.3.1, p.198-201) there were six communications with which the children frequently came into contact. These were television advertising, free gifts, price promotions, vouchers to collect, tie-ins and finally children's speciality food. This finding in itself is not particularly worrying but when you add that most of these communications are predominately used to promote HFSS foods then this finding becomes much more of a concern. This research supports previous findings which found television advertising (Arnas, 2006; Connor, 2006; Desrochers and Holt, 2007; Folta et al., 2006; Gantz et al., 2007; Hawkins et al., 2004; Lewis and Hill, 1998; Neville et al., 2005; Page and Brewster, 2007; Roberts and Pettigrew, 2007; Warren et al., 2008; Wilson et al., 1999), although before the Ofcom changes in the UK, free gifts (Chapman et al., 2006; French and Story, 2004; Lobstein, 2006; Page and Brewster, 2007), and tie-ins (Berry and McMullen, 2008; Federal Trade Commission, 2008) are commonly used to promote pre-sugared breakfast cereals, snacks and fast foods.

Even though the use of price promotions is not usually found in the marketing to children literature, the findings of this study suggest that, in line with the above, children

are more attracted to this form of promotion when it is used on snack, dairy and their own speciality food. In addition, and taking into consideration the close connections found in 5.3.1 between tie-ins and children's speciality food, the most popular children's specialty foods were also high in fat, salt or sugar. As such, five out of the six communications which the children had the most contact with were promoting an unhealthy diet (Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al., 2003; Lobstein, 2006; The Food Commission, 2003). A further point that these communications had in common was not only did the families rate them as high for frequency of contact, but they also rated them as high (apart from children's speciality food which received a mix rating) for their perceived influence on their children's purchase requests, the implications of which are discussed in the next section. The final communication in this group was the vouchers to collect, in contrast to the other communications, these are more commonly found to be used by supermarkets as opposed to specific food companies. However, they have previously been used by confectionery and snack companies.

At the end of sections 8.3.4.1 and 8.3.4.2 above I raised the question whether the small amount of contact (i.e. lack of experience with relevant persuasion episodes) the children reported having with new media, product placement in video games, in-school communications and branded toys was a contributing factor in their lack of recognition and understanding. However, if the children were either not aware these types of communications existed or even if they were aware but could not identify them, how did they know if or when they had come into contact with them? This, as discussed in 4.3.1, p125, was one of the reasons I felt it was necessary to include all of the family in this part of the research as the parents could not only confirm the children's responses but also add any additional information which the children did not possess. Nevertheless, this did raise an interesting finding, in that the children tended to be able to recognise, and to some degree understand those communications which they had the most contact with and conversely failed to recognise (or at least found it much more difficult) and understand those communications with which they had the least amount of contact.

8.3.5.2   *The influence on purchase requests and food choices*

Considering the prevalence of studies investigating the effects of television advertising by food companies on children's preferences, product requests and diets, and the lack of studies on the other communications (Cairns et al., 2009; Hastings et al., 2003;

Institute of Medicine, 2006;), I felt that it was important to start to re-address this imbalance. Whilst it was not possible to investigate each of the communications to the same degree to which previous studies have investigated television advertising, this study does provided an initial starting point i.e. which communications have the greater amount of perceived influence compared to the others, and as such can be used as a guide for the direction of future research (see section 8.7 below).

Nevertheless, due to all of the reasons I have previously discussed, not only during this chapter but in every chapter to this point. I could not just ignore television advertising. As discussed in chapter 4 and chapter 5 the families were asked to rate how likely it was that when the children came into contact with a communication it would generate a product request. In line with previous research (Brody et al., 1981; Buijzen and Valkenburg 2003; Chamberlin et al., 2006; Taras et al., 2000), all of the families agreed that television advertising influenced the children's food requests and preferences, giving it a high rating. In addition, this research also supports the Institute of Medicine's (2006) findings that television advertising's influence decreases as children become older. Nevertheless, regardless of the strength of television advertising to influence the children's purchase requests, it was still the parents who were the main influence (either directly by rules or indirectly by family eating habits) on what the children ate (Fan and LI, 2010; Livingstone, 2006a; Livingstone, 2006b; Livingstone, 2004; Livingstone and Helsper, 2004; Young, 2003b). However, most of the parents also believed that if they were not there to control what their children ate it (television advertising) would have a much larger impact on what their children ate (Borzekowski and Robinson, 2001; Cherin, 2008; Dixon et al., 2007; Goldberg et al., 1978; Halford et al., 2008; Halford et al., 2007; Halford et al., 2004; Robinson et al., 2007).

There were four other communications, free gifts, price promotions, tie-ins and point of sale, which the families rated as high for their perceived influence on children's purchase requests. This again supports the small amount of research which has already taken place for free gifts (Atkin, 1978; Hill and Tilley, 2002; Lewis, 2006; Livingstone and Helpser, 2006; Story and French, 2004), price promotions (Lewis, 2006) and tie-ins (Freedland, 2005; Kunkel, 2001; Lewis, 2006; Ogba and Johnson, 2010; Ross et al., 1984). The final communication of point of sale is often missing from the marketing to children literature, however, when used to target children it tends to be used alongside other in-store communications such as sales promotions and tie-ins

(Federal Trade Commission, 2008) which could be a reason why the families gave it a similar rating.

As discussed above, at least four of these communications, television advertising, free gifts, price promotions, tie-ins, tend to be used to promote unhealthy food. Previous research has shown that children prefer unhealthy foods (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Davis and White, 2006 in Marshall et al., 2006), they find it hard to resist (Lewis, 2006), and as a result, when given a choice, will tend to choose the least healthy option (Wardle and Huon, 2002). This raises a number of questions. Is it the communication which is influencing the children's preference or is it the food itself? To answer this we (the research community) need to look at how successful these communications have been when used to promote healthy food, for example the use of tie-ins to promote bags of fruit.

One final point which was raised above concerning these particular communications was the relationship between the frequency of contact and their perceived influence. As stated most of these communications were rated as high for both criteria and as such were given an overall high classification (see Figure 8.7 above). This appears to suggest that there was some form of relationship between the two factors. As was pointed out in chapter 5, overall there did appear to be a direct relationship between the two, however, there were a small number of incidents where this was not the case, these are discussed below. From my findings it was unclear which was the dependent and which was the independent factor. However, previous research suggests that the more frequent the contact the more purchase requests are made (Fan and Li, 2010; Robertson, 1979; Taras et al., 2000) and the more unhealthy food children eat (Boynton et al., 2003; Buijzen et al., 2008; Halford et al., 2007; Halford et al., 2004). This therefore implies that the frequency of contact is the dominant or independent factor.

The families tended to rate the influence of the communications as either high or low and as such there were only two communications, children's speciality food and word of mouth, which received a mixed rating. Both of these I discuss below. As a result there were nine communications which received a low rating from the families for their perceived influence, of those, six had also received a low rating for contact. These were print advertising, product placement in video games, online advertising, advergames, in-school communications and branded toys. Continuing the argument

from above, this lack of contact may have been the reason, if not at least part of the reason, why these communications were rated so low. In addition to this, I have already discussed that five of these communications (not print advertising) work at subliminal level which made it much more difficult for the children, and their parents, to realise the effect they were having. The effect was not as direct as the other communications already discussed, such as television advertising or free gifts, and as such was not as likely to lead to an immediate product request.

I feel that both of these issues could be why the findings for some of these communications are contrary to previous findings where both an online presence and advergames had been found to influence children's food preferences and requests (Hernadez and Chapa, 2010; Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007; Pempek and Calvert, 2009; Watts, 2007). On similar lines, whilst some researchers are unsure of the influence of in-school communications (Kunkel et al., 2004; Rodhain, 2002) others have reported their possible influence (Hastings et al., 2004). Following the removal of vending machines in schools the contact with other forms of communications in-schools was very low, and again, due to their subliminal nature very difficult for children to even recognise.

As part of chapter 5 (see 5.3.1) there was a comparison of the ratings for all of the communications which raised three interesting issues. The first was the similarity between groups of communications, this has been discussed above. The second issue was where the opposite occurred and there were substantial differences between the ratings for the frequency and influence. As discussed in 5.3.1.2 there were a number of instances where one of the ratings was considerably higher than the other, i.e. this did not follow the pattern that has just been discussed above. Whilst this combination of ratings happened across a number of communications, I feel it is only worth discussing those communications where it occurred in at least a third of the responses.

As already briefly mentioned above, the communication which all of the families rated as high for the frequency of contact and low for the influence was the vouchers to collect, and as such, was given an overall unclassified classification. Even though this communication was part of the in-store communications, it was actually through the promotion of the scheme in schools where the children encountered it the most. Without this additional promotion many of the families would have been unaware when a scheme was running unless they already shopped at the supermarket undertaking

the scheme. Nevertheless, regardless of the families' awareness none of them would change their shopping behaviour in order to collect the vouchers. Considering this and the amount of negative feelings the parents reported towards this type of communication (see 7.2, p.240) how effective is this type of communication and why do some of the supermarkets continue to use it? One answer may be that whilst it may not generate substantial amounts of additional sales, it does raise the corporate social responsibility (CSR) profile of the supermarket.

There were two other communications, sponsorship and product placement in television and films, which also featured a third of responses where the frequency of contact rating was substantially higher than that for its perceived influence. To date there has been little research on either of these communications in regards to food marketing to children; research has tended to concentrate on, understandably, other 'unethical' products such as tobacco and alcohol (Auty and Lewis, 2004a; Cassady et al., 2006; MacFayden et al., 2001). This perceived lack of influence may have been due to, as previously mentioned, the subliminal nature of the communications. Nonetheless, this imbalance between the two ratings raises a question about the influence these communications, and others similar to them, can have on children's food preferences and eating habits, and as such highlights the need for further investigation.

The final theme which was highlighted in chapter 5 (see 5.3.3, p.202) was how the strength of seven communications, television advertising, free gifts, tie-ins, children's speciality food, print advertising, word of mouth and price promotions, changed as the children became older. For the first four communications the perceived influence decreased with age and for the remaining three the perceived influence increased with age. Whilst these findings are in agreement with the previous literature for television advertising (Institute of Medicine, 2006), free gifts (Federal Trade Commission, 2008), tie-ins (Livingstone and Helpser, 2006) and word of mouth (Kelly et al., 2006; Marshall et al., 2007; Wilson and Wood, 2004), there is no corresponding comparison for either children's speciality food, price promotions or print advertising.

The four communications where the influence decreased with age were all given an overall classification of high, and as such are communications, with the exception of television advertising, which should be prioritised for further research into their role in children's, particularly younger children's, food choice. This could be with a view to

restricting their current use in the promotion of unhealthy foods (Hawkes, 2005; Lewis, 2006; Matthews, 2007; Pedersen, 2008; Which?, 2008a;) or alternatively to increase their use in the promotion of healthy foods (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Lewis, 2006), or of course both. Conversely, the three communications where their influence was expected to increase with age all received different ratings. Price promotions was already considered as high and therefore should be considered alongside the four communications above, especially as its influence was expected to remain high whilst the others were declining.

Print advertising on the other hand received a low rating for the children in the study, however, it was clear from the parents that this low influence rating was due to the current low contact, and as the children increased their reading, and therefore their experience of encountering this form of persuasion episodes, parents expected both ratings to increase. A further point of caution to add here is the rise of advertorials in print advertising (Moore et al., 2004). According to the results of this study, children in this age range (seven to eleven year olds) already find it difficult to recognise print advertising, although as acknowledged previously, this may have, in part, been due to the lack of contact. Therefore children are likely to find it much more difficult to identify and understand advertorials. The final communication was word of mouth which received a mixed rating from the families. In line with previous research, it tended to be the children's food preferences and choices of their school packed lunches or dinners where the families felt their peers had the most influence (Hamilton et al., 2000). None of the children in the study had come into contact with 'tremors', but as Roberts (2010) in Marketing Week highlighted, this form of communication is increasing here in the UK. Therefore, considering the strong influence peers are thought to have on children's eating habits (Ip et al. 2007; Kelly et al., 2006) there is a strong incentive for food companies to include this type of communication within their mix of communications.

In summary, there was a high level of consistency amongst the ratings for a communication's frequency of contact and its perceived influence. This enabled each communication to be allocated an overall classification (see Figure 8.7 above). The five communications which were categorised as high (television advertising, free gifts, price promotions, tie-ins and children's speciality food) were those communications which food companies tend to use to promote unhealthy foods. This raises the question as to whether it was the communication or the food product (due to its unhealthy nature) to which the children were attracted. There were six communications categorised as low,

these were print advertising, product placement in video games, online advertising, advergames, in-school communications and branded toys. In addition to the consistency between the ratings, there was also a similarity between the level of ratings and children's level of understanding. It is clear that in line with Friestad and Wright's (2004) PKM, the children had recorded higher levels of understanding or persuasion knowledge for the 'high' rated communications (i.e. those communications for which they had encountered sufficient persuasion episodes), and on the other hand had recorded very low, if any, understanding or persuasion knowledge of the low rated communications (i.e. those communications for which they had encountered few, if any, persuasion episodes).

However, there were a small number of communications which did not follow the above pattern, where one of the ratings was considerably higher than the other. This was most obvious for vouchers to collect which was rated high for frequency of contact but low for perceived influence by all of the families. Other communications where this situation occurred less frequently were sponsorship and product placement in television and films. There was also seven communications where parents expected their perceived influence ratings to change as the children became older. Included in these communications were all of the 'high' communications, which with the exclusion of price promotions, were expected to decrease whilst price promotions was expected to increase. In addition to price promotions, the ratings for print advertising and word of mouth were also expected to increase as the children became older.

8.3.6   The expanded framework: The holistic view

Whilst this research makes a contribution to each of the issues above, parental mediation, children's understanding and the effect of marketing communications on children's food preferences and choices, it is also the first empirical study to that begins to consider how these issues impact on each other. As I have been discussing each stage of the framework I have already begun to highlight how the frequency of contact, and in some cases the perceived influence, may have impacted on other stages. It is evident from the previous discussions that a clear pattern has emerged in relation to two different groups of communications.

The first group of communications (as highlighted by the red boxes in Figure 8.8 below) are those which were given the overall classification of high in chapter 5 (see Table

5.2, p.205). This includes television advertising, price promotions, free gifts, children's speciality food and tie-ins. These were the communications which the children in the study found the easiest to recognise and understand, although as discussed above, some of the younger children (seven to eight year olds) still had a few problems. Three of the communications, television advertising, free gifts and children's speciality food, were also amongst the communications which the parents chose to mediate using either three or all four of the possible restrictions. Finally, these five communications are more commonly used to promote unhealthy foods, although as mentioned previously there has been a move to use the tie-ins to promote healthier foods such as fruit and vegetables (Federal Trade Commission, 2008).

Figure 8.8: The expanded framework: The holistic view
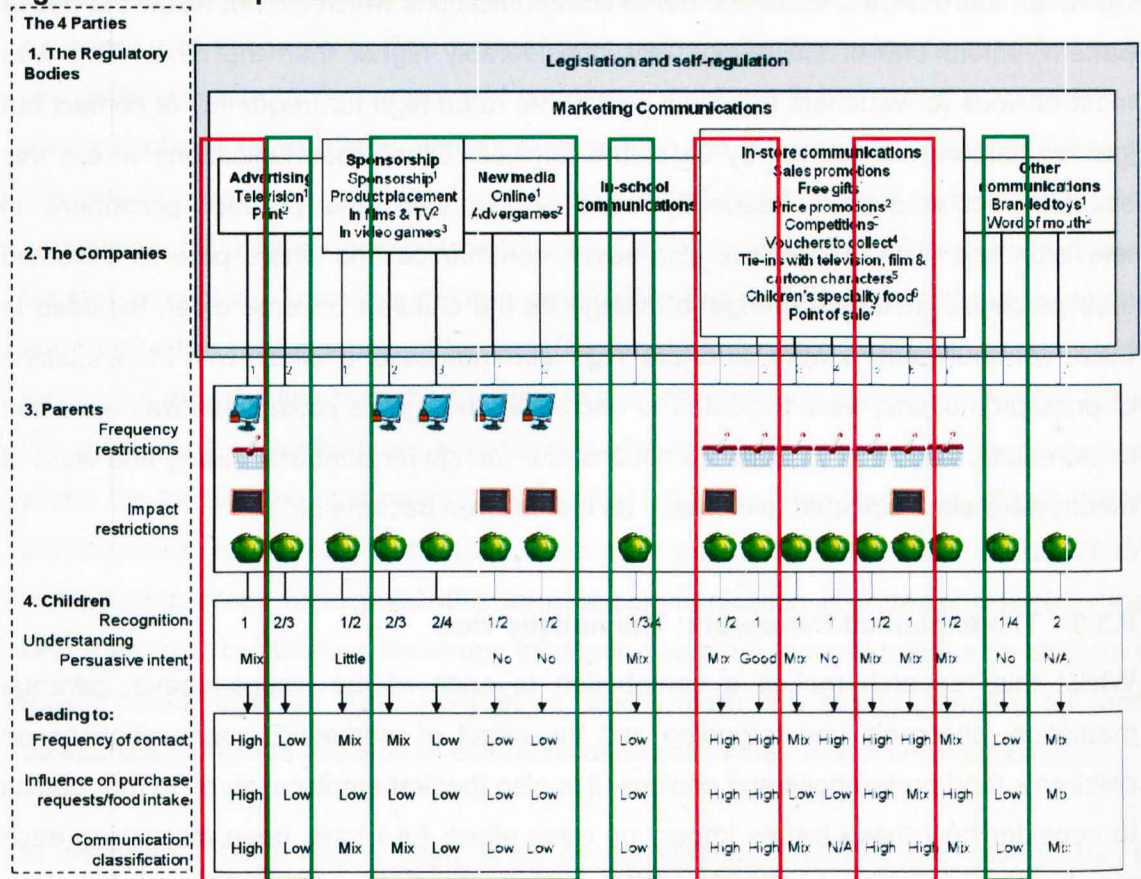
One additional point to consider in relation to these five communications, as I discuss in the next section of this chapter, is that these were the communications which the families named the most when giving their experience of integrated campaigns. As stated in 5.4 (p.206) only three of the thirty one different combinations given by the families did not include television advertising, free gifts, tie-ins and/or children's

speciality food. This again confirms their dominance in the marketing of food to children, and as such, raises the need for further investigation into their use, children's understanding, parental mediation and their perceived effects. As discussed in chapter 2, of these five communications television advertising is currently the most heavily restricted, especially in relation to the promotion of unhealthy foods. However, there is a lack of restrictions on the remaining four communications unless they are used with an advertisement for a HFSS product. This research highlights the need to re-address this imbalance by considering whether it is necessary to introduce corresponding restrictions on these four communications to bring them in line with television advertising (see section 8.5.2 below).

The second group of communications (as highlighted by the green boxes in Figure 8.8 above) are those which researchers (and I in this chapter) have classed as working at a subliminal level. These include product placement in television and film, product placement in video games, online advertising, advergames, some in-school communications and branded toys. All of these communications, apart from product placement in television and films, were given an overall classification of low. In addition to these communications print advertising was also classified as low, and whilst this traditionally has not been considered to work at a subliminal level, the move by food companies to use less conventional advertisements and more advertorials and the sponsorship of games and puzzles (Moore, 2004) has resulted in a change to more subliminal ways of working.

In addition to these communications being classified as low (product placement in television and films was only rated as low for influence), these were the communications which only the older children could partially recognise and none of the children had any understanding of the persuasive intent. Print advertising, in-school communications and branded toys were also the communications which parents mediated the least. The only restriction for these three communications was dietary controls. In respect of product placement in television and films, the other restriction parents used was the in the home restriction, however, this was as a secondary consequence of restricting television advertising rather than as a primary attempt to restriction the product placement. On similar lines, both the in the home restriction and media literacy restriction parents used to mediate the two new media communications were not used to primarily restrict these communications, they were implemented to ensure the children's general safety online and prevent them coming into contact with

unsuitable content. Therefore, I feel it is fair to say parents do not mediate (with the exception of dietary controls) for these particular communications.

As discussed previously, the low levels of contact and perceived influence could have been part of the reasons why the parents did not feel the need to mediate more for these communications, as well as why the children had problems recognising and understanding them. However, as I have already said, the primary purpose of these types of communications is not to lead to a direct purchase request but to remind and reinforce the brand within the children's mind (Moore and Rideout, 2007; Samson, 2005). As such it is much more difficult for the children, parents and even researchers to determine how, if or when these types of communications are influencing children's food preferences or choices. Also as the children were not able to recognise these types of communications they may not have been aware of their true frequency of contact and they certainly will not have been in a position to defend themselves against their persuasive intent.

In line with a number of researchers (An and Stern, 2011; Auty and Lewis, 2004b; Livingstone, 2009; Nairn and Fine, 2009b) I feel it has now become necessary for us, as a research community, to investigate how and when children recognise and understand these types of communications, and how this differs from the previous television advertising research. In addition, there needs to be research into how these communications affect children and their product preferences and choices. Even though from this research it appears that they have little effect on direct purchase request (remembering this is not usually the objective for using these communications), it has not been possible to determine if they do affect children's food preference and choice through reminder and reinforcement (the more usual objective). Nevertheless, the government has chosen to exempt HFSS products in its new product placement regulations (Bradshaw, 2010) which could lead to the assumption that at least the government believes that product placement would have had some effect on children's food preferences and diets.

In summary, this research has found two distinct groups of communications. The first group are those communications which were given an overall high rating and which the children found easier to understand and the parents mediated for but are frequently used to promote HFSS products. Conversely, the second group are those communications which were given an overall low rating, and probably due to their

subliminal level, the children found them extremely difficult to understand and the parents failed to mediate for.

8.3.7 The implications of the rise of integrated marketing communications

Whilst this research supports the current agreement in the literature that companies no longer use communications in isolation and are increasingly using a wider and more integrated range of communications (Cairns et al., 2009; Calvert, 2008; Federal Trade Commission, 2008; Food Commission, 2005; Hastings et al., 2003; Hawkes, 2004; Institute of Medicine, 2006; Lobstein, 2006), it is also evident from the findings that there are a number of communications which food companies still prefer to use. Whilst tie-ins was one of the communications named it was not, as reported by the Federal Trade Commission (2008), the most common. Television advertising was the most used communication; however, as mentioned above, this was closely followed by the other 'high' rated communications. The internet, or new media as it has been called in this thesis, was named in only two (compared to seventeen for television advertising) combinations by the families. Therefore, if it is being used as a central platform, as has been suggested in the literature (Aaker, 2002, in Moore and Rideout, 2007), this part of the campaign is either not being seen by children or as this research suggests not being recognised.

All through the research there were a small number of brands which the families, especially the children, constantly used in their examples and general discussions. These were McDonald's, Kellogg's (particularly Coco Pops), DairlyLea Dunkers and Lunchables and Cheesestrings. These are the brands which employ the widest range of communications within their IMC. These were also the brands which the younger children, or at least when the children were younger (aged seven years old and below), would frequently request. This therefore supports the current belief that by using IMC food companies are attempting to build their brands in children's minds to increase their recall and product choice (Livingstone and Helsper, 2006; Moore and Rideout, 2007; Weber et al., 2006).

As discussed in chapter 5 (see 5.4, p.205) all of the families found it particularly difficult to recall any integrated campaigns and to name which communications were being used. The majority of combinations given, as highlighted above, were based around television advertising and where other communications were used within the

advertisement itself, such as free gifts or tie-ins. All of the named combinations were where the communications had been used simultaneously, as just described; none of the families were able to recall examples of integration where different platforms had been used, such as television advertising and corporate websites. This raises questions as to whether consumers do automatically integrate communications (Devon, 2010; Schultz, 1996) or are consumer less aware of this form of marketing than companies and researchers currently believe?

Following on from this, where the parents found recalling examples of integrated campaigns difficult, the children found it even harder. They were unaware of the range of communications being used to target them, and in most instances, unable to defend themselves against the persuasive intent. I have already raised a number of questions in my review of the literature (see 3.6, p.105-107) concerning how the growing use of IMC changes our (the research community's) understanding of the effect communications have on children and their understanding of those communications. Whilst this research has not been able to (and did not set out to) answer these questions directly, these findings can begin to provide some insight into this complex phenomenon.

It is clear from these findings that the children were less aware than the adults of, not only the types of communications food companies were using, but also how companies were integrating those communications to increase their effect. As companies move their communications from off-line to on-line it appears that children are becoming less aware of the commercial intent, and as a result, are becoming more vulnerable. In addition, this research shows that even if children can recognise and understand television advertising by the age of eleven, the same is not necessarily true for all of the communications being targeted at them. This therefore has implications for those companies which integrate their communications as children are only able to identify some of the campaign, understand a smaller part and are unaware of their contact with the remainder. This will surely mean they are unable to defend themselves against a major part of the campaign. As a result, I ask again, is it ethical for companies to target children with communications they do not understand but even worse do not even recognise?

On similar lines, whilst the parents were able to identify and recognise all of the communications shown in the study, they were unaware food companies were using

many of them to target their children, and in addition, the frequency they were being used. This lack of awareness and their failure to recognise the integration of communications, especially across different platforms, resulted in them failing to mediate evenly across the communications. As a result parents may believe that they are protecting their children from the food companies' communication, however, in reality they are often only mediating for some of the communications.

In summary, families appeared to be less aware of IMC than the literature would seem to suggest as both the parents and the children only recognised the integration when used simultaneously. Consequently the most recalled communications were those which the families had rated as high in the previous sections. From these findings it appears that as food companies increase their use of IMC, particularly as they widen the range of communications they are using to target children, children themselves are becoming more vulnerable.

8.3.8 Summary of the thesis's theoretical contributions

By taking a holistic consideration of children's consumption of marketing communications by the UK food industry, this research, as detailed above and summarised below in Table 8.3, has added to the current literature on parental mediation, children's understanding and the effects of food marketing on children's purchase requests. However, as highlighted in chapter 1 (p.6) the intention of this research was never to fill all of the current gaps in the literature, but to provide a solid initial sketch from which future research can be added. Therefore, some of this possible research is suggested in section 8.7 below.

Table 8.3: Summary of the theoretical contributions

Contribution	Area of literature
First empirical study to consider the 'big picture'. - Including all forms of marketing communications. - Including all aspects of consumption – parental perceptions, children's understanding of marketing communications and the perceived effects of food marketing communications.	Brings together literature from three distinct disciplines – children's understandings, the effects of food marketing and parental mediation.
The development and classification of four new parental mediation strategies which can be applied to all marketing communications.	Parental mediation. Parental communication styles (see section 8.7 Suggestions for future research for more details).
The differences in children's awareness and understanding of the different communications used by the UK food industry.	Children's understanding.
The classifications of the marketing communications used by the UK food industry based on their perceived frequency of contact and influence.	Effects of food marketing communications.
Consumers' identification and interpretation of IMC.	IMC.
A consideration of the relationship between: - A child's perceived frequency of contact with a marketing communication. - A child's understanding of the marketing communication. - Any mediation strategy implemented by a parent. - The perceived impact of the marketing communication on the child's purchase request or diet.	Brings together literature from three distinct disciplines – children's understandings, the effects of food marketing and parental mediation.

8.4 Methodological contributions

As noted on a number of occasions, traditionally when researching marketing to children researchers have only investigated one part of the process and then usually in relation to one communication. This has resulted in each part of the process having its own preferred methodology. For example, when researching parental mediation quantitative questionnaires have almost always been used (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2005; Nathanson, 2001, Vandewater et al., 2005). Whereas, when researching children's understanding a mix of qualitative focus groups (Lawlor and Prothero, 2008; Lawlor and Prothero, 2008; Oates et al., 2003a), quantitative experiments (Cherin, 2008; Donohue et al., 1982) or occasionally quantitative questionnaires (Chan and McNeal, 2006) have been used. Similarly, when researching the effects of food marketing quantitative experiments (Dixon et al., 2007; Halford et al., 2008; Halford et al., 2007; Halford et al., 2004; Robinson et al., 2007) and questionnaires (Arnas, 2006; Wiecha et al., 2006) have more commonly been used.

Furthermore, when researching each of the above topics researchers have tended to include either just children (Halford et al., 2004; Oates et al., 2003a) or parents (Ip et al., 2007; Nathanson, 2001) as their research sample. There have been some studies which have included both parents and children but on each occasion they have been considered separately (Chan and McNeal, 2006; Hitchings and Moynihan, 1998). Therefore, this research has been, to my knowledge, one of the first studies to use both children and their parents as its research unit when investigating the marketing of food to children. Having parents and children together in the interview situation enabled me to reflect on how accounts of marketing communications were presented by the two parties. For example, as discussed throughout the result chapters, the negotiation of accounts by confirming behaviour not only between parents and children but also between siblings and between parents. In section 8.7 below I consider how this can be developed further by future research.

Furthermore, there are methodological implications of this research related to the data collection process. Firstly, this research has added to the body of literature which shows strong support for the use of verbal measures when researching children's understanding of marketing communications (Lawlor and Prothero, 2003; Oates et al., 2003a). Secondly, it has strengthened the literature on the use of artefacts, in this case pictorial associations, as a method of capturing and maintaining children's interest (Hamilton et al., 2000; Wescott and Littleton, 2005). The laminated cards (as displayed on pages 138 – 140 and 143 – 146) did also in part help to orientate the children's minds to help them access their agent and persuasion knowledge (Friestad and Wright, 2004). However, due to this form of knowledge being content bound, in future research, as detailed in section 8.7 below, it may be more preferable to set the communications in their more usual context (Wright et al., 2005). Finally, the research has confirmed that to ensure children feel comfortable and free to talk, without being judged, it is important for, firstly, the research to take place either in the family home or at a place with which the family is familiar (Astedt-Kurki et al., 1999; O'Sullivan, 2005), and secondly, for the children to feel that they are equal to the researcher (i.e. by sitting on the floor with the children and taking part in the activity) (Wescott and Littleton, 2005).

8.5   Implications for practitioners and policy makers

8.5.1   Practitioner implications

I have repeatedly highlighted the fact that there has been little academic research into how children interact with, and are affected by, the different communications, but I am sure, as are many other researchers, that due to the valuable nature of the children's market, together the food and the communication industries have undertaken their own research (Preston, 2005; Valkenburg, 2000). Nevertheless, I believe that my results on the types of communications children encounter and their respective influence, could add something new to their current understanding. Consequently, I feel that there are two issues which practitioners should be interested in. These are my findings for children's understanding and for parental attitudes towards their communications.

As detailed in chapter 2 (p.49) many of the large multinational food companies have either signed up to the EU pledge or have implemented their own codes of practice stating that they will not market their products to children under the age of twelve (Lobstein, 2009). However, this research has clearly shown that even by the age of twelve many children are unlikely to be able to understand all of the communications which food companies are currently using. As such practitioners need to re-assess their age limit in light of which communications they decide to use. Furthermore within their definition of marketing, the majority of these codes of practice only include advertising, and in most cases just television, print and online advertising. As highlighted by this research, food companies are using more than just these three forms of advertising when marketing to children. Therefore, in addition to reviewing the age limit, food companies should also review their definitions of marketing.

The reason why food companies should reconsider their age limit and definition of marketing is the current attitudes of parents. Whilst there was a mix of attitudes from the parents towards the marketing of food to their children, there were more negative than positive attitudes. In addition, there were stronger negative feelings towards those companies which parents considered were promoting unhealthy or junk foods. Furthermore, there were certain communications which the parents considered off-limits; these included any in-school communications, including the promotion of the voucher to collect schemes. This was due to the parents strongly believing that schools should be a corporate free environment for their children. Therefore, if food

companies wish to be considered as behaving ethically they should reassess which communications they continue to use when marketing to children.

However, not all the implications for practitioners are negative. It was clear from the findings that there was a group of communications which had both a higher level of perceived influence over the children's purchase requests and diets and which children encountered the most frequently. Therefore, rather than using these communications to promote unhealthy foods, which does appear to be the current situation, food companies and their marketers should use these communications to promote healthier foods and diets.

8.5.2   Policy implications

As stated back in chapter 1, when undertaking this research I consciously 'sat on the fence' and as such I feel that it is inappropriate for me, even at this stage, to now take a side. Nevertheless, whilst I, personally, am not advocating either an increase or decrease in regulation, this does not mean that my findings cannot have any implications for policy. As highlighted in 2.4.1.1, the current UK regulation of food marketing to children is inconsistent across the different communications, with television advertising being the most heavily regulated, whilst communications such as branded toys or non-broadcast sponsorship are free from regulation. I recommend that, regardless of the level of regulation, it should be consistent across communications. Should the current government wish to continue with the previous government's policy of preventing the marketing of unhealthy foods to children by more regulation, then on similar lines to tobacco regulation, all communications should be restricted not just a few (Hawkes, 2005; Lewis, 2006; Which?, 2008a). Currently food companies are finding alternative communications with which to target children and it is those communications which, according to this research, children find extremely difficult to recognise and understand.

I have already proposed above that food companies could use the communications which were classified as high by the families to promote a healthier diet. Should the government wish to continue with further regulation, but to a lesser extent than just suggested, it could allow only these 'high' types of communications to be used in the promotion of healthy products (Institute of Medicine, 2006; Lewis, 2006). Alternatively, following Ireland's restrictions on the use of tie-ins, only allow them to be used as part

of a public health campaign (The Polmark Project, 2010b). In addition, these findings and corresponding implications should not be restricted to the UK government only, they can also add to the current debate within Europe, including whether the European Union should continue with their current reliance on self-regulation or whether they should follow the UK and move towards formal regulation.

8.5.3 Summary of the study's implications

As detailed in chapter 4, the expanded framework is intended to aid a range of different parties (food companies, the Government, parents) in understanding the complexities of children's consumption behaviour in relation to the marketing of food to children. Therefore, Table 8.4 below not only provides a summary of the implications discussed above but it also includes additional implications for other parties.

Table 8.4: Summary of implications

Affected community	My findings	Implication(s) for the affected community
Practitioners	Children (up to the age of 11) cannot understand all of the different communications used by the food industry.	- The food industry needs to reconsider which communications it uses when targeting children. - Food companies need to amend their codes of practice.
Practitioners	Parents believe the use of certain marketing communications to be unethical when targeting children.	- The food industry needs to re-consider which communications it uses
Practitioners	Children come into contact with and are more influenced by certain communications.	- Food companies can use these communications to promote healthy products/diet to children
Policy makers	UK and European regulation of the marketing communications currently used by the food industry to target children is inconsistent.	- A review of the regulation is required to ensure it is applied consistently.
Policy makers	Children predominately come into contact with marketing communications for unhealthy food products.	- Policy makers could change the regulation to favour the promotion of healthier foods and deter the promotion of unhealthy foods.
Parents	Parents lack an awareness of the range of marketing communications currently used by the food industry to target their children	- An increase in parental awareness of how food companies target their children. - Using the above parents can implement additional mediation strategies.

8.6 Reflections and limitations

For a qualitative researcher, reflecting on the inquiry process is an important part of the research (Creswell, 2007). There are certainly a number of things I would do differently if I had my time again. From the beginning I would have had a much tighter focus on the precise nature of the study, reducing the overall time taken by a considerable amount. However, even with the difficulties (as detailed in chapter 4) in recruiting parents and children, I would not want to change this part of the research and for a qualitative study my sample compared favourably with other studies (Carrigan and Szmigin, 2006; Dewsnap and Jobber, 2009). Meeting and talking to the families was definitely the highlight of the whole process. I am unsure if I could have been more efficient in other parts of the research process. Qualitative data analysis, from transcription to coding to pulling out themes and patterns, is a complex and time-consuming process with no short cuts or quick fixes. It requires time for listening, reading and thinking and as such justifies the time taken.

As detailed in section 4.5 the credibility of this research can be judged against the criteria of transparency and systematicity (Meyrick, 2006). To achieve transparency, I have, throughout the thesis, explained and detailed every step of the research process. In addition, to achieve systematicity I have carefully followed a detailed research design which included comprehensive data collection and analysis processes which involved the building of more than twenty different models and matrices.

The overriding limitation of the thesis is that the findings, and therefore its contributions are based on one study. Consequently, further research, as detailed in section 8.7 below, should be undertaken to determine whether the same findings would be obtained using different methodologies, different sampling criteria or in a different context. Following on from this, and as discussed in chapter 4 above, the intention of qualitative research, unlike most qualitative research, is not to provide findings which can be generalised to the whole population (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Qualitative research should be used to develop theory from well-founded insights (Goulding, 2005) and as such this study, as discussed in chapter 1 and again in section 8.3.8 above, should be used as a substantial starting point in the development of new theory.

Whilst ample data (261 pages containing over 100,000 words) was collected to answer the research question and objectives, it is possible that theoretical saturation was not achieved. A contributing factor to this was the need to change, as detailed in section

1.2 above, the focus of the research after the first six interviews. This resulted in not all of the communications being included in those interviews and therefore, as highlighted in chapter 5, not all of the fourteen families could be included in the analysis of all of the communications. In addition, the findings presented in chapters 6 and 7 (to answer the third research objective) were not pre-determined before the data collected and as such were derived from the data. As a consequence there were no questions in the interview schedule specifically designed to investigate these concepts, and therefore, some of the concept relationships and patterns were not supported by all of the participants. For example more children in the first phase of interviews discussed television advertising compared to product placement, and therefore, the findings related to the children's ability to recognise and understand television advertising have stronger support than the corresponding findings for product placement. Again, this confirms the need for further research which can continue until theoretical saturation is achieved.

8.7   Suggestions for future research

The following suggestions for future research fall into two categories. The first, such as those briefly outline in the section above, are studies designed to confirm the novel findings and corresponding contributions of this study. The second set of studies relate to questions which this study has raised but has not been able to answer. To represent this Figure 8.2 from above (p.271) has been amended and is reproduced here as Figure 8.9. As before, the solid arrows represent those concepts and relationships which have been considered by this research, however, the dotted arrows represent the additional questions which the study has raised.

In relation to parental mediation, this has been the first study to propose four forms of parental mediation and therefore further research is required firstly to confirm their existence, and secondly, to consider whether any additional forms of mediation exist. As detailed in chapter 8, one of the restrictions (dietary controls) was context based and thus other contexts should be investigated to see whether they too have individual context based restrictions. Whilst I expect the remaining three restrictions to be transferable to different contexts, this again needs to be confirmed by further studies. In addition, previous research on parental mediation has been closely linked to the theories of parental communication styles (Chan and McNeal, 2003a; Rose et al., 1998). I would therefore suggest further research to determine whether these links

Figure 8.9: The amended framework of the marketing of food to children (2)
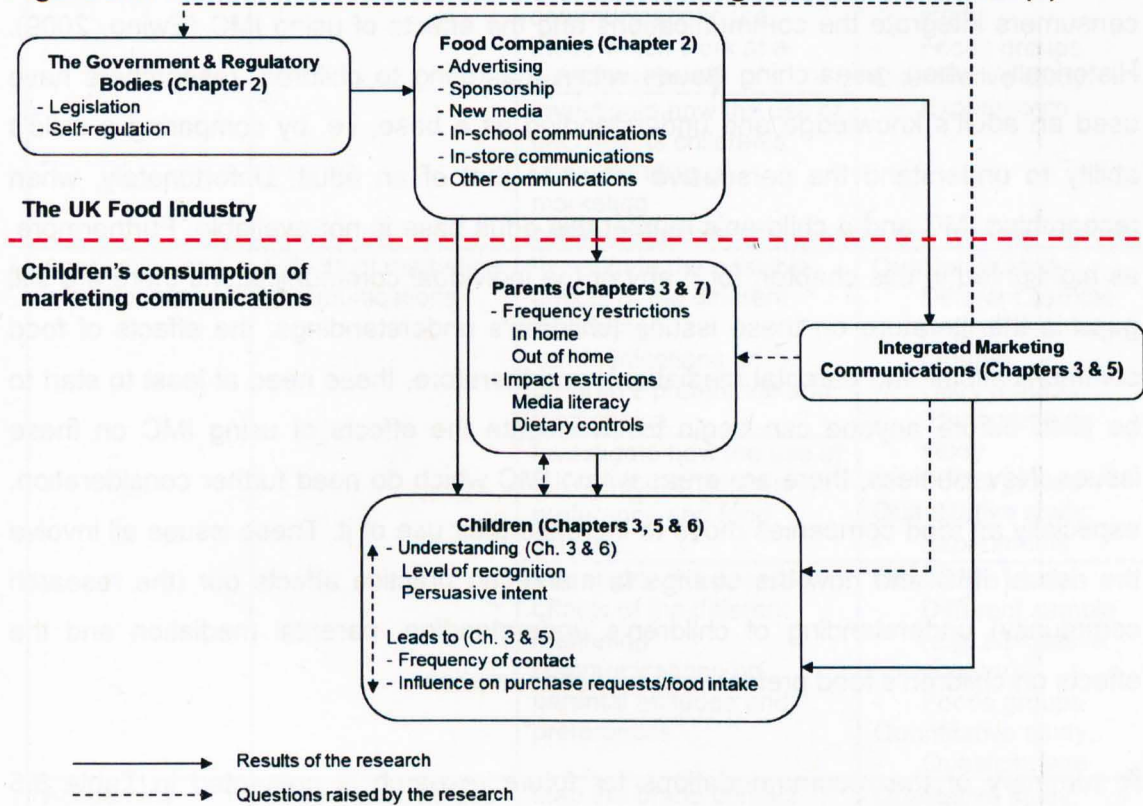
continue when my new restrictions are applied.

In respect of my findings on whether children have the ability to understand marketing communications, I would recommend further confirmative studies. In addition to this, new research is also required into how children interact with those communications which I classified as low and which I believe work at a subliminal level. This could include the application of the Friestad and Wright's (2004) PKM. On similar lines, new research is also required on how these communications work and the effect they have on children's preferences and consumption. In addition, research is also needed on those communications which were classified as high, especially whether it is the communication or the unhealthy product which children find attractive. The results of this could, depending on the results, help both practitioners and policy makers in planning campaigns to promote a healthier diet.

The final area of suggested research relates to the use of IMC. However, I do have a word of caution. As highlighted in chapter 3, even though the theory of IMC has been recognised by academics for over twenty years, the research over that time has tended to concentrate on 'what is it?' and 'how do companies implement it?' (Kitchen and

Schultz, 2009). This has resulted in very little, if anything, being understood about how consumers integrate the communications and the effects of using IMC (Ewing, 2009). Historically, when researching issues within marketing to children, researchers have used an adult's knowledge and understanding as a base, i.e. by comparing a child's ability to understand the persuasive intent to that of an adult. Unfortunately, when researching IMC and a children's market this adult base is not available. Furthermore, as highlighted in this chapter, for many of the individual communications there are still gaps in the literature on these issues (children's understandings, the effects of food communications and parental mediation), and therefore, these need at least to start to be filled before anyone can begin to investigate the effects of using IMC on these issues. Nevertheless, there are areas within IMC which do need further consideration, especially as food companies move to increase their use of it. These issues all involve the rise of IMC and how the change in marketing practice affects our (the research community) understanding of children's understanding, parental mediation and the effects on children's food preferences and consumption.

A summary of the recommendations for future research is presented in Table 8.5 below. The table provides suggestions for who could undertake the research, the area of the research, the research's aim and finally the possible methodologies that could be used.

Table 8.5: Summary of suggested research

Intended community	Area of research	Research aim	Possible methodology
Academics	Parental mediation	Confirm the existence of the four forms of parental mediation.	Qualitative study: - Different sample (e.g. alternative country) - Different context (e.g. toys) - Focus groups Quantitative study: - Questionnaire
		Consideration of further forms of parental mediation.	
		Investigate IMC impacts on the types and frequency of use of parental mediation strategies.	
		Consideration of the relationship between the four forms of parental mediation and parental communication styles.	
Academics and practitioners	Children's understanding	Confirmation of children's (lack of) understanding of all forms of marketing communications.	Qualitative study: - Different sample (e.g. different age groups) - Diary methods
		Investigation of how	

		children interact with 'low' communications (i.e. those which work at a subliminal level).	- Ethnographic study - Focus groups Quantitative study: - Experiments
		Investigate how the use of IMC affects children's understanding of marketing communications.	
Academics and practitioners	Effects of marketing communications	Investigate the possible effects of the different marketing communications on children's preference and food choice.	Qualitative study: - Different sample (e.g. different age groups) - Diary method - Ethnographic study - Focus groups Quantitative study: - Experiments
		Investigate how the use of IMC affects children's preference and food choices.	
		Investigate the possible effects of the different marketing communications on parental attitudes and preferences.	Qualitative study: - Different sample (e.g. alternative country) - Focus groups Quantitative study: - Questionnaire
Academics	Food industry's use of marketing communications to target children	Map the brand contact points for a children's product to determine the number and variety of communications encountered. This should include mobile communications.	Qualitative study: - Different sample (e.g. alternative ages) - Diary method Quantitative study: - Questionnaire (for older children only)
Policy makers		Investigate the alternative forms of marketing communications used by the food industry.	Quantitative study: - Content analysis - Questionnaire
		Evaluate the feasibility of using different communications or IMC to promote a healthy diet.	
Academics and practitioners	IMC	Investigate how consumers integrate communications.	Qualitative study: - Interviews - Focus groups Quantitative study: - Questionnaire - Experiment
Academics	Family identity	Investigate how the consumption of marketing communications can portray family identity.	Qualitative study: - Family interviews - Diary method

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10 Dissemination of the research

(Note: I changed my surname from Tuck to Newman following my marriage in January 2009)

Edited book chapters

Oates, C.J., **Newman, N.** and Tziortzi, A. (in press) Parents beliefs about and attitudes to children's advertising. In: Blades, M., Oates, C.J., Blumberg, F. and Gunter, B. (ed.), *Advertising to children – current issues and new media.* UK, Palgrave- Macmillan.

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Tuck, N. and Oates, C.J. (2008) "Food marketing to children: Moving the debate forward from just television advertising", Full paper presented at the 13[th] International Conference on Corporate and Marketing Communications. The University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, 24th to 26th April 2008.

Tuck, N. (2007) "Is the UK leading the way in the food marketing to children debate? A family view", Full paper presented at the 2[nd] International South East European Doctoral Student Conference. Thessaloniki, Greece, 22nd and 23[rd] June 2007.

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Awards

2008 – Best paper in the Health and Food Promotion Track at the Corporate and Marketing Communications Conference

2006 – Academy of Marketing Bursary

11 Appendices

11.1 Appendix 1: Discussion guide for the children's focus group

Subject area	Questions	Points to consider/Additional questions
General	What kinds of food do you like to eat?	▪ Fast food, sweets/snacks ▪ Meals, soft drinks ▪ Examples
School	Do you have school dinners or packed lunch? School dinners – tell me about what you had this week Packed lunch – Who decides what you take?	▪ Chips & burgers ▪ Sweets/snacks ▪ Parents, you ▪ Copy friends ▪ Where do you find out about new things to take?
New products	How do you normally hear about new sweets and snacks?	▪ On TV ▪ Friends/School ▪ Parents ▪ In the supermarket
Shopping	Do you go with your parents to the supermarket? Tell me about a time you went shopping Where and when did you find out about these products? What attracts you to these products?	▪ Types of things - examples ▪ Do they agree/refuse? ▪ Before you went from TV, friends ▪ At the supermarket ▪ Packaging, competition ▪ Free-gifts, taste
TV	What programmes do you like to watch? What else is there on TV apart from programmes? Do you know what a TV ad is? Apart from ads do you see food on TV?	▪ Children ▪ Soaps ▪ Entertainment ▪ Example ▪ Food example ▪ Have you bought these products? ▪ Which programmes? ▪ Which products? ▪ Sponsorships ▪ Do you want to try it?
Internet	Do you play on the Internet? Tell me about the last time you went online Do you see any food on the Internet?	▪ Which sites? ▪ Adverts ▪ Designated websites ▪ Examples ▪ Do you buy these products?
Cinema	Do you go to the cinema? Do you like to buy sweets and snacks that are associated with the films?	▪ What type of films ▪ Who do you go with? ▪ What have you seen recently? ▪ Happy meals ▪ Sweets, cereals ▪ Other examples

11.2 Appendix 2: Interview guide for a family interview (stage 1)

Subject area	Questions	Points to consider/Additional questions
General	To start can you tell me about your feelings on food marketing to children generally?	
	Can you tell me who decides which foods the children eat? (give an example)	▪ Meals (including school packed lunches) ▪ Snacks and treats
	What influences which food and drink you buy for them?	▪ Promotions ▪ Nutrition ▪ Recommendation by others
	How much of the decision is taken before you enter the store and how much when in the store? (example)	
	Does the amount of different promotional tools used affect your decision? (Give an example if required)	▪ How? ▪ Why?
	Do the children have any influence over your food shopping?	
	Can you tell me about a recent incident where the children asked you to buy something specific?	
	To the children: Why did you ask mum/dad to buy you that?	▪ Was it something you had had before? ▪ Had you seen it on the TV/Internet? ▪ Did a friend recommend it to you? ▪
	What other food/drinks/snacks do you ask mum/dad to buy for you?	▪ What influences what you ask for? See it on TV/Internet/Magazine/Comics ▪ Recommended by a friend ▪ See it at the supermarket
Breakfast Cereal Promotions	Looking at the 4 slides, were you aware of any of these promotions?	▪ Which ones? ▪ Why those? (Like the cereal, for free gift, try something new) ▪ Which ones?
	Have you recently purchased any of them? (example of last purchase)	
	Have you recently purchased any other cereal with special promotions that are not shown here? (example)	▪ Why those ones? (Like the cereal, for free gift, try something new)
	Where do you normally find out about the new promotions? (example)	▪ TV, magazines/comics, internet ▪ Friends
	What normally determines which breakfast cereal you buy?	▪ Nutrition, taste ▪ Promotions, new products

	For the parents What are your feelings about the number and types of promotions that can be found on breakfast cereals?	• What impact does it have on your children? • Does it lead to pester power? • Does it lead to buy excessive amount of cereals? • Do you agree with what the food companies are doing?
Fast Food Kids Meals	Do you ever eat at any of the fast food restaurants? (example) Looking at the slide, have you recently purchased any of these happy/kids meals? (example)	• Which ones? • Which do you prefer? • Why do you prefer that one? • Which one/both? • Which would you prefer out of the two? • Why? (Food, toys, taste) • Does the choice of promotion affect where you eat?
	How do you find out what the next promotion is? (example)	• TV, friends, internet • In the restaurant
	For the parents What are your feelings about these types of promotions?	• What affect do they have on your children? • Do you agree with type of marketing?
Kids Food	Looking at the 2 slides, were you aware of any of these products and have you recently purchased any of them? (example)	• Which ones? • Why those ones? (Taste, packaging, link with character/film/tv) • If no, are there any that you would like to try? • Which ones? • Why those ones? (Look tasty, link with character/tv/film)
	Are there any other foods/drinks/snacks that you have recently purchased that were linked with characters/films/tv?	• What were they? • Where did you find out about them? (TV, friends, at the supermarket)
	To parents Do you agree with type of marketing?	• How does it impact on your children?
Internet	Do you use the internet at home? Looking at the 3 slides, can you tell me whose sites they are? Have you been to any of them? (example of last online)	• What are your favourite sites? • All, some, none • Which ones? • Why those? • How did you find out about them?
	Have you ever been to any other websites that were related to food/drinks/snacks?	• Which ones? • What did you think of them? • How did you find out about them?
Other Food Marketing	Apart from what we have already talked about, can you think of any other food marketing that is/has been successful/unsuccessful?	• Books/computers/sports equipment for schools, in-store promotions • Why was it successful/unsuccessful?
	For the children: What did you like/not like about	• Did you get involved in it? • Why/Why not?

	it? For the parents: What impact do you think it had on your children? For the parents: Overall, what is your view on the different types of food marketing to children? Do you know anything about the regulation that controls the different types of food marketing to children? Do you know anything about the Government's white paper 'Choosing Health' that was published in November 2004?	• How do you feel about that? • Are there any types that are more effective than others? • Would you like to know more and be more involved in its formation? • If you could have some input into any new regulations what would you like to see happen?
Other	Thank you for taking part, do you have any questions you would like to ask me? Finally, are there any other families that you know that may be interested in taking part in this study?	

11.3 Appendix 3: Sample transcript from a phase one interview

Family Interview No 5 – 14th June 2006

Details
Held – 14th June 2006
Present – I (interviewer), M (mum), G (daughter,8) and B (son,12)
Time – 64 minutes recorded.

Interview
Before the interview started I spent a few minutes introducing myself to the children and then I explained the purpose of the session was to ask them for help in understanding how they decided what they liked to eat and how they found out about different types of foods. I told them that during the session I would be showing them some pictures for them to look at and talk about. I explained there was no right or wrong answer just their experiences. They could ask myself or mum for help or leave at any time. I then asked mum to sign the consent form and confirmed that everyone was happy to be voice recorded. I then started recording. All names of friends and family have been changed

I   Before I asked detailed questions to you and the children about the slides, if someone says to you 'what are your general feelings on food marketing to children'?

M   I don't think there should be any. I don't think children should be advertised to in any shape, manner or form actually.

I   Do you think that about all food or just particular types?

M   I think that about everything, I think that about toys, games, you name it. No, because I don't think they know enough to make an informed decision, which is why they want to eat turkey twislers all day long and pizza, chips and beans. So no I don't think they should, I don't think advertising is appropriate to children.

I   Is it just advertising, or is it other forms like sponsorship of TV programmes, sponsorship of events?

M   I think by and large it's insidious, because I think it's a bit like, which ever food company it was, either a crisp company or a chocolate company giving, buying sports equipment. It's like, you know, if by association they are trying to be healthy. Well no they are not, they are the major causes or some of the major causes of childhood obesity, so I don't think it's appropriate at all. No.

I   Do you know what age it would become appropriate, if at all?

M   When children start having to buy their own food, possibly. Yeah over 16 I guess myself, I think.

I   What about, you said you didn't agree with all these other things like toys and all marketing?

M   Yeah, because I just think it's just ways of getting kids to nag their parents for stuff that is either unnecessary or undesirable in some way or another. But I am a little bit; perfectly aware that I'm totally hard line on it and totally at the far end of the spectrum but that doesn't bother me in the slightest.

I   Who decides at the moment which foods the children eat?

M   Well that's an interesting question. I'd like to say I do, but actually they do because they are the ones that actually put it in their mouths. So I provide the food that I think is what I would like them to eat, but whether the little darlings choose to eat it or not is a different matter, isn't it? Yes. So in a way, it's a joint decision, we do occasionally discuss, well no I do if we are going around the supermarket, I do tend to say 'what do you want to eat?' and they say ' I don't know'. So there is an element of them making choices but it's within fairly tight prescribed limits. I would say.

I   Do you have school meals?

M   G does, B doesn't any more.

G   And that's not fair is it?

M   No it's really unfair. He makes his own packed lunch, so yeah, J has school dinners. And what is your favourite school dinner?

G   I don't actually like that.

M   Don't you oh?

G   I don't like the beans.

M   Right, she and her friend used to tease us by saying their favourite of all was pizza, chips

and beans.

G   It's gross though. I only like pizza.

C   So they get to eat, well their choice at school.

I   Do you get a choice at school or is it just one meal that everyone has to eat?

G   Choice.

I   What about the packed lunch, who decides what goes into the sandwiches?

G   I usually say 'B what do you want in your packed lunch?' and he says 'I dunno'. So unless…

G   (interrupting mum) He has different things.

M   If he doesn't make his mind up then I buy the stuff but sometimes he says.

B   Tends to be ham sandwiches.

M   Yeah, tends to be ham, or ham and cheese sandwich, with a piece of fruit and a cake of some description and maybe some vegetables, some carrots or some tomatoes or a bit of celery. What are you having this week, what is it this week?

B   Tortillas but we've run out of stuff.

M   No we haven't, we've got spam, he likes spam. I know isn't it disgusting, anyway. No you've got spam, you've got salami and there's cheese.

B   There's no more salami.

G   What you ate it all when you don't even like it? I like it.

M   Yes, so spam yes. Bit weird, but bit random as you might say.

B   Well I like it so that is the only thing that matters.

I   What influences what food or soft drinks you buy when you go to the supermarket?

G   Water, water, water and water.

B   Erm mum, it depends, if it's something really really special like a birthday party or something we'll have…

G   (Interrupting B) fizzy drinks.

B   We'll have fizzy drinks but apart from that no we never have anything fizzy.

M   Apart from when you have fish and chips.

B   Apart from when I have fish and chips. I have some occasionally, people ask me if I want to finish their Fanta or something.

M   Oh I'm the evil mother from hell (said with a laugh in M's voice).

B   Yeah, that's how I'm kinda trying to portray you (in a serious voice).

M   Oh really (still amused).

B   Yeah (sill serious).

M   Yeah fizzy water, fruit juice, lime juice cordial and that is it as far as soft drinks go.

I   When you go around the supermarket what influences what you buy?

M   Healthy foods and price, although now Waitrose has come to Sheffield then price has kind of gone out of the window a bit because everything is so nice in there. Well I tend, we seem to eat the same thing every week, don't we? It gets really boring.

B   Yeah, but occasionally we'll have something really…

G   (Interrupting B) ..nice.

M   Really nice.

M   It tends to be pasta with homemade pasta sauces, usually sausages..

G   (Interrupting mum) It used to be dominos.

M   Yeah, you're right it did. Usually bacon…

G   (Interrupting mum) It was nice.

M   So I don't cook as such, well I do cook in the week. I don't buy very many chilled things because I don't like what they put in them, and I don't like the taste of them very much, and they're too expensive for what they are. So I prefer the taste of what I cook at home. So yeah, there's a basic, there tends to be a basic repertoire and if I know my way around the supermarket it's more or less without stopping, grabbing the stuff and putting it in.

B   There used to be a point, about a year ago, where we used to always have pizzas one day.

M   Yes I do buy pizzas, that's true. I don't do so much now,

B   No. pizza once a week, pasta twice, sausages and something, and pitta, and then we'd have something different.

G   Pitta bread, not pitta.

M   We'd have a roast at the weekend or something slight more interesting. But we get a veg box delivered every week from Beenies so that's seasonal vegetables so that will, that means we get cauliflower cheese, doesn't it? Hooray (Laughing).

I	Not your favourite?
M	No.
M	So that's vegetables in season, so that plays some part in determining what we have.
B	What are we going to have?
M	No, I'm the marketing man's nightmare, I think because I don't really look, because, I don't know, I think there are a lot of very interesting stuff about the way people eat these days. And I think I probably still more or less eat, a lot of the stuff I eat is stuff that I ate as a child …
B	(Interrupting mum) We don't have puddings.
G	Yeah we do we sometimes have one.
B	Very occasionally.
M	But certainly I tend to, apart from pizza or occasionally filled pasta, I'll tend to cook it from scratch and I think that's the big difference. And I understand why people don't do it, but I'd rather have beans on toast rather than a cooked chilled meal because I just don't like them.
B	Neither do I.
M	How would you know?
B	I wouldn't.
M	Right.
I	So when you go to the supermarket how much do you decide before you go of what you are going to buy and how much do you decide when you are wandering around? And does it make a difference at different times?
M	Yeah. It does. Energy level is one thing. Sometimes I do get a bit of, I don't know what, bit more organised, and I will sit down and consult books or if people are coming at the weekend I will do a menu and write a long list and do it that way.
B	It tends to be me that cooks at the weekend, if someone is coming over.
M	Occasionally yes. B has taken to doing entertaining.
B	And I cooked dinner last night.
M	You did, no night before. So nine, eight times of ten I'll just go into the supermarket and know that I need to buy food for, I tend to do it as a weekly shop, because that's enough shopping, so it'll be I'll need for this many days or week but just get in the staples and the basics. But then if I happen to be in Waitrose then I'll buy nice food because there is nice food in there and it just worth the extra expense because it tastes so nice.
I	Do you tend to buy supermarket brands or the bigger…
B	(Interrupting I) We tend to buy the supermarket brands.
M	Yeah, we do apart from Heinz baked beans and tomato soup. They do it right.
B	Or Heinz tomato sauce.
G	Or Marmite.
M	Or HP sauce. Jams, I tend to buy branded marmalade.
B	Yeah.
M	And cereals are usually branded ones. It's usually Weetabix or Rice Krispies, Kellogg's ones or whatever. But for a lot of things it will be supermarket own.
I	How much do price promotions in the supermarket effect what you buy?
B	It doesn't really.
M	What BOGOF?
I	Yeah.
M	Yeah, I do those quite a lot. But only if it's something I want it anyway…
B	(Interrupting mum) If it's something, we're not the sort of people who say oh its BOGOF so we'll buy that.
I	Can you remember the last thing you asked your mum to buy you from the supermarket or food wise?
B	Plums, plums?
G	Yeah.
M	It would have been in Waitrose last week, for your lunch, wouldn't it?
B	Oh yeah, I think it was either, I think it was salami and tomatoes.
M	And..
B	(Slight pause) Lettuce.
M	And what are those cakes called?
B	Oh angel cakes.
M	Angel cakes, which were Kipling's, weren't they?

B	Yeah.
G	I always think they are Coplings.
M	Copings?
G	No cakelings, get it?
I	When you ask your mum to buy you things from the supermarket, is it things that you have had before generally?
G	Yeah.
I	Or is it new things that you want to try?
B	No it tends, I'm more adventurous than J, but I tend to stick with routine apart from that not really.
I	When you take your packed lunch to school, do you ever have it where your friends have packed lunches and they have got something that you've not had before so you come and ask your mum if you can have it?
B	No because most of my friends don't get packed lunch. They'll get a baguette and packet of crisps and buy a can.
M	And poor deprived B only has water (in a sarcastic tone).
B	No I don't mind, I prefer having water.
G	What? You prefer having water?
M	They do go manic after caffeine drinks, after drinks with caffeine in them…
B	I don't.
M	She does.
G	I do not.
M	You do.
B	You really do G.
G	I don't you liar.
M	It's true (firmly).
I	What about if you go to friend's houses and you have something to eat that you like, do you ever then ask mum to buy it for you?
B	No.
G	No. Well yeah, I normally make it.
M	What?
G	That nice chocolate milk thingy.
M	Ah, but what's that made with? Do you know? Is it Nesquick?
G	No, Our chocolate powder and milk.
M	Right.
G	I tend to leave the hard chocolate powder at the bottom. Then you get a powder drink.
M	Lovely (in a sarcastic tone).
G	It's nice (in a defiant tone).
I	Do you ever ask mum to buy you things that you've seen advertised on the telly or in magazines?
B	No.
G	No because it's normally like Dominos stuff and she won't buy it even if we asked.
I	So you don't ask because you know she's going to say no?
B	I just don't ask because most of the stuff on TV I don't really want to try, especially that really annoying advert for Frosties. I could kill that kid.
I	Is it the one where he's singing?
B	It'll taste great (mimicking the advert).
I	That's it.
B	It's deemed by my classmates the most annoying advert of all time.
I	Really?
B	Apart from that Gillette advert.
I	The Gillette advert?
B	No the Wilkinson Sword adverts.
M	Which one is that?
B	Excuse me, did you feel a thing? (mimicking the advert)
I	I'm going to start with the breakfast cereals because this is the one that has the most marketing around it.
M	Right.
I	These are quite old now.

M	We have a rule in the house about cereals, don't we kids?
G	Exactly, we're not allowed that, that, that…(pointing to all of the images on the card)
B	(Interrupting G) No G those are ok, we've had them before. (pointing to Bitesize Shredded Wheat)
G	They've got sugar in them. (pointing to Frosties)
M	Nothing with sugar on.
I	What kind of cereals do you normally have?
B	It tends to be Shreddies, Weetabix…
G	(Interrupting B) Rice Krispies.
B	Or Rice Krispies.
G	That's there. (pointing to the Rice Krispies)
I	Do you choose your cereal or does mum choose it for you?
G	We choose.
B	We choose although I don't eat cereal much.
M	So its ones without added sugar.
B	It tends to be ones without added sugar yes.
M	Partly because that is what the dentist said, but Bhad very bad, his baby teeth went really rotten, at a very young age even though he didn't eat very much sugar at all, so I think he just had very weak enamel but it kind of made me much more horrible that I would have been. Who knows? If it hadn't been for all your teeth falling out perhaps you would have got sugared cereals. Might have got Fanta as well. Who knows? No you wouldn't, that's a lie.
G	You're too mean, aren't you?
M	Yep!
I	So when you decide which cereals you are having, the Weetabix or the Rice Krispies or the Shreddies, why do you pick between them?
G	G tends to pick because of the things you for free.
M	Yeah which bit of plastic toy is in there.
B	Or book.
G	Or this, or this, or this (pointing to the slides)
I	So you go for what is in the packet?
G	Yeah.
I	Rather than the taste?
G	Yeah, but I still like the taste.
I	What's your favourite kind of thing to get inside a packet, what do you prefer? Just as a selection here, we've got DVSs, books, and toys.
G	DVDs.
I	DVDs would be first choice?
G	Yea then toys, then books. I like reading but sometimes I can't be bothered.
B	It doesn't change my opinion at all.
M	But then you don't eat cereal much.
B	No I don't eat cereal much.
M	Although you did ask for some last week, which was?
B	Oat Clusters, they are nice.
I	So you'd rather go with something you like the taste of?
B	Yeah.
I	Rather than go around the supermarket and see what…
G	(Interrupting I) If there is nothing there I like, brown bread for instance, I'd just normally stick with cereal.
M	Yeah that's for breakfast at home though, isn't it?
I	Do you normally know what is in the packet before you go to the supermarket?
B	No.
G	No.
I	You just know when you get there and can have a look at which ones you want?
B	We don't watch much television.
M	You watch the Simpsons every day.
B	We watch the Simpsons.
G	Only half an hour.
M	That has adverts in the middle of it, hasn't it?
B	Yeah.

M	And don't you watch it at kids club? Do you have telly on at kids club sometimes?
G	Yeah, but we have it on all the time but I don't watch much. I only like Tracey Beaker.
B	I don't watch much television.
G	Only Tracey Beaker.
B	I occasionally watch Newsround.
I	There on BBC.
G	Yeah CBBC.
B	I don't watch CITV.
I	C how do you feel about the things they put in cereal packets?
M	I don't mind, I mean, I don't particularly care which one they eat as long as it's not got loads of extra sugar coated on the outside so they can fight between each other over the bit of plastic that's fine by me.
G	I just love Sugar Puffs.
M	It's fine.
G	But I only have puff wheats.
I	But does it get to a point where if there is things to collect you end up buying more than you actually need?
M	When they were little, when B was a little, little boy then we'd get to the point of having 3 packets of Rice Krispies because we had to get whatever the thing was.
B	And I used to watch a lot of television then.
M	But not so much now, mainly we don't eat a lot of cereal.
G	Cos he wants to be a goodie, goodie.
B	What me?
G	Yes you.
B	I don't want to watch TV.
M	Two or three packets of something out there, and I think I must buy a packet of cereal once every four weeks or so on average, so it's not a lot.
I	Do you find it a nuisance when you go around the supermarket and they have all these promotions on and the kids want them?
M	No, when they were small it was worse and it did used to be a problem, but it just added to the general awfulness of taking two small children round the supermarket on an evening after work. I tend to, more often these days, I tend to go on my own, or with just one of them for whatever reason and then its... Well, G tends to be very helpful, she'll make suggestions about things as we go round, I'll either say yes or no depending on how unhealthy it is and how generous I'm feeling.
G	And pack the bags.
M	Which isn't very mostly is it?
B	No.
G	Never.
I	When you are going around the supermarket and helping mum, what attracts you to pick certain things?
G	Things I like, basically.
M	Yeah, J likes, you've got a fairly sweet tooth, specific likes and dislikes haven't you?
G	Yeah.
B	Yeah, likes chips, pizza, pasta, dislikes everything else.
M	No that's not true.
G	Not true idiot (towards her brother).
I	Do you ever eat at any of the fast food restaurants?
G	No we've never been.
B	We've never eaten at one in our lives.
I	Is this your choice?
B	Yeah, I've never really wanted to go.
G	I'd probably only like french fries nothing else.
M	You have, I'm sure you've been to a McDonalds party once, didn't you?
B	No never.
G	I haven't.
M	I've got a vague feeling that you might have done.
B	No I really honestly didn't.
G	I found this toy from McDonalds.
M	Once on a car journey we went to something or another.

G	Hey that's just like petrol stations.
B	Oh we went to a Wimpy.
M	That's right.
B	Once.
M	It was once.
B	And I don't thing I actually had anything.
M	I can't remember.
B	If I had anything it probably would have been a drink.
I	Do you eat out anywhere?
G	Not really.
M	Where do you eat out with Daddy?
G	Café Rouge.
M	Café Rouge.
B	There's a new one.
M	Yeah occasionally we'll go to Café Rouge, if I'm eating with the kids out then I'll take them to Café Rouge. It would be more adventurous places like the Noodle Bar but they are not very adventurous.
G	What's the Noodle Bar? What about the Bla Bar in Barnsley?
M	I wouldn't go to Barnsley.
G	It's weird.
B	We tend to go, if it's at the weekend we might go to the pasty shop if we are in town.
M	Well actually that's fast food isn't it?
I	Kind of yeah.
M	Yeah, we do go to the proper pasty shop and have a Cornish pasty.
B	But it's not really fast food.
M	Yes it is.
G	I never have all the Cornish pasty, they're all disgusting.
I	Yeah take away food.
M	So yeah, we do that sometimes or very occasionally we go to Pizza Express or the kids sometimes go to Pizza Hut. Their dad will take them there occasionally. Or used to quite a lot.
B	When he used to see us for like dinner.
G	Yeah, basically but he doesn't need to now.
M	No but he hasn't taken you for ages, has he?
B	No.
G	We haven't been for ages.
M	It was when he was living in Macclesfield more you did things like that, didn't you?
B	Yeah.
M	Rather than when he was living here?
G	There isn't a Pizza Hut in Macclesfield.
B	There's a Pizza Express.
M	That's it, we don't eat out very often, no not really.
I	This is kind of in relation to fast food but it's more toys. These are ones that I have just found by doing some searches but I didn't know whether any toys that you ever had have had anything to do with food or food companies?
G	Yes.
M	What did you have?
G	I had that sweet shop.
M	You did, didn't you?
G	But I ate all the sweets and my friends did. But I've never had one of those. I wanted one though. (pointing to the Cadburys' sweet machine)
I	A Cadburys' sweet machine?
M	I've never seen one of those.
G	Yeah, they are so nice.
B	Yeah I've got to say I love Cadburys' chocolate.
G	What's that?
I	It's a McFlurry machine but wouldn't probably know about it as you don't go to McDonalds.
B	I know what a McFlurry is, erg.
G	That looks quite cool even though it's from McDonalds but I like that sort of thing.

M	B was never really interested in those kind of toys, he spent much more time just playing knights and things with swords and it was all imaginative stuff.
G	That's because he's a boy.
M	But he had loads of, no no its not, he had loads of making things games and play mobile and he very, very rarely used things.
G	I love pet play mobile now.
M	Whereas G likes these kind of playing with objects toys.
I	Can you remember if the sweet one had any company branding on it or general generic?
G	Dolly mixtures.
M	Yeah it had Dolly Mixtures, didn't it? It was kind of little containers that you could fill full of sweets, I can't remember, did it come with any? I can't even remember if....
G	(finishing mum's sentence) Yeah it came with loads, I remember it had lollypops and everything and liquorish and...
M	(Interrupting G) No I don't think they were branded.
B	No they weren't.
G	Yeah, it was really annoying to have to have plastic money not real money.
B	That's how tight my sister is.
I	These are just some general foods that I found in the supermarket that were more particularly aimed at children than adults. So these are just examples to see if you've seen any of these before or anything similar?
B	Oh I quite like frubes.
G	Yeah frubes are ok.
B	We have...
M	(Interrupting B) Did your dad get you those sometimes?
B	Not frubes, sucky yoghurts.
M	Sucky yoghurts.
I	They sound disgusting.
G	They're nice, they're just yoghurt.
M	But they are in plastic tubes and you kind of go (demonstrates sucking up a tube). I suppose the idea is that you don't have to have a spoon but erg.
G	Choc chip biscuits. We've had some things like that at sleepovers but we haven't had them from the supermarket.
M	Where have you had them from then?
G	Katie
M	Where?
G	Katie.
M	Oh from a friend.
I	You had them at a friend's rather than you bought them from the supermarket?
B	Oh no.
G	What?
B	Crap.
M	They have to, I tend not to buy things like this because they are really offensive, really overpriced and hyped and full of stuff I wouldn't..
B	(Interrupting mum) Sugar.
M	Put in my own mouth never mind my children's to be honest. It's just complete crap.
G	You have no taste though.
B	Bad move G.
I	G if you went to the supermarket with mum and saw these kinds of things would you ask her to buy them?
G	No not really. I've never had that, that, that, that, that, that, that, that (pointing to all of the images on the slides).
B	You've had frubes.
G	And we've had those Easter eggs.
M	Would you like to though? Would you like to be able to say mum can we have these and me say yes of course darling?
G	Sometimes like for a special occasion.
B	No not really I prefer...
I	If you could pick, say mum said yes, you could have either Winnie the Pooh, Scooby-doo or the princesses, which one would you prefer?
B	I wouldn't prefer any of them, I just really like Winnie the Pooh.

G	I've got a Winnie the Pooh car.
M	So which one would you pick J? Scooby-doo?
I	Scooby-doo?
G	Scooby-dooby do (singing).
B	Winnie-the-Pooh, you just don't beat Winnie-the-Pooh.
G	Yeah you can the Tellytubbies.
B	Good point.
I	Things like frubes and yoghurts, do you have those?
B	Used to have yoghurts quite a lot.
M	They like Muller Corners so occasionally they choose Muller Corners but it tends more often to be Greek Yoghurt, doesn't it?
B	Yeah we like Greek Yoghurt and…
G	(Interrupting B) With honey.
I	Would you go for taste rather than what's on the box?
B	Yeah.
G	Yeah.
M	They used to, I mean, they used to choose fruit yogurts on the whatever it was until… it just used to drive me nuts but that went on for a while. When B was little, I can't remember so much for you J, maybe I'd put my foot down by then and it was Petits Filous or nothing.
G	I love Petits Filous.
B	My mum says if you eat Petits Filous you'll get big (imitating the advert).
G	Oh that's the adverts.
M	See they do know the adverts.
B	I know it because it was in this programme that I taped about the crusades. It's the only reason. It used to really stare and it's erg.
I	Do you have the internet at home?
G	No not allowed.
B	No but I'd like to.
M	You're not allowed on it.
B	I've just set up, I've just set up an MSN and a yahoo.
G	Ah have you?
M	He gets in at 3pm or 3.30pm and I get in at 6pm, I really don't want the internet in the house. They can go on the internet if I'm around, then its ok. But you haven't been on it for yonks, have you?
B	I go on it at school.
M	But yeah, he's got access at school and presumably when you go around to your friends' houses.
B	Billy has it yeah.
I	What kind of sites do you go on?
G	CBBC.
M	Yeah what kind of sites do you go on?
B	Tends to be MSN to see if anyone is online.
M	Right.
B	Oh I like checking up on my world cup fantasy football team.
G	Even though you haven't got one.
B	I have.
G	Have not.
M	What about you J do you go on the internet?
G	CBBC.
B	She goes on CBBC.
B	I used to go on this website called newground which had lots of fun things. Apart from that no.
G	I like going on the fair trade things.
M	The fair trade thing?
G	Yeah I've been on it at school.
I	At school are you restricted to what you can go on?
B	Oh yeah, there are loads of blocks on things at my school, which is I think completely reasonable. Yeah there are blocks, there are quite a lot of blocks.
I	Do you know what kinds of things they block?

B	No because the only other thing I've had blocked is myspace which is a thing linked to MSN and that's it. But there are loads of blocks because friends tell me about them. Apart from that, apart from that no.
M	At her school there will be blocks.
G	No there isn't. We've tried every website.
M	Have you?
I	Every website?
G	Except for one.
M	Have you? Which one didn't you try?
G	Big number shark, they were all easy.
I	Number shark?
G	And weird shark.
M	Weird shark?
G	Word shark.
M	Oh I see. Well that's ok as I don't think those websites will be blocked but maybe some special ones for grown-ups are blocked for school, don't you think?
B	Yeah, I made the mistake of going on sexpistols.com and it turned out to be something I didn't intend. And I was horrified.
M	Yes quite.
I	This is probably going to get a no then but have you ever been on any websites that are related to food or drinks? That's just some examples.
G	No we just see them on TV.
B	No.
G	Oh they are the nicest things ever (pointing to fruit winders slide).
I	Have you ever bought anything, its normally sweets or crisps or things, it's then led you to go to a website?
B	No.
G	No.
B	No, not that I can think of.
I	Things like for recipes?
B	Erm no because, no because, I don't know why. I never go on the internet if it's not something that interests me.
M	But you are interested in cooking?
B	I'm interested in cooking yeah, but we've got so many cook books here I don't really need to go on the internet.
I	Do you have mobile phones?
B	No.
G	No we're not allowed them.
M	Deprived kids, aren't they?
B	Quite a few of my friends have mobiles.
G	No, none of my friends
B	It's because you are 7.. 8.
G	I am not 7.
M	I thought they were banned at your school? No?
B	You can take them to school, you just can't use them in school. Doesn't mean that people don't.
G	About 50 of them do.
M	There is a fairly good practical reason why B doesn't have a phone, because he'd have it one day and the next he wouldn't have it anymore.
G	Yeah but I would. And I can buy a phone because I have got £90.
M	Oh ok.
B	They tend to be more than that actually G.
G	Yeah some cost £55.
B	Some cost £25.
I	Do you know if your friends that have got phones, do you know if they have ever entered competition on them? You have to text a certain number to win things.
G	Yes daddy's done that.
M	Has he?
G	You know those Walkers crisps where you get a mini-iPod, yeah he used to do that. He only did it twice though.

B	I think he did something related to a magazine article of mine once, we could win an England kit but those aren't the sort of magazines I read anymore.
G	Yeah but it's quite stupid because…
B	(Interrupting G) You never win.
G	No, because there is only, like have you seen those Pringle things, where you win a trip to see like Hong Kong or something. There is only like five of them going around the world, it's weird.
M	Why?
G	Well I don't know, its five and (pause)
M	Because it's such a small number?
G	Yeah.
B	Because they are tight.
I	Where did you hear about that? Find out about that one?
G	From an advert.
I	So you don't know if any of your friends have entered any?
B	No not that I know of.
I	So you don't talk about it?
B	The only thing I ever talk about with my friends, it's not really talking but, a particular friend of mine, Darren, he tends to get very funny things, tends to have very funny images or sound clips. Apart from that..
M	(Interrupting B) Where does he get those from?
B	Darren's a cheap skate he gets them, he records them off the internet. You know like you can preview things, he records the preview.
M	Oh really?
B	Yeah.
I	Do you play computer games or have a PlayStation?
B	I've got a PS2.
M	He had got a PlayStation actually.
I	What kind of games to do you play on it?
B	It depends on what sort of mood I'm in. If I go to a friend's house and I'm really annoyed I tend to play on a shooting game to take my anger out on people. I don't have any other games, I've got…
G	(Interrupting B) FIFA.
B	I've got 2 football games, I've got a sword game that doesn't work, and I've got dance mat.
G	That's both of ours. And Shark tale which is mine.
B	Yeah and Shark Tale which is hers. I'd like to have more games but…
G	(Interrupting B) You're not allowed.
B	Mum doesn't mind so long as, I don't think mum would mind the Sims, which I might get.
G	The Sims is cool.
M	I draw the line at Grand Theft Auto or whatever.
B	Oh no those games are just horrific. Yes possibly draw the line at that mum.
I	Have you ever noticed or seen when you are playing the games like advertising or company names in there?
B	A friend of G has a game, this skateboarding game and it advertises…
G	(Interrupting B) Thomas.
B	It advertises McDonalds and Nokia.
G	And that cinema thing.
B	Yeah, but it doesn't advertise that. Yeah that and nothing else.
I	In the football one can you see any company names?
B	Nope apart from FIFA
I	I didn't know if they were playing in a stadium and they replicated the…
B	No it's all to do with FIFA, it's to do with FIFA and…
G	(Interrupting B) Football.
B	Yeah.
I	And just finally for you two and then I have one final question for your mum, can you think of any food marketing that has been particularly successful or alternatively unsuccessful?
G	Fair trade is a success.
B	We don't buy fair trade although I'd quite like to.
G	Yeah, we buy fair trade bananas and fair trade tea, which is disgusting but mum likes it.

B	Yeah the tea isn't very nice. Anything that hasn't been successful?
M	No that has.. .
I	Well either.
B	And haven't. Can't think of any that haven't.
I	Is there any one…
M	(Interrupting I) Pepperoni, he used to always want Pepperoni.
B	Oh yeah.
I	Was there one advert or one jingle that always sticks out in your mind?
B	It wasn't that, it was just I love Pepperoni.
G	I love it even more.
M	So jingles?
B	Jingles, don't talk about jingles.
M	Well she's just asked you? Well obviously there is that Petits Filous one.
B	Yeah the annoying Petits Filous one and the Frosties.
I	And the Frosties.
M	What's the Frosties one?
B	Don't ask or I'll have to do the actions as well.
M	Oh and the Iron Bru, you've gone on and on and on and on and on about the Iron Bru.
B	It's just such a cool advert.
M	So he likes the Iron Bru advert.
I	So if you think that it's cool would it make you want to drink it?
B	I love Iron Bru anyway.
M	Yeah, I quite like Iron Bru actually.
B	Yeah, there is the incredibly annoying Frosties advert.
M	What is it?
B	It's this weird kid and he's like, 'it's gonna taste great, it's gonna taste great' (mimicking the advert), it's just so strange.
B	Oh no the Orange adverts, the Orange Wednesday adverts at cinemas I find particularly funny.
G	Yeah, the cinema adverts like releasing erm (pause).
M	Films? Are you talking about trailers for the films?
G	No. Strawbes, I've seen that advert Strawbes.
M	What are they?
B	I don't know what Strawbes are.
M	I thought they were a pop group in 1960 something myself, there you go.
B	B you have them.
I	What about campaigns that get you to collect things? So either Walkers that did books for schools and then I think it was Cadburys that did the sports equipment
B	Persil does the tennis, and then Tesco do the computer for schools.
M	But is the question, does it persuade us to buy the things? Funnily enough no. I mean I do collect the Tesco computer for schools vouchers although I don't shop at Tesco as much as I did.
G	Yes, you used to shop at the big Tesco.
M	Because I'm a Waitrose girl.
I	I now they all do it now, Sainsbury do it and Tesco do it at a different time so it doesn't affect where you go? If you happen to be going there then..
M	Yeah.
B	Tesco every little helps (mimicking the advert).
M	No I'm not that strategic I'm afraid.
I	Do you have any of the food companies or supermarkets come into school?
G	No I don't think so.
B	Not at my school.
I	Do you have a vending machine in school?
B	I have.
G	No.
B	It's a can machine but it's getting rid of, it's going to be got rid of. So all these kids in my class are stocking up.
M	Is there a law coming out, coming?
B	Yes, September, it's going to be replaced with a fruit juice one.
G	Oh get some for me then.

I	And finally, just something else I've just thought about. Do you play in any sports teams? Go to any sports clubs?
B	In September I'm starting to play for the Sheffield Tigers.
I	Do you know if they are sponsored by anybody?
B	Not that I know of no.
M	They almost certainly will be.
G	Yes but you probably won't know that till you get there.
B	Not that I know off.
M	It's usually solicitors companies and things, isn't it as a rule?
B	I used to play for a football team that was sponsored by Bell and Buxton Solicitors but I wasn't good enough, well I was, I wasn't. I don't like football anymore.
G	Mum, can I join the girls' football?
M	What at school? Of course.
G	Is that sponsored by anyone the girls' football?
M	The class, the school one probably won't be.
B	It is.
M	Is it?
B	That school used to be sponsored by CIM, yeah CIA.
M	Who are they?
B	Don't know.
I	Is that an insurance company?
B	Yes.
I	I've just a couple of questions left for mum, so thank you very much. From all the different things we've talked about which types of promotions have more effect on the children? Which ones they remember more, not necessarily the ones that they buy.
M	Television really. Television I would say. It's the one that they are most subject to, if you like, because they don't used the internet a lot and those other ways companies do it, so yes TV.
I	Are you aware of the possible changes that are going on at the moment as far as unhealthy food marketing?
M	I'm aware there is a campaign, although, no I really don't know a lot about it. Except there is a campaign to get rid of advertising to children, junk food advertising to children, and there is the Jamie Oliver campaign to have more healthy eating in classrooms. So I know that there is some kind of...
G	(Interrupting mum) Horrible Jamie Oliver has made us have healthy food even though it isn't.
M	Upswing of. So yeah I'm aware that there is a kind of reaction and all the ones about labelling contents of food in supermarkets and the various controversies about what systems, and one company wants to do one with traffic lights and another one wants to do a different way and so on.
I	Yes, it all came out of this one Government paper a couple of years ago and the different things came out, the changing school foods came out of that and it's kind of at the same time as Jamie Oliver. And there is the new thing that came out a couple of weeks ago that said school meals, from now on they can only have fried things on the menu, is it, twice a week, or something? Vending machines have got to be taken out and replaced with fruit juice and water and with packets of fruit or whatever. And they can't use processed meats, so turkey twislers and stuff like that. So that all came out of it. And the other thing, the food labelling has come out and some have tried to go for the traffic light systems and some have said that's too simplistic, because it maybe that unhealthy, or it may be high in fat but it may be low in something else, and you know, in an overall context it's not that bad, as long as you eat it with other, having a balanced...
M	I never really look at those things, partly because the type of things I buy tend to be fairly, well there is one ingredient kind of thing, so I wouldn't bother to read them and when I do buy, I don't know, luxury items, then I don't buy low fat ones. So if I buy Greek yoghurt or yoghurt then I don't buy low fat yoghurt because the rest of our diet is pretty good and if I'm going to go for biscuits then I don't care if it's got lots of sugar in, I don't care if it's got lots of cream, that's the whole point of having them.
I	It's a treat, its extra.
M	Yeah. But I don't, in terms of the amount of those things which we buy then it's very, very, very little. Yeah I can see the point if you are buying cooked chilled food then it might be

worth knowing what's in there. But yes so that's the answer.

I   And do you know of what regulation there is out there at the moment as far as what can and can't be advertised to children and when and when it can't be advertised?

M   No. Seemingly, yes I know there are guidelines or there are restrictions but I wouldn't know what they are and it certainly doesn't seem to stop stuff being advertised all over the place.

I   Would you be in favour of it being changed?

M   Yes. Well yes, totally. Yes I think its insidious, very insidious advertising to children. And using things that are totally irrelevant like Disney characters, what the hell has that got to do with a food item? Absolutely nothing. There is no correlation whatsoever, what can a fairy princess have to do with a pizza stick? Nothing. So yeah I think it's terrible.

I   And then just something that has just come out in the last couple of weeks, they are going to ban more of the unhealthy food advertising to children, and there's Ofcom who have come up with different proposals and one is just to removed it from around children's programmes, so certain times of the day and the channels that are dedicated to children on satellite and that kind of thing. But there has been a lot of press from a lot groups saying that is not enough and they should ban it before like the 9pm watershed. Views either way?

M   I'd think I'd got for a full ban. But you know you've probably worked out by now I'm in a minority of one in the whole world. No, I just, I don't think food should be advertised, targeted at children at all. But then I think kids should be taught to cook and all sorts of weird things as well. They should know and understand what food is and where it comes from, and I think that is much more important than trying to sell them something that's full of trans-fats and other fats and sugar and salt and artificial sweeteners and things that don't do anybody any good. You just need to look at the kids in the playground, they are blobs, they are absolute blobs, it's horrible. I think they should look and see what it's doing to them and to work it out.

I   Ok that's it unless you have any other questions?

M   No.

11.4 Appendix 4: Interview guide for a family interview (stage 2)

Subject area	Questions	Points to consider/Additional questions
General	To start can you tell me about your feelings on food marketing to children generally?	
	Can you tell me who decides which foods the children eat? (example)	• Meals (including school packed lunches)
		• Snacks and treats
	What influences which food and drink you buy for them? (example)	• Promotions
		• Nutrition
	How much of the decision is taken before you enter the store and how much when in the store?	• Recommendation by others
	Does the amount of different promotional tools used affect your decision? (Give an example if required)	• How
		• Why
	Do the children have any influence over your food shopping?	
	Can you tell me about a recent incident where the children asked you to buy something specific?	
	To the children: Why did you ask mum/dad to buy you that?	• Was it something you had had before?
		• Had you seen it on the TV/Internet?
		• Did a friend recommend it to you?
	What other food/drinks/snacks do you ask mum/dad to buy for you?	• What influences what you ask for? See it on TV/Internet/Magazine/Comics
		• Recommended by a friend
		• See it at the supermarket
	Do you have your own money?	• Pocket money
		• Birthday money
		• What kinds of things do you buy?
	Do you spend it on food, snacks, sweets or drinks?	• Where do you buy it from?
		• Why do you buy it? Mum wont buy it, friends have it, favourite treat
Using the cards Task 1 - Awareness	Tell me which ones you are aware of & provide examples of experiences (places, brands)	• As a family
		• Just the children
		• Just the adults
Task 2 – Influence & Impact	Put them into piles of how much influence they have over your family's food shopping (lots, some, little, none)	• Are there combinations of pictures that increase the influence?
		• Which combinations are you most aware of?

	Does this change of the product is new? (example) Does this change when we talk about the impact on the children? Do any provoke any strong positive or negative feelings towards a brand or company?	• Which companies use these combinations? • Which ones move and to where? • Which ones move and to where? • Has this changed as the children have got older? • Should any not be used in relation to food marketing to children?
Other Food Marketing	Can you think of any food marketing that is/has been successful/unsuccessful? For the children: What did you like/not like about it? For the parents: What impact do you think it had on your children? For the parents: Overall, what is your view on the different types of food marketing to children? Do you know anything about the regulation that controls the different types of food marketing to children? Do you know anything about the proposed current changes to ban certain types of food marketing to children?	• Books/computers/sports equipment for schools, in-store promotions • Why was it successful/unsuccessful? • Did you get involved in it? • Why/Why not? • How do you feel about that? • Would you like to know more and be more involved in its formation? • If you could have some input into any new regulations what would you like to see happen?
Other	Thank you for taking part, do you have any questions you would like to ask me? Finally, are there any other families that you know that may be interested in taking part in this study?	

11.5 Appendix 5: Sample transcript from a phase two interview

Family Interview No 12 – 20[th] April 2007

Details:
Held – 20[th] April 2007
Present – I (Interviewer), M (mum), G (daughter,11), B (son,9)
Time – 71 minutes recorded

Interview:
Before the interview started I spent a few minutes introducing myself to the family and then I explained the purpose of the session was to ask them for help in understanding how they decided what they liked to eat and how the different food companies try to encourage them to eat their foods. I told them that during the session I would be showing them some pictures for them to look at, rate how often they remember coming into contact with similar experiences and to talk about their experiences. I explained there was no right or wrong answer just their experiences. They could ask myself or mum for help or leave at any time. I then asked mum to sign the consent form and confirmed that everyone was happy to be voice recorded. I then started recording. All names of friends and family have been changed.

I   Before we look at anything in detail I just want to get your views generally on food marketing to children as it stands at the moment.

M   Erm well, I suppose it's aimed at the lowest common denominator, everything has got be in little russly packages right down to bits of fruit and vegetable in the supermarket. I don't think I've ever seen anything advertised on TV for children that was healthy, it's all the complete load of rubbish. So I think as a parent you probably do feel a bit besieged, but on the other hand my children don't actually tend to nag me for things that they have seen on the TV, and if there has been something grotty that they have wanted to try I've maybe let them try it a couple of times, like Cheesestrings, would be. I don't like Cheesestrings but they have tried them and they have realised actually they don't taste like very nice cheese, so they get over that. But no I would rather there wasn't the constant barrage of things thrown at me or thrown at them.

I   Who decides what everyone eats?

G   We get a bit of decision but mum usually decides and we get to choose like say fish fingers or lasagne. That's really all we get to choose from.

M   Yes, I mean, if they strongly dislike something we tend not to have it. However, they will have things they are not particularly keen on just because I've got three children so it can't always be everyone's favourite the whole time. And when they did go through a phase of moaning particularly at me relentlessly every evening, I gave them a piece of paper and said right you work out what you want to eat for that week and as long as it's balanced, it's got some veg in there and so on then that's exactly what we will have. And they were oh yes yes we'll do that and they went off. But of course they couldn't agree between the two of them, I think they possibly got to two maybe three meals and then realised that, you know, it is quite difficult sometimes. But you say things that you like, don't you? Like you said this week you wanted roast pork at the supermarket and you happened to be with me, so we happen to have a piece of pork to roast.

I   What about at school, do you have school dinners or packed lunch?

B   School dinners.

G   Yeah.

I   Do you get a choice there?

B   We've got like main course and a salad bar and a vegetarian choice and there is pudding of fruit and then yoghurts, so there is quite a selection.

M   So that is a choice of about three things to choose from?

B   Yeah three things to eat for the pudding and the other courses.

I   Have the school dinners changed a lot?

G   Well I go to a different school to B. But before our school dinners weren't very nice, but they have changed lots so we get much more sort of roasts and we don't get much chips and things.

I   Is that the same at yours?

B   Well school dinners have got a bit nicer than they were before when I started.

M   I think, well B has only been at his school for, this is only the end of your second year isn't

	it?
B	Yeah.
M	And they both go to private school and so I think it's slight different from state school where its recently undergone the big push with Jamie Oliver, I think. At both their schools a group of parents got together and said' look we're fed up with the amount of pizza and chips on the menu' so they have sort of radicalised it a bit. Yeah I think L's school, I tend to hear that they have chips and things a bit more often, I think at Westpoint you are a bit healthier, aren't you? But then it's partly because B likes things like salad whereas G would be more likely to go and choose pie and chips every day, wouldn't you?
I	When you go to the supermarket what influences what you buy?
M	For me? I suppose I feel quite strongly about buying the best that we can afford. And because we are lucky enough to have a fairly good income, I would tend to buy organic. I would tend fair trade, I would tend to look at the labels and see where it's come from, not have it flown around the world several times. And just then again, I've got in the back of mind the likes and dislikes and just a mixture of picking what looks good and fresh and so on. And what the children likes and what we fancy. We tend to eat very often separately to them in the evenings, so we can be a bit more, sort of, be a bit more interesting maybe with the food we are having, not quite as limited.
I	How much of the decision is taken before you go to the supermarket and how much is when you are there?
M	I make my mind up when I'm there. What looks good and what looks fresh, so you get to the veg and the meat first, that's the way I shop basically, and then I'll top it up with the local shops.
I	Can you remember the last time you asked mum to buy you something from the supermarket?
B	That was probably this Monday.
G	On Monday, we were just, was it profiteroles?
M	I think it was virtually everything as we were going around in your case.
B	I wanted that chocolate pudding thing and L wasn't here.
M	Oh yes.
M	I must admit that is when the nagging is ferocious, when, during the holidays when they are coming round with me, and every single thing of bright packaging or whatever, 'oh oh can we have this, oh oh can we have this' and to a certain extent I resist, but I know that I can't entirely because the shopping always comes to about £30 more when they are with me, and we end up with puddings and biscuits and so on which I probably wouldn't have bought pre-made stuff like that if they hadn't been there nagging. So it has more effect on me than I like to admit.
I	What kinds of things attract you when you go to the supermarket?
G	Usually stuff I've tried before, like if you've made you know a pudding or meal and we've tried a bit, like if it's an adult meal and we've tried a bit or we've stayed up late to have it, I'd usually pick something say if I'd just tried that I'd pick something.
B	I usually pick different things, I try different things that we haven't had before.
I	Is it the packaging?
B	Not really I'm more interested in what's in it.
M	Yeah I would have said B was, for instance at the fish counter, he would look at the different sorts of fish and decide he would try something new. G always had a more limited appetite in terms of trying new things so she, I think, is probably more as she says, she likes things like the profiteroles and things, and yes, 'I like those, can we have those?'. But she wouldn't think about trying something new as much, would you? So if it's done up in packaging and looks more accessible then it's more appealing, isn't it?
G	It's mostly if I've seen it.
M	Well all your little cheeses, little cheeses wrapped up in packaging, yoghurts wrapped up in bits of packaging, and don't know, crisps I suppose, you would ask me for, wouldn't you?
G	Now and again, not very much.
M	Crisps, sweets but we don't eat a lot of processed food so I guess they don't automatically choose that. Not when I'm around anyway.
I	When mum goes on her own when you are at school do you ever ask her to get you things?
B	Sometimes if I've been to a friend's house or something and I ask if we could have that.
G	Or if say, I can't remember when it was, I decided to make curry, and I say I'd want to

	make it and I'd ask you to get the things which usually we have.
M	Things like, what are those bars you like?
G	Go-bars.
M	Go-bars yes, things like that you've asked me to get.
I	Do you have your own money to spend? Like pocket money or birthday money?
B	We get £2 every Saturday so I usually save £1 and spend £1.
G	I, we are allowed to spend about 50p sometimes or £1 on sweets if we're lucky.
M	Depends if we are in an expensive sweet shop like Coco where you don't get as much for your money. Then you're allowed to spend more than 50p, aren't you?
I	What other things do you spend your money on?
G	I've taken to saving up for clothes, the sort of things, the cheap, well not cheap shops, things like H&M where I can get clothes quite cheaply. So just a new top or something.
B	I quite, I usually save up for games or something, Xbox or DS.
M	Quite a gender division there.
I	I'm going to show you some cards with pictures of the different ways the food companies try and encourage you to buy their products. As we look at them I need you to tell me if you can recognise them and also how often you see this kind of thing. You can choose from lots where you see it all the time, some where you see it every few weeks, little where you have only seen it a few times and none where you have never seen it. I'll start with an easy one. TV advertising, how often do you seen adverts on the TV for food and drink?
G	Quite a lot.
B	Quite a lot.
G	Sometimes it depends on what channel we're watching because they don't usually have adverts on CBBC, we do see loads a lot.
I	Can you think of which ones you have seen?
B	Usually sweets or something.
G	Cereal, things like Burger King and McDonalds, the sort of you know fast food restaurants, a lot of those.
B	Yeah.
M	You can tell the kind of programmes I must watch because mine are all slimming products, thinking about it. Special K and things like that. They don't miss a trick, do they, with what programmes they have and what adverts. It's all very tailored.
I	Staying with advertising, this time do you have any comics?
G	I get them occasionally but they don't usually have that sort of thing in them.
B	I have this subscription thing, every four weeks I get two magazines. And I have to pay £2.50 for them each.
M	Are there lots of adverts in there?
B	Adverts for, no not really, there's just the things about Doctor Who cards and stuff. So not a lot of advertising,
G	Occasionally you see like, very occasionally, there's like worm sort of sweets and the things that are nice and sort of cheap, they show those sorts of things and yoghurts, but that's about all, I don't really see them in magazines.
I	So would you say some or a little?
G	Probably rather go for a little.
B	Little.
M	There's lots of advertising for other products other than food
G	Em (slight pause) but I haven't really seen any food. It's more sort of clothes.
M	But toys, you're very influenced by that's something I've noticed. And I think even at eleven and nine they now realise when they see something either in a magazine or on TV and they ask for it for Christmas or a birthday or they save up and get it, it's a complete disappointment.
G	When I've seen a review of books or films they're good.
M	Yeah that's slightly different.
I	Do you mean when someone has written a review?
G	Yeah, I read those a lot because it really influences that sort of thing.
I	Have you seen any advertising in any of your computer games which you play on your Xbox or DS?
G	Not companies.
B	Not companies.
G	I've got one Sims game but it hasn't got any food at all in it.

M	So it might not be food, it might be a shoe shop.
G	Yeah, I have had that sort of thing.
M	Have you had particular shoe shops though?
G	No, they just have shops and they make up names not like the ones we go to.
M	Right.
B	I don't notice them.
G	I've never actually seen one.
I	Do you use the internet and what sites do you go on?
G	When I'm on a website they usually sort of pop up around the page, but I just ignore them because I'm not interested in that sort of thing.
B	Same with me I think. But then you don't usually see them.
G	I think at one point B found a website, it was Nestle, that Nestle website or Bubblegum website or something. Oh you found a Bubblegum website to advertise some sort of bubble gum, a Nestle one, but we didn't really look at the advertising sort of thing.
B	I only play games on the computer.
M	But some websites are by the food manufacturer, like the Kinder Eggs, I know you haven't done that recently but that particular website and then you play a game, or do you not?
I	Have you been to any company website maybe to get recipes or play the games?
G	With my French project I had to find recipes so I went on websites for recipes but they didn't have any sort of big companies with them it was just sort of things I'd never heard of.
B	I don't really see any of them.
I	When you go on to the Internet to play games which websites do you go on?
B	It's usually just game websites.
G	Yeah because he goes on minileaf (? Not clear) a lot and things like that, but they don't really have those sort of adverts on them.
I	Where do you want to put it?
G & B	Little.
I	What about when you go to the supermarket, there are a few things there that you might come across. Have you ever bought any product because there has been a competition on the packet?
G	I haven't.
B	Sometimes, like the red nose ears one in Walkers crisps.
G	Oh yeah you bought that because he wanted to get that but he never really did it. I've never bought anything.
B	I've never bought anything and did the competition.
B	Shall we say little?
G	Yeah because you did it about once.
I	This one might be more for mum, price promotions.
G	You get them a lot if it's something you want to buy and you think it would be good to have a spare.
M	Yes I'll always look at what is on offer as you do as a mum, but I would have said I very rarely get something on offer that I haven't tried before that I don't already use. Like seeing the Pringles there, I think I did that because it was the start of the Easter holidays, and yes, we had a couple of tubes of Pringles, didn't we?
G	Yes.
B	But those mini ones, like those mini packets.
M	Oh yes. That's a lot I would go for BOGOF.
I	Vouchers to collect.
G	We get them for school a lot.
B	It's quite a lot at school but I don't usually get any vouchers.
G	I did it mostly when I was at my old school, Eatonbar,
B	Me too yeah, I did it at Eatonbar as well.
G	We just really got them if we were sort of offered them, didn't we?
B	Yes or we got them or something.
G	We didn't go out for them.
M	Their schools very rarely seem to collect.
G	They are doing a sport's one at the moment.
M	I never know which one is going on because they don't, so yes I am always getting offered, but it's only sometimes I'm actually taking them.
I	Here we have food specially for designed for children.

357

G	We don't really get them anymore, we got them a bit, those sort of Dairylea ones but then...
M	(Interrupting G) You went through a phase really quite wanting Dairylea ones.
B	No, we don't usually get them anymore.
M	We don't, we've never really bought a lot of that sort of thing, but when they were a little bit younger they really wanted it.
G	Bit like the cheese straws as well.
M	Yeah and those disgusting yoghurts you suck out of a bit of plastic instead of using a spoon...
G	(Interrupting mum) They're beautiful.
M	And all the pasta shapes, B a few years ago was in to Scooby-doo, and you know so if it has Scooby-doo on the tin he wanted it. It didn't matter I was saying it's the same as spaghetti hoops and you don't really like then.
B	I'd say little.
M	There was probably more pressure two to three years ago. I think when G was about four when she was heavily into Barbie, you know it would be the Barbie pasta, Barbie toothbrush, Barbie, you know chocolate bar or whatever it was and the same for B and Scooby-doo.
G	Once I got older I was into Bratz a lot, but I didn't really get that sort of thing because I wasn't so into it.
M	Yeah, I guess you would indiscriminately want it just because of the picture on the packet at a certain age.
I	So shall we put it on some but bearing in mind it was a while ago not so much now?
M & B	Yes.
I	What about free-gifts?
G	We used to get that quite a lot.
B	We used to take turns.
G	We used to get that a lot but we've stopped now.
M	Partly because the amount of blood shed that it caused.
G	But now we sort of get things like, I prefer healthier cereal.
B	Yes.
G	Because I like it more. Things like honey, and things with, well honey and oats and that sort of thing, that's sort of my favourite.
M	The cereal is quite an interesting one, because when they first started having cereal and obviously I was in complete control they would have things like Weetabix or porridge, and then, they got to the age where I guess through TV because they didn't see it anywhere else, they were nagging for things like Coco-pops and Cinnamon Grahams and all that sort of thing. And I resisted for a while, and I thought well I'll just let them have some of those, and so it was definitely a two prong thing of wanting the sugary cereal and then again, it's those sugary cereals that tend to have the free gifts. But I think it's partly they have grown up and they have realised that the free gifts are a bit rubbish.
B	Yeah.
G	But now very occasionally, if it's like a cereal I want, say Cheerios, we might get on with, it's usually one with a book in.
B	A book or a CD.
M	But you tend not to want Coco-pops or whatever either, do you?
G	No.
M	So I guess the type of cereals that we buy tend not to possibly have the free toys in them now. But again, that's because their tastes have become a bit more adult.
I	But you were saying with the ears for Comic Relief you were wanting to get those.
B	Yes.
I	So maybe if the gift changed to something you were now interested in would you still be attracted?
B	Maybe.
M	I think if they were aiming, if they were music CDs and so on G would be nagging relentlessly whatever crud was in the box, she would want it. Think it's, I mean they are too old for things like the Incredibles and little whatever the current Disney film is basically, they have sort of out grown that a bit, but yeah if it was like a free CD rom for the computer or something they...
G	(Interrupting mum) They never really work.

M And of course now you are at big school you are not often at the supermarket with me, so it's me that is making the choices generally isn't it? But yes, at one stage that was the bane of my life, whose turn it was to open the box.

I Did you ever get to the point where you had to buy more, you had to buy 2 packets just to …

G (Interrupting I) You did once or twice. I remember you getting it once or twice, and we'd get the little toy thing first then we'd eat the cereal.

M I guess we might have bought more as a result of the children being drawn to the gift but actually not particularly liking the cereal, but I never had to buy another box to try and get that free gift. I never succumbed that far.

G You did once or twice.

M I didn't.

G I mean like you'd buy two of the cereal and we wouldn't eat it and we'd get the toy thing first.

M If I was buying cereal I would have made sure that they both had equal free gifts in or otherwise my life wouldn't have been worth living.

I So where do you want to put it?

G Some because it was sort of a while ago.

B Yeah.

I So when you have products tied into movie or TV characters…

B (Interrupting I) I remember, I think for a few months I quite liked this X-Men cereal, I think. And that had a toy in it but that wasn't very interesting.

M Oh yes, you were trying to collect, didn't you try and collect those?

B Yeah, but I stopped because they stopped doing…

G (Interrupting G) It was a while ago, I was quite into this Groovy Chick series, I had it at Grandmas' and I didn't really get it because of the characters, I got it because I like it. It's not sort of the character that affects us now.

I When you going around the supermarket, would having this kind of picture on it attract your eye?

B Not usually, usually with yoghurts it's like young characters from movies.

G But say it was Doctor Who or you got some free Doctor Who card you'd want it wouldn't you?

M If there was a packet of yoghurt, you know those four packs of yoghurt and one was whatever your favourite flavour is, so say it had raspberry and pineapple and lots of quite nice things and the other one was a four pack of Doctor Who yoghurt , what one would you want?

B It would depend if the Doctor Who had anything else.

M No it didn't have anything free with it.

B Then I'd go for the nice ones.

M Yeah, again I think we're slightly passed that stage. There was a time.

G That would more come into little because that was hardly…

T (Interrupting G) But I think again, I would have probably tried to steer you away from that so even at the time I don't suppose we bought a lot of that stuff.

G Little.

I The last one for inside the supermarkets is when supermarket has special displays.

G Do you mean if it was really colourful and bright you might be tempted?

I Rather than just having a product on the shelves they might have a little unit where you can try a bit.

G D is very into that. We only sort of try it because it's free, and we decide to try it but we never really buy it if we like it.

B I do that quite a lot like.

G The last time we went down…

M (Interrupting G) The week before last at Waitrose you got like a three course meal. He wanted, in fact they did coffee afterwards and B was trying to get in the queue for a free coffee as well. That was a bumper week, wasn't it?

B But this week there was only cucumber.

M Yeah that was a bit rubbish wasn't it?

G If we like it a lot, we divert, you say, it would either be sort of unhealthy or we'd already have it. Because there was like the lamb and we liked it but we'd already buy that sort of thing. And then there would be some sort of chocolate yoghurt thing and it would be nice

	but it was really unhealthy so we wouldn't get it.
B	Yeah.
G	So it wouldn't really make us buy, would you? Do you think? It doesn't really.
B	No.
M	No, because they tend to be the more processed sugary pre-packaged sort of stuff that I indoctrinate them not to like.
G	So do you think it's none?
I	How often do you come across it?
G	We come across it a lot.
B	A little.
M	Well I would say a little and we do occasionally succumb, I'm sure when they had one with those little fruit shoots H2O things, you said 'oh can we have them?' 'Oh all right' so.
G	Oh yeah, but we get those at pubs and so.
B	You mean those clear things?
M	Yes, I'm sure that's what they were.
I	We're now coming away from the supermarket and moving onto toys. Have you ever had any toys that have had company names on them?
G	You mean like they sponsor something like that.
I	These examples are the McDonalds Burger Bar and Sainsbury's play food.
G	G2 (younger sister) has a lot of that but it's made up and...
B	(Interrupting G) Yeah it's made up.
G	We wouldn't buy it just because it had names on it.
B	No not usually.
B	So I'd say none.
G	G2 where's your food?
M	She's thrown it all around the place.
G	They don't have any names on it.
M	They have made up names, don't they?
G	It's got like French on them or something.
G	She's not really bothered if they have Sainsbury's name on them or not.
M	Saying that you've got things like Coco-Cola pencil case, haven't you?
G	That's quite, it's sort of, it's, we got it because...
B	(Interrupting G) There is quite a lot of room in it.
G	As well.
B	I wasn't really because it had Coca-Cola on it.
M	But if it said pink fizzy pop you wouldn't have bought it, would you?
B	No.
G	I wouldn't really buy that but at one point it was really in at my school and loads of people had that sort of thing. I think it was Smarties but it was because it was, it wasn't because they like that sort of food, mostly, because it was sort of, because it was like a can and then it just had your pencil in, almost like a secret type of thing. But it wasn't secret because everyone had them, but it was that sort of things not because they loved the food.
I	Even so it was getting their name among you?
G	Yes.
I	Some or a little?
B	I'd say little.
G	Yeah.
I	Let's stick with school, what about actually in your school?
G	Oh we had vending machines.
B	We don't.
M	Have you had them all taken away now your vending machines?
G	Yes the homemade cookies are nicer, I'm told the cookies are much nicer and they're cheaper as well.
B	We don't have anything like that.
I	Do you have companies come into your school such as Sainsbury's here talking about healthy eating?
G	Oh yeah we've got that. They did that in the senior school.
B	We're collecting some tokens I think about that.
G	Yeah and were collecting tokens and things like that as well.
B	We didn't have anyone from Sainsbury's come in.

G	I think someone did the senior school because it was starting to get, everyone would go and buy pizza and chips because they were allowed to do it as seniors. So they tried to encourage people, they couldn't exactly stop them because it was really their choice, they were old enough.
M	G is in the last year of juniors so they are a bit more kind of channelled and restricted. I think next year when you start year seven it will be a bit of a challenge for you, wont it?
G	We're allowed to buy fizzy drinks but that's only on a couple of days and we are allowed to buy cookies all week, but I'm only allowed to buy then once a week.
M	Food police or what? (Laughing)
B	I think in our old school on special occasions like Halloween or something they'd have juice instead of water.
G	Yeah they had that, we used to have some sort of, what was it, some American day, but they stopped that. They would have just loads of stuff that was really unhealthy.
I	So can we put in on little because you know about it but haven't had it yourselves? (G and B nod)
I	Do get recommendations from your friends?
G	It would usually be something like, if it's say no uniform day and I say I like someone's top and they tell me where they got it, I might go and get that, or it's usually clothes or things like books, like little diary types of things, notebooks, that we have at school.
B	It's usually Xbox games that people have got that are really good. But usually they are twelve so I'm not allowed to have them.
G	But it's not really food.
M	Yeah, I think you'd probably be more influenced if you went to somebody's house and you tried something that you'd never had before and thought yum that's nice. Do you talk about food very much?
G	Probably, no not very much at all,
M	Not as much as I do I'm sure.
I	Shall we put that on little for when you go to friend's houses?
G & B	Yeah.
I	Next is product placement. Can you remember seeing food companies in either TV programmes or films?
G	Oh yeah, they have them at football matches, when I'm flicking channels, all the way around the …
B	(Interrupting G) All the way round the course, like Coca-Cola.
G	They have sponsor things, I try and watch the X-factor when it's on, I don't know why. You just get into it when it starts, they have sponsor by Nokia or something but not really food.
M	But what about when they actually have like a drink? When Simon is sitting there and he's got a big can of Pepsi or whatever.
G	Oh yeah sometimes, very occasionally,
B	Not usually.
M	I don't know how much they would consciously recognise that.
G	Think about that sort of thing…
M	(Interrupting G) I think when I watching TV I'm quite interested, I mean that seems to be the new advertising at the moment, doesn't it? For James Bond to have his Sony Erickson and his Seiko watch and his, as you say going into Starbucks. So I notice that a lot but probably but just because I'm interested in that.
G	In movies they have a lot of recognisable brands.
M	Yeah.
G	They have a lot of things like, lots of things like Gap and Debenhams.
B	Marks and Spencer and stuff. Big companies.
G	Yeah I've seen, I've even seen Starbucks that sort of thing.
B	They are usually quite big companies.
G	Yeah ones you'd recognise straight away if you saw the name.
M	That's because they can pay to get put on film.
I	So where shall we put that one?
G	A lot because you just sort of see it everywhere.
B	Yeah.
M	You'll notice it more now won't you? You'll look out for it now.
I	Next is sponsorship.
B	I think in our school, in the say, the football team, we have special shirts that we wear and

361

	they are sponsored by something. So say we are against another school or something we'd have our team sponsored by someone.
I	Can you remember who they have been sponsored by?
B	No not really, I just remember seeing the logo mid-way up their thing.
G	We've got, I've seen them on, the swimming awards I used to do at Virgin were sponsored by Frosties and at school our bibs for hockey and, well just really for hockey, we, they've got sponsored by some sort of cereal, I can't remember and I've seen it sort of you know, everywhere you sort of see things sponsored by companies.
B	Usually on TV
M	That was defiantly Kellogg's, I can't remember what youth team is sponsored by.
B	Usually TV programmes are sponsored by big companies.
G	That's the one you notice the most.
B	Yeah I'd say some.
G	I'd say lots because you just sort of see it everywhere.
B	Yeah lots.
I	So we know how often you come across these things but which ones when you see them have made you want to buy the food or ask mum to buy the food?
G	I would say, I know I haven't sort of we don't really talk about things, but word of mouth that sort of thing because you know your friend's tried it, even though it's never sort of happened, it would be the sort of thing that I'd…
I	Like a recommendation?
G	Yeah.
B	You usually like eating the same sort of things as your friends do, so you'd know that you would like that kind of thing of food.
G	Yeah, because at drama that I go to a lot of people say 'oh have you got blady blady' some sort of crisps or something in your sandwich and they'll say 'oh I'll get that tomorrow because I like it', that sort of thing. But I've never really had that. But that's the thing that would make me want it.
B	When someone has said that I never usually get the chance to ask my mum if we can have that kind of food or something.
M	Why's that? Because I'm strict and I'll say no you'll not having that rubbish.
B	Usually because it's like sweets or something, you probably wouldn't like it.
G	I got into trying to bake brownies because Maddie's mum had made them but that's not really a type of product.
M	I think they are more influenced that they know about the images that they see whether it's on the computer or on the TV.
G	It's some sort of brain control.
M	Well yes it is to some extent.
G	Like you and that bag.
M	Bags are different, bags are a necessary part of life as are shoes! (Laughing)
G	It was just that bag.
M	I'm going to have to take it back now.
I	Can you think of any company that use more than one of these and which ones they use together?
G	I'd say cereal because they have got like this (pointing to TV advertising) and then they've got free gifts and then they've got, what's the other one, they do lots of sponsors and they've got websites as well. It's mostly cereal and drink.
B	There's quite a lot with different kinds of phones and stuff as well.
G	But that's not edible.
M	I think it's the cereals at the moment because I would have said things like McDonalds only they're on a bit of a downer at the moment, but I think cereals are trying to cash in on the fact that they are still claiming to be healthy, still saying we're multi-grain, we're whatever, so they are still managing to pervade their TV and sports equipment. But obviously something like Frosties is, probably one of its main ingredient is sugar. So I think you two are right, I think it is cereals.
B	There are some people who say they really like McDonalds at school then if someone says that then someone else says their chicken nuggets are made out of chicken claws or something.
G	They must be. We don't like McDonalds.
I	Which ones do you think have the biggest effect working together?

G	It's either word of mouth or sponsorship.
B	Or the cereal stuff.
I	Are there any of these that you think that companies shouldn't be allowed to use when targeting children?
M	Well I don't think companies should be allowed to target children full stop. In an ideal world I don't think they should be allowed to do any of those things. Well there are obviously things like price promotions, those aren't really aimed at children and I'm into BOGOF so that one could stay. But no, I don't like the advertising and I don't like the product placement, I don't like the sponsorship as it stands at the moment, because it's all complete crud that is doing the sponsoring, I don't like the free-gifts, I hate these children's supposedly children's food, if you gave them nothing but these I don't think they'd grow.
I	Would you object to things like the free gifts and the TV advertising if it was perhaps for healthier foods?
M	Yes probably I wouldn't object to them. I just think in this country we've got this idea of children's food in inverted commas, and we go off and buy ourselves organic chicken breasts and a nice green salad, and then we give our children Bob the Builder spaghetti hoops.
G	Don't you think something like that is bad because, say if they don't have it and then they have got their favourite character and they go and their character likes to eat this food they are going to think oh because my character looks really cool I want to look like that I'll eat that food.
M	Yes I think that's quite possible. I didn't even know McDonalds would be allowed to have a virtual shop in a Sims game. I think they are counting on the fact that grown-ups don't bother to look at the Sims games only look at the rating very often. So yes, I suppose yes, if they were healthier, so say the sponsorship maybe if it was Weetabix not Frosties I wouldn't be as up in arms. But I just hate all this, you know children's food, children's cereal.
I	Are there any one that companies use that really make you feel bad of the company?
M	I don't think I would particularly, I would have said up to recently McDonalds but they're obviously been forced to take a back seat, so yes I suppose McDonalds was always the one that would particularly cheese me off with the toy that was linked to the film that they wanted to watch. We certainly just for an easy life would eat a lot of McDonald's meals, kids would have a happy meal and I think the same with cereals that are masquerading under oh this is healthy whereas the fact it isn't. I wouldn't have said at the moment there was a particular company that I'd noticed. I think it's just an overall kind of barrage of information.
I	Do you feel any of these are more underhand than others?
M	Yes, they use the same underhand techniques for adults but I think it's obviously particularly unacceptable when it's children. And I think just listening to my kids just now they don't realise product placement goes on, they don't realise how much they are affected by TV advertising and sponsorship and so on. So yes probably things like product placement, things appearing in computer games, and vending machines in schools, I think those are all, I would say they were more underhand.
I	What is your view on the PR?
G	Sainsbury's sell healthy food as well though.
M	Sainsbury's sell a load of rubbish as well. I wouldn't want any public relations company going in to my children's school purely because that's the business they are in, public relations, giving a skewed view of what they do. I mean my sister-in-law works for the Milk Marketing Board so you know she'll tell you about the virtues of milk till the cows come home. But you don't get the other side. So purely for that reason, on the face of it there's nothing wrong with Sainsbury's going in and saying eat more salad and do this and do that, but I don't want Sainsbury's to do it, I think teachers, the teachers could do it.
I	Are you aware of the changes that are taking place within food marketing to children?
M	Well certainly I'm aware that they are looking at banning the advertising but I'm also aware that TV advertising is now not as effective as it used to be. Because obviously we've got a lot more channels, and I suppose before if you had an advert on ITV and there were only two lots of children's programmes they could be watching they had a big share of that, didn't they? Whereas now with the digital channels and so on it's not as effective. So they are obviously moving out into these other areas anyway, so I think the fact that they are going to ban it on prime time TV really is not going to have that much effect. It would be far

more effective I think to ban these sorts of children's foods so that they can't link up characters with movies. So having a Bratz cereal or a Bob the Builder tin of spaghetti hoops. G2 (daughter) is two now and I know that within a year, two years that's going to be at fever pitch. You know, she's not at school yet, she'll be at the supermarket with me every week and I know, like I did the first time round, I will get nagged into the occasional thing, you know, against my better judgement. Yeah, I think things are changing, but I don't think they are necessarily changing for the better because I think it was kind of open, out in the open, where the advertising was, now it's just more insidious so probably a bit more dangerous really.

I   Are there any that you would want to see banned?

M   Yes that (pointing to tie-ins and children's food), that I seem to be banging on about, I didn't realise I felt so strongly about it. But you know what other country in the world other than the States has this kind of crap that we feed our children. I think children's food. If they could get rid of these tie-ins with, they get them hooked to a character, be it the latest film or book series or whatever it is, they can obviously have a lot of advertising for that because that is completely legal, and then they link it in with the food. So suddenly all the power of that advertising is aimed at tin of hoops or that packet of crisps or whatever. And I think it's appalling.

I   Again is it as bad regardless of the food it is on?

M   I think it would be very hard to draw the line so I think you do just probably, I mean there is no need for it at all, it's just companies trying to make more money. So really I think a blanket ban on linking characters to particular food stuff would help parents to get out of this mind-set that this is, you know, this is children's food.

I   As a parent do you think you are aware or told enough about what companies are allowed and not allowed to do?

M   Well I suppose the thing is, if you are reasonably educated middle class person, you are reading the newspapers or listening to the radio programmes or the current affairs programme on the TV where these things are broadcast and if you're not you don't get that information, you probably don't know enough to go and seek out the information. But on the other hand, like with the backlash to school dinners and so on, I don't think you can force people to accept the information and take it on board and change. So I suppose that is why it is important to look at these sort of things to at least not have the pester power thing from children. But then with things like the advertising ban, people don't actually need to know the ins and outs and why it's been brought in, they just need the adverts to disappear, don't they? It doesn't matter they don't know why the adverts have disappeared but they just have. I guess. I don't think there has been an awful lot about it in the media. I don't think I'm particularly more interested than anyone else about those issues, I'm interested in feeding my children properly. And I'm interested in keeping a vague eye on what is going on.

I   Thank you for your time and finally do you have any questions for me?

M   No I don't think so.

11.6 Appendix 6: Information sheet

Participant Information Sheet
(Families)

1. **Research Project Title:**
   Measuring the Impact of Integrated Marketing Communications Campaigns on Children in the UK Food Industry: Complexities and Solutions

2. **Invitation paragraph**
   You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide it is important to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

3. **What is the purpose of the project?**
   The purpose of the project is to build a framework that will help both companies and regulators measure the effects that integrated marketing campaigns have on their intended audience. The objective of the interviews is to ascertain your views on how current food and soft drink campaigns impact on children.
   The project is likely to take around two years from now to complete.

4. **Why have I been chosen?**
   Families that take part in this project have volunteered after either having seen an advertisement or through being recommended by other participants. It is expected that between 10 and 15 families will take part in the research.

5. **Do I have to take part?**
   It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. Refusal to take part will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form). If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time, without penalty or loss of benefits, to which the participant is otherwise entitled.

6. **What will happen to me if I take part?**
   You and your family will be asked to participate in an interview that should last for approximately 1 hour. It is expected that each family will only be asked to take part in a single interview, however, it may be that once all the data has been analysed you will be re-contacted to offer your views on the results. Again you will be free to decline without any loss of benefit. It is envisaged that the researcher will come to see you at a place and time that are convenient for you.

7. **What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**
   It is not expected that the participants will encounter any disadvantages or risks by taking part in the project.

8. **What are the possible benefits of taking part?**
   Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those people taking part in the project, it is hoped that the framework that is developed will help provide all those within this industry a clearer insight into how food and soft drink integrated marketing campaigns impact on children.

Date: 17th November 2005   **Name of Applicant: Nicola Tuck**   1

9.   **What if something goes wrong?**
        If you unhappy in any way with any actions taken by the researcher, before, during or
        after the interview, then you should initially contact Dr Caroline Oates (The University
        of Sheffield Management School, 9 Mappin Street, Sheffield, S1 4DT, Tel: 0114 222
        3448, Email: c.j.oates@sheffield.ac.uk) who is the supervising this project. Following
        that, you should contact the University's Registrar and Secretary (The University of
        Sheffield, Western Bank Sheffield S10 2TN UK, Tel: 0114 222 2000)

10.   **Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?**
        All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be
        kept strictly confidential. Any information about you which is disseminated will have
        your name and address strictly removed so that you cannot be recognised from it.

11.   **What will happen to the results of the research project?**
        The full results of this project will be published in the researcher's PhD thesis, in
        approximately two to three years time. Parts of the findings maybe published at
        academic conferences and within academic journals within the marketing
        communications field. Should the results be published the participant is welcome to
        request a copy from the researcher. No persons who took part in the project will be
        identified in any of the publications.

12.   **Who is organising and funding the research?**
        This research is funded by the University of Sheffield Management School.

13.   **Who has reviewed the project?**
        This project has been reviewed the Management School's Departmental Ethics
        Review Procedure.

20.   **Contact for further information**
        Ms Nicki Tuck   Dr Caroline Oates (Supervisor)
        The University of Sheffield Management School   As across
        9 Mappin Street
        Sheffield
        S1 4DT
        Tel: 0114 222 3498   Tel: 0114 222 3448
        Email: n.tuck@sheffield.ac.uk   Email: c.j.oates@sheffield.ac.uk

**Thank you for taking part in this project, you will be provided with a copy of this
Participant Information Sheet, and if appropriate, a signed Participant Consent Form
to keep.**

11.7 Appendix 7: Consent form

University of Sheffield

Participant Consent Form

Title of the Project: Measuring the Impact of Integrated Marketing Communications on Children in the UK Food Industry: Complexities and Solutions

Name of Researcher: Nicola Tuck

Participant Identification Number for this project:

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 17.11.05 for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

3. I understand that my responses will be anonymised before analysis. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses.

4. I agree to take part in the above project.

Name of Participant	Date	Signature

Name of Person taking consent (if different from researcher)	Date	Signature

Nicola Tuck

Researcher	Date	Signature

Copies:

One copy for the participant and one copy for the Principal Investigator / Supervisor.

Date: 17th November 2005   **Name of Applicant: Nicola Tuck**