

**Advertising to Tomorrow's Teens:
The Construction and
Significance of the Tweenage
Market in Australia**

By

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A thesis submitted for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

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Certificate of original authorship

I, Nipa Saha, declare that this thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise reference or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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Acknowledgements

Thank you to my previous supervisor Professor Robert Crawford for his support and guidance throughout this project's development. His helpful comments and suggestions on drafts helped me to clarify my arguments. I would like to convey my appreciation to my current supervisor, Dr Catriona Bonfiglioli, whose support, thoughtful guidance, and advice and mentorship made completing this project possible. I appreciate her expert and constructive feedback on my drafts during the final stage of my PhD. She was always there to revise my chapters and to help me through many problems. I also appreciate the assistance and support of Professor Hilary Yerbury and Dr Alex Munt. I am extremely grateful to be a recipient of the UTS International Research Scholarship.

I would like to thank Dr Sharon Rundle who took the time to proofread my conclusion chapter. My heartfelt thanks to my friend Dr Shashi Sharma for her continuous guidance, support and friendship. I appreciate the thoughtful insights and knowledge she shared with me and her continuous encouragement during my dissertation process. I would like to thank Shaonee Rahman for pushing me, for believing in me, and for being so generous in her support of this endeavour. A big thanks to Dr Benjamin Hackel, Dr Irna Sari, Dr Hamid Ghous, Dr Sandris Zeivots, Dr Vivien Chan, Marie Palmer and Ming Tang who have provided me collegial support as well as friendship and encouragement.

I would like to thank my cousin, Dr Pranab Das, for both inspiring and encouraging me to pursue my doctoral degree.

A special thanks to my friend Shahana, for her love and encouragement. Thanks to my buddy Asad, who propped me up whenever I was discouraged.

Special thanks also go to my uncle, Swarup Kumar Saha, and his wife, Kali Saha, for giving me so much support throughout my life.

I am indebted to my mother for her love and always being there. She always wanted me to obtain a Doctorate. I've almost made it Mum! I would like to thank to sister and my brother-in-law Sajal Saha for their love and continuous support.

I also want to thank to my husband, my dearest Debashis Natta, who has patiently supported me throughout my PhD. Without your support, I would not have completed my doctoral program. I dedicate this work to my beloved father, Shankar Nath Saha, who is no longer with us.

This work was professionally edited by Jessica Cox according to the *National Guidelines for Editing Research Theses*.

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List of abbreviations

AANA	Australian Association of National Advertisers
AASAA	Australian Advertising Standards Advisory Authority
ABA	Australian Broadcasting Authority
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ABT	Australian Broadcasting Tribunal
ACA	Australian Communication Authority
ACB	Advertising Claims Board
ACCC	Australian Consumer Complaints Commission
ACL	Australian Consumer Law
ACMA	Australian Communications and Media Authority
AFA	Advertising Federation of Australia
AFC	Australian Food Council
AFGC	Australian Food and Grocery Council
ALRC	Australian Law Reform Commission
ASB	Advertising Standards Bureau
ASC	Advertising Standards Council
AWARD	Australasian Writers and Art Directors Association
BHF	British Heart Foundation
BUGA-UP	Billboard Utilising Graffitists Against Unhealthy Promotions
CCSI	Contemporary Community Safeguards Inquiry
CSR	Corporate Social responsibility
CTS	Children's Television Standards
DCITA	Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts
FMCG	Fast-Moving Consumer Goods
FSANZ	Food Standards Australia and New Zealand
HACCP	Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Point
MCA	Media Council of Australia
NGO	Non-government organisation
OPC	Obesity Policy Coalition
PHT	Preventative Health Taskforce
QSRI	Quick Service Restaurant Industry
RCMI	Responsible Marketing to Children Initiative

SNS	Social networking sites
TPC	Trade Practices Commission
WHO	World Health Organization

Abstract

Since the 1990s, the issue of advertising to children, especially the role of food advertising and childhood obesity, has been the subject of much debate. Advertising to tweens in the US has been well studied; however, research into Australian food marketing has yet to examine its significance for the vulnerable tweenage viewer. The Australian ‘tweenage’ market (children aged 6 to 12) consists of \$10 billion in spending each year in the Australian economy, yet very little is known about the Australian tweenage market. To examine the techniques and tactics advertisers use to market food products to tweens through Australian free-to air television, branded websites and Facebook pages, a mixed-methods approach was employed, combining content analysis, semiotic analysis and narrative literature review.

Building on the work of Williamson (1978a), semiotic analysis was used to investigate the advertisements’ ideological underpinnings. Chapters 4 to 7 demonstrate that food advertisements broadcast during C-classified time describe the taste of the advertised food products in terms of freshness; they promote the advertised products as healthy on the basis of their weight management, energy giving and mood-enhancement properties; they use humour-, fantasy- and happiness-related themes to bestow a particular brand identity, image or personality on the products; and they employed humour and fantasy as vehicles for evoking happiness.

Content analysis of the selected internet pages revealed that food company websites and Facebook pages promoted during children’s television programming contain advertisements, contests, social networking activities and membership benefits but, in order to engage in such activities, children have to register online as members by entering their names, addresses, ages, email addresses and other personal information into the companies’ online data gathering processes.

The research uses narrative literature review to examine the responses of the industry’s self-regulation system to the changing media environment. This study found that the government, public health organisations and the food industry responded to rapid changes within the advertising, marketing and media industries by formulating, evaluating and

amending advertising codes. This analysis concluded by demonstrating that the industry self-regulatory system has been unsuccessful in protecting children from exposure to unhealthy food advertising. Drawing upon the discoveries made during these investigations, conclusions and recommendations are presented, highlighting the need for a fresh approach to regulation and enforcement to protect tweens from the likely impacts of food and beverage advertising.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Children are widely recognised as an important part of society with special characteristics, vulnerabilities and needs including protection from physical danger, neglect, and other powerful influences on their chances of a good life. For example, research investigating overweight and obesity has characterised children as vulnerable to obesity in childhood, which predicts higher rates of obesity in adulthood. Children are also identified by various industries as a lucrative source of income through direct purchases and their pester power, which they use to influence adults' purchasing patterns. This makes them an attractive target for advertising of products including food and drinks.

Teenagers may have considerable disposable income and purchasing power, but they are capable of understanding and critiquing marketing messages and persuasive content. Just slightly younger than teens, and lacking their street smarts and cognitive skills, tweens are considered a lucrative and persuadable market to target. Tweens, defined in this thesis as being aged 10 to 12, cannot defend themselves from advertising's influence. Despite their vulnerability to sophisticated marketing and advertising, very few studies have investigated how advertising reaches and influences tweenagers. The present research was designed to investigate the nature of food and beverage advertising to tweenage Australians, with a view to uncovering significant features of this industry and their potential to contribute to unhealthy beliefs and behaviours in this vulnerable population.

Tweens are an important part of Australian society, who are increasingly recognised by the industry as a significant consumer group, because of their growing purchasing power and their influence on family purchase decisions. Despite this, research on the Australian tweenage advertising market is scarce. The effects of advertising on tweens, their ability to identify and understand commercial messages, and their consumption behaviour have

been debated and investigated for several decades (Cook 1999; Cook & Kaiser 2004; Hall 1987; Lindstrom 2003a; Lindstrom 2003b; Lindstrom 2004). Given the negative impact that advertising has had on children's food preferences and consumption, as well as its potential to contribute to overweight and obesity (see Escalante de Cruz, Phillips & Visch Mieke 2004; Hastings et al. 2003; Hawkes et al. 2015; Kraak, Gootman & McGinnis 2005; Nazari et al. 2011; Norman et al. 2018; Reisch et al. 2013), it is important to examine food advertisers' efforts to develop the Australian tweenage market and to contribute to the development of regulatory measures to restrict unhealthy food advertising to children.

Studies to date have focused largely on the extent, content and nature of food advertising; these studies (see Lee & Tseng 2006; Moon 2010; Roberts & Pettigrew 2007) have done so by identifying themes within their respective datasets. Intensive research has also been done on the effects of advertising' on children's consumption behaviours and attitudes (see Buijzen & Valkenburg 2003b; Comstock & Paik 1991; Kunkel 2001). Advertisers reinforce existing social ideologies so as to create false and unnecessary needs; they thus manufacture desire and demand for advertised products (Ago 2015; Williamson 1978). By using these social ideologies, advertisers can convince consumers that their products can satisfy their needs. Therefore, in order to investigate how food advertising is constructing the tweenage market, it is important to answer two questions: firstly, which meanings are constructed in food advertising; and secondly, how these meanings are being constructed on the basis of dominant social ideologies. The present study's original contribution to the body of knowledge is that it is the first comprehensive Australian study designed to deconstruct the hidden meanings of food advertising, by employing semiotic analysis of the key themes emerging from this study's content analysis of the food advertisements aired on Australian television during C-classified programs within designated C bands for children under 14 years of age.

The internet has become an important medium for reaching the tween audience (Fielder et al. 2009; Henke 1999; Nairn & Dew 2007; Neeley 2007). The internet allows marketers to coordinate campaigns with other media platforms, such as television. With the increasing popularity of Facebook among tweens, in some cases television advertisements are coordinated into branded websites and Facebook pages. Previous

research (see Hurwitz, Montague & Wartella 2016; Jones & Reid 2010) has focused solely on food product websites (see Hurwitz, Montague & Wartella 2016; Jones & Reid 2010); to my knowledge, the present study provides the first research that has assessed the extent and nature of food marketing across television, branded websites and Facebook pages. This study has described and analysed the content of television advertising, company websites and Facebook pages to which children are likely to be exposed.

The Australian government and the Australian public are currently relying on the industry to self-regulate marketing directed at children, despite evidence (see Craig 2011; Hebden et al. 2010; Hebden et al. 2011) that such an approach is ineffective in reducing children's exposure to food and beverage marketing on television and online, with implications for advertising's influence on childhood rates of obesity. This research (see Craig 2011; Hebden et al. 2010; Hebden et al. 2011) examined the influence of industry self-regulation and statutory regulation on curbing advertising to children, with a special focus solely on television. Very little research has examined food advertisers' coordinated marketing practices across television, branded websites and Facebook pages. Given this changing media landscape, it is vital to document and evaluate the industry self-regulatory system's response to food companies' coordinated marketing practices. Through reviewing primary and secondary literature, such as government reports and research, this study examined the influence of various regulatory policies on limiting children's exposure to food and beverage marketing on practices across television, branded websites and Facebook pages.

The Australian government (see Australian Government 2018) describes advertising as an effective marketing tool that involves directly communicating a persuasive message about any business, product, or service to inform or influence the buying behaviour of target consumers. In this thesis, I use the term 'marketing' to refer to the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, distributing, and trading offerings that have worth for customers, clients, partners, and society at large, as defined by the American Marketing Association, and the term 'advertising' to refer to an effective marketing tool (AMA n.d.).

1.2 Purpose of this study

To address the above-mentioned omissions in the research literature, this study sought to fulfil these objectives:

- To examine the content of the advertising messages that children are being exposed to by television advertising.
- To study food companies' coordinated marketing and advertising practices across television and websites, including via Facebook.
- To examine and evaluate Australia's advertising self-regulatory system in restricting children's exposure to food marketing content on television and online.

To fill the above-mentioned objectives, I formulated the following three research questions:

1. How are advertisers constructing the tween market?
2. How do television and online advertising work together?
3. How is the self-regulatory system responding to a changing media landscape?

1.3 Tweens in society

This section aims to provide a brief overview of the historical context in which the contemporary tweenage market and its marketing industry evolved in Australia. This will provide the backdrop for the current study, which seeks to understand marketers' current and previous efforts to construct and sustain the tweenage market.

The term 'tween' as distinct category was established in the 1980s by North American marketers as referring to children between 7 and 12 years old (Cook & Kaiser 2004). The term 'tweens' was first used by Carol Hall in 1987 in a 'marketing journal article' to refer to either the age range or this market in general (Albanese 2009, p. 222; Cook & Kaiser 2004; Hall 1987). Over the past decades, the issues surrounding tween consumption have been debated. While numerous studies have focused on tweens' historical and sociocultural background, as well as their market value and consumption patterns (Cook

& Kaiser 2004; Lindstrom 2003a; Lindstrom 2003b; Lindstrom 2004; Schrum 2004), little has been written on what constitutes the tweenage market. The term 'tween' came from the words 'subteen' or 'preteen'. Subteen/preteen emerged as a commercial concept during the Second World War. These concepts were derived from the word 'teen' (Cook & Kaiser 2004). Therefore, before looking at the tweenage market, it is worthwhile to look at the elements that constituted the teenage market and the factors that contributed to the construction of the teenage market (Cook & Kaiser 2004).

Numerous studies have focused on American Tweens (Cook & Kaiser 2004; Lindstrom 2003a; Lindstrom 2003b; Lindstrom 2004; Schrum 2004); unfortunately, however, little has been written about the emergence of the Australian tween, with only a few references being made in the popular press such as in *Teenagers' Weekly* and *Total Girl* magazines. Based on the historical background, this section examines the sociocultural, political and economic factors so as to show that a number of sociocultural and economic factors have contributed to the emergence of the teenage and tweenage markets. To the author's knowledge, the present study provides the first published research that has documented the historical origin of the Australian tweenage market. As the main focus of this study is the construction of the tweenage market, the following points look at the historical background of both the teenage and tweenage markets so as to outline the origin of the tweenage market.

Most post-war studies have focused on the creation of teenage culture by advertisers, the age group's spending power and their changing relationship with their parents; examples include Susan Douglas's *Where the Girls Are* (1995) Thomas Hine's *The Rise and Fall of the American Teenager* (1999), and Grace Palladino's *Teenagers: An American History* (1996). These authors have argued that a distinctive teen culture emerged during World War II. More recently however, studies have begun to focus on adolescent consumption in the years before World War II; for example, Kelly Schrum's *Some Wore Bobby Sox* (2004) and Lisa Jacobson's *Raising Consumers* (2004) both claimed that, while the teenage market was created in the 1940s, use of the word and the emergence of a teenage culture started before World War II¹ (Cook 2004; Hine 2000; Palladino 1996;

¹ By the 1920s, the words 'teen', 'teen-age' and even 'teen-ager' were used in advice literature such as *The Trend of the Teens* (1920) and *Teen-Age Tangles: A Teacher's Experiences with Live Young People* (1923) to refer young people aged between 13 and 18–19 (Schrum 2004, p. 18).

Valdivia 2008). Both Kelly Schrum's *Some Wore Bobby Sox* (2004) and Lisa Jacobson's *Raising Consumers* (2004) argued that the process of creating the teenage market began well before the 1940s because, with more young people staying on at school, this created specific peer groups among this age group (Jacobson 2004; Schrum 2004). This information is relevant and significant to understanding how sociocultural factors contribute to form a new consumer market and also to uncovering the measures that marketers look for before constructing a market.

In Australia, teenagers as a distinct social group only emerged in the 1950s, after the population increased from roughly 7.3 million in 1945 to more than 9.4 million in 1956. The population of secondary school students rose between 1952 and 1959, in a generation that witnessed the introduction of rock'n'roll music (McLean 2008; Population State 2003). During the 1940s and 1950s, post-war economic progress exerted its influence on Australian society (Copland 1954). Powerful economic developments increased mass consumption and purchasing power and were followed by growth in the advertising budgets for consumer goods to create a consumer market not only for adults but also for teenagers, who had disposable income from their part- or full-time jobs (Schrum 1998, p. 135). In 1959, *The Australian Women's Weekly* responded to these social changes by beginning to publish a teenage supplement *Teenagers' Weekly* (Weekly 1959), which was a platform for advertisers to reach their target consumers. Thus, during the 1950s, the combination of economic power, social changes and demographics² led to the emergence of 'teenagers' as significant potential consumers and attracted the attention of economic, market and media outlets; this, in turn, led to teenagers becoming a distinct social group.

Teenagers accepted celebrities as their role models; they tended to want to look like their idols and copy the behaviour of celebrities by demanding their own fashion brands in an attempt to demonstrate their own sophistication (Bandura 1986; Bandura & McClelland 1977; Bush, Martin & Bush 2004; Dix, Phau & Pougnet 2010). Hence, the commercial world became interested in the teenage market and recognised their demographic power and social influence. During the 1940s and early 1950s, like other youth-orientated

² In the late 1950s, there were 16–17 million teenagers in the United States. The average weekly income of a teenage boy was \$9.00 and of a teenage girl was just over \$.5.50. Around 4.7 million teens were working part-time, with 800,000 working full-time. Job earning, allowances and the parents' disposable income offered teenagers more than \$9 billion to spend. Thus, their spending power attracted marketers' interest (Record 2003).

commodities, swing and rock'n'roll music were commercialised by marketers. Teenagers desired products that could distinguish themselves from their parents' generation and be uniquely their own; each musical era presented a captivating image and style that could be copied, marketed and purchased (Charness 2010). However, the revolution in the music industry in the 1950s also created a new fashion industry. The 1950s saw Elvis Presley become a style icon among the teenagers – his distinctive dance moves and taste were recognised by the teenagers and marketers alike. T-shirts, hats, black denim jeans, magazines, stationery and charm bracelets were licensed, many bearing pictures of Elvis Presley (Palladino 1996). Likewise, Australian teenagers' fashion was also influenced by rock'n'roll singers. In Australia, rock'n'roll was introduced in 1955 with the films such as *Blackboard Jungle* and Bill Haley's soundtrack to *Rock Around the Clock* (Sturma 1992).

In the 1960s, the economic power of Beatles fans expanded the teenage market. Merchandisers created a new market with a number of Beatles products, including fan magazines, clothing, calendars and even wallpaper. Leather jackets, hairstyles, and skirts with high-heeled boots were symbols of the Beatles fans. The 'Beatles could be purchased in the form of a magazine, a bobble-head doll, a brand of bubble gum, or even as clothing'; teenagers considered their fashion style as another part of the Beatles' package, an image that they could copy by purchasing similar products (Charness 2010, p. 36). Thus, all these products expanded the teenage market. During the 1950s and 1960s, the teenage market had formed an identity of its own and also attracted significant advertiser attention (Palladino 1996). Although, throughout those decades, marketers had all the elements they needed, there were still technological limits to the ways in which they could reach consumers 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Therefore, the contribution of technology to advertisers' construction of the teenage market needs to be discussed.

A large number of industrial, marketplace and technological changes, such as the acceleration of multimedia conglomeration, the convergence and rise of digital technology, the advent of cable television, and the expansion of television channels during the 1970s and 1980s (such as US cable channels HBO, CBN, Nickelodeon and ESPN) (Baughman 1992) offered consumers a huge number television channels and programs targeted at very specific audiences. This encouraged the growth of a diversified

media marketplace. The introduction of cable technology led to the rise of a number of niche markets and gave advertisers the opportunity to sell products aimed at specific demographics on the basis of psychographic research, which explained why consumers choose one particular brand over another (Michman, Mazze & Greco 2003, p. 11).

From the 1980s to the early 1990s, the United States was in a recession and was experiencing economic uncertainty. In the late 1980s, the jobless rate for American teenagers was about 15% (Stern, Finkelstein, Stone, Latting, & Dornsife, p. 5). As a result, the teenage demographic lacked significant economic power to spend money on consumer goods. The declining interest of cultural industries, advertisers and manufacturers in the teenage market was associated with a discernible lack of distinct teen and youth cultures in the late 1980s and early '90s (Zollo 1999, p. 6). Even for companies such as Coca-Cola, McDonalds, adidas, Dr. Pepper/7-up, Revlon, Converse and Columbia Pictures, in the 1980s, teenagers were not their primary target (Zollo 1999, p. 6). Previously during the late 1970s, as baby boomers grew up, marketers and advertisers shifted their attention towards adult consumers aged 18–34. With the increasing number of television channels, the industry became more interested in earning greater profits by creating niche markets, which consisted of consumers who were both younger and older than teenagers. Thus, during the 1990s, marketers tended to ignore the teen market (Palladino 1996). However, after focusing on this cohort, advertisers and marketers later shifted their attention to the lucrative 8–12 age bracket. By the mid-1990s, teenagers were no longer considered by marketers as the most lucrative market, as they had now found a new group with all the elements required to establish a new market: the 'tweenage' market.

1.4 Tweenage market

In the United States of the late 1950s, the separation of elementary school from senior high school contributed partially to the increasing recognition of junior high school students as a separate entity. As such, they strove to form an individual identity that was distinct from their younger counterparts and that appeared older, more like teenagers, by mimicking teenaged activities and trends (Cook & Kaiser 2004, p. 207). A number of socioeconomic changes and technological advances contributed to the increasing

recognition of the tweenage group, and merchandisers of a range of age-based goods such as clothes, food and toys have redoubled their efforts to define this market (Cook & Kaiser 2004).

The sheer size of the subteen population driven by the post-World War II baby boom proved difficult for retailers, managers and clothing buyers to ignore. Their need for security and their search for an identity of their own, distinct from those of young children or teenagers, were also recognised by retailers and prompted the opening of subteen departments in a number of retail stores such as Charles, Trankla & Company and Lyttons department store in Chicago as early as the 1960s (Cook & Kaiser 2004). For junior high school students, clothing, appearance and peer acceptance are all important factors necessary to creating their own distinct identity as individuals in the tweenage group (Forney & Forney 1995).

As with the teenage market, the fashion industry first recognised the tweenage market (Cook & Kaiser 2004). However, the rise of the tween fashion market was not because marketers recognized their social or cultural need, it was rather because of the growing understanding of fashion as symbolic of social class and as an extension of presenting one's self-image (Barber & Lobel 1952; Davis 1992; Entwistle 2000; Kaiser 1990; Kaiser, Nagasawa & Hutton 1991). Apart from their own identity, family status influenced how people dressed their children (Cunningham 2005). Thus, consumption became increasingly important, fulfilling symbolic as well as functional needs. Due to the mass availability of consumer products, individual identity was no longer associated only with key sociological variables such as age, gender, ethnicity or occupation (Sweetman 2003, p. 528). Instead, individuals expressed their self-identity through consumption and consumer items such as fashion (Featherstone, Hepworth & Turner 1991, p. 92). Although marketers identified the subteen category earlier, it was not until the 1980s that the preteen marketing segment reached its maturation through tailored advertising on an increasing number of television channels and websites.

The late 1990s was a peak period for intangible investment in advertising, research and development, as well as tangible investment in buildings and organisations (McGrattan & Prescott 2005). The increasing number of television channels created a wider platform

for advertisers, allowing them to reach the tweenage market. But, along with television channels and magazines, the internet offered a very significant new platform for advertisers to reach tweenagers 24 hours a day, seven days a week. For both teenage and tweenage markets, technology and advertising were important factors, both to reach tweenagers and to allow them to reach products. Teenage girls now had American magazines such as *Seventeen* and *Calling all Girls*. Tweenagers were discussed in industry magazines such as *Subteen World* in the 1960s and *Tween Business* in the late 1990s, which were devoted to buyers and retailers of the teen and subteen market (Cook & Kaiser 2004).

In Australia, the market-leading magazines aimed at tween girls and boys are *Total Girl* and *K-Zone*, respectively. *Total Girl* began publishing in 2002 and, in 2009, its circulation was 41,291 in 2013 (Reynolds 2014). *K-Zone* began publishing in 2009, reaching a circulation of 31,180 in 2014 (Findlay 2014). While *Total Girl* targets girls with articles and advertising on fashion, personal grooming and charity endorsements, *K-Zone* targets boys with toys and entertainment (Kervin & Mantei 2009).

Research shows that teenagers and tweenagers differ greatly, both from age to age and from males to females. They act differently as consumers and in their identity formation in relation to media and consumption. Tween girls represent a better niche market for the fashion/clothing industry than tween boys (Tomari 2008). While girls spend their money on ‘predictable economic stuff’ – such as accessories, clothes, make-up and shoes – boys spend money on sports gear and (more so than the girls) save up for buying expensive electronic items such computers and mobile phones (Halling & Tufte 2002; Kenway & Bullen 2001). Manufacturers use gender segmentation to create marketing plans to develop products and services that will help them reach their target audience (Weinstein 1987). However, the current study investigates the tweenage market without considering gender differentiation, because it examines food advertising to understand the construction of the tweenage market.

1.5 Definition of ‘tweens’

The term ‘tween’ refers to the concept of being ‘in between’ a child and a teen. Different authors define ‘tweens’ differently. According to Paterson (2003), tweens are children between 8 and 14 years of age. Hall (1987) defines them as children aged from 9 to 15 years old. Some authors define them as 8–15 years old (Hall 1987); others define them as 8–14 or 8–12 years of age (see Mesa 2005a). Siegel, Coffey & Livingston (2004) regard tween-ness as being a ‘state of mind’, with the tween years as beginning at age 8 and ending at 12. They define tweens within a cognitive social and physical context; they argue that, at this stage in life, children act like children but hold the values of teenagers.

The current study defines tweens as children between 10 and 12 years of age because, by the age of 10, children start rejecting more childlike images and associations, and aspire to be more like a teen. Most researchers consider the ages of 10 and 11 as transitional years (Livingstone & Helsper 2004; Mesa 2005b). This stage is crucial in a child’s life, because their consumption patterns change with their aspirations to become teenagers and, like teenagers, they also have an increasing desire to look alike and thus secure the approval of their peers – here, salespeople assist in helping them perform their aspirational maturity. Therefore, advertisers began advertising teenage products such as lipstick and cosmetics, branded clothes, etc. in those television channels, websites and magazines, which are targeted to children in order to expand their market and generate more profit³ (Cook 2004; Schneider 1958).

1.6 Significance of the study

Results from the present study provide a comprehensive insight into the nature and extent of food marketing on Australian free-to-air television, as well as food company websites and Facebook pages. Given the associations between the increases in advertising of non-nutritious foods and rates of childhood obesity (American Psychological Association n.d.), the findings of this study are of importance to policymakers when considering

³ For example, tweens networks such as Nickelodeon now air commercials for products that are not necessary even considered as ‘tween’ products. These include short skirts, lip gloss, ‘suit jackets designed to emphasis the shoulder of adult men’, tween models shown in adult-like costumes and accessories, anything from the automobile industry, department stores, and even hotels (Lumby & Albury 2010; Schor 2004).

potential interventions to shape policy and laws that have implications for children's health. The present study has engaged in academic discussions on the effectiveness of the current industry self-regulatory system; thus, the study will help to increase pressure on food companies to create healthier marketing environments for children. It will also provide governments with directions for strengthening and extending the existing government rules and codes on food marketing to children via television and the internet. The findings of this research will equip parents with a better understanding of the underside of tween-focused marketing and the significance of the relationship of food advertising to childhood obesity. Thus, the present study is of significance to parents and child-welfare advocates, who are interested in protecting children from exposure to the advertising of unnecessary foods and drinks. The study will be useful to other communication scholars, seeking to explore new directions for future research. Also, this topic is particularly important to educators and health practitioners, because it will enhance their knowledge of current advertising practices and the hidden meanings of food advertising messages.

1.7 Organisation of the thesis

The thesis is structured into 10 chapters, as follows:

Chapter 1 establishes the context of the research. It provides a brief historical background of the origins of the tweenage market in Australia. It states the research focus of the current study, it draws attention to key gaps in the existing research literature about food advertisers' contribution to sustaining the tweenage market, and it introduces the research questions to be answered in subsequent chapters. The chapter discusses the importance of the topic being studied and outlines the arrangement of the chapters included in the current study.

Chapter 2 presents a critical review of relevant research from multiple disciplines. The chapter maps out concerns related to children's cognitive skill and their exposure to advertising, the effects of television and online advertising on tweens, online privacy concerns and the self-regulatory system. It discusses both sides of the debate regarding advertising to children and tweens, and the effects of advertising and other factors on

tweenage consumers' behaviour. These include the cognitive, affective and behavioural consequences of advertising, as well as other environmental elements such as parents and peer influence. The chapter also introduces Australia's current advertising regulatory bodies and the issues surrounding children's exposure to food advertising within the self-regulatory system. Key studies about the evaluation of Australia's previous and current advertising regulatory arrangements are also reviewed in Chapter 9.

Chapter 3 discusses the underlying philosophical assumptions of this research study and the constructivist paradigm that was selected as the framework for the study, in order to provide a rationale for the methodology chosen to answer the research questions. The chapter includes an explanation for the mixed methods approach, which was chosen for the purpose of analysing the data, and the reasons for this choice. It justifies the decision to select both qualitative and quantitative methods (i.e. mixed methods), which include content analysis, semiotic analysis and narrative literature review. It explains what procedures were undertaken to collect the data. Finally, it describes the design of the three different studies that were conducted, employing different research methods and data analysis procedures.

Chapter 4 discusses and analyses the taste-related messages to which Australian consumers are currently exposed through television advertising broadcast during C-classified time. It demonstrates how food advertisements use descriptions of the taste of the advertised food products as a basis for establishing their freshness and quality. It explains how food advertisers construct their product as fresh and natural with reference to the product's texture. The analysis revealed that marketers of energy-dense fast food strive to communicate the freshness of their products with reference to their appearance, colour, flavour and texture through images, sounds, sensory words and voiceovers.

Chapter 5 reveals how health is constructed and presented in food advertising. It explains how advertisements broadcast during C-classified time construct products as healthy by associating the product with women's sexuality and beauty, and men's energy and strength. It concludes that food advertisements broadcast during C-classified time present food products as healthy on the basis of their weight-management, energy-giving and mood-enhancement properties.

Chapter 6 demonstrates how food advertisements broadcast during C-classified time use humour-, fantasy- and happiness-related themes to provide the product with a particular brand identity, image or personality. It reveals that advertisers use humour to attach different personality traits to their brands such as worthy (John West), plentifulness (Twix), indispensable (Calypso) and sophisticated (Dairy Farmers). It suggests that advertisers create fantasy by using animated characters and anthropomorphism to associate their product with celebration. It also demonstrates that advertisers associate their product with happiness by using references to summer and Australianness.

Chapter 7 determines what constructions of convenience and price are privileged in food advertising. It reveals that advertisements broadcast during C-classified times construct any product to be convenient on the basis of its time- and energy-saving properties. The analysis also explains how advertisers construct any product to be convenient with reference to its lower price and bigger portion size. This chapter reveals that the vast majority of fast-food restaurant advertisements broadcast during C-classified time offer attractively priced deals, which include discounts, bonus-pack deals and sweepstakes, in order to persuade consumers to buy the products.

Chapter 8 investigates the following question: How do television and online advertising work together? It reveals that, in some cases, television food advertising broadcast during C-rated programs now includes a web address and that a majority of those food brands that included web addresses in their television advertisements broadcast during children's television programming have Facebook pages. This chapter explores the internet-based marketing tactics employed by Australian food companies both on branded websites and Facebook pages. A majority of the websites are specifically devoted to adults; they employ the similar strategies across the brands, including initiating conversations through photographs and branding elements such as logos, trademarks, slogans and brand colours. In addition, they use tactics associated with sales promotions – corporate social responsibility apps and surveys were evident on the food companies' Facebook pages. The chapter identifies food companies' data collection practices both on branded websites and Facebook pages as new areas of concern regarding children's online privacy and viral marketing in an online environment.

Chapter 9 is concerned with examining the response of the industry self-regulation system towards to this changing media environment. It examines primary and secondary literature sources to evaluate the actions of public health actors, the government and the food industry in reducing children's exposure to food advertisements. It also briefly compares previous findings with the results of the current study to assess children's exposure to unhealthy food marketing during a much wider range of time periods. It identifies the loopholes that exist in the self-regulatory codes and concludes that Australia's current advertising regulatory arrangements remain ineffective in restricting the marketing techniques most commonly used to target children on relatively under-regulated media platforms such as social media and branded websites.

Chapter 10 summarises the main findings and provide a series of recommendations for policymakers, parents and food marketers. The chapter concludes by presenting this study's implications for practice, the limitations of the study, directions for future research and the overall conclusions.

Chapter 2: Context and concepts

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore and develop an understanding about the overall construction of the tweenage market by advertisers, with special focus on television and online media. The literature review provided in this chapter will focus on the concerns related to children's exposure to advertising aimed at them, the effects of television and online advertising on tweens, and the advertising self-regulation system. First, both sides of the debate regarding advertising to children and tweens will be presented; second, the effects of advertising and other factors regarding tweens consumers' behaviour will be discussed. These include the cognitive, affective and behavioural effects of advertising, and other environmental factors such as the influence of parents and peers. Additionally, issues related to food advertising and the self-regulatory system are covered in this review. Focussing on the above issues in the literature will provide information about the advertising practices targeting tweens, which will form the backdrop for the current study to understand the construction of the tweenage market.

2.2 Advertising and tweens

The population of Australian children aged 0–15 is estimated to be 4.5 million (Country Meters 2018). Advertisers are spending large sums of money on this generation because of their purchasing power. Australian children aged 4–14 represent \$1.8 billion in buying power annually (Turner 2016). Due to their immense economic power, retailers consider them to be one of the most attractive markets, and retail marketers identify children between the ages of 8 and 13 as 'tweens' and a new niche market⁴ (Albanese 2009; Cook

⁴ Daniel Thomas Cook and Susan B. Kaiser have written the only academic article based on the emergence and construction of tween market since 1940s. They asserted that this segment emerged since the Second World War in the US by the fashion retailers.

& Kaiser 2004; Pearson 2016; Schor 2004; Smith 2015a; Solomon, Polegato & Zaichkowsky 2009). Despite lacking earning power, how do they have such a great purchasing power? They are dependent on their parents and other family members for their spending (Mesa 2005a; Turner 2016). The buying powers of tweens come in two ways. First, they have money earned from allowances; second, they influence everyday family spending (Quart 2004; Sutherland & Thompson 2003; Tufte 2007; Turner 2016).

Advertising on different media outlets is not the only reason for their spending. There are other social factors include: firstly, the increasing number of working single mothers, or both parents working full-time means that parents do not have much time to go shopping with their children. As a result, Australian parents buy their children gifts to compensate for the extra time they spend at work (CoreData Research 2015). As a consequence, children can make their own purchase decisions; thus, they are becoming independent consumers. Secondly, there are now fewer children per family; therefore families have a higher disposable income. They can afford to give children more money to spend on themselves. Thirdly, the divorce level is higher. In 2016, the number of divorces that were granted in Australia was 46,604 (ABS 2017b). Due to the high divorce rate, children may receive pocket money from each parent individually. Therefore, a change in the family unit is another important reason behind children's consumption.

Advertisers are targeting tweens because, not only do they spend their own money, they also influence their family's purchasing decisions. By giving them money or their requested product, families are involving their children in family purchase decision-making (Quart 2004; Schor 2004; Simpson, Douglas & Schimmel 1998; Turner 2016). According to consumer insights director for MindShare Sydney, Liz Harley, currently tweens are well-informed consumers; therefore, parents involve them in several family purchase decisions – such as the family home, car and holidays – and are also influenced by tweens (Turner 2016; Veldre 2005). That means that advertisers not only consider tweens as the direct consumers for the products produced for them but, because of their influential power on family purchases, advertisers are also targeting adults' products to tweens, which include anything from the automobile industry, department stores and even hotels (Schor 2004), as well as diet food. Some studies (see Crush & Hollings 2017; Hayes & Tantleff-Dunn 2010; Lowes & Tiggemann 2003) indicate that exposure to

sexualised advertising content – for instance, advertisements portraying nudity where it is irrelevant to the advertised product or where models are shown in sexualised poses (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.1) – motivates tweens to engage in some kind of dieting behaviour to achieve unrealistic or unhealthy ideal bodies, which are thinner than their current body shape (discussed in more detail in Chapter 4). Numerous authors (see Buckingham 2000; Crush & Hollings 2017; Gunter & Furnham 1998; Smithers et al. 2018) argue that more research and investigation is needed in this field, because today’s children are growing up under much more commercial pressure than before. Television food advertising is under scrutiny, both in Australia and internationally, because of its influence on children’s diets and weight (Hansen, Gilman & Odland 2014; Young 1990).

2.3 Children’s capacity to understand and evaluate advertising

Since the 1970s, questions about the appropriateness of advertising have been debated among consumer groups such as advertisers, media and the industries that produce children’s products⁵ (see Hunt & Chonko 1987; Kunkel et al. 2004). The main issue behind this debate is the assumption that children are a vulnerable audience and, due to their limited cognitive skill, they are unable to defend themselves from the persuasive advertising messages (Hunt & Chonko 1987). Conversely, there are other groups, such as marketers and advertisers, who consider advertising as a source of new product information. In their study, Hite and Eck (1987) assert that large business firms hold a positive attitude towards advertising to children. They argue that business leaders claim that advertising works as a source of information about new products; neglecting the issue that advertisements disrupt the parent–child relationship by purchase requests. However, the proponents of advertising concluded that advertising has some negative effects on children but, due to the competitive nature of the marketplace, very little can be done to avoid these issues (Hite & Eck 1987). The above discussion presented all sides of the debate among academics, policymakers, consumer groups and the advertisers. The knowledge gained from the above studies created an important backdrop for the current

⁵ The American Psychological Association established the APA Task Force due to growing concerns about the influence of commercialisation on children. The report, which was published in 2004, discussed the commercialisation of childhood, as well as several ethical and psychological issues that are related to the exposure of children to advertising.

study. However, this study was conducted in 1987. After 31 years, in 2018, the question remains: does this still stand?

Without knowing children's cognitive skill, it is not possible for advertisers to produce advertisements that are targeted towards them. Since this study is focusing on the tween market, it is very important to understand to what extent tweens that is children aged 10 to 12 years, are able to understand advertising messages in a conscious and analytical way. Unlike adults, due to their limited life experience, children often face greater difficulties in encoding and storing new information than adults (John & Cole 1986). A large number of studies (see Anderson & Lorch 1983; Atkin 1975c; Freeman & Shapiro 2014; Gunter & McAleer 1997; Lapierre 2015; Liebert et al. 1977; Robertson & Rossiter 1974; Roedder, Sternthal & Calder 1983; Van Evra 2004; Wartella 1980; Wartella & Ettema 1974) argue that, by eight years, children can recall advertisements and that children gain more of the selling intent of advertisements and become more sceptical towards the tactics employed; therefore, advertising is less effective for them.

Several studies also suggest that the effectiveness of advertising declines as the child grows older (see Anderson & Lorch 1983; Atkin 1975c; Freeman & Shapiro 2014; Gunter & McAleer 1997; Liebert et al. 1977; Oates, Blades & Gunter 2006; Robertson & Rossiter 1974; Roedder, Sternthal & Calder 1983; Te'eni-Harari, Lehman-Wilzig & Lampert 2009; Ward & Wackman 1971; Ward, Wackman & Wartella 1977; Wartella & Ettema 1974). Most of these studies have been inspired by Piaget's (2007) theory of cognitive development (Piaget 2007). There are two main cognitive theorists, the Swiss psychologist, Jean Piaget, and the Russian psychologist, Lev Vygotsky. Jean Piaget suggested that children play an important role in their own cognitive development (Christensen & James 2008; Woodhead 2006). Academics who work with how children understanding advertising often apply Piaget's theory in order to explain child development (Flavell 1963). In 1930, Piaget developed four stages in children's cognitive development:

1. Sensori-motor (0 to 2 years)
2. Preoperational (2 to 7 years)
3. Concrete operational (7 to 11)
4. Formal operational (11 onwards) (Ginsburg, Opper & Brandt 1988)

Piaget argued that children go through similar developmental stages as they grow older. Cognitive development theory (Piaget 2007) suggests that, during the preoperational stage, children are unaware about various perspectives around the world. In this stage, they consider advertising to be a source of public information. During the concrete operational stage, they begin thinking more critically and become aware of the persuasive intent advertising (O'Sullivan 2005). The formal operational stage is the final stage, which begins at around age 11 and persists throughout adulthood. During this stage, children gain the ability to think about abstract concepts. They develop the capability to think logically and approach a task systematically (Inhelder 1958). However, Woodhead (2006) has criticised Piaget's work, because Piaget did not take socioeconomic differences into account in his work. Woodhead suggested that social and cultural environment has a big impact on children's development.

Freeman and Shapiro (2014) conducted a study to examine 8- to 12-year-olds' awareness and evaluation of 10 relatively new and increasingly utilised marketing tactics. The authors found that 8- to 12-year-olds had greater understanding of explicit tactics (e.g. advertising products on a mobile phone, having a famous person use a product) than implicit tactics (e.g. someone writing a blog about a product, someone using a product in a public place). Children's comprehension of explicit tactics stayed stable across age levels; however, 12-year-olds seemed to have greater understanding of the implicit tactics than 8-year-olds. This suggests that children, by the age of eight years, may have awareness of the explicit tactics applied by advertisers to sell products; however, they are likely to have a limited awareness of the implicit tactics. There was also a positive correlation found between scepticism towards advertising and awareness of explicit tactics. Children acquire more advertising knowledge and become more sceptical toward the tactics employed during this period of 8 to 12 years old.

From the above discussion about children's cognitive defence, it can be assumed that children who have acquired cognitive defence ability towards advertising can use this ability to refine advertising messages. However, John (1999) argues that, even when a child has acquired the necessary cognitive defences, up to the age of 12 he/she may fail to refine advertising messages while he/she is watching advertising (Brucks, Armstrong

& Goldberg 1988; John 1999; Moses & Baldwin 2005). Thus, children having cognitive and attitudinal defence does not mean that they will be able to apply these – tweens may therefore fail to apply advertising-related knowledge and understanding while watching advertising (John 1999; Moore 2004). The Australian Media and Communication Authority published a literature review in 2007 about contemporary research on the influence of television advertising directed to children. According to this review, children aged 11 years and over are in the later stage of cognitive development and may still misunderstand the persuasive intent of advertising (Brand 2007).

The overall scenario provided by the above studies demonstrates that, although tweens can understand the persuasive and selling intent of advertising, they may fail to apply such knowledge in everyday life. That means that the same kind of concern is justified, not only for children younger than 10 years old, but for tweens as well. Most of the research about advertising and persuasive intent are based on television advertising; however, with the rapid growth of the internet, advertisers are introducing new techniques (e.g. branded websites, product placement in games) to promote their products. Use of online game as part of promotion makes it harder for tweens to be sceptical of advertising messages (Lindstrom 2003a, p. 225). Therefore, it is becoming more difficult for children to comprehend advertising message critically (Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg 2011).

Due to the rapid change in the media environment, Rozendaal, Buijzen and Valkenburg (2011) have called for future research to compare advertising tactics in different advertising venues. Likewise, the current study also investigates marketing techniques in television and online, and how they are working together.

2.4 Effects of television advertising on children

Television is the most popular entertainment medium for children, including tweens (Turner Australia 2018). Lindstrom (2003a) conducted a study on ‘tweens’ brands (ages 9–14) in seven countries, concluding that tweens consider TV as the single most important source of information. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), watching television was by far the most popular recreational activity for Australian children aged 5–14 years (ABS 2012a). Australian advertising expenditure is now US

\$11.06 billion (Statista 2017). Although internet use is increasing, expenditure on television advertising is also increasing in Australia. In 2017, Australian free-to-air, regional free-to-air and subscription television recorded advertising expenditure of \$2.17 billion (ThinkTV 2017). Children watching just 80 minutes of commercial television every day will be exposed to more than 800 unhealthy food advertisements each year (Smithers et al. 2018).

Richard Vaughn developed the Foote, Cone and Belding (FCB) grid in 1980 to explain how advertising works. The grid suggests that advertising works differently for high/low-involvement products/services. Thinking and Feeling are two key factors for the FCB planning model. This grid divides products and the impulse to buy those products into four quadrants, with low involvement versus high involvement on one axis (the High Involvement/Low Involvement axis) and thinking versus feeling on the other (the Think/Feel axis). Messages are categorised by ‘thinking’ and ‘feeling’, and ‘low’ and ‘high’ (Vaughn 1980). Food and beverages fall under Quadrant 3 and Quadrant 4 of the FCB grid (i.e. ‘low involvement’).

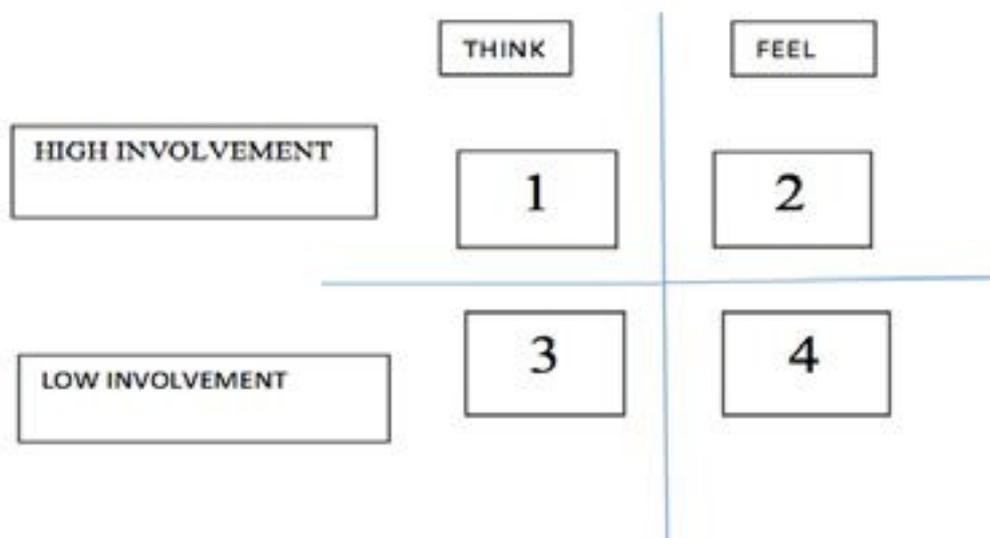


Figure 1. Foote, Cone and Belding Model – FCB Grid (Richard Vaughn, 1980)

While food is a low-involvement product, for some food items, a facts-oriented rational approach works well, for other food items, emotional appeal could be more useful. Quadrant 3 includes low-involvement products (Vaughn 1980); products in this category

adopt a Do-Learn-Feel sequence of consumer behaviour (Vaughn 1980). For example, people buy diet food and beverages with a rational mind; therefore, it is therefore to highlight the functional attributes of diet products. In this way, diet food advertisers convince consumers buy their products (do) then use it (learn) to enjoy the experience (feel) of using the products.

Conversely, fast-food restaurants use emotional appeal, because consumers impulse buy these items to satisfy their personal taste. Consumers make purchase decisions of such products in an impulsive manner on the basis of their personal preferences. Quadrant 4 indicates that advertisers should exhibit a Do-Feel-Learn sequence and attain consumers' attention with the use of emotion appeal that induces reminder impulse buying behaviour in consumer behaviours (Vaughn 1980). Advertisements for fast-food restaurants frequently use taste or humour appeals in order to stimulate reminder impulse buying behaviour in consumers. In this way, fast-food restaurants advertisers persuade consumers buy their products (do) then to enjoy the taste (feel) of the products then eat it (learn).

Chapter 1 and the above sections have explained who tweens are, why advertising to children has been recognised as a matter of concern, and why marketers consider tweens to be a lucrative group of consumers. Concerns about advertising have emerged due to the potential effects of exposure to advertising and due to specific harms, that might result from exposure to advertising. Therefore, before investigating further, it is worth understanding what has already been researched regarding the effects of advertising on children.

The effects of advertising on children are often classified into two broad categories: intended effects (e.g. children's brand awareness, preferences and purchase requests) and unintended effects (e.g. materialistic orientations, parent-child conflicts and unhealthy eating habits) (Buijzen & Valkenburg 2003b; Comstock & Paik 1991; Kunkel 2001).

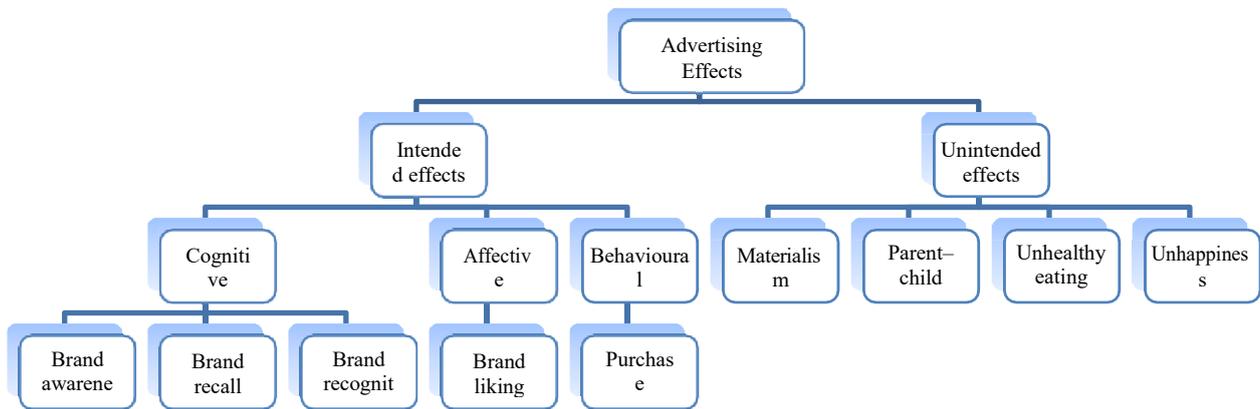


Figure 2. Effects of advertising (Buijzen & Valkenburg 2003b; Kunkel 2001)

2.4.1 Advertising, branding and materialism

Branding is an effective form of marketing, which is aimed at promoting recognition with a company brand or product in order to make the brand familiar to consumers (Connor 2006; Nielsen 2015). This is because consumers, especially children, prefer to buy new products from brands that are familiar to them (Hartmann et al. 2017; Nielsen 2015).

Children develop the ability to recognize and remember brands from their very early years (Arnas, Tas & Ogul 2016; Kelly 1974; McNeal 1992; Otnes, Kim & Kim 1994; Rossiter 1976; Ward, Wackman & Wartella 1977); they also mention brand names as an important type of product information (Ward, Wackman & Wartella 1977) and request branded products (Otnes, Kim & Kim 1994). Children need to go through various stages in order to establish their relationship with brands, such as brand awareness, brand recognition and brand recall.

2.4.2 Brand recognition and brand recall

Exposure to television advertising is significantly related to the brand awareness of even the youngest children (Valkenburg & Buijzen 2005). Advertisers use various production techniques and other features, such as visuals and music, to gain and maintain children's attention and interest (Maher, Hu & Kolbe 2006; Schneider 1987; Van Evra 2004; Vanwesenbeeck et al. 2017). These features are important for children because they

provide memorial cues for them to remember the advertised product (Schneider 1987). Even the single exposure of an advertisement is sufficient for children to recall the advertised brand. Older children have a better brand recall ability than younger children. Valkenburg and Buijzen (2005), in their study about brand awareness and recall for 12 brand logos with 196 children aged from two to eight, found that young children's recall ability was lower than that of older children. Oates, Blades and Gunter (2006) found that children's ability to recall advertising content develops with age and with repetition of advertisements.

However, some conclusion can be drawn from the above evidence – advertising repetition increases children's brand recall ability and creates a favourable attitude to the advertised product (Brand 2007). Consumers' advertising exposure correlates with their brand choices and their purchase decisions (Chan 1996; Thornhill, Xie & Lee 2017). Advertising of branded food products also influences children's eating habits. Advertisers use branded characters that are associated with a company and promote its brand name to children (Keller et al. 2012; McGinnis, Gootman & Kraak 2006).

There is extensive evidence and data that confirms the positive correlation between exposure to advertising and materialism (see Buijzen & Valkenburg 2003a; Oprea, Buijzen & Valkenburg 2012; Oprea et al. 2014; Vega & Roberts 2011). So, what is the relationship between children and brand, what do they understand by 'brand'? How children make purchase decisions of a particular brand is an ideal starting point to knowing how they come to value material possessions (Achenreiner & John 2003). According to Ward and Wackman (1971, p. 422) materialism can be defined as 'an orientation which views material goods and money as important for personal happiness and social progress', which is rising among children. Advertising has an undesirable effect on young people's ideas about consuming material goods in order to achieve success, happiness and self-fulfilment (Chan, Zhang & Wang 2006).

In the field of research about young children and materialism, two theories are well known. John (1999) developed a model of children's consumer socialisation by analysing the findings of 25 years of research into how consumer socialisation occurs as children mature throughout childhood and adolescence. According to this model, throughout

different stages of childhood, this materialism grows as they adopt different consumption motives and habits. Based on the evidence, John (1999) concluded that advertising of products aimed directly towards tweens and indirectly influencing the purchase decisions of parents, could be unethical. The basic conclusion is that the children are “easy targets”, because of undeveloped cognitive skills (John 1999). According to John’s (1999) model of children’s consumer socialisation, throughout different stages of their childhood, children adopt different consumption motives and habits. The second is the Kasser et al. (2004) model of materialistic value orientation. According to this theory, from the exposure of materialistic models and resulting sense of insecurity, people may develop materialistic values. The authors state that people tend to become more materialistic when their psychological needs are not fulfilled. To overcome such a situation from their feelings of insecurity, people may adopt materialism as a kind of compensatory strategy. People learn about materialistic values from their parents, peers, television commercials and other advertisements.

Materialism is a negative value, which is related to possessiveness, greed, and jealousy (Belk 1983). Buijzen and Valkenburg (2003a) conducted a study with 360 mothers and their tweens in order to examine the unintended effects of advertising on tweens. They found that advertising created brand awareness that boosted materialism. Buijzen and Valkenburg (2003a) found that frequent television exposure is related to tweens’ materialistic attitudes, because most are sensitive to the desire-provoking messages found in television advertising (Buijzen & Valkenburg 2003, p. 498). Looking at all the research evidence, the conclusion can be drawn that advertising evokes the feeling of materialism in children”. Looking at all the research evidence, the conclusion can be drawn that advertising evokes the feeling of materialism in children. Another survey involving 466 Dutch children (ages 8–11) found a positive correlation between children’s advertising/television exposure and materialism (Oprea et al. 2014).

Chan, Zhang and Wang (2006) examined the materialistic values of tweens and adolescents and found that tweens are less materialistic than adolescents. Adolescents operate in different environments with unfamiliar people and, therefore, they feel a need to have possessions to reinforce self-identity. They also concluded that advertisements are the most important influence among adolescents because, to them, advertisements

show how materialistic goods are used to achieve different goals. A probability sample survey of 667 primary and secondary school students aged 8–17 showed that materialism among adolescents (aged 16–20) was significantly higher than children (aged 8–11) (Chan 2013). Looking at key research evidence, the conclusion can be drawn that advertising evokes the feeling of materialism in children and adolescents.

2.4.3 Environmental factors

Various factors are responsible for establishing consumers' attitudes towards a brand and also for their buying decision-making process, including education, economic circumstances, family, age, experience, the law and social background (Lamb, Hair & McDaniel 2007; Ross & Harradine 2004). Apart from these, several environmental factors are also responsible for determining tweens' brand awareness. These include television advertising, family characteristics and peer influences (Houldcroft, Haycraft & Farrow 2014; John 1999; Moschis 1987; Moschis & Churchill Jr 1978).

Researchers who have reviewed studies of peers and friends' influence on children's eating (see Guber 1993; Houldcroft, Haycraft & Farrow 2014; Lindstrom 2004; McDougall & Chantrey 2004; Siegel, Coffey & Livingston 2004; Simpson, Douglas & Schimmel 1998) demonstrate that peer pressure is a key factor that influences tweens in their review of the literature relating to peer and friend influences on children's eating. Children model the behaviours of their peers; therefore, children are likely to adopt the same eating habits as their peers and friends (Houldcroft, Haycraft & Farrow 2014).

North and Kotzé (2010, p. 93) stated that 'The family can be regarded as the primary source (agent) of consumer socialisation' and it is a particularly important reference group to consider in the decision-making process. Researchers who conducted a 2017 meta analysis of 37 articles (Yee, Lwin & Ho 2017) found the strongest correlations between parents' food preferences and eating behaviours with children's food consumption, both healthy and unhealthy. An earlier review of the literature on the effective determinants of children's eating habits (Scaglioni et al. 2011) found that children are likely to consider their parents as active and positive role models. Hence, parents' food preferences and eating behaviours are predictors of a child's eating habits. The evidence indicates that, apart from advertising the above discussed factors, environmental issues should be taken

into consideration when discussing children's attitudes towards brands or their purchase behaviours. However, from the existing considerable body of literature on intended effects of advertising on children (see section 2.4.1 and 2.4.2) it seems that the issues related to the influence of environmental factors other than advertising on children remains briefly addressed in the literature. There is another type of consequence of advertising apart from the intended effects of advertising—this other type of advertising effect is the unintended effects.

For any consumer product, information is necessary; therefore, we gain product information from the intended effects of advertising. However, the following studies indicate how some intended effects can create the foundation for unintended effects – the negative effects of advertising influencing a consumer's positive attitude towards a brand can boost materialism. The following section will review how purchase requests can create the platform for parent–child conflict and unhappiness.

2.4.4 Purchase requests, parent–child conflict and unhappiness

Several studies found a positive correlation between children's exposure to advertising and purchase requests (see Atkin 1975a; Atkin 1975c; Isler, Popper & Ward 1979; Ng et al. 2015; Robertson & Rossiter 1976, 1977; Robertson et al. 1989; Valkenburg & Buijzen 2005), as well as the relation between purchase requests and parent–child conflict and unhappiness (see Atkin 1975c; Robertson et al. 1989; Ward & Wackman 1972). In one of the more recent studies (see Huang et al. 2016), to examine children's 'pestering' in relation to their diet, a longitudinal study of 16,228 children aged 2–9 years from eight European countries found that children often request high-fat and high-sugar items that are advertised.

Goldberg, Gorn & Gibson (1978) conducted a study in order to find the relationship between advertising and purchase requests; they found that children often request the advertised products. The study shows that, after watching an advertisement for healthy food, children were less likely to choose candy or sweetened snacks (Goldberg, Gorn & Gibson 1978). A very different picture emerges in Malaysia, where a survey with 402 primary-school children (aged 7–12 years) indicated that children are more attracted to unhealthy non-core food TV advertisements than healthier core food advertisements,

because non-core food television advertisements, including fast-food restaurants, commonly use promotional characters, toy premiums or giveaways that draw children's attention (Ng et al. 2015). The variances in these results are perhaps due to the fact that, contrary to the Goldberg, Gorn and Gibson (1978) study, in Ng et al.'s (2015) study, participants were aged 7–12 years. The ability of younger children (2–6 years) to comprehend advertisements may be different from those aged 7–12 years, because of substantial differences in their cognitive abilities. Therefore, older children's choices are different from those of younger children.

Numerous studies (see Buijzen & Valkenburg 2003a, 2005; Tansuhaj & Foxman 1996) have focused on the area of parental responses to children's purchasing requests. A survey involving 1,980 Australian parents and 3,704 young children found that, on many occasions, children influence their parents to purchase unhealthy food products and children request these products because they have seen them advertised (Rhodes 2017a). Parents obviously cannot honour all purchase requests triggered by television advertising, given the volume of commercials that the average child sees. When children do not receive their desired product, they then become disappointed (Atkin 1975c; Robertson, Rossiter & Ward 1985). In one study, Atkin (1975b) found that more than half of children reported arguing or becoming angry when a toy request was denied; in another (see Atkin 1978), he found high rates of child disappointment and anger in response to most parent refusals for cereal requests at the supermarket. Thus, indirectly, advertising causes unhappiness in children, which is referred to as one of the unintended effects of advertising. Yu (2007) conducted a study that investigated the role of TV snack/fast-food advertisements in causing conflict between mothers and their children and found that a significant side effect advertising persuading children to aspire for products is parent–child conflict, which emerges when refusals take place in response to children's purchase-influence attempts. On the contrary, Lawlor and Prothero (2011) conducted an interpretive study involving children aged seven to nine years to examine children's perspectives on parental responses to these requests. Contrary to the Yu (2007), this study revealed that children are able both to understand and critically evaluate their parents' responses to purchase requests. On a few occasions, children experience feelings of disappointment and resignation in the short term, resulting from parental refusals of purchase requests. The author argues that, in fact, children are happy to negotiate with

their parents. Moreover, when they successfully convince their parents to buy them their requested product, they feel that they had achieved a victory over the parents (Lawlor & Prothero 2011). This difference is perhaps due to the different focus of the studies; while Yu's (2007) study tended to prioritise parental perspectives, Lawlor and Prothero (2011) were more interested to know about children's viewpoints on the negative influence of TV advertising.

Due to their limited experience and knowledge, younger children are less able to come up with critical thoughts while watching advertising; this increases the likelihood that they will ask for the advertised product (Brucks, Armstrong & Goldberg 1988; Roedder 1981). Thus, they often come into more conflict with their parent about the advertised product than tweens (Isler, Popper & Ward 1979; Metcalfe & Mischel 1999; Valkenburg & Cantor 2000). Tweens, in contrast, often use much more sophisticated techniques to persuade their parents, such as negotiation, flattery and white lies (Williams & Burns 2000), hence their attempts to influence their parent purchase are more successful than those of younger children.

According to John (1999), the advertising of products aimed directly towards tweens, which indirectly influences the purchase decisions of parents, could be unethical. He concludes that children are 'easy targets', because of their undeveloped cognitive skills. The importance of the 'nag factor' can also be understood from the Australian Association of Australian Advertisers (AANA) code. The AANA Code for Advertising and Marketing Communications to Children (2008) states, in section no. 2.7, that:

Advertising or marketing Communication to children must not contain an appeal to children to urge to their parents or carers to buy a Product for them.

This supports the fact that advertising has an immense influence on children's purchase requests, which is why it needs to be regulated in more effective and efficient ways. Therefore, with this supportive evidence, we can reach the conclusion that advertising influences a child's product preferences and also causes parent-child conflict and unhappiness.

2.4.5 Unhealthy eating habits

Obesity has become a large problem in recent years in Australia. Recent statistics show that, currently, about one-quarter of Australian children aged 5–17 years are overweight or obese (ABS 2019). Almost 40 per cent of Australian children's daily energy intake comes from non-core foods (AHPC 2016). Food advertising is often accused of encouraging unhealthy eating habits and is also regarded as a major contributor to the worldwide obesity epidemic (Brown 2001; Cairns et al. 2009; Duff 2004; Hastings et al. 2006; Preston 2005; Samson 2005). In 2010, among the top-10 advertising categories in Australia, food advertising ranked seventh with an expenditure of \$418.9 million (Nielsen 2010). From the number of food advertisements and the large sum of money invested by advertisers, the influence of unhealthy food advertising can be assumed.

Research shows that there is evidence suggesting a correlation between television food advertising and children's food-related behaviours, including their food preferences (see Escalante de Cruz, Phillips & Visch Mieke 2004; Hastings et al. 2003; Hawkes et al. 2015; Marketing et al. 2006; Nazari et al. 2011; Norman et al. 2018; Reisch et al. 2013). Latif, Khan & Farooq (2011) have identified body image dissatisfaction and eating disorder as clear problems of advertising to tweens. A survey of 211 children aged 6–12 years revealed that children's exposure to food advertising contributes to their food preferences by generating expectations, feelings, emotions and positive moods (Lioutas & Tzimitra-Kalogianni 2015). A report by the British Heart Foundation (BHF) and Children's Food Campaign published in 2007 found that most advertised food products are unhealthy and have a large influence in encouraging unhealthy eating habits in children, which are likely to continue into adulthood. The report also added that these advertisements of unhealthy foods influence children, not only in which brands they choose, but in the overall balance of their diet, encouraging them to eat energy-dense salty, sugary or fatty foods in place of more nutritious and wholesome foods (BHF 2007).

Conversely, Young (2003) argues that children's food preferences are influenced by other cultural factors, rather than advertising. He adds that children's food preferences are set by them before their understanding of the content and motivational approach of an advertisement. Young identified family and peers as causal factors to determine children's food preferences; thus, they are also responsible factors for obesity.

Proponents of advertising argue that advertisements aimed at children also influence their healthy eating habits (see Keller et al. 2012). Some researchers argue that brand character can also be a health-promoting marketing tool (French et al. 2001). Brand character can positively influence children's food preferences, such as increasing their fruit or vegetable intake (Kraak & Story 2015). Children's preferences for milk and carrots increased when the McDonald's logo was placed on the wrapping (Robinson et al. 2007). Children's fruit consumption also stimulated by fruit promotions in school canteens (e.g. attractive packages) (French & Stables 2003).

While several authors (e.g. Furst et al. 1996; Steenkamp 1997) attempt to list the factors that influence food choice, Randall and Sanjur (1981) divided the factors that influence food choice into three categories: (1) product, (2) person and (3) environment (or situational context). These three sets of factors are regarded as important determinants for food choice. Under the product category, they list the food characteristics that influence consumers' food preferences. Advertisers mention several food characteristics such as taste, texture, price, convenience, etc. in their advertisements, because these factors are important determinants of consumers' food choice. A study by the American Kaiser Family Foundation in 2007 revealed that half of all advertising time on children's television is devoted to food advertising. None of this includes advertisements for fruit or vegetables. The Kaiser Family Foundation study found that children aged 8–12 years see the most food advertisements on television – an average of 21 advertisements a day, or 7,600 per year. While food advertisements make extensive use of taste appeal to sell products, they also associate the products with fun, they include the appeal of contests and, at times, stress the 'newness' of products. Many advertisements associate the products with physical activity and highlight the health benefits gained from their consumption. It is often stressed that the products contain 'essential nutrients'. The advertisements were particularly aimed at children between 8 and 12 years old (Gantz et al. 2007).

While a handful of studies is available about the negative effects of advertising and branding on children, little evidence is available about the positive effects of advertising and branding on children. This means that some conclusions can be drawn with greater

confidence than others; due to the cognitive effect of advertising, for example, children can establish their relationships with brands. Though a number of studies have investigated what effects food advertisements have on young children, what is missing, however, are studies examining the communication techniques that advertisers use to influence children's food choices, and how they create these effects. To fill this gap, this study, through semiotic analysis of advertising, examines the strategies and appeals used by advertisers to construct the tween market in Australia. Semiotic analysis is a well-known method for analysing advertising texts among both academics and non-academics of the advertising industry (Sinclair 2002). In a mass consumption society, advertisers use various techniques to influence children's purchase decisions. By exploring the codes and sign systems of the advertising texts, semiotics analysis can allow understanding how the advertising texts form a social communication.

The above studies are all based on television advertising; however, very little appears to be known about the concerns around online advertising of food to tweens. Online advertising has raised concerns both in the public and academic domains because, due to their immature cognitive skills, children lack the ability to critically evaluate new online marketing techniques (Owen et al. 2013; Van Reijmersdal et al. 2017; Waiguny & Terlutter 2011). The current study thus looks at the nature and types of online and television advertisements children are exposed to.

2.5 Children's exposure to online advertising

Discussions of links between food advertising and childhood obesity assume that children are unable to understand the persuasive intent of advertising; it is a matter of concern. These concerns are not exceptional to the internet. What is exceptional regarding this media is the way that advertising is presented and the difficulties that children are facing due to their limited cognitive skill (Moore & Rideout 2007). One review (see Buchanan et al. 2018) systematically assessed the current evidence regarding the relationship between digital marketing and young people's attitudes and behaviours towards unhealthy commodities, including alcohol, tobacco and energy-dense, nutrient-poor (EDNP) food or beverages. It found that digital marketing improves consumers' attitudes towards alcohol, tobacco and EDNP food or beverages, and enhances their intention to use these products.

From the marketers' standpoint, apart from brand engagement, the internet has additional advantages. Firstly, it is a cost-effective way to reach their target consumers (Bertrim 2005). Internet CPM (cost per thousand impressions) rates in 2009 averaged \$7 (RexDuffDixon 2010), much less than the average 18 U.S dollars CPM for television (Statista 2019). Secondly, the internet gives marketers the opportunity to track their consumers. Due to the low production and entry costs, internet advertising is cheaper than other media; this medium also gives advertisers the option to track the effectiveness of their campaign by counting the number of visitors and time spent – through this, advertisers can understand their campaign's effectiveness (Design 2008; Naik & Raman 2003). In addition, online marketing is not regulated in the same way as other traditional media (e.g. television and radio).

Internet access is growing rapidly. According to the ABS, about 97% of households with children aged under 15 years have access to the internet (ABS 2018). The rapid growth of the internet has led to the development of a large number of child-oriented websites, which are a popular platform to target children (Moore 2006; Nicovich 2005). Most popular children's websites contain commercial content (Cai & Zhao 2013), for example, Nick.com, Disney.com and Barbie.com (Alvy & Calvert 2008). A study on 72 children's websites in the USA found 3.4 billion food advertisements appearing on popular children's websites and that 84% of the advertisements on these websites were for products that were high in fat, sugar and/or sodium (Ustjanauskas, Harris & Schwartz 2014).

Currently, advertisers are not only targeting children during their television viewing time but, after switching off the television, children can also find the same products online. Studies of media use suggest that the internet is not reducing television viewing, but rather supplementing it (Millward Brown 2016; Montgomery 2002; Rutherford, Bittman & Biron 2010). The emergence of digital technologies, including the internet and mobile devices, has let food marketers conduct coordinated campaigns to reinforce commercial messages across more traditional advertising platforms, including television, radio and print media, as well as to promote their brands on company-owned and third-party websites (not owned by the company); social media; email; and marketing via mobile

devices through text messages, applications (apps) and advergames (Kim & Lee 2015; Powell, Harris & Fox 2013). Advergames are advertiser-sponsored colourful games coordinated with brand messages (Moore 2006; Nicovich 2005).

In Australia, various reports have already been published (e.g. Brand 2007a; Rush & La Nauze 2006; Rutherford, Bittman & Biron 2010) in which the authors present the overall scenario of both television and web advertising to children. Recent research (see Annalect 2016) shows that 54% of all television advertising now includes a web address. Although researchers have focused on televising and online advertising separately, there appears to be a lack of scholarly examination on how television and online advertisers are working together to reach this tween market. A combination of quantitative (content analysis) and qualitative (semiotic) methodologies is essential to comprehend the meanings and potential influences of media texts completely (Hansen et al. 1998; Shoemaker & Reese 1996). Therefore, the current study carried out a content analysis of food companies' branded websites and branded Facebook pages to fill this gap in the literature.

Major food company websites are heavily loaded with advertisements; estimates suggest that two-thirds of these websites are dependent on advertisements as their primary source of revenue (Moore 2006). A study on 119 food product websites and 196 children's websites in Australia (Kelly et al. 2008) found that unhealthy food promotions are commonplace, food company websites are promoting branded games and branded education, and non-food company websites are also featuring unhealthy food advertisements. A content analysis of approximately 100 foods- and beverage-brand websites (Hurwitz, Montague & Wartella 2016) reveals that a small proportion of food company websites are child-oriented. These websites use the following strategies: advergames; static pictures of food or other branded content; videos, comics or eBooks; downloadable image contests; and art activities.

Embedded advertising now occurs across media platforms, from television to online and vice versa; and from company websites to social networking websites and vice versa. Food companies use branded websites, Facebook pages and coordinated marketing strategies because the different media have different strengths and weaknesses. Digital marketing refers to any promotional activities undertaken through websites, social

networking sites (SNS), emails, mobile phone texts, applications (apps) and online games (Kelly et al. 2015).

Another review examined the potential impact of new media food and beverage marketing on young people's diets (Kelly et al. 2015), and current and potential policy responses to limit children's exposure to these promotions. It found that food marketing on Facebook was extensive and, apart from using traditional marketing tools such as promotional characters and nutrition claims, a branded Facebook page can contain a range of the following:

interactive components (links to webpages, frequent requests for 'comments', 'likes' and 'shares', conversations between brands and consumers and the occasional use of voting polls); promotions (most commonly competitions, giveaways and new product promotions); cross promotions (linking in with other new media via advertisements on YouTube, and links to food company websites and specific advertising campaign websites) (Kelly et al. 2015, pp. 41–2)

The study concludes that, given the diverse and extensive nature of marketing activities on the digital platforms, there is a need for proactive regulatory measures to restrict unhealthy food marketing to children within the online environment (Kelly et al. 2015, p. 43). Although Kelly and colleagues (2008) and Freeman and colleagues (2014) have analysed types and ranges of techniques in food and drink marketing, policy discussion would benefit from a stronger research base and greater evidence of digital marketing strategies.

Online privacy and viral marketing are two issues that are correlated to SNS. Therefore, before discussing the existing regulatory arrangements to restrict junk-food advertising to children, it is logical to briefly review these two issues.

2.5.1 Online privacy

To reach target consumers, it is important for marketers to collect and analyse information about their consumers. From the advertiser's point of view, the major reason for them to

choose the internet as a marketing medium is its capacity to give them the opportunity to access consumers' personal information, by registering them on the site, and also to track their users; thus, they can reach their consumers easily and can create campaigns targeted to them (Story & French 2004).

Websites and advertisement networks collect and use the personal information of their users in several ways. For some companies, it is their business to track their visitors, classify that data, then they sell marketers the profile information of their site's visitors. For example, Facebook collects data in order to post targeted advertisements on an individual's page. 'If a user falls into a certain age group, has discussed travel, or posted about having children, he or she should see advertisements related to these topics' (Christiansen 2011). Websites are not only collecting information from adults, they are collecting the same information from children as well. The major concern regarding online marketing tactics is collecting consumers' personal information and using their information. Studies found that children are more willing to disclose their personal information than adults (Turow, Nir & Center 2000). Websites targeting children are full of contests, social networking activities, advergames and advertisements. To engage in such activities, children have to register themselves as a member by providing their name, address, age, email address and other personal information (Miyazaki, Stanaland & Lwin 2009). Due to their limited life experience and cognitive skill, children cannot understand the actual purpose behind this; therefore, they cannot protect themselves from such a marketing approach. With the growing number of child internet users, the threat of collecting such information is growing as well (Lwin, Stanaland & Miyazaki 2008; Montgomery 2000). In sum, the evidence indicates that the issue of online privacy has gathered the attention of researchers. This issue needs to be taken into consideration in the current study because, without a strict regulatory system, it is not possible to control such a situation and protect children from such marketing practices. Researchers and policymakers called such practices an invasion of privacy (Kunkel et al. 2004).

Though various safeguards are available, studies have found that these safeguards attract tweens to such promotional techniques rather than discouraging them. Miyazaki, Stanaland and Lwin (2009) conducted a study in order to test the effectiveness of safeguard warnings among tweens. They conducted a study among 112 websites and

found that 34% of the websites do not contain any safeguards at all, 1 website contains a threat safeguard, 9% contain warning and threat safeguards, and 37% had warning, threat and barrier safeguards. The study found that warning safeguards increase the effectiveness of advertising as well as the websites. They also confirmed that tweens seem to be more attracted to advertisements with a credible element of threat or consequence – these will be more effective than those without, particularly for tweens.

In contrast, Lwin et al. (2008) found in their study with tweens that threat safeguards were effective in discouraging children from disclosing their personal information. However, according to psychological reactance theory warnings, safeguarding threats and similar barriers often attract consumers' attention towards the object (Brehm 1972). Grandpre et al. (2003) concluded that, although warnings and threat safeguards are effective for tweens, it depends on the individuals – differences may exist in how individuals respond to these warnings. Looking at all the research evidence, it appears that the safeguards may be effective for a particular group of children, but they are not sufficient to protect them all. The following sections will review viral marketing and provide an overview of the existing codes and initiatives on food marketing to children.

2.5.2 Viral marketing

Viral marketing refers to the promotion of products by 'word-of-mouth', often through digital or electronic platforms (Calvert 2008; McGinnis, Gootman & Kraak 2006). Children's peers have a significant influence on their preferences and behaviours (Houldcroft et al. 2014; Lindstrom 2004; Guber 1993; McDougall & Chantrey 2004; Simpson et al. 1998; Siegel et al. 2004). Hence, the majority of the food-brand websites targeting children and adolescents use viral marketing (such as links to Facebook and other social media pages) (Vandevijvere et al. 2017), encouraging them to talk to one another about a brand's website by emailing friends with an e-greeting or invitation, and inviting them to visit the site (Ali et al. 2009). Vandevijvere et al. (2017) examined 70 food-company websites and found that 64% of all food-brand websites encourage children to send marketing messages to their friends.

Moore and Rideout (2007) examined 77 websites and found that 64% of websites encouraged visitors to send emails to their friends containing brand-related greetings (e-cards) or invitations to the site. In several cases, the sender was given the chance to personalize the message by selecting the layout, colours or text. Thus, these websites were practicing viral marketing and also collecting personal data. Companies are also practicing viral marketing through advergames. For example, children can send an email to his/her friends from a gaming site and inform them about the game. The company can thus get a peer endorser and can reach many new consumers; in this way, new consumers become familiar with the advergame websites and various brands (An & Stern 2011).

SNS such as Facebook are being used by advertisers to reach children and adolescents (Vandevijvere et al. 2017). Food-brand company websites and Facebook pages are recognised as the main route for viral marketing by advertisers. For example, marketers such as McDonald's and Coca-Cola have created pages on Facebook where visitors can interact with the brand just as they would with their friends and can suggest their friends to visit these brands' Facebook pages. These are the most popular Facebook pages among the fast-food and beverage brands, with the highest potential reach among children and young people (Vandevijvere, Aitken & Swinburn 2018). Thus, it is a cost-effective way for marketers to reach their target consumers.

Viral marketing has been recognised as a matter of concern for policymakers as well as consumer advocates (Linn 2004). Due to their limited cognitive skill, children fail to realise that, by sending these messages to their friends, they are actually serving the commercial purpose of brand (Moore & Rideout 2007). The lack of relevant data regarding the content and nature of online marketing tactics is also one of the major problems for the policymakers (McGinnis, Gootman & Kraak 2006). The next core area of investigation in this study is the response of the current advertising self-regulatory system regarding unhealthy food advertising to children on television and online.

2.6 Australian advertising regulations

From the above discussion about the relation between advertising and unhealthy eating habits, one question remains: to what extent can the Australian regulatory system protect children from the advertisements of unhealthy food products?

In 1998, the Australian Association of National Advertisers (AANA) introduced the AANA Advertising Code of Ethics (Australian Government 1993); this was followed by the launch of the AANA Code for Advertising and Marketing Communications to Children in 2003 and the AANA's Food and Beverages: Advertising and Marketing Communications Code in 2007 as part of advertising self-regulation (AANA 2013). In response to community concerns about food advertising to children through television, in August 2009, the Australian Quick Service Restaurant Industry (QSRI) introduced a national self-regulatory initiative on Responsible Advertising and Marketing to Children (AANA 2009a), which specifies that quick service restaurants should 'ensure that only food and beverages that represent healthier choices are promoted directly to children' (AANA 2009a). The initiative was taken with seven signatories: Chicken Treat, Hungry Jack's, KFC, McDonald's, Oporto, Pizza Hut and Red Rooster (AANA 2009a). These companies agreed that they would advertise products that encouraged healthier lifestyles and represent healthier food choices in advertisements that would be directed to children under 14 years of age (AANA 2009a).

Children's TV is made up of C-time – for children aged 5–14 – and P-time – for pre-schoolers under the age of 5. Almost half of all children are exposed to free-to-air children's TV (Free TV Australia 2017, p. 14). About 18 per cent of children watch free-to-air children's TV every day, while one-third watch it at least once per week. The average audience of children under the age of 13 watching C and P programs was 7,400 in 2013 and 6,800 in 2016. Peak audiences of children aged 0–13 for these C and P programs was 30,000 in 2013 and 46,000 in 2016. Almost one-fifth of shows had an average audience of fewer than 10,000 in 2010, which rose to 79 per cent in 2016 (Free TV Australia 2017, p. 17). In 2016, almost half the viewers of C-time and P-time shows were children under the age of 13 (6,800 of 15,200 viewers). There are hundreds of thousands of people watching family entertainment programs, such as *MasterChef*

Australia, Australian Ninja Warrior and *My Kitchen Rules*, which are classified C or P (Free TV Australia 2017). The Free TV report notes that: “By 2016, only 7% of C and P programs had an average audience of 0–13-year olds that was higher than 25,000 and 79% of programs had an audience of below 10,000” (Free TV Australia 2017, p. 6). These statistics suggest that, no matter how much children watch other shows at other times and on other devices, thousands of children are still watching TV programs classified as for children. One in three children are watching kids’ TV at least once per week. The implication of this study lies in the fact that it analysed the kind of television advertisements to which as many as 46,000 children are being exposed.

To regulate the promotions, popular characters and unsuitable advertising during televisions programs that are specially dedicated to children, Australia has several statutory guidelines (ACMA 2009a). However, these guidelines do not mention the types of foods that can be advertised during the ‘C’ timeslot (with the exception of alcohol) and do not mention children’s peak viewing hours (ACMA 2009a). The AANA Codes apply to all advertising platforms, including social media. The current self-regulatory guidelines mention certain food categories, e.g. products that contain alcohol or other products that are associated in some way with alcohol, as well as marketing techniques such as the use of premiums that are inappropriate to advertise to children (AANA 2009a; AFGC 2009). Critics argue that, in these self-regulatory guidelines, the specifications are not well defined, highly liberal and are under the control of food manufactures and services (King et al. 2011).

Studies show that the guidelines are not successful in maintaining their commitments. Hebden et al. (2010) conducted a study in order to examine the commitments made by food companies of the Australian Food and Grocery Council’s Responsible Marketing to Children Initiative regarding the types of foods considered appropriate for marketing to children. Their study found that the types of food that are considered by the signatory food companies as appropriate for marketing to children do not have adequate restrictions for the marketing of EDNP foods. Again, in order to examine their effectiveness, Watson et al. (2017) conducted another study and found that the rate of unhealthy food advertisements, and thus children’s exposure to unhealthy fast-food advertising, has not changed since 2011. From these two studies, it can be concluded that the current self-regulatory system is not adequate to restrict the marketing of unhealthy food. It has also

been claimed that, though the food industry has given sufficient opportunity to deal with this issue, the evidence shows that the market approach is failing to regulate this area (Craig 2011; Norman et al. 2018).

It must be noted that the above evidence is mainly based on television advertising. Improved enforcement of unhealthy food promotion on digital platforms is also needed because, from earlier in the chapter, we know that marketers are currently targeting children online as well. Apart from food advertising, with the internet there is another concern: children's privacy. Children's privacy is not protected online; therefore, an online advertising regulatory system has also become essential in Australia. Due to the increasing popularity of Facebook among children, currently, junk-food and drink brands are using Facebook to reach Australia's children (Freeman et al. 2014). Facebook allows marketers to collect personal information about children under the age of 13 and to use this information for targeted marketing purposes. In their research about websites in Australia, Kelly et al. (2008) found that 30.8% of websites offered membership options, encouraging children to provide their personal details. Some websites contained statements about age requirements and parental permission; however, these were not regulated. The authors stated that, in Australia, it has become essential to introduce other regulatory options, including children's privacy protection and age blocks. Such privacy laws may defend children from sharing personal information, which marketers can use to further target children.

Ad Standards is the key regulatory organisation in Australia for receiving complaints about advertising content across all forms of media (including online advertising) in relation to the advertising of any products or services. Based on the literature review on advertising regulation, it seems that the current system of advertising regulation in Australia is failing to draw a threshold for applying advertising restrictions within the context of continually changing and emerging technologies. Given the nature of current coordinated marketing communications, children are now getting exposed to a wider range of food marketing techniques than ever before. The self-regulatory system was introduced in 2009; without continuous reporting about the regulatory system, it is not possible for anyone to come to a conclusion about the extent to which the self-regulatory system can protect children. A clearer picture of the regulatory gaps will enable

policymakers, regulators, consumer advocates and educators to plan the most appropriate and effective interventions to limit Australian children's exposure to unhealthy food advertising. Hence, by conducting a narrative literature review on the current Australian advertising self-regulatory system regarding unhealthy food advertising to children on television and online, this study documents the efforts of policymakers and the food and media industries in relation to advertising food to children, and it identifies the regulatory gaps that exist in this area.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to identify what has been written on the worth of the Australian tweenage market, children's exposure to food marketing on television and online, and the effectiveness of the Australian advertising self-regulatory system on protecting children from the exposure of food advertising. The review of the literature suggests that advertising exposure and children's unhealthy eating habits are correlated. This chapter has considered several environmental factors in relation to tweens' consumption behaviour to have a neutral view on the effects on advertising to children. To date, studies have focused largely on the extent, content and nature of food advertising; these studies (see Lee & Tseng 2006; Moon 2010; Roberts & Pettigrew 2007) have done so by identifying themes within their respective datasets. One weakness in the current literature is that there is a paucity of well-designed studies examining the communication techniques, namely, the language (semiotics) that advertisers use to influence children's food choices; therefore, we have a limited understanding of the strategies and appeals used by advertisers to construct the Australian tweenage market.

This chapter has identified the topics or questions that require more investigation. It is acknowledged that there is no data available on the Australian tweenage market and thus it is reasonably easy for marketers to expand their market and ideas. There are very few studies and research available on the content of the websites for food products that are being advertised on free-to-air television, and which include a website or Facebook page in their advertisements in the Australian context. There is a need for research on how food advertisers are using coordinated campaigns to reinforce their commercial messages across television and online. Regulations of television advertisements are inadequate and

regulations of online food marketing to children are presently limited. In summary, this research's review of food advertising to children highlights the need for additional studies to identify the areas where strict regulation is needed.

The next chapters will be discussing the methodologies used to investigate food marketing and advertising efforts: (i) the techniques that advertisers use to market products to tweens, on free-to-air television in Sydney; (ii) the website content for food products that are being advertised on free-to-air television, including websites or Facebook pages in their advertisements; and (iii) how the current Australian advertising self-regulatory system is responding to the changing media landscape.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Design

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first, the underlying philosophical assumptions of this research study are identified. Common philosophical assumptions are reviewed and presented; the constructivist paradigm is identified as the framework of the study. The next section describes the research methodology. It explains the rationale for selecting a mixed methods approach and covers the reasons for applying semiotic analysis, content analysis, and narrative review methods and data analysis procedures. This study adopted a mixed methods approach, using content analysis and semiotic analysis to examine (i) the techniques that advertisers use to market products to tweens on free-to-air television in Sydney and (ii) the content of the websites for food products that are being advertised on free-to-air television and which included a website or Facebook page in their advertisements. The study also conducted a narrative literature review to investigate how the current Australian advertising self-regulatory system is responding to the changing media landscape. Finally, the third section describes in detail the data collection methods used in the research.

3.2 Research philosophy

The research process contains three major dimensions: ontology, epistemology and methodology (Blanche, Durrheim & Painter 2006). Ontology refers to a branch of philosophy concerned with our assumptions about the form and nature of reality (Guba & Lincoln 1989). Epistemology is the area of philosophy that is concerned with the nature of human knowledge and the process of discovering the world (Everitt & Fisher 1995;

Reber 1995, p. 256). While ontology is concerned with ‘What is there that can be known?’ (Guba & Lincoln 1989, p. 83), epistemology deals with the questions ‘What do we know and how do we know it?’ (Van Gigch 2013, p. 17).

For example, to the question: ‘Can media target and influence a child to consume the advertised product?’ the expected answer is related to humanity and all questions related to humanity (their behaviour, products, thinking, and so on) will be a researcher’s view of human nature – their perception that media reproduces human activity. Therefore, it is appropriate to say that ‘all theory in human and social sciences begins with a view of human nature’ and, in philosophy, this view of human nature is referred as ontology (Fourie 2007). Broadly, two schools of thought regarding humanity can be distinguished: determinism and humanism (Fourie 2007).

The foundation of determinism is the belief that human behaviour is subject to being controlled by various forces ‘beyond individual control’ (Fourie 2007). From a determinist point of view, the answer to the question about whether advertising should target a tweenage group will thus be: yes, advertising will target the tweenagers or consumers and it will influence their purchase decisions because these are the fundamental characteristics of the ‘nature of media and mass communications’ over which people (editors, advertisers and regulators) have little control.

The foundation of humanism is the belief that people are free to make decisions according to their own judgement. From a humanist point of view, the answer to the question about whether advertising should target the tweenagers or consumers would thus be yes, advertising may target consumers under certain circumstances and how advertising may target the consumers depends on certain conditions including the various conditions of the media audience(s). According to this liberal or humanist view, advertisers may influence consumers’ purchase decisions in a certain way, because people (editorial staff, regulatory bodies and audience) can think responsibly for themselves.

An extremely important factor choosing a methodology is the researcher’s positionality and philosophical stances with respect to beliefs, values, ontology, epistemology and rationality. This is crucial to methodological decision-making within research, especially

when the research is subjective. An aim of this research is to investigate the construction of the tweenage market. To answer the research question, it is worthwhile looking at the themes that advertisers use to communicate to tweens in order to get a complete insight about the construction of the tweenage market. It is proven that purchase decisions are the result of advertising exposure and, from the increasing rate of advertising exposure, it has also been made clear that editors, directors and regulatory bodies have limited control or power over media and mass communication. From this ontological perspective, therefore, the focus for this research is not the effect of advertising, nor tweens' cognitive skill, but how advertising creates such effects. In other words, the construction of the tweenage market involves advertisers' efforts to communicate with tweens and influence their opinions about purchase decisions. Due to the development of technology, consumption is dependent on the relationship between individual consumers and their exposure to different advertising messages – in this case, the connection between consumer (experiencer) and advertising exposure (experience). Therefore, according to the research question and the aim of this study, the constructivist ontological position was adopted for this study.

The researcher's epistemological stance is important when choosing a methodology according to the purpose and goals of the study. Epistemology is known as the science of knowledge. Epistemology is about how people know and what they know. The researcher's ontological stance relates to their epistemological perspective. From an ontological perspective, knowledge is reality and this reality is subject to a learner's interpretation whereas, epistemologically, knowledge can be obtained through a learner's objective observation for sense-making and meaning. Just as it is important that the researcher determines their ontological position, it is worthwhile to articulate their epistemological stance, because the latter will also inform the methodology. In this study, the researcher's ontological perspective of advertisements was an influential factor; the relationship between the exposure to advertising (experience) and the tween consumer or viewer (experiencer) of advertising supports an epistemological stance of making purchase decisions through subjective, interpretative sense-making and meaning.

The following sections will discuss two broad ontological and epistemological views; namely, positivism (or objectivism) and constructionism (also known as subjectivism or interpretivism).

3.2.1 Positivism

A theoretical perspective that is closely linked to objectivism is positivism. Positivism is the term used to describe an approach that explores social reality. Two influential positivists include Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim, who emphasised observation and reason as a means of understanding human behaviour. Positivism believes that reality is objective and that reality is external to the researcher. Objective reality can be examined and discovered without allowing the researcher's personal values, biases, personal feelings and other subjective factors to interfere when perceiving objective reality. The positivists claim that, in order to maintain an objective position, a researcher should be independent of his/her experiences while interpreting the research findings. The researcher can investigate and theorise about media's (advertising) targeting of people (tweens) in an objective way without allowing his/her personal knowledge, understanding and interpretation of the advertisers' way of targeting tweens, to interfere (Fourie 2007). In the case of advertising that targets tweens, the positivists would believe that there are objective ways of investigating this that will lead to objective conclusions. This is not possible in social research, however, because a researcher also belongs to society; therefore, it is quite obvious that his/her values, experiences and motives will inevitably influence their research (Fourie 2007). Hence, in positivism studies, researchers adopt scientific methods and interpret the data through an objective approach; the research findings are usually observable and quantifiable (Sousa 2010).

3.2.2 Constructivism

Constructivism assumes that a learner mentally constructs reality. Knowledge is constructed based on the actions and experiences of a learner. Constructivists believe in individual interpretations of reality; that is, between the researcher and what is being studied are interactive and inseparable (Johnson-Laird 1980). From a constructivist point of view, theorising about advertisements targeting the tweenage group cannot be

separated from one's knowledge of the advertising, 'its history, its institutions, its ways of production' its people (workers and so on). Such knowledge influences our interpretation and understanding (Fourie 2007, p. 107). Each learner individually (and socially) constructs meaning through their unique individual experiences throughout the learning process (Uden, Liu & Shank 2001). Reality depends on the way the researcher looks at their data and attempts to understand and interpret the findings in the way people view the external world (Creswell 2013). Moreover, the researcher in the constructivist approach acknowledges that his/her own perspectives and experiences influence his/her interpretations of the findings (Creswell 2013). In the case of the current study, regarding advertising that targets the tweenage group, the 'objectivist will believe that there are objective ways of investigating this that will lead to objective conclusions' (Fourie 2007, p. 108). Constructivists 'will believe that there are different ways of looking at this issue leading to different opinions: none of them being either true or untrue' (Fourie 2007, p. 108). While objectivism is often referred to as the scientific method, constructivism is referred as critical, interpretative, hermeneutical and phenomenological (Butler 1998; Diesing 1966).

Research that concentrates on the analysis of textual content tends to adopt content analysis (both quantitative and qualitative approaches), semiotics, phenomenology or hermeneutical. Constructivist research studies are more likely to rely on both qualitative and quantitative methods (mixed methods), because mixed methods allow researchers to gain an extensiveness and depth of understanding of various methods and to provide justification for each of the methods used in the study, while minimising the weaknesses inherent in using each approach by itself (Chilisa 2011; Mackenzie & Knipe 2006). Therefore, given the constructivist stance adopted by this research and the nature of the research question, this research will rely on both qualitative and quantitative methods (mixed methods), which include content analysis, semiotic analysis and narrative literature review.

3.3 Research methodology

The thesis consists of three studies that aim to fill the gaps in the literature by examining three specific research questions, which have been outlined in Chapter 1. The first study

used content analysis and semiotic analysis to examine the techniques that advertisers use to market products to tweens, on free-to-air television in Sydney.

While previous Australian studies have provided accounts of food products advertised and promotional appeals used in food commercials (e.g. Brindal, Corsini & Hendrie 2011; Hebden et al. 2011; King et al. 2013; King et al. 2011; Watson et al. 2017), they have not explored the hidden meanings of the dominant ideological themes contained in the advertisements they identified. To be effective, advertising must somehow take the inherent properties of the goods to be sold and make them mean something to people (Jhally 1990; Twitchell 1997; Williamson 1978). In advertising, a message is put into words and images by a creative team; approved by a purchaser; distributed through a medium such as radio, television or magazines; and the targeted audience decodes it. The advertisement's messages have to use appropriate signs and symbols to stimulate the individual's perceptual system into action (Parsa 2004).

What advertising *does*, in fact, is create meaning, or, as Judith Williamson put it, 'structures of meaning' (Williamson 1978, p. 12). 'Images, ideas or feelings, then, become attached to certain products, by being transferred from signs out of other systems (things or people with 'images') to the products, rather than originating in them' (Williamson 1978, p. 30). In addition, Jean (1998) introduces the idea of 'commodity-sign' to indicate this tight connection between the tangible (commodity/good) and intangible (sign/imagery). In consumer culture, there is strong connection between the tangible (commodity/good) and intangible (sign/imagery); therefore, consumption not only refers to consuming durable goods but it also refers to 'symbolic' consumption, such as consuming the images and dreams that advertising is able to invoke in consumers' minds. This association is created through advertising discourse. Therefore, this study aims to decode the persuasion strategies in the advertising targeted for children from a semiotic perspective. More specifically, it shows how the discursive, textual and symbolic strategies used in advertising discourse contribute to bringing food products into the world of children.

3.3.1 Semiological analysis

3.3.1.1 *Study 1*

Modern semiotics emerged through the work of two linguistic theorists, namely, Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and American philosopher Charles Saunders Peirce. Saussure is (1857–1913), considered to be the founder of modern linguistics, developed and applied the principles of semiotics to language (Seiler 2005). Charles Sanders Peirce is the founder of semiotics; however, both sciences involved interpreting signs (Berger 2010).

The ‘sign’ is a key term in any semiotics. Debate about signs and their referents has been introduced through many different, albeit frequently overlapping, arguments and concepts of semiotics. According to Saussure, people create signs by expressing their imaginations through language codes, which are understandable by the individual who participated in the communication process. For Saussure, signs are arbitrary; nothing can be considered as a sign unless it is interpreted as a sign. Saussure’s theory of sign is language oriented and related to the school of thought that says ‘language does not reflect reality but rather constructs it’ – there is no reality in the world that can exist outside language (Chandler 2007, p. 28).

In contrast to Saussure’s view, Peirce considers everything as a sign as long as it is capable of representing something according to the individual’s interpretation and thought. He introduced his own ideas about the effect of signs on society by categorising the patterns of meanings in signs as iconic, symbolic and indexical. In iconic signs, the signifier resembles the signified; in indexical signs, the relation between the signifier and signified is a cause–effect relation; and in symbolic signs, the relation between the signifier and signified is purely artificial, arbitrary or conventional (Peirce 1969). For example, an image of a person is an iconic sign, because it resembles what it refers to; a cough is an indexical sign of a cold, because of the cause–effect relationship between them; and a red rose is a symbolic sign of passion or sensuality, because here the relationship between red rose and sensuality is arbitrary (Beasley & Danesi 2002). Saussure’s approach emphasises language and society – the social purpose of the sign – and on communication; Peirce is more interested in the signification, representation, reference and meaning – the process of sign functioning (Short 2007).

For Saussure, each sign consists of a signifier and signified, but these are two separate components. The signifier is the sign itself; the image is as we, the audience, perceive it, which is common to members of the same culture who share the same language (Fiske 2002, p. 43). The signified is the meaning; the signifier is that which represents that meaning. Saussure argued that the relation between the signifier and signified is arbitrary and conventional; they can mean different things to different people. A signifier may contain various 'signifieds', or meanings, and those meanings differ depending upon the audience. For example, the Eiffel Tower is a common signifier of Paris, Frenchness, sophistication and romance, among other things. Which meanings are attached to it depend, in large part, upon its context and the viewer. Some people, for example, consider the tower as an eyesore, and how Americans view it is different from how the French themselves view it (Berger 2010). The signified itself is arbitrary because it depends on how we reproduce it, see it and categorise it on the basis of our culture (Fiske 2002, p. 39). However, this arbitrariness exists in written and spoken language but not in visual signs (Fiske 2002, p. 39). Many researchers (see Bignell 2002; Hodge & Kress 1988; Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996; Mcilwain 2007; Peirce 1980; Setia et al. 2009; Thibault 1991; Van Leeuwen 2001) have formed semiotics into a methodological framework for investigating photography, video and art.

Before semiotically examining advertising, semiotic terms such as denotation, connotation, metaphor, metonymy, code and orders of signification (Seiler 2005) will be introduced and briefly explained. Semiotic analysis includes two important levels of meaning in a sign: denotation (the actual object represented) and connotation (the meaning given to that object). Denotation refers to the literal meaning of a term or object; it is basically descriptive. Conversely, connotation deals with the cultural meaning that a sign may carry (Berger 2010). The connotative meaning is dependent on the broader cultural world in which readers make sense of the representation (Hall 1997). Fiske (2002, p. 91) describes it thus: the words 'denotation is what is photographed; connotation is how it is photographed'.

Media systems function through ideology and, in television commercials, the ideological process takes place in a delicate way, as there are many technical events occurring each

second, which all employ strategies to persuade viewers – for example, a cut, zoom, superimposition, voiceover, appearance of text on screen, aspects of lighting, sound effects, voiceovers and editing (Althusser 2006; Roy 1998).

In semiotics, the concept of ideology has been defined from various viewpoints. For Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, ideology is a ‘false consciousness’, or a system of false ideas, functioning to make the ideas of the ruling class accepted as natural and normal (Curran, Gurevitch & Woollacott 1982, p. 26). Marx concluded that people’s consciousness about their identity, their sense about the world, is based on their social experience; they relate thus to the rest of society (Fiske 2002). However, French Marxist philosopher, Louis Althusser, considered ideology itself as a determining force for shaping our values, desires and preferences. The key point of Althusser’s theory of ideology is that ‘ideology interpolates individuals as subjects’ (Althusser 2006). He introduces the concept of interpellation, or hailing. According to Althusser (2006), communication is a social process; by participating in communication, we recognise ourselves; we participate thus in our society and, therefore, ideological construction. According to this view, interpellation occurs when the subject (viewer, listener and reader) is represented by the text and ‘positions’ the subject in such a way that their representations are regarded as the reflections of everyday reality:

Interpellation occurs when a person connects with a media text: when we enjoy a magazine or TV show, for example, this uncritical consumption means that the text has interpellated us into a certain set of assumptions and caused us to tacitly accept a particular approach to the world (Gauntlett 2008, p. 27).

After Althusser, Judith Williamson acknowledged the process of interpellation; she referred to it as ‘appellation’. By directly addressing consumers as active subjects, advertisements perform appellation to construct the viewer or reader according to the messages portrayed in the advertisement. Williamson agrees with Althusser’s theory, which suggests that, through interpellation or appellation, advertisements force ideology upon us.

Judith Williamson is a professor and journalist, who teaches cultural studies at the Maidstone College of Art. Her work, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising is a Study of Semiotics of Advertisements* (1978), combined a generally Marxist perspective with structuralist semiotics and psychoanalytic ideological theory to examine print advertising through semiological and ideological perspectives. Her argument is based on Lacan's psychoanalytic theory (see Nobus 1997), which perceives consciousness as created, not inherent; that is, the subject is formed, not born. In line with this theory, she argues that advertisers use ideologies as tools for creating consciousness and circulating meaning in a modern capitalist society. Her study identified the underlying ideological constructions associated with particular advertising techniques. She further argues that advertisements invite consumers to engage in ideological ways to interpret, understand and make sense of themselves, and the world. She contends that the ideological function of advertising is to collectively involve consumers as individuals to achieve advertisers' economic goals and help in building the economic basis of our society (see Williamson 1978).

In contrast, another Marxist thinker, Antonio Gramsci, posits ideology as a struggle. The Italian Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) was a second-generation Marxist thinker. He emphasised struggle and introduced the term 'hegemony' to denote ideology as struggle. He also used the term hegemony to specify the dominance of one social class over others (e.g. bourgeois hegemony). According to this view, the dominant class has to work hard to achieve their ideological purposes and disguise their ideological tasks by constructing 'common sense'. Hegemony indicates the ability of the dominant class to construct 'common sense'. In order to achieve this, the ruling class has to project their ideas as common sense and make them accepted by their subordinated groups (Fiske 1990b). An example can be cited about American hegemonic power on Australian cultural dimensions, such as local broadcast television. Between 2008 and 2011, foreign content hours rose by 154%, while Australian content increased by only 59% over the same period (Bell & Bell 2004; SA 2011).

While the above theories have explained the construction of ideology in our society, Barthes (1972) refers to ideology as mythology. He introduced the concept of 'myth' into semiotics, because he was interested in identifying the role of myths in popular culture.

According to Barthes (1972), advertisers usually attempt to attach products to cultural myths within our society.

Myth functions by bringing together signs and their connotations to shape a particular message. Barthes indicates that photographs can carry and produce myths. Advertisers use myths to persuade us to see ourselves, the products or services that are advertised (Saren 2007), in terms of the mythic meanings, which advertisements draw on and help to promote (Bignell 2002, p. 33). Louis Althusser and Roland Barthes discussed how signs produce ideological and mythical messages in television commercials. With the use of signs, Althusser (1971) explains how a particular meaning is attached to any advertised product. Barthes (1972), rather cohesively, explains why advertisements are constructed the way they are. However, whether it is the matter of producing ideology or myth, in television advertising, advertisers have to use both verbal and non-verbal signs in order to communicate with consumers.

3.3.1.2 Signs and images

At the centre of mass communication sign system, there are images. The technique of advertisers of arranging various signs to attach a particular image to a product is called the 'referent system'. Visual semiotics is widely used to analyse 'how visual representations convey meaning' (Hall 1997, p. 41) According to communication theorist Moriarty (1995), the meanings of pictures are not in the pictures themselves, but rather, they depend on our interpretation of the pictures. Visual interpretation is based on our perceptions through language, our cognition ability, which has been developed during our life experience. Like linguistic analysis, visual analysis is also based on readers' experiences and social interactions. Therefore, advertisers utilise a pre-existing referent system of meaning (Moriarty 1995; Saren 2007). For instance, advertisements portray beautiful women with 'sexy' curves; they thus equate 'curvy' women with being healthy, because society equates being 'curvy' with being healthy and beautiful. In this way, advertisements do not create meaning for the product; rather, they create consciousness and translate the meaning for the product through a sign system. Such pre-existing sign systems can be characterised in a number of ways. They have been called 'codes' by Hall (2001), 'referent systems' by Williamson (1978) and 'mythologies' by Barthes (1972). All of these concepts refer to the linked set of signs that are involved in the process of

constructing meaning in advertising. Each of these terms means something rather different, and each has somewhat different methodological implications (Gillian 2001; Rose 2011, p. 88).

This study relies on the semiotic approach used by Judith Williamson to make explicit the ideologies underlying Australian food product commercials to show how advertisers are constructing the tweenage market through advertising messages to children (Althusser 2006; Barthes 1972). The reason is this: advertisements become a medium for ideology by reinforcing ideas, beliefs and opinions that reflect the society within a culture. The ideology is generated by the signs contained in the advertisement and its message, and advertisers make use of signs to convey advertising messages (Bezuidenhout 1998; Chandler 2000). Sign systems help people to reinforce notions of the way that things are. Consequently, semiotic analysis always involves ideological analysis. Ideology produces meaning through the use of signs, which are contained in the advertisement and its message (Chandler 2000). Therefore, in order to gain a deep insight of the role that advertising plays in the construction of the tweenage market, it is necessary to identify how advertising organises and constructs reality, how ideology and meanings are produced within advertising discourse, and why images are the way they are (Hodge & Kress 1993, p. 212).

According to Judith Williamson, when interpreting the ideological work of an advertisement, it is important to understand how advertisers establish a correlation between signifier and signified through narrative, shots, editing and so on; that is, how viewers take meaning from the product. Questions to be asked include: What kind of meaning does the advertising message have outside of the advertisement; what is the significance of that message; and what quality does the advertisement transfer to the product? In this study, emphasis has been given to the visual rather than verbal codes, because visual codes hold a greater impact on children (Hodge 1989).

3.3.1.3 Reading advertisements

To examine the techniques that advertisers use to market products to tweens on free-to-air television in Sydney, it is important to read and analyse the visual and verbal content of the advertisement. Analysing media texts, such as advertisements constitutes an

important area of visual semiotics. Therefore, this study will use semiotics as its primary research method to examine the techniques that advertisers use to market products to tweens, on free-to-air television in Sydney.

To identify different kinds of appeals, and to understand how advertising works on the basis of dominant ideologies, this study relies on semiotics to read and analyse advertising – content analysis cannot address the broader issues in analysing visual images, as it assumes that different viewers see the same image in the same way (Rose 2011, p. 85-6). Semiotics is an appropriate tool for an examination and critical analysis of advertising (Dyer 2003; Jhally 1990; Williamson 1978). Semiotics allows for the ‘decoding [of] advertising text’; this technique lets researchers make classifications of advertising signs and sign systems in relation to their method of transmission (Berger 1989). However, there are other approaches available for textual analysis, such as rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis and content analysis. In terms of textual analysis, the method of content analysis in the field of media studies is contradictory to semiotics. Whereas semiotic analysis is closely connected with cultural studies, content analysis has long been recognised as a useful method for social science researchers. While content analysis is a quantitative method for analysing the ‘content’ of the media text, semiotic analysis mainly investigates the latent meaning of a media text; it thus presents the connotative meanings a given text rather than counting the frequency of an item in it.

While content analysis is useful when working with a large number of images or texts in a consistent manner, it limits the researcher’s investigation in several ways, as enumerated by Rose (2011, pp. 66–8). First, content analysis considers something as important on the basis of its frequency; it classifies and counts phenomena in texts or visual representations (Gaskell & Bauer 2000, pp. 131–51; Titscher et al. 2000). Content analysis does not, however, address omissions. It does not deal with the underlying meaning of an advertising message and fails to treat advertising as a form of cultural representation. Second, content analysis does not offer any way to differentiate numerically between a strong or weak example of the same category – both are coded the same. Third, content analysis does not take into consideration the context of using a particular image and it limits the researcher’s ability to express any interconnections within an image, or the

mood of an image as a whole. Content analysis assumes that different readers would interpret the same image in the same way (Rose 2011, p. 67).

In a mass consumption society, advertisers use various techniques to influence children's purchase decisions. By exploring the codes and sign systems of advertising texts via semiotic analysis, one can understand social communication. However, like any other research method, semiotics is also not without its weaknesses. Semiotics is criticised within the study of advertisements, according to Chandler (2000) in terms of its methodological weaknesses. Apart from the 'study of signs', there is a very little agreement among semioticians about the exact approach of semiotics. As semioticians consider almost anything and everything as codes in semiotics, they apply it to almost every academic discipline. Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1990, p. 214) argue that the validity, reliability and consistency of data in semiotic analysis is 'dependent on the individual analyst'. They add that it is rarely possible to generalise from a large sample of individually analysed texts; therefore, it is not possible to quantify semiotic analysis. In an effort to avoid such limitations, the current study emphasises methodological diversity, which substantially neutralises the author's bias to influence and distort the results.

One of the weaknesses of semiology is that analysts tend to focus on a few samples to illustrate their points and miss a broader, or more systematic, coverage. This study tried to avoid this in two ways: first, by selecting a wide variety of advertisements to illustrate each theme; and second, by selecting advertisements from five different television channels. Ironically, some depth is nonetheless sacrificed because not every advertisement lends itself to an in-depth analysis. Semiology has also been criticised by scholars, saying that the method focuses on studying communicative content, enabling researchers to make generalisations through decoding large amounts of textual information (Leiss, Kline & Jhally 1990; Stokes 2012; Leiss, Kline & Jhally 1986). Therefore, the inclusion of content analysis from large samples in research can help to 'overcome the criticism that studies using qualitative approaches rely on a small number of artefacts not chosen systematically' (Alozie 2003, p. 5). Every method produces different readings from the same text. Therefore, this study relies on a combination of methods. Even content analysis, being a quantitative research method, depends on subjective coding for analysis. This indicates the fact that any study of visual materials is

subjective on various levels; interpretations are just that: interpretations, not unquestionable truths (Robertson 2006).

Apart from these weaknesses, semiotic analysis has also some strength. Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1990, p. 214) argue that one of the main strengths of semiotic analysis is that researchers can examine cultural code and thus can understand how people in different societies signal to each other, through their facial expressions, body language and dress codes that exist within their cultural system (Leiss, Kline & Jhally 1990.) Semiotics helps researchers to understand how sign systems operate in communities – to understand the concepts that are ‘obvious’, ‘natural’, universal and permanent – through the sign system. This method helps to make researchers realise that they are always dealing with signs in order to represent the world, and that sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning (Chandler 2000).

3.3.2 Content analysis

3.3.2.1 Study 2

In order to investigate the second research question (RQ2) – How do television and online advertising work together? – the researcher conducted a content analysis to identify the marketing strategies on selected food and beverage brands’ websites. These websites were identified on the basis of the web addresses included in television food advertising during ‘C’-rated programmes. The existing content analysis literature provides much information about the quantity of food advertising and the types of foods advertised e.g. (Chapman, Nicholas & Supramaniam 2006; Kelly et al. 2011; Kelly et al. 2007; Morgan et al. 2009; Neville, Thomas & Bauman 2005; Freeman et al. 2014).

The coding categories were initially based on other published articles on internet food advertising (see Brady et al. 2010; Freeman et al. 2014; Henry & Story 2009; Kelly et al. 2008; Lascu et al. 2013; Moore & Rideout 2007; Weber, Story & Harnack 2006) (see Appendix A). These were utilised because, where previous related studies are accessible, reproducing categories from theory or previous studies is worthwhile for supporting the accumulation and evaluation of research findings across multiple studies (Berg 2007; Zhang & Wildemuth 2005).

Despite its methodological limitations, this study used content analysis for RQ2 as a means to compare the marketing strategies present on branded websites and Facebook pages. Content analysis is a systematic method for studying mass media and one of the primary methods for comparing advertisements (Samiee & Jeong 1994). It involves developing categories and evaluating content from ‘open-ended’ data (Harwood & Garry 2003; Sonpar & Golden-Biddle 2005), using a variety of sources such as ‘media advertising, print materials, and sundry verbal and nonverbal messages’ (Kolbe & Burnett 1991, p. 243). As the second study contains large amount of data, content analysis was used to reduce the large volume text to quantitative data by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within the texts (Berger 1998; Shoemaker & Reese 1996; Stone, Dunphy & Smith 1966) in order to capture the patterns and trends in the media texts (Wimmer & Dominick 2011). Furthermore, content analysis involves the development of categories and evaluation of content, which can be done in a consistent manner. In so doing, partial or biased analysis is minimised (Kassarjian 1977).

3.3.3 Narrative literature review

3.3.3.1 Study 3

Food advertising remains intensively debated and is being considered as one of the potential causes for childhood obesity, raising concerns among parents and policymakers, which is why it was selected as the focus of this study. From the discussion in the literature review on the relation between advertising and unhealthy eating habits, and the relevant areas of concern, one question remains: How is the self-regulatory system responding to this changing media landscape?

To address the third research question (RQ3), it is important to have a thorough understanding of the factors and circumstances that have been contributing to past and current advertising regulatory developments in Australia. A debate on the current self-regulatory system is required – as a research analysis method, narrative literature review is relevant and pertinent to this field of enquiry (Day & Gastel 2012; Rozas & Klein 2010). It provides a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter and highlights the varying perspectives of a particular research topic within its larger context (Rozas & Klein

2010). Hence, to approach RQ3, this study conducted a review of studies performed by the food industry, studies conducted by public health researchers, and reviews of the evidence by government and non-government agencies. Also included in this study are a number of other studies that evaluate the effects of self-regulation on Australian television food advertising. Advertising regulation has been subject to continuous amendments, due to the changing nature of media and technology. These amendments were made in response to ongoing changes in the media landscape.

The multidisciplinary nature of the topic, and the availability of a large number of studies, meant that a narrative review of the published data should be carried out as a means of summarising current evidence on the effectiveness of the advertising self-regulatory system. While a systematic literature review is more detailed, rigorous and explicit in nature, it requires the researcher to develop criteria that determine whether a research publication should be included in or excluded from the final synthesis (Friedland et al. 1998; Paton 1999; Sackett 1997). Narrative literature reviews seek to synthesise the findings of literature retrieved from searches of computerised databases: identifying key themes and issues presented by the authors, offering a critique of key studies included and, finally, providing a general overview of what these key studies say (Kumar 2014; Torraco 2005).

In narrative reviews, the reliability of primary studies that are critically analysed can be questionable (Gehlbach 2006; Guyatt, Sackett & Cook 2007; Oxman & Guyatt 1988; Paton 1999; Slavin 1995). The inclusion or exclusion of publications from studies might lead to biased conclusions. To avoid such bias, this study will provide rationales for selected key studies, including explanations and justifications of the primary studies that are being included.

3.4 Data collection

I have recorded children's commercials used in the current study from five television networks (Channel 7, Channel 9, Channel 10, Gem TV and Go), from November to December 2013, during C-classified programs (4pm–8:30pm, Monday–Friday) for children less than 14 years of age (ACMA 2013a). A total of 112.5 hours of children's

television programming was recorded. The reason for collecting data from only these free TV channels was because they are the most popularly watched channels, which target diverse audience groups around the nation. In particular, the Seven, Nine and Ten channels dominate the free-to-air television advertising market (SA 2009). Therefore, these channels were used as primary data sources for gathering the advertising sample; programs were viewed heavily by the 2- to 14-year-old age category (SA 2013). Data were collected during Monday to Friday because tweens are more likely to watch children's programming on weekday afternoons (ACMA 2015). Data collection took place during week normal weekdays from 18 November to 20 December 2013, to avoid dates when advertising data might get influenced by holidays or special events (Brindal, Corsini & Hendrie 2011).

Television shows with ratings from G to Mature (M) were the shows most watched by children aged 0-14 years in 2016 (ACMA 2017b). However, while it is true that children watch programs and advertising outside C-time, children including tweens do watch shows during C-time and this is the time when the content is supposed to be suitable for children. C classified programs are intended for children (other than preschool children) who are younger than 14 years of age. Programs classified C (under the Commercial Television Code of Practice) must be suitable for children. Hence it is expected that food advertising during children's programs (C) should be appropriate for or even primarily designed for children and it is these advertisements which I have analysed for qualities including their suitability for children. It is important to note that although food advertisements encompass a small proportion of total advertisements (particularly in C-rated programs) about half (47.7% in C programs and 59.4% in G programs) of these are for non-core foods (Brindal, Corsini & Hendrie 2011).

After looking at thousands of advertisements, the decision of which to include in the preliminary sorting was based on their use of the word 'food'. All duplicate advertisements were eliminated. In total, excluding duplicates, music album advertisements and network promotional messages, the final sample size was 427 unduplicated commercial executions. Out of this sample, 13% consisted of advertisements for food; the same percentage of advertisements was for finance. The remainder comprised advertisements for electronics, medicine, beauty, household

products, travel and tourism, public service announcements, retail stores, toys and others (see Table 1). The advertisements were grouped into specific commodities such as fast-food restaurants, confectionery, coffee, meat, etc. (see Table 2) to find a more specific result about the product categories that were being advertised. Supermarket and other retail advertisements promoting brands that advertise separately were eliminated from the food advertising product category, because the primary focus of these advertisements was on a retail store rather than any specific food brand.

The chapters that follow explore an assortment of advertisements that revolve around a particular theme. In the first study, the advertisements were grouped based on the primary theme to develop coding categories from the advertisements; the subthemes from each advertisement were also identified. Williamson (1978) and her findings guided the coding categories used and helped to define the nature of narratives that each theme represents. Then content analysis was used to analyse the data for revealing the frequencies and percentage of each primary advertising theme. After the frequencies were tabulated on an Excel spreadsheet for each primary theme, the study examined the total composition of the advertisement using semiotic analysis (which content analysis tends to miss because it breaks visual texts into pieces). Thus, using semiotic analysis, the study analysed the use of signs, codes and ideological underpinnings specifically in children's food commercials. The message embedded in food advertisements targeted at children was analysed for the purpose of providing practitioners with insight into the techniques that advertisers use in their construction of the tween market.

For the second study, data were collected from websites identified from the web addresses included in the sample advertisements. The third study depended on primary sources and literature to evaluate the actions of public health actors, the government and the food industry in reducing children's exposure to food advertisements. Data were collected through library research for relevant literature from all sources, including journal articles, books, theses, reports, reviews, etc. Literature was searched in the EBSCO, Proquest, Informit and Science Direct databases. Useful articles were identified by searching the titles, abstracts, keywords and full texts, using the keywords 'food' and 'advertising', along with 'regulation', 'Australia', 'online', 'website', 'tweens', 'marketing', 'obesity',

‘self-regulation’, ‘marketing strategies’ and ‘history’. Publications for the defined search terms (including journal articles, dissertations, newspaper articles and conference papers) were collected and stored, with an open starting time to include as many publications as possible up to December 2017. Once the key articles relevant to RQ3 were identified, the next step was to look at the articles’ reference lists to identify other relevant articles that may not have been discovered in the electronic search. Similarly, whenever it was identified that many of the key articles included in this study were by the same author, an author search was carried out to see whether the authors had published other relevant material not discovered in the electronic search. This study also used Google for searching material emanating from government, academic, business and industry sectors, which was not published commercially (e.g. unpublished studies, working papers from research groups or committees, research reports, discussion papers, books, chapters of books, reports, submissions from NGOs, government policies and enquiry results) by employing similar key words. When searching the databases or Google, the study used all the different combinations of keywords that were finalised in the initial stage of the literature search, as well as using the ‘AND’ command appropriately to narrow the literature search by combining keywords. This process allowed the study to combine results of separate searches.

Table 1. Types of products in the television advertisements

Product Category	Total Commercials	Proportion of Commercials (%)
Food	57	13%
Finance	56	13%
Beauty	46	11%
Medicine	48	11%
Electronic	42	10%
Automotive	42	10%
Household product	33	8%
Toy	33	8%
Others	34	8%
Retail store	23	5%
Travel & tourism	8	2%

Public service announcement	5	1%
TOTAL	427	

Table 2. Types of food products in the television advertisements

Food Category	Total Commercials	Proportion of Commercials (%)
Fast-food restaurant	21	37%
Candy/sweets	12	21%
Coffee/tea/other drinks	6	11%
Meat/fish/eggs	4	7%
Dairy products	4	7%
Breads and cereals	4	7%
Fruit/vegetable/diet food	2	4%
Breakfast restaurant	2	4%
Salty snacks/spices	1	2%
Diet meal	1	2%
TOTAL	57	

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a detailed account of the research philosophy, methodology and data collection strategies of the current study. Accepting the epistemology of constructionism, it was considered appropriate to use a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods (mixed methods), in order to respond to the research questions and also to gather relevant information for the questions presented. Since no single research method has a complete advantage over the other methods, the adoption of a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods (mixed methods) will minimise the limitations of each individual method chosen. The following chapters (Chapters 4 to 7) will explore a wide range of advertisements that revolve around a particular theme.

Chapter 4: Construction of Taste

4.1 Introduction

This thesis is concerned with analysing the construction of the tweenage market. This, chapter and the following data analysis chapters [Five, Six and Seven], are structured in terms of the main themes that emerged from the advertisements. Content analysis of the advertisements, which appeared on television from November to December 2013 during ‘C’-classified programmes, identified ‘taste’ as one of the most common primary appeals. Therefore, in this chapter, taste-related messages to which Australian consumers are currently exposed through television advertising are discussed and analysed. Of the 57 food advertisements studied, 14 (25%) contained taste- or flavour-related claims. Sampling and methods are described in Chapter Three. This chapter presents a semiotic analysis which uses techniques adapted from Judith Williamson to investigate the general ideological underpinning of the advertisements. Next, the role of these advertisements in shaping the tweenage market will be analysed and discussed. It concludes by demonstrating that food advertisements that advertisers broadcast during C classified time describe the taste of the advertised food products on the basis of their fresh quality. The study has revealed that food marketers strive to communicate the freshness of their products with reference of their appearance and colour, flavour, and texture through imageries, sound, sensory words and voice-overs.

4.2 Descriptions of the advertisements

4.2.1 Advertisement: Kellogg’s Crunchy Nut

The 30-second Kellogg’s Crunchy Nut advertisement opens with a medium–long shot, featuring two terrified male chefs who are on the run from a terrifying and hungry dinosaur in an industrial kitchen. Finding no one, the dinosaur is about to leave the

kitchen. The first chef whispers to another *'What have you done, don't make a sound.'* Then other chef nods his head but, as he is eating Kellogg's Crunchy Nut, a *'crunch'* noise of the tasty cereal reveals their hiding place. Hearing the crunchy noise the dinosaur returns and the first man looks at the second man with surprise. Then the second man, looking at his friend, says, *'Sorry, they are nutty.'* The advertisement closes by a feature of the packet of Kellogg's Crunchy Nut, accompanied by a male voiceover that says the campaign slogan *'The trouble is they taste too good.'* In the final shot, the caption on the screen is supplemented by a female image and voice. The text reads: *'The trouble is they taste too good.'*





Figure 3. Kellogg's Crunchy Nut

4.2.2 Advertisement: Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch

The 15-second advertisement opens with a close-up shot of a Hungry Jack's takeaway bag in a car. Then it continues featuring a group of friends in a car at the beach. When reverse parallel parking, the driver of the vehicle hears a loud 'crunch' noise and stops.



Figure 4. Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch

Then he discovers that the loud ‘*crunch*’ noise is not something he has run over but actually emanating from the female passenger – she is biting into a Hungry Jack’s Chicken Crunch burger. Seeing this, all characters start laughing at this humorous situation. The next few shots feature Hungry Jack’s Chicken Crunch burger and its ingredients such as chicken breast, crispy coating and lettuce. These shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music and a male voiceover, saying ‘*Hungry*

Jack's new Chicken Crunch. It's surprisingly crunchy; with a juicy chicken breast in a crispy coating. For just \$4.24, they're just made for summer. Burgers are better at Hungry Jack's.' The advertisement closes showing a billboard with the logo and slogan *'The Burgers Are Better at Hungry Jack's.'*

4.2.3 Advertisement: McCafé sandwiches

The 15-second advertisement opens with a male voiceover, saying, *'Are you obsessed?'* The following close-up shots feature, sequentially, a young man splashing water on his face in the morning and ironing his McCafé staff uniform. He is spraying mouth freshener, breathing in fresh air from a fan and snapping a raw carrot in half. In the next shot, the man is at a McCafé restaurant in his uniform, saying, *'Well, so do we'* and the male voiceover continues: *'Enjoy McCafé's delicious turkey sandwiches, made fresh daily, served with sparkling water for just \$7.95'*. The advertisement then shows the McCafé delicious turkey sandwiches and a bottle of Mount Franklin light sparkling water, with text showing *'New at McCafé: \$7.95 with sparkling water'* and the man serving a customer at the McCafé. The advertisement closes with a shot of tomatoes being dropped with water splashing on them, the McCafé logo and the campaign slogan campaign: *'McCafé. That's fresh'*. These shots are accompanied by low-tempo background music.



Figure 5. McCafé sandwiches

4.2.4 Advertisement: Nescafé Azera

The 15-second Nescafé Azera coffee advertisement opens with a close-up shot of a gold fish inside a coffee plunger with the text ‘*Coffee plunger or goldfish bowl?*’

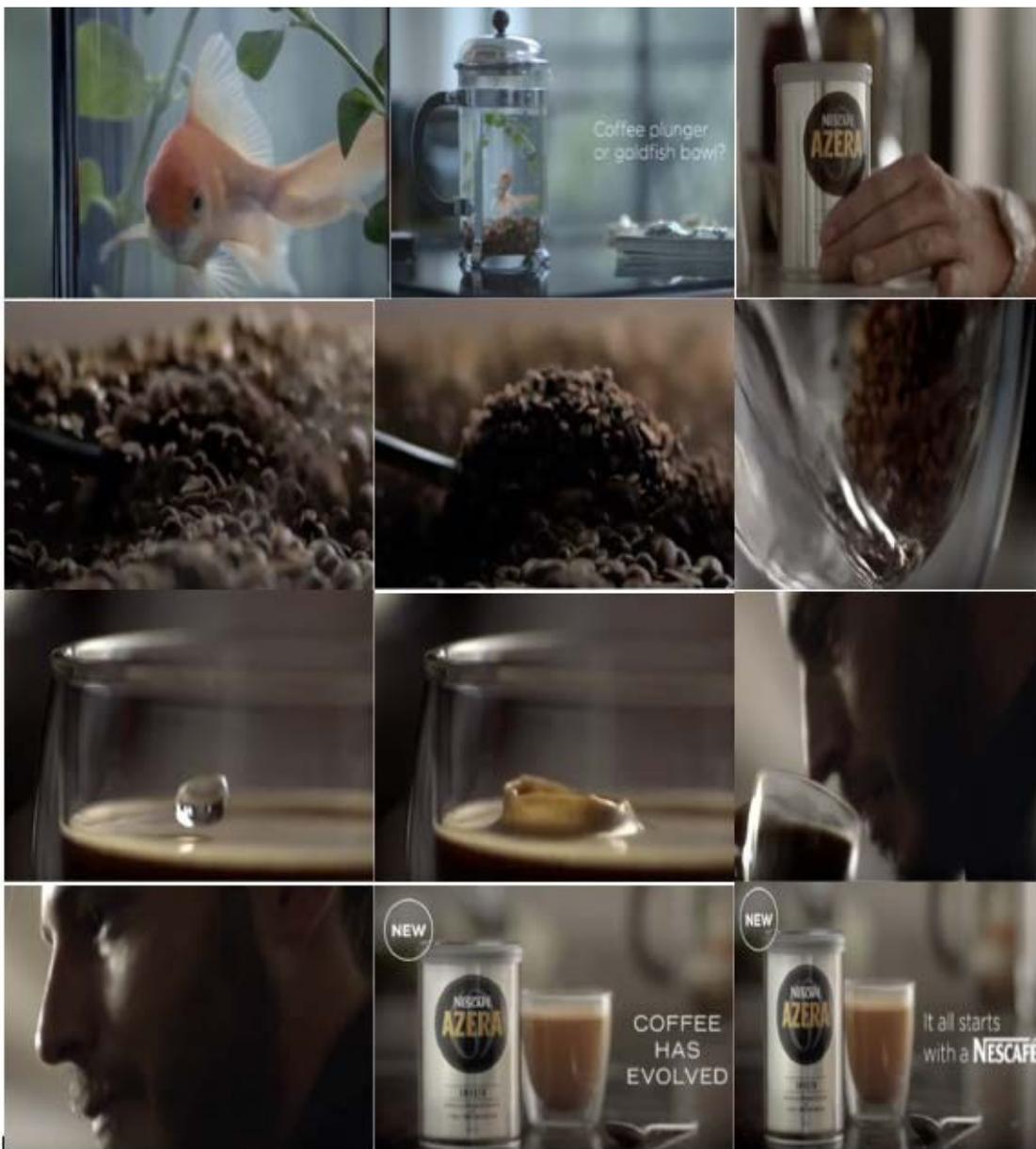


Figure 6. Nescafé Azera

The following close-up shots show an Azera coffee container, a male hand taking the Nescafé Azera coffee container from the kitchen shelf, a spoonful of Nescafé Azera coffee, hot water pouring into a coffee cup, a water droplet falling into the cup of coffee that splashes and the face of the man drinking Azera coffee. These shots are accompanied by low-tempo background music and a female voiceover, saying, ‘*New Nescafé Azera combines premium instant coffee with finely ground, roasted coffee beans to create a full-bodied taste and rich, intense aroma. Coffee has evolved.*’ The advertisement closes with the Azera coffee and container, with the text ‘*It all starts with a Nescafé*’.

4.2.5 Advertisement: McDonald’s new Brekkie Wraps

The 15-second advertisement opens with close-up shots of someone cracking an egg on the rim of a bowl, beating it with a whisk, then pouring the beaten egg into a hot pan. The advertisement continues with close-up shots of the egg cooking, a tomato slice on a grill, and sausage links cooking. The advertisement concludes with two Brekkie Wraps, a McDonald’s restaurant at dusk, and the McDonald’s logo with the slogan ‘i’m lovin’ it’.



Figure 7. McDonald’s new Brekkie Wraps

The next few shots feature McWraps and its' ingredients, such as warm and freshly scrambled eggs, a juicy plum tomato with water droplets on it and sizzling rasher-bacon in a hot pan. These shots are accompanied by medium-tempo background music and a male voiceover, saying *'With real ingredients like fresh scrambled egg, juicy plum tomato and sizzling rasher-bacon, McDonald's Brekkie Wraps are a great way to start the day'* and high-tempo background music. The advertisement closes with billboard featuring the McDonald's logo, the slogan *"I'm lovin' it"* and its Facebook address, specifying that it is *'Available before 10.30am for a limited time at participating restaurants'*.

4.2.6 Advertisement: McDonald's new Real Choices McWraps & Salads Range

The 30-second advertisement opens with a close-up shot of a young man holding a McDonald's new Real Choices wrap. The next close-up shot features a young woman putting a spoonful of McDonald's Real Choices Salad into her mouth. The next few shots show McDonald's new Real Choices Salads and their ingredients such as juicy handpicked tomatoes, crunchy noodles and crisp cabbage. The following shots feature a male hand tearing off the wrapping from a McDonald's McWrap, then he bites into it at a McDonald's restaurant. The advertisement then depicts the young woman eating a McDonald's new Real Choices Salad at a McDonald's restaurant. These shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music and a male voiceover, saying, *'Introducing, McDonald's new better-than-ever bright crackly salads. They are delicious real choices salads. There is the Chicken and Aioli McWrap, with crispy all-grilled 100% Australian chicken with chicken; Spicy Mayo McWraps, with juicy handpicked tomatoes; and the new Crunchy Noodle Chicken Salads with crisp cabbage. With an introductory price of \$5.95 and \$6.95, McDonald's® real choices: they're "you better believe it" good!'* Captions on the screen supplement the images and voiceover throughout, reading: *crispy, grilled, spicy mayo, handpicked tomatoes, crunchy and crisp*. The advertisement closes with a billboard with the McDonald's logo and its Facebook address, with text specifying, *'Available from 10.30am for a limited time at participating restaurants.'*

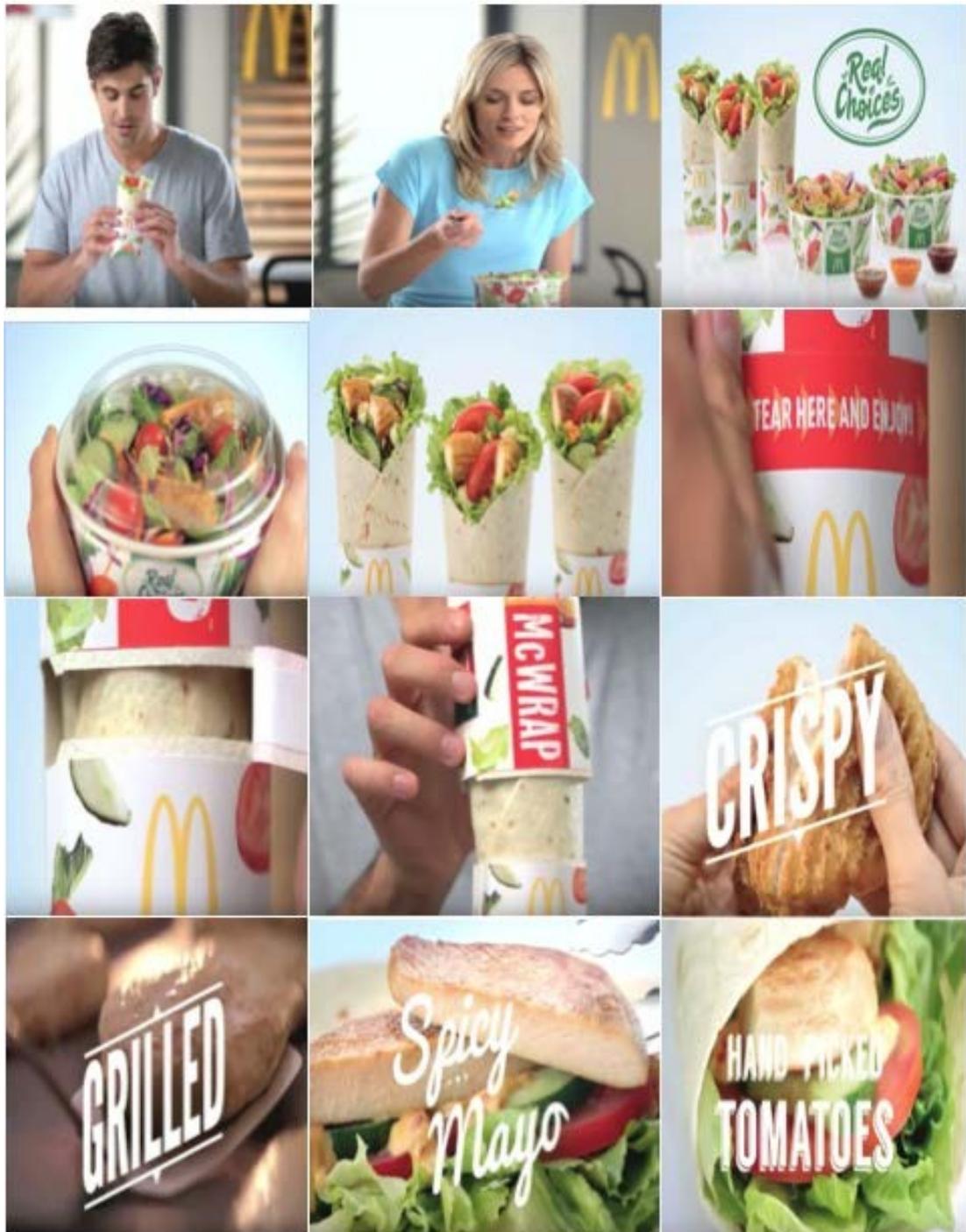




Figure 8. McDonald's new Real Choices McWraps & Salads Range

4.2.7 Advertisement: The Coffee Club

The 15-second advertisement opens with a close-up shot of a knife cutting through the middle of a red capsicum followed by the capsicum halves bouncing.



Figure 9. The Coffee Club

It continues by showing freshly cut mushroom pieces rolling from the wooden chopping board and various dishes. There is a special focus on eggs benedict, which The Coffee Club offers, then on the white, male and female customers who are enjoying their food at a Coffee Club restaurant. These shots are accompanied by low-tempo background music and a female voiceover, saying '*Beautiful fresh ingredients are used every day to bring you delicious all-day favourites like eggs Benedict, made your way with our fresh new menu. There is more for you to love at The Coffee Club*'. The advertisement closes with a billboard of The Coffee Club logo, its website address and slogan 'More For You To Love'.

4.2.8 Advertisement: V8 Fusion juice

The 15-second advertisement opens with a full-length shot of a young woman who is about to drink some V8 Fusion juice. As she starts drinking, the advertisement features many vegetables and fruit flying towards her head. These then smash into her head, splashing the woman with vegetable and fruit juices. These close-up shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music and a female voiceover. The advertisement closes with a shot of bottles of V8 Fusion juice and text, with a female voiceover in the background saying, ‘*Nutritious veggies and delicious fruit. V8 Fusion.*’

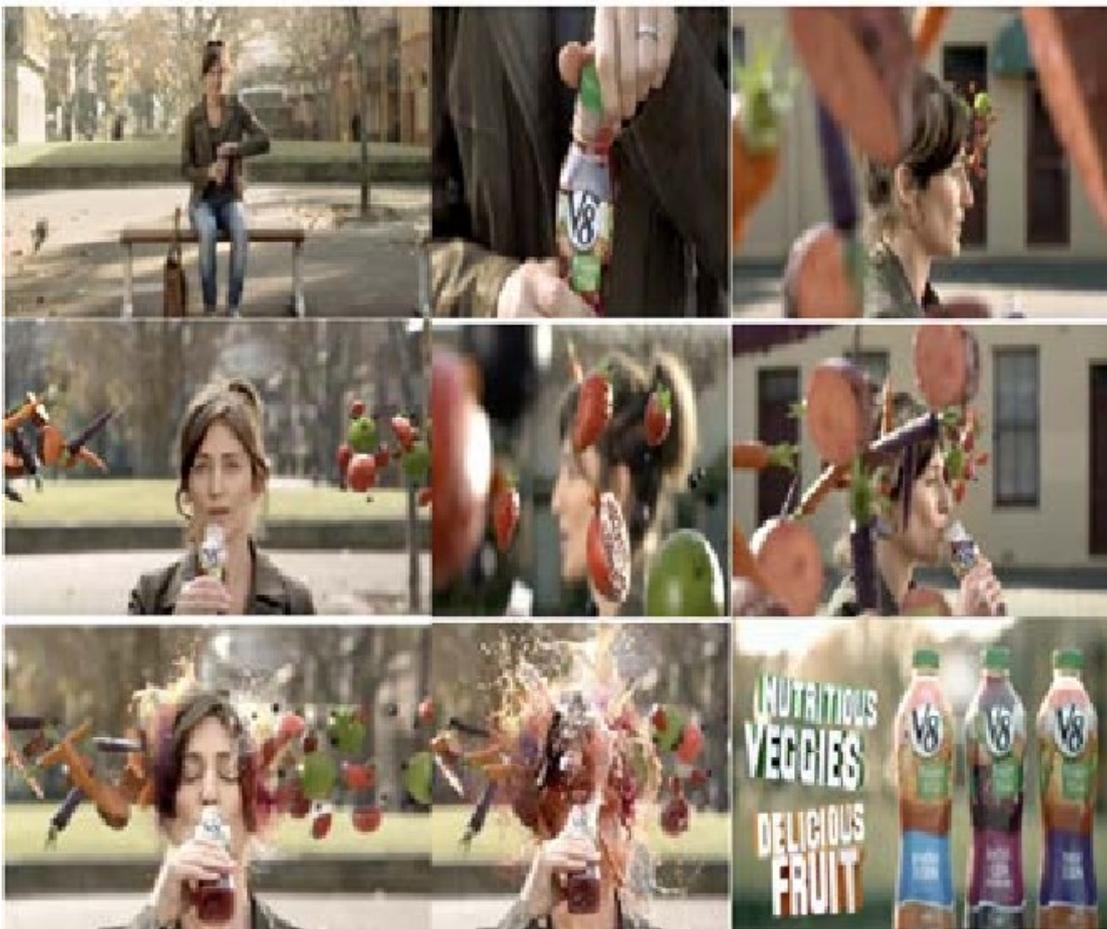


Figure 10. V8 Fusion juice

4.2.9 Advertisement: Oporto's Street Eats Burger Range

The 30-second advertisement opens with a close-up shot of a billboard of the campaign slogan ‘*New Street Eats Burger Range*’, and the logo of Oporto then the advertisement

features three Street cooks – Kam Boonkong, Arturo Del Sarto and Jarrah Jones – at their respective street food stalls.



Figure 11. Oporto's Street Eats Burger Range

The next shots introduce three different burgers, namely the 'Thai Curry', 'Roman Aioli' and 'Outback Feisty BBQ' burgers; made by these three cooks at their respective street food stalls. These shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music and a male voiceover, saying, 'Introducing the new "Street Eats Burger Range" from Oporto ... three street cooks, with a few tasty tricks up their sleeves, have inspired three new burgers –

Kam Boonkong and the Thai Curry Burger with a zesty spice-kick of lemongrass and ginger, Arturo Del Sarto and the Roman Aioli Burger with a cheeky dash of herbs and garlic, and Jarrah Jones and the Outback Feisty BBQ Burger with sizzling bacon and a smack of BBQ sauce with a hit of chilli. The advertisement ends with the jingle *'Just Gotta Go! Oporto!'* The advertisement closes with a billboard of the Oporto logo, which includes, the text *'Fresh not frozen. Grilled not fried'*.

4.2.10 Advertisement: Weis bar I

The 15-second Weis bar advertisement opens with full-length shot of a young woman in a hat, swinging in hammock and enjoying Weis bar in a peaceful garden on a sunny summer day. The following shots feature two young women, smiling with the Weis bar colours on their lips; a young man skateboarding, spraying water from a hose onto his friends who are sitting behind him; his friends falling off from their chairs; a young couple bathing in an inflatable bath tub; and a black woman eating a Weis bar, with its colour remaining on her lips. These shots are accompanied by a female voiceover, saying, *'Don't just have an ice cream, have a Weis bar'* and the campaign slogan: *'Weis: the taste is everything'*. The advertisement closes with a billboard of the Weis logo and the campaign slogan: *'the taste is everything'*. These shots are accompanied by low-tempo background music.



Figure 12. Weis bar I

4.2.11 Advertisement: Weis bar II

The 15-second Weis bar II advertisement opens with a full shot, featuring two young men bathing in the sea. The next close-up shots show two young women smiling, with the Weis bar colours on their lips; the two young women are lying down under a tree with Weis bars in their hands and Weis bar colours on their lips. The following shots are accompanied by a female voiceover, saying, *'Don't just have a Weis Bar, create your own. Give us your flavour to win to your very own custom batch. Weis: the taste is everything'* and low-tempo background music. The following close-up shots feature boxes of Weis bars, along with Weis' Facebook address and the campaign slogan *'Weis: the taste is everything'*. The advertisement closes with the close-up shot of a young girl smiling and posing for the camera, with a Weis bar in her hand.



Figure 13. Weis bar II

4.2.12 Advertisement: Subway: Made for Summer

The 15-second advertisement opens with a mid-shot of a barefoot man (first man), who is hopping over hot sand at the beach with four bottles of Coca-Cola and four Subways

in two bags in his hands. A female voiceover says, ‘*Subway is made for summer, mouth-watering with these Three-Pepper Chicken, Zesty Lemon & Herb Chicken, and golden crumbed Chicken Schnitzel. Summer has never tasted so good. Hurry! Grab your chicken sub today. Subway: Made for Summer*’. In the following shot, an image of the Zesty Lemon & Herb Chicken sub appears with a circle containing the text ‘*with 8 grams of fat*’, then an image of Three-Pepper Chicken appears with the text ‘*Its back*’ on the screen. The following shot is a single frame showing the three subs, along with a bottle of Coca-Cola and two folded beach towels. The next shots continue to show four male friends, including the first man, having fun and laughing. In this funny scene, one of their friends has been buried up to his neck in sand while the first man feeds the buried man. Everyone has a sub or a Coca-Cola in his hand. These shots are accompanied by a female voiceover and high-tempo music. The advertisement closes with the first man pointing at the sub in his hand, a full smile on his face, then the Subway logo, the campaign slogan ‘*Made for Summer*’ and the web address of Subway.



Figure 14. Subway: Made for Summer

4.2.13 Advertisement: Calypso mango

The 15-second Calypso mango advertisement opens with a mid-shot of a woman at the supermarket, who comes across the Calypso mango display and takes mangoes, saying, ‘Umm Calypso, whole for Sam, whole for Olivia, whole for David one for me.’



Figure 15. Calypso mango

The shots are accompanied by a female voiceover, saying, ‘With more mango and less seed, you can’t go past Calypso’ and low-tempo background music. Then the advertisement features a shot of the mangoes that appears with the text ‘More mango less seed’. The advertisement closes with a shot of the Calypso mango logo as a sticker on a mango, plus its web address.

4.2.14 Advertisement: Coon Nibbles

The 15-second Coon Nibbles advertisement opens with close-up shots of a billboard with the logo ‘Brand Power: Facts and Value’ then ‘Fast Facts’ superimposed. In the following medium shot, a woman addresses the camera directly. The woman stands by a shelf of Coon Nibbles in a supermarket with a Coon Nibbles packet in her hand, saying, ‘Buying snacks for the kids? Then try Nibbles’ with the following text on the screen: ‘Brand Power represents leading brands’. In the next close-up shot, a knife is cutting a block of Coon cheese into pieces. These shots are accompanied by a female voiceover, saying, ‘They are made with natural Coon cheese with a full serve of dairy. No artificial colours, flavours or preservatives. In multipacks, family packs and single packs – try new Coon Nibbles today’. Then the advertisement shows Coon Nibbles in 41 g single-serve packs, then two white kids eating Coon Nibbles. This shot appears with the text: ‘No artificial colours, flavours or preservatives’. The advertisement closes with shot of Coon Nibbles multipacks, family packs and single packs.





Figure 16. Coon Nibbles

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 Taste as an advertising appeal

Nelson (1970) has classified market goods into two distinct categories, namely, search goods and experience goods. Search goods are defined as products whose quality the consumers can determine before making their purchase decision (e.g., clothing, furniture and jewellery). Experience goods include products whose quality the consumer cannot verify until after buying and experiencing the product (e.g., foods, books and detergents). The main focus of this study is experience goods; that is, food.

To sell their product, companies use two types of message appeals, emotional and rational (or informational). An appeal refers to the basic idea that advertisers want to communicate to the audience so as to stimulate a person to buy a product or service (Kotler et al. 2013). Emotional advertisements have been defined as ones that use ‘psychological appeals such as fear and love to touch our feelings’ (Wells et al. 1989, p. 330). Emotional appeals are messages that attempt to arouse consumers’ negative or positive emotions, which will stimulate their purchase intentions (e.g. a Hallmark greeting card advertisement that

dramatises a person's precious life moments). According to Kotler, emotional appeals include fear, guilt and joy (Kotler 1997). In contrast, rational appeals in advertising involve detailed information on the benefits – such as quality, economy, value or performance of a product – that consumers may enjoy (Kotler 1997). This stimulates consumers to make rationally oriented purchase decisions on the basis of detailed information – factual and relevant brand data – that the advertisement provides in a clear and logical manner (Kotler 1997; Puto & Wells 1984, p. 638) (e.g. an advertisement for Subway Flatbread in the following chapter (see Figure 20) emphasises the sandwich's healthy ingredients).

Food advertisements use rational appeals by emphasising on characteristics of a food product such as taste or flavour (e.g. chocolatey, fruity, sweet) or texture (e.g. crunchy, crisp). Taste has been defined as the perception of sweet, sour, bitter, salty and the other basic tastes, which are identified by gustatory receptors found primarily in the oral cavity (Watson, Kirkcaldie & Paxinos 2010). By contrast, 'flavour' refers to a mingled but unitary experience, which includes the combined sensations of taste and smell. Freshness, spiciness, sweetness and other flavour attributes may have the largest impact on consumers' acceptability and desire to consume a food again (Barrett, Beaulieu & Shewfelt 2010). In Chapter 4, freshness was found to be one of the most common primary appeals. Therefore, the following sections will investigate the construction of freshness in the above food advertisements by decoding the underlying messages conveyed through gustatory, visual and auditory cues that each advertisement included in this category contains.

4.3.2 Freshness is about sound

Freshness is a critical variable affecting overall food quality (Cardello & Schutz 2003; Steenkamp & Van Trijp 1996). Freshness is an important attribute in consumer food quality perception (Curtis & Cowee 2009; Steenkamp & Van Trijp 1996), regardless of age, gender or dieting status (Oakes & Slotterback 2002). Freshness is important to marketers because consumers perceive fresher foods to be more appealing (Cardello & Schutz 2003; Steenkamp & Van Trijp 1996). It is important to note that 'freshness' can be understood and represented in different ways. Advertisers and food manufacturers use a number of gustatory, visual and auditory cues in order to create the perception of flavour

for consumers, because people consume foods on the basis of their flavour, smell and texture (Fortin, Goodwin & Thomsen 2009; Péneau et al. 2007).

In the Kellogg's Crunchy Nut and Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch advertisements (see Figures 3 and 4), freshness is constructed with reference to the crunchiness and crispiness of the advertised products. Kellogg's Crunchy Nut is fresh because it is crunchy and nutty. The visual device of animation, coupled by the storyline, dialogue, voiceover and the product's name, Kellogg's Crunchy Nut, work together to construct the product as crunchy. Kellogg's Crunchy Nut used metaphors to promote their product. In the Kellogg's Crunchy Nut advertisement, metaphor is used to humorously promote and associate eating Kellogg's Crunchy Nut with 'silliness'. The word 'nutty' has two meanings in this context. One, it signifies the taste of Kellogg's Crunchy Nut as nutty as in tasting of nuts; two, the first man refers to the second man's eating of noisy food is described as nutty because, while the dinosaur is hunting for them, by creating noises, he is actually providing the dinosaur with information about their current location.

Like the Kellogg's Crunchy Nut advertisement (see Figure 3), Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch (see Figure 4) has a humorous narrative-based structure. Intriguingly, both Kellogg's Crunchy Nut and Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch advertisements construct crunchiness through noise and visuals. In the Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch advertisement, the driver stops the car when he hears a loud '*crunch*' noise (see Figure 4). The crackling sound, which emanates from the female passenger's first bite of a Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch burger (see Figure 4) signifies the crunchiness of the product.

The above advertisements emphasise the sound generated by eating their food because sound is one of the senses that impacts on the experience of food and drink (Stevenson 2009, p. 58). What people hear when they bite into a food, such as the crunch of a crisp, plays an important role in the multisensory perception of flavour, not to mention in their enjoyment of the overall multisensory experience of eating or drinking (Spence 2015). While crispness is a flavour characteristic, sound is an important factor affecting the consumers' perception of crispness (Vickers & Borne 1976; Vickers 1983).

The taste of certain foodstuffs is surely all about sonic stimulation – the crispy crunch. Food-related auditory cues can impact on how certain foodstuffs are evaluated (Dacremont 1995; Dacremont, Colas & Sauvageot 1991). Auditory cues generated during the first bite is an important factor when it comes to determining the perceived texture of a food (Demattè et al. 2014; Zampini & Spence 2004). People normally use auditory cues from the first bite when trying to judge the crispness of a food (Fillion & Kilcast 2002; Sherman & Deghaidy 1978). Therefore, Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch advertisement (see Figure 4) constructs the product's crispiness through the sound generated from the first bite. In semiotic terms, the signified (flavour and texture) attached to the signifier (the crunching sounds that the characters are making when eating) and thus transfers meaning to the product (freshness). Crunchiness is a much-appreciated textural attribute perceived by many consumers as an indication of the freshness and quality of a food product. Sounds emanated from biting of a crunchy food can positively influence people's perceptions of moistness, texture, and other aspects of food, and may influence taste perception (Tunick et al. 2013).

In addition to noise, the Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch advertisement constructs the product as fresh with the reference of the crunchiness; juiciness and crispiness of the ingredients, such as chicken breast and its coating (see Figure 4). Shaking off crispy golden crust from the fried golden-brown and crispy chicken refers to the chicken fry being crispy signifying it has come recently from the hot fat and not had time to get soggy; shaking off water droplets from a washed lettuce (see Figure 4) signifies its freshness. This is also achieved through the name of the product, Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch, and through more specific aspects, including the crispiness of the product. Although the voiceover mentions juicy chicken breast, no picture of juicy chicken breast (see Figure 4) can be found in this advertisement.

Unlike the above, the McCafé advertisement (see Figure 5) does not construct the product as fresh with the reference to the sound generated from food; instead, it uses the sound of water splashing, iron steaming, mouth spraying, voice singing and carrot snapping (see Figure 5). This advertisement aims to promote McCafé as a source of fresh value-added foods. It attempts to assign a 'fresh' connotation to McCafé with reference to the activities that one does in the morning. Washing his face with splashes of water, pressing his

McCafé uniform, spraying mouth fresher and breathing in the fresh air of the fan all refer to the fact that this McCafé employee is about to start his day with freshness in his appearance, uniform and breath (see Figure 5). Overall, the advertisement conveys the message that starting your day with McCafé breakfast is the ideal way to start a new day full of freshness and energy. According to the famous Australian restaurateur and food writer, Bill Granger, breakfast ‘has a lot to do with our early-morning lifestyle and climate’ (Scott 2017). In Western societies, breakfast is usually made up of highly perishable foodstuffs – eggs, potatoes, tomatoes, bread and fried dishes – that are supposed to be consumed fresh. Coffee also tastes its best when it is fresh. Hence, McCafé has associated their breakfast menu with morning freshness. Hence, the advertisement employs a number of signifiers of morning freshness (see Figure 5) to appeal strongly to the taste attribute of the products – it is about freshness.

The advertisement (see Figure 5) is also promoting the brand on the basis of the price and immediacy that it offers. While the images highlight the freshness attributes of the products, the voiceover provides price-related information. The voiceover states, ‘*Enjoy McCafé’s delicious turkey sandwiches, made fresh daily, served with sparkling water for just \$7.95*’ implies that breakfast at McCafé saves time and that McCafé is the budget-friendly way to have a freshly cooked breakfast daily. The use of price-related information for promoting food products is discussed in Chapter six. The images of different types of McCafé sandwiches (see Figure 5) provide information about the different options offered by McCafé. Images of falling tomatoes with water splashing on them (see Figure 5) suggest that the sandwiches are made using fresh tomatoes and, thus, the advertisement connotes the freshness of the product. In addition to sound, freshness can also be constructed through motion.

In the above advertisements, the advertisers have constructed the products as fresh with reference to sound. Analysis of the advertisements included in this chapter suggests that, in addition to sound, advertisers communicate the freshness of the advertised products using motion. Therefore, the following sections will investigate the construction of freshness through motion in television food advertisements.

4.3.3 Freshness is about movement

Movement has innate appeal; the human brain recognises movement as an indicator of freshness and quality (Gvili et al. 2015). Consumers perceive a food to be fresh by observing its movement; they rate a food as being fresher when they observe the food in motion versus static (Gvili et al. 2015). Therefore, marketers display food or drink in motion to effectively communicate freshness, because motion may serve as a cue for freshness (Gvili et al. 2015). Consumers perceive also drinks to be more appealing by observing them in motion. In a recent study by Gvili et al. (2015), when participants were shown pictures of two brands of orange juice and asked to evaluate them, they rated the moving juice as more appealing than the still juice.

This use of movement is observed in the Nescafe Azera coffee advertisement (see Figure 6) features a number of movements of the ingredients needed to prepare the coffee where ingredients that are needed to prepare the coffee are shown in motion. Shots including the pouring hot water into a coffee cup, a water droplet falling into the cup of coffee then splashing up connote the freshness of the product. The Nescafé Azera coffee advertisement (see Figure 6) makes a narrow appeal to convenience, which is secondary to the product's taste. Both the voiceover and images convey the convenience and taste attributes of the product, mentioning that it is instant, and that, being made with finely ground, roasted coffee beans, it has a rich, intense aroma.

The advertisement opens with a gold fish inside a coffee plunger with the text '*Coffee plunger or fish bowl?*' (see Figure 6), which signifies that consumers need to use their plunger for something else. The main theme of the advertisement is evolution; it is about discovering the possibilities evolving from taking an everyday household item such as coffee plunger and using it for new purpose. In this ad Nescafé Azera represents the evolution of instant coffee with a flavour that's comparable to the real product but with more convenience. The scenes showing the process of making Azera coffee – taking out a spoon of coffee from the container, lighting the gas stove, steam coming from the kettle, pouring boiling water on the coffee, water droplet splashing, pouring milk into the coffee (see Figure 6) – signifies that it is instant coffee; there is no waiting for the coffee to brew, or use the plunger. By sharing information on how to prepare the product, the

advertisement is highlighting the product's simplicity and is thus encouraging people to feel knowledgeable about what to do with their purchase.

While a seemingly simple advertisement, the pictures reveal insight into the values of the targeted consumer. The advertisement is promoted as a gender-specific product. From looking at the actor, it seems that this product is targeted at middle-aged men. The advertisement has manufactured masculinity with the male character's aspect – the appearance of stubble is regarded as masculine in western society (Dixson & Brooks 2013). The male character's expression is sombre. The lighting is dark and relatively low in contrast – often used for creating a dark and shadowy atmosphere or setting – darker tones signify masculine traits (Fernandez 2014).

Freshness is an important factor when it comes to determining the perceived taste of a food. In the following advertisements, advertisers use motion not only to communicate the freshness of the products but also to attach a secondary value to them. By displaying ingredients in motion, the Nescafé Azera coffee advertisement (see Figure 6) also communicates the convenience aspect of the product. The Coffee Club (see Figure 9) and McDonald's Brekkie Wraps (see Figure 7) advertisements used the freshness theme in order to promote their respective breakfast menus. For V8 Fusion (see Figure 10), motion also connotes the product's nutrition value.

The McDonald's Brekkie Wraps and Real Choices McWraps & Salads Range advertisements (see Figures 7 and 8) used a number of movements of the products' ingredients to signify their freshness. The McDonald's Brekkie Wraps advertisement (see Figure 7) used shots of cracking an egg, beating it with a whisk and pouring the egg into the pan in order to construct this product as fresh. Images of a ripe red tomato, moist with droplets of water, and bacon rashers on a pan signifies that, at McDonald's restaurants, the wraps are made with freshly picked tomatoes and freshly pan-fried bacon rashers. The mention of hand-picked tomatoes in the voiceover signifies that they were hand-selected carefully from the farm with the particular purpose of making McDonald's new Brekkie Wraps.

Moreover, through the use of sensory-rich words such as *'juicy'* and *'sizzling'* in the voiceover, the advertisement constructs the products as fresh. The slogan *'Making early easy'* conveys the message that you can start your day with ease by buying McDonald's new Brekkie Wraps. Like the Nescafé Azera advertisement (see Figure 6), this advertisement (see Figure 7) also makes a narrow appeal to convenience. It is convenient because consumers do not have to make breakfast, they can buy it.

The McDonald's Real Choices McWraps & Salads Range advertisement (see Figure 8) is similar to the McDonald's Brekkie Wraps advertisement (see Figures 7) in that both ads use same theme: freshness. The visuals emphasise the freshness of the products and the voiceover emphasises flavour – highlighting the taste aspects of the product. A lot of food ingredients are shown in movement – the tomatoes are rolling down and fried noodles are bouncing up (see Figure 8), which signifies that they are not soggy and old, they are crunchy and fresh. The explosion of the crunchy noodle refers to the explosion of flavour offered by McDonald's Real Choices McWraps & Salads Range. Throughout the advertisement, it features McWraps and their ingredients, such as juicy handpicked tomatoes, crunchy noodles and crisp cabbage (see Figure 8). Chicken pieces shining on the grill, tearing up the grilled golden-brown and crispy chicken, pouring sauce over the lettuce, cucumber and tomato, then placing the chicken over (see Figure 8) all work together to construct the product as fresh. To intrigue viewers, the advertisement conveys sparkling red cabbage by adding starlight (see Figure 8) – a usual effect to construct the product as fresh.

To persuade a target audience, it is important to generate culturally acknowledged associations between the target consumers and the advertised product. Advertisers localise their products by relating a product with the taste preferences of local people in order to attract the attention of the target local consumers (Parsa 2004). While in McDonald's new Real Choices Salad advertisement (see Figure 8), any relationship between Australian chicken and its taste is not explicitly stated, the reference to *'100% Australian chicken'* in the voiceover emphasizes that the product is local.

The Coffee Club advertisement (see Figure 9) is similar to the McDonald's Brekkie Wraps and Real Choices Salads campaigns (see Figures 7 and 8), as all of these

advertisements draw upon the taste connotation of a fresh breakfast. The connotative value of breakfast wraps and salads as fresh is evidenced in The Coffee Club advertisement (see Figure 9), in which the products – crisp capsicums, mushrooms and Egg Benedict – are made to seem fresh. Again, as in the previous advertisements, the food ingredients have been captured in motion in order to make the product more appealing to consumers. Images of a knife cutting the middle of a capsicum and the halves bouncing (see Figure 9) signify that it is fresh. Capsicum shining with water droplets illustrates its supposed freshness. The image of freshly cut mushrooms halves rolling down the wooden chopping board signifies that the mushrooms are perfect – they do not have any sign of discoloration, texture loss or dehydration – which, it can be argued, implies that the flavour and nutrition element remain intact. These shots signify the freshness of the food at The Coffee Club.

The V8 Fusion advertisement (see Figure 10) applies a similar strategy to construct its product as fresh. The advertisement showcases freshness and *nutritiousness* throughout, constructing the freshness of the product by showcasing splashes of fruit and vegetable juice. Through shots featuring vegetables and fruits flying near the young woman's head (see Figure 10); the advertisement is conveying information about the fresh ingredients contained in V8 drinks. The outdoor setting clearly indicates that the brand is offering nutritious and delicious drinks, which are perfect for staying cool all summer. The age of the model appearing in the advertisement (see Figure 10) provides information about the brand's target consumers. Apart from the Nescafé Azera advertisement (Figure 6), the above advertisements (see Figures 3–10) are aimed at young people. Marketers want to reach young consumers because this group has started earning money and forming families. Younger generations are health conscious; they prefer to have fresh and organic food (Morrison 2013). Therefore, the above advertisements promote their advertisements as fresh. While the above advertisements feature food or drink in motion to communicate the freshness of the advertised products, the next advertisements construct freshness with reference to the products' flavour attributes with the use of sensory rich expressions.

4.3.4 Freshness is about flavour

Consumers' judgments of freshness depend on various food properties such as flavour, colour, aroma and texture (Fortin, Goodwin & Thomsen 2009). The Oporto's StreetEats

Burger Range advertisement (Figure 11) introduces three different flavours of Oporto burgers. The advertisement uses scenes of different street food stalls, which connote different kinds of flavours. In this sense, the New Street Eats Burger Range ad intends to offer something for everyone and hence everyone feels that it appealed to both themselves and others, albeit in different ways.

Advertisers use sensory-rich words, such as ‘tasty, delicious, delicate, fragrant, hot, fiery, mouth-watering, flavoursome, spicy, red-hot, tangy, juicy, subtle’ to represent products as fresh, nutritious, satisfying, perfect, adaptable, useful, glorious, etc. (Nestle 2013, p. 46) as well as to increase food sales (Larsen 2014). This advertisement makes use of expressions such as ‘*zesty spice*’, ‘*sizzling bacon*’, ‘*fresh not frozen*’ and ‘*grilled not fried*’ (see Figure 11 for all signifiers of the flavour, i.e. the taste of Oporto burgers). The association of this product with freshness and flavour transfers meaning from one to the other, such that the flavour of the advertised product becomes associated with the freshness of the product. In semiotic terms, the signified (flavours and freshness) attach to the signifier (cooks that are engaged in cooking different burgers) and thus transfer meaning to the product. Through providing consumers with information about the burgers’ ingredients, the advertisement connotes the burgers’ taste. A number of expressions, such as ‘*cheeky dash of herbs and garlic*’, ‘*a smack of BBQ sauce*’, ‘*hit of chilli*’ (see Figure 11), signify that these three different cooks add a small amount of sauces, spices and ingredients such as lemongrass, ginger, herbs and garlic for the purpose of flavouring.

Intriguingly, colour plays an important role in this advertisement. Colour, flavour, texture and nutritional value are the primary quality attributes that attract people to any food product (Spence, Smith & Auvray 2014, Stokes, Matthen & Biggs 2014, pp. 247–74). Consumers often perceive the flavour of foods by their colour (Downham & Collins 2000). Food colour affects consumers’ ability to identify flavour information sources correctly, including labelling and taste (Garber Jr, Hyatt & Starr Jr 2000). Therefore, colour and appearance may be the initial and most critical quality attributes. Specific colours are associated with particular tastes. In this advertisement, the Thai Curry Burger is associated with green (see Figure 11) because, in Thailand, kaffir lime leaves, for example are considered as the prime source of flavour and colour of Thai foods (Ekman

& Friesen 2003, pp. 87–8). The Outback Feisty BBQ burger is hot, therefore, it is red (see Figure 11).

Colour is vital to advertising – advertisers use colour not only to induce consumers emotionally but also to add any particular connotative value to the product. Colour also enables ‘emotional branding’; companies can use colours connected with certain emotions in order to target the psychogenic heterogeneity of the market (Moser 2013). Colour creates and sustains corporate identity by differentiating brands from their competition (Garber Jr, Hyatt & Starr Jr 2000; Madden, Hewett & Roth 2000). In this advertisement, the Roman Aioli Burger is associated with purple (see Figure 11) because, in Rome, the purple colour is associated with power. In ancient Rome, purple was associated with the ruling classes – the Roman Emperors are known for the distinctive purple colour of toga they wore (Kraut & Johnston 1979).

While the above advertisements have promoted their products solely on the basis of their sensory qualities, including appearance, texture and flavour (taste and aroma), the following Weis bars and Subway: Made for Summer advertisements (see Figures 12–14) are primarily about taste and summer. Therefore, the following sections will investigate the construction of taste through its association with summer. It is important to note that the following advertisements (see Figures 12–14) do not only communicate the taste of the products by portraying images of the Australian summer lifestyle, these advertisements also localise their products in order to appeal to local consumers.

4.4 Taste of summer

The Australian summer is all about the sun, surf and beach (Ellison 2010). Therefore, the three advertisements discussed in this section are also shot around a beach or feature a range of outdoor activities that appeal to Australian consumers. The Australianness of the Hungry Jack’s Chicken Crunch, Subway: Made for Summer and Weis bars II advertisement (see Figures 4, 13 and 14) is reinforced in these advertisements by featuring the components of Australian beach culture such as surfing and fishing. Hungry Jack’s Chicken Crunch (see Figure 4) makes a narrow appeal to summer, which is secondary to the taste of the product. This advertisement constructs summer by featuring sunny day, a

beach and the products that they have launched during summer. The advertisement shows a group of friends having fun in their car at the beach (see Figure 4). The outfits of the characters – the men are in shorts and women are in sleeveless tops – signify that it is summer.

Portable snacks and meals are essential for summer days out. Hence, in order to increase their sales volume, fast-food manufacturers often launch special seasonal products during summer. These products discussed in this section are being advertised as seasonal products, through seasonal advertising campaigns that can be repeated each year during summer. The Weis bar I advertisement (see Figure 12) is a seasonal summer product because the demand for ice cream, or ice-cream-like items, reaches its peak during summer. Therefore, for it makes sense to advertise this item when it has the highest demand. The essence of the meaning relationship – among colour, summer and taste – is neatly captured in these ads. In summer-themed advertisements, the dominant colour is yellow, because yellow is associated with sunshine, sand, warmth and summer (Alexander 2011; Tornetta, Fox & Blackbird 2013).

Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch (see Figure 4), Weis bar I and II, and Subway: Made for Summer (see Figures 12–14) all construct summer through the characters' appearance and outfits, the beach and fun activities such as bathing and surfing. In these advertisements, the characters are wearing summer outfits. In the Weis bar advertisements (see Figures 12 and 13), shots feature a drenched bare-bodied man with a surfboard in his hand, walking by the sea shore; two young men bathing in the sea; and two young women wearing shorts, lying down under a tree signify that it is summer. Likewise, in Subway: Made for Summer (see Figure 14), a barefoot white man wearing shorts and a sleeveless pullover summer tank top is hopping feet on hot sand on the beach with four bottles of Coca-Cola and four subways in two bags in his hands signifying that it is summer.

While the Weis bar I (see Figure 12) voiceover contains the only explicit appeal to the product's taste, the imagery used throughout the advertisement carries strong summer-related connotations. In Weis Bar II advertisement (see Figure 13) the brand advertises the same product, using the same strategy or theme but with a different advertising

message. Unlike Weis bar I (see Figure 12), Weis bar II (see Figure 13) does not emphasise differentiating Weis bars from ice creams; instead, the voiceover says, '*Don't just have a Weis bar, create your own. Give us your flavour to win to your very own custom batch. Weis: the taste is everything*'. This is giving consumers the opportunity to create their own unique Weis bar flavour and to participate in a contest on Facebook (see Figure 13). The Weis bar II ad refers to a contest created to generate publicity, increase customer engagement and generate ideas for new products.

With growing awareness of food ingredients and healthy lifestyles among consumers, consumers are more likely to choose natural products if they have the choice. Hence, advertisers construct their products as fresh by associating them with nature. The next section examines the construction of Calypso mango and Coon Nibbles as 'natural' products (Bings 2017).

4.5 Taste of nature

While many of the advertisements in this chapter (see Figures 4, 7, 8, 9 and 12) claim that their products are fresh by featuring the products' natural ingredients, it would be interesting to look at how a natural product, such as Calypso mangoes (see Figure 15), promotes itself in the marketplace. This section will analyse how Calypso mangoes and Coon Nibbles are promoted as 'natural'.

The Calypso mangoes advertisement (see Figure 15) opens by featuring a white woman at the supermarket, shopping for her family. Her identity as a wife and mother is noted as she recalls the names of her family members and buys mangoes for each of them, which connotes the target consumers as mothers. It signifies that, by looking after her family, she is a caring mother. The campaign slogan '*more mango less seed*' (see Figure 15) signifies the quality and the quantity of fruit flesh calypso mango that it has less seed. The ad refers to the structure of the mango i.e. it contains less seed. The image of a big piece of mango guarantees this.

However, the advertisement does not mention anything about the harvesting process. Seeds are a rich source of plant hormones, and the weight and size of seeds are affected

by plant hormones. One of the most important functions of plant hormones, particularly auxins, GA and cytokinin, is controlling fruit size and shape (Atwell, Kriedemann & Turnbull 1999). Mango farmers can control many aspects of fruit development by using plant hormones in a controlled manner (Atwell, Kriedemann & Turnbull 1999; Kumar, Khurana & Sharma 2014; Tharanathan, Yashoda & Prabha 2006). By not mentioning anything about its agricultural or harvesting processes the ad is actually maintaining the product's identity as a purely natural product.

Advertisers juxtapose products with nature and create associations between the products and nature, which can only be brought about by our belief in the product's status as natural (Williamson 1978, p. 133). In the Coon Nibbles cheese advertisement (see Figure 16), this is achieved with reference to the '*full serving*' of dairy; that is, natural food, and also by the message that it contains no artificial colours, flavours or preservatives. This establishes the association between the product and nature, which we can buy. Surely the reference to the '*full serving*' of dairy implies its nutritional content, and therefore health benefits. The image of cutting a block of Coon cheese into pieces (see Figure 16) signifies that it is fresh – it looks good, not dehydrated or mouldy. This is a different type of advertisement to those previously discussed, which is informational in nature.

In this advertisement, a non-white woman is playing the role of a presenter who provides information about the ingredients of Coon Nibbles. The '*presenter*' addresses the camera directly (see Figure 16) in a medium shot. She stands in front of a Coon Nibbles stand, which likely forms part of a supermarket. The impression created is that it is not the manufacturer of Coon Nibbles, who addressing the viewer in their profit-seeking interests but, rather, a neutral third party '*Brand Power*' (see Figure 16), brings viewers this message in the socially minded and patriotic interests of '*making Australians aware*'. Typical advertising devices, such as catchy jingles and background music, are notably absent in both of these advertisements. Coon Nibbles contains a style of television news report (see Figure 16) to legitimate claims about the product through reference to its ingredients. The presenter's first words are '*Buying snacks for the kids? Then try Nibbles*'. The use of these words is the marketers' attempt not only to attract the consumers' attention towards the advertisement but also to veil the advertiser's real motivation (to promote sales of Coon Nibbles).

The advertisement (see Figure 16) aims to appeal to both children and their parents. It features two white tweenage school kids, one male and one female, in their school uniforms eating Coon Nibbles. By featuring the children consuming the products, the advertisement is positioning the product for children. Coon Nibbles are packaged in a green-and-blue pack (see Figure 16) – green is associated with nature and the outdoors, which is appropriate for constructing the product as natural and healthy (Tornetta, Fox & Blackbird 2013). The product directed to the young market – blue is associated with youth and emphasises product’s target consumers (Bleicher 2012, p. 51).

The Coon Nibbles advertisement (see Figure 16) is also communicating to parents. Parents are approached via a more educational route to persuade them (Gunter, Oates & Blades 2004, p. 19) to consider Coon Nibbles as a healthy dietary option. The advertisement constructs the product as natural by referring to its ingredients such as *‘natural cheese without any added colours, flavours or preservatives that means it is healthy for kids’*. Advertisements for healthy food products often use rational appeals in order to provide consumers with a significant amount of product information. Educational-style advertising endows products with attributes in a detailed and factual tone to communicate the authenticity of the claims being made (Koekemoer & Bird 2004, p. 46; Madere, Cole & Hill 2017, p. 67; Oswald & Oswald 2015, p. 58). The educational style of the advertisement (see Figure 16) contributes to the view of the product as credible. Perhaps, this is due to the fact that the government also conducts a range of campaigns and programs that promote healthy lifestyles for children in an educational style (Gunter, Oates & Blades 2004, p. 19). Rather than merely influencing consumers’ current purchase decisions by educating them about the product, the advertisement aims to entice consumers to try this new healthy snack option for the first time (Martin 2010, p. 437).

In the above advertisements (see Figures 15 and 16), women are portrayed as primarily responsible for food shopping and producing family meals. Similarly, both of these advertisements are filmed in a supermarket setting and both of these advertisements are driven by female characters, who are portrayed as spokespersons. Hence, the Calypso

mango and Coon Nibbles advertisements (see Figures 15 and 16) are telling the audience that shopping is a women's job.

4.6 Conclusion

Taken together, these results suggest that food marketers strive to communicate the freshness of their products with reference to their appearance and colour, flavour and texture through imagery, sound, sensory words and voiceovers.

The fresh-themed advertisements are socialising tweens to regard these food products as fresh, regardless of whether or not it actually is. In food advertisements, advertisers commonly use the word 'fresh' in ways that have nothing to do with the textbook definition of the word. From these advertisements, tweens are learning to consider any food as fresh, if the food is crispy and crunchy (see Figures 3 and 4). Even fast food can be considered as fresh if its ingredients are bouncy, especially if the food contains moist and bouncy vegetables (see Figures 4, 7, 8, 9 and 10) and if it is not frozen (see Figure 11). Thus fast-food advertisers falsely claim that their food products are 'fresh' – they support their claims with the use of a number of sensory words, such as *crunchy* followed by *crispy*, *juicy*, *sizzling*, *fresh and delicious*, *roasted*, *bright*, *crackly*, *delicious*, *grilled*, *spicy*, *zesty* and *cheeky* to represent their products as nutritious, satisfying, perfect, adaptable, useful, glorious, and so on. This is consistent with the results of an analysis by Nestle (2013) of food advertisements. The McCafé advertisement (see Figure 5) is promoting their breakfast menu; therefore, the advertisement associates morning freshness to the freshness of the breakfast at McCafé. From the McCafé advertisement, tweens are learning that we should make eating breakfast at McCafé part of our early-morning lifestyle because, at McCafé, we can have freshly cooked breakfast daily.

The other recurring themes that came out of this analysis are 'summer' and 'natural'. Marketers introduce seasonal menu items during the summer. Warm summer days allow locals and visitors to venture outdoors. Consumers can participate in various outdoor activities with handheld or portable meals. Hence, the fast-food restaurant industry tends to flourish during the summer or warm months. Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch, Weis bar I and II, and Subway: Made for Summer commercials (see Figures 4, 12, 13 and 14)

promote their products as the products of summer. From the above findings, it seems that all summer-themed advertisements (see Figures 4, 12, 13 and 14) are fun-oriented. From the summer-themed advertisements, tweens are learning that summer is meant to be celebrated by consuming the advertised food and by doing fun activities at the beach, because the Australian summer is all about the sun, surf and beach (Ellison 2010) – this is how white Australians celebrate the summer.

Advertisers promote products with a ‘natural’ claim to suggest that the food is healthy (Williams et al. 2009). However, the Calypso advertisement did not use the word ‘natural’ for a single time in this advertisement because mango is already a natural product. Calypso advertisement (see Figure 15) promotes its product mango as low seed mango rather than as a natural product. The seed size of mangoes can only be controlled at harvest by artificially applying plant hormones (Atwell, Kriedemann & Turnbull 1999). From the Calypso mango advertisement (see Figure 15), tweens are learning to consider any product as natural, even if the product has been transformed from its natural state artificially. The only advertisement in this chapter that has introduced a natural healthy food option is the Coon Nibbles (see Figure 16) cheese advertisement. And this arguably will be a highly processed form of the cheese that is mostly packaging rather than the product in its natural form.

Food preferences are strongly influenced by family and ethnic background, level of education, income, age and gender (Nestle 2013, p. 22). However, from looking at the advertisements in this chapter, it seems that they are feeding consumers false images of Australia. At least 6.7 million of Australia’s total population of more than 24.1 million were not born in this country (ASB 2016a, 2016b). In spite of this multicultural mix, these advertisements do not reflect the racial diversity of Australia. A possible explanation for this trend can be the fact that white-dominated Australian ad agencies (Burrowes 2016) have limited knowledge and understanding of diverse cultural communities and this is leading them to design ads that do not reflect the Australia’s cultural diversity.

Moreover, these agencies’ general unfamiliarity with non-white communities makes them present non-whites as stereotypes. From this, tweens are learning that the advertised products are available for consumption by white consumers. In television commercials

there has been consistent and more frequent appearance of white characters than non-Whites, while non-Whites continue to be relatively invisible in these advertisements (Coltrane & Messineo 2000; Lichter et al. 1994; Wiegel, Loomis & Soja 1980; Wilson II & Gutiérrez 1995). Similarly, the result of this analysis also shows that white characters are over-represented compared with the broader population. Most of the advertisements (n=11, 78.5%) feature white characters only. This finding is consistent with the most recent major Australian study of in free-to-air (FTA) TV advertising (see Ebiquity Australia 2014) which found that the overwhelming majority of TV advertising featured Caucasians, with only a small percentage including other ethnicities; 76% of actors of actors in commercials were white, while only 24% came from other culturally diverse backgrounds.

None of these advertisements, with the exception of Weis bar II and Coon Nibbles (see Figures 13 and 16) portrays any tween consumers or any child consuming the advertised product. All the advertisements are targeted at young adults, because it is this demographic that has that money and is fresh-food focused (Morrison 2013). Advertisers are broadcasting commercials for adult products during C-classified time because advertisers consider children to be not just as existing clients but also as future clients. Therefore, advertisers consider children to be the target of campaigns aimed at attaining brand loyalties from an early age (Moore 2004).

Finally, the results support the previous findings which are discussed in the Chapter 2 literature review particularly that advertisers commonly use taste, price, convenience, freshness and health (Furst et al. 1996; Kotler 1965; Steenkamp 1997) in advertisements because, once the consumer receives this information about the advertised product, then the consumer's responses are manifested in the form of purchase decisions (Kotler 1965). The other major theme that came out of the initial content analysis is 'health'. Hence, the next chapter will review the construction of health in food advertisements during C-classified television programs.

Chapter 5: Construction of Health

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to determine how health is constructed and presented in food advertising. Content analysis of the advertisements appearing on television from November to December 2013 during ‘C’-classified programs identified health as one of the most common primary appeals. Of the 57 food advertisements in this dataset, 13 (23%) contained health- or nutrition-related claims. As in Chapter 4, the current chapter presents a semiotic analysis to investigate the ideological underpinning of the advertisements. It concludes by demonstrating that food advertisements broadcast during C-classified time present food products as healthy on the basis of their weight-management, energy-giving and mood-enhancement properties.

While there have been numerous studies analysing the content of children’s food commercials (see Costa, Horta & Santos 2013; Kelly et al. 2007; Li et al. 2016; Missbach et al. 2015; Powell, Szczypka & Chaloupka 2007; Powell et al. 2007), the aspect of the content and presentation manner of health-related claims has received only minimal attention, with only one study by Professor Young Sook Moon⁶ at Hanyang University, South Korea, appearing in *Asian Journal of Communication* in 2010. The current study fits into the context of Moon (2010)’s study, which explored the current practices of television food advertising targeted at children and examined the content and presentation manner of health-related claims.

⁶ To quantify the practice of television food advertising messages to which Korean child consumers are currently exposed through television, Moon (2010) analysed the content and presentation manner of health-related claims, as well as persuasive appeals and food types. In this study, however, mood alteration was found to be the fourth-most prevalent appeal, in which the product promises that it would either stimulate positive feelings (e.g. happiness, relief) or eliminate negative feelings (e.g. anxiety, anger).

WHO (2006) defines health as ‘a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity’. This definition includes mental and social competences, and shifts the attention beyond individual physical abilities or dysfunction. This means that health not only refers to physical health, it includes mental health as well. By contrast to Moon’s (2010) study, the present study found mood alteration as one of the most prevalent appeals in the current study, in which the product promises that it would either stimulate positive feelings (e.g. happiness, relief) or eliminate negative feelings (e.g. anxiety, anger). Therefore, in order to gain a more specific result, in this study are included two additional health claims from a study by Moon (2010); namely, (1) energy (Moon 2010), and (2) mood alteration. Physical performance/speed/strength are categorised under (1) energy; the consumption of food to enhance positive feelings (happiness, relief) or removes negative feelings (anxiety, anger) (Williamson 1978; Moon 2010) is categorised under (2) mood alteration. This study extends Moon’s (2010) study by examining the content of health-related claims in food commercials targeted at children. However, while Moon (2010) used content analysis to quantify the presence of general health claims, the current study employed semiotics to explore how Australian food advertisements construct and present health through the use of signs.

This study has adopted the definition of health and nutrition content claims introduced by Food Standards Australia and New Zealand (FSANZ) to regulate nutrition content and health claims on food labels and in advertisements,⁷ for the purpose of identifying nutrition and content claims that are being made in these advertisements. This definition is relevant because, until 18th January 2016, all food businesses in Australia had to comply with the Australia New Zealand Food Standards Code – Standard 1.1.2 and 1.2.7 (FSANZ 2013).

⁷ FSANZ describes ‘nutrition content claims’ as the claims about the content of certain nutrients or substances in a food (e.g. low in fat), and ‘general-level health claims’ as the claims about a nutrient or substance in a food, and its effect on health function, but it does not link nutrients to a serious disease or to a biomarker of a serious disease (e.g. calcium is good for bones and teeth) (FSANZ 1991).

5.2 Descriptions of the advertisements

5.2.1 Advertisement: Kellogg's Special K Oats and Honey



Figure 17. Kellogg's Special K Oats and Honey

The 15-second advertisement opens with full shot of a woman walking on the beach. Losing her red cover-up in the breeze, she decides to continue on without caring about her lost clothing. The following shots feature her eating Kellogg's Special K and the following text appears on the screen: *'Enjoy as part of a balanced diet and active life style'*. These shots are accompanied by low-tempo background music and a female

voiceover, saying, ‘*Start your summer with the fibre, protein and seven essential nutrients in Special K Oats and Honey. A sensational start to summer.*’ The advertisement closes with showing the Kellogg’s Special K logo, its Facebook ID ‘*SpecialKAustralia*’ and the slogan of the Kellogg’s Special K summer campaign ‘*What do you want to gain?*’ As a part of the Kellogg’s Special K summer campaign, the same advertisement also promotes Kellogg’s Special K High Protein Summer.

5.2.2 Advertisement: Kellogg’s Special K High Protein Summer

This advertisement for Special K contains text saying, ‘*Get ready to lose the layers*’. The shots feature the same woman from the previous advertisement eating Kellogg’s Special K High Protein Summer, along with the text: ‘*Enjoy as part of a balanced diet and active life style*’. The advertisement closes with featuring a billboard with the text ‘*Low-GI high-protein plans free at MYSPECILAK.COM.AU*’, the Kellogg’s Special K logo and the slogan of the Kellogg’s Special K summer campaign ‘*What do you want to gain?*’





Figure 18. Kellogg's Special K High Protein Summer

5.2.3 Advertisement: Arnott's Cruskits

The 30-second advertisement opens with a talking piece of bread, who attempts to lure a woman away from eating it by saying, 'Look at you, you, tiger you. Game time ...' The advertisement features a white woman in modern kitchen, making a sandwich with Cruskits biscuits, while the male-voiced bread continues, 'You are looking good,

Jammie. Have you heard me? In the next shot, another piece of animated bread says, *'Look how cute I am. Heeey ... over here ... everybody loves me! Tell him, Swiss, that'll do it ...'* Then the third animated bread says, *'Hey, Debbie, do you remember your fifth birthday? We got that puppy'* but the woman ends up with fighting back against the temptation of the carbohydrate-laden bread with the help of Cruskits. The initial close-up shots capture the conversation between the animated bread pieces and the woman making a Cruskits sandwich in the kitchen. The advertisement continues, featuring the woman eating Cruskits and a female voiceover, saying, *'With 60% less carbs per serve than most bread, Cruskits can keep you on track to feeling lighter'* Then text appears on screen: *'*2 slices of bread versus 2 Cruskits'*. Low-tempo background music is audible. The advertisement closes with an image of five different packets of Cruskits and a bread creature walking towards them, with the campaign slogan: *'Carbs don't fight fair. Fight back with Cruskits'*.





Figure 19. Arnott's Cruskits

5.2.4 Advertisement: Subway Flatbread





Figure 20. Subway Flatbread

The 15-second advertisement does not have a linear narrative based structure; instead, it is composed of a montage of scenes with the product as the thematic link between scenes. The montaged scenes show a number of close-up and medium shots of different people enjoying their subs at different places in different situations. Male characters are jumping into the water wearing swimming shorts; a group of girls are in bikinis; male characters wearing shorts are sitting on a wooden pier by the water; and female characters are having fun in the park. During the advertisement, high-tempo background music plays the jingle: *'I got it made, I got it made, fresh at Subway Subs, made just the way I say, I've got it made'* while the young female voiceover says: *'Want flat-out irresistible? At Subway, you've got it made. New toasted flatbread. Give your favourite sub a go on it, or go new succulent oven-roasted chicken with 8 g of fat or less – made just the way you say. New Subway six-inch and Subway foot-long flatbreads – here to stay. At Subway.'* The advertisement closes with a close-up shot of two young guys from the first shot, showing their subs, alongside the Subway logo, website address and the campaign slogan: *'Subway: eat fresh.'*

5.2.5 Advertisement: Lite n'Easy



Figure 21. Lite n'Easy

The 15-second advertisement opens with a medium–long shot of a deliveryman delivering a Lite n'Easy meal box. The following close-up shots show a woman removing them from the box, putting them in the fridge, then serving a meal on the table, which she eats with another woman. Throughout, a female voiceover, along with low-tempo background music, ties the scenes together: *'For over 25 years, Lite n'Easy has been making it easy for Australians to eat well and lose weight. To find out how simple it really is, call us on 13 15 12. Visit liteneasy.com.au.today.'*

5.2.6 Advertisement: Five:am

The 30-second advertisement opens with a full-length shot of a beach at dawn. The next shots feature Australian pro-surfer, Laura Enever, waking up at 5:00am. She removes Five:am yoghurt from the fridge, puts it inside her bag and drives towards the beach. The next shot shows her hitting the surf at the beach, before enjoying her delicious breakfast of Five:am yoghurt. During the advertisement, a female voiceover, accompanied by low-tempo background music, says, *'Beneath the stars, I steal away. I see a new day sweetly born. To take mornings, promise this gift this day. For I patrol the dawn. To see her is to breathe again and love again, I see. All I am, I give to her; to her, a better me. So I take this morning with I keep it tucked away. I take tiny peaceful pieces from her to have me further stay.'* The advertisement closes with a close-up of pots of Five:am yoghurt.



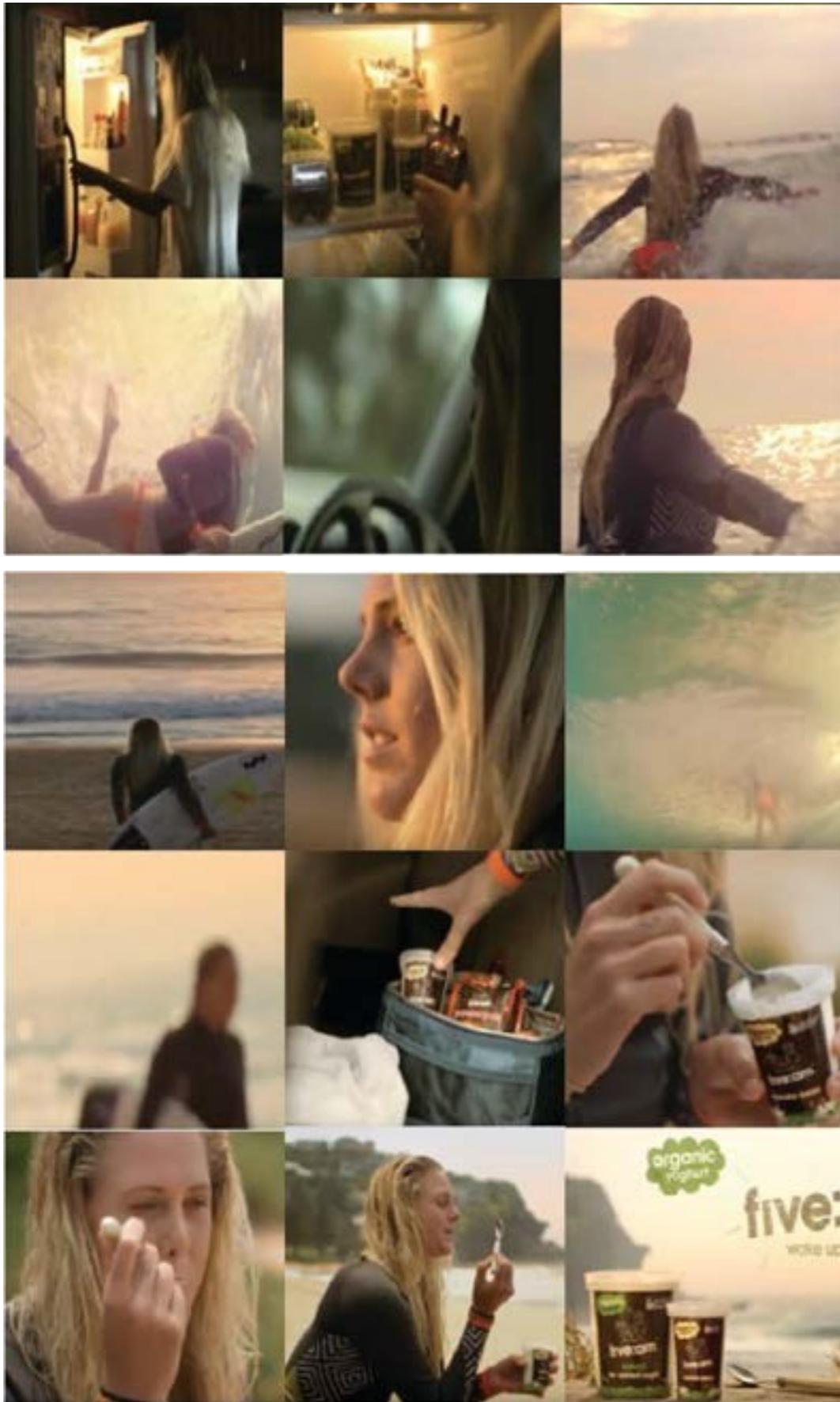


Figure 22. Five:am

5.2.7 Advertisement: Gatorade

The 30-second Gatorade sports drink advertisement opens with the full shot of cricketer Michael Clarke batting in the field. When he hits a six, the fans in the stadium cheer, and he raises his bat to acknowledge the appreciation of the crowd. A lot of full-length shots are used throughout the advertisement to capture the subjects in relation to the environment. These shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music and a male voiceover, saying, *'At 16, Clarke's average was 23.9. This 16-year-old, he has an average of 36.8. He is part of the next generation. Determined to be the better than the best. Fuelling themselves with 48 years of Gatorade sports science, to reach the moment they outscore Ponting or are more unplayable than Thompson. Because the best player the world we'll ever see hasn't been seen yet.'* Then the following shots show Guy Walker batting in the field and doing shadow-batting and the text *"win from within"*; Ben Ashkenazi is fielding and drinking Gatorade. The advertisement closes with the slogan of Gatorade *'See the future'*, the *'Gatorade Australia'* Facebook page, and the logos of Cricket Australia and Gatorade, with the text: *'Official sports drink of the Australian Cricket team'*.





Figure 23. Gatorade

5.2.8 Advertisement: Powerade Zero

The 30-second Powerade Zero advertisement opens with a close-up shot of Olympic hurdling champion, Sally Pearson, wearing athletic costume getting ready for a run. She inserts earphones into her ears to listen to music while running, and removes a bottle of Powerade Zero from the refrigerator. In this shot, the camera zooms in on the words 'Zero Sugar'. She drinks some Powerade Zero then starts running, holding the bottle of Powerade Zero. It is dawn as she strides through the streets of Sydney. Her kilojoule-tracking machine belt beeps while she is running and the text 'Zero distractions' comes up on the screen. She stops the beeping as she continues running until the sun rises. The text 'Zero shortcuts' then comes up on the screen. The next shot shows the sun already high in the sky. She is panting and drinks Powerade once again. The text 'Zero quitting' comes up on the screen and she starts running again, while a female voiceover

accompanied by high-tempo background music, says, ‘*Powerade Zero. Zero sugar. Fast hydration*’. The advertisement closes with Sally Pearson running in the morning, then an image of the Powerade Zero bottle with the text ‘*Zero sugar. Fast hydration*’ plus the signature of Sally Pearson.

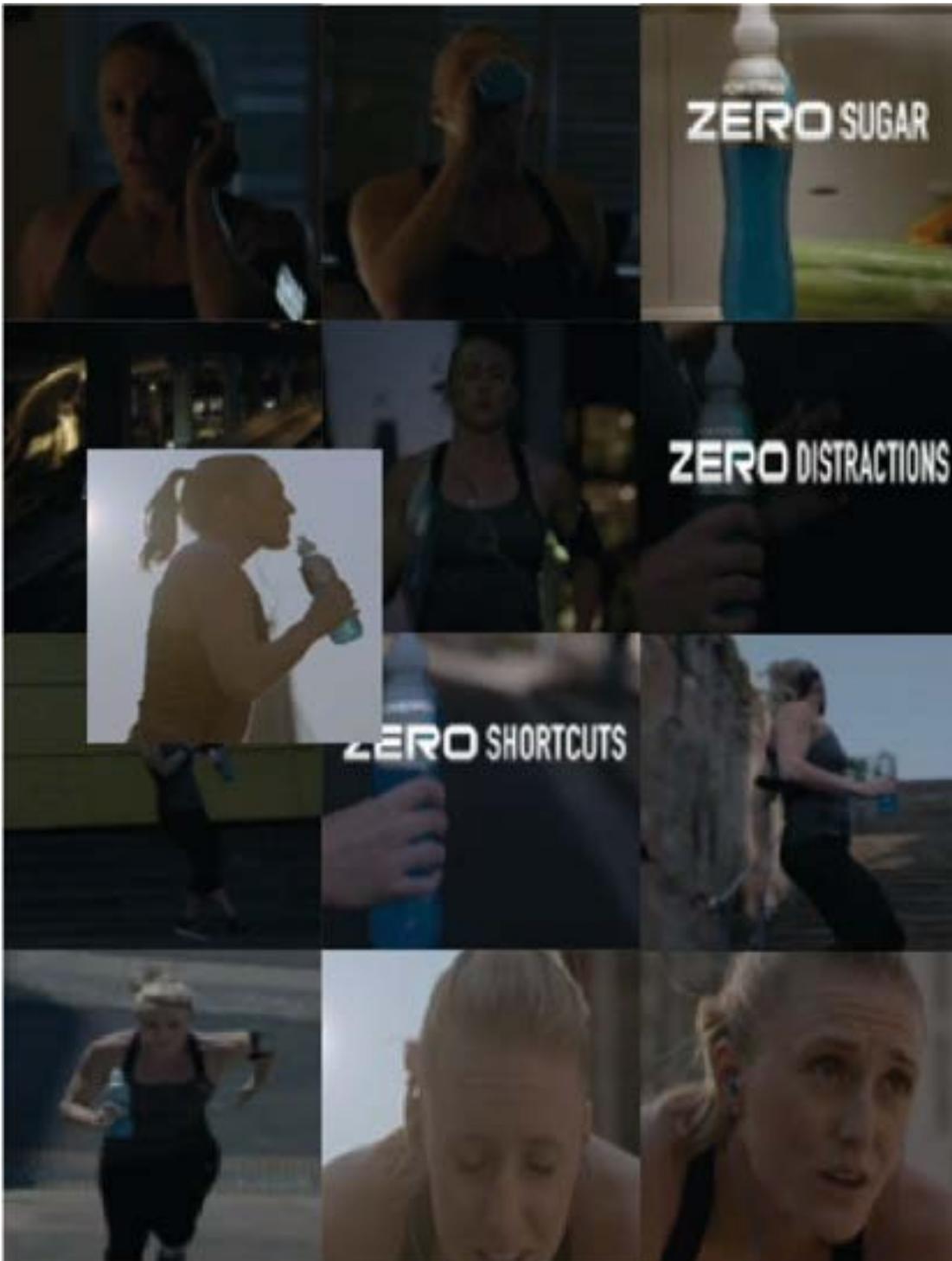




Figure 24. Powerade Zero

5.2.9 Advertisement: Mars Bar

The 15-second Mars Bar advertisement opens with medium–long shot of a conductor walking into a carriage and announcing: *‘The brakes are frozen. Need someone to get on top of the carriage go to the engine and Cut the fluid line,’* A mountain climber replies: *‘Fifteen carriages, nice and slow, against billowing winds. Just like I did on Everest.’* Then he looks at a young man in the train, who eating Mars bar, and says, *‘But you’ve got a Mars bar, son.’* Despite having a number of natural heroes, such as soldiers, firefighters and a Mount Everest climber, all eyes turn to the guy eating a Mars chocolate bar, because: *‘With a Mars comes great responsibility.’* He takes the challenge and ends up on the train’s roof, being a protector. The advertisement closes with close-up of a Mars bar, accompanied by high-tempo background music, text and the male voiceover saying the slogan: *‘With a Mars comes great responsibility.’*



Figure 25. Mars Bar

5.2.10 Advertisement: Ice Break Coffee

The 15-second advertisement for Ice Break Coffee opens with a full-length shot of a man who is about to drink an Ice Break Coffee, but the bottle is snatched from him by a bike rider, then from the first bike rider by another bike rider, from the second bike rider by a car driver, from the car driver by a truck driver, but by this time, the first man has jumped onto the car and snatched the bottle from him. While he is drinking it, someone on the aircraft is coming to snatch it from him, but he takes the challenge again and saves the bottle. Accompanied by no background music, there is a male voiceover that says the campaign slogan: *'Bring it on.'*





Figure 26. Ice Break Coffee

5.2.11 Advertisement: Snickers

The 15-second Snickers commercial opens with long shot featuring an accident scene with an old dirt bike rider. In the next scene, he looks at a young man who has come forward and says, with anger: *'Who the flaming heck put that there?'* Then, when the young man tries to talk to him and says *'Dude'*, he outbursts, *'Don't dude me you long-haired yahoo.'* Then the young man gives him a Snickers and says, *'Eat a Snickers.'* As the old man starts eating the Snickers, the young man asks him, *'Better?'* The next shot sees the old man transformed into a young man, who replies, *'Better.'* The advertisement closes with the text *'You're not you when you're hungry. Snickers really satisfies'* and a male voiceover narrates the same slogan.



Figure 27. Snickers bar

5.2.12 Advertisement: Wrigley Eclipse mints

The 15-second Wrigley Eclipse mints advertisement opens with an over-the-shoulder close-up shot of a group of bikies, with background music audible. In the following shots, a young man comes towards this group. He meets the bikies and says ‘hello’ to one huge biker. These following shots show that he has charmed the huge biker with the help of the freshness of an Eclipse mint, when he joins them in their adventure. These shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music and a male voiceover. The advertisement closes with a close-up of an eclipse mint in the young man’s hand, the campaign slogan ‘Say hello to fresh’ and the male voiceover saying ‘Eclipse mints. Say hello to fresh’.



Figure 28. Wrigley Eclipse mints

5.2.13 Advertisement: Wrigley’s Extra Chewing Gum

The 30-second advertisement opens with a woman at a restaurant who has just finished eating. On the table, food creatures are coming towards the woman so that the woman

will eat them, and they can lodge in her teeth. When she removes the Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum from her bag and starts chewing, the food creatures notice the balance of pH level that is being caused by Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum. They run away and fall onto the table, struck down by the flavour of Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum. The next shot shows that the woman's fresh appearance has attracted the attention of a young guy while she is leaving of the restaurant. A lot of close-up shots are used throughout the advertisement to show the facial expressions and interactions between the characters. These shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music and a male voiceover. The advertisement closes by featuring the food-shaped creatures with the campaign slogan '*What you gonna chew when they come for you?*' and a billboard with a packet of Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum and the text: '*Eat Drink Chew Extra*' written in the same colour combination as the chewing gum.





Figure 29. Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum

5.3 Discussion

5.3.1 Health is about weight-loss

Currently, marketers employ a number of ways to segment the market in order to create niche markets. Because there are a growing number of sophisticated health-conscious consumers, more and more specialty food products are emerging in the food industry. These specialty food products can be fibre- or protein-enriched products, or low-fat or low-carbohydrate foods. Any campaign that is designed to advertise specialty foods needs to focus on a small group of people that have similar interests and who are on special diets to improve their lifestyle, health or lose weight – it is about finding the right

approach to communicate with the target consumers (Corke et al. 2016, p. 160). The following paragraphs will demonstrate the constructions of health made by the advertisers' of the speciality food products described above.

Advertisers often use claims related to weight-loss – such as claims regarding a product being 'lean', 'lite' or aids weight management – as well as specific claims around a product's kilojoule, fat, sugar, protein, carbohydrate or fibre content (Henderson & Kelly 2005) to promote their products to people who are on special diets to improve their lifestyle, health or lose weight. Furthermore, television advertisers frequently capitalise on consumers' concerns about body weight and kilojoule intake in that many advertisements promoted foods or beverages as being low calorie, lean or lite (Byrd-Bredbenner & Grasso 2000). Similarly, the two advertisements by Kellogg's (see Figures 17 and 18) have taken an initiative to encourage all women to look after themselves; they are asking women to maintain a healthy and active lifestyle by eating well and exercising.

The Kellogg's Special K Oats and Honey advertisement (Figure 17) portrays a slim woman in red sarong tied around her neck as a charming seductive individual. The following shots capture her flawless body with straight long legs and slim waist (see Figure 17). Her well-shaped body implies that this plan is for women who are attempting to lose weight for summer. The voiceover and accompanying text (see Figure 17) signifies that she has achieved this seasonal body by maintaining a balanced diet and active lifestyle through the consumption of Kellogg's Special K Oats and Honey, which contains fibre, protein and seven essential nutrients. By portraying excessively thin images of the female model in body-revealing clothing, the advertisement tried to sell this young woman's healthy body and luxurious beach lifestyle to those wishing to lose weight.

The same advertisement also promotes Kellogg's Special K High Protein Summer (Figure 18). However, a great deal of ideological work is done through the text: '*Get ready to lose the layers*'. Through the text '*lose the layers*' (by eating Kellogg's Special K), this advertisement constructs the product as a means of achieving shapeliness by reducing layers of fat so one can lose the layers of clothing in summer and show off that body. Kellogg's Special K advertisements (see Figures 17 and 18) use women in bikinis, demonstrating their lost kilograms thus attracting viewers to the product and its promised

outcome. Unlike the previous advertisement, this features various dishes rich in protein, signifying that Kellogg's Special K is high in protein like these foods (see Figure 18). The text '*lose the layers*' signifies 'lose the body layers'; the text '*low-GI high-protein plan*' reinforces the connection between the low-GI high-protein plan and a healthy diet.

However, to identify the ideology underpinning the Special K advertisements (see Figures 17 and 18), it is necessary to consider the context in which the advertisement holds meaning for its audience. The ideal feminine image, as seen through the eyes of media and cultural norms, is expected to be young, tall and extremely thin (Fouts & Burggraf 2000; Malkin, Wornian & Chrisler 1999; Wolf 2002). In this way, advertisers endow certain meanings of femininity – such as beauty, sensuality, etc. – into certain products and brands.

Goldman, Heath and Smith (1991) explain this process with the term 'commodity feminism'. In their article, '*Commodity Feminism*', the authors, Jonathan Schroeder and Robert Goldman, introduced this term as an alternative take on Marx's 'commodity fetishism', where advertisers have tried to redefine feminism through commodities and confer aspects of it onto their products to increase sales (Goldman 1992, p. 130). While, in these advertisements (see Figures 17 and 18), the advertisers relate health to body shape (weight/slimness) and beauty, they also appeal strongly to the emotional aspects of health – it is about feeling (and looking) good. The Special K advertisements assure women that they will find meaning and satisfaction in their lives through consumption. Apart from cereal companies, there are a number of other food products that also associate their products with weight loss. The following advertisements are examples of such products – the Cruskits advertisement (see Figure 19), for example, claims that it has health benefits on the basis of the fact that it is low carbohydrate.

The Cruskits advertisement is a dialogue-driven commercial. The bread has been anthropomorphised (Figure 19) because the more a person likes a spokes-character, the more likely they are to remember the advertisement and be positively influenced by it (Callcott & Alvey 1991). Moreover, the presence of an anthropomorphic agent in an advertisement has a significant positive impact on consumers' attitudes towards the brand. Anthropomorphism stimulates consumers' attention towards an advertisement

(Basfirinci & Cilingir 2015). The ‘visual cuteness’ of an anthropomorphised product can mediate consumers’ liking of that product (Aggarwal & McGill 2007; Miesler, Leder & Herrmann 2011). While anthropomorphism has no special role to play in constructing any of the products discussed in this chapter as healthy, in this advertisement, the bread is anthropomorphised because the advertisers want their advertisement to be seen and remembered by their consumers, and they want consumers to be engaged emotionally in the advertisement.

Brands use anthropomorphised characters in advertisements to develop a closer relationship between brands and consumers; it effectively enables consumers to relate more closely to the advertised brand (LeBel & Cooke 2008; Schouten & McAlexander 1995; Woodside, Sood & Miller 2008). Excess consumption of carbohydrate may be a key contributor to the increase of bodyweight (McDonald 1998, p. 153). The Cruskits advertisement (see Figure 19) revolves around the dichotomy of bread versus Cruskits; it constructs Cruskits as a low-carb product. Breads are good sources of carbohydrates (Rosdahl & Kowalski 2008, p. 305). Therefore, in the case of the Cruskits advertisement, for example, bread is anthropomorphised with human attributes and abilities, because of bread’s ability to contribute to body weight gain.

Through developing and organising a successful story around the bread versus Cruskits theme, the advertisement attempts to humanise the brand and to construct the product as a healthy low-carb dietary option. A number of signifiers for bread and carbohydrate (see Figure 19) are used to construct Cruskits as a low-carb product. The woman’s ignoring of the bread signifies that woman is aware of the ‘healthier’ choice of Cruskits, which is why she is ignoring the pleas of the bread. The text saying ‘60% less carbs’ reinforces the connection between less-carb and low-carb foods. Through shots of its nutritious toppings, such as fresh cheese, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions (see Figure 19), the advertisement showcases a range of deliciously lite and easy meal and snack ideas. The image of a piece of Swiss cheese signifies that it is fresh as it looks good, not dehydrated and without any mould, plus tomatoes, cucumbers and onions (see Figure 19 and Chapter 4, in which constructions of the idea of freshness in food advertisements is explored). The apparent message is that Cruskits is making it easy for one to stay on track with his/her

weight-loss goals, or with his/her low-carb weight-loss diet, while incorporating large amounts of non-starchy vegetables and high-protein foods into his/her diet.

While imagery used throughout the advertisement contains an explicit appeal to the supposed health benefits of the product, through the use of auditory cues, the Cruskits advertisement (see Figure 19) is informing consumers about its taste. The crackling sound emanated from the first bite of the sandwich signifies the crunchiness of the product. Chapter 4 explored how crunchiness is associated with freshness; Cruskits, therefore, are a healthy food option. The slogan: '*Carbs don't fight fair. Fight back with Cruskits*' suggests that one can avoid eating carbohydrate by choosing Cruskits. The advertisement promotes the product as a low-carbohydrate because low-carbohydrate diets (LChD) are popular among the population for losing weight (Shai et al. 2008).

Dr Atkins was an American cardiologist who introduced the low-carb diet in his book, *Dr. Atkins' Diet Revolution*, in 1972 (Atkins 1973); this book is now known as *Dr. Atkins' New Diet Revolution* (Atkins 1999). By the late-1990s, with the increasing popularity of as Dr Atkins' low-carb diet in the United States, a number of low-carb foods hit the market. Increased rates of deaths from heart disease during the 1980s had also changed American lifestyle and attracted more consumers' attention towards heart-healthy foods (CDC 2014). In response a number of companies introduced a number of low-carb products to convince their weight-conscious consumers to follow the diet and buy the company's low-carb products. As a result, more than diet consumption, low-carb has become a lifestyle and companies have started identifying their potential target marketing terms of this lifestyle. Cutting carbs decreases insulin secretion, which leads to increased fat oxidation and burning of kilojoules (Hall et al. 2015). However, recent research suggests that a low-fat diet is slightly more effective for losing weight than a low-carbohydrate diet (see Hall et al. 2015). Although the low-carb diet leads to more weight loss by lowering insulin level, the low-fat diet leads to more body-fat loss (Hall et al. 2015). Hence, the following advertisement promotes Subway Flatbread as a low-fat product.

Since everyone wants to look and feel their best, advertisers and marketers communicate about health by promoting a healthy active lifestyle (Rodgers & Thorson 2012).

Therefore, in the Subway Flatbread advertisement (Figure 20), the visuals appeal to the enjoyment of eating flatbread with minimal reference to reason and maximum appeal to emotion. In the Subway: Made for Summer advertisement (see Figure 14), the juxtaposition of this product with energetic and fun activities transfers the meanings from one to the other, such that fun activities become associated with the advertised products. In the Subway Flatbread commercial, the images show men and women engaged in fun activities, such as male characters jumping into the water, a group of girls in bikinis, male characters wearing shorts and sitting on a pier by the water, and female characters having fun in the park (see Figure 20). These all signify that the characters in this advertisement are physically active; eating healthy Subway sandwiches has given them the energy they need for being active during summer. In semiotic terms, the signified (health, energy and enjoyment) attached to the signifier (men, women laughing with friends) is transferred to the product in order to relate that product to health, energy and fun moments of summer. Through these visuals, the advertisement is conveying the message to consumers that they can also achieve similar good experiences through consuming the advertised product (Hoyer, MacInnis & Pieters 2012).

Images of the Subway flatbread with the text '*8 grams of fat*' (see Figure 20) signifies that it is a low-fat product. Here, the dominant ideological theme or message is that consuming a low-fat sub will help you manage your weight. The Subway Flatbread advertisement (see Figure 20) makes a narrow appeal to the taste aspects of the product. The connotative value of Subway as fresh is evidenced in the advertisement where the products – bouncy flatbread, crisp tomatoes, fresh cucumbers, lettuce with chicken – make it seem fresh (see Chapter 4 for more detail on the construction of taste and freshness). Moreover, the scene featuring a man selecting the ingredients of his sub (see Figure 20) describes that, at a Subway shop, you can choose the ingredients of your sub; therefore, you know that you are more likely to get fresh food at Subways.

Although the major focus of the above advertisements is on the products' weight-management properties, the Lite n'Easy advertisement (Figure 21) also appeals to the product's convenience. The advertisement equates health with losing weight; convenience and weight loss are both given importance because the product is not only 'lite', it is also a quick-to-prepare frozen meal. Through a number of signs, this

advertisement constructs the product as healthy and convenient. Close-up shots of the food packs show that Lite n'Easy offers meal plans and that the delivery will include all your breakfasts, lunches, dinners and snacks for each day (see Figure 21). Overall, the advertisement constructs Lite n'Easy as nutritious and convenient, and this is achieved through the line: *'Eat well and lose weight to find out how simple it really is'*, which signifies that it is a weight-reducing product. The construction of convenience will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

The average age of first-time mothers has increased, from 28.1 in 2005 to 28.9 in 2015 (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2019). Interestingly, all the models appearing in the Lite n'Easy advertisement (Figure 21) are middle-aged women; therefore, it seems that advertisers have created this advertisement to target the mothers of young children. However, research suggests (see Parkin 2006; Wallach, Swindall & Wise 2016, p. 386) that this advertisement is broadcast during the children's time slot because advertisers assume that young girls would automatically follow their mothers' example with regard to eating habits. Many food advertisers target advertisements to mothers, which set eating cereal or other foods as a good example, which the daughters then follow automatically (Parkin 2006; Wallach, Swindall & Wise 2016, p. 386). This supports the discussion in the literature review (see Chapter 2) that advertisers consider tweens not only as existing clients, but as future clients (Moore 2004).

The above advertisements make a narrow appeal to summer, which is secondary to the product's health-enhancement properties. From the previously discussed summer-themed advertisements (see Figures 17, 18 and 20), tweens are learning that summer is meant to be celebrated by consuming the advertised foods, working on one's diet in order to get a beach-ready body, wearing swimwear, biking and doing fun activities at the beach, because the Australian summer is all about the sun, surf and beach (Ellison 2010); this is how white Australians (see Figures 17, 18 and 20) celebrate the summer in Australia.

The advertisements discussed in this section have all been promoted as a means of weight loss or weight management, in order to target a small group of people who primarily want to lose or maintain their body weight (Corke et al. 2016, p. 160; Henderson & Kelly 2005). Observational learning, or role modelling, can have a powerful effect on the

development of children's eating behaviours. Research demonstrates a reliable association between the quality of children's diet/food intake and their mothers' eating practices (Birch & Fisher 2000; Contento et al. 1993; Hill, Weaver & Blundell 1990; Klesges et al. 1991; Oliveria et al. 1992). Some studies (Birch & Fisher 2000; Dovey 2010, p. 10; Farrow, Haycraft & Meyer 2009) concerned with Social Learning Theory have emphasised the impact of observational learning to change children's eating behaviours. Some earlier research has provided support for Social Learning Theory; they concluded by arguing that children's food preferences change through the observation of others' eating behaviours (Brown & Ogden 2004; Contento et al. 1993; Dovey 2010; Hill, Weaver & Blundell 1990; Klesges et al. 1991; Oliveria et al. 1992; Raap 2015). Children are growing as consumers by watching these advertisements; therefore, after exposure to advertising, tweens establish a link between eating diet food and being slim, with an addition link between being slim and being beautiful and sensual (Gorn & Florsheim 1985).

Apart from promoting a food as a means of weight management, food advertisers frequently promote their products as an energy-giving source. Hence, the following paragraphs will demonstrate how health is being constructed as an energy-giving source in the advertisements included in this study.

5.3.2 Health is about staying energetic

To promote their product as an energy-giving source, most sports-drink brands using professional athletes to endorse their products because athletes are theoretically the best role models for active, healthy lifestyles for children (Bragg et al. 2013; Sifferlin 2013). Food and beverage companies use professional athletes to influence consumer perceptions and buying decisions (Erdogan 1999; Kamins 1990; Stafford, Spears & Hsu 2003). Food and beverage companies may feature professional athletes to endorse their products for a number of reasons. Research indicates (see Kamins 1989; Ohanian 1990; Till & Shimp 1998) that the use of celebrity endorsers helps with brand-name recognition and builds a favourable brand image with consumers (Kamins 1989; Ohanian 1990; Till & Shimp 1998). One study (see Dixon et al. 2011) also revealed that consumers' health perception of a product increases when the product is endorsed by a professional athlete.

The following three advertisements feature professional athletes to promote their products.

The Five:am yoghurt advertisement (Figure 22) features Australian pro-surfer Laura Enever. Through a number of signifiers, the advertisement constructs the product as a healthy food option that helps one to achieve and maintain a healthy lifestyle. Shots featuring her waking up in the early morning, driving and surfing signify that she is healthy. The implication is that she is active and fit, and she stays healthy by starting her day with Five:am (Figure 22) – it keeps her going. The apparent message is that people who start their day eating Five:am yoghurt have healthier lifestyles. Eating Five:am yoghurt in the early morning will make you feel super-active throughout the day. She eats her Five:am yoghurt immediately after her workout to refuel her body and to prepare her for functioning physically and mentally throughout the day. By associating the product with dawn, the product also constructs itself as a post-workout morning meal option.

Through the images and voiceover, the advertisement is promoting the health benefits of waking up early in the morning. The advertisement encourages Australian people to wake up as early as five am and to start a fresh day with Five:am yoghurt, which is why the brand was named Five:am (B&T 2014; Boothroyd 2013; Ricki 2013a). Hence, in this advertisement, she pays her tribute to the morning throughout the advertisement through the voiceover which states '*Beneath the stars, I steal away. I see new day sweetly born. To take morning's promise, this gift, this day. For I patrol the dawn. To see her is to breathe again and love again, I see. All I am, I give to her; to her, a better me. So I take this morning, with I keep it tucked away. I take tiny peaceful pieces from her to give me further stay.*'

In the Gatorade advertisement (see Figure 23), the product is being symbolised as energy; throughout the advertisement, many signifiers of energy are employed to construct the product as an energy-giving product. For example, Guy Walker and Ben Ashkenazi practising their batting signifies their determination; shots of drinking Gatorade signifies that drinking Gatorade is the source of their energy. While the voiceover talks about the players' performance, the imagery used throughout the advertisement contains an explicit appeal to the supposed energy-giving properties of the product. The male voiceover says,

'fuelling themselves' while the advertisement features the shots of cricketers, showing that they are working hard and drinking Gatorade; here it uses a metaphor to associate drinking Gatorade with *'fuelling'*. Consumers are led to believe that drinking Gatorade can make them able to work like machines without getting tired. From the characters and composition of this advertisement, it can be argued that Gatorade is targeting Australian under-18 athletes. Therefore, some specific connotations of 'Australianness' are transferred to the product. The logo of Cricket Australia and the caption stating, *'Official Sports Drink of the Australian Cricket team'* constructs the product as Australian. Hence, here the advertising message is not only that Gatorade gives you the essential energy to perform physically, but also that Gatorade is as much a part of Australian culture and identity as in sport.

The Powerade Zero advertisement (Figure 24) is similar to the Gatorade advertisement in that both draw upon the health connotations of sporting activity. Commercially available carbohydrate-electrolyte sports drinks (e.g. Gatorade, Powerade) are intended for use by athletes by providing hydration and replenishment of lost electrolytes and carbohydrates. Due to the epidemic increase in obesity and diabetes (ABS 2012b; AIHW 2017a, 2017b), consumers are becoming increasingly concerned over the impact of sugar on human health. Quitting sugar is the latest popular trend, which is particularly strong in Australia. Consumers are attracted to products that guarantee a sweet taste with little or no sugar. Therefore, advertisers are increasingly using low-, no- and reduced-sugar claims to promote their product as healthy (Mintel 2014). Likewise, the Powerade Zero advertisement (Figure 24) aims to make consumers believe that Powerade is healthy simply because it possesses zero sugar and zero kilojoules. Advertisements promote sports drinks without providing any information regarding the suitability of these products for children nor the additional factors that need be considered when choosing a sports drink over water – the strenuousness of the activity being undertaken, the length of time spent performing the activity, the air temperature during the activity, and the general health and body size of the individual (Meadows-Oliver & Ryan-Krause 2007).

The Powerade Zero advertisement (Figure 24) shows Olympic hurdling champion Sally Pearson in sportswear, getting ready for a run. She removes a bottle of Powerade Zero from the refrigerator. Also in the refrigerator are tomatoes, celery, pumpkin and

Powerade. Like the Subway: Made for Summer and Lite n'Easy advertisements (see Figures 20 and 21), the Powerade advertisement (Figure 24) also contains a shot with vegetables in order to communicate Sally Pearson's healthy lifestyle and diet. Through a number of signs, this advertisement constructs the product as a source of energy. For example, Sally Pearson drinking Powerade is a sign that reinforces the connection between the Powerade drink and determination. Her never-ending hard work is a reflection of her energy, which she gets by drinking Powerade. Powerade is marketed not on the basis of its nutritional value, but as having other health benefits, such as 'Zero sugar. Fast hydration' (see Figure 24). These shots signify that Powerade offers never-ending energy, that you do not get tired because it contains zero sugar, and that it prompts the body to hydrate fast; therefore, it is healthy.

Intriguingly, contrary to the Kellogg's Special K advertisements (see Figures 17 and 18), a more positive representation of women can be seen in this advertisement. By portraying the image of a healthy woman, the advertisement is acknowledging that not all women who work out are doing so to lose weight. Sally Pearson's determination in this advertisement expresses her physical and mental strength. Instead of representing her as a sexual object, the advertisement emphasises her fitness. Contrary to a lean curvy bikini figure, she has an 'athletic' figure with broad shoulders, a phenomenal build, and toned arms and legs. The aim is to inspire and motivate women to participate in sports and follow their professional sports dreams, if any.

5.3.3 Health is about mood enhancement

While the Five:am yoghurt, Powerade and Gatorade advertisements (see Figures 22–24) construct their products as energy supplements, the following advertisements typically associate foods with exaggerated pleasure, mood alteration and addictive behaviour.⁸ In the Mars advertisement, a young man takes up the challenge and ends up on the roof of a

⁸ Previous studies (see Lewis & Hill 1998; Page & Brewster 2009) have portrayed characters taking extreme measures to obtain a food (dependency) or using a product to obtain drug-like effects (mood alteration) as themes in TV advertisements for children. A content analysis study by Page and Brewster (2009) examined food commercials airing during children's TV programming. The study found that portrayals of inappropriate behaviour such fighting, physical violence and stealing occurred in these commercials. The study also confirmed that use of dependency and mood-alteration themes were more frequent in commercials advertising specific products (e.g. ready-to-eat cereals) than for those advertising restaurants (e.g. fast food). These commercials typically portrayed characters taking extreme measures, such as fighting, physical violence, trickery, cheating or thievery/stealing to obtain the desired food product (e.g. chasing) (Goode 2005; Page & Brewster 2009).

train being a protector (see Figure 25). Previous studies (see Lewis & Hill 1998; Page & Brewster 2009) found that TV advertisements for children typically portray characters taking extreme measures, such as fighting, physical violence, trickery, cheating or thievery/stealing to obtain a food (dependency), then using the product to obtain drug-like effects (mood alteration). These portrayals send a message that the advertised product is so enriched with energy-giving properties that one can take unnecessary extreme measures after consuming it.

The above Mars advertisement represents masculinity in advertising. In it, two macho personality character traits, namely physical strength and courage (Freeman & Merskin 2008; Vokey, Tefft & Tysiaczny 2013) are emphasised. The Mars advertisement (Figure 25) contrasts starkly with the previous advertisements discussed in this chapter, in that it does not focus so much on the health-related proprieties of the product. The storyline of the advertisement was created to make an adventurous plot. Despite having a number of natural heroes, such as a soldier, firefighter and Mount Everest climber, the guy who is eating a Mars chocolate bar (Figure 25) takes up the challenge. All these visuals signify that consuming a Mars bar gives him the courage to take such extreme measures to save the other passengers.

While the Mars bar advertisement exhibits characters taking extreme measures after consuming a Mars bar, consistent with the previous studies (see Goode 2005; Page & Brewster 2009), Ice Break Coffee contains caffeine, which is a stimulant, therefore the advertisement markets the product based on its energy-enhancing abilities. The Ice Break Coffee advertisement (Figure 26) consists of different shots of people snatching the Ice Break Coffee bottle from each other. Like the Mars bar advertisement, this advertisement uses the same ideological theme and promotes the drink as an energy-giving source. The slogan '*Bring it on*' (see Figure 26) is the symbolic sign of the courageousness of people who drink Ice Break Coffee. This portrayal signifies that the advertised product is so good that it is worth taking these extreme measures to obtain the drink. Both of these advertisements are cleverly constructed to engage the young viewer emotionally with the advertised product, without promoting the product's actual qualities (Buijzen & Valkenburg 2002; Kunkel & Gantz 1992; McGinnis, Gootman & Kraak 2006). Food can alter mood and mood can influence food choices (Leigh Gibson 2006). Hence, food

advertisers also promote their food as a means of mood alteration. The following advertisement for Snickers will demonstrate how health is being associated with mood enhancement in the selected advertisements.

Ray Meagher, who played bad-tempered Alf Stewart in the Australian TV soap opera *Home and Away*, appears as an Alf-like character in the Snickers advertisement (see Figure 27). A hyper-masculine (HM) man does not recognise someone as manly or tough who has not yet been mastered the art of self-control, which involves inhibiting himself from the expression of fear, distress and shame (Mosher & Sirkin 1984; Zaitchik & Mosher 1993). In the same advertisement, the central character falls from his bike but he does not express anything through his facial expression (see Figure 27) about his injury, because expression of any emotion such as sensitivity and empathy is a sign of weakness and, therefore, not considered as a manly behaviour.

Advertisements equate masculinity with violence and power. According to Vogler (2011), masculinity signifies power and dominance and therefore men, unlike women, are generally shown as active agents in advertisements. In the Snickers advertisement, men are depicted as violent, callous, tough, dangerous and aggressive. For example, the central character verbally attacks another person and shouts at him to express his anger (Ekman & Friesen 2003, p. 87). Anger is a masculine phenomenon – in order to explain and understand the stereotyped phenomenon of ‘hegemonic masculinity’, it is worthwhile to consider the theoretical underpinnings of explanations for the construction of masculinity. Masculine hegemony is associated with aggression, domination, strength, competitiveness and violence (Hatty 2000, p. 181). Within masculine hegemony, anger is the only legitimate male emotion that is allowed to be expressed. Together, these factors contribute to a man’s desire to appear powerful and dominant in his interactions with men, women and his environment (Mosher & Tomkins 1988).

Human beings tend to be aroused, alert and even irritable when hungry, and become calm after eating a satiating meal (Macht, Haupt & Salewsky 2004). Chocolate consumption has long been associated with positive mood and, since chocolate produces rewarding and pleasurable feelings, advertisers also represent the product as a mood-alteration remedy (Macdiarmid & Hetherington 1995; Macht & Dettmer 2006). In the Snickers

advertisement, the young man offers the old man a Snickers because he feels that the old man is cranky as he is hungry. After eating the Snickers, the old man feels better – he transforms into a young man (see Figure 27). This transformation signifies the fulfilment of his hunger. Thus, this advertisement depicts the hungry side of a young biker and promotes that Snickers is something that can change your mood and calm you down when you feel angry from hunger (Macht, Haupt & Salewsky 2004). It constructs the product as a key way of mood alteration.

Chewing gum also seems to be associated with reducing stress, and increasing alertness and cognition (Allen & Smith 2011). Therefore, chewing gum advertisers use mood-alteration appeals to promote their products, such as in the Eclipse mint advertisement (Figure 28). The advertisement features a young man chewing a mint and saying ‘hello’ to a group of bikers; this connotes the young man’s intention of impressing them; their look of fun at the end of the commercial indicates their future adventures. The following shots show him having fun with the bikers; the man’s final gesture of hands raised above the shoulder line (see Figure 28) expresses his joy during the bike ride (Kraut & Johnston 1979). These shots signify that he has charmed the huge biker, with the help of an Eclipse mint’s freshness. The campaign slogan ‘*Say hello to fresh*’ (see Figure 28) is a symbolic sign because the relationship between the signifiers and signified is arbitrary. Here, saying ‘hello’ signifies that the freshness of the mint has given the young man the confidence to go up to the bikers.

Again, both the Snickers and Wrigley Eclipse mints advertisements (see Figures 27 and 28) have equated hyper-masculinity with danger and rebellion. Both of these advertisements are based on bikers. The bikers look boomed with extra-long biker beards and long hair (Gorman-Murray, Pini & Bryant 2013, p. 214). To associate masculinity with rebellion, the advertisers used biker groups because bikies are stereotypical rebels (Carrington & Pereira 2009, p. 47).

In many ways, food advertisements stereotype men, mostly according to their gender, rather than by other human characteristics such as age, race, body type or class. Research has found that advertisements targeted at younger, less educated, and less affluent readers portray hyper-masculinity more commonly than those targeted at relatively older, well-

educated and affluent men. This is because lower socioeconomic status males, who do not have adequate access to power and resources, are more likely to use physical strength and aggression in constructing their masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005; Pyke 1996).⁹ During their adolescence, young men develop their interest in gender identity, therefore, they tend to seek out sources such as advertising to gain gender information, such as gender cues, to learn how to display masculinity (Vokey, Tefft & Tysiaczny 2013). Consistent with this understanding, this study found that all male-oriented advertisements included in this study (see Gatorade, Mars, Ice Break, Snickers and Wrigley Eclipse mints) are aimed at lower socioeconomic status adolescent boys.

It is interesting to note that, while the above advertisements for healthy food products (Kellogg's Special K, Cruskits, Subway Flatbread, Lite n'Easy and Five:am) used primarily functional appeals, the advertisements for unhealthy food items (Mars bar, Ice Break Coffee, Snickers bar and Wrigley Eclipse mint ads) employed emotional appeals. Chapter 4 discussed emotional and functional appeal in more detail. The above advertisements (see Figures 17–22) are consistent with Quadrant 3 of the FCB grid (see Figure 1). Therefore, in the previously discussed advertisements for products like diet food and beverages, marketers use functional advertising appeal to reinforce the functional benefits of the product.

Advertisements for energy-dense, nutrient-poor foods and beverages use emotional appeals, because these steal consumer attention away from the facts about the potentially harmful effects of consuming the advertised product, and can motivate customers to mindlessly accept the risk associated with its consumption (Buck & Davis 2010). Chan, Leung and Tsang (2013) suggest that advertisements for unhealthy food items often employ emotional appeals, which focused on humour, fun, happiness, mood alteration and taste. However, advertisements for unhealthy food also commonly make health-related claims (Chan, Leung & Tsang 2013). For example, in this study, the Gatorade and Powerade advertisements (see Figures 23 and 24) use emotional appeal to induce

⁹ During adolescence, males with low socio-economic power (e.g. working-class men) experience powerlessness and lack of access to resources (e.g. money, opportunities, respect) (Donaldson 1993; Pyke 1996). They may use violence and other hyper-masculine behaviours (e.g. control and dominance of women) as alternative means of gaining power and resources (Kervin 1990). Research among working-class 7th and 8th grade adolescents found that exposure to violence encourages violent behaviour as an acceptable way of obtaining whatever they want or need (Allwood & Bell 2008).

consumers into action to achieve specific, unmet needs or desires (Buford, Bedeian & Lindner 1995), as well as the will to achieve a desired goal (Bedeian 1993). Although these advertisements make claims about their products being healthy based on their sugar content and rehydrating ability; however, by not providing any information regarding the suitability of these products for children, the healthiness of Gatorade and Powerade remains questionable.

While Wrigley promotes Eclipse mints (see Figure 28) on the basis of their mood enhancement properties, interestingly, in the Extra Chewing Gum advertisement (see Figure 29), the same brand promotes another product on the basis of its beneficial effect on our dental health. Both advertisements make apparently complex, information-based health appeals, reflecting each product's borderline status as breath freshener (see Wrigley Eclipse mints) and dental-care product (see Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum) rather than as foods. It is the purpose of advertising to create a unique identity and meaning structure for products with a high degree of functional similarity.

5.3.4 Oral health is about physical health

The advertisement uses a number of animated food items such as a pink doughnut, coffee, onion, garlic and potato, which is communicating that they are harmful to dental health. These food and drinks, which people commonly consume throughout the day, are anthropomorphised as the 'Food Creatures' (see Figure 29) in order to stimulate consumers' attention towards the advertisement (Basfirinci & Cilingir 2015). The campaign positions these food creatures as being 'bad boys' for the harm they cause to your teeth by producing plaque and rotting your teeth (the problem). By subtly pointing out the positive dental health benefits of chewing gum, the advertisement introduces Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum as a solution to the consumers' dental problem. In this advertisement, the high-tempo music, 'Bad Boys', contributes to the light tone of the advertisement and is congruent with its fun aspect.

The carbohydrates, such as sugars, that we eat are consumed by the bacteria in the plaque on the teeth's surface. These bacteria that build up on teeth produce organic acids that lower the pH level of the oral cavity and make gums prone to infection. These infections can also cause problems in the rest of the body. Thus, our oral health is linked to our

general health. Maintaining good oral health will have a positive impact on our overall physical and mental health. In this advertisement, when the woman takes the Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum out of her bag and starts chewing, the food creatures notice the change in pH level that is being caused by the gum. They run away and fall down on the table, due to Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum (see Figure 29). The voiceover states '*Chewing Extra after eating and drinking helps keep teeth clean, fresh and healthy*' (see Figure 29). Through these shots, the advertisement constructs the product as a breath-freshening aid. Bad breath is caused by poor oral hygiene: the reduced flow of saliva. Sugar-free chewing gums reduce your bad breath by producing more saliva. Different authors find that chewing sugar-free gum helps to protect the teeth by reducing pH and acid levels (Macpherson & Dawes 1991; Manning & Edgar 1993; Park et al. 1990). Wrigley's has seized upon this aspect to further promote its products as beneficial to teeth and gums by reducing pH and acids. Therefore, '*Chewing Wrigley's Extra after eating and drinking*' would be beneficial to dental health.

The average person is much more attracted to someone with pleasant breath (Fisher 1915; Wlodarski & Dunbar 2013) because fresh breath not only signals one's good health (Fisher 1915), it also makes one smell sexy (Sherrow 2001, p. 66). Moreover, that 'pleasant breath' is an important chemical cue (such as breath and taste of mouth) when judging someone's kissing ability – it enhances one's ability to be sexually appealing and arouse someone sexually (Wlodarski & Dunbar 2013) Hence, advertisements for breath-freshening products often link the use of these products to consumers' desire to appeal to the opposite sex (Sherrow 2001, p. 66). Likewise, the next shot in the Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum advertisement indicates that, because of the fresh flavour, the woman attracts the attention of a young man while she is leaving the restaurant. His smiling face signifies his pleasure from seeing her (Ekman & Friesen 2003, p. 105). The apparent message is that chewing Wrigley's Extra makes her smell more sexy and attractive to the man. The advertisement constructs smelling good as one of the conspicuous elements of physical attractiveness, saying that fresh breath has its natural root in physiological health. The brand is enticing women to consume Wrigley's Extra, associating fresh breath with sexiness.

5.4 Conclusion

The purpose of the current chapter is to determine how health is constructed and conceptualised in food advertising. The analysis identified four recurring themes in the current chapter, which include: (1) Health is about weight-loss, (2) Health is about staying energetic, (3) Health is about mood enhancement, and (4) Oral health is about physical health.

To construct their products as healthy, advertisers add product claims of being ‘lean’, ‘lite’, or an aid in weight management, as well as specific claims around a product’s kilojoule, fat, sugar, protein, carbohydrate or fibre content in the advertisement (see Figures 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21). This aims to establish its individuality in the market by introducing exceptional product characteristics and differentiating between products in the same category. These advertisements construct healthier foods, such as cereals and Lite n’Easy meals, as feminine.

From the above advertisements (see Figures 17 and 18), tweens are learning that, for women, it is important to look beautiful, slim and sexy. They are also learning that only slim women are ‘ready’ to wear bikinis in summer – women have to be slim before they can put on a bikini. One can achieve a ‘bikini body’ by dieting or consuming Kellogg’s Special K cereal. Apart from cereal companies, there are a number of other food products that also associate their products with weight loss. From these advertisements, tweens are learning that women should maintain their weight by eating Lite n’Easy’s quick-to-prepare frozen meals, which offer similar nutritional content to non-frozen natural foods and will meet consumers’ dietary needs. Tweens are also learning that one should consume low-carbohydrate or low-fat products, such as the Cruskits or Subway Flatbread, because a low-carbohydrate or low-fat diet is good for health and weight management.

The advertisements discussed in this chapter make a narrow appeal to summer, which is secondary to the health-enhancement properties of the products. From the above summer-themed advertisements (see Figures 17, 18 and 20), tweens are learning that summer is meant to be celebrated by consuming the advertised foods, working on one’s diet in order to get a beach-ready body, wearing bikinis, biking and doing fun activities at the beach (Ellison 2010) – this is how white Australians celebrate the summer.

Advertisements related to health and energy comes under the second category (see Figures 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26). Advertisers use professional athletes to associate products with energy, health and performance, using the celebrity status of an athlete to endorse a product or service (Kim & Cheong 2011). Since people already feel positively about athletes, they perceive their claims as trustworthy (Boyd & Shank 2004). Studies have shown that advertisements using a celebrity attract an audience's attention immediately (Segrave 2005, p. 128), influencing their purchase intentions and thus increasing sales (Ahmed et al. 2015). From the above health and energy advertisements, tweens are learning that one can maintain a healthy lifestyle by waking up in the early morning and exercising, such as swimming or jogging, then consuming Five:am or Powerade (see Figures 22 and 24). From the above commercially available sports drinks (e.g. Gatorade, Powerade), tweens are also learning that, although sports drinks contain artificial sweeteners, they are healthy because sports drinks offer quick rehydration, contain no natural sugar and give you immense energy to work and practice hard.

Mental health and oral hygiene have been considered in this chapter because WHO specifies both physical and mental health in its definition of 'health'. From the advertisements included under the mood-alteration category, tweens are learning that consuming unhealthy food can positively alter men's mood (see Figures 27 and 28).

The only advertisement that serves an educational purpose, by making their consumers aware about oral health, is Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum (see Figure 29). The main ideological theme of this advertisement is health; that is, this product is good for dental health because chewing sugar-free Extra restores pH balance in the mouth and neutralises plaque acid (Wrigley 2012; Wrigley n.d.). Thus, the advertisement aims to educate people about oral hygiene.

Overall, from the above advertising exposure, tweens are learning that an ideal woman is young, pretty, thin and fair-skinned (white) with long hair, who consumes diet food, and an ideal man is white and middle-class, who is ready to face challenges and take risks; is aggressive and violent; and does not consume diet food (Vokey, Tefft & Tysiaczny 2013). Women are more closely associated with the cultivation and consumption of diet goods.

These advertisements are intimating the responsibilities of humans to eat a well-balanced diet by doing so.

Similarly to the last chapter, as well as a previous Australian study (see Ebiquity Australia 2014), this chapter suggests that the overwhelming majority of TV advertising features Caucasians, with only a small percentage including other ethnicities. All advertisements included in this chapter, with the exception of Subway Flatbread (see Figure 20), contain only white characters. This conveys to tweens that only white people maintain a healthy diet and lifestyle and enjoy their leisure. Having less exposure to television advertisements with characters from diverse ethnic background led children to perceive white television characters as more attractive role models (Gunter & McAleer 1997). It is important for children to be exposed to characters on television who look like themselves and their families. Non-white people's underrepresentation has the capacity to distort self-esteem (Dobrow, Gidney & Burton 2018). The paucity of portrayals of a particular group on screen indicates that its members are unimportant, inconsequential and powerless (Browne Graves 1999; Powell 1982).

Finally, the chapter's analysis was congruent with previous findings (see Furst et al. 1996; Kotler 1965; Steenkamp 1997) included in the literature review, that advertisers frequently use taste, price, convenience, freshness and health in advertisements because consumers' purchase decisions are the result of their exposure to this information about the product through advertisements (Kotler 1965). This study identified happiness, humour and fantasy as the most common advertising appeals used in food advertisements during C-classified television programs. After investigating the construction of taste and freshness in the previous chapter and of health in the current chapter, the next chapter will examine the construction of happiness through the use of fantasy and humour in food advertisements shown during C-classified time.

Chapter 6: Construction of Happiness

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to determine how happiness is constructed and presented in food advertising. The initial content analysis of the advertisements appearing on television from November to December 2013 during ‘C’-classified programs identified ‘happiness’ as one of the most common primary appeals. The analysis also revealed that these advertisements employed humour and fantasy as vehicles for evoking happiness. Of the 57 food advertisements studied, 14 (25%) contained humour-, fantasy- and happiness-related claims. Like Chapters 4 and 5, the current chapter also uses semiotic analysis to investigate the general ideological underpinning of the advertisements. It concludes by demonstrating that food advertisements broadcast during C-classified time use humour-, fantasy- and happiness-related themes to provide the products with a particular brand identity, image or personality. Two subthemes emerged from this chapter, namely: Christmas and Australianness. All the brands used humour or fantasy, or both, to promote their products as perfect Christmas present options. The advertisements also use happiness to appeal to a sense of Australianness, which is generally represented through images of sporting activities, such as cricket, and is constructed with reference to Australian summer.

6.2 Descriptions of the advertisements

6.2.1 Advertisement: John West

The 30-second John West advertisement opens with a long shot of a young white woman jogging into the woods. In the following close-up shots, she has stopped at the edge of a lake in the wood and sees a huge grizzly bear chasing a white fisherman, who is carrying a salmon through the woods. In the next full shots, she is running away from the bear

while the bear chases her and the fisherman. Then the couple race down a jetty and slip into a boat tied at the end, as the bear overshoots the boat and jumps into the water. The next close-up shot features the logo of John West, accompanied by its Facebook ID, high-tempo background music, text and a male voiceover saying, ‘*John West endures the worst so that you can be your best.*’ In the closing full shots, the bear appears again and tries to pull the mooring rope on their boat to bring it to the edge of the river, in order to attack the couple again.



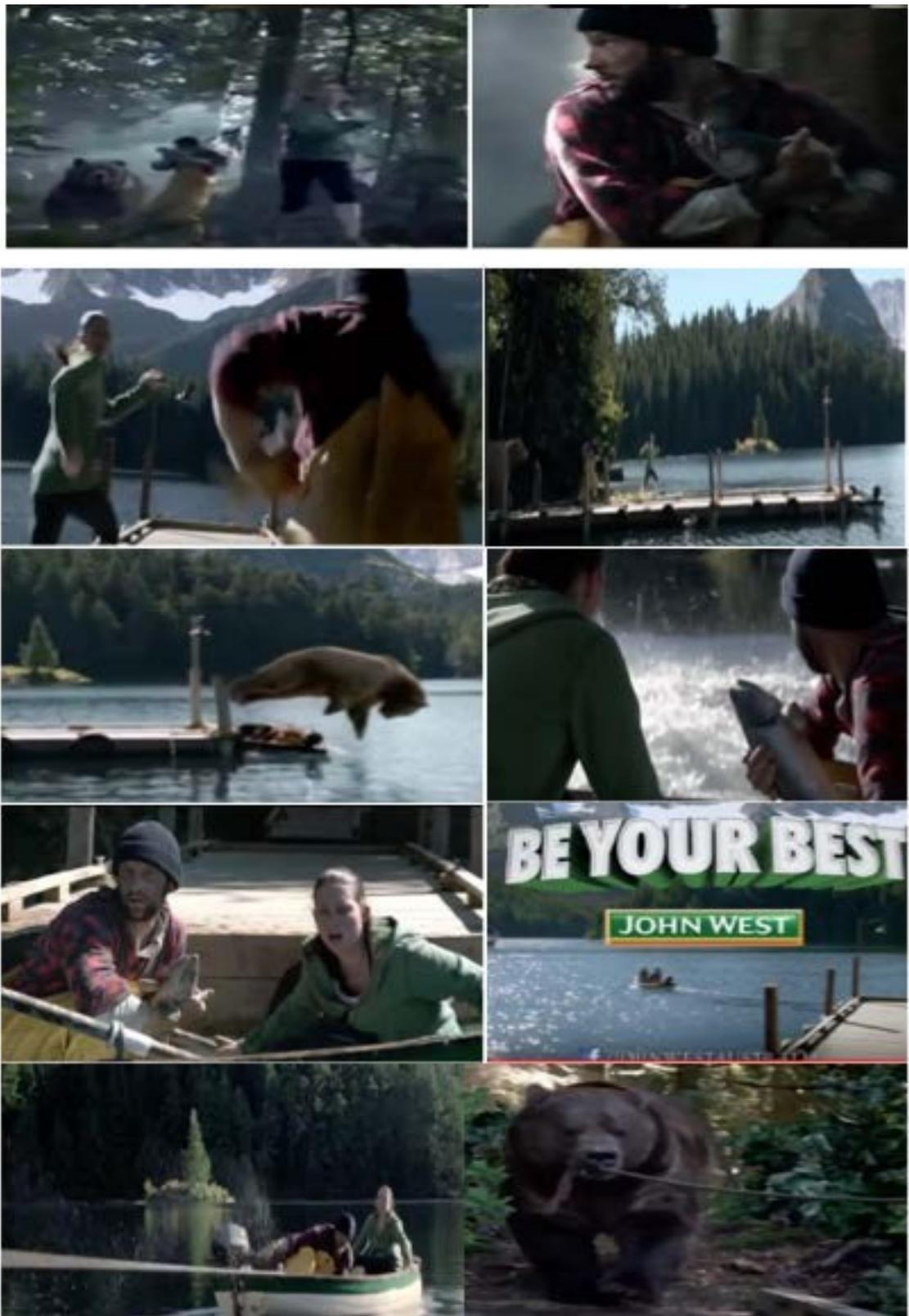


Figure 30. John West

6.2.2 Advertisement: Twix chocolate bar

The 15-second advertisement consists of a number of different close-up, medium and full shots of the two white inventors of Twix bar and their two factories. It features that the two inventors invent a single-bar Twix, but constantly fight over it. Sick of each other, the inventors split up and built two separate factories, side by side.





Figure 31. Twix chocolate bar

The advertisement then shows the Victorian-day rival factories; in the Right Twix Factory, male and female factory workers make biscuit layered with caramel covered in chocolate for the right side of the pack; in the Left Twix factory, they also make biscuit layered with caramel covered in chocolate. These shots are accompanied by low-tempo background music and a male voiceover that says:

the inventors of Twix bar were falling out so the production of Twix was divided between two separate factories. Right Twix Factory cascades caramel on cookie, while Left Twix Factory flows caramel on cookie. Left Twix is bathed in chocolate, while Right Twix is cloaked in chocolate. Today, they are sharing nothing but a wrapper and a driveway. Try both and pick a side.

The advertisement closes with a close-up shot of a Twix bar and the campaign slogan: ‘Try both and pick a side.’

6.2.3 Advertisement: Calypso mango



Figure 32. Calypso mango

The 15-second Calypso mango advertisement opens with a medium shot of a white middle-aged couple, who are shopping in a supermarket. The woman comes across a stand of Calypso mangoes and says, *'Oh ... Calypso mangoes.'* She picks up one of the mangoes from the boxes. As she looks at her husband, he says, *'No ... that's not the rule. If it's not on the list, we don't buy it.'* Hearing this, she removes the sticker from the mango in her hand and sticks it onto their shopping list, saying, *'Look ... it is on the list.'* Then they continue walking with the mango in their trolley. The following close-up shot features Calypso mangoes and the following text: *'More mango less seed'*. In the background, a female voiceover says, *'More mango and less seeds – you can't go past Calypso.'* The advertisement closes with the shot of the Calypso mango logo.

6.2.4 Advertisement: Dairy Farmers Thick & Creamy yoghurt



Figure 33. Dairy Farmers Thick & Creamy yoghurt

The 15-second Dairy Farmers Thick & Creamy yoghurt commercial opens with a medium shot of a white dairy farmer in muddy work outfit and boots, walking towards a tent in a dairy farm, saying ‘*When you try Dairy Farmers Thick & Creamy yoghurt ...*’ after entering the tent, he transforms into a tuxedo-wearing sophisticated person and says, ‘*you develop a taste for sophistication.*’ Then he looks at some dairy cows inside the tent and says, ‘*Hello, ladies.*’ Medium and long shots are used throughout the advertisement to capture the transformation of the farmer. Next is a shot featuring Dairy Farmers Thick & Creamy yoghurt in different flavours, while a female voiceover says, ‘*With gourmet country ingredients it’s as sophisticated as yoghurt gets.*’

6.2.5 Advertisement: Maltesers



Figure 34. Maltesers

The 15-second Maltesers advertisement opens with a medium shot of two white women in a light-hearted Christmas mood. They are giving a box of Maltesers to their friend as a Christmas present but, since she has just put on nail polish, she is unable to open it.

They begin to eat them, having fun and looking at the cynical expression on her face, saying, '*Shame.*' Then the woman, thumping the box of Maltesers from underneath, tries to catch some in her mouth. Medium and long shots are often used in the advertisement to capture the interaction between the characters and as well as their facial expressions. The advertisement closes with a close-up shot showing a gift pack of Maltesers along with campaign slogan: '*Maltesers: The lighter way to enjoy Christmas.*'

6.2.6 Advertisement: Cadbury Favourites

The 15-second Cadbury Favourites advertisement opens with a medium–long shot of a white Australian family at a supermarket. They run into a friend, who says, '*Oh, and don't bring a thing.*' The advertisement often used medium shots to inform the viewers about the context of the story and as well as the connection between the characters. After their friend's departure, the woman repeats, '*Don't bring a thing.*' The man says, '*Wait ...*' and she replies, '*We have to bring something,*' then he says, '*We so do ...*' The next shot shows the couple reaching their friend's place with Cadbury favourites. Their friend welcomes them in. The advertisement closes with a billboard of a Cadbury Favourites, text and a male voiceover saying the campaign slogan: '*What to bring when you are told not to bring a thing.*'



Figure 35. Cadbury Favourites

6.2.7 Advertisement: M&Ms



Figure 36. M&Ms

The 15-second M&M advertisement opens with a full shot of the red and yellow M&Ms characters, walking through a house decorated for Christmas and carrying a bowl of red and green M&Ms. The yellow M&M asks the red, *'So, you think Santa will like these red and green M&Ms?'* The red M&M replies, *'I don't know ... I never met that guy.'* As the M&Ms reach the living room, they find Santa there, delivering gifts. The following close-up shots feature them shocked to see each other. The red M&M says *'Wha-ha! He does exist!'* while, in a medium shot, Santa says, *'They do exist!'* Then both of them faint to the ground. The yellow M&M is left standing while the other two are passed out on the

floor, saying, ‘Uh, Santa?’ The following text then appears: ‘Merry Christmas from M&Ms’ while low-tempo background music is audible.

6.2.8 Advertisement: Ferrero Rocher



Figure 37. Ferrero Rocher

The 15-second Ferrero Rocher advertisement opens with a medium shot of a God in the heavens, shooting a spear into a giant pyramid of gold-wrapped chocolate Ferrero Rocher balls, and they fall to Earth. On Earth, the chocolate balls land on a table at a party and stack into a pyramid on the table. The next shots feature the party, where a white female character eats one of the heaven-sent Ferrero Rocher from the table. Next, by using slow motion, the following shots feature the production of Ferrero Rocher. The action then returns to a group of friends, who are relaxing on a couch in front of the pyramid of Ferrero Rocher; there is a glass of wine in one character’s hand. These close-up and long shots accompany a female voiceover saying, ‘On a moonless night, the god wanted to

bring sparkle to the party. Ferrero Rocher: share golden moments' and low-tempo background music. The advertisement closes with a close-up shot of Ferrero Rocher along with the campaign slogan: *'Share Golden Moments'* and its web address.

6.2.9 Advertisement: Lindt Bear



Figure 38. Lindt Bear

The 15-second Lindt Bear advertisement opens with a close-up shot of a white chef celebrating Christmas by lighting candles on Christmas day. In the following close-up shots, the advertisement shows a Lindt chocolate Bear dressed in festive gold foil; the chef is making the bear, and then adds a red bow with a heart-shaped pendant with love and care. In return, the bear-shaped chocolate nods its head to say thank you. These close-up shots are accompanied by a female voiceover, saying, *'This Christmas, our master chocolatiers have lovingly created a special Gift Item – an adorable chocolate bear with its very own heart, handcrafted by Lindt. When it comes from the heart, show you care with the new bear from Lindt'* and low-tempo background music. The advertisement closes with a close-up shot of the Lindt logo and the text: *'Master chocolatier since 1845'*.

6.2.10 Advertisement: Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes

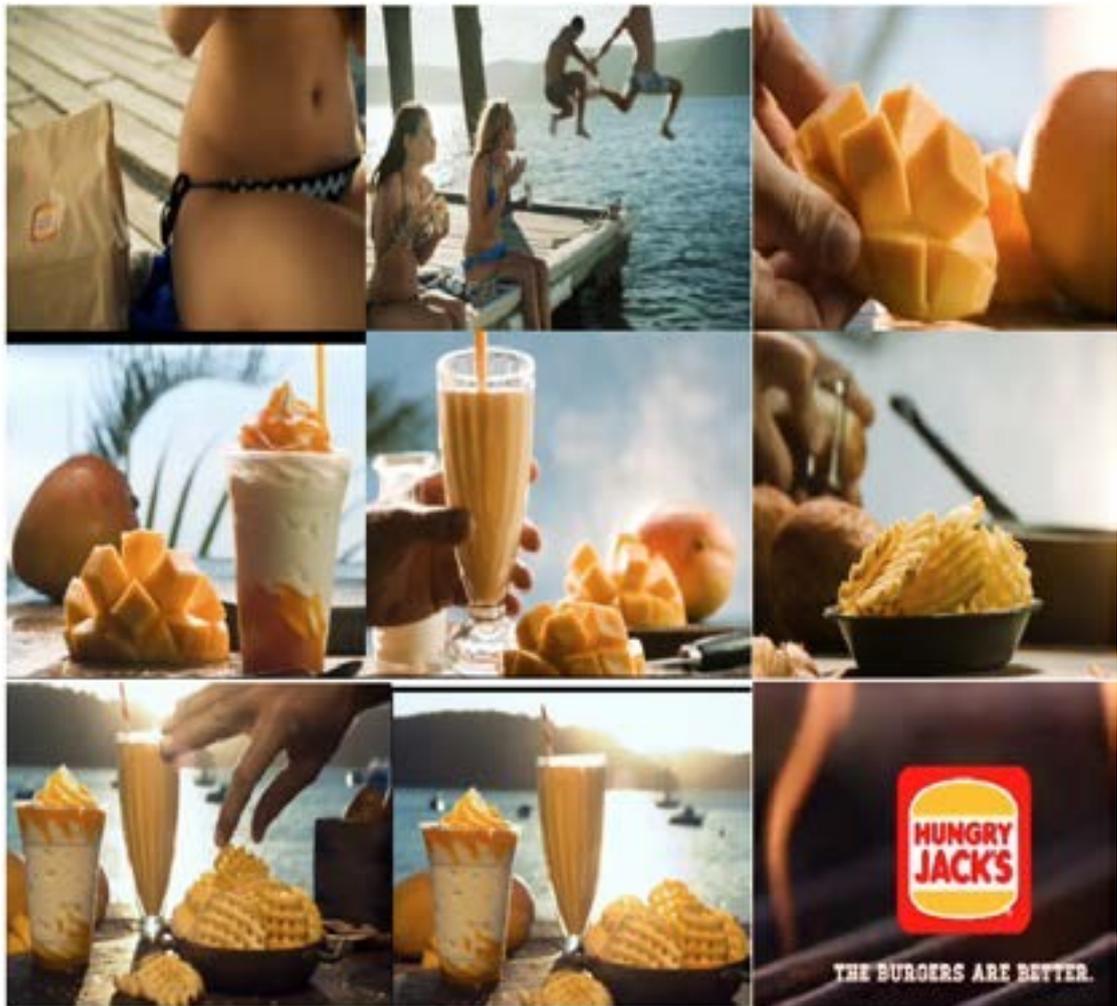


Figure 39. Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes

The opening close-up shot of the 15-second Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes captures a partial view of the firm, bare stomach and upper thigh of a young woman, who is clad in a skimpy bikini. Then a medium then full shot features two white girls in bikinis, sitting on a wooden jetty beside the sea and eating Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes. Two white men dive into the water. In the next close-up shots, the advertisement shows the images of the restaurant's new 'summer sides': Mango Sundae, Mango Shake and Waffle Fries, accompanied by high-tempo background music and a male voiceover, saying, '*Get a slice of paradise with our new summer sides – with Mango Sundaes, Mango Shakes and golden Waffle Fries. The summer sides are just made for summer. Burgers are better at Hungry Jack's.*' The advertisement closes with a billboard of the Hungry Jack's logo and the slogan: '*The burgers are better.*'

6.2.11 Advertisement: McDonald's Do Summer

The 30-second advertisement does not have a linear narrative-based structure; instead, it consists of different close-up, medium and full shots of different people enjoying summer and eating McDonald's in different places and situations. In 21 separate shots, the advertisement features two men in wet surfing suits with surfboards in their hands; two women in bikinis, with one of them trying to get the sand off her sandals; an old man with a few kids and a black woman with her dog entering a McDonald's restaurant; a family having lunch at the restaurant; kids in swimming goggles, laughing and jumping in a McDonald's restaurant; a man in a wetsuit, trying to flick water from his ear by shaking his head, while standing in a queue at a McDonald's restaurant; a group of black and white young people eating together at a McDonald's restaurant; two female friends are sitting at a McDonald's restaurant are checking out a topless guy; a scantily clad girl standing at the McDonald's cash counter, taking out cash from her bikini bottoms; three young girls sitting on beachfront wall, feeding the birds; a flock of silver gulls birds gathering on the beachfront pavement; two men talking to each other, one is wearing a hat and the other is just in brief swimmers; and an old couple eating McDonald's food at a park. The closing shot features a young man and woman standing outside a McDonald's; a dog is walking towards them while the shadow of a McDonald's logo is visible on the floor. During the advertisement, high-tempo background music plays 'Come on, everybody, its summer again' with the following lyrics:

Come on, everybody, it's summer again

To the shakes

To the cash

To the twist

Hey ... to the birds





Figure 40. McDonald's Do Summer

6.2.12 Advertisement: KFC Green & Gold Stores





Figure 41. KFC Green & Gold Stores

The 30-second advertisement starts with a close-up shot of supporters of the English Cricket team. They are cheering in the stadium gallery, waving British flag in their hands with the following text on the screen: *'Their colours are red and white.'* The next shot shows the KFC's big bucket sign outside a KFC restaurant with text on the screen saying, *'So are ours. That's a problem.'* The following medium and close-up shots feature the transformation of a KFC restaurant into green and gold, according to the Australian Cricket team's captain Michael Clark's instructions. Then the advertisement shows customers with green and gold buckets in their heads, enjoying eating KFC's fried chicken with the Australian Cricket team members outside of the KFC restaurant. The next shot features Michael Clark with his team and the KFC customers, all with green and gold buckets in their heads, looking at the camera and saying, *'Come on Australia! Go Green & Gold.'* The advertisement closes with a billboard of the KFC logo turning from red to green, the slogan: *'So good'*, and the Cricket Australia logo.

6.2.13 Advertisement: KFC Chicken Sesame Crunch

The 30-second advertisement does not have a linear narrative based structure; instead, it is composed of a montage of scenes with the product as the thematic link between scenes. The advertisement starts with viewers in the stadium gallery; they are cheering and have KFC buckets on their heads. With this shot comes the text; *'Bucketheads everywhere. Fuelled by Sweet Sesame Crunch'*. A male voiceover states, *'KFC's going green and gold and, just to support our cricket team, we're bringing back Sweet Sesame Crunch – freshly prepared crispy chicken with a sweet golden glaze and roasted sesame seeds'*. Long and close-up shots continue, showing a man with a surfboard, a kid playing with a cricket ball, young men with a scooter, a couple at the park eating KFC Sweet Sesame Crunch – all have KFC buckets on their heads. The following close-up shots feature a group of people with KFC buckets on their heads who are sitting on a bench with the Sydney Harbour Bridge visible and eating KFC Sweet Sesame Crunch; the couple at the park who have still not finished their bucket of KFC Sweet Sesame Crunch; two cyclists have KFC buckets on their heads instead of helmets; and a kid who is playing cricket with a KFC bucket on his head while in the background a male voice saying *'Howzat!'* All the characters appearing in this advertisement are white; the shots are accompanied by low-

tempo background music. The advertisement closes with a billboard of the KFC logo turning from red to green, the slogan ‘*So good*’, and the Cricket Australia logo.





Figure 42. KFC Chicken Sesame Crunch

6.2.14 Advertisement: KFC Sesame Crunch Twister

The 15-second advertisement opens with a medium shot of a kid playing cricket with Australian cricketers; cricketer Mitchell Starc is eating KFC Chicken Sesame Crunch as he plays. The next close-up shots feature one male and one female KFC customer watching the game with KFC Sesame Crunch Twisters in their hands and KFC buckets on their heads. With this shot, the text ‘*Sweet Sesame Crunch Twister*’ appears on screen and a male voiceover narrates, ‘*The new Sesame Crunch Twister from KFC – a delicious wrap with freshly prepared crispy chicken, sweet golden glaze and roasted sesame seeds*’ accompanied by high-tempo background music. All the characters appearing in this advertisement are white. The advertisement closes with a billboard of the KFC logo turning from red to green, the slogan ‘*So good*’, and the Cricket Australia logo.



Figure 43. KFC Sesame Crunch Twister

6.3 Discussion

6.3.1 How advertising appeals to happiness

Advertisements targeting children make heavy use of fun or happiness appeal (Arnett 2006, p. 342). Numerous studies identified fun or happiness as the most frequently used emotional appeal for child-targeted food products (Folta et al. 2006; Lewis & Hill 1998; Rajecki et al. 1994). Advertisements can evoke positive emotions such as happiness in the audience by featuring positive emotional content in the advertisements (Bagozzi, Gopinath & Nyer 1999; Mai & Schoeller 2009; Poels & Dewitte 2006). Audiences experience pleasure from the exposure of humorous and fantasy content of the advertisements. In this chapter, humour and fantasy are included in the happiness category because humour and fantasy are the vehicles for evoking happiness. Humour and fantasy appeals – because of the feeling of pleasure and happiness they evoke can

potentially affect information processing in a variety of ways, such as creating positive attitude towards the advertisement, increasing the purchase intention, and elevating consumers' recall of the advertisements, thus attracting attention (Chattopadhyay & Basu 1990; Duncan 1979; Eisend 2009; Elbers 2013; Kellaris & Cline 2007; Krishnan & Chakravarti 2003; Madden & Weinberger 1984; Pieters, Warlop & Wedel 2002; Shimp 2011; Skalski et al. 2009; Speck 1987; Sternthal & Craig 1973; Strick et al. 2009; Veerkumar & Jaiswal 2015, p. 25; Weinberger & Gulas 1992; Zhang 1996) and distracting them from constructing counterarguments about the advertisement and make an effort to introduce the central message (Osterhouse & Brock 1970; Tatli & Ozdemir 2014).

6.3.2 Happiness and humour

Humour is employed prevalently in television advertisements (Beard 2005; Catanescu & Tom 2001; Chan 2011; Eisend 2009). Through the use of humour, advertisers appeal to consumers' emotions to create positive attitudes towards an advertisement, increase their purchase intention and elevate their recall of the advertisements, thus attracting attention (Chattopadhyay & Basu 1990; Duncan 1979; Eisend 2009; Elbers 2013; Kellaris & Cline 2007; Krishnan & Chakravarti 2003; Madden & Weinberger 1984; Pieters, Warlop & Wedel 2002; Shimp 2011; Skalski et al. 2009; Speck 1987; Sternthal & Craig 1973; Strick et al. 2009; Weinberger & Gulas 1992; Zhang 1996).

An advertisement is considered to be humorous if it contains at least one of the following devices: puns, jokes, understatements, turns of phrases, double entendre, satire, irony, slapstick, exaggeration, nonsense and comic (Buijzen & Valkenburg 2004; Chan 2011; Kelly & Solomon 1975). According to the standard analysis, humour theories can be classified into three precisely particular groups: *superiority*, *relief* and *incongruity* theories (Berger 1993; Meyer 2000; Monro 1963).

According to superiority theory, humour arises from the realisation of our supremacy over others (Hobbes 1968, p. 36). Ludicrous jokes fit reasonably well into superiority theory, where the joke teller and audience laugh at a third party (Feinberg 1978; Sternthal & Craig 1973). Relief theory posits that fear, joy and laughter are the physical manifestation of the release of nervous energy (Spencer 1964). Advertisements containing humorous

elements that can be explained by relief theory typically incorporate sexual and aggressive themes (Freud 1989; Simon et al. 1982). Incongruity theory proposes humour as bringing things together, or the juxtaposition of two or more unlike things within a situation, which leads to the stimulation of humour or laughter (Kant 1987); nonsense, and surprise are vital incongruent humour categories (Berger 1993; McGhee & Pistoletti 1979; Veatch 1998). Each of the categories mentioned in the previous sentences can be explained by at least one of the above theories. Hence, the following paragraphs will demonstrate how different kinds of humour categories are used in different advertisements and will explain the advertisements according to different humour theories.

The narrative of the John West advertisement (see Figure 30) uses humorous techniques, such as ludicrousness and exaggeration, to construct the product as something that gives you the reason to face and overcome any dangerous situation and also to evoke viewers' curiosity about what happens to the woman and fisherman featured in the advertisement. The advertisement is humorous because the idea of a fisherman fighting with a huge bear (see Figure 30) and putting his life in danger for the best fish is ridiculous and inappropriate. Therefore, the audience ends up judging the fisherman's actions as inferior by some standards.

The narrative of the advertisement justifies its slogan: '*John West endures the worst so that you can be your best*' (see Figure 30). The John West advertisement exaggerates the fisherman's desire to save the salmon from the bear. According to the theory of incongruity, humour can be achieved through exaggeration (Lili 2012). With the use of exaggeration, the advertisement conveys the message that John West's fishermen offer you high-quality products at any cost, even risking their lives. The slogan signifies that John West is determined to offer you the best-quality products so that their consumers can be their best selves after consuming the product.

Similar to the above John West advertisement, the Twix advertisement can be explained by both superiority and incongruity theories (see Figure 31). This advertisement also used nostalgia to create an emotional response that enhances consumers' favourable attitudes towards the advertisement and advertised brand (Muehling & Sprott 2004). It constructs

nostalgia by relating the product to the Victorian era and by numerous flashbacks to remembered sequences. The costumes of the two main characters, for example, their waistcoats (see Figure 31), connotes their identity as Victorian-dandy inventors (Scott n.d.).

In this advertisement, the owners of the Twix factories build two different factories that manufacture the Twix bar in the same way. As a consequence, no differences can be seen between the right and left Twix bar (see Figure 31); this signifies that the difference between the '*left Twix and right Twix*' factories is a market construction rather than reality. Thus, the advertisement manufactures nonsense between the left and right Twix factories. Whereas this consequence is predictable for the audience, by juxtapositioning two irrational situations, the advertisement leads to the stimulation of humour or laughter (Chan, 2011). Moreover, this part of the advertisement makes the characters look less fortunate as individuals – all their efforts are in vain. Therefore, the advertisement can also be interpreted as ludicrousness.

Consistent with Chapter 4 this advertisement features a number of movements to appeal to our multisensory perception of the flavour and taste of Twix bars. The close-up shots showing the flow of caramel and chocolate layers on the biscuits (see Figure 31) arouse the viewers' tastebuds and lure them into buying a Twix bar. The advertisements in this chapter use different kinds of humour to evoke a feeling of pleasure in their audience. However, unlike the John West and Twix advertisements, the Calypso mango advertisement can only be explained by incongruity theory.

The Calypso mango advertisement (see Figure 32) features that the sight of mangoes tempts the woman to put the mango sticker on her shopping list. This scene signifies that it is hard for her to resist the temptation of buying the mangoes. The setting of the advertisement also constructs Calypso as a must-have fruit, which should be on your permanent grocery-shopping list. In this advertisement, the woman's sudden decision change is unexpected for her partner; it makes her partner and the audience surprised. By using surprise as a humour device (Alden, Mukherjee & Hoyer 2000; Buijzen & Valkenburg 2004), the advertisement constructs the product as irresistible. The meaning

and significance of the campaign slogan: '*More mango, less seed*' (see Figure 32) has been discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Visual metaphors are incongruous (McQuarrie & Mick 1999). Advertisements containing visual metaphors make vague claims that are simply not clear and which are often difficult to express directly (Deighton 1985). Sophistication is established by attributes such as being upper-class and charming. Therefore, to construct a product as sophisticated, marketers associate the advertised product with charm and things of an upper-class nature (Aaker 1997). In the Dairy Farmers Thick & Creamy yoghurt advertisement, the product is being compared to the farmer's non-sophisticated image (see Figure 33); this implies that the yoghurt is a classy product and consuming this yoghurt will provide you with a sophisticated image. This is the funny part of this advertisement – there is no natural relationship between sophistication and yoghurt. The relationship exists only within the frame of these advertisements, through the juxtaposition of the product with signifiers of sophistication. In this advertisement, the man is a sign, the signifier being his appearance; he has a formal look, wearing a tuxedo, and this classic look (see Figure 33) signifies his sophistication. The feelings of surprise, which are caused by these unexpected events, are enough to achieve humour in the advertisement (Alden, Mukherjee & Hoyer 2000; Buijzen & Valkenburg 2004). Likewise, the man's visual transformation contradicts our expectations. This makes the advertisement stimulating (McQuarrie & Mick 1996; Peracchio & Meyers-Levy 1994) and it provokes intrigue.

Because sophistication cannot be tasted, the slogan is also metaphorical in nature. The advertisement used a metaphorical slogan because effective metaphorical headlines can grab viewers' attention, getting them involved in the advertisement and constructing their interpretation of the subsequent information (Li & Guo 2016).

Even though the three humour theories can describe one or more specific humour categories, some of these categories can be explained by all three grand theories. For instance, slapstick can be related to all three theories: coincidence (incongruity theory), mischievous pleasure (superiority theory) and aggressiveness (relief theory) (Buijzen & Valkenburg 2004). The use of slapstick as a humour device can be seen in the Maltesers advertisement (see Figure 34).

This advertisement takes place in a Christmas setting, where two women are eating a present that they had brought to give their friend. The decoration of the room with Christmas tree and candles signifies that it is Christmas. In this advertisement, the first woman's inability to eat Maltesers (see Figure 34), due to the nail polish on her hands, is an incongruous and coincidental incident. Here, her hand movements can be described as an exaggerated physical activity. Watching her friends eating Maltesers makes her look unfortunate and, therefore, this scene is a giving malicious pleasure to the audience. Her sudden hit of the Maltesers box (see Figure 34), with the aim of catching Maltesers in her mouth, and the peculiar facial expression of the second woman degrades the first woman's status to a foolish individual and, at the same time, constructs the product's identity as something irresistible.

The value of convenience is taken for granted; instead, the advertisement focuses on constructing the product as the perfect Christmas present option. The female voiceover at the end also signifies the light-heartedness of the advertisement: '*Maltesers: the lighter way to enjoy Christmas*' (see Figure 34).

Like the Maltesers advertisement, the Cadbury Favourites advertisement (see Figure 35) also constructed the as a perfect Christmas present selection. This advertisement features an Australian family shopping when they are faced with the party's host, who says, '*Oh and don't bring a thing*' (see Figure 35). The advertisement uses irony as a humour device. Irony is 'saying the opposite of what you mean' (Bobo 2016, p. 73). Likewise, the myth in this advertisement is manufactured within what is said and what it actually connotes. The advertisement contains meaning within social codes: '*don't bring a thing*' really means '*don't show up empty-handed*'. Due to its significant effect in attracting people's attention, and its ability to simulate them to buy the product, advertisers commonly use irony in advertisements (Benwell 2007; Guang-xiang 2013). The advertisement fits most closely with superiority theory – it evokes the feeling of laughter in the audience because the scene makes the audience feel superior and fortunate for not being in the similar situation. However, the woman brings the perfect present choice, a box of Cadbury Favourites chocolates (see Figure 35) for all to share and enjoy! Thus,

the advertisement constructs Cadbury Favourites chocolates as an ideal item to share with family and friends – there is something for everyone.

With the use of humour, each of the above advertisements constructs one or more different types of brand personality for the advertised products. Humorous advertisements create a happy atmosphere and laughter is, most tangibly, a positive reaction to humorous advertisements (Fang 2011). Thus, when a person's reaction to a brand is positive, their attitude towards the brand image is considered to be more positive and their purchase intention increases (Eisend 2011; Venkatesh & Senthilkumar). Through the use of humour, the advertisements make the brands irresistible (see John West, Calypso mango and Maltesers); sophisticated (see Dairy Farmers Thick & Creamy yoghurt); socialising agents and perfect Christmas present options (see Maltesers and Cadbury Favourites). While there is definitely some commonality across the advertisements in how humour is constructed, the Twix bar advertisement (see Figure 31) remains distinct. Rather than providing the product with a distinct identity, the Twix bar advertisement appeals to the good taste and quality of the product. It basically says that, no matter which side you pick whatever company you support, you should buy a Twix bar to taste your selected side. However, it is impossible to choose between the two bars because, first, the two bars are identical and second, they are just the two sides of the Twix bars available in the market. While the above chocolate brands (see Maltesers and Cadbury Favourites) employ humour to construct their products as perfect Christmas present alternatives, in the following section, chocolate brands use fantasy to serve the same purpose.

6.3.3 Happiness and fantasy

Another commonly used advertisement theme is fantasy. Rose, Merchant and Bakir (2012) suggest that the use of magic or fantasy in an advertisement induces tweens' positive attitudes towards the advertised product. Studies have revealed (see Page & Brewster 2007; Rook 1999; Warren et al. 2007; Wicks et al. 2009) specific techniques frequently employed in children's advertising, such as creating imagined dramatic situations, mythical worlds, special or visual effects, animated product situations, use of animated characters, animals, action or adventure, and the use of dolls, superheroes, animated animals, folklore, angels and so forth, which all help to create an imagined world. Food advertisements targeted at children use fantasy because, due to their limited

cognitive skill, children are easily attracted to and enjoy fantasy (Kraak, Liverman & Koplan 2005; Kunkel et al. 2004; Mello 2010; Woolley 1997). In the advertisements below, we can find implications of such techniques. The specific advertisements describe are for M&Ms (animated characters), Ferrero Rocher (construction of a magical world) and Lindt (personification).

Similar to the above advertisements (see Figures 32 and 33) the M&M advertisement (see Figure 36) uses surprise as a humour device. The advertisement combines nostalgia and humour in order to engage consumers in the advertising. The M&Ms advertisement plays into the nostalgia of leaving treats out for Santa as a child, an experience familiar to many in Western society. The M&Ms advertisement is a part of their Christmas campaigns, using humour to evoke laughter, happiness and feelings of pleasure in their audience.

Humour can be attained by simple surprise (Morreall 1983). The M&Ms advertisement contains moments of transformation from surprise to humour. It employs lighter emotions (such as happiness or surprise) to drive consumer engagement with the brand, as well as to influence consumer purchase decisions (BBC Advertising 2016). In the advertisement, the red M&Ms character is shocked to discover that Santa Claus exists, while Santa is equally surprised at the existence of M&M Characters (see Figure 36). This suggests that M&Ms are so good that even Santa has heard about them, but cannot believe that something so good can actually exist. Therefore, on seeing the M&M characters he becomes faint (see Figure 36). The existence of Santa and the red and green M&Ms is equally unbelievable; the characters meeting each other and both fainting at the end of the advertisement is an unexpected event, both for the characters in the advertisement and audience. Hence, these events make the characters and audience surprised. With the use of surprise and humour, the advertisement is conveying the message that M&Ms bring surprise and happiness to them during Christmas. With the use of such promotional seasonal characters, M&Ms can achieve their consumers' brand loyalty by establishing a long-lasting association between the brand and Santa in consumers' minds. The advertisers created this advertisement on the basis of Santa's story so that the company can repeat their campaign each year, with people continuing to expect to see Santa every Christmas season.

While M&Ms is a similar product to Maltesers (see Figure 34) and Cadbury Favourites (see Figure 35), the M&Ms advertisement (see Figure 36) has a different presentational style. While it is quite clearly an advertisement, it more resembles a cartoon episode in its style and form, which is an appeal to its target consumers: children. The tone of the advertisement is humorous. It constructs the product as the perfect option for a Christmas present through the narrative and the appearance of the text: '*Merry Christmas from M&Ms*' on the screen.

During the Christmas season, chocolate brands create advertisements based on mythical beings or stories of God, using animation in order to appeal to children. The Ferrero Rocher advertisement (see Figure 37) creates such a mythical atmosphere in the advertisement with the use of animation. Adventure and animal appeals, combined with animation, frequently evoke or create a magical world designed to engage children into the action and associate the fun and adventure within this world to the purchase and use of the product, imbuing it with positive emotions (Rose, Merchant & Bakir 2012). Likewise, the Ferrero Rocher advertisement (see Figure 37) uses adventure appeal combined with animation. In this advertisement, the advertisers attempt to construct the product as God's divine treat by telling a story about the origin of Ferrero Rocher. The advertisement tells that the Gods reside in a beautiful heaven in the clouds, and that they celebrate Christmas by breaking apart sparkling golden Ferrero Rocher pyramid on Christmas night (see Figure 37). The narrative concludes with a Ferrero Rocher arriving from heaven to a party on Earth accidentally. By associating this chocolate with the Gods and Goddesses, it implies that Ferrero Rocher chocolate is so good that it possibly came from the Gods, and that humans got them when one accidentally fell to Earth. The advertisement uses an allusion to the Gods to make their product seem more magnificent and divine to consumers.

This clever visual device, coupled with the campaign slogan: '*Share golden moments*' (see Figure 37), works to construct the product as a perfect socialising agent, which brings friends together and illuminates their gathering on Christmas night. Throughout the advertisement, many signifiers of Christmas are employed to construct a Christmas night. Christmas is evoked through lighting, stars, brightness and joy. To create a Christmas atmosphere, the advertisement features beams of sparkling golden lights flying through

the air, lighting the way through the party, leading up to a table outside the party (see Figure 37). While Ferrero Rocher promotes their product through the creation of a magical world of adventure, the Lindt bear advertisement (see Figure 38) employs personification or animal appeal, combined with animation, to promote their product.

The Lindt Bear advertisement (see Figure 38) tells the story of a chef's celebration of Christmas. The chef decorating the room with a Christmas tree and lights signifies that it is Christmas. The advertisement represents the chocolate figure as an adorable and loveable living entity by incorporating human characteristics (such as head nodding and smiling) (see Figure 38) to the product – it personifies the premium chocolate figure. With respect to advertising practice, visual personification appears to offer an excellent tool for advertisers who seek to build brand personality and to create an emotional connection with consumers (McQuarrie & Phillips 2011). These outcomes, in turn, lead to an increased liking for the brand. In the advertisement, the chef is decorating the bear with love and care. From the voiceover '*a special Gift Item – an adorable chocolate bear*' (see Figure 38), it seems that he is decorating the bear to give it to someone on Christmas.

The juxtaposition of carefully decorating the Lindt Bear with Christmas transfers meaning from one to the other, such that the celebration of Christmas becomes associated with the advertised product. In semiotic terms, the signified (Christmas, Christmas gifts, and care) attaches to the signifiers (decorating the chef's house, candles, and adding a bow to the bear) to construct the product as '*a special Gift Item*' for someone we care about. Reference to taste is made in a close-up shot of the flowing liquid chocolate (see Figure 38) in order to stimulate viewers' tastebuds. Chapter 4 discussed the relationship between consumers' exposure to moving foods and taste perception in more detail. The blissful mood of both the Ferrero Rocher and Lindt Bear advertisements (see Figures 37 and 38) contributes to the products' status as high quality, particularly in relation to the humorous Maltesers, Cadbury and M&M advertisements (see Figures 34, 35 and 36). During Christmas, houses are decorated, family and friends gather to exchange gifts and eat special Christmas cuisine in Australia (Australian Government 2009). The above Maltesers, Cadbury and M&M Christmas campaigns (see Figures 34, 35 and 36) are based on themes of togetherness, happiness and joy, because Christmas is a season of celebration.

Perishable food products with a short shelf-life, such as meat, fruit, vegetables, dairy products (milk, cheese, yoghurt), baked goods (bread and cake) beer, pre-packaged foods, soft drinks, chocolate, lollies, etc. are classified as fast-moving consumer goods (FMCGs) (Basheer 2017). The sell volume of FMCGs can be influenced by holidays and seasons. Christmas goods are sold seasonally. Demand for gift items reaches its peak during the Christmas season. As a result of high consumer demand, chocolate sales soar during Christmas season when people buy chocolates as gifts for family and friends. Hence, in order to increase their sales volume, manufacturers launch seasonal products to sell retail at Christmas. During the Christmas season a number of products broadcast their advertisements that are based on Christmas theme. The advertisements constructed the above chocolate brands' identity as Christmas present by associating the products with social gatherings (see: Maltesers and Cadbury ads), by the use of animated characters and personification (see M&M and Lindt Bear ads), and also by the creation of fantasy around the product through personification (Ferrero Rocher). Unlike the M&Ms advertisement, which is targeted at children, the Maltesers, Cadbury Facourites, Lindt Bear and Ferrero Rocher advertisements are all targeted at a young adult audience. Apart from using humour, advertisers also project the feelings of fun and happiness in order to induce enjoyment. In contrast to the described advertisements, which used humour and fantasy appeals to construct happiness, the following advertisements are projecting different connotation of happiness.

6.3.4 Happiness is about summer

In order to create an emotional connection with their consumers based on national identity, and to localise their brands, the brands discussed in this section aim to appeal to a sense of Australianness. Australianness is generally represented through images of leisure activities. Because the warm Australian climate is typically favourable to an open-air lifestyle, and because most Australian live on the coast, beach life is central to the cultural mythology of Australian life (Maynard 2001). Australian culture is strongly associated with an outdoor lifestyle, bright sunshine, playing sports, swimming, surfing and Australians' love for the beach. Beaches and parks are socially accepted spaces for leisure activities in Australia, especially during summer (Maynard 2001).

The Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes advertisement (see Figure 39) is filmed around the beach. A number of signs, such as young women wearing bikinis, sitting on a wooden jetty beside the sea and eating Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes, while young men are diving into the water signify the fun moments of summer. In this advertisement, the voiceover uses metaphor to promote its Mango Sundaes, Mango Shakes and Waffle Fries – eating its summer products are associated with the '*comfort of paradise*' (see Figure 39) to make consumers feel good about eating them. Hungry Jack's lovers are led to believe that eating their new summer sides can make them experience the pleasures of paradise in summer. Moreover, the voiceover alludes to Hungry Jack's summer sides being the best choice for summer because they are '*just made for summer*' (see Figure 39).

Similarly, McDonald's Do Summer TV advertisement campaign also constructs summer with a clever montage of summer-time moments (see Figure 40). With the shots of drenched men carrying surfboards and kids in swimming goggles, the advertisement portrays key characteristics of the Australian summer: surfing and swimming. The shots that follow feature an old man with some kids and a black woman with her dog entering the restaurant. Then a family is having lunch at the restaurant, consisting of family members of all age groups (see Figure 40). These shots signify that McDonald's restaurant is a good place to eat with family; customers can even go to McDonald's restaurants with their pets. With the shot of a man in a wetsuit, trying to flick water from his ear while standing in queue at McDonald's (see Figure 40), the advertisement signifies that surfers, who have an active lifestyle, also consume McDonald's when they feel hungry after surfing.

The next shot features black and white young people eating together at a McDonald's restaurant. By featuring both black and white characters, McDonald's Do Summer commercial constructs multiculturalism as a key tenet of the Australian national identity; thus, the brand has successfully associated itself with Australian nationalism. The following shots feature two female friends sitting at a McDonald's restaurant; they are checking out a topless guy and a scantily clad girl, who is standing in the McDonald's cash counter, taking out cash from her bikini bottoms. The McDonald's Do Summer campaign features topless men and scantily clad girls in order to present them as

charming, seductive individuals. Healthy eating and active lifestyles are an important part of looking after your physical and mental health. Fast-food franchise owners have driven a change in fast-food menus by adding healthier options. McDonalds' image is tied to junk food. The purpose of the McDonald's Do Summer advertisement (see Figure 40) seems to be informing its consumers about the brand's new identity as a healthy food provider. With healthier menu options, McDonalds' is promoting a new image as a company that cares about people's health.

The characters appearing in the Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes and McDonald's Do Summer advertisements (see Figures 39 and 40) are physically active with well-shaped bodies, and they eat McDonalds' products. By featuring these well-shaped, active, healthy characters, the advertisement is basically telling consumers that that one can stay in shape and be active by consuming Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes and the McDonald's Do Summer products (see Figures 39 and 40).

Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes and the McDonald's Do Summer advertisements (see Figures 39 and 40) feature female characters in bikinis; neither of these advertisements portrayed female characters swimming or surfing. By featuring the characters in bikinis, these advertisements depict women as sex objects. Chapter 5 has discussed the concept of commodification of feminism in more detail. With such portrayals, these advertisers are ignoring the fact that women also participate in sports, including water sports such as surfing and swimming.

The shot featuring McDonald's customer service staff busy selling drinks to their customers (see Figure 40) signifies that the demand of McDonald's drinks is at its peak in summer – Australians consume McDonald's drinks during summer to satiate their thirst. This scene is followed by three teenage girls sitting on beachfront wall, eating McDonald's fries; a bare-chested old man in swimmers with a towel on his shoulders and a packet of McDonald's in his hand, talking to another man; an old couple eating McDonald's food at a park; and a young couple standing outside of McDonald's with a dog walking towards them (see Figure 40). These shots signify that McDonald's customers are people from all age groups; the advertisement aims to target diverse consumers regardless of age, gender, disability, ethnicity, race, etc. The closing shot –

showing a couple outside a McDonald's with the logo's shadow visible (see Figure 40) – signifies that it is a sunny summer day and that the couple standing are also McDonald's customers.

The simplicity of the Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes advertisement (see Figure 39) contrasts with the fast-changing backdrops of the McDonald's Do Summer advertisement (see Figure 40). While both are primarily about summer, the Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes advertisement (see Figure 39) also communicates the taste of its products through close-up shots of the process of making Mango Sundaes range such as dicing mango, pouring sauce over ice cream, pouring mango shake into a glass, a pair of hands peeling a potato with a potato peeler, and cooking golden waffle fries (see Figure 39) signifies that Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes range of products are made from fresh ingredients. See Chapter 4 for more detail on the construction of taste and freshness. By sharing information on how to prepare the product, advertisers stimulate people to buy the product.

Like the summer-themed advertisements in Chapter 4 (see Subway: Made for Summer and Weis bar), the Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes and McDonald's Do Summer advertisements also construct summer through the characters' appearance, outfits, beach and other fun activities such as swimming and surfing. The song lyrics in the McDonald's advertisement reinforce the feel of summer in Australia. Through the song lyrics and matching visuals, the advertisement is welcoming those featured 'summer moments' into McDonald's restaurants across the nation. The background music contributes to the light-hearted mood and creates a fun atmosphere. In both the Hungry Jack's and McDonald's advertisements, the characters' outfits inform the audience that it is summer time. Male characters are wearing shorts with bare chests, short-sleeve shirts with shorts or wearing nothing but brief swimmers; female characters are wearing bikinis and short-sleeve summer outfits (see Figure 40). Other props, such as sandals, caps and hats, also connote summer.

By focusing on the Australian outdoor lifestyle and beach culture, the advertisements aim to localise their products by appealing to Australian consumers. While in the above section, the advertisements appeal to Australianness by clearly reflecting on aspects of

national culture, such as summer and surfing, to persuade Australians to use their products, the advertisements in the next section attempt to integrate their products into the Australian national identity.

6.3.5 Happiness is being Australian

Research suggests (see Mager 2005; Ozkan & Foster 2005; Prideaux 2009) that, in order to gain market share and build consumer loyalty, brands often use images of nationalism in company advertising. An example is KFC's promotion of Australian nationalism in its Green & Gold campaign.

The KFC Green & Gold campaign of the 2013–14 cricket season was aimed to appeal to people's sense of Australianness. As part of the campaign, KFC made a dramatic transformation of key restaurants from red and white (England's colours) to Australia's green and gold to evoke patriotism among local cricket fans and also to stimulate an energetic rivalry between the Aussies and the Barmy Army. In the three advertisements discussed, the characters are all wearing green and gold KFC buckets on their heads (see Figure 41) to show their support for the Aussie cricket team. KFC appeals to Australian nationalism by featuring the Australian cricket team and fans who are waving Australian flags (see Figure 41).

In the KFC Chicken Sesame Crunch advertisement (see Figure 42), shots of cheering cricket supporters with green and gold buckets in their head signifies KFC's support for the Australian cricket team. The KFC Chicken Sesame Crunch advertisement (see Figure 41) appeals to the sense of Australianness among people by showcasing different fun summer activities. Playing sport – particularly outdoor sports such as cricket, surfing, swimming, skateboarding, cycling – and spending leisure time in the park (see Figure 42) during summer are a big part of Australia's national identity (Maynard 2001). With the view of an iconic landmark, the Sydney Harbour Bridge (see Figure 42), the advertisement attempts to appeal to Australian nationalism.

The KFC Chicken Sesame Crunch advertisement also constructs summer through the characters' appearance, outfits, beach and fun activities, such as swimming and surfing. While an increasing number of Australian women are participating in sports and national-

level competitions (ABS 2013), the above advertisements portray women as less active than men; they are shown relaxing at the park, watching others playing games, or just eating (see Figures 42 and 43). This implies that women are not expected to participate in sports or other physical activities.

The KFC Sesame Crunch Twister advertisement (see Figure 43) is a continuation of the KFC Green & Gold Stores advertisement (see Figure 41). Both advertisements feature Australian cricket players to ignite a sense of patriotism in the viewers. By showing KFC's support for Australian cricket team by sponsoring the team, the advertisements give a feeling of belongingness and nationalism to Australians. These advertisements associated the products with happiness to create an emotional connection, which is built on joy between the consumers and KFC.

In the KFC Green & Gold Stores advertisement, while the Australian cricket team was involved in the transformation process of a KFC store (see Figure 41), the players look happy and they are having fun. While it is a strenuous job for the players to carry heavy billboards and to stand outside the KFC store under the sun, throughout the advertisement, the characters' smiles communicate their pleasure that comes from the satisfaction they found from eating KFC. In these three advertisements (see Figures 41, 42 and 43), shots of the characters laughing with KFC's fried chicken in their hands (see Figure 43) signifies that it is always fun to have KFC. Thus, they construct eating KFC as a means towards achieving happiness.

While the KFC Green & Gold Stores advertisement does not contain any information about the taste attributes of the product, only the voiceover in the KFC Chicken Sesame Crunch advertisement contains an explicit appeal to the supposed crunchiness (i.e. freshness or taste of the product) by mentioning that it is freshly prepared, with crispy chicken and sweet golden glazed roasted sesame seeds. The imagery used throughout the advertisement (see Figure 42) carries strong summer- and fun-related connotations.

In the three KFC advertisements, the advertising message is that not only it is always fun to have KFC, but also that KFC is as much a part of the Australian culture and identity as is sport. The KFC Green & Gold campaign supports Australian cricketers. Therefore,

some specific connotations of Australianness are transferred to the product. The logo of cricket Australia and the caption stating 'Official Restaurant of Cricket' (see Figures 41, 42 and 43) further legitimises KFC's support for the Australian cricket team; by associating its products with sport and with a recognised government sporting agency, these advertisements construct the products as Australian.

The three KFC advertisements draw upon the fun or happiness connotations of sporting activity. Like the above Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes and McDonald's Do Summer advertisements, KFC has also attempted to appeal to Australianness by visuals of the Australian summer. Happiness can be achieved by pleasurable experiences, moments of fun and enjoyment (Gulla 2010, p. 4). The images of fun moments are conveying to consumers the message that one can achieve similar pleasurable experiences through consuming the advertised products in Australia during summer (Hoyer, MacInnis & Pieters 2012). These happiness-themed advertisements are targeting both genders. While the Hungry Jack's Mango Sundaes and KFC Green & Gold Stores advertisements (see Figures 39 and 41) are targeting only adults, McDonald's Do Summer, KFC Chicken Sesame Crunch and KFC Sesame Crunch Twister (see Figures 39, 40 and 43) are targeting both children and adults.

The above advertisements use emotional appeal, which is consistent with Quadrant 4 of the FCB Grid Model. Advertisements for low-involvement products use emotional appeal frequently to stimulate reminder impulse-buying behaviour in consumers (Narwal & Kumar 2011). By inducing consumers to make impulse purchases, advertisements can break away consumers from their brand habits attract them towards new brands. Therefore, in advertisements for products such as fast-food, snacks or beer, humour and fantasy appeals can be used. Marketers use imagery, dialogue or text that delivers the advertising message by emphasising a few key points, which can easily be remembered and associated with the brand. Advertising campaigns usually have high repetition rates and messages of short duration (Hoang 2013).

6.4 Conclusion

From the above advertisements, tweens are learning to identify and experience different forms of humour. Exposure to different types of humorous content actually facilitates a child's social, emotional and cognitive development. A sense of humour helps children to become happier and more optimistic, have higher self-esteem and gain critical-thinking skills (Scarlett 2005).

With the use of humour, advertisers can communicate or attach any brand personality to their products. That is all due to the fact that people buy products not only to enjoy the functional benefits, but also for the symbolic meaning they possess (Underwood 2003). The humour-themed advertisements discussed in this chapter aim to communicate unique brand messages and engage audiences through the use of humour. There are no common brand messages among them. The above advertisements use humour to attach different personality traits to these brands, such as worthiness (John West), plentifulness (Twix), indispensable (Calypso) and sophistication (Dairy Farmers). The only real commonality among these advertisements is that they all employed humour as their marketing communications tool. Hence, it is seemingly impossible to construct or explain the big picture of humour-themed advertisements.

From the John West advertisement (see Figure 30), tweens are learning that the quality of John West salmon is so good that it is worth risking or putting your life into danger. By featuring a fictitious rivalry between Right and Left Twix factories (see Figure 31), the Twix advertisement's purpose is to reinforce the idea of the product's 'twoness'. It does this to convey the message to tweens that they can have the pleasure of consuming a Twix bar twice. Calypso mangoes are positioned where Calypso is constructed as a must-have fruit; tweens are learning that Calypso is a must-have product in their family's grocery-shopping list. (see Figure 32). Consumers buy symbolic products in order to be perceived as more sophisticated (Ang & Lim 2006). From the Dairy Farmers advertisement (see Figure 33), tweens are learning that one can achieve sophistication by consuming this product. Thus, rather than providing any information about the tangible attributes that these products possess, advertisers use humour to present a particular image of a brand (Mohanty & Ratneshwar 2016).

The second recurring theme that came out of this analysis is fantasy. All the chocolate brands use fantasy in their advertisements to promote their products during Christmas. The above chocolate brands construct their identity as an ideal Christmas present by associating their products with social gatherings (e.g. Maltesers, Cadbury), using animated characters and personification (e.g. M&Ms, Lindt Bear) and creating fantasy around the product through personification (e.g. Ferrero Rocher). From the chocolate brand's advertisements (e.g. Maltesers, Cadbury, M&Ms, Lindt and Ferrero Rocher), tweens are learning that Christmas is about celebration, social gatherings and buying presents, and this is how white Australians celebrate Christmas in Australia.

The other recurring theme that emerged from this analysis is happiness. From the advertisements included in this chapter, it appears that, in order to relate their products with happiness, advertisers associate their products with fun moments of summer. The advertisements appeal to the products' Australianness by showcasing the characteristics of the Australian summer, with its vibrant beach culture. From the advertisements included under the happiness category, tweens are learning that summer is meant to be celebrated by consuming the advertised foods, participating in water sports, skateboarding and relaxing at the park because the Australian summer is all about the outdoor lifestyle of white Australians. The male characters appearing in these advertisements are more active than the female characters. From this representation, tweens will adopt these expectations and accept the idea that women are to supposed be viewed as weak and sex objects (Dietz 1998). All advertisements in this category, with the exception of the McDonald's Do Summer advertisement, contain only white characters. This conveys to tweens the message that only white people maintain an active lifestyle and enjoy their leisure. While Australia is a country of high ethnic diversity, by not portraying any white characters the brands are establishing the belief that non-white Australians do not identify themselves as Australian. By doing so, these advertisements are racialising Australia's national identity. Similarly to the last chapter, as well as a previous Australian study (see Ebiquity Australia 2014), this chapter also suggests that television advertisements rarely feature non-white characters.

None of the above advertisements incorporated taste, price, convenience, freshness or health as the primary appeals. This result is inconsistent with the findings presented in

the previous chapters and also does not support the major consumers' decision-making theories (see Furst et al. 1996; Kotler 1965; Steenkamp 1997). Perhaps this is because, by not providing information about the products' functional benefits, the above advertisements aim to create the marketers' desired brand personality through the use of emotional appeals. The other recurring theme that came out of the initial content analysis was convenience. Therefore, the next chapter will examine the construction of convenience in food advertisements during C-classified television programs.

Chapter 7: Construction of Convenience and Price

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to determine what constructions of convenience and price are most salient in food advertising. The initial content analysis of the advertisements appearing on television from November to December 2013, during C-classified programs, identified convenience and price as one of the most common primary appeals. Of the 57 food advertisements studied, 15 (26%) contained convenience- and price-related claims. As with the previous chapters, the current chapter employs semiotic analysis to examine how convenience is constructed in food advertisements. It concludes by demonstrating that food advertisements broadcast during C-classified time can construct a particular food product as convenient on the basis of its time- and energy-saving properties. The study also reveals that the vast majority of advertisements from fast-food restaurants broadcast during C-classified time offer attractively priced deals that include discounts, bonus pack deals and sweepstakes in order to lure consumers.

7.2 Descriptions of the advertisements

7.2.1 Advertisement: Luv-a-Duck

The 30-second Luv-a-Duck advertisement opens with a medium shot of celebrity chef Justine Schofield removing a Luv-a-Duck from the packet in a brightly lit ultramodern kitchen. Seeing this, her white friend says, *'Oh duck, that's tricky.'* In following close-up shots, she boasts, *'No way. We love a duck. It's so easy.'* As she speaks, the recipe she describes is displayed in the following shots; she continues, explaining, *'Preheat your oven to 190°, pat dry so that the skin goes yummy and crispy, cook on a rack for*

45 minutes per kilo, remove when crispy golden and rest for 20 minutes.’ In the next medium shot, she is throwing an apron on her white male friend, saying, ‘Now you, you hold the drinks.’ The following medium shot features her eating Luv-a-Duck with her white and non-white friends, saying, ‘Done and delicious.’ Then there is a close-up shot showing a packet of Luv-a-Duck, accompanied by its logo and web address, and three plates of Luv-a-Duck. A male voiceover says its campaign slogan ‘Luv-a-Duck: easy and delicious’.





Figure 44. Luv-a-Duck

7.2.2 Advertisement: Lenard's chicken

The 30-second Lenard's chicken advertisement opens with a medium shot of a white woman going with her son to a Lenard's chicken shop. The following close-up shots show that, after buying a Lenard's chicken, they are walking with their shopping trolley then she starts driving home. As she arrives home and places her shopping bag on the table, potatoes spill out of the bag. The following close-up shots feature oil and vegetables, which are needed to cook Lenard's chicken at home, and a recipe using Lenard's chicken. While she is cooking, her pet dog looks at the oven and her husband kisses her on the cheek. Silver cutlery rests on a white napkin on the dining table and bright warm sunlight shines through the window into the house. The following medium shots show that the woman surprised by finding that her children and husband have started eating, without even waiting for her to join them. The next close-up shot shows the Lenard's chicken logo and the following text: '*Lenard's chicken. Let's make something special*'. In the background, there is low-tempo music audible and a female voiceover saying, '*With Lenard's creation and your home cooking, everything just comes together.*'





Figure 45. Lenard's chicken

7.2.3 Advertisement: Dilmah tea

The 15-second advertisement for Dilmah's tea capsules opens with a close-up shot of a tea plantation. The following shots feature tea pouring from a teapot into a cup, packets of Dilmah in different flavours, putting a Dilmah's tea capsule inside a coffee pod machine then pouring tea from the machine into a cup. The next shot shows packets of Dilmah in different flavours with a cup of tea, along with bread and fruits on the table. All these close-up shots are accompanied by low-tempo background music and a female voiceover that says, '*Dilmah's single region selection is now available in tea capsules. A quick and convenient way to enjoy Dilmah's full-bodied English breakfast tea and strong fragrant Earl grey.*' The advertisement closes with a close-up shot of Dilmah Tea founder, Merrill J. Fernando, saying, '*Do try it*', Dilmah's logo and the brand's website, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube addresses.



Figure 46. Dilmah tea

7.2.4 Advertisement: McCain Ultra-Thin Moroccan Lamb Pizza

In this advertisement, a white young couple is playing a role-playing game, where the male character is acting out the role of a restaurant chef and the female character is acting out the role of a customer. The 15-second McCain Ultra-Thin Moroccan Lamb Pizza advertisement opens with the full shot of the male character in the home kitchen. The following close-up shots show him receiving a phone call and saying ‘*Derek’s kitchen. Derek speaking.*’ The female character says, ‘*I would like to place an order, please.*’ Looking at a packet of McCain Moroccan Lamb Pizza, he says, ‘*Today’s special is a delicious ultra-thin crust pizza.*’ Then the advertisement continues with a shot of the McCain Moroccan Lamb Pizza packet, while a male voiceover says, ‘*Golden-flavoured, new crispier bases.*’ The next shot shows them eating the McCain Moroccan Lamb Pizza. The male character says, ‘*Where’s my tip?*’ and the female character replies, ‘*Where’s my drink?*’ The following close-up shot shows the McCain Moroccan Lamb Pizza packet and McCain Moroccan Lamb Pizza, while the male voiceover says, ‘*Home pizza never tasted so good. Ah, McCain ... you’ve done it again!*’ The advertisement closes with a close-up shot of the McCain logo and the campaign slogan: ‘*Ah, McCain ... you’ve done it again!*’



Figure 47. McCain Ultra-Thin Moroccan Lamb Pizza

7.2.5 Advertisement: MasterFoods

The 30-second MasterFoods advertisement consists of 18 different close-up shots. It opens with a close-up shot of a bowl inside a microwave. Then a woman's hand is shaking some MasterFoods spice over a pot of curry cooking on the stovetop; fresh-cut vegetables are visible on the kitchen top; the woman spills MasterFoods spice on the table; a pot of freshly cooked hot teriyaki chicken, along with the packet of stir-fry teriyaki chicken mix and freshly cut lemon pieces, sits on a table; a white tweenage girl is standing with an adult woman in the kitchen, trying to make something with avocado while licking avocado from her finger; a young white couple cooks on the barbecue and the woman tries to taste the marinated food before the cooking is finish but her partner is not letting

her; another teenage girl licks her fingers after eating her food; a Caucasian family falls asleep as the taste of the MasterFoods makes them calm and silent; and a group of friends, consisting of both white and non-white people, eat together at the dining table without talking to each other. Then the advertisement continues, featuring another Caucasian family having lunch together – everyone is adding extra flavour to their food by stirring, shaking and squeezing MasterFoods products onto their foods. The advertisement closes with a shot of the MasterFoods logo; in the background, a male voiceover says the campaign slogan, ‘*Why cook when you can create?*’ These close-up shots are all accompanied by high-tempo background music.





Figure 48. MasterFoods

7.2.6 Advertisement: Jalna's Sweet & Creamy Greek Yoghurt

The 30-second Jalna's Sweet & Creamy Greek Yoghurt opens with a Greek grandmother, daughter and granddaughter in the kitchen both grandmother and daughter are making desserts in the kitchen using Jalna. The daughter finishes decorating her dessert first and looks at the grandmother with a mischievous smile on her face. However, when she is giving the final touch to the dessert, it falls down on the table. Then the grandmother looks at the daughter with a wicked smile on her face. The last scene shows the granddaughter standing in the middle; without caring about the situation, she eats Jalna yogurt from the pot. These shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music and a male voiceover that says, *'We all desire something sweet. But it can be a bit of a worry. Here is the perfect solution. New Jalna sweet and creamy Greek yoghurt; it's pot-set with*

nothing artificial and no cane sugar, but as creamy and sweet; it's good for the simple things, the more flamboyant things and for no things at all. Jalna sweet and creamy Greek yoghurt. Pop it in your mouth.' The advertisement closes with the close-up shot of the granddaughter eating yoghurt, the Jalna logo and the slogan 'Sweet and creamy'.





Figure 49. Jalna's Sweet & Creamy Greek Yoghurt

7.2.7 Advertisement: Chilli Aioli RoosterRap

The 15-second Chilli Aioli RoosterRap commercial opens with a medium shot of a young Asian man being chased by police. He is on the run with a Chilli Aioli RoosterRap in his hand. The police car's siren is audible in the background. The following full shots feature him jumping from one floor to another of a building, then kicking open the fire exit door. Outside the building, he looks at the Chilli Aioli RoosterRap in his hand and starts to eat it. Here, the barking of a dog is audible in the background and medium shots feature him running again, now from the dog. The following close-up shots introduce three different kinds of RoosterRaps – Chilli Aioli, Creaser and Classic Herb – while a male voiceover says, *'Always on the go? Grab a new Chilli Aioli RoosterRap with crunchy, spicy strips, fresh salad with spicy sauce. Perfect when you're on the run. Only Red Rooster.'* He starts

running again to save himself from the dog, while a dog's barking is audible in the background. The advertisement closes with a close-up shot of the Red Rooster logo and its Facebook address. These shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music.



Figure 50. Chilli Aioli RoosterRap

7.2.8 Advertisement: Domino's Cheaper 2-Days



Figure 51. Domino's Cheaper 2-Days

The 15-second Dominos Cheaper 2-Days advertisement opens with a billboard of the campaign slogan, 'Cheaper Tuesday', then it features 'Cheaper 2-Days' with the Domino's logo, then another screen with text: 'Every Mon + Tue'. The next shot shows somebody cutting a pizza with a knife, with 'Value Range \$4.95 pick up' written on the blade of the knife in red and blue. Then it shows a variety of Domino's pizzas on the table and text appearing on the screen with two tiny animated characters, saying, 'Mon + Tue \$4.95 pick up'. The advertisement closes with a billboard of Domino's logo and the text 'Cheaper Monday. Cheaper Tuesday' and the slogan 'Domino's: It's All Good'. All these close-up shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music and a male voiceover that says, 'Like cheaper Tuesday? You will love Domino's Cheaper 2-Days. Every Monday and Tuesday, we are cutting our value range pizzas to just \$4.95. Two big days, one tiny price. Domino's Cheaper 2-Days. Not just cheaper one day, cheaper two days.'

7.2.9 Advertisement: Pizza Hut 2 for \$10 Tuesday

The 15-second Pizza Hut 2 for \$10 Tuesday advertisement consists of images featuring the riffling of a desktop calendar with the changing of dates. Texts appearing on the screen

provides the key information about the deal. All these close-up shots accompany a male voiceover that says, *'Pizza Hut is making Tuesday twice as good with two for ten Tuesday. You can pick up any two large pizzas from our classic range for just ten Dollars. Two for ten; only on Tuesdays, only at Pizza hut.'* The advertisement closes with a close-up shot of the Pizza Hut logo along with the slogan: *'Make it Great'*.



Figure 52. Pizza Hut 2 for \$10 Tuesday

7.2.10 Advertisement: KFC \$5 Box

The 15-second KFC \$5 Box advertisement features a group of friends, consisting of white and non-white people, who are watching a rugby match together on an electronic device. Two more friends enter with KFC \$5 boxes in their hands. The next close-up shot features a KFC \$5 Box with the text *'available till 4pm'* and *'limited time only at participating stores while stocks last'*. In the following close-up and full shots, the male and female characters are eating the subs, wicked wings, potato chips and drinks together. The advertisement closes with a billboard of the KFC logo and the slogan *'So good'* written on a bag. These shots are accompanied by a male voiceover, saying, *'For the part-time sports legend like you and then you know the values of mates. Here's to you KFC's \$5 Box – a sub, a wicked wing, chips, potato and gravy, and a drink – all for just five dollars'* and high-tempo background music. The advertisement closes with the slogan *"so good"*.



Figure 53. KFC \$5 Box

7.2.11 Advertisement: Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke

The 15-second advertisement consists of 11 different close-up shots. These show a white man walking beside a Hungry Jack's restaurant, drinking Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke on a sunny summer day; a white woman kissing a black man's cheek while he is drinking Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke; one black and two white girls standing in front of a bus stop and timetable, drinking Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke through a straw; a young white woman secretly drinking Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke inside a library; a young white boy skateboarding beside the sea while drinking Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke; two young women relaxing at the beach and drinking Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke; a young boy tossing a basketball in a sports ground, drinking Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke; and a young white woman in the middle of street, drinking Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke while the

camera pans right. The 10th shot features two glasses of Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke, in two different flavours, with the text 'Large frozen coke \$1'. The advertisement closes with a billboard of the Hungry Jack's logo and slogan 'The Burgers Are Better'. These shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music and a male voiceover that says, 'What is the best thing about a large frozen coke from Hungry Jack's? They are only a dollar, all day, every day. Large and only \$1, at Hungry Jack's all day long. The burgers are better at Hungry Jack's.'





Figure 54. Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke

7.2.12 Advertisement: KFC Popcorn Chicken Box

The 15-second KFC Popcorn Chicken Box advertisement opens with a close-up shot of bowling balls, followed by a foot on a bowling ball. Then, full and close-up shots feature a young black man picking up his bowling ball with his toe and releasing the bowl with his feet. He knocks down all the pins with the ball on his first try, then starts eating a KFC Fillet burger at in the bowling club. The following close-up shots show a box of KFC Popcorn Chicken, Popcorn Chicken pieces with the text *'At participating stores for a limited time only: a fillet burger, a glass of cold drink, French fries and sauce as sides'* in a single frame. In the next medium shot, a white man is coming out of the KFC eating a burger, with the Popcorn Chicken Box in his hand. The advertisement closes with a billboard of the KFC logo and the slogan *'So good'*. These shots are accompanied by a male voiceover that says, *'KFC Popcorn Chicken Box. The new KFC Popcorn Chicken Box – packed with popcorn chicken and delicious fillet burger, plus your favourite sides. It's not a mouthful, it's an armful.'*



Figure 55. KFC Popcorn Chicken Box

7.2.13 Advertisement: Red Rooster's Stacked Pack

The 15-second Red Rooster's Stacked Pack advertisement opens with a medium shot of two white men dressed in high-visibility clothing so probably builders, construction workers, or road crew entering a Red Rooster Restaurant. When one of them takes Red Rooster's Stacked Pack, it is so heavy that he is almost falling down. The following close-up shots feature a box of Red Rooster's Stacked Pack with the text '*Biggest ever pack*' and '*Epic bacon pack*', plus a Samsung tablet with the text '*1 to win every day*'. This advertisement closes with a billboard showing Red Rooster's Stacked Pack and Red Rooster's logo and its Facebook ID. These shots are accompanied by high-tempo background music and a male voiceover that says, '*Red Rooster's Stacked Packs are huge, but our new pack is even more epic. Get a bacon burger and crispy chicken and*

chips and gravy and pineapple fritter and drinks and a Stacked Pack Samsung tablet to be won. Only at Red Rooster.'



Figure 56. Red Rooster's Stacked Pack

7.2.14 Advertisement: Pizza Hut PS4

The 15-second Pizza Hut PS4 advertisement features a white Pizza Hut delivery boy running with a large pizza box while characters from Sony PS4 games are falling behind him and text of the promotion appears on the screen. The advertisement closes with a billboard of the Pizza Hut logo, and the text 'Order Now'. All these medium and long shots are accompanied by gaming noises and a male voiceover, which says, '*Right now at Pizza Hut, you could win a new PS4, every hour for four weeks. Just grab any large pizza to enter. Hurry – only at Pizza Hut and Play Station.*'



Figure 57. Pizza Hut PS4

7.2.15 Advertisement: Parma Ham

The 30-second Parma Ham advertisement opens with a close-up shot of a wide range of meals made using Parma Ham. The next close-up features slices of Parma Ham and the following text: *'The ultimate foodie experience. Win a gourmet trip to Melbourne, thanks to Parma Ham Prosciutto ham.'* The following full shots feature the city of Melbourne

with text on the screen reading, *‘The flights for two include return flights, 5-star accommodation, and two tickets to Melbourne Food and Wine Festival. Valued at almost \$10,000.’* The following close-up shots show Parma Ham products, logo of Parma Ham, Parma Ham being sliced in a machine and voiceover, stating, *‘Log into online at tenplay.com.au/parma’*. These shots are accompanied by low-tempo background music and a female voiceover that says, *‘All thanks to Parma Ham. Look for the ducal crown logo on packs or branded on legs of hams for 100% authentic Italian prosciutto di Parma.’*



Figure 58. Parma Ham

7.3 Discussion

7.3.1 Convenience

Researchers (see Candel 2001; Darian & Cohen 1995; Douglas 1976; Traub & Odland 1979; Yale & Venkatesh 1986) have defined ‘convenience foods’ as products that help consumers minimise time spent as well as the physical and mental effort required for food preparation, consumption and clean-up. The data analysis is underpinned by ideas that contribute to the perceived convenience of food products, such as instant-ness, versatility, portability and price. Price is included in the convenience category because price also contributes to a customer’s perception of a food product’s convenience (Daly 2002). Lower prices influence the purchase decisions of fast-food products (Sagala et al. 2014). By offering large portions at low prices, fast-food companies are making their products convenient for their consumers to purchase (Powell & Chaloupka 2009).

Over the past few decades, changing consumer needs due to major macro-economic changes, increased numbers of dual income and single households, increased female participation in paid work, multicultural societies and technological innovations such as the microwave have increased the use of convenience foods (Buckley, Cowan & McCarthy 2007). Convenience food advertisers consider women to be the primary consumers for the home, because women still handle most of the grocery shopping (PLMA 2013). Likewise, the following two advertisements also reinforce the image of the modern woman, who prefers less time-consuming, more convenient meals (Zahari et al. 2012), as I will describe and discuss below.

7.3.1.1 Convenience is about minimising preparation time

The Luv-a-Duck advertisement (see Figure 44) portrays former MasterChef contestant Justine Schofield as the central character. Food brands use celebrity chefs in order to increase their sales volume by persuading new consumers to purchase their product while simultaneously holding onto their existing customer base. Due to their popularity, their words can be trusted, and their recommended food can be tried (Powell et al. 2009). To lure consumers into purchasing their meat, Luv-a-Duck is promoted as a convenient

product that involves the minimum of preparation time and provides an easy solution to a family-sized meal for any kind of social gathering (see Figure 44).

The shots featuring Schofield preheating the oven to 190°C, patting dry the meat with paper towels and putting the meat in the oven signify that Luv-a-Duck is a ready-to-cook product, which requires no cleaning or marinating before cooking. The voiceover says that the expected cooking time varies with the weight of the Luv-a-Duck product, and that the expected cooking time for a one-kilo Luv-a-Duck is 45 minutes. The advertisement shows Justine Schofield eating Luv-a-Duck with her white and non-white friends. This signifies that Luv-a-Duck should be on your menu when you are planning or having a meal with family or friends. In semiotic terms, the signified (convenience) attaches to the signifiers (minimum preparation time and images of social gathering) to construct the product as a means of convenience and socialising. It also signifies that Luv-a-Duck is for everyone, regardless of their race, colour, or national or ethnic origin. By featuring both white and non-white characters, the advertisement aims to appeal to a wide range of the population. Luv-a-Duck uses gustatory imagery words such as '*yummy and crispy*' and '*crispy golden*' to appeal to the taste attributes of the product (Vickers 1987). In Chapter four, I discussed the impact of the use of sensory words by advertisers on consumers' perceptions of taste in more detail. At the end of this advertisement, she was asking him to serve the drinks.

Similarly to the Luv-a-Duck advertisement (see Figure 44), the Lenard's chicken advertisement (see Figure 45) also promotes the product solely on the basis of its time-saving properties. This advertisement shows a woman as the purchasing agent. The shots of the woman and her son inside their car on the road (see Figure 45) signify that it is a bright sunny day and that they are buying Lenard's chicken for their lunch. Everyone's presence at home during lunchtime suggests that it is weekend. Weekend lunch or dinner is a special occasion because, on weekends, people get the chance to gather the family together. These shots supplement the text appearing on the screen that reads, '*Lenard's chicken: let's make something special*'.

In this advertisement, while she is cooking everyone looks happy: her husband, kids and even her dog. Happiness can be attained by pleasurable experiences, moments of fun and

enjoyment (Gulla 2010, p. 4). The woman's husband kissing her on the cheek in the kitchen and her serving the other family members (see Figure 45) signifies their fun and excitement around cooking Lenard's chicken, as well as the woman's love and care towards her family members. The images of fun moments convey to consumers that, with Lenard's chicken, one can make quick-and-easy, delicious, comforting recipes, which are perfect for a lunch the whole family will enjoy. One can achieve similar pleasurable experiences through cooking and eating Lenard's chicken (Hoyer, MacInnis & Pieters 2012).

The advertisement constructs Lenard's chicken as a healthy balanced meal with the close-up shots of fresh vegetables such as potatoes, onions and tomatoes (see Figure 45), which are required to prepare the meal with Lenard's chicken, because health and nutrition information influences people's consumption patterns. Therefore, advertisers use health messages significantly in food advertising campaigns (Astrup, Marckmann & Blundell 2000; Jensen & Kesavan 1993). Spreading oil over the chicken (see Figure 45) before putting it into the oven signifies that it tastes delicious when cooked with all these fresh ingredients. Thus, the advertisement constructs Lenard's chicken as a healthy convenience food option that makes lunch a little quicker and no less tasty. The above shots also signify that one can easily cook Lenard's chicken simply by placing his/her meal straight in the oven (see Figure 45), without having to worry about adding extra spices. These shots feature the time- and effort-saving aspects of Lenard's chicken that will contribute to the consumers' comprehension of the perceived convenience of this product. Thus, the images throughout the advertisement legitimise the claim made about the product through the voiceover, which says, '*With Lenard's creation and your home cooking, everything just comes together.*'

The close-up shot of the dog looking at the oven indicates that the food smells so good even the dog wants to taste it; it signifies that it will taste as fresh as it smells. The advertisement also provides reference as to the aroma of product because smell influences consumers' taste perceptions about food. Smell can enhance consumers' positive sensory thoughts about a food (Elder & Krishna 2010; Herz 2007; Rozin 1982; Simmons, Martin & Barsalou 2005).

From the composition of the Lenard's chicken commercial, it is clear that women are the target consumers for this product. Advertisers often present food products as a gender-specific activity. By depicting women cooking in the advertisements, the advertisers are trying to persuade women to buy their products, saying that they should buy the product because they are expected to express their love for others with food, and assuring that women could win their family's love by serving them meals made using the advertised products (Parkin 2006). Similar to the above advertisements, the Dilmah Tea and McCain Ultra-Thin Moroccan Lamb Pizza advertisements (see Figures 46 and 47) also promote their products on the basis of their time- and energy-saving features with special focus on the products' 'instant-ness' features.

7.3.1.2 Convenience is about instant-ness

The 'instant-ness' feature makes a product convenient by saving both the time and effort required for meal preparation. The instant-ness nature of the following products allows people to save their valuable time to do important work or to enjoy their leisure.

The initial shot of the tea plantation signifies that Dilmah offers high-quality tea, because Dilmah's tea directly comes from their own tea plantations located in the highland mountains of Sri Lanka (Dilmah Tea n.d.). Sri Lanka is renowned as the world's best location to grow tea (Mukherji & Iyengar 2013, p. 69). The close-up shots of the boxes of Dilmah tea and the accompanying voiceover introduce Dilmah tea of different flavours, such as English Breakfast and Earl Grey (see Figure 46). By offering variants of their products, Dilmah is providing consumers with the option being attracted to large number of choices.

In this advertisement, by focussing on the time-saving features of the products, it presents the 'instant' nature of the product. Shots of pouring tea from a teapot into a cup, putting Dilmah's tea pod inside a machine and pouring tea from the machine into the cup (see Figure 46) signify that Dilmah's tea pods are quick and convenient; one can now make instant tea by simply adding hot water and popping the specialised tea pod into the machine (see Figure 46). In semiotic terms, the signified (convenience and instant-ness) attaches to the signifiers (shots featuring the man making tea by adding hot water and popping the tea pod into the machine) to relate the product to convenience. Additionally,

the voiceover saying ‘*quick*’ and ‘*convenient*’ reinforces the convenience aspect of the product.

Like the Dilmah tea advertisement (see Figure 46), the McCain Ultra-Thin Moroccan Lamb Pizza advertisement (see Figure 47) also promotes its product on the basis of the product’s instant-ness. In this advertisement, the woman receives her pizza just moments after her placing her ‘order’ with her boyfriend/partner. This signifies that the McCain Ultra-Thin Moroccan Lamb Pizza is a fast, convenient, delicious meal option. In semiotic terms, the signified (convenience and instant-ness) attaches to the signifier (shots featuring her receiving the pizza moments after placing her ‘order’) to relate the product with convenience.

Expressions such as ‘*delicious ultra-thin crust pizza*’ and ‘*golden-flavoured, new crispier bases*’ connote the expected taste and freshness of the product. The McCain Ultra-Thin Moroccan Lamb Pizza advertisement refers to their product as ‘*crispy*’ because crispness equates to freshness in many crunchy foods (i.e. crisps, biscuits, cereals, vegetables, etc.) (Vickers 1987). By mentioning the taste attributes of the product, the advertisement attempts to convey to consumers the message that McCain Ultra-Thin Moroccan Lamb Pizza offers consumers a convenient, high-quality and affordable alternative to regular takeaway pizza, without compromising on flavour. Fast food is more convenient than cooking at home, because fast foods are usually served within minutes of ordering. Through the narrative, the advertisement aims to convey to consumers that McCain Ultra-Thin Moroccan Lamb Pizza is a product with restaurant-quality flavour.

7.3.1.3 Convenience is about versatility

The availability and versatile usage of products are two key aspects of convenience (Beckley et al. 2012). Hence, while the above advertisements promote their products with reference to the instant-ness offered by those products, the MasterFoods advertisement (see Figure 48) promotes its herbs, spices and seasonings on the basis of the unique versatility that MasterFoods’ products offer to the consumer and the ability of the products to add flavour to a variety of dishes. The versatility of the products’ use allows making several flavours at the same time, thus making them extremely convenient.

The opening shot of the MasterFoods advertisement (see Figure 48) signifies that, with MasterFoods' products, one can easily and quickly cook meals using the microwave. The shots of shaking MasterFoods spice over a curry, fresh-cut vegetables on the kitchen top and spilled MasterFoods' spice from the jar (see Figure 48) signify that the woman is cooking this colourful curry with fresh vegetables and MasterFoods' ground red paprika. The shot of steam rising from cooking teriyaki chicken signifies that it is freshly cooked with MasterFoods Teriyaki Chicken Stir-Fry sauce. By featuring Asian food, such as chicken teriyaki, the advertisement aims to appeal to a wide range of the population. These shots signify that, with MasterFoods' products, one can easily make wide variety of cuisines. The advertisement constructs MasterFoods' products as convenient products, which have the quality of 'time-saving'; with MasterFoods, one can cook food using just the microwave oven. In semiotic terms, the signified (versatility) attaches to the signifier (shots featuring wide variety of recipes) to relate the product with convenience.

Foods complement social gatherings. In the MasterFoods advertisement (see Figure 48), a family is having lunch together and everyone is adding extra flavour to their food by stirring, shaking and squeezing MasterFoods products on their meals. This signifies that, with MasterFoods products, it is easier to prepare meals for social and family gatherings. By associating their foods with social gatherings, the MasterFoods advertisement aims to increase their sales volume by encouraging their consumers to buy their products in bulk. The slogan '*Why cook when you can create?*' (see Figure 48) signifies that MasterFoods products allow consumers to customise their meals and thus create a recipe and a taste of one's own. The advertisement associates cooking with creativity. Cooking is not just about mixing and matching two or more random ingredients together. With the shots of tossing a bunch of different ingredients into different dishes, the advertisement conveys the message that cooking with MasterFoods' products is a creative task that one will enjoy. One can create his/her own unique recipe by adding just the right proportion of MasterFoods ingredients. Thus, MasterFoods products allow one to add creativity by turning any recipe into something special.

The MasterFoods advertisement shows both adults and children eating and enjoying the meals cooked with MasterFoods products. The shots that feature a tweenage girl licking avocado from her finger, a little girl licking the plate to eat the last bit (see Figure 48)

signify that the food tastes finger-licking good. By featuring white and non-white characters, children and adults, and family and friends, the advertisement aims to appeal to a wide range of the population, irrespective of their age, gender, race and ethnicity.

Yoghurt is a versatile food product that can be transformed into a range of delicious, healthy desserts. Yoghurt is incredibly versatile because it can be used in many recipes in different ways. Hence, similarly to the MasterFoods advertisement (see Figure 48), the Jalna Sweet & Creamy Greek Yoghurt advertisement (see Figure 49) also promotes the products with reference to the product's versatility. The advertisement primarily constructs the product as convenient through its narrative, featuring the versatile uses of Jalna yoghurt. The initial shots, containing the images of desserts made with Jalna yoghurt (see Figure 49), signifies that Jalna yoghurt is a fast and convenient way to make amazing desserts. The accompanying voiceover that says, '*Good for the simple things, the more flamboyant things*' signifies that the product is convenient to make both ordinary and special recipes. The advertisement conveys the message to its consumers that Jalna yoghurt has versatile uses, which allow one to save the time and effort required for various meal preparation processes.

In the shot where the daughter finishes decorating her dessert first and looks at the grandmother with a mischievous smile on her face (see Figure 49), she clearly expresses the pride that she takes in her cooking skills. In the next shot, the sudden falling down of her dessert on the table surprises the audience to achieve humour (Alden, Mukherjee & Hoyer 2000; Buijzen & Valkenburg 2004). Then the grandmother looking at her with a mischievous smile on her face (see Figure 49) conveys her feeling of superiority. We regard ourselves as superior by the presentation of the failings of others (Berger 1993; Feinberg 1978; Gruner 1978; Meyer 2000; Wu 2013); here, the sight of her daughter's failure makes her feel superior. The last scene, featuring the granddaughter standing in the middle and eating Jalna yogurt from the pot, signifies that Jalna yoghurt is a ready-to-eat dessert and, therefore, it should be regarded as a convenience food. One can eat it just by removing the lid of the container.

The Jalna's Sweet & Creamy Greek Yoghurt advertisement (see Figure 49) makes a narrow appeal to health, which is secondary to the product's convenience. The voiceover,

saying, '*pot-set with nothing artificial and no cane sugar*' signifies that, although Jalna yoghurt is factory-produced, by referring it as pot-set, the advertisement promotes the product as a farmhouse, hand-made healthy yoghurt.¹⁰ The voiceover also constructs the product as healthy by mentioning that it contains '*nothing artificial and no cane sugar*'. This signifies that the product is healthy because it is natural; it contains no artificial ingredients such as colour additives.¹¹

7.3.1.4 Convenience is about portability

While the above advertisements construct the products as convenient by referring to their instant-ness and versatility, the Chilli Aioli RoosterRap advertisement (see Figure 50) constructs the product as convenient with reference to the product's portability. The advertisement features a young man being chased by police and then by a dog with the Chilli Aioli RoosterRap in his hand. Throughout the advertisement, the central character is seen jumping from one floor to another of a building and running on the street, eating the Chilli Aioli RoosterRap at the same time (see Figure 50). These shots feature the characters playing with the products to signify that the product is portable enough to consume on-the-go. In semiotic terms, the signified (portability) attaches to the signifiers (shots featuring the characters consuming the product on-the-go) to relate the product to portability. Foods offering portability and convenience appeal to consumers (Pride & Ferrell 2004, p. 212). The product is designed for consuming outside the home. Portable meals are growing in popularity because they can be eaten using just one hand while walking, jumping and running, talking or driving.

A few of the above advertisements (see Figures 45, 47–50) use emotional appeals that associate foods with happiness and fun, rather than any mention of factual information or specific details about the product's benefits (Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2002; Connor, 2006; Folta et al., 2006; Institute of Medicine, 2006). Consistent with the Quadrant 4 of the FCB

¹⁰ Pot-set yoghurt contains many good bacteria as a natural yoghurt milk at a lower temperature. In order to produce pot-set yoghurt, the milk is required to set at a lower temperature, as lower temperature is favourable to the development of many good bacteria (Queensland Department of Agriculture & Stock 1982).

¹¹ Use of artificial colours in food products is hazardous to the health and can lead to behavioural problems in children (McCann et al. 2007). There is no added sugar in the product. Cane sugar is a type of added sugar (Peele, Markman & Tyson 2010) – excessive sugar consumption leads to a number of diseases associated with metabolic syndrome (Lustig 2010; Tappy et al. 2010). This includes hypertension, insulin resistance and high triglycerides (blood fats) (Lustig, Schmidt & Brindis 2012, p. 28).

model (Vaughn 1980, 1986), which indicates that consumers have Do-Feel-Learn mentality, the food brands included in this chapter use emotional appeals to stimulate reminder impulse buying behaviour in consumers and thus increase sales.

With the use of a number of auditory cues in the voiceover, such as '*crunchy, spicy strips, fresh salad with spicy sauce*', the advertisement aims to stimulate consumers' flavour perception, because people consume foods on the basis of their flavour, smell and texture (Fortin, Goodwin & Thomsen 2009; Péneau et al. 2007). The voiceover, saying, '*always on the go*' and '*perfect when you are on the run*' further legitimises claims about the product's portability.

The ease and simplicity of preparing each of the above-mentioned foods make these meal options even more convenient. These findings support the view that any food should be regarded as convenient if it saves time and energy during the meal preparation activities and consumption stages: obtaining, preparing, storing, serving or eating (Botonaki, Natos & Mattas 2008). Stereotypical gender representations can be found in advertising (Furnham & Mak 1999; Ganahl, Prinsen & Netzley 2003; Garst & Bodenhausen 1997; Gentry & Harrison 2010; Prieler, Ivanov & Hagiwara 2015; Royo-Vela et al. 2008; Schroeder & Borgerson 1998; Uray & Burnaz 2003). In the Luv-a Duck, Lenard's Chicken, MasterFoods and Jalna yoghurt advertisements (see Figures 44, 45, 48 and 49), the primary characters are all female. Perhaps it is because women are the main target group for these products that advertisers tend to feature female characters in the leading roles in order to reach their target audience (Whipple & McManamon 2002). In these advertisements, female characters are depicted at home, cooking foods for their family and friends. Only the McCain Moroccan Lamb Pizza advertisement shows the male character cooking (see Figure 47). Perhaps it is because this product does not require cooking skill; he just needs to heat up the pizza. By featuring women engaged in performing traditional gender roles, these advertisements are suggesting an inferior status of women. With more income (ABS 2017a) than women, men are considered to be the 'ruling elites' (Gramsci 1971) of Australian society. Through such portrayals, these advertisements are informing their consumers of or legitimising men's power over women, which is a large part of gender role hegemony. The rest of the advertisements (see Figures 46, 47 and 50) included under the convenience category are targeted at a

general audience; in these advertisements, the primary characters are male. Perhaps due to the instant-ness of the products, these advertisements used males as their primary characters.

The second major theme that came out of the initial content analysis was price. A lower price makes a product convenient to purchase (Daly 2002). People prefer to eat fast food because it is inexpensive (Sagala et al. 2014). For convenience purchasers, price is one of the most important concerns because they usually buy these products frequently (Armstrong et al. 2014, p. 206; Daly 2002, p. 223). By offering foods at *affordable* prices, fast-food companies are maximising convenience at a relatively low cost (Powell & Chaloupka 2009). Therefore, the following section will look at the use of price as a marketing tool in constructing the tweenage market.

7.3.2 Price

The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare has described fast-food restaurants under the ‘convenience food’ category (AIHW 2012a). Consumers perceive price and promotional deals as important factors in their choice of fast-food restaurant (Kara, Kaynak & Kucukemiroglu 1995). Sales promotion is a common business practice, which helps manufacturers to make a profit by providing an extra incentive to the target consumers to purchase, or by persuading the consumers to choose one brand over another (Manuere, Gwangwava & Gutu 2012). Advertisers use sales promotion appeals such as price discounts, extra-product price promotions, coupons, sweepstakes, contests, in-store displays, trade shows, price-off deals, premiums, rebates, etc. (Manuere, Gwangwava & Gutu 2012) to stimulate consumers to purchase a product more quickly, more frequently, and/or in greater quantities than in the absence of any sales promotion (Jallow & Dastane 2016; Kazmi & Batra 2009, p. 513; Moriarty et al. 2014).

Price deals offered by fast-food companies are associated with greater fast-food consumption (Andreyeva, Kelly & Harris 2011; Kara, Kaynak & Kucukemiroglu 1995). Price deals are particularly effective in encouraging consumers to buy fast food in bulk; attracting new customers; reaching sales targets during the off-season, especially during the festive periods; or building brand loyalty by offering customers valuable rewards (Odunlami & Ogunsiji 2011). The Domino’s Cheaper 2-Days (see Figure 51) and Pizza

Hut 2 for \$10 Tuesday (see Figure 52) advertisements used price discount appeals to promote their products.

Throughout the Domino's Cheaper 2-Days' advertisement (see Figure 51), the voiceover provides information about the price deals. It says that, on every Monday and Tuesday, Domino's is offering value-range pizzas for just \$4.95. A number of expressions used in the voiceover, such as '*cheaper Tuesday*', '*cheaper 2 days*', '*cutting value range*', '*tiny price*', '*Not just cheaper one day*' signify that Domino's is a low-priced product. The shot featuring somebody cutting a pizza, using a knife with '*Value Range \$4.95 pick up*' written on the blade (see Figure 51) symbolises that Domino's is cutting the price of its value-range pizzas to \$4.95. The advertisement contains close-up shots of colourful and bright pizzas in order to provide consumers with information about the availability of a variety of value-range pizzas and also to entice consumers to buy their products and increase sales. The small animated characters (see Figure 51) serve no purpose other than grabbing children's attention.

Like the Domino's advertisement (see Figure 51), Pizza Hut has launched its own 2 for \$10 Tuesday (see Figure 52) campaign. This advertisement contains all close-up shots. The calendar denotes time, perhaps the time in which to benefit from the cost reduction. Through the images featuring changing dates and the voiceover, the advertisement provides the key information about the deal. To increase sales immediately, promotions aim to create a sense of urgency (Moriarty et al. 2014, p. 63). Likewise, in this advertisement, the shots of riffling calendar pages are used to create a sense of urgency among consumers to act fast.

For most food business firms, Friday and Saturday are the busiest days of the week (Blythe 2006, p. 487) because people consider the weekend as their time to relax; therefore, they are more likely to go for a casual relaxed dining experience when it fits their budget/schedule. Customers are more likely to go to a restaurant during off-peak times if they will receive a discount. Therefore, some fast-casual or quick-service restaurants, such as Pizza Hut and Domino's (see Figures 51 and 52) offer price reductions on Mondays and Tuesdays to stimulate off-peak traffic, to attract new customers towards a popular product, or to encourage existing customers to increase their

purchases (Manuere, Gwangwava & Gutu 2012). By offering discounts on weekdays, companies are giving their customers a reason to visit their stores during weekdays (Blythe 2006; Stephenson 2007).

In addition to price, portion sizes for meals purchased at fast-food restaurants are an important determinant of fast-food consumption. Consumers perceive larger packages and portion sizes at a low discounted price as equating to good value. The lower price of larger portion sizes or larger packages of familiar brand products may make consumers believe that they are getting good deal (Deval et al. 2012). Hence, advertisers often aim to enhance consumers' perceptions of value by reducing the price of products.

The KFC \$5 Box advertisement promotes the product as cheap and affordable. The initial close-up shots of the KFC \$5 Box (see Figure 53) and the full shot of friends bringing KFC \$5 boxes for everyone to eat KFC together signifies that, for just \$5, it is offering subs, wicked wings, chips, potato and gravy, and drinks; therefore, it is big enough to be shared with friends and family. Advertisers aim to increase immediate sales by specifying a certain time for their sales promotions to create a sense of urgency among consumers to motivate them to purchase the advertised product immediately (Moriarty et al. 2014, p. 63). Hence, in the text appearing on the screen, the offer is '*available till 4pm*' and for a '*limited time only at part participating stores while stocks last*'. Similarly to the KFC \$5 Box advertisement (see Figure 53), the Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke advertisement (see Figure 54) makes a narrow appeal to the quantity of the product.

This advertisement features different people drinking Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke while walking, playing, studying, romancing, waiting or just relaxing (see Figure 54) during summer to satisfy their thirst. These shots signify that it is affordable for people across all races and ethnicities (see Figure 54); therefore, everyone is drinking and enjoying it. Here, the scenes do not follow the voiceover. The voiceover of this advertisement promotes Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke as an inexpensive product by stressing the description: '*Large and only \$1 at Hungry Jack's all day long*'. This signifies that one can buy a large frozen coke by spending only \$1. By offering large-sized frozen coke, Hungry Jack's aims to maximise their sales, because price deals such as discounts and bonus pack deals affect consumers' purchase decisions.

While the both the KFC \$5 Box and Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke advertisements (see Figures 53 and 54) are primarily about the products' price, they also do very little to communicate the products' portion size. The KFC Popcorn Chicken Box and Red Rooster's Stacked Pack advertisements (see Figures 55 and 56), however, are primarily about portion size without providing information about the products' price. In recent years, the prevalence of overweight and obesity is continuing to rise among Australian adults and children (ABS 2019). Although multiple factors can account for weight gain, researchers have identified an increase in portion size as one factor that has contributed to the rise in obesity (Ledikwe, Ello-Martin & Rolls 2005; Young & Nestle 2002). Over the past two decades, fast-food restaurants have been offering larger serving sizes (Young & Nestle 2002), because larger packages and portion sizes, or larger packages of familiar brand products, may influence the consumption of larger quantities, in some way due to the perceived lower food cost (Wansink 1996). Likewise, the following fast-food advertisements are offering larger serving sizes to their consumers.

The initial shots of the KFC Popcorn Chicken Box advertisement feature a young black man playing 10-pin bowling and knocking down all the pins on his first try. The subsequent shots show him eating a KFC Fillet burger while bowling (see Figure 55). With all these shots, the advertisement constructs the product as a snack choice that one can nibble on during his/her leisure time. The shots of fillet burger, a glass of cold drink, French fries and sauce (see Figure 55), the voiceover and slogan '*It's not a mouthful, it's an armful*' signify that the KFC Popcorn Chicken Box offers many food items in a single box. While any relationship between the quantity of the product and price is not explicitly stated, the reference to the quantity of products in a single box undoubtedly raises price-related connotations.

The closing shot of a white man coming out of a KFC store, eating a KFC burger and carrying a Popcorn Chicken Box in his hand (see Figure 55) signifies that KFC's customers exist across race – by featuring both white and non-white characters, the advertisement aims to appeal to an ethnically diverse population. Again, the text on the screen mentions that the offer is for a limited time – the advertisement thus aims to increase immediate sales by creating a sense of urgency among customers.

The final closing close-up shot of KFC's slogan '*So good*' (see Figure 55) signifies that the price of the KFC Popcorn Chicken Box is nothing compared to the quality of the food. It is both the quality and the quantity of the food that makes KFC's food appealing and beneficial.

Like the KFC Popcorn Chicken Box advertisement (see Figure 55), Red Rooster's Stacked Pack advertisement (see Figure 56), makes strong appeals to quantity. The initial shots of the advertisement, which feature a man's failed attempt to lift the Red Rooster's Stacked Pack, contradict our expectations. This makes the advertisement interesting (McQuarrie & Mick 1996; Peracchio & Meyers-Levy 1994) and it evokes incongruity. The feelings of surprise that are caused by unanticipated incidents are enough to attain humour in the advertisement (Alden, Mukherjee & Hoyer 2000; Buijzen & Valkenburg 2004). The accompanying voiceover explains that the pack is heavy because it comes with '*a bacon burger and chicken crispy and chips and gravy and pineapple fritter and drinks*' (see Figure 56). It also offers a Stacked Pack Samsung tablet to be won in a sweepstakes competition.

Sweepstakes¹² are a commonly used sales promotion strategy that offers consumers the opportunity to win prizes by performing a particular act, usually buying a product (Kalra & Shi 2010), in exchange for one's personal data. The prizes are often much more expensive than the actual advertised product. Sweepstakes make consumers believe that, by spending a very small amount of money on a product, they might generate high returns. Thus, sweepstakes make the products appear lower priced to their consumers, which is why they are included under the price category. Food advertising targeting children frequently uses sweepstake offers to increase sales by directly motivating children to purchase their products or to request their parents to buy them the products (Henry & Story 2009; Moore 2008; Wilking et al. 2013). Similar to the Red Rooster's Stacked Pack

¹² Businesses use sweepstakes to grab consumers' attention to their product. Food and beverage marketers commonly use sweepstakes to promote their brands (Henry & Story 2009). By offering prizes, organisers encourage consumers to participate in the sweepstakes contests and remain informed about the upcoming events by visiting their websites repeatedly (Laporte & Laurent 2015; Moore 2008). Companies collect user-data as part of the entry process; companies can use data about participants for tracking and direct marketing purposes (Blattberg, Kim & Neslin 2008). Moreover, on company websites, young consumers are exposed to additional food marketing and branded-content (Wilking et al. 2013).

advertisement (see Figure 56), the Pizza Hut PS4 advertisement (see Figure 57), also announces sweepstakes in the advertisement.

Throughout the Pizza Hut PS4 advertisement (see Figure 57), the shots feature a number of characters from PS4 games chasing a Pizza Hut staff member, who is running with a pizza in his hand. While these characters are imaginary, the voiceover and shots signify that these characters are attempting to snatch the pizza from him because Pizza Hut has announced an irresistible sweepstakes offer, which allows participants to win a new PS4 through a random draw. To participate in this, entrants are required to buy large pizzas. In semiotic terms, the signified (lower priced therefore convenient) attaches to the signifiers (shots of characters from PS4 games chasing a Pizza Hut staff member, who is running with a Pizza in his hand) to construct the product as a means of convenience. Expressions such as *'Right now'* and *'Every hour for four weeks'*, the advertisement aims to encourage its consumers to act fast, in order to increase immediate sales.

Similarly to the Pizza Hut PS4 advertisement (see Figure 57), the Parma Ham advertisement also offers sweepstakes in order to grab consumers' attention to their product. The opening shot of a wide range of meals made using Parma Ham (see Figure 58), signifies the different cooking options that Parma Ham offers. The advertisement is targeting middle-class consumers, who are looking for closer-to-home summer holiday destinations in order to save a few dollars.

Parma Ham is promoting the products without providing any information about the products' quality. The advertisement contains close-up shots of Melbourne city (see Figure 58) to inspire consumers to desire a holiday in Melbourne. Marketers use vouchers and coupons to sustain existing customers' loyalty towards the brand or to attract the attention of new potential customers (Mullin & Cummins 2008, p. 118). By offering coupons of a holiday package, the advertisement aims to increase the chances of generating higher revenue in sales. In semiotic terms, the signified (lower priced therefore convenient) attaches to the signifiers (close-up shots of Melbourne city) to construct the product as a means of convenience. The shot of slicing the Parma Ham in the machine (see Figure 58) connotes its thin texture; this informs consumers about the taste of the product.

The implication of the various sale promotions techniques in the above-discussed advertisements is as follows: Domino's Cheaper 2-Days and 2 for \$10 Tuesday advertisements (price discounts and extra-product price promotions); Hungry Jack's Frozen Coke (price discounts); KFC \$5 Box, Red Rooster's Stacked Pack and KFC Popcorn Chicken Box (extra-product price promotions); and Red Rooster's Stacked Pack, Pizza Hut PS4 and Parma Ham (sweepstakes). Consistent with Bernhardt et al.'s (2013) study, this study also finds that the above advertisements highlight the price and portion size of the products.

Research (see EMMA 2014) suggests that people from all age groups consume fast food. However, among all age groups, children, adolescents and young adults tend to consume more fast food. Advertising that targets adolescents and young adults emphasises the taste, price and portion size of the products (Bernhardt et al. 2013). Therefore, from the advertisements included in the price category, it seems that they are targeted at young adults. Due to their limited spending power, children have no choice but to influence their parents' fast-food purchases (Henry & Borzekowski 2011). Adolescents and young adults have more spending power and relatively more independence in making unhealthy dietary choice decisions than children (Majabadi et al. 2016). Due to numerous age-related physiological changes, such as 'slower gastric emptying, altered hormonal responses, decreased basal metabolic rate, and altered taste and smell', older adults tend to consume fewer fast foods (Drewnowski & Shultz 2001). Therefore, all these advertisements included in the price category are targeted at young adults.

The above advertisements are (see Figure 44, 46, 51–58) are consistent with Quadrant 3 of the FCB Grid Model (See Figure 1). Hence, the product appeals used in the advertisements discussed in this chapter are often informational appeals. Most food and staple packaged goods items fall under this category. Advertisements for such products should induce trials (coupons, free samples) in order to encourage consumers to make a repeat purchase (Vaughn 1980).

7.4 Conclusion

From the above advertisements, it seems that convenience in relation to food preparation and consumption is composed of many dimensions, especially when it comes to saving consumers' time and effort. These advertisements have made several attempts to inform their consumers about the multidimensionality of the convenience construct by adding different convenience traits to the advertised products.

From the advertisements included under the convenience category, tweens are learning that any food product is convenient when it does not require cleaning or preparation before cooking (see Figures 44, 45, 46 and 47), when it is ready to cook or eat without adding anything (see Figures 46, 47 and 49), when it allows one to prepare a variety of meals with the same product or range of products from the same brand (see Figures 48 and 49), or when it is handy enough to consume on-the-go (see Figure 50).

The second recurring theme that came out of the initial content analysis was price. The vast majority of fast-food restaurants use price as a method of emphasising good deals, because the price deals offered by fast-food companies are associated with greater fast-food consumption and they can actually influence customers' purchase decisions (Andreyeva, Kelly & Harris 2011; Kara, Kaynak & Kucukemiroglu 1995). Therefore, the advertisements in this category used price references as a means of constructing the tweenage market.

From the price-oriented advertisements discussed, tweens are learning that they should buy any product when it is discounted, or if any brand is offering a larger portion, without considering the nutritional value of the product. Moreover, from the sweepstakes offered by fast-food brands, tweens are learning that they can win lucrative prizes by participating in the sweepstakes. As sweepstakes do not come with a guarantee of winning any prize, by offering them to participate in sweepstakes advertisers are encouraging the children to gamble on winning the prize by buying more of the advertised product, without providing any information about the average daily energy intake for children or adult consumers as recommended by national dietary guidelines. These brands do not educate their consumers and thus do not let their consumers make informed choices about their products.

Consistent with the previous chapters (see Chapters 3 to 6), the current chapter also finds that, while shows in C-classified time are specifically designed for children under 12, none of these convenience- and price-oriented advertisements are targeting children. All convenience- and price-related advertisements feature characters with a significant mix of gender and race. The female characters appearing in the advertisements included in the convenience category are more active than the male characters. The predominantly white female characters are cooking for their family or friends; only the McCain Moroccan Lamb Pizza advertisement (see Figure 47) showed a male character cooking. From this representation, tweens will adopt these expectations and accept the stereotyped idea that women are supposed to be exclusively responsible for pleasing and caring for their families through food purchases. While both the Luv-a-Duck and Master Foods advertisements (see Figures 44 and 48) contain white and non-white characters, by featuring the non-white people as guests at a social gathering organised by their white friends, the advertisements convey to tweens the message that only white people can afford to purchase, prepare and afford convenience foods, and thus place the white population in the position of ‘ruling elites’ (Gramsci 1971) of Australian society.

The findings of the current study support previous findings, which found that advertisers frequently use taste, price, convenience, freshness and health (Furst et al. 1996; Kotler 1965; Steenkamp 1997) in their advertisements because consumers’ purchase decisions are influenced by their exposure to the product through advertisements (Kotler 1965). The current and previous chapters of this study focused on the four most frequently used advertising appeals – namely taste, health, humour, happiness and fantasy – followed by price and convenience, to which Australian tween consumers are currently exposed through television. What the current study has not yet discussed in-depth is the advertising practices of food and beverage websites. In some cases, television advertisements are coordinated with other marketing media, such as the internet. Therefore, to address the second RQ2, the following chapter will look at the advertising practices of food and beverage companies on their websites and Facebook pages, and how their marketing strategies connect with their free-to-air TV campaigns.

Chapter 8: Food Marketing on Branded Websites and Facebook Pages

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to investigate RQ2, namely, how do television and online advertising work together? Chapters 4 to 7 have demonstrated that health, taste, happiness, convenience and price are the most common primary appeals in the advertisements discussed, to which Australian tween consumers are currently exposed through television. In some cases, television advertisements are coordinated with other marketing media, such as the internet. The results of the initial content analysis indicated that 21% (n=12) of the television food advertising examined during C-rated programs included a web address. Therefore, to address RQ2, the advertising practices of food and beverage websites also need to be carefully monitored. The websites were selected the basis of the web addresses that were included in the television food advertising during C-rated programs. Among all social media channels, Facebook was the most commonly used social networking site by television advertisers. Content analysis of these selected company websites revealed that 83 per cent (n=10) of food brands including a web address in their television advertisements broadcast during children's television programming had a Facebook page. Therefore, careful attention was also given to their Facebook pages.

8.2 Online advertising to children

In Australia, childhood obesity is recognised as an alarming health issue. Almost one-quarter of children aged 5-17 years are overweight or obese in Australia (ABS 2018). Due to rise in obesity among 6- to 13-year-olds, the health care costs associated with childhood and adolescent overweight and obesity are about \$43 million (in 2015 AUD) (Black,

Hughes & Jones 2018). Most studies have concluded that advertising exposure and children's unhealthy eating habits are correlated. This is because research on advertising suggests that obesity and food preference are interrelated. Several studies (see Cancer Council Australia 2011; Boyland et al. 2011; Coon & Tucker 2002; Halford et al. 2007; Halford et al. 2004; Hastings et al. 2003; McGinnis, Gootman & Kraak 2006; Cancer Council NSW 2009; Schor 2006; Story & French 2004)¹³ have concluded that food marketing influences children's food preferences, purchases and consumption behaviour.

All the above studies are based on television advertising; however, there are very few studies and research available on coordinated marketing practices in the Australian context. One reason for this gap is that, until recently, industry codes (the Responsible Children's Marketing Initiative and Quick Service Initiative) were not platform- and technology-neutral. These codes are applicable to advertising and marketing communications directed to customers in Australia, in any medium, including online media such as social media and outdoor signage (AANA 2015, 2016). The historical background of these codes, and the changes that these codes have gone through over the years, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9.

Children's access to new technologies, especially the internet, is increasing rapidly. In Australia, children aged 6–13 years typically spend an average of 10.5 hours a week on the internet (Hoh 2017). Of Australian households with children under the age of 15 years, 97 per cent have access to the internet (ASB 2018). Increasingly, the internet is also being accessed via mobile phones, digital televisions and games consoles. The internet's interactive capacity lays the foundation for advertising efficiency and success, and allows children to engage directly with a food product (Moore 2006). Internet food marketing uses a range of techniques to engage children in brand-related activities for an extended period, thereby increasing brand familiarity and exposure (Moore 2006; Weber, Story & Harnack 2006). Previous studies (see Brady et al. 2010; Henry & Story 2009; Kelly et al. 2008; Moore & Rideout 2007; Weber, Story & Harnack 2006) have investigated the marketing and advertising strategies present on various food- and beverage-brand websites. Research (see Brady et al. 2010; Henry & Story 2009; Kelly et al. 2008; Moore

¹³ See Chapter 2: Literature Review for further discussion on the effects of food advertising on children.

& Rideout 2007; Weber, Story & Harnack 2006) suggested that, with the rapid growth of the internet, advertisers are introducing new techniques (such as viral marketing, including television advertising on their websites, membership of branded sites, offering vouchers or coupons, including links on branded websites, etc.) to promote their products.

In Australia to date, two major studies have described the nature and extent of food marketing on food product websites and food- and beverage-brand Facebook pages (see Freeman et al. 2014; Kelly et al. 2008). While research by Freeman et al. (2014) considered 27 of the most popular food- and beverage-brand Facebook pages in Australia, Kelly et al.'s (2008) study involved the analysis of 119 food product websites. Both of these studies confirmed that food brands use various games or interactive activities on their branded websites or Facebook pages to get consumers interact with them, as well to influence their consumption of fast food. Both of these studies used a content analysis approach, involving coding categorisation to identify latent text patterns within data (see Freeman et al. 2014; Kelly et al. 2008). Another past study from the USA conducted by Moore & Rideout (2007), has systematically described the nature of online marketing to children. Moore & Rideout's (2007) study involved the analysis of food company websites. The author identified 11 online marketing practices, which were relevant to public policy issues during that time and also suggested that the majority of food brands that advertise heavily to children on television are also reaching them through promoting their brands on company websites. These include: unhealthy brand nutritional profiles; persuasion potential of "advergaming"; ethics of viral marketing; no limits on advertising exposure, limited use of "ad breaks"; opportunities for corporate research abound; information for parents is available; children's online privacy protections; direct inducements to purchase, a new venue for licensing and host selling; and, learning potentials and pitfalls. The authors obtained web addresses from the selected brands' product packages (Moore & Rideout 2007). While Moore and Rideout's (2007) study included food brands that had been advertised heavily to children during children's programming, it did not identify the websites from the web addresses included in the television food advertising during C-rated programs. However, understanding which content and marketing features are present in these branded websites and Facebook pages will provide valuable insight about food advertisers' practice of coordinated marketing strategies across television and online to reach tweenage consumers, as well as to

construct the tweenage market. Accordingly, RQ2 asked: how do television and online advertising work together?

While Chapters 4 to 7 have created the platform for answering RQ1, regarding the efforts of television advertisers to construct the tweenage market, in order to address RQ2, regarding the combined effort of television and online advertising to construct the tweenage market, it is important to examine the current online advertising practices that target tweens in order to sustain the tweenage market. Currently, there has been no research examining the practice of coordination of TV advertising into food and beverage manufacturers' digital marketing strategy in the Australian context. The absence of relevant data makes it difficult for policymakers in Australia to reform existing advertising regulation policies. Therefore, the present study examines the practice of coordinated marketing strategies across food product categories sponsored by food and beverage manufacturers. It differs from recent works in this domain, which focused on the relation between marketing techniques and the nutritional profile of promoted foods (see Hurwitz, Montague & Wartella 2016) or online marketing within single product categories (e.g. sugary beverages: Harris et al. 2014) or specific website content features (e.g. games: Paek et al. 2014). This is one of the first studies to conduct a content analysis to identify the marketing strategies on the websites of these selected food and beverage brands, as well as on the company Facebook pages.

8.3 Methods

This chapter follows up on the content and semiotic analysis of television food advertising in the previous chapters. Chapters 4 to 7 have used semiotic analysis to examine television advertisements, analyse the ideologies of the advertisers and also investigate advertisers' efforts to spread this ideology.

The primary strength of semiotic analysis is in the richness of the comprehensive information conveyed; however, the semiotic approach may lack reliability or objectivity due to its descriptive nature (Anderson, Dewhirst & Ling 2006). Hence, Leiss, Kline, and Jhally (1976) proposed a combined semiotics–content analysis approach to address the weakness of one approach with the strength of the other. Media content analysis involves

looking directly at media texts; coding specified characteristics within the text, with the purpose of discovering relationships among different categories or concepts; counting the occurrence of specified characteristics; and developing expert patterns or phenomena from the media texts. This process enables the researcher to say something about the messages, images and representations of such texts and their wider social significance (Hansen & Machin 2013, p. 95; Klein & Jhaly 1986). The current chapter also aims to discover patterns in companies' marketing strategies used in both branded website and Facebook pages using content analysis of selected branded websites and Facebook pages. Therefore, for this study, this approach is appropriate.

8.3.1 Sampling of websites and Facebook pages

In total, 112.5 hours of children's television programming were reviewed and coded. The final sample size was 427 unduplicated commercial executions. Out of this sample, 57 advertisements that appeared during this time were food advertisements. Of these 57 advertisements that appeared during this time, 12 included a web address. While only 21 per cent (n=12) of all food advertising during children's television programming includes a web address, a large number of these advertisements (8 out of 12 advertisements) included a link to the product's branded website. A high number of these branded websites (7 out of these 8 branded websites) also contain the product's Facebook link.

This means when advertisements link to the web, they usually include a Facebook link. From 2015, Kellogg's started redirecting visitors from myspecialk.com.au to kelloggs.com.au, in order to introduce consumers to Kellogg's wide range of products such as Kellogg's All-Bran. Therefore, this study has included and analysed the content of both the myspecialk.com.au and kelloggs.com.au websites. Hence, the final sample includes a total of 22 food company websites and Facebook pages in the analysis (because some brands' websites direct visitors to their Facebook sites and vice versa).

To improve the validity of the research, I triangulated the study by analysing online offerings from the firms advertised in the TV sample over the course of 18 months, between 15 January 2014 and 15 June 2015.

8.3.2 Coding

Initially, the coding categories were based on other published articles on internet food advertising (see Brady et al. 2010; Freeman et al. 2014; Henry & Story 2009; Kelly et al. 2008; Lascu et al. 2013; Moore & Rideout 2007; Weber, Story & Harnack 2006). Appendix A shows a summary of the initial coding categories which were based on other published articles on internet food advertising. These were developed thus because, where previous related studies are available, generating categories from theory or previous studies is useful for supporting the assembly and comparison of research findings across multiple studies (Berg 2007; Zhang & Wildemuth 2005). Additional codes also emerged from reading and analysing the collected media data for the study. These additional codes include: events; recipes; links to social networking websites; new product launch; taste; links to other food websites; convenience; and, history or story of the brand or products. As the coding progressed, the broad categories were revised and refined, and more specific subcategories were developed to provide a bigger picture and to see patterns in the codes. For instance, the coding category ‘Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)’ was expanded into one or more subcategories, such as ‘Corporate Social Responsibility’ and ‘Brand Story’ because the category ‘Corporate Social Responsibility’ seemed too broad. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is the continuing assurance by businesses that they will act morally and contribute to financial growth while refining the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as the local community and society at large. Companies use storytelling as a CSR tool to engage consumers emotionally with the brand (Watts 2000). Brands often make use of the story or history of the brands which goes beyond companies' CSR activities. On their company websites brands often show stories about how the brands were founded to inform their consumers about who they are and what they are stand for and to make an appeal to tradition]. Companies often use brand stories to establish interactions with their consumers (Wille, Finster & Balke 2014). Data coding took place throughout July 2015.

First, I coded each page of the websites and Facebook pages. Then I identified the marketing techniques present on each page of the websites and Facebook pages. Table 5 shows a summary of marketing techniques which were present on websites and Facebook pages. While some features are exclusive to branded websites (such as website membership), other features are exclusive to branded Facebook pages (such as links to

the branded website). For instance, while signing up to Facebook is prerequisite for any Facebook visitor, to visit a company website, it is not essential to become a website member. A few branded websites offer membership options to their visitors to serve additional marketing purposes, such as sending e-cards to visitors on their birthdays, to establish a long-term relationship with their customers. Therefore, ‘website membership’ is a code in Table 6, which documents the presence of marketing techniques on food and beverage company websites but is not included in Table 7. Similarly, ‘links to branded websites’ is a code in Table 7, which documents the presence of marketing techniques on and Facebook pages, but is not included in Table 6. When certain elements are not present within the branded websites and Facebook pages, then they are coded ‘Nil’ for not present.

Data was imported in a spreadsheet on Microsoft Excel, version 14.6.0, to visualise the presence of different marketing techniques on each of the 12 branded websites and 10 Facebook pages. Data was then analysed by calculating the percentage for each type of marketing technique present on of each of the 12 branded websites and 10 Facebook pages.

8.3.2.1 Target audience

The targeted age groups (i.e. tweens/children, adults and general audience) were identified for each food company website or Facebook page, according to the following criteria:

- a) Children (aged 12 years and under)

Food company websites target children aged 12 years and under by incorporating targeted messages and features into their websites. These websites allow children to play games, chat with their friends, watch television advertisements, videos, and take part in polls and quizzes to win prizes or receive coupons (Borzekowski 2014; Harris, Schwartz & Brownell 2010). It should be noted that that Australian tweens spend a lot of time online and using screen-based devices, much of which is unsupervised, and Facebook has been found to be one of the popular SNSs among tweens, despite Facebook’s requirement that users be aged over 13 years (Hoh 2017; Rhodes 2017b; Stefano 2013). Therefore, in this

study, food company websites or Facebook pages that contain features appealing to children aged 12 years and under (e.g. visuals, videos, colour, games, quizzes, polls, etc.) were classified as child-targeted websites.

- b) Adult targeted websites: Websites that contain adult-centric content and more factual information such as exercise tips, kilojoule and nutritional information, which appears in small fonts with along with few visuals, are classified as adult targeted websites (Batchelor & Coombs 2014; Hurwitz, Montague & Wartella 2016).
- c) General population: When websites appeal to a range of groups, or with an unclear target audience, and contain a range of content for adults such as recipes, promotions and corporate data, but also include advertising, games, downloadable items and e-cards for children, are classified as general audience targeted websites (Kelly et al. 2008; Moore & Rideout 2007).

8.4 Major findings

In order to maximise brands' impact with advertisement campaigns, companies create and deliver consistent brand messages on multiple media platforms. Brands can reach more potential buyers and gain more valuable exposure at an affordable cost by using both television and online platforms. Companies use coordinated marketing strategies with both branded websites and Facebook pages because the different media have different strengths and weaknesses.

Companies create branded websites because, as Facebook allows its visitors to ask questions and voice their feedback and complaints, any kind of negative comment on Facebook may have negative impact on the brand's reputation. While, on Facebook, marketers have to abide by Facebook's terms and conditions, marketers have full control on the operation of their company website. Consumers rely on a company's website more than its Facebook page for sourcing information about a new product or a brand. Research (see Digital Content Next 2017) suggests that 45 per cent of consumers consider social

media as a less trustworthy channel than company websites for attaining reliable information.

Companies also create their Facebook pages because creating a Facebook page is more cost-effective than creating a branded website. Companies are required to hire a firm or an efficient employee to create and maintain a business website, while Facebook pages are easy to set up and are mostly free. Moreover, customers do not expect regular updates or the latest news about a product or service on the company's Facebook page. Therefore, Facebook involves low commitment from the companies (Brandtzaeg & Haugstveit 2014).

Table 5. shows a summary of the marketing features that were identified on all food product websites and all branded Facebook pages (n=22). As mentioned in the chapter 2 Context and concepts, this study also suggests that the majority of the sites promoted on television during C-rated programs are targeted to adults (70%), followed by those targeting both adults and children (30%). None of these websites or Facebook pages is only appealing to children or tweens.

All branded websites and Facebook pages examined in this research contain images (e.g. info graphics, promotional photos, etc.) and brand identifiers (e.g. product package, food item, brand logo). Brand logos were the most visible, appearing in 100 per cent of the branded websites and Facebook pages. Marketers use brand logos to draw consumers' attention and allow customers to help them recognise and remember the brand instantly (Arcus & Aron 2013, pp. 106–7).

Table 3. Embedded web addresses in the television advertisements

Embedded web addresses in the television advertisements
myspecialk.com.au ⁱ
twix.com
coffeclub.com.au
luvaduck.com.au
subway.com.au
calypsomango.com.au
pizzahut.com.au
fiveam.com.au
facebook.com/McDonaldsAU
facebook.com/RedRoosterAU
facebook.com/GatoradeAustralia
facebook.com/SpecialKAustralia

Table 4. Websites included in the study

Websites included in the study	
twix.com	facebook.com/twix.us/
myspecialk.com.au	facebook.com/SpecialKAustralia
coffeclub.com.au	facebook.com/tccau/
mcdonalds.com.au	facebook.com/McDonaldsAU
subway.com.au	facebook.com/SubwayAustralia
calypsomango.com.au	facebook.com/CalypsoMangoes
redrooster.com.au	facebook.com/RedRoosterAU
gatorade.com.au	facebook.com/GatoradeAustralia
pizzahut.com.au	facebook.com/pizzahutaustralia
fiveam.com.au	facebook.com/fiveamorganics
luvaduck.com.au	
kelloggs.com.au	

Table 5. Marketing techniques present on websites and Facebook pages

Marketing techniques present on Web sites and Facebook pages (n = 22)		
Marketing techniques	n	%
Logo or product symbols	22	100%
Health claims	15	68%
Viral marketing	15	68%
Videos	14	64%
Corporate social responsibility	14	64%
Links to social networking websites	13	59%
News feed	12	55%
Television commercial tie-ins	12	55%
Nutritional information	12	55%
History or story of the brand or products	12	55%
Conversation	11	50%
Competitions or contests	11	50%
Greetings	11	50%
Age blocks	11	50%
Events	11	50%
New product launch	10	45%
Sponsorships	10	45%
Vouchers or offers	8	36%
Special price promotions	7	32%
Television commercial picture	7	32%
Recipes	7	32%
Apps	7	32%
Taste	6	27%
Presence of celebrities or athletes	5	23%
Surveys	5	23%
Rewards to members	5	23%
Links to other food websites	5	23%
Personal challenges	4	18%
Movie tie-ins	4	18%
Fun or humour	2	10%

Advergaming	2	10%
Branded or cartoon characters	1	5%
Parental consent required	1	5%
Convenience	1	5%

Consistent with previous findings (see Brady et al. 2010; Freeman et al. 2014; Henry & Story 2009; Kelly et al. 2008; Lascu et al. 2013; Moore & Rideout 2007; Weber, Story & Harnack 2006) in Australia and internationally, this study found that more than 60 per cent of the branded websites and Facebook pages contain health claims (68%), viral marketing (68%), videos (64%) and information about the company's CSR initiatives (64%). Viral marketing induces site visitors to pass on an email to friends containing a brand-related greeting (e-card) or invitation to visit the website. This occurred in 68 per cent of all branded websites and Facebook pages in the study sample. On Subway's website, consumers are offered the option of referring the SUBWAY® Eat Fresh Club to a friend by clicking on the 'refer a friend' link on the website to become members of the SUBWAY® Eat Fresh Club. On the kelloggs.com.au website, consumers are offered the option of sharing recipes of the meals made using Kellogg's All-Bran products via email or Facebook to spread awareness of the particular brand and to make consumers recognise and relate to the product or service (Moore 2006). Marketers also frequently induce young people with a variety of incentives – for example, contests, prizes and free products – to participate in viral marketing campaigns by passing on brand-related content, often generated by the users themselves. Moreover, consumers can now easily share their experiences with a large number of other people using social networks (Laudon & Traver 2016; McColl 2010).

Manufacturers add health claims in their products, which imply that a relationship exists between a food or one of its components and an aspect of health, to increase the market share of their products (Heasman & Mellentin 2001). For example, on the kelloggs.com.au website, consumers are informed that Kellogg's All-Bran range products keeps their digestive system healthy by including wheat bran fibre into their diet.

Consumers are likely to identify with a company that offers them a positive and meaningful social identity (Bhattacharya & Sen 2003). When consumers are given

information that they trust about a company's level of social responsibility, it affects how they evaluate the company and their purchase intentions. Consumers value CSR and may use it as a purchasing criterion, even when there is not a product parity situation (Mohr & Webb 2005). On Coffeclub.com.au as a part their CSR programs, The Coffee Club sponsors charity gala events, such as The Coffee Club Telethon, The Ball and Channel Nine Children's Hospital Telethon to support sick children.

Food and beverage companies embed interactive components such as games and videos in their websites to create 'branded environments' that appeal to children (Kent et al. 2013), drawing their attention and also getting them engaged. On Luvaduck.com.au, Luv-a-Duck uploads videos with different recipes using Luv-a-Duck and explains how to cook Luv-a-Duck, such the following two-minute video: *How to Barbecue a Whole Duck Using a Roasting Pan*.

Of the branded websites and Facebook pages analysed, 59 per cent linked their branded websites and Facebook pages to other SNS (59%). By directing consumers to other websites or SNS, marketers keep consumers updated about new products or services, special offers or discounts, and competitions. These channels offer marketers the opportunity of getting closer to customers and achieving an in-depth, long-term level of relationship via social media (Experian Marketing Services 2012). For example, Pizzahut.com.au directs its visitors to a number of SNS such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube.

More than half of the analysed branded websites and Facebook pages included news feeds (55%), television commercials (55%), brand history or story (55%) and nutrition information (55%) for food products. Companies post corporate news feeds on their websites and Facebook pages to enhance brand awareness and recognition (Green 2013). For example, the Myspecialk.com.au company website directs its visitors to Kelloggs.com.au, which contains company news. On Pizzahut.com.au, consumers are directed to the brand's YouTube channel, which contains Pizza Hut television commercials.

In addition to health claims, consumers are exposed throughout the websites to nutritional claims about individual products, which aim to educate site visitors about the nutritional qualities of their brands. For example, on Subway's site, subway.com.au, consumers can find brand-related nutritional details (e.g. ingredients and nutrition facts) in order to market Subway products as healthy options.

To involve audiences more deeply in their goals and objectives, companies use brand stories as part of their CSR communication strategy (Diehl et al. 2016). Brand stories entertain consumers and keep them engaged. Stories mesmerise people and consumers often recall stories more easily than facts. By telling a story and engaging the reader, a storyteller can actually earn the reader's trust. Therefore, companies use brand stories to make the products look trustworthy (Lundqvist et al. 2013). For example, on Coffeclub.com.au, The Coffee Club shares its story, which includes the company's history, mission, inspiration, goals, audience and the reason for being in business.

Half of the branded websites and Facebook pages contains greetings, age blocks, information about events and allowed their visitors to take part in a contest offered by the brands as well as interact with the page or website administrators, or with other members, by responding directly to user posts, liking and replying to user comments, or sharing user posts and competitions, as a part of their social media marketing. For example, on mcdonalds.com.au, McDonald's offers their Monopoly game contest to its website visitors. Companies greet their website visitors on special occasions such as Christmas, to make them feel special. By doing so, companies establish an emotional connection with their faithful visitors on a more personal level and generate positive responses from them when they next visit their sites. On Redrooster.com.au, for example, Red Rooster offers customers who sign up to their website a free meal on their birthdays. While all branded Facebook page contain age blocks, only one company website contains an age block. On twix.com the company included an age disclaimer and mentions that the company promotes its product only to people aged 13 or over. Gatorade.com.au provides information about Triathlon Series 2015/16 match event.

A similar percentage of all branded websites and Facebook pages offers their consumers an option of initiating a conversation with the brand. In this study, 'conversation' refers

to the conversation between the website administrator and visitor and also includes postings by both visitors and the administrators. This conversation is a consistent multichannel communication experience, which will increase the engagement that organisations have with consumers on an individual level (Experian Marketing Services 2012). On Twix.com, Twix shares its Instagram handles to encourage its visitors to engage in the conversation on Instagram or Twitter by simply clicking on the slides.

Of all the branded websites and Facebook pages 45 per cent offered sponsorship, and new product launch-related information, aimed at generating excitement around the product or service, and to persuade people to buy into it. Companies use sports sponsorship for creating promotional opportunities, improving community relations, fostering favourable brand and company associations, creating entertainment opportunities, and gaining publicity (Jobber & Ellis-Chadwick 2012). For example, Gatorade.com.au provides news about Gatorade's sponsorship of the Australian Rules Football League (AFL). Companies use FB announcements to tap into the friend list of someone who's liked one's FB page. This lets companies' Facebook fans and fans' personal friends know about the new products. On Redrooster.com.au, Red Rooster announced launching their new their product crispy chicken wings on their website. Likewise, on Mcdonalds.com.au, McDonald's also announced introducing their new product, the New Grand Big Mac on their website. Food and beverage sponsorship of sport is widespread (Kelly, Baur et al. 2010).

Further, more than 30 per cent of all branded websites and Facebook pages include apps (32%), recipes (32%), vouchers and offers (36%), special price promotions (32%), and television commercial pictures (32%). Many fast-food restaurant companies are now launching mobile applications to enhance the shopping experience of customers by providing them all the product information in detail. These apps are allowing customers to search for products and quickly place their orders from online stores, just by one simple click on their smartphones or tablets. Thus, companies are appealing to more and more customers to select the best deals using their mobile apps (Inukollu et al. 2014), to increase sales by making their offerings quick, convenient and attainable to their customers. For example, Redrooster.com.au offers Red Royalty app to its consumers.

Twix.com contains picture of a Twix commercial to hold children's attention for a longer period of time than 30 seconds television advertisements.

Marketers use recipes to increase their sales volumes by increasing the frequency of use of the product (Sandhusen 2000, p. 248). For example, on Luvaduck.com.au, Luv-a-Duck shares different recipes on its websites with visitors. Products such as fast food, which may be low-involvement for many consumers, often use sales promotions such as coupons because, typically, fast foods are relatively inexpensive and pose a low risk to the buyer if they do not like the product after purchasing (n.a. 2015). Hence, marketers distribute discount vouchers and offer coupons to ensure consumers' repeated visits to their site to collect the coupons (Sweeney 2008, p. 68). For example, on Pizzahut.com.au, visitors can get a coupon for large Pizzas + 3 Sides for \$35. Marketers also increase their sales volumes through special price promotions (Smith 2011, p. 132). For example, on Subway.com.au, Subway offers any two wraps for \$10.

Almost a quarter of the branded websites and Facebook pages contain products' taste-related information (27%); offer membership rewards (23%), include surveys, feature celebrities or athletes (23%); and include links to other products by the same manufacturer (23%) in order to extend visitors' website experience. Twenty-seven per cent of the branded websites and Facebook pages shares the products' taste- or flavour-related information on their branded websites and Facebook pages. On kelloggs.com.au, a reference to the taste of Kellogg's All-Bran's® Fibre-Filled Flavours range of products can be seen.

With the information gained from surveys, marketers may identify ways to gain competitive advantage through product improvements or new product development (McGaughey & Mason 1998). For example, on Subway.com.au, Subway offers a customer satisfaction survey to its consumers to help improve their products and services. Customers are asked to select the store they visited, using an electronic store locator, and provide their feedback about their selected store. Marketers customise a visitor's experience through membership opportunities, to prompt customer's repeat and prolonged website experience – websites even offer rewards to its members. For example, on Redrooster.com.au, visitors can receive \$5 vouchers by registering as a member.

Brands use celebrities to endorse their products to influence consumer brand loyalty, grab an audience's attention more easily, and lead consumers to more positively associate with their products and brands (Bragg et al. 2016). On Luvaduck.com.au, former MasterChef contestant Justine Schofield promotes Luv-a-Duck because viewers consider the celebrity as a role model and would trust the brand endorsed by their role models (Zipporah & Mberia 2014).

Marketers commonly direct visitors to the web pages of different products and brands made by the same manufacturer. By directing visitors to other websites, marketers get the chance to extend their brand involvement. While links to other websites give marketers the chance to prolong their brand presence, visitors also have the opportunity to customise their site experience (Moore 2006). For example, Myspecialk.com.au company website directs its visitors to Kelloggs.com to increase customers' brand familiarity.

A further 18 per cent of the branded websites and Facebook pages offer personal challenges to the consumer and contain movie tie-ins. Marketers offer personal challenges to the consumer to increase sales volume by attracting new customers and revive inactive customers. On kelloggs.com.au, Kellogg offers a 7-Day Weight-Loss Challenge to its visitors to increase sales volume by attracting new customers, revive inactive customers and also to customise the site experience for them. Kellogg's All-Bran, for example, is targeting a niche market of women who are keen to achieve a perfect, slim body to be beautiful by consuming diet foods. By offering them personal challenges, the brand is using emotional appeal to attract the attention or interest of consumers and influence their feelings towards the product (Belch & Belch 2004). On facebook.com/tccau, The Coffee Club had offered ticket giveaways of the movie called *The Water Diviner* to its consumers and uploaded a trailer of the movie. Similarly, by offering its consumers a chance to win movie passes by purchasing the product, Twix aims to increase its sales volume.

Previous chapters (see Chapters 4 to 7) have demonstrated that advertisers commonly use health, humour, taste, price and convenience as the themes in television food advertisements. Intriguingly, the use of themes is less common on the websites included in this study. Perhaps this is because a 15- or 30-second advertisement allows marketers

to communicate a key theme with their consumers. This key theme works as an identity of the advertised product to its consumers. Consumers' visits to branded websites and Facebook pages are more prolonged. Therefore, branded websites and Facebook pages allow marketers to incorporate a number of strategies to promote their products. Of the websites and Facebook pages studied, 10 per cent contained emotive appeals, often relating to fun and humour associated with the product, or advergaming.

Humour is not a common marketing technique in this study where it was present in 10 per cent of the websites. On twix.com, visitors can watch the brand's humour-themed advertisement (see Chapter 7 for more detail). Twix establishes Twix's duality as its point of difference using humorous slogans '*Twix: Try Both and Pick a Side*' on its website, twix.com. mcdonalds.com.au contains the McDonald's 'emlins' app, which has been developed for children aged 4–8. This is an advergaming designed for young children that advertises Happy Meals. The app features 'Happy', a cartoon character based on the Happy Meal box with large expressive eyes, a friendly smile, and arms and legs. The character is easily identifiable as a Happy Meal Box. If children click on the picture of 'emlins' app, it directs them to another webpage where they are exposed to the kid's menu, as well a wide range of Happy Meal Toys. Advergaming is a particular form of interactive video games used by marketers to deliver embedded advertising messages to consumers (Takran & Ylmaz 2015, p. 88). Premiums establish an emotional bond between a child and the brand (McCarthy 2016). A recent study (see Dixon et al. 2017), involving 900 Australian children aged 5–9 years conducted by Cancer Council Victoria, confirms that offering free toys with fast-food meals forms a positive relationship with children's buying behaviour and that children are more likely to choose a meal if it was tied to a free character toy.

Only 5% of branded websites and Facebook pages contained claims about the products' convenience, and parental consent required to enter the website. By repeating its slogan *Luv-a-Duck – Easy done and delicious!* on luvaduck.com.au Luv-a-Duck is promoting its product as convenient one. No sites included in this study, with the exception of twix.com, request any information at all from those who want to peruse the site or who want to watch the TV commercials embedded in the site (from either adults or children); twix.com does an age check (by asking for the visitor's birthday). twix.com directs its

visitors to mars.com website; this website also contains a note for parents to let them know that Twix only promotes its products to people aged 13 and over, because this is the age at which it is believed that people can make informed choices. The note states:

Our food products are not advertised in other media in an effort to interest children under 13 in our websites. However, Mars has also implemented reasonable methods to restrict the ability of children under 13 to download screensavers and games or access other features on certain sites, consistent with our commitment to direct our messages primarily to adults or teens.

To see how the findings of the current study fit in with the work that has been done in this field and also to recognise the most recent changes that have occurred in the branded Facebook pages in Australia, the following paragraphs will compare Kelly et al.'s (2008) findings with those of the current study. As mentioned earlier, data was collected for this study between 15 January 2014 and 15 June 2015.

From 2008 to 2015 (see Kelly et al. 2008) the use of offering rewards to members decreased by 7 per cent (from 30.8% in 2008 to 23% in 2015) in Australia. Perhaps this is due to the fact that to get membership rewards, customers are required to provide their personal information to brands and the brands rely on this data to reach consumers quickly and easily. This is why brands pay social networks to control what their current and potential customers (ANA 2017) will see in their feeds. This is creating a high and growing level of distrust among consumers about brands' motives behind offering them rewards for membership, which is why, in developed countries, consumers are choosing privacy over rewards (Kantar TNS 2017).

There was a significant increase in the use of health claims (from 14.3% in 2008 to 68% in 2015) and the incorporation of television commercials in food-related websites (from 20.2% in 2008 to 55% in 2015) in Australia. A possible explanation for the rise in the percentage of television commercials present in the websites and Facebook pages is that, rather than capturing children's attention for 30 seconds, the advertiser may now engage children for extended periods in this potentially powerful, interactive medium. Television

advertisements could now be viewed on websites that are frequently sponsored by the advertised companies (Moore 2006). In contrast to these previous and recent Australian studies (see Freeman et al. 2014; Kelly et al. 2008), use of any cartoon or spokes character was found on only one website included in the current study. Only McDonald's website contains a clickable image of little fluffy Emlings Characters that take website visitors to McDonald's happy meal landing page which is a page full of animated characters.

On 67% per cent of the branded websites (see Table 6), companies offer website membership to their website visitors to encourage repeat and prolonged visits by children (and tweens) to the website (see Kelly et al. 2010; Kervin, Jones & Mantei 2012). For example, on Redrooster.com.au, visitors can register as a member. None of the branded websites contain movie-tie ins (see Table 6).

Table 6. Marketing techniques present on websites

Marketing techniques present on websites (n = 12)		
Marketing techniques	n	%
Logo or product symbols	12	100%
Links to social networking websites	8	67%
Website membership	8	67%
Viral marketing	7	58%
Corporate social responsibility	7	58%
History or story of the brand or products	7	58%
Health claims	6	50%
Nutritional information	6	50%
Videos	5	42%
News feed	5	42%
Television commercial tie-ins	5	42%
Recipes	5	42%
Taste	5	42%
Rewards to members	4	33%
New product launch	3	25%
Special price promotions	3	25%
Sponsorships	3	25%

Presence of celebrities or athletes	3	25%
Television commercial picture	3	25%
Competitions or contests	2	17%
Vouchers or offers	2	17%
Apps	2	17%
Links to other food websites	2	17%
Personal challenges	2	17%
Advergaming	2	17%
Surveys	1	8%
Branded or cartoon characters	1	8%
Conversation	1	8%
Fun or humour	1	8%
Parental consent required	1	8%
Age blocks	1	8%
Convenience	1	8%
Greetings	1	8%
Events	1	8%
Movie tie-ins	Nil	0%

8.4.1 Marketing on branded Facebook pages

Seventy-eight per cent of children aged between 8 and 9 years old, and 92 per cent of children aged between 10 and 11 years old, use a social network such as YouTube, Moshi Monsters, Club Penguin, Facebook and Stardoll (ACMA 2013b). With the increasing growth, popularity and use of various social media applications, these can be classified into more specific categories, determined by features such as content communities (e.g. YouTube), SNS (e.g. Facebook, MySpace), microblogging (e.g. Twitter) and virtual social worlds (e.g. Second Life) (Ferguson 2008; Kaplan & Haenlein 2010; Mangold & Faulds 2009). However, one study (see Stefano 2013) suggests that, among the various SNS, Facebook in particular has developed as the primary gathering place of communication for tweens. The study confirms that a quarter of Australian children aged between 8 and 12 use Facebook (Stefano 2013). With its increasing popularity, Facebook

is persuading more and more young users to join to avoid the risk of social isolation from their peers (Boyd 2007; Tufekci 2008).

The previous section has discussed the marketers' combined efforts on branded websites and branded Facebook pages of food product companies. The question remains, however, why food product companies are currently advertising on SNS. Therefore, it is worthwhile to investigate why they use social media as a marketing tool, and what advantages a Facebook presence might have over more traditional marketing strategies (Waters et al. 2011).

Consumers use social media to interact with their friends and family. Online consumer engagement means the communications of consumers with one another, or with a business or brand, using online media (Dhaoui 2014). On Facebook, brand marketers create branded pages to initiate two-way communication between the brand and its consumers (Bowen & Ozuem 2015). Three different kinds of engagement happen when a consumer visits a branded Facebook page, namely cognitive, emotional and behavioural engagement. For example, consumers can stay attentive to a brand's post on their timelines (cognitively engaged), supporting the brand against criticisms from other consumers (emotionally engaged), and communicating with brand posts on a weekly basis (behaviourally engaged) (Zanette & Zamith Brito 2015). Brands use strategies to get involved in the conversations where consumers are having them – on social media – in order to influence consumers' purchase decisions and to establish a long-term relationship with consumers (Bowen & Ozuem 2015).

Social media has created opportunities for targeting potential customers, segmenting audiences by variables such as demographics and interests, on the basis of the information that advertisers acquire from their target consumers and consumers' personal contacts, using various applications and platforms (Boyd & Ellison 2010). When they create an advertisement, advertisers are required to set an age target – a minimum and maximum age in the demographic targeting options. The lowest age minimum is 13. Because Facebook requires that users be at least 13 years old before they can create an account, 100 per cent of the Facebook pages examined in this research have an age check. However, children can easily join Facebook by lying about their age during registration. Facebook's Terms of Service (ToS) require people to be at least 13 years old before they

can join the site. Children lie about their age to gain access to Facebook. In fact, research suggests that parents (see Hargittai, Schultz & Palfrey 2011) on many occasions allow their children to violate ToS requirements that restrict access based on age. Parents find it acceptable for their child to violate Facebook’s minimum age requirement in order to get access. Further, many parents believe that it is acceptable for children to use Facebook for educational purposes and for the purpose of communicating with parents, other family members, and friends. As a result, children are inadvertently being exposed to advertisements on social media that do not specifically ‘target’ them. Children’s exposure to such age-inappropriate marketing content poses risks for tweens because, even if they understand the persuasive intent, due to their limited cognitive skill, they are often still subject to advertising’s emotional and unconscious influence (John 1999). Facebook uses web browsing data to deliver targeted advertisements. In this context, when a tweenage child searches for something online – say, ‘fast-food deals in Sydney’ – it is not unusual for ingoing fast-food deals in Sydney to be visible on every site, including Facebook that he/she visits thereafter for the next few days. Thus, Facebook also collects browsing data to create targeted ads. This makes Facebook the perfect platform to deliver an unlimited amount of marketing messages to tweens, which are designed to influence their purchase decisions, engage with brands, and suggest these same brands to friends.

This study has assessed the nature of food and beverage marketing techniques on Facebook. A content analysis of the marketing techniques used by the 10 food- and beverage-brand Facebook pages in Australia was conducted. Table 7 shows a summary of the marketing features that were identified on all branded Facebook pages (n=10).

Table 7. Marketing techniques present on Facebook pages

Marketing techniques present on Facebook pages (n = 10)		
Marketing techniques	n	%
Logo or product symbols	10	100%
Greeting	10	100%
Age blocks	10	100%
Conversation	10	100%

Events	10	100%
Competitions or contests	9	90%
Health claims	9	90%
Videos	9	90%
Link to branded website	9	90%
Viral marketing	8	80%
News feed	7	70%
Television commercial tie-ins	7	70%
Corporate social responsibility	7	70%
New product launch	7	70%
Sponsorships Conversation	7	70%
Vouchers or offers	6	60%
Apps	5	50%
History or story of the brand or products	5	50%
Links to social networking websites	5	50%
Special price promotions	4	40%
Surveys	4	40%
Television commercial picture	4	40%
Movie tie-ins	4	40%
Links to other food websites	3	30%
Personal challenges	2	20%
Recipes	2	20%
Presence of celebrities or athletes	2	20%
Nutritional information	6	20%
Fun or humour	1	10%
Taste	1	10%
Rewards to members	1	10%
Parental consent required	Nil	0%
Convenience	Nil	0%
Advergaming	Nil	0%
Branded or cartoon characters	Nil	0%

Similar to the branded websites, all Facebook pages included in this study aim to generate conversation and they contain photographs and branding elements such as logos, trademarks, slogans and brand colours. Since Facebook is primarily an interactive platform, unlike the branded websites, 100 per cent of the Facebook pages greet their consumers and create conversations targeting the consumers to ensure better consumer engagement. Unlike the branded websites, Facebook pages offer the event button to its members. Therefore, all Facebook pages examined in this research promote marketing events through their branded Facebook page. By allowing consumers to join, like or comment on the company page, event marketers are actually increasing their brand's exposure. As Facebook requires that users be at least 13 years old before they can create an account, 100 per cent of Facebook pages examined in this research have an age check. However, children can easily join Facebook by lying about their age to during registration on Facebook.

As part of their social media marketing techniques to attract the general population, 90 per cent of the pages include competitions, videos, health claims and links to branded websites. Social networks have created wide platforms for viral online recommendations (Smock et al. 2011). Advertisers use viral marketing because viral message senders commonly experience positive emotions (e.g. happy, excited, satisfied) when they pass along viral messages created by advertisers to contacts in their email lists (Phelps et al. 2004). The current study found that 80 per cent of the Facebook pages included in this study used viral marketing, which allowed their visitors to invite a friend to like the page.

Seventy per cent of the pages offer reward-related features (CSR and sponsorship), news feeds and television commercials, and new product launch-related information. Sixty per cent of the pages include vouchers and offers. Half of the pages (50%) include a history or story of the brand or product, apps, events and links to other social networking websites. A further 40 per cent of the pages include television commercial pictures, surveys or polls and special price promotions as part of their social media marketing efforts. Thirty per cent of the pages include links to other food products' websites of the same brand. Not more than 20 per cent of the pages include nutritional information, personal challenges, recipes, humorous content, pictures of celebrities' nutritional information and rewards to members.

None of the Facebook pages examined in this research contain advergames and branded or cartoon characters, nor do any ask for parental consent from their visitors.

8.5 Discussion and conclusion

To date in Australia, there has been only one major study, which was conducted by Freeman et al. (2014) and described the amount, reach and nature of EDNP food and beverage marketing on Facebook. The study looked at the marketing features used by the most popular food- and beverage-brand Facebook pages in Australia. Therefore, in order to see how the findings of the current study fit in with work that has previously been done in this field, and also to recognise the most recent changes in branded Facebook pages in Australia, the following paragraphs will be comparing Freeman et al.'s (2014) findings with those of the current study. Freeman et al. (2014) collected data during 2013 and this study collected data from the branded Facebook pages between January 2014 and January 2015.

While from 2013 (see Freeman et al. 2014) to 2015 (i.e. the current study), there was an increase in the use of vouchers or offers (from 44.4% in 2013 to 60% in 2015), special price promotions (from 29.6% in 2013 to 40% in 2015), and CSR initiatives (from 63.0% in 2013 to 70% in 2015) in branded Facebook pages in Australia, there was a significant decrease in the inclusion of apps and surveys or polls (from 70.4% in 2013 to 50% in 2015) and apps (from 88.9% in 2013 to 50% in 2015) in these websites. This result may be explained by the fact that marketers initiate price special promotions – such as vouchers or offers, price cuts or special deals – to attract shoppers or customers from other stores and to increase sales revenue (Gamliel & Herstein 2011). In addition, as mentioned in the Chapter 2 context and concepts, CSR maximises a firm's economic benefits by generating positive attitudes amongst consumers towards the product, and by increasing consumers' purchase intention and willingness to pay (Bhattacharya & Sen 2001; Brown et al. 2006; Handelman & Arnold 1999; Osterhus 1997). A possible explanation for the drop in the percentage use of apps is that, although one in two app users use the app before making purchase decisions, one in four apps installed in any consumer's smartphone remain unused (Tiongson 2015).

However, no explanation has been found about the reason behind the significant drop in the percentage use of surveys or polls. It is important to note that, in Freeman et al.'s (2014) study, there was no category named 'survey'; in their study, they included a category called 'quizzes or polls'. In the current study, 'survey and poll' have been analysed under the same category because 'polls and quizzes' serve the same purpose for the brands – initiating conversations between brands and consumers. This could be the reason behind the inconsistency in the research findings. From 2013 to 2015, the use of competitions (from 88.9% in 2013 to 90% in 2015), videos (from 85.2% in 2013 to 90% in 2015) and links (from 85.2% in 2013 to 90% in 2015) remained almost unchanged.

In contrast to the previous study, the current study suggests that companies have decreased the use of branded characters significantly (from 48.1% in 2013 to 10% in 2015) on their Facebook pages. No Facebook page, with the exception of Subway, contains one post with an animated character. Contrary to current assumptions, a recent study by the Baker IDI Heart and Diabetes Institute (see Boelsen-Robinson, Backholer & Peeters 2015) confirmed that junk-food companies use flash animation, games and music in their mobile applications, Facebook pages and branded websites. The inconsistency of the findings between the current study and the Boelsen-Robinson, Backholer and Peeters (2015) study are due to differences between the studies in terms of their purposes and data collection requirements. Their study analysed only three brands and the limited sample size might contribute to an explanation of such contradictory findings. Furthermore, their study's aim was to examine the new media digital marketing strategies of the highest-selling brands in Australia for the product categories of fast-food outlets, confectionery and soft drinks, and these three brands were identified via the Global Market Database. The current chapter also aims to develop expert patterns or phenomena from the marketing content that are used in both branded websites and Facebook pages; the brands were selected based on their web addresses, which were included in food advertising during children's television programming in my sample.

From 2013 to 2015, there was a significant increase in the use of events (from 40.7% in 2014 to 100% in 2015) by the food companies on Facebook. This is perhaps due to the fact that, with its low costs and large audiences, Facebook allows marketers to create

more and more events for their consumers – to notify them about these events as well as their CSR activities. For example, McDonald’s has created a sales promotion event called McDonald’s Pop-Up Lunch Box, as well as the charity fundraising event McHappy Day on its Facebook Page.

From 2013 (see Freeman et al. 2014) to 2015, there was a decrease in the inclusion of advergames (from 33.3% in 2013 to 10% in 2015) and sponsorship (from 77.8% in 2013 to 70% in 2015) in branded Facebook pages in Australia. None of the branded Facebook pages examined in this study, with the exception of McDonalds’ Facebook page, contains advergames. A possible explanation for this drop in percentage use of advergames is that, on advergaming sites, players encounter different branded elements or characters. Companies have significantly reduced the integration of advergames into their websites, probably because exposure to too many advertisements on advergaming sites can turn loyal consumers away; therefore, companies will not benefit from too many games (Tournè 2015). A possible explanation for drop in percentage use of sponsorship on Facebook is that brands use social media and technology for sponsorship activations to generate brand awareness and increase loyalty through effective sponsorship, connecting with their consumers during the events (ANA 2017). The decline in the amount of time people spend on Facebook (Nielsen 2017), due to the availability of other social platforms, and the consequent decline of organic reach¹⁴ on Facebook (Dailey 2016) means that the event, as well as the exposure, will get less exposure on Facebook than previously. This means that brands will not get the same amount of exposure from sponsorship it used to in the past.

All the websites and Facebook pages examined in this research contain images (e.g. infographics, promotional photos, etc.) and brand identifiers (e.g. product packaging, food items, brand logos). The major function of brand identifiers, such as logos, is to ensure that a consumer recalls (Moore 2006) the brand name. Continuous exposure to brand logos promotes brand recall. Brand recognition stimulates consumers’ purchase decisions and taste preferences (Girard, Anitsal & Anitsal 2013; Macdonald & Sharp

¹⁴ Organic reach is the number of unique individuals who see a specific post from a company page on their news feeds, tickers or directly on their pages for free (Boland 2014).

2000). Hence, children mostly prefer branded food over non-branded food (Elliott, Den Hoed & Conlon 2013).

Marketers use the same content, in different frequencies and through different channels, to appeal to or reach their target markets, because consumers engage differently to the same advertisement when presented in a different medium. For example, an advertisement incorporated into a Facebook brand page scored higher on emotional engagement versus on TV or a corporate website (Genco & Metz 2011). Even though both branded websites and Facebook pages may use the same strategies for the same brands, the goals vary. This is especially true when comparing branded websites and Facebook pages. Certain techniques are more prevalent on Facebook pages than company websites and vice versa.

Branded websites are primarily informational in nature. On branded websites, visitors want information and to build a close relationship with brands. The main aim of branded websites is to build trust, educating and empowering consumers (Smith 2015b). Therefore, on branded websites, marketers focus on the functional features of the product. Likewise, the current study found that the majority of branded websites included in this study contain the nutritional information of products more commonly than the branded Facebook pages (see Table 6 and 7).

With branded Facebook pages, it is nothing like that. Facebook is an interactive marketing tool. When people hit a branded Facebook page, they are after gaining social benefits, social enhancement, entertainment and economic benefits by engaging with the Facebook community. Offering competitions and contests are ways to attract customers towards the brand and give them satisfaction. Therefore, the majority of the Facebook pages included in this study allow their visitors to participate in competitions and contests offered on the branded Facebook pages. The ultimate goal of branded Facebook pages is to increase sales volume by creating an emotional connection (Genco & Metz 2011) with consumers to make them want to purchase your products or services. In sum, on Facebook, marketers simply need to meet the basic needs of being useful, humorous and shareable. Facebook offers consumers the opportunity to engage with a brand by encouraging them to 'Like' the brand's page on Facebook. Facebook offers organisations the ability to create their

own brand communities, for customers to contribute their ideas, opinions and experiences. Customers also annotate, transform and recirculate various types of social media content in their brand communities. Thus, through Facebook, customers can become and stay connected with a specific brand. For example, Facebook fan pages have proven to be highly successful in creating strong relationships between organisations and their customers (Jahn & Kunz 2012).

In sum, this study shows that coordinated advertising now occurs across media platforms, from television to online and vice versa; and from company websites to social networking websites and vice versa. For example, The Coffee Club advertisement included its branded website address, which is linked directly to the brand's Facebook page. One can visit its Facebook page by simply clicking the Facebook button on its website. Again, its Facebook page contains The Coffee Club television commercial. This chapter also confirms the findings that advertisers commonly use taste, price, convenience, freshness and health-related claims, and appeals to promote their products not only on television but also on websites. The majority of all branded websites and Facebook pages targeted adults specifically (70%). As mentioned in the literature (see Miyazaki, Stanaland & Lwin 2009), this study also suggests that food company websites promoted during children's television programming are full of advertisements, contests, social networking activities and membership in order to engage in such activities; children have to register themselves as members by giving the companies their name, address, age email address and other personal information.

The increasing use of such marketing practices has introduced new areas of concerns regarding online privacy and viral marketing. The Privacy Act 1988 (Cth) (the Privacy Act) regulates unauthorised production and publication of an individual's personal information (which includes sensitive and health information) by companies, businesses and organisations. Most of this information is outlined in the 13 Australian Privacy Principles (APPs). Although the Privacy Act does not specify an age after which individuals can make their own decisions about their own personal information, under this Act, an individual aged under 15 is believed not to have ability to consent (Australian Privacy Principles 2015). Clearly, more protection for children under 15 is needed in

Australia and the increasing use of such marketing techniques is a divisive threat to our children's safety.

To restrict such marketing practices, policymakers need to know about the nature and extent of food advertisements on the internet – analysing food companies' websites allows for a more precise description of children's actual exposure to these marketing practices. The lack of relevant data regarding the content and nature of online marketing tactics is also one of the major problems for policymakers because, without access to enough data, it is difficult for policymakers to formulate any policy regarding online marketing to children (Marketing et al. 2006). As such, this study has provided relevant data regarding the content and nature of online marketing tactics so that policymakers can formulate new policies regarding online marketing to children.

This chapter has provided updated data on the techniques that the advertisers are using on free-to-air Australian television, websites and SNS in order to construct the tweenage market. For a better understanding about the construction and the issues regarding the current industry self-regulatory system, the following chapter will focus on industry self-regulation in Australia.

Chapter 9: Self-Regulation of Food Advertising to Children

9.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to investigate RQ3, namely, how is the self-regulatory system responding to a changing media landscape? This chapter conducts a narrative review of existing studies performed by the food industry, public health researchers, government agencies and non-government organisations. A number of other studies that have evaluated the effects of self-regulation on Australian television food advertising are also included in this chapter. The first section explores the historical background of Australian advertising regulatory arrangements. The second section investigates the actions of public health actors, the government and the food industry to reduce children's exposure to unhealthy food advertising, both on TV and online. The major conclusion reached in this chapter is that the government, public health and the food industry have attempted to respond to the rapid changes within the advertising, marketing and media industries by developing and reviewing advertising codes. However, the chapter concludes self-regulation is failing to protect Australian children from exposure to unhealthy food advertising.

9.2 The historic development of advertising regulation in Australia

During the 1860s, increased employment, followed by increased availability of a wider range of affordable commodities, heightened competition among manufacturers. Advertisers often benefited from increased competition in manufacturers differentiating their brand from their competitors (Crawford 2008, p. 8). Increased deceptive and

misleading advertising practices by patent medicine industry proprietors, during the late 19th and early 20th century, created concerns among the community.¹⁵ Therefore, the members of the advertising industry realised that consumers' confidence in advertising could be achieved by them not making false claims about products or services (Crawford 2008, p. 49). At that time, radio's increasing popularity made it another important advertising medium. The AANA was formed in 1928, as the result of a meeting held by 12 advertisers to uphold high advertising standards and safeguard consumer trust and protection for the best interests of community members. AANA introduced new codes and amended existing codes whenever required so as to uphold the rights and responsibilities of companies and individuals involved in Australia's advertising, marketing and media industries. Similarly, in the following decades, the advertising industry undertook a number of initiatives that contributed to the industry's quest for societal legitimacy.

During the 1940s, post-WWII, government interventions hindered the growth of the Australian advertising industry. The introduction of television in 1956 immensely increased the growth of television advertising expenditure in the 1950s (Crawford 2008, p. 132). After the introduction of television, advertising agencies feared that unnecessary government intervention¹⁶ would damage commercial television and hinder the advertising industry's growth. Hence, the flourishing advertising industry was eager to be recognised as a legitimate creative industry (Crawford 2008, pp. 126–32). However, to ensure that the industry met community standards in relation to the content of advertisements (Griffen-Foley 2014, pp. 258–9), a structure that could regulate all media outlets to act responsibly and ethically was desperately needed. Hence, the Media Council of Australia (MCA) was established in 1967 to represent the interests of nearly all

¹⁵ During the late 19th and early 20th century, patent medicine industry proprietors were the largest advertisers for media outlets (Crawford 2008, p. 13). The lack of regulation enabled patent medicine proprietors to advertise extensively (Crawford 2008, p. 14). While the expanding manufacturing sector provided a solid foundation for advertising, the legitimacy of such was still a matter of question (Crawford 2008). The truth and accuracy of claims made by advertisements has always been a matter of concern among the community.

¹⁶ During the Second World War, while the Government's intention was to encourage citizens' personal savings by limiting their unnecessary consumption, commercial advertising in 1939 was still encouraging people to spend their money on careless consumption such as Christmas or New Year gifts. As a result, the government had gone against the advertisers' efforts to commercialise Christmas when expenditure on unnecessary purchases was not in the national interest. Retailers and newspapers found such government expectations of the advertising industry were unrealistic and they considered it as the government's unnecessary interference in their activities (Crawford 2008, pp. 101–14). Australia needed more workers at the front. As a result, in 1944, the Commonwealth implemented industrial conscription, which made it compulsory for industry workers, including advertising industry workers, to enlist their names, leave their jobs and work under military law in the field of war, whenever it was required. By 1943, advertising agencies saw a reduction of their agencies by almost 50 per cent (Crawford 2008, pp. 106–15).

conventional media outlets by ensuring that all media outlets acted responsibly and ethically. It was responsible for the administration of a range of self-regulatory codes and a system of accreditation for advertising agencies.

Media outlets used to sell advertising space to the advertisers through advertisement agencies and, in return, these agencies received commissions from the media outlets. However, investigations revealed that the MCA was serving their own interest by accrediting more financially affluent organisations, which were able to trade on credit. Thus, while commercial publishers' and broadcasters' organisations created an arrangement to ensure the industry met community standards, in relation to the content of advertisements, the accreditation system was used by media outlets as a licence to practise advertising. Although this set-up was beneficial to the media outlets and big agencies for advertisers, it was of no use as a regulatory body (Griffen-Foley 2014, pp. 258–9).

Due to the continuously changing media environment, emergence of various media platforms, implementation of new innovative strategies and rise of consumer movements (see, e.g., BUGA-UP movement¹⁷), followed by the Americanisation and internationalisation¹⁸ of the Australian advertising industry during the 1960s and 1970s, increased regulatory pressure on commercial creativity (Crawford 2008). Increased government regulation of advertising content created the need for a self-regulatory body of protect itself from external intervention,¹⁹ and this led to the establishment of the

¹⁷ In 1979, Bill Snow and Rick Bolzan set up the Billboard Utilising Graffitiists Against Unhealthy Promotions (BUGA-UP) movement to protest against outdoor cigarette advertisements. As part of their movement, the members of the organisation damaged thousands of billboards across Australia. The movement was getting bigger and bigger (Crawford 2008, pp. 191–2; Tiffen & Gittins 2004, p. 97).

¹⁸ In order to expand their business internationally, Mojo MDA acquired the San Francisco agency Allen and Doward (Crawford 2008, pp. 198–207), and successfully entered the international market, New York, Auckland, Hong Kong, Singapore and London market (Crawford 2008, pp. 198–207). The stock market crash of 1987 increased unemployment, and decreased Australian economic growth, consumer spending and advertising expenditure. Most local agencies were affected by this economic crisis. Global agencies remained more stable due to their international resources. This made Australian advertisers realise that associating especially with American agencies was proven to be a beneficial factor for Australian agencies to survive during any national economic crisis; therefore, it became a priority for agencies to produce international-style advertising that would appeal to American consumers (Crawford 2008, p. 207).

¹⁹ The general public perceived advertisements as false, misleading, manipulative and, therefore, unacceptable to them (Crawford 2008). The publication of *The Hidden Persuaders* by Vance Packard in 1957 alerted the people by revealing advertising's negative side. Packard claimed that advertising agencies was using interview data to discover and identify segments, which were then being used to develop advertising for target segments. Advertising also started facing increased criticism from leaders, parliamentarians and educators (Nelson 2008; Packard & Mercader 1982). The book triggered the public's anti-advertising sentiment and they founded platforms to conduct anti-advertising discussion. The increasing public debates between academics and admen made the industry realise that, to

Australian Advertising Standards Advisory Authority (AASAA) in 1973. The AASAA was founded as a means for safeguarding the advertising industry's interests by enforcing advertising standards (Crawford & Spence-Stone 2012, pp. 279–80; Hornery 1996, p. 28). Increased government regulation of advertising content created the need for a national body to represent agencies' interests (Blakeney & Barnes 1982, p. 33). Therefore, the non-profit Advertising Federation of Australia (AFA) was established in 1975 to represent the business and professional interests of its member agencies. To increase their business, the AFA offered a number of marketing programs for their agencies. The AFA provided them with important advice on different issues, such as copyright and advertising codes, and with data to different agencies about their operation and management performance (Jones 2000, pp. 25–6). Through these activities, the AFA enabled advertising agencies to produce marketing messages that were compliant with relevant advertising laws and codes, and thus supported effective self-regulation (AFA 2008).

The AASAA was renamed as the Advertising Standards Council (ASC) in 1976 (Blakeney & Barnes 1982). The ASC was funded by the MCA (Trade Practices Commission 1988), with members drawn from industry associations such as the AFA, AANA (2 members), radio, print and television organisations. It also had non-industry members. The ASC was established to work as an independent complaint-handling body, which would be free from any kind of influence from the advertising industry. The ASC was responsible for monitoring, evaluating and enforcing the MCA's Advertising Code of Ethics. If the ASC upheld a complaint, the advertisement was stopped from running on television (ASB 2015). Because the ASC was funded by the MCA, it represented the commercial interests of its industry members (Blakeney & Barnes 1982). It thus failed to remain independent from industry dominance and had become less responsive of the codes and to changes in community needs – it did not serve consumer interests (Kerr & Moran 2002; Commonwealth of Australia 1983). While for the advertising industry, during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the fight was against deceptive advertising practices and against laws that restricted the industry's freedom, from the later 19th

defend themselves from critics' attacks, the advertising industry was required to engage with its critics directly; this led to the establishment of a non-profit body, the Australasian (later Australian) Consumers' Association (ACA) in 1959 (Heinrichs 2003). Its aim was to protect consumers from misleading advertising (Crawford 2008, pp. 144–5) by informing consumers about their rights, and the value and safety of products (Heinrichs 2003).

century onwards, the advertising industry has been fighting to retain unhealthy food advertising for children as will be discussed in the next section.

9.3 Growing public concern over food advertising to children and childhood obesity in Australia

Over the past century, Australia has seen a dramatic shift in attitudes towards food advertising to children. In 1979, Bill Snow and Rick Bolzan set up the Billboard Utilising Graffitists Against Unhealthy Promotions (BUGA-UP) movement, which conveyed the message to the advertising industry that advertisers have to adhere with their moral responsibility, otherwise they must be prepared for such agitation in response to their actions. The BUGA-UP movement raised awareness among consumers throughout the 1980s and taught consumers to raise their voices against a range of issues in advertising, which included the stereotyping of women, the promotion of foods directed at children and racial stereotyping (Crawford 2008, pp. 191–2; Tiffen & Gittins 2004, p. 97).

Consumer movements during the 1960s and 1970s prompted the government to enact legislation designed to regulate content in commercial television. The Australian Broadcasting Tribunal (ABT) was the peak government body responsible for setting standards for all programs aired by Australian television stations (Potter 2015). One of the Transitional Provisions of the Broadcasting Services Act 1992 required the Tribunal to report on the operations of the tribunal (Australian Broadcasting Tribunal 1977). Accordingly, in 1977, the ABT undertook a review into the Self-Regulation of Broadcasting (Potter 2015, p. 33). The Tribunal received 539 written submissions and held public hearings all around the country (Edgar 2006, pp. 51–2). The public's concerns centred on the screening of poor and low-budget children's programs, and the lack of age-appropriate local content for children screening in children's viewing times (Potter 2015, p. 33). These submissions led to the introduction of 'C Program' children's classifications in 1979 (Edgar 2006, pp. 56–7; Potter 2015, pp. 33–4) and the Tribunal adopted the Children's Television Standards (CTS) in 1984 (Westerway 1992). The condition for CTS was set out in the Broadcasting Services Act 1992 (Marin 1994). A brief discussion on the television program classification system and children's television content is

pertinent to this chapter, because the study is based on the advertisements recorded during television programs with a ‘C’ classification.

In 1987, the Tribunal undertook the review of the CTS within the context of a decade of increasing public concern about children’s exposure to food and beverage advertisements, which contained misleading or incorrect information about the nutritional value of that product (Australian Broadcasting Tribunal 1989, p. 28). The review revealed that there were increasing public concerns about nutrition and its impact on child health (Rutherford, Biron & Skouteris 2011). A revised CTS was therefore introduced in January 1990,²⁰ which addressed concerns not only of the government, but also of the food industry.

Several food poisoning incidents²¹ that took place in Australia during 1990s had led to the emergence of the Code of Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Point (HACCP), which tightened the assessment of suppliers and required that they install the latest pasteurisers and adopt HACCP procedures. These incidents increased consumers’ concerns about the nutritional value and safety of the products they purchased. Australian food manufacturers also understood that, in order to continue manufacturing these products, they had to win public acceptance and public trust. Hence, the industry responded to these public concerns by establishing the Australian Food Council (AFC) in 1994 to educate consumers about their products’ ingredients and manufacturing process.

Both the advertising and food industries have taken a number of regulatory initiatives by adopting codes before fully developing mechanisms to implement and monitor them. As a result, they are failing to convince external concerned organisations (e.g. NGOs and the government), as well as consumers, that their policies are capable of addressing community concerns and are being properly enforced. The failure in the eyes of a broad

²⁰ The revised CTS provided simplification the classification criteria, introduction of a pre-classification requirement for ‘P’ programs, the requirement that a minimum of 16 hours of new Australian children’s drama be broadcast each year, replacement of a fixed time for children’s programming with time bands, reduction of limitations on advertising, and clarification of advertising regulation (ACMA 2007a).

²¹ The largest and best-documented incidents included an outbreak of haemolytic uremic syndrome due to E. Coli 0111, caused by consumption of an uncooked salami-type sausage in Adelaide; an outbreak of salmonella, caused by consumption of contaminated peanut butter in Melbourne; and another outbreak of salmonella, caused by consumption of contaminated orange juice in South Australia (Farrer 2005, pp. 189–200).

range of external observers (e.g. NGOs, government and consumers) has led the MCA's regulatory arrangement to failure.

The ASC was responsible for considering public complaints about advertisements. Although the number of complaints received by the ASC increased dramatically, from 691 in 1992 to 1066 in 1994 (Kerr & Moran 2002), over the years, the ASC was criticised for acting on too few complaints (Crawford 2008, p. 188). This meant that the ASC was incapable of indicating the viewpoint of the whole community and not just those of the advertising agencies (Advertising Standards Council 1986, p. 4) – the ASC therefore had limited understanding of its role and duties (Bonney & Wilson 1983, p. 147). Moreover, it was more cost-efficient for the government to run an independent and autonomous body (Drummond 1971).

The Australian Consumer Complaints Commission (ACCC) replaced the Trade Practices Commission (TPC) in November 1995 (ACCC 1995), and announced that it would review authorisation of the advertising codes of the MCA, AFA, AANA and ASC (ASB 2015, pp. 11–2). In its review of advertising standards, the ACCC recommended that the ASC work on its inadequate appeals mechanisms, its lack of responsiveness to changes in community needs, its suppression of complainant identities (particularly in cases where it was a business competitor), and its restriction of unaccredited agencies from supporting themselves in cases involving their advertisements (Strickland 1996). The ACCC revoked the MCA's accreditation system for advertising agencies, because the benefit to the public from the system was insufficient to compensate for the associated anti-competitive detriment. This, in turn, prompted the ending of the self-regulation system. From October 1996, the ASC stopped taking complaints and ceased operations at the end of December (ASB 2015).

The absence of any governing body, however, restricted the government from any kind of interference in the industry. The creation of a number of controversial advertisements after the abandonment of the MCA and ASC had triggered the need for a regulatory framework and further demonstrated the fact that the advertising industry cannot be trusted without the AANA's control (AANA 2014c). Furthermore, the growing dissatisfaction among consumers made advertisers realise their incapability to address the

concerns of the government and consumer movements. Advertisers also realised that their failure to protect consumer interests would attract negative publicity towards them and, for most advertisers such publicity, could damage their brand reputation. It was obvious for them to understand that, if they did not meet community standards, the government would have no other choice but to impose strict federal regulation to ensure consumer protection. Therefore, at the end of 1996, the AANA developed a three-part system of self-regulation in advertising, including the AANA Advertiser Code of Ethics, the Advertising Standards Board (ASB) and the Advertising Claims Board (ACB) (ASB 2008). The ASB and Advertising Claims Board were established to determine consumer and competitive complaints about advertising against the relevant advertising. These two independent bodies play a significant role by offering a free and fast route to competitive complaint resolution for consumers, and by allowing them to express their views about advertising to an independent body. It thus discourages deceptive or misleading advertising practices by ensuring that advertisers comply with all relevant legislation (ACB n.d.). Since 1998, advertising in Australia has been governed by a voluntary system of self-regulation administered by the ASB.

The AANA amended the MCA's Advertising Code of Ethics in 1996 to keep pace with the rapid changes within the advertising, marketing and media industries. Both the old and new codes covered areas relating to sexism, taste and decency, discrimination, safety and children. The new AANA Code of Ethics, however, more specifically addresses broader issues such as lawful behaviour, misleading and deceptive behaviour, discrimination and denigration of competitors, as well as the specific areas of sex, violence, environment, Australian content, offensive language, health and safety, and children (Pearson 1999). The incidents during the late 19th century, discussed above, has also prompted the government to frequently monitor and verify media content and industry operations, to ensure that electronic media maintain community standards.

One of the key provisions of the Broadcasting Services Act 1992 requires that providers of broadcasting services ensure their broadcast materials maintain community standards. Under the authority of the Act, the Australian Broadcasting Authority (ABA) conducts regular surveys for the purpose of ascertaining robust and reliable assessments of community attitudes towards television content (Jarred 2001). In October 1997, the ABA

commissioned the fourth in an annual series of national surveys to determine the views of Australians about television content. The ABA conducted this research to monitor the effectiveness of the sets of professional standards that apply to the television and radio industries. The survey took place in all states and territories of Australia, covering a representative sample of households. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with people aged 14 years and older, on the weekend of 24–26 October 1997. A total of 1062 people (550 females and 512 males) were asked whether they had seen anything on television that they disliked or that caused them concern. They were also asked to describe their concerns, the programs in which they occurred and the stations. The results provided reliable estimates of the distribution of responses for the population aged 14 years and older. In the survey, the suitability of advertising for children, in terms of its amount and content, were identified as two of the most important areas of public concern (ABA 1998).

Although the study included people from different age groups, little comparison was made between the adults' and children's views on the suitability of the content of television programs and advertising. Demographically, children and adult audiences are different: in their views on the credibility of television, in their perceptions of the quality of content; in their views of the adequacy of television content; and in their attitudes to contemporary social issues. By presenting a compare and contrast of their views on television content, this study could have shed light on crucial points of difference between child and adult audiences. A comparative analysis was important because a 14 years old's criteria for assessing media contents differ from previous generations. If young adults recognised certain content as a matter of concern, then they would be less likely to consume that content, especially content such as advertising. These factors could have provided a clearer picture about different audience groups' attitudes to different television materials, and thus the survey could have helped the regulatory bodies understand how much regulation is actually needed for different audience groups. Since the survey included a broad range of the population, the survey results had significant implications for media regulations and indicated directions for future research. Hence, in 1999, the AANA introduced the Principles and Advisory Notes for Advertising to children as a response to public and political concerns about advertising to children (AANA 2014b).

In 2000, the Productivity Commission commenced a major review of broadcasting with the intention to improve competition, efficiency and consumers' interests in broadcasting services. The review revealed a number of digital convergence issues and mentioned the increasing overlap of functions between the Australian Communication Authority (ACA) and the ABA, stating that a single spectrum manager would eliminate these overlaps and increase efficacy in spectrum management. The ACA was responsible for regulating technical and consumer issues in telecommunications and radio communications (Parliament of Australia n.d.). The Australian Broadcasting Authority was the Australian government agency responsible for regulating broadcasting, telecommunications and radio communications in Australia (ABA 1992). In this changing media landscape, it had become difficult for two separate regulators to come up with the same solution while dealing with wider convergence issues, or to provide a constructive response to convergence (Parliament of Australia n.d.). Hence, the Productivity Commission recommended that merging the two organisations might result in a higher level of administrative productivity (Productivity Commission 2000). In 2002, the Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts (DCITA) invited submissions on spectrum management. As a result of the merger between the ACA and ABA in 2005, the government established the Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA) as an Australian government statutory agency (Australian Broadcasting Authority 2002). The merger was the government's response to the technological convergence within the communication industry (Australian Broadcasting Authority 2002, *Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives Official Hansard* 2005).

The ACMA has been entrusted with the responsibility of promoting self-regulation; preserving competition in the communications industry; and representing consumers' interests by regulating broadcasting, telecommunications and radio communications matters, which had formerly been undertaken by the separate government agencies, the ABA and ACA (ACMA 2016b; Australian Law Reform Commission 2012, p. 329). The ACMA arguably serves the public interest by ensuring that Australia's media and communication sector works in the public interest (ACMA 2008). Parliament intended for the ACMA to play an important and prominent role in ensuring that the industry meets community standards in relation to the media content (ACMA 2016a). The government's increased media investigations over children's media content, followed by the growing

public concerns about food advertising to children, made both the advertising and food industries realise that they needed to impose stricter regulation regarding unhealthy food advertising to children.

9.4 Industry self-regulation of food advertisements and the industry initiatives

From the late 1990s to 2000s, the growing epidemic of childhood overweight and obesity had become a major public health concern and led to a heated debate over junk food, advertising and obesity. During that time, studies had confirmed that Australian children were exposed to vast amounts of television advertisements for food with low nutritional value. A 2000 survey of NSW primary school children found that, of the seven 11-year-olds surveyed, 26.2% of boys and 28.4% of girls were either overweight or obese, and were developing conditions such as Type 2 diabetes and high blood pressure (Biggs 2006). In the 10-year period from 1985 to 1995, the prevalence of obesity alone among 7–15-year-olds almost doubled (Magarey, Daniels & Boulton 2001), and it more than doubled by 2007 (Moodie, Daube & Carnell 2009). Childhood obesity in Australia remains a widespread health concern that warrants population-wide prevention programs. Reports of the accelerating rate of obesity among Australian children attracted public attention and created a strong community desire and public interest in protecting Australian children and adolescents from food advertising. The World Health Organization (WHO), in their 2003 *Diet, Nutrition and the Prevention of Chronic Diseases Report*, identified children's exposure to advertising for energy-dense, micronutrient-poor foods as a 'probable' casual factor that promotes weight gain and obesity, and as a significant area that requires inhibitory action. Due to the accelerating obesity rate, the nation's childhood obesity forums asked for a ban on junk-food advertisements (Cumming 2002). The Advertising and Marketing Communications Code 2003 was the result of a rapid response by industry to community concerns about food and beverage advertising.

During 2004–06, advertisements promoting food and beverage products received the highest number of complaints (ASB 2004, 2005, 2006). These statistics reveal the community's concern at that time about the advertising of discretionary foods to children.

As a response to community concerns about food and beverage advertising, in 2007, the AANA introduced its Food and Beverages: Advertising and Marketing Communications Code. The Food Code aims to limit the proportion of food advertising directed to children aged 14 years or younger (Mackay 2009). The Code also contains provisions²² to impose restrictions on food and beverage advertising. These include prohibitions on advertising and sponsorship that may undermine parental authority through ‘pester power’ to buy the advertised product. The code also provides some restrictions on the use of popular personalities or celebrities, premium offers and competitions in advertisements (AANA 2009b, 2010). The Food Code is enforceable in all forms of food advertising to children, through all media (Mackay 2009).

On 15 August 2007, the Standing Committee on Environment, Communications and the Arts, Sexualisation of Children in the Contemporary Media, invited ACMA to review media industry codes of practice. The inquiry was prompted by public concern following the publication of two papers by the Australia Institute on the issue of the sexualisation of children in contemporary media: *Corporate Paedophilia: Sexualisation of Children in the Media* and *Letting Children Be Children: Stopping the Sexualisation of Children in Australia* in 2006 (see Rush & La Nauze 2006, p. 1). The Senate released its report in 2008, which identified increasing community concern over the inappropriate sexualisation of children and suggested that ‘preventing the premature sexualisation of children is a significant cultural challenge’ (Australian Senate 2008, p. v).

The findings of the report revealed narrow or stereotypical portrayals of body type in the portrayal of women as an epitome of beauty in print and advertising material, and on radio, TV and the internet. In summary, the report’s recommendations included a mix of activities, including reviewing the issue of inappropriate sexualisation of children, the

²² The Food Code covers the following topics: clear communication of the health benefits associated with the product; promotion of healthy or active lifestyle, and balanced diet; use of health and nutrition claims; inclusion of nutrition or health-related comparisons in advertising; reference to consumer taste or preference tests; use of claims related to material characteristics of the product such as taste, size, content, nutrition and health benefits; use of popular personalities (live or animated) as part of advertising without clearly distinguishing between commercial promotion and editorial, or other program content; portrayal of advertised product as a substitute for meals; compliance with the AANA Code of Ethics and AANA Code for Advertising and Marketing Communications to Children; misleading child consumers by communicating claims or price reduction offers; communicating about a product’s physical, social or psychological advantage by consuming any products, or communicating the physical, social or psychological disadvantage of not consuming any product; undermining the role of parents or carers in guiding a child’s diet and lifestyle choices; use of appeals that encourage children to urge parents to buy a particular food product for them; and feature or use of premiums (AANA 2009b, 2010).

CTS's classification systems and the effectiveness of operating the children's code; introducing changes to the board, billboards and outdoor advertising; conducting research studies in this area; educating the community about the issue; and governance and regulatory updates. The report acknowledged the increasing community concerns about the sexualisation of children and bestowed the responsibility on broadcasters and advertisers. While taking recommendations, the report did not consider the fact that the sexualisation of children had been the result of the failure of self-regulation. By recommending that broadcasters and the advertising industry regulate themselves, the report failed to show any draconian measure that advertisers might have feared. The absence of any recommendation ensuring that the Code met community standards meant that the report would virtually have no impact on the advertising industry. Therefore, its critics described the report's recommendations as the Senate Committee's attempt to thrash the advertising industry with a feather (Cowan 2008).

The report also confirmed that children's exposure to sexualised imagery may, in extreme cases, lead to clinical problems or other negative consequences (such as body image dissatisfaction, eating disorders, depression and lower self-esteem) (Australian Senate 2008). As a response to the report by the Senate Committee for the Environment, Communications and the Arts, on the sexualisation of children in the media, the Children's Code was revised in 2008. The new code incorporated a direct prohibition against the sexualisation of children and a ban on the use of sexual imagery in advertising targeted at children (AANA 2011). The revised Children's Code 2008 included one specific food advertising clause; this clause ensured that that advertising or marketing to children for food or beverages does not encourage or promote an inactive lifestyle or unhealthy eating or drinking habits, and complies with the Food Code (Mackay et al. 2011).

During 2007–09, the Australian broadcasting system was transitioning from a traditional analogue environment to a digital environment, defined by multi-channelling and technological advancement. Therefore, in March 2007, the ACMA reviewed Children's Television Standards 2005 (CTS)²³ in order to ensure that the existing standards were

²³ In order to assess the standards' operation in regulating children's television, the ACMA commissioned five research projects. The finding of these research projects provided a strong base of knowledge. ACMA relied on these research projects to decide about imposing restrictions on food and beverage products to children oncommercial

appropriate and applicable in the current broadcasting environment. Apart from depending on stakeholder submissions, the ACMA drew on five evidence-based research projects. To identify and explore key issues for children's television, including the relationship between children's exposure to television advertising and their food and beverage preferences, these studies were based on literature reviews; surveys (Brand 2007b; Rutherford & Bittman 2007); analysis of industry data from AC Nielsen's 'Economic impact of restrictions on television food and beverage advertising directed at children' and OzTAM ratings data (ACMA 2007b); and interviews with producers, representatives from funding bodies and network executives (Aisbett 2007).

In August 2009, the ACMA issued its final report: *Review of the Children's Television Standards 2005* (ACMA 2009b, 2017a, n.d.). The ACMA acknowledged the considerable community concerns over issues related to the regulation of food and beverage advertising to children. Some submitters to the review urged for a ban on some or all of this advertising. The ACMA found only a 'modest' association between advertising 'unhealthy' foods and childhood obesity, and limited evidence of the benefits of restricting these types of advertising on commercial free-to-air television at the time of the review (ACMA 2009b). Although the ACMA conducted five evidence-based research projects in the compilation of their report, since these research projects did not involve any health professionals, the reliability of the interpretation of the findings on the health impacts of food marketing to children remains questionable. To get an overview of children's viewing patterns, the ACMA relied on monitoring that was limited to C and P programming times, whereas many of the programs broadcast outside of C time bands were most popular with children older than 12 years and, therefore, were not subject to the CTS. Programs classified C under Children's Television Standards 2009 must be intended for children under 14 years of age. P-classified programs must be suitable for preschool children (ACMA 2018). Furthermore, by not conducting any study to address the inadequacy of the current monitoring and enforcement systems for dealing with CTS breaches, the ACMA's CTS 2005's review report ignored the necessity of limiting children's exposure to unhealthy food advertising with the introduction and relevant

free-to-air television, and also to estimate benefits of banning 'unhealthy' food and beverage advertising (ACMA 2009b, n.d.).

regulations and codes. Perhaps it is because restrictions on food advertising during C and P program periods would reduce broadcasters' profitability (Baur et al. 2008).

Based on the outcome of the CTS 2005 review, the ACMA decided not to impose any further general industry restrictions in relation to food and beverage advertising under the CTS. Provisions under the new CTS 2009, in relation to food and beverage advertising, remain the same as those provided in the previous CTS. In CTS 2009, Section 32 deals with the clear and accurate presentation of advertised goods and services: an advertisement for a food product must not contain any misleading or incorrect information about the nutritional value of that product (ACMA 2009a). However, this is the only section that deals with food advertising. Following extensive public discussion and the release of the final report on the review of CTS 2005, the ACMA developed the new Children's Television Standards 2009 (ACMA 2009a) on 24 August 2009. The new CTS 2009 replaced the CTS 2005 on 1 January 2010. The CTS 2009 requires all commercial television licensees to broadcast 260 hours of C programs. These programs must be made specifically for children, entertaining and well produced, and with appropriate Australian content that enhances children's understanding and experience (ACMA, 2009).

In April 2008, Nicola Roxon the Minister for Health and Ageing established the national Preventative Health Taskforce (PHT) to develop policies that control the health concerns caused by tobacco, alcohol and obesity. The PHT published a discussion paper under the title, *Australia: The Healthiest Country by 2020*. In September 2009, the PHT released its final report. In its final report, the PHT recommended how to tackle the challenges of food advertising to children, which included phasing out the promotion of energy-dense nutrient-poor (EDNP) food and beverages on free-to-air television (Roxon 2010). In 2011, Harrison and Robson from Australian National University undertook a principled cost-benefit analysis of policy recommendations regarding obesity, alcohol consumption and tobacco control, regardless of whether or not the overarching objective was economic in nature. The study concluded that the recommended preventative efforts will save money in some cases but, in others, they could become a burden on the Australian economy. The study critiqued the general direction of public health cost-benefit analyses and drew the conclusions that systematic methods were not being followed to provide a

balanced ledger of costs and benefits to evaluate the effectiveness of the proposed policies. While the initial report from the PHT (see Roxon 2010) contends that paternalistic public health may be effective in reducing obesity, it only counted the benefits of introducing a number of preventative efforts without considering their costs and alternatives (Harrison & Robson 2011).

The PHT report suggested that there were opportunities to save money and improve health through prevention. While encouraging people to make healthy choices with regard to nutrition and exercise is a good thing, and is beneficial for reducing both the direct and indirect costs associated with obesity, the success of the recommended preventative efforts depends on individual attitudes towards them. Government interventions cannot force the Australian people to change their individual lifestyle choices in order to save the government's future expenditure on obesity-related diseases. Due to a lack of available information about certain food products and their relation to certain diseases, these preventative efforts may cause consumers to overestimate the health-related risks of a certain product. As a result, the consumption of certain consumer goods and services would be reduced, which would affect the economy. The PHT report did not compare the expected benefits against the cost of the interventions (Harrison & Robson 2011).

However, in response to the PHT's recommendations, the AFA expressed an opposing viewpoint regarding food advertising bans. In its media release, the former AFA director said that, since there was no evidence available that banning advertisements would reduce childhood obesity, bans on television advertising of foods could not be justified and would not stop childhood obesity (AdNews 2009; Champion 2008). Due to the rise of digital platforms and devices, the release stated, advertisers now had various platforms to reach potential customers. Advertising agencies are also required to respond to new trends by using technology to develop innovative ways to connect companies with consumers. On 1 January 2010, the boards of the AWARD (Australasian Writers and Art Directors Association), AFA and APG (Account Planning Group) formed a new organisation, the Communications Council, to 'offer a more influential, unified and stronger voice on issues affecting our industry and our members' interests' (AFA 2009), and to deal with the increasingly restrictive regulatory system (AFA 2009).

Industry groups in Australia also addressed community concerns about television food advertising to children by introducing two voluntary self-regulation initiatives (OPC 2015) to shift public attention away from the negative health effects of the signatories' products, and to avoid tighter government regulation (Hartmann 2011; Richards & Phillipson 2017). The positive public image of a brand has a positive impact on the brand's reputation; it enhances consumers' awareness of particular brands and thus encourages them to consume their products (Lai et al. 2010; Lin 2016). Therefore, while maximising profit is the primary motivation for these big food companies, they introduced these initiatives because they would allow the big food brands to appear socially responsible and to create a positive public image (Martin 2015).

On 1 January 2009, the Australian Food and Grocery Council (AFGC) also responded to public concern around the advertising and marketing of unhealthy food products to children by introducing the Responsible Marketing to Children Initiative (RCMI); and on 1 August 2009, the Quick Service Restaurant Industry introduced a separate initiative, the QSRI (ACMA 2011). These initiatives aim to reduce advertising and marketing of unhealthy food products to children using advertising and marketing as a means to promote healthy eating and lifestyles to children, and to provide parents with the resources to raise awareness about advertising to children. Signatories to the RCMI and QSR initiatives publicly commit to promote healthy lifestyles through advertising healthy food products (AFGC 2014a, 2014b). The ASB administers the RCMI and QSR complaints process (AFGC 2014a, 2014b).²⁴

In recent years, numerous studies have been carried out to measure the impact of the AFGC self-regulatory initiatives on unhealthy food and beverage advertising to children on Sydney television up to 2015. Most of these studies have been undertaken by the University of Sydney, in collaboration with Cancer Council NSW (see Hebden et al. 2011; King et al. 2011; Watson et al. 2017). The findings of such peer-reviewed studies (see Brindal, Corsini & Hendrie 2011; Hebden et al. 2011; King et al. 2013; King et al. 2011; Watson et al. 2017) help policymakers to make more informed decisions about the

²⁴ The ASB is responsible for the assessment of complaints about food and beverage advertisements against all the Codes they administer. Complaints are assessed on determining whether the products represent a healthy choice and whether the advertisement is directed to children. An independent arbiter determines whether the products represent a healthy choice. The Board of the ASB then determines whether the advertisement is directed to children (AFGC 2014a, 2014b).

nature of the advertising industry's regulatory systems. These independent studies were based on data collected from free-to-air commercial television channels in Sydney, and found that the regulations had not reduced advertising for non-core foods and drinks as might have been expected. It is important to note that these research studies have failed to provide a comprehensive picture of television advertising across all major Australian cities and across different times of year, and the ACMA therefore concluded that, due to the lack sufficient evidence, ACMA was currently not in a position to determine whether the initiatives affected the rate of food and beverage advertising on commercial free-to-air television in Australia (ACMA 2011). However, the ACMA has acknowledged ongoing community concerns around food and beverage advertising to children on free-to-air television (ACMA 2011). Despite a decrease in food advertising overall, these studies (Hebden et al. 2011; Watson et al. 2017) found that children's exposure to unhealthy food advertising remained almost unchanged in 2015 from 2009 (3.2 advertisements/hour in 2009 vs 3.0 advertisements/hour in 2015) (Hebden et al. 2011; Watson et al. 2017).

The AFGC's 2016 Annual Compliance Report states that compliance with the RCMI and QSRI core principles was high during 2016. According to the AFGC, the overall compliance rate was actually up slightly to 99.25 per cent; these findings present a different picture from the industry compliance report on the self-regulatory codes. Whereas the findings of the independent studies throughout these years (see Brindal, Corsini & Hendrie 2011; Hebden et al. 2011; King et al. 2013; King et al. 2011; Watson et al. 2017) showed high levels of advertising of less healthy foods, the industry-sponsored reports suggested high adherence to the voluntary codes (see AFGC 2010; AFGC 2016). These discrepancies are due to methodological differences between studies. AFGC evaluated children's exposure to food marketing during programs primarily directed at children, but not during popular television shows such as sporting games, reality shows or light-entertainment programs (watched by a large number of children during the family time-slots of 6pm to 9pm), when children are exposed to large amounts of food advertising. Children make up a significant proportion of the audience during TV programs that are not shown in the designated children's time. When the total audience is high, then the ratio of children to total audience diminishes. According to a recent study, there were 40,000 children watching the rugby league and 30,000 watching MasterChef,

which accounted for about 10 per cent of the total audience, so a junk-food advertisement during those shows would still technically comply (Watson et al. 2017). Hence, the AFGC's Annual Compliance Report failed to evaluate the full extent of children's exposure to non-core food advertising, particularly when compared to peer-reviewed research, which assessed children's exposure to unhealthy food marketing during a much wider range of time periods.

However, consistent with previous studies (Brindal, Corsini & Hendrie 2011; King et al. 2011), the present study found a decline in advertising overall. As mentioned in the literature (AFGC 2010; Hebden et al. 2011; King et al. 2013), the current study found that signatories accounted for a higher proportion of unhealthy food advertisements than non-signatories (AFGC 2010; Hebden et al. 2011; King et al. 2013). Consistent with Brindal, Corsini and Hendrie's study (2011), the current study also found that unhealthy products were responsible for the higher proportion of food advertising, specifically promotions from fast-food restaurants (31%), followed by advertising for sugar-sweetened beverages (18%) (Brindal, Corsini & Hendrie 2011). Against this backdrop, it can be argued that the current industry regulatory system is failing to protect children from unhealthy food advertising, and that greater regulation is needed to protect children from this type of advertising (ACMA 2011).

Given the current media environment and technological changes that have caused shifts in viewers' digital media habits, the ACMA established the Contemporary Community Safeguards Inquiry in 2013 to outline matters that should be mentioned within the content of contemporary broadcasting codes of practice (ACMA 2014a, 2014b). The inquiry engaged and consulted with industry and citizens, and identified children's protection from content or communications that were age-inappropriate or harmful to them as one of the significant matters that needed to be addressed by broadcasters in their codes, in order to provide appropriate community safeguards. The AANA responded to this inquiry by amending the existing Children's Code to keep pace with the rapid changes within the advertising, marketing and media industries (Skelton & Hall 2014). This change was made to ensure that advertising and marketing communications through social networking and other online activities are regulated. However, the Code also now adopts a clearer definition of 'excluded advertising and marketing communications'. The new

code includes a number of factors to determine whether media or programs are designed for children. Presence of these factors would engage children using different marketing techniques by the media or programs, which provide children with additional protection. The AANA has listed those factors in a Practice Note to accompany the Children's Code. Regarding the Code of Ethics, the revisions ensure that all communications would be judged against 'prevailing community standards' and would require the ASB (the complaints adjudicator) to abide by any relevant practice notes published by the AANA (AANA 2014a, 2014b). On the basis of the information gathered, the Contemporary Community Safeguards Inquiry clearly indicated that a minimum level of regulatory intervention could provide safeguards for broadcasting content in more effective ways and could support rationalisation, simplification and adaptation to changes in media markets and practices (ACMA 2014a; ACMA 2014b, p. 2).

As a response to the ACMA's Contemporary Community Safeguards Inquiry of 2013 (the CCSI) and the Australian Law Reform Commission's Classification Review, the ACMA has registered a new Commercial Television Industry Code of Practice in a bid to adapt to the changing media landscape. It replaces the previous Commercial Television Industry Code of Practice and came into operation on 1 December 2015. A more detailed discussion on this Code is excluded because it contains no clause that specifically relates to food advertising. However, both the previous and a recently updated version of the Code contains one clause, Section 5.7, that imposes a condition on all television advertisers, requiring them to comply with the AANA Code of Ethics, the AANA Code for Marketing and Advertising Communications to Children, and the AANA Food and Beverages: Advertising and Marketing Communications Code (Free TV Australia 2015, 2018).

9.5 Criticism of self-regulation

With the emergence of new technologies, advertisers can now reach children through a number of new communication channels and advertising techniques, for example, internet-based promotions and 'advergames'. The OPC (2015) advised the ACMA and others to strengthen a co- or full-regulatory approach on unhealthy food advertising to reduce children's exposure; it concluded that, despite sound evidence regarding the

ACMA's failure to reduce children's exposure to this type of advertising, no action has been taken.

On 23 October 2015, the AANA, the body that administers the self-regulation of advertising in Australia, announced a revised definition of 'advertising and marketing communication' to include relevant direct-to-consumer public relations materials. The revised definition allows consumers to complain about more than TV advertisements or radio commercials. With the new definition, material such as social media promotions, including tweeting and blogging on behalf of a brand, are captured by the Codes. However, brand owners are not be responsible for the editorial content in traditional or social media that they did not produce or that they cannot control. The revised definition in the Codes was implemented across all AANA Codes from 2016 (AANA 2015, 2016).

Currently, the AANA self-regulatory system is technology- and platform-neutral. The Codes are applicable across all media and advertisers, including online media such as social media and outdoor signage. As the current AANA self-regulatory system is technology-neutral, internet advertising is therefore generally governed by the same rules and regulations. Due to the dramatic changes in recent years, including the increasing popularity and growth of new media especially social media, the use of social media as a marketing tool needs to be continuously closely monitored and regulated (AANA 2014a). Company Facebook and Twitter pages have now been clearly held to be advertising, so not only must their content comply with the Australian Consumer Law (ACL), it must also comply with the AANA's Code of Ethics (Justice Connect 2016). The ASB can consider any business's Facebook page as a marketing communication tool because companies use their Facebook pages as a mechanism to draw their target consumers' attention towards their products or services. Since business organisations have a wide degree of control over the site and content (including content posted by the company and by others), they should remain aware that their advertising and marketing communications must be legal and not only must comply with the ACL, but also with the AANA's Code of Ethics. Any business with a social media presence is responsible for maintaining compliance with the law (ASB n.d.).

Despite the increasing public concern about children's protection from advertising for unhealthy products, the current regulatory system remains ineffective to limit children's exposure to unhealthy food and drink marketing, both online and through new media. The current study shows that 19 per cent of food brands advertising to children during children's television programming also promoted their company websites, which were frequently sponsored by the advertised companies. This suggests that TV still remains a key advertising platform. However, Australian tweens are known to spend a lot of time online and in app-based activities, much of which is unsupervised, and Facebook has been found to be one of the most popular social networking websites among tweens, despite Facebook's requirement that users be aged over 13 years (Stefano 2013). All websites examined in this study offered membership opportunities and competitions to visitors. Marketers offer website memberships in order to collect children's personal information, which they have provided to enter a competition or giveaway, or to become a member of the company's website. Later on, marketers can use this information to conduct direct marketing to children via post, email, downloads and mobile phone SMS. Of the websites studied, 39 per cent offer membership opportunities and 53 per cent offer competitions – only one website asks for parental consent. The current study also confirms that the existing regulatory system is inadequate for limiting the volume of unhealthy food advertising reaching children or the address-marketing techniques used by food companies to target children, such as free toy offers, competitions, internet games and activities, and endorsements by popular characters and celebrities.

Despite the ongoing changes in advertising restrictions, unhealthy products are responsible for a high proportion of food advertising on television. The question remains: why is the current regulatory system failing to reduce children's exposure to unhealthy food advertising? Studies have identified a good number of factors that allegedly limit the effectiveness of industry self-regulation of food and beverage advertising to children. These will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

The ASB determines whether an advertisement directly targets children according to the overall impact of its visuals, language and themes, as well as the advertiser's intended target audience. This is particularly concerning when there is a range of programs that children find appealing, but which are designed for a general audience, such as *Home and*

Away and *MasterChef*. Research suggests that the highest numbers of children watch TV programs that are not specifically directed to them but towards a more general viewing audience. The vast majority of unhealthy food advertising takes place in general audience programming (G and PG) (Chapman, Nicholas & Supramaniam 2006; Kelly et al. 2011; Kelly et al. 2007; Smithers, Lynch & Merlin 2012), meaning that the RCMI explicitly captures only a small proportion of advertisements to which children are exposed. In summary, the RCMI exempts most complaints on the basis that the advertisement appeared in media directed to adults, according to its creative content, or because it was watched by an audience of largely adult viewers.

Unlike the RCMI, the QSRI determines whether an advertisement is directed primarily to children only on the basis of its creative content, and not on the basis of the rating or audience share of television programs, for example, C and P programs or those with a large child audience. However, there are limited restrictions on the timing, placement and volume of food advertising, and on the types of products advertised to children (with the exception of the RCMI and QSRI). For example, the Food Code does not limit the timing, volume or placement of food advertising to children (King et al. 2009). Thus, regulation does not prevent children's daily exposure to unhealthy foods and beverages because they can reach children via other media (Hawkes 2005; Mackay et al. 2011).

Currently in Australia, there is not a standard definition of unhealthy foods and beverages for the purpose of identifying products that should not be marketed to children. Advertisers are taking advantage of the loose definition of 'healthier' food. Because of this loose definition, foods such as Coco Pops are considered a 'healthier dietary choice' for children and, therefore, it is appropriate to market this product to children (Mills, Martin & Antonopoulos 2015).

As with many other voluntary codes, the RCMI and QSRI do not contain clear objectives and measurable goals (Bowman & Hodge 2009; Gunningham & Rees 1997). The initiatives' ambiguous goals create scope for discrepancy about their objectives, and about how to describe and assess their effectiveness (Fuchs, Kalfagianni & Havinga 2011). WHO suggests that these initiatives should include clearly defined or measurable objectives, which relate to this target, for example, by decreasing the rate of unhealthy

food advertising during children's peak television viewing periods (WHO 2010). Quantifiable objectives, with timeframes for meeting them, would allow the initiatives' application on children's overall exposure to unhealthy food advertising to be assessed more accurately, including by external stakeholders (WHO 2010).

The AFGC did not consult with the government, consumers, public health advocates or other affected stakeholders during the development and administration of the RCMI and QSRI. By not consulting with external stakeholders, the AFGC missed an opportunity to address these consumer concerns about unhealthy food advertising to children and its association with obesity (ACMA 2009b, 2011; Webb 2006). In these circumstances, there is a strong argument that the RCMI and QSRI largely satisfy the food industry's interests, rather than address community concerns. In retrospect, it is not appropriate to argue that external stakeholder consultation would have created well-defined objectives or stronger regulatory standards in the food industry's scheme.

Under the RCMI and QSRI, companies are required to promote healthy eating options and physical activity. This means that advertising messaging must encourage good dietary habits and a healthy lifestyle, rather than simply refraining from encouraging excessive consumption. However, the question remains: will promoting physical activity or healthy lifestyles in food advertising reduce the impacts of unhealthy food promotion (Harris, Bargh & Brownell 2009)? To attach a healthy food tag to a food product, advertisers establish an association between unhealthy products and exercise through advertising endorsements by sports celebrities (Harris et al. 2013; Koplan & Brownell 2010). By allowing brands, including Coca-Cola and McDonald's, to be major sponsors of sporting events, this sends children the message that sports and junk food are complementary (Mills, Martin & Antonopoulos 2015). For example, KFC is a Gold Partner of Cricket Australia, with the Green & Gold campaign forming part of its 11-year sponsorship deal. PR, TVCs, media partnerships, and experiential and social media supported this campaign, with eight TVCs airing on Nine and Ten. KFC sponsored the 2013–14 cricket season (Ricki 2013b); to celebrate the season's launch, and to showcase its support for the Australian team, key KFC restaurants across Australia turned green and gold (Ricki 2013b).

9.6 Conclusions

From the beginning of the history of Australian advertising regulation, the government, advertisers, advertising agents, the media, the food industry and NGOs have been responding to consumer dissatisfaction and the changing media landscape by developing a range of co- and self-regulatory organisations and codes, an independent complaint handling body, and by conducting research and monitoring projects. Both the advertising and food industries have taken the above-mentioned initiatives to respond to the increasing government intervention with the expansion of the industry over time, to uphold high advertising standards, and to safeguard consumer trust and protection for the best interests of both the advertising industry and community members.

The major conclusion reached in this chapter is that the existing self-regulatory codes contain a number of loopholes, of which advertisers are taking advantage. When an advertising technique is restricted in one medium, it is merely redistributed to other, less-regulated media such as the internet. Platform- and technology-neutral codes have resulted in no overall decrease in children's exposure to unhealthy food advertising. Naomi Gummer, a public policy analyst at Google, said, 'The idea that laws can adequately protect young people is a myth' (Holehouse 2012). The absence of centralised control is making the internet difficult to regulate in practice (Roberts 1996; Zwart 2012). While many self-regulatory measures are 'media neutral' they do not adequately restrict the marketing techniques most commonly used to target children on relatively under-regulated media platforms such as social media and branded websites. Therefore, there are strong arguments for the statutory regulation of unhealthy food advertising to children. However, the Federal government appears to be reluctant to regulate and, instead, supports voluntary industry initiatives (Reeve 2015). Comprehensive legislation limiting unhealthy food advertising to children is required immediately. However, the government cannot take sole responsibility for the protection of children online. Parents, too, have a responsibility for their children's online activity. Children's access to inappropriate online content can be regulated, perhaps, by providing training to parents on the effective use of parental locks, which give users more control over online content, as well as by educating parents about online safety (ALRC 2011).

Chapter 10: Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

Food advertising to children, including tweens, is gaining greater attention in today's environment (AIHW 2017b) as it evolves to exploit the digital environments beyond television and print media. Australian children aged between 6 and 12, or tweens, are a lucrative consumer group for marketers, with the capacity to influence more than \$1.4 billion (in 2012 AUD) worth of annual spending (Media Scope 2012). However, despite the spending power of tweens, there has been little research investigating marketers' efforts to develop the Australian tweenage market. The Australian food industry has long marketed its products to children and has been a dominant advertiser during children's television programming. Earlier studies (see Brucks, Armstrong & Goldberg 1988; Roedder 1981) suggest that, due to their limited experience and knowledge, younger children are less able to respond critically to advertising, and this increases the likelihood that they will buy or ask for the advertised product. The WHO has also confirmed that food advertising influences children's food preferences and purchases, what foods they ask parents or carers to buy them and, ultimately, what children consume (WHO 2010). Food advertising remains one of the most intensively debated potential causes for child obesity and it raises concerns among parents and policymakers, which is why it was selected as the focus of this study. This study has examined and documented food advertisers' efforts to construct the tweenage market through their television and online advertising practices.

10.2 Summary of thesis contributions

Chapter 1 provided a brief overview of the historical background of how the contemporary tweenage market emerged in order to have a better understanding of the factors that contributed to the formation of the current tweenage market. The chapter

identified factors including customer needs, population changes, economic conditions, politics, regulations, competition, products and technology as the drivers for advertisers to construct the tweenage group as a market. The chapter provided a summary of the gaps in extant knowledge of the Australian tweenage market, children's exposure to food advertising on television and online, and current advertising regulatory arrangements relevant to food advertising to children in Australia. This discussion of the research gaps was followed by an introduction of the fundamental questions explored in the thesis. The chapter then discussed and explained the significance of the topic in order to point out the value of the current study before briefly summarising the achievements of the research presented in each of the chapters, thus providing a 'road map' for the thesis.

Chapter 2 presented a critical review of the existing literature on the concerns related to advertising aimed at children, the effects of television and online advertising on tweens, and the self-regulatory system. It discussed the effects of advertising and other factors on tween consumers' behaviour. These include the cognitive, affective and behavioural effects of advertising and other environmental factors such as parents and peer influence. Additionally, issues related to food advertising and the self-regulatory system were discussed in the literature review. This provided an opportunity to present key information about the advertising practices targeting tweens that had been effective, thus providing an important backdrop for the current study's investigation into the construction of the tween market. A summary of what existing scholarship has discovered about concerns related to children's exposure to advertising aimed at them, the effects of television and online advertising on tweens, the self-regulatory system was also included in this chapter. The review of the literature revealed that exposure to advertising and children's unhealthy eating habits are correlated, and it identified a gap in the literature as to the content of internet promotions in an Australian context. Overall, this chapter concluded that regulations for television advertisements are insufficient, and that regulations of online food marketing to children are effectively non-existent.

Chapter 3 explained the research methodology adopted in this thesis. It first presented the philosophical assumptions underpinning this research and discussed the constructivist ontological and epistemological position adopted in this study, which took the constructivist epistemology and ontological stance that reality is socially constructed. The

chapter discussed the qualitative and quantitative methods (mixed methods) – including content analysis, semiotic analysis and narrative literature review – that were employed in this study for the purpose of analysing data. It then outlined the reasons for adopting the mixed methods approach in this study. The chapter also provided details of the data collection procedures used for the thesis. The final section dealt with the design of three different studies, which were conducted employing three different research methods and data analysis procedures.

In Chapters 4–9, results were presented of the semiotic analysis of the food advertisements broadcast during C-classified programs (4pm – 8:30pm, Monday to Friday), content analysis of the food company websites and Facebook pages, narrative review of the published data on industry self-regulatory initiatives, and recommendations for further research.

Five major themes, namely, taste, health, humour, convenience and price were identified in the food advertisements that appeared during C-classified time. Each of the advertisements included in this study contains at least one of these major themes, and each of these themes was communicated through different narratives and by employing semiotic analysis in Chapters 4 to 7. The study revealed the underlying ideological meanings that are evident in these advertisements, along with their corresponding narratives. This provides insight into what tweens are being taught and how advertisers try to shape tweens' perceptions about the world around them in order to transform them into their consumers.

Chapter 4 revealed that advertisers use a number of gustatory, visual and auditory cues in their advertisements to promote their foods on the basis of the products' taste attributes, because flavour, smell and texture play a key role in the creation of sensory effects on people's food choice and intake (Fortin, Goodwin & Thomsen 2009; Péneau et al. 2007). The advertisements in Chapter 4 (see Figures 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10) constructed the advertised foods as fresh by using references to the products' bounciness, crunchiness and flavour. Advertisers used sensory-rich words such as *tasty*, *delicious*, *delicate*, *fragrant*, *hot*, *fiery*, *mouth-watering*, *flavoursome*, *spicy*, *red-hot*, *tangy*, *juicy*, *subtle*, etc. to support their claims about the freshness, flavour, smell and texture of the products. Fast

food restaurants prepare meals daily on site mostly with preserved and pre-cooked ingredients. Almost all, if not all, non-vegetarian food such as chicken or beef burgers served in fast food restaurants are made from frozen chicken or beef patties or from pre-baked chicken breasts with fake grill marks added onto the surface of chicken breasts as they emerge from the oven (Reuters 2017; Spotts 2016). Through these advertisements, tweens are being told that additive- and preservative-dense fast-food (Ashakiran & Deepthi 2012) should be considered as fresh because they contain freshly cut vegetables (see Figures 7 and 11) or because they are not frozen (see Figure 11). Additionally, children's exposure to coffee advertisements (see Figure 6) during C-classified time remains questionable. Caffeine consumption leads to a number of negative impacts on children's health – for example, it can result in tachycardia, arrhythmia, hypertension, hyperactivity and anxiety (Branum, Rossen & Schoendorf 2014; Seifert et al. 2011) – therefore, coffee has no place in children's diet.

Consumers consider the naturalness of any product while making food choices (Krystallis, Maglaras & Mamalis 2008; Lockie et al. 2002); it has been reported that health is a stronger consideration for consumers choosing natural products (Lee & Yun 2015). Hence, advertisers make claims about the naturalness of their products in order to promote them. Australian Dietary Guidelines, for example, recommend cheese as one of the healthy snack options for children (HKA. n.d.). Coon Nibbles (see Figure 16) are produced from milk and the advertisement uses a claim of naturalness to promote their product, justifying the claims by saying that it is made with '*natural Coon cheese with a full serve of dairy. No artificial colours, flavours or preservatives. In multipacks, family packs and single packs. Try new Coon Nibbles today.*' Thus, the advertisement constructs the product as a healthy dietary snack for children. It was interesting to see the claims of naturalness being used in advertisements for Calypso mango, which is already a natural product. The slogan '*more mango, less seed*' refers to the fact that the product has been significantly altered from its original physical, chemical or biological state. Mango farmers transform mangoes from their natural state by using chemicals or hormones to induce it to ripen (Atwell, Kriedemann & Turnbull 1999; Kumar, Khurana & Sharma 2014; Tharanathan, Yashoda & Prabha 2006). From this advertisement, however, tweens are learning that they should consider Calypso mangoes to be superior to other types of mangoes, because they contain less seed.

In the Weis Bar ads, the slogan is '*Weis, the taste is everything*' and the images feature celebrations of Australian summer. By featuring elements of Australian beach culture such as surfing and fishing, the advertisements (see Figures 12 and 13) construct the advertised products as 'must-haves' for the Australian summer. Due to a lack of marketers' stronger convictions about products of low nutritional value, the advertisements for Hungry Jack's Chicken Crunch, Weis bar I, Weis bar II and Subway: Made for Summer (see Figure 4, 12, 13 and 14) use emotional appeals and relate their products to celebrations of summer. As many as seven in ten Australians prefer to purchase locally sourced food or drink products (Mintel 2017). Therefore, these fast food advertisements associate the products with Australian summer to localize their products and increase sales. Tweens are being told that they are supposed to consume these products as part of celebrating summer in Australia. Thus, these advertisements deliberately associate these products with white Australian culture and the joys of summer in Australia in order to appeal to Australian consumers. In the Subway: Made for Summer advertisement, the use of sensory-rich words such as '*mouth-watering*', '*zesty lemon*', and '*golden crumbed chicken schnitzel*' clearly conveys the taste-related connotation of the products and attempts to convince consumers that these products are made for summer. Tweens are being told that they are supposed to consume these products during summer, as well as how they should be celebrating summer in Australia. Thus, these advertisements deliberately associate these products with white Australian culture and the joys of summer in Australia in order to appeal to Australian consumers.

Chapter 5 revealed that advertisers promote their products as weight-loss or weight-management agents (see Figures 17, 18 and 21) in order to construct their products as healthy and also to create a niche market for their products. The findings indicate that advertisers represent beauty as being thin, portraying these bodies as more desirable and healthy – by presenting these unrealistically thin bodies as ideals for children, it encourages them to follow this trend which, in turn, may lead them to develop poor eating habits and low self-esteem (Latif, Khan & Farooq 2011). Through the Kellogg's Special K advertisements, tweens are being told that, for women, their 'beach-ready', bikini-wearing bodies (see Figures 17 and 18) signify their healthiness. While childhood obesity has been a community concern for decades, it is also important to consider that the

depiction of such skinny models is also creating unattainable beauty benchmarks for both adult and child consumers and that such exposure may contribute to eating disorders in children (Victorian State Government n.d.). These advertisements used women's sexy appearance and their ability to attract men as signifiers of good health. These portrayals can subtly activate social ideologies and cultural stereotypes that can implicitly influence the judgments and behaviours of children and adults.

The portrayal of active characters in the Subway Flatbread advertisement (see Figure 20) and depictions of a health-conscious character who is resisting her cravings for carbs in the Cruskits advertisement (Figure 19) construct these products as a means to achieve a healthy lifestyle. In both of these advertisements, advertisers are not only selling the products, they are also selling health as a low-carb or low-fat lifestyle. Tweens are being told that a healthy lifestyle is about consuming low calorie or low-carb food. By representing beauty as healthy, or by consuming low-carb or low-fat products as a means of achieving a healthy lifestyle, advertisers are completely ignoring the importance of a balanced diet high in fruits and vegetables and being active as a part of healthy lifestyle. They are thus providing a misleading definition of healthy food and healthy lifestyle. Such distorted information about healthy lifestyles may hinder children's normal growth and development.

Sports drink brands (e.g. Gatorade, Powerade) use professional athletes to promote their energy-giving products, because children consider athletes as their best role models for active, healthy lifestyles; it is also to influence consumers' perceptions of the products' healthiness (Bragg et al. 2013; Sifferlin 2013). Tweens are being advised by these advertisements that sports drinks are healthy because these drinks are shown as providing professional athletes with energy to perform better. However, both of these advertisements (see Figures 23 and 24) have skipped mentioning the fact that these drinks are fluid replacements, appropriate only for replacing fluids lost through sweat vigorous physical activity or sports.

Advertisements for unhealthy food products (e.g. Mars, Ice Break, Snickers and the Wrigley Eclipse mints) use hegemonic masculine attributes to construct their foods as mood enhancers and energy stimulants, and therefore as healthy. Through these

advertisements (see Figures 25, 26, 27 and 28) tweens are being told that aggression, domination, strength, competitiveness and violence are the dominant qualities of men, and that one can achieve these masculine traits by consuming these products. By suggesting this, these advertisements are subtly activating gender stereotypes in tweens. Activating such concepts of masculinity could lead children to exhibit more aggressive behaviour and less healthy food preferences.

While bad breath is the result of the accumulation of bacteria in the mouth because of gum disease (ADA 2012), the advertisement for Wrigley's Extra Chewing Gum (see Figure 28) makes the claim that chewing gum can reduce the risk of gum disease by reducing pH and removing acids from one's mouth. So, the advertisement suggests that one should buy this product because it is beneficial to oral health. However, to convey this particular message, the advertisement actually uses women's sexiness as a vehicle to construct the product as healthy. Tweens are being told that men are attracted to women with fresh breath. This advertisement uses the woman's sexy appearance and her ability to attract men as signifiers of good health. These portrayals can subtly activate social ideologies and cultural stereotypes that can implicitly influence the judgments and behaviours of individuals (Aarts et al. 2005; Bargh & Chartrand 1999; Bargh, Chen & Burrows 1996; Bargh et al. 2001; Bargh et al. 2012; Chartrand & Bargh 2002; DeMarree, Wheeler & Petty 2005; Greenwald & Banaji 1995; Shah 2003). The only advertisement that challenges gender role stereotypes in society is Five: am yoghurt (see Figure 22). Rather than representing women as an embodiment of beauty, the Five:am advertisement presents a woman as an active powerful and healthy individual, whose health and success is not just based on Five:am but also on her active lifestyle. This is the only advertisement where tweens are being told that a healthy lifestyle involves combining healthy food and living an active lifestyle.

The next theme that emerged from the analysis of advertisements is happiness. Chapter 6 revealed that advertisers frequently use humour and fantasy as vehicles to construct happiness in their advertisements, because humour and fantasy appeal to our emotions in order to create favourable attitudes towards the advertised product, as well as influencing consumers' purchase intentions and increasing consumers' recall of the advertisements (Chattopadhyay & Basu 1990; Duncan 1979; Eisend 2009; Elbers 2013; Kellaris & Cline

2007; Krishnan & Chakravarti 2003; Madden & Weinberger 1984; Pieters, Warlop & Wedel 2002; Rose, Merchant & Bakir 2012; Shimp 2010; Skalski et al. 2009; Speck 1987; Sternthal & Craig 1973; Strick et al. 2009; Weinberger & Gulas 1992; Zhang 1996). Through their irrational narratives, these advertisements attempt to evoke feelings of amusement in the audience. Through the use of humour, the advertisements attach distinct identities to these products. Tweens are being introduced to the products as irresistible (see John West, Calypso mango and Maltesers), sophisticated (see Dairy Farmers Thick & Creamy yoghurt), socialising agents and perfect Christmas present options (see Maltesers and Cadbury's Favourites). The Twix bar advertisement (see Figure 31) is the only one in this category that employs humour in order to convey to consumers information about the good taste and quality of the product. Another commonly used advertisement theme is fantasy. The chocolate brands studied used animated characters and personification (see M&Ms, Lindt Bear and Ferrero Rocher) in order to create fantasy around the product and attract tweenage viewers' attention. The chapter also revealed that advertisements feature fun activities of the Australian outdoor lifestyle: bright sunshine, sporting interests, swimming, surfing, playing cricket, etc. They attempt to integrate the products into the discourse on Australian national identity and, therefore, appeal to Australian consumers (see Figures 39, 40, 41, 42 and 43). Tweens are being told that consuming these products during summer is part of Australian culture and is a means of achieving happiness during summer.

While previous studies (see Manganello et al. 2013; Sixsmith & Furnham 2009) have identified convenience and price as key themes that advertisers use in food advertisements; before the present study, no Australian research has examined how they communicate different connotations about the idea of convenience through the combined use of visuals and words. Chapter 7 revealed that advertisers construct products as convenient on the basis of their instant-ness, versatility, portability and price. By referring to the preparation of the advertised product (see Figures 44, 45, 46 and 47), its portability (see Figure 50), by featuring images of social gatherings or family lunch, or by featuring the usefulness of the product in preparing different meals (see Figures 48 and 49), advertisers are constructing their products as convenient. Tweens are being told they should buy Luv-a-Duck (see Figure 44) or Lenard's chicken (see Figure 45) because these products are quick, easy and delicious, and will give them the opportunity to spend

pleasurable time with family members and friends. From these advertisements it seems that convenience in relation to food preparation and consumption is composed of many dimensions especially when it comes to saving consumers' time and effort. By focusing on various convenient aspects of the advertised products, these food advertisements are providing children with valuable product information (Fisher & Lerner 2004, p.49). Since advertising influences children's dietary behaviours by selling unhealthy food products (see Figures 47, 50-57) harmful to children, advertisements may affect children's ability to establish healthy eating patterns (Folkvord et al. 2016). However, by not including any vegetables in the featured recipe, Luv-a-Duck may be under-stating the preparation time, thus emphasising the convenience and taste aspect of the product. Significantly, the Luv-a-Duck advertisement (see Figure 44) portrays former MasterChef contestant Justine Schofield as the central character to boost sales. Food brands use celebrity chefs to increase their sales volume by persuading new consumers to purchase their product, while simultaneously holding onto their existing customer base. Due to their popularity, the words of celebrity chefs are likely to be trusted and their recommended food tried (Powell et al. 2009). Given that a substantial proportion of Australian children are not consuming sufficient fruit and vegetables (Centre for Epidemiology and Evidence 2017), and that the rate of obesity has been increasing among Australian children (Harris & Kalnova 2018), by featuring consumption of meat-only meals, the Luv-a-Duck advertisement may undermine public health and parenting efforts to encourage healthy eating (Sustain, 2002).

The chapter presents the discovery that fast-food brands use sales promotion appeals – such as price discounts, extra-product price promotions, coupons, sweepstakes, contests, price-off deals and premiums – in advertisements available to tweens (see Figures 51, 52, 54, 57 and 58) (Manuere, Gwangwava & Gutu 2012) to encourage consumers to purchase a product in greater quantities, or more quickly and frequently (Jallow & Dastane 2016; Kazmi & Batra 2009, p. 513; Moriarty et al. 2014). Fast-food companies are maximising convenience by giving out large amounts of food at cheaper prices (see Figures 39, 41 and 42), thus luring consumers to choose fast food for their convenience (Powell & Chaloupka 2009). Advertisers purposely normalise larger sizes, in order to encourage the overconsumption of food. Some researchers (see Ledikwe, Ello-Martin & Rolls 2005; Young & Nestle 2002) believe that large portion sizes could influence our energy intake

and body weight. If so, normalising consumption of larger portion sizes is as pernicious as normalising obesity.

Recent research (see Watson et al. 2017) has confirmed that Australian children are still exposed to a large number of fast-food advertisements; the authors conclude by calling for government regulation to bring change in the current situation. This study's findings are significant because, by deconstructing advertising messages around taste, health, happiness, convenience and price, this chapter can inform policymakers and consumers about what tweens are learning from their exposure to these advertisements, thus providing them with knowledge about the importance of protecting children from exposure to such advertisements.

The research presented in Chapters 4 to 7 provides an original contribution to knowledge by exploring how advertisements construct food products as ideologically acceptable so as to set up an interaction with tween consumers, sell food products, and make a profit through persuading them to demand these products and services from their parents. By considering how television food advertisements are created, and discovering their purpose, this research is the first to discover how advertisers are constructing the tweenage market by circulating ideas and worldviews through advertising narratives; as well as by enriching commodities with desirable cultural and social associations. This research will allow stakeholders, such as parents and policy makers, to recognise current advertising practices along with the negative effects of increased commercial exposure in children; and to understand the kinds of ideas that are circulated through television advertising of food and drink. Finally, the findings of this research contribute to the development of policies and practices to reduce children's exposure to marketing of unhealthy foods, with implications for the marketers of such products who should be committed to promoting responsible marketing practices to children.

The research presented in Chapters 4 to 7 has shown that although advertisers may not be directly targeting children, nonetheless advertisers' creative content such as narratives and voiceovers do include information which may be misleading children about the freshness or health benefits of their products. It is therefore recommended that a government committee should be created to review the creative content of each

advertisement before they go on air to ensure that children are not being exposed to advertising messages that provide misleading information about the food products (e.g. making false claims about the freshness of the products) or images that are inappropriate for them or provide misleading information about the food products to them, (e.g. portrayal of stereotypical gender roles, sexualised images, etc.). In addition to the creation of a government committee to review the creative content of each advertisement, a government body free from external intervention and industry affiliation should be established to monitor and evaluate advertising content, as well as volume and use of emotional appeal and the impact of branded advertising. Development of such a government regulatory system intervention is necessary to regulate food marketing to children in order to serve the public interest to tackle childhood obesity.

This research also aimed to answer the second research question (RQ2), namely, How do television and online advertising work together? The analysis revealed that coordinated advertising now occurs across media platforms, from television to online and vice versa; and from company websites to social networking websites and vice versa. Chapter 8 revealed that, in Australia, 21 per cent (n=12) of television food advertisements examined during C-rated programs includes a web address/hyperlink. The final sample analysed included a total of 22 food company web presences, including 12 food company websites and 10 Facebook pages (because some brands' websites direct visitors to their Facebook sites and vice versa). A majority of the food company websites promoted on television during C-rated programs are specifically targeted at adults (70%) while a smaller proportion target both children and adults (30%). On the company websites, children may be exposed to marketing content that is targeted to as well as appropriate for adults, for example, contests, social networking activities, membership, etc.

None of these websites or Facebook pages appeals solely to children or tweens. The most prevalent marketing techniques used in the websites examined in this study were health claims and viral marketing. While children are not capable of comprehending health claims critically, viral marketing techniques persuade children to share their personal information with the company, without the knowledge or consent of parents. The frequent use of such marketing practices has introduced new areas of concern regarding online privacy and viral marketing. Only 5 per cent of the websites contained age blocks or

required parental consent to enter the website. This suggests that companies are offering minimum safety to children on their branded websites and that children can be exposed to extensive marketing material on food company websites.

The absence of age blocks or warnings allows children to be exposed to age inappropriate marketing content such as advergames or sexualised images which advertisers use to engage viewers including children with their brands. None of the websites contained an ad-break warning (warning the user that advertising content is present within the website). Of the 10 Facebook pages, 90 per cent included competitions, videos, health claims and links to branded websites as a part of their social media marketing techniques to attract the general population. Branded websites are primarily informational in nature; hence, a majority of the branded websites sites included in this study contain products' nutritional information. Marketers use Facebook as an interactive marketing tool, using engagement tactics such as competitions and contests on their branded Facebook pages.

The analysis indicates that food company websites promoted during children's television programming are full of advertisements, contests, social networking activities and membership but, in order to engage in such activities, children have to register themselves as members by providing their names, addresses, ages, email addresses and other personal information into the companies' online data gathering processes. The frequent use of such marketing practices has introduced new areas of concern regarding online privacy and viral marketing. Australia does not have a particular law concerning children's online privacy. However, the Privacy Act 1988 applies to handling of personal information of individuals under the age of eighteen years. The Privacy Act does not set a specific age when a child or young person can make decisions about their own personal information (ALRC n.d.). Marketers collect personal information from individuals for direct marketing purposes, particularly in the online environment. Once the child has provided contact details direct marketing can commence which may bypass many of the rules curbing advertisers' attempts to persuade children to buy products through direct offers.

The findings of this chapter are significant because the analysis provides updated data on the content and nature of online marketing tactics to policymakers to inform the development of policy regarding online marketing to children. Children's online privacy

can be safeguarded by adding new provisions to the Privacy Act 1988 that curb a company's ability to collect personal information — such as name, address, phone number, email address and so on — from any child without notifying and obtaining permission from that child's parents. While children's cognitive abilities advance with age, a ten-year-old child's cognitive skill will be very different from that of a sixteen-year-old. ACMA therefore has given C classification to programs which are intended for children (other than preschool children) who are younger than fourteen years of age (ACMA 2018). It is therefore recommended that the Privacy Act set fourteen years as minimum age at which an individual can make decisions regarding his or her personal information.

Television advertisements contain and display weblinks to food companies to reach children through less regulated media than the tightly regulated world of television. Existing research in the field has focused exclusively on television or online marketing, the second study presented in Chapter 8 offers a unique examination of the practice of coordinated marketing strategies deployed by food and beverage manufacturers on television, company-owned and third-party websites (not owned by the company), as well as on Facebook. Findings from this new study have significant practical implications for policymakers in Australia to create new standards to limit food companies' scope to reach child consumers through coordinated marketing campaigns across a variety of platforms. This second study has revealed that children are being exposed to a wide range of marketing content when visiting food companies' websites and Facebook pages. It is therefore recommended that the Federal government should add a provision that restricts food advertisers from including any weblink in their television advertisements, regardless of whether or not a program or channel is child-directed, not just those broadcast in C-classified programs on television.

Chapter 9 sought to answer the third research question (RQ3) about industry self-regulation systems in a changing media environment. This was achieved through a narrative literature review of current and previous primary and secondary literature to evaluate the actions of public health actors, governments and the food industry in reducing children's exposure to food advertisements. The broad conclusions from this analysis are that the government, public health organisations and the food industry

responded to rapid changes within the advertising, marketing and media industries by formulating, evaluating and amending advertising codes. However, self-regulation has been ineffective in protecting Australian children from exposure to unhealthy food advertising. A comparison between the findings of previous studies (Brindal, Corsini & Hendrie 2011; King et al. 2011) with those of the current study revealed an overall decline in food advertising; however, unhealthy products made up a higher proportion of food advertising. This research also revealed that signatories to self-regulation protocols actually accounted for a higher proportion of unhealthy food advertising than non-signatories. This means that the industry self-regulatory system has been unsuccessful in protecting children from exposure to unhealthy food advertising. It is therefore recommended that the performance of industry initiatives be monitored by an independent body, which would examine the influence of those industry initiatives to ensure their efficiency in reducing children's exposure to advertising of energy dense nutrient poor (EDNP) foods and beverages.

The absence of a standard definition of 'unhealthy foods and beverages'; the presence of a 35 per cent child viewership requirement in the Quick Service Restaurant Initiative (QSRI) for programs to be considered as directed primarily at children; the lack of specific objectives or measurable goals in the Responsible Children's Marketing Initiative (RCMI) and the QSRI; the development of the RCMI and the QSRI without public consultation; and the failure to include the promotion of healthy eating options and physical activity as part of the RCMI and QSRI are all demonstrably important lacunas in Australia's current advertising self-regulatory system.

The third study, presented in Chapter 9, makes an important contribution to the existing literature by offering insights into how the current regulatory system is responding to a changing media landscape. Food companies increasingly practise online marketing in the current media environment. This research sheds light on how the current advertising self-regulatory system can strengthen its enforcement capacity to restrict food marketers from using coordinated marketing strategies effectively to target child consumers across traditional advertising platforms, including television, in addition to company-owned and third-party websites (not owned by the company) and on social media. Findings from this research can be beneficial to the food and beverage industry and the self-regulatory

system to promote comprehensive and achievable solutions to the growing obesity rates in Australia by introducing new standards to keep pace with the expanded forms of marketing communication. The study's findings are significant because they provide direction to governments about areas that require immediate government intervention which I will discuss in my recommendations section.

10.3 Recommendations for policymakers

1. In Australia, the self-regulatory system could be strengthened by phasing out the promotion of EDNP food and beverages on free-to-air and pay television before 9.00pm within four years; the advertisement of any EDNP food and drink to children that includes premium offers, toys and competitions; and the use of promotional characters, including celebrities and cartoon characters, from all media outlets. It could also be strengthened by implementing and embracing an accurate set of definitions and criteria for regulating EDNP food and beverages (Roxon 2010).
2. A standard definition of unhealthy foods and beverages for the purpose of identifying products that should not be marketed to children could be determined and strengthened. 'Unhealthy' food and beverages need to be defined by an expert working group, including independent nutritionists and dieticians, who are not connected with the food or beverage industries. A standard definition of unhealthy foods and beverages would restrict marketers from marketing unhealthy and inappropriate products to children (Mills, Martin & Antonopoulos 2015).
3. The government body responsible for health claims regulation in Australia and New Zealand (Food Standards Australia New Zealand) adapted the United Kingdom's Ofcom Nutrient Profile model and developed The FSANZ model for determining the eligibility of foods and beverages to be linked to health claims (Rayner, Scarborough & Lobstein 2009). Responsible Children's Marketing Initiative (RCMI) signatories use their own nutrition criteria for determining which foods are 'healthier choices' and which should not be marketed to children (AFGC 2015). Children watch TV programs that are not specifically directed to them but more a general viewing audience and, because these TV programs are not specifically directed to children, companies suggest that they are not

advertising to children and, therefore, that these TV programs are not covered by the initiative (King et al. 2013). Australia should perhaps consider incorporating the FSANZ model into a regulation that restricts the advertising of products high in fat, sugar and salt during programs with a large child audience because this model has been tested in a recent study, showing good content and construct/convergent validity (Poon et al. 2018).

4. In Australia, the Children's Television Standards (CTS) could be strengthened by updating the guidelines regarding the 35 per cent children viewership threshold to reflect when children under 13 years are watching television today (i.e. including the hours between 8.30pm and 10pm). In reality, children watch a range of programs that could be said to be designed for a general audience. This means that children are being exposed to a large number of food advertisements that are not child directed and, thus, they are exposed to messages that they cannot comprehend critically. This kind of exposure is influencing their purchase decisions and requests, and their eating habits. Complaints to RCMI about advertisements during adult viewing hours are rejected on the basis that these advertisements appeared during non-children's TV hours, according to its creative content, or because it was watched by an audience of largely adult viewers, but that means the RCMI explicitly capture only a small proportion of advertisements to which children are exposed. Children's exposure to advertisements not directed to them as children does not mean that a particular advertisement will not impact them. Since the current regulatory system is failing to protect children from exposure to food advertising on television, the researcher recommends that the Federal government should add a provision to the CTS that bans the marketing of unhealthy food and beverages, regardless of whether or not a program or channel is child-directed, not just those broadcast in C-classified programs on television.
5. The Advertising Standards Bureau (ASB) codes only restrict advertisers from directly promoting food and beverage products. The ASB codes could be expanded to restrict advertisers from using creative and emotional techniques in advertising to build children's brand awareness (Hawkes 2005), irrespective of whether or not advertisers are directly promoting food and beverage products.
6. While signatories to the RCMI and QSR initiatives publicly commit to promoting healthy lifestyles through advertising healthy food products (AFGC 2014a,

2014b), this research and that of a previous study (AFGC 2010) found that the majority of advertisements for non-core foods were by signatory companies. This suggests that QSRI signatories are not accountable to their wide range of stakeholders. QSRI signatories have made weak commitments so that they can meet the financial demands of their businesses and continue to generate profit. No written code on marketing to children, no matter how well implemented, can work if these profit-making enterprises are not committed to supporting responsible dietary choices for people of all ages. Against this backdrop, it can be argued that the current industry regulatory system is failing to protect children from unhealthy food advertising and that the industry is failing to self-regulate; thus, the government's urgent intervention is needed to help control the rising childhood obesity rates in Australia.

7. This newly developed Australian policy also needs to ban marketing at locations where children gather, socialise and play – such as childcare centres, schools, community centres, recreation centres and public transport facilities – in order to ensure that children and young people can visit these areas without being exposed to food marketing.
8. Any government or non-government regulatory system can introduce and implement legislation to ensure a safe media environment for children and set boundaries for both industry bodies and children, but parents or carers should also accept some responsibility for implementing these regulations at home by imposing boundaries on children's use of electronic media. This research recommends that parents remain actively involved and attentive regarding the nature of their children's digital use and monitor their media consumption.

10.4 Implications

This finding has important implications for both future research and public policy.

- Findings from this study can equip parents with better understanding about the nature and scope of the online environment children face; it thus will help them to develop active parental media strategies, which would be useful for countering the potential adverse effects of food industry website content.

- By providing reliable data demonstrating the extent and nature of food advertising on television and online platforms, this study offers governments a direction for strengthening and extending existing rules and codes to cover common persuasive techniques.
- From a marketers' perspective, some will gain a better understanding about the loopholes in the existing and self-regulatory system and existing concerns about Australia's current regulatory arrangements. For example, this study deconstructed the meaning of 'fun' and 'taste' in the advertisements examined, and also discussed the possible influence of fun- or taste-oriented advertising messages and imageries on the consumption of unhealthy food products. Currently, there is no provision in any Australian code that restricts advertisers from using fun or taste appeals in food advertisements. This is an area that could be taken into especial consideration when assessing and amending codes and regulations (Jenkin et al. 2014).
- Findings from the present study extend current research examining food marketing to tweens. This study is useful to academics because it can serve as a reference and may provide some guidelines for researchers who would like to research the same topic.

10.5 Limitations of the study

The study has several limitations.

1. The current sample of children's commercials was taped from five television networks (i.e. Channel 7, Channel 9, Channel 10, Gem TV and Go) from November to December 2013 during the C-classified timeslot (4pm – 8:30pm Monday to Friday), which includes programs for children less than 14 years of age (ACMA 2013a). A total of 112.5 hours of children's television programming was recorded. The study was limited to commercials on five major networks (Channel 7, Channel 9, Channel 10, Gem TV and Go). However, in real life, most children watch reality TV and light-entertainment shows such as *MasterChef*, *The Voice*, *I'm a Celebrity*, *The Block* and *My Kitchen Rules*, which are not specifically made for children and which may contain food advertisements not examined in this study (ACMA 2017b).

2. Seasonality is another limitation of this research. Children's commercials were taped during the pre-Christmas season (November to December 2013 during C-classified programs). The sample was not designed to analyse health promoting marketing. Television advertising data were not randomly collected; therefore, it may not reflect television-advertising trends outside this period. However, this one-month period was selected because children are exposed to the highest number of child-targeted advertising in the pre-Christmas and Christmas seasons (Buijzen & Valkenburg 2000). Children may also have different media consumption patterns at different times of the year. For example, it is possible that, in the winter months, children may be spending less time watching television and therefore are exposed to fewer food and beverage advertisements on television.
3. The study only collected samples from the five free TV channels; however, children watch other non-child-directed channels after school, such as pay TV channels, which may include food advertisements not represented in this study. Moreover, the sampling strategy did not allow the researcher to estimate children's level of exposure to food and beverage advertisements on commercial television across all Australian capital cities.
4. The study examined company websites and Facebook pages selected on the basis of the web addresses included in the television food advertising during C-rated programs in the sample period. Food marketers also use social media platforms other than Facebook and many third-party websites, which are not owned by the food marketing companies, can also reach children. Therefore, this study did not represent food advertisers' coordinated marketing practices on diverse advertising platforms.

10.6 Suggestions for future studies

Many research questions about the nature of child-focused food and beverage advertising, and its impact on children in Australia, remain to be answered. To date in Australia, no research has examined food advertisers' coordinated efforts to reach tweens using multiple advertising platforms. Given children's increasing use of digital media, including social media, advertisers are currently reaching children through less-regulated

digital platforms and their coordinated efforts using a combination of advertising platforms is an important area that needs to be studied in detail.

With regards to marketing directed at children on Australian television channels, a few studies have examined the children's level of exposure to advertisements broadcast on free-to-air channels in Australia; however, no published comparative study in Australia has examined the prevalence of food and drink advertisements across C-rated programs and programs popular among children broadcast outside C-classified time. To address the challenges of restricting children's exposure to advertising on television channels, such a comparative study would help policymakers and parents to analyse the actual level and nature of children's exposure to the advertisements broadcast on Australian television stations or published online.

I would like to extend my PhD work by analysing food advertisements on subscription channels (Pay TV), which are popular with children, and by investigating the food marketing content on social media channels other than Facebook, with any future post-doctoral fellowship funding.

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Appendix A

Summary of the initial coding categories which were based on other published articles on internet food advertising.

Health claims

- Discussions on Health topics

- Healthy eating information

Nutritional information

- Nutrition Facts (Nutrition Label Information)

- Calorie information

- Compliance with an act

- Other nutrition information

Viral marketing

- Website communities

- E-mail a friend

Videos

- Music

- Webisodes

- Screensaver downloads

- Wallpaper downloads

Corporate social responsibility

- Fundraiser opportunities

News feed

- Newsletter

Television commercial

- Television commercial picture

- Television commercial video

- Latest product commercials to view E-cards

Conversation

Clickable chat box

Emails

Competitions or contests

Sweepstakes

Sponsorships

Link for sport event information

Tie-in to sporting events

Greetings

Send E-cards or text messages on consumers' birthdays or on Christmas etc.

Vouchers or offers

Free things or giveaways

Collectable merchandise

Special price promotions

Premium offer

Point collection for free products

Discount

Branded or cartoon characters

Animation

Advergaming

Games

Safeguards

Parental consent required

Age blocks

Ad-break warning

Apps**Presence of celebrities or athletes****Rewards to members****Personal challenges****Movie tie-ins****Fun or humour**

ⁱThis link is currently inactive.