Framing Responsible Drinking Messages in Nigeria: An Empirical Examination

Emeka W. Dumbili^{1,2,3*}, Kelechi Uwa-Robinson⁴, and Ogochukwu W. Odeigah⁵

1. Institute for Therapy and Health Research, Kiel Germany;
2. Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Anambra State, Nigeria
3. Department of Social and Political Sciences, Brunel University London, Uxbridge, London
4. Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria.
5. Department of Psychology, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria.

* ew.dumbili@unizik.edu.ng

Abstract

Nigeria ranks first for per capita consumption and heavy episodic drinking prevalence in Africa. Yet, there are no alcohol policies, standard drinks measurements, or low-risk drinking guidelines in the country. We explored the awareness and understanding/interpretations of the alcohol industry-sponsored “drink responsibly” message (DRM) among Nigerian youths. Data were elicited through semi-structured interviews and focus groups, and we also observed product labels and industry websites. Undergraduate participants were aware of the DRM, but some out-of-school participants with low-level education did not know it existed. This is likely because the DRM is promoted in the English language without any indigenous language alternatives. It is embedded in conventional advertisements that glamorize drinking without stand-alone public health messages encouraging low-risk drinking behaviours. Participants shared divergent but subjective interpretations of the DRM, but none associated it with abstinence. Some associated the DRM with the ability to *hold one’s drink*, stating that it means: ‘drinks very well, but don’t get drunk’, and ‘drink to your satisfaction, but don’t misbehave’. Other interpretations included: ‘know your limit’ and ‘drink in moderation’. Alcohol companies in Nigeria redirect consumers to Drinkaware’s and DrinkIQ’s websites in the UK but use inconspicuous fonts to inscribe the DRM on product labels. By design, alcohol companies frame the DRM to promote drinking and *individual responsibility*. Thus, it engendered subjective interpretations, including high-risk drinking behaviours. Policymakers should jettison self-regulation, implement alcohol policies and introduce low-risk drinking guidelines to encourage low-risk drinking. Also, Drinkaware’s and DrinkIQ’s websites should be avoided. To be effective, all RDMS should include the indigenous language versions.

Keywords: Drink responsibly, responsible drinking messages, drinking guidelines, alcohol policies, framing analysis

Introduction

Worldwide, alcohol consumption contributes to the increasing burden of non-communicable diseases such as cancer, liver cirrhosis, and hypertension (Knai *et al.*, 2021). According to the World Health Organization (WHO), 283 million people have suffered alcohol use disorders in the past 12 months, while 3 million deaths and 132.6 million disability-adjusted life years were attributable to harmful alcohol use in 2016 (WHO, 2018). In Africa, although the number of abstainers is relatively high (Morojele *et al.*, 2021), many alcohol users engage in heavy episodic drinking (HED). For example, the per capita consumption among alcohol users (15 years +) in 2016 was ranked the second-highest globally (18.4 litres of pure alcohol), and the continent also recorded the highest HED prevalence (50.2%) worldwide (WHO, 2018).

In the Nigerian context, WHO (2018) indicated that the country ranked the highest on the continent for per capita consumption (13.4 litres of pure alcohol) and HED prevalence (28.9%), respectively. While harmful alcohol use and the related burden of disease are growing in the country (Adeloye *et al.*, 2019; Dumbili, 2020), there are no coordinated regulatory responses to alcohol marketing and availability because written alcohol policies do not exist (Dumbili, 2014; Morojele *et al.*, 2021; WHO, 2018). Relatedly, there are no specified drinking guidelines (e.g., standard drinks) or other measures to protect public health in Nigeria (Dumbili, 2014). What is currently available is voluntary industry self-regulation (Odeigah *et al.*, 2021), which leads to responsible drinking campaigns that the alcohol industry sponsors under the guise of corporate social responsibilities (CSR) (Dumbili, 2014).

This article aims to explore young people's awareness and understanding/interpretations of the "Drink Responsibly" statement- an alcohol industry-sponsored responsible drinking message (RDM). The study asked the following questions:

- (I) To what extent are young people aware of responsible drinking messages in Nigeria?
- (II) How do young people interpret drink responsibly message in Nigeria?

Most of the empirical studies on RDMs have focused on Western countries (where written alcohol policies mostly exist (Barry & Goodson, 2011; de Graaf, van den Putte, & de Bruijn, 2015)). To our knowledge, none have been conducted in Africa (where alcohol policies either do not exist in most countries or lax regulations predominate (Morojele *et al.*, 2021)). Drawing on semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) with adolescents and emerging adults and observation of product labels and industry websites, this study begins to

fill this gap. The study is crucial because extant studies examining RDMs interventions' effectiveness in countries with drinking guidelines have produced mixed results (i.e., as explored below, a few studies were effective while others were not). Again, given the absence of alcohol control policies in Nigeria, the interpretation of the RDMs might be different from some Western countries where policies and drinking guidelines exist. Importantly, evidence shows that industry-sponsored RDMs are strategically ambiguous, self-serving, and ineffective in curtailing alcohol misuse and related harms (Smith, Atkin, & Roznowski, 2006). Therefore, we argue that they will not be effective in Nigeria, where low-risk drinking guidelines are neither specified nor known.

Responsible Drinking Messages (RDMs)

Researchers, practitioners, alcohol corporations, and their affiliate bodies have employed diverse concepts (e.g., sensible, moderation, responsible, and smart drinking) in an attempt to conceptualize responsible drinking, but no shared definition exists to date. In the words of Towers *et al.* (1994, p.57), “sensible” drinking is taking alcohol “in a responsible manner that will not lead to problems for oneself and others, within specified safe drinking limits per occasion, while recognizing situations where one should not drink”. De Graaf and colleagues, who studied young women, defined responsible drinking, based on Dutch’s national drinking guidelines, as taking “not more than one standard glass of alcohol per day” (de Graaf *et al.*, 2015, p.991). Relatedly, the International Alliance for Responsible Drinking (IARD) noted that “when we say *responsible* drinking, we refer to the enjoyment of alcohol drinks by adults who choose to drink in a manner that does not harm others and minimizes risk of harm to the consumer” (Maani Hessari & Petticrew, 2018, p.92). Citing the US Department of Health and Human Services, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2021) defined moderate drinking as taking “2 drinks or less in a day for men or 1 drink or less in a day for women, on days when alcohol is consumed”.

While diverse definitions exist, as noted, there is no consensus in the extant literature (Gray *et al.*, 2021a). The lack of shared meaning of responsible drinking makes the concept more confusing and difficult for intervention purposes. A study that examined the strategies to prepare adolescents to make responsible decisions regarding alcohol use found that parents did not understand how best to prepare them due to the confusion around the concept (Milgram, 1996). As Gray *et al.* (2021a, p.237) stated, alcohol industry-sponsored “drink responsibly

campaigns likely contributed to confusion about the meaning of the concept’’ because alcohol producers strategically design RDMs with ambiguity to elicit diverse interpretations that will, in turn, favour them (Atkin *et al.*, 2008; Smith *et al.*, 2006).

Furthermore, industry-sponsored responsible consumption ads are often pro-drinking in nature, given that they are embedded in persuasive themes that portray humour (Hill *et al.*, 2005). Pettigrew *et al.*'s (2016) qualitative study, which examined young people's thoughts, feelings and responses to Drinkwise-sponsored RDMs in Australia, found that they were entertaining and supportive of the HED norms that are common among youths. Dumbili's (2014) commentary on the promotion of the DRM by alcohol producers in Nigeria concluded that the message would be ineffective due to a lack of drinking guidelines. A few experimental studies also produced mixed results regarding the effectiveness of RDMs. For example, Pilling and Brannon (2007) found that college students who received personalised RDM reported- ‘‘more favourable attitudes toward the RDM’’ (p.265). Glock *et al.* (2015) conducted two experiments in Germany regarding mass media RDM posters. While one of the experiments produced positive effects at the implicit level, the other had no positive effect. Contrary to experimental research that reported positive effects, Moss *et al.* (2015) reported that participants who were exposed to responsible drinking advice and/or posters increased their alcohol use more than those who were not. Indeed, the degree to which RDMs are effective continues to be the subject of debate. One review, for instance, could not reach a conclusion on their effectiveness due to the ‘‘inconsistent approach to both the development and evaluation of RDMs’’ (Moss & Albery, 2018, p.26).

While the effectiveness of RDMs remains controversial, vague statements such as ‘‘drink responsibly’’ are particularly problematic in many ways (Gray *et al.*, 2021b). For example, evidence-based research shows that alcohol industry-sponsored organizations use what Pettigrew *et al.* (2020, p.1290) called ‘‘dark nudges’’ (i.e., messages that ‘‘aim to change consumer behaviour against their best interests’’) in disseminating RDMs. An American study concluded that such a *relativistic* concept should not be used because some adolescents assume that it denotes that ‘‘some underage drinking is acceptable’’ (Thomsen & Fulton, 2007, p.33). Among Italian adolescents, Farace *et al.* (2020) found that drink responsibly ad campaigns sponsored by beer manufacturers were ineffective in reducing harmful consumption. They reported that none of the interviewees remembered that such messages existed. A US study comparing the effectiveness of abstinence norms and RDMs in reducing alcohol consumption found that the former was more effective (Glassman *et al.*, 2016). The nature and placement of

RDMs also affect their effectiveness. For instance, a US study of adolescents found that the participants overlooked RDMs in magazine alcohol commercials, given their inconspicuous positioning in the margins (Thomsen & Fulton, 2007). Recent evidence shows that alcohol industry-sponsored organizations use *cognitive biases* (“systematic errors in human thought processes”) in manipulating specific fonts and colours “to make health-related information about the harms of alcohol difficult to access, and enhances exposure to misinformation” (Petticrew *et al.*, 2020, p.1291). In this light, Krugman *et al.* (1994, p.49) advised that “a warning message must not only attract attention: it must hold attention so that the viewer reads and comprehends the message”.

Research has demonstrated that alcohol producers sponsor RDMs not because they are genuinely concerned about drinking in moderation or alcohol-related harms. Instead, one of their aims is to avoid being blamed for the harms caused by their products (Smith *et al.*, 2006). By focusing on individual-level factors, RDMs shift the responsibility to consumers rather than the unhealthy commodity industry.

Materials and Methods

Study Site and Procedures

This study was conducted in Benin City, a historical city (Koutonin, 2016) and Edo State’s capital, in Southern Nigeria. Situated on the major highway connecting Western and Southern Nigeria, the city is metropolitan and consists mainly of government parastatals, civil service, businesses, and public and private higher institutions. Multinational and local alcohol corporations such as ‘Guinness Nigeria’ and Heineken-owned Nigerian Breweries have manufacturing plants in the city. Therefore, we searched their websites, and examined product labels to observe the nature of RDMs and their positioning. According to the Population Stat (2021), the estimated population of Benin City in 2020 was 1,727,000.

The participants were recruited through three processes. Word-of-mouth and direct recruitment started with the male researcher going to two university campuses and their surrounding students’ hostels to survey the environments and make initial contact with potential participants. Having established a rapport with some students, he introduced the study to them and asked if they could participate. Those who indicated an interest were subsequently given the full details of the study’s aims, the methods of participation and how the data would

be protected (Flick, 2014). The female co-researcher also discussed the study with the student and non-student populations, giving them the full details of it, and those who indicated an interest were recruited for interviews. We have utilised this recruitment method in previous studies involving young people who use alcohol (Dumbili, 2015) in another region of Nigeria.

Furthermore, Google Form was designed and shared via WhatsApp platforms and Facebook pages to invite potential participants. The form contained brief information about the study and the phone numbers of the researchers. It also indicated that those interested in finding out more about the study could supply their contact number (or email) to be contacted. The lead researcher also attended two socio-religious events in the city and discussed with some youths the nature of the study and how they could help to share the Google Forms with their contacts. Those who completed the form and provided their phone numbers were called to explain the study's full details and the eligibility conditions for participation. They were also asked about their age, when they last took alcohol and if they would like to participate in the study. To be included in the study, a potential participant had to be between 18 and 24 years old and must have used alcohol at least once in the last month. Those who met the inclusion criteria were recruited for the study.

Third, the snowball method (Ghaljaie, Naderifar, & Goli, 2017) facilitated the recruitment of additional participants. After each interview, we asked the participants to put us in contact with other known alcohol users who may like to participate in the study. The multiplicity of these recruitment methods aimed to attract diverse and heterogeneous populations, and yielded positive results. Each participant received N1500 (\$3.94) as incentive. Their names and other identifiers have been replaced with pseudonyms to protect their identities. The authors' University Ethics Committee granted ethical approval (Reference:16189-LR-Apr/2019-18748-2), and informed consent was obtained from the participants.

Participants, Interviews, and Focus Groups

The participants comprised 48 undergraduate students and 24 out-of-school youths. The out-of-school youths were primarily apprentices and hairstylists, and there was also an auxiliary nurse and a plumber. None of the participants were from the privileged class. Fifty-three semi-structured interviews and 3 FGDs ($n=26$) lasting between 30 and 99 minutes were conducted

with 42 females and 37 males (aged 18-24 years) between February and June 2019. Five females and two males participated in both the interviews and FGDs. The interviews and FGDs were conducted in the English language, although five of the out-of-school participants spoke in Pidgin English. Each session started with an effort to establish a rapport and obtain demographic data. Following this, questions that sought to elicit participants' awareness of the "drink responsibly" message and the meaning it holds for them were asked. Some of the specific questions and probes include: "have you seen/heard of this phrase- drink responsibly?" "Are you aware of the drink responsibly message in Benin/Nigeria?" "Where did you see/hear it?" "So, tell me, what does drink responsibly mean to you?" "I mean, based on your understanding, how can you explain 'drink responsibly'?" "What is your interpretation of responsible drinking?" "Would you please describe what you understand by drink responsibly?" What quantity (bottle/can or glass) of alcoholic drink will someone take to be considered to have consumed responsibly? "How do you drink responsibly?" The sessions were recorded with a digital device with the permission of the participants.

Data Analysis

Guided by Braun and Clarke's (2019) reflexive thematic analysis, we employed deductive and inductive approaches to identify detailed and rich patterns of meaning in the data. First, the audio-recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim, read several times, and cross-checked for accuracy. Having immersed ourselves in the data, we engaged in a collaborative approach to data analysis (Richards & Hemphill, 2018). Here, the initial coding of five transcripts was undertaken independently by two researchers, using participants' own words and phrases (Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019). The duo then reviewed and discussed the tentative codes developed manually before generating the coding framework, which guided the remainder of the coding and analysis. This process aimed to increase transparency, consistency, analytical rigour and trustworthiness (Gioia *et al.*, 2013; Richards & Hemphill, 2018).

Following this, the transcripts were imported into the NVivo 12 software, which was used to manage the data and the remainder of the analysis (Jackson & Bazeley, 2019). Here, we created parent nodes and coded all of the transcripts by collating and categorizing extracts into relevant nodes (Maher *et al.*, 2018). The process also involved creating child nodes under the parent nodes, where relevant extracts were collated. Following a thorough reading of the nodes, incompatible excerpts were moved to more appropriate nodes, or new nodes were created for them. Next, themes were searched for and identified. Following these refinements,

themes and subthemes that had been developed were named before recording the patterns of meaning in them (Braun & Clarke, 2019). The results of this iterative process are presented below. Where necessary, we have also added the data elicited from our observation of product labels and industry's websites.

Results

The results presented below focused on participants' awareness and understanding /interpretation of the DRM in Nigeria. The results are presented under two main themes (*awareness of drink responsibly* and *participants' understanding/interpretations of drink responsibly*) and four subthemes: *not showing bodily intoxicating signs, knowing your limit, drink in moderation, not too much, and more confusing interpretations*). In this first part of the results, we addressed the first research question: to what extent are young people aware of responsibly drinking messages in Nigeria?

Awareness of Drink Responsibly

We started by asking the participants to share their knowledge regarding the existence of RDMs in Nigeria, and the majority stated that they were aware of the 'drink responsibly' statement. For example, when a female student was asked if she had ever heard of the 'drink responsibly' statement, she answered: "oh, yes. I've heard it". Male participants also answered in the affirmative:

Osakwe: Yes, of course, I've heard about it, and I've seen it in adverts (Male, Student).

Mike: Yeah, I have heard of that several times (Out-of-School Male).

Charles: I've seen drink responsibly before (Male student).

While all of the student participants were aware of the industry-sponsored drink responsibly message, eight of the out-of-school participants were not. These participants could not remember the existence of any RDMs in Nigeria. Similarly, none of the participants remembered ever seeing drink responsibly on product labels (see Figure 1), although some of them had seen age restriction and alcohol by volume information.

The majority who indicated their awareness of the ‘drink responsibly’ statement referenced billboards and alcohol advertisements in electronic media as the sources, where they had either seen or heard about it. For example, when the focus group discussants were asked to indicate where they had seen, heard, or read about RDMs, they unanimously referred to beer adverts:

FGD Male Participants: echoing simultaneously: [through] Guinness advert, Star [beer] advert, Heineken [advert]; all beer adverts.

In a similar manner, the interviewees confirmed that RDMs are embedded in alcohol commercials that are pro-drinking:

Florence It’s a ‘slogan’ that many drink companies use after their advertisement, advising young ones to drink responsibly (Female, student).

Orie: They promote alcohol [on TV adverts] and say drink responsibly [at the end]. They promote a fine guy relaxing after work [with] a bottle of beer, and watching a game with a friend; [he] gets a bottle of beer, and they just say it [drink responsibly] (Female, Student).

These accounts, like many others, highlighted how alcohol industry-sponsored RDMs are framed and infused with alcohol advertisements that promote drinking. Uwa’s account below sheds more light on the fact that RDMs in Nigeria are not separated from alcohol advertisements:

Uwa: [During] alcohol advertisements, they will tell you to drink responsibly, 18+ ...just like cigarette, they will tell you: ‘smokers are liable to die young’ (Male Student).

Unlike in some Western countries (e.g., Australia- see Jones, Hall, & Kypri, 2017)), where health ministries and/or health-related NGOs independently promote responsible drinking interventions (alongside industry-sponsored RDMs), the only RDM in Nigeria is the industry-sponsored ‘drink responsibly’ (and/or fairly recently- ‘enjoy responsibly’ (Figure 1) (Odeigah et al., 2021)) message, which is part of conventional alcohol advertisements (Dumbili, 2014). Our analysis and observations also show that industry-sponsored RDMs in Nigeria are framed and disseminated in the following ways. First, as referenced in the above accounts, in electronic media, alcohol adverts that glamorise drinking are portrayed. Towards the end, a narrator will simply mention the catchphrase (Hallahan, 1999)-‘drink responsibly’. There is no

demonstration of what responsible drinking is. A similar semantic framing (Hallahan, 1999) is also used in print media and billboard adverts, but “drink responsibly,” and 18+ signs are inscribed. Importantly, we observed that information directing alcohol users to Drinkaware’s and DrinkIQ’s websites in the UK are also inscribed by Guinness Nigeria and International Breweries, which produces Budweiser. Similar information is also present on the alcohol industry’s websites (see excerpt below).

Participants’ Understanding/Interpretations of Drink Responsibly

This section, divided into four subthemes, addressed the second research question: how do young people interpret message in Nigeria? Given that framing is a handy tool for persuasive communication, it is often employed in constructing public relation messages that “shape the perspectives through which people see the world” (Hallahan, 1999, p.207). Thus, it is a valuable framework for analyzing CSR messages that stigmatized industries develop and how individuals understand and make meaning of them (Ban, 2016). Having indicated their awareness of the drink responsibly statement, we probed them to unpack what it meant to them. That is, each participant was asked to share his/her understanding and interpretations of the phrase “drink responsibly”. Below, we have summarised their nuanced responses under four subthemes.

Not Showing Bodily Intoxicating Signs

Participants extensively referenced bodily signs that depict alcohol intoxication as they shared their understandings of “drink responsibly”. Most of them focused on the aftermath of drinking, particularly the consequences. In the account below, a participant associated drink responsibly with the ability to “hold one’s drink” irrespective of the quantity a drinker takes:

Joy: Well, in my own understanding, drink responsibly means: drink what you know your body can take. You can take 10 [bottles of beer] as far as you know your body can take that amount... That’s [being] responsible. As far as you know your body can take even 100 bottles, go ahead and drink it. That is drinking responsibly for me. I don’t know about others (Female, Student).

Framing analyses of alcohol (Yoon & Lam, 2013) and fast food (Ban 2016, p.296) industries' activities have shown that they frame their CSR messages to reflect "individual responsibility". This is abundant in our participants' understanding/interpretations of DRM. The majority of participants shared similar views in line with the account above. Interestingly, some female participants *played with words* without mentioning any substantial alcohol quantities while stating their understanding of responsible drinking. To them, an alcohol user is said to have drunk responsibly as long as s/he did not "misbehave" (i.e., did not show characteristics of inebriation):

Agatha: Drink responsibly means to drink... in a particular measure... that will not make you misbehave (Female Student).

Itohan: Okay, drink responsibly to me actually means: take that quantity of drink you are able to absorb and... after taking it; you'll still be ok, not misbehaving. So that's when you drink responsibly (Female Student).

While some participants used *drinking without misbehaving* to frame their understanding of responsible drinking, others shared more nuanced opinions, showing that it means drinking and not getting drunk. For example, one of the participants used how her male friends "drink very well", and yet do not show signs of drunkenness to demonstrate her understanding of responsible drinking. The accounts below cast more light on this understanding:

Uyi: Drink responsibly means 'drink but don't be drunk' (Male Student).

Uvieh: Drink responsibly is not to get drunk (Male Out-of-school).

Oghogho: ...if I have to drink responsibly, it means I should drink how my heart wants... As in, how my body can take for that time, not for me to get drunk. If I get drunk, I'm no more a responsible person... (Female, Student).

Interestingly, none of the participants associated RDMs with abstinence. This is in line with the alcohol industry's framing of RDMs in ways that promote drinking without mentioning abstinence (Pettigrew et al., 2016).

Together, these accounts show that most of the participants used bodily effects of alcohol to describe their understanding of responsible drinking. As they asserted, an alcohol user is considered to have 'consumed responsibly' as long as s/he is not showing signs of inebriation irrespective of the amount of alcohol they may have consumed. As referenced in

their accounts, most of the participants vaguely used the term “quantity” of alcohol without specifying an exact amount. This was expected given the lack of specification of standard drinks in Nigeria.

Knowing Your Limit

Our analysis shows more nuances regarding the meanings that participants attributed to the drink responsibly statement. Participants used what can be called “trial and error” to determine the amount they drank, and this is not unrelated to the lack of drinking guidelines in Nigeria. As the accounts of the female interviewees below demonstrate, *trial and error* also shaped their understanding/interpretations of the DRM:

Bethel: Well, I think when they tell you to drink responsibly, it means you should know your limit (Female, Student).

Grace [FGD2]: Drink responsibly means that they should not drink above their ‘gauge’. That’s, they should not drink to the point that they will be ‘staggering’, and to the point of stupor, as I said earlier. (Female, Student).

Imade [FGD2]: She actually said it [all]... Grace actually said everything. You should know your limit. When they say drink responsibly, you should know the point where you get to, when you are tipsy and when you become high. So, drink responsibly means don’t just try to get high... (Female, Student)

One prominent thing in these accounts is participants’ subjective understanding, and interpretation of the drink responsibly message. Each of them drew on personal experience of *knowing their gauge or limit* to describe how responsible drinking should be.

Men also employed a similar choice of words and personal experiences to frame their understanding of responsible drinking. For example:

Osazuwa: I will say that drinking responsibly is very important. People should know their limits. Like I know my limit; after two cups [of red wine], I will just stop, everybody should know their limit so that when you are getting to the point of intoxication when you start doing irresponsible things, everybody should stop.. (Male, Student)

As referenced above, drinking to the point of *doing irresponsible things* before you have to stop does not show taking responsibility. Relatedly, while knowing one's limit or *when to say no* appears 'responsible', such a subjective measure presents some unique problems because people may exceed the safe drinking level before they start feeling the effects of the alcohol. As these accounts have shown, one may have exceeded the low-risk drinking level when they have drunk to the level where they have begun 'staggering'.

Drink in Moderation, Not Too Much

Hallahan (1999, p.207) noted that "frames reflect judgments made by message creators or framers". He further illustrated this, using "valence framing"- where organizations put "information either in positive or negative light". The alcohol industry in Nigeria (and elsewhere) frames RDMs in a positive light, and that is why previous studies found that such messages support drinking rather than discourage it (see Pettigrew *et al.*, 2016). In the excerpt below, we demonstrate how 'Guinness Nigeria' described why it promotes moderate drinking:

...If misuse persists, campaigns against the promotion and sale of alcohol beverages may follow, potentially affecting our business. For these compelling reasons, we work to find a responsible, sustainable place for the moderate enjoyment of our brands in Nigeria. Our consumer understanding and marketing skills, developed and proven in promoting our brands, are also employed to champion responsible drinking. You can find out more at DRINKiQ.com, our online portal that provides people with information about the ingredients and nutritional and alcohol content of their favourite Guinness Nigeria and Diageo drinks (Guinness Nigeria, 2021).

Here, 'Guinness Nigeria' framed three interrelated firm-serving (Kim & Lee, 2012) CSR messages. First, the company positioned itself as a 'partner' in preventing alcohol-related harms by promoting 'moderation'. Still, with a cursory look at the quote (e.g., "potentially affecting our business"), one can infer that the company is actually protecting its business interest which may suffer from campaigns against heavy drinking. Second, the company highlighted individual responsibility by engaging "our consumer understanding... to champion responsible drinking". Lastly, 'Guinness Nigeria' points users to the UK-based website (DRINKiQ.com), where alcohol images that support drinking are abundantly portrayed (Odeigah et al., 2021).

In line with our observation of industry websites, empirical data show other elements of the ambiguity in the drink responsibly framing, in that most of the participants interpreted it as drinking in ‘moderation’ or not drinking “too much” alcohol:

Mercy: ...It means you drink in smaller quantities or in moderate size that will not make you [intoxicated]... (Female, Student)

Esther: Well, it means you should actually take alcohol in moderation, not in excess...(Female, Student)

Eke [FGD]: Ok, drinking responsibly means taking alcohol in moderate quantities (Male, Student)

Despite the fact that these participants mentioned drinking in moderation and not in excess, none of them specified the exact quantity they considered *moderate or excess*.

One unique aspect of our analysis shows that while undergraduate participants used ‘moderate’ consumption to demonstrate their understanding, their non-student counterparts chose “not taking too much” alcohol to depict responsible drinking:

Tega: [It means drink with care; don't take too much (Female out-of-school).

Favour I can tell you what I understand about responsible drinking is maybe not taking too much alcohol; you can take the amount you can handle; that's what I understand (Female out-of-school).

One of the non-student participants stood out because she specified the amount of alcohol she considers *not too much*. Her account below sheds more light on this:

Chichi: Like for instance, they will tell you not to drink too much, and you should drink to your satisfaction. Drink like maybe two to four bottles [of beer]; when it comes to your eyes [stop]... (Female out-of-school).

Chichi's nuanced account is unique because she juxtaposed “not to drink too much” with *drinking to your satisfaction*. Although she did not mention the quantity that will guarantee satisfaction, she nonetheless showed that exceeding four bottles on a drinking occasion is ‘irresponsible’ consumption. Despite her unique effort to delineate what she considered responsible drinking, she nevertheless reflected the ambiguity expressed by others, demonstrating the lack of standard drinks in Nigeria: she used the “number of bottles” in her

description. Her reference to “when it comes to your eyes [stop]” also betrayed her subjective interpretation of responsible drinking, and, as we have demonstrated, this was common among the participants. In summary, these accounts have shown how participants used drinking to one’s satisfaction, yet, not drinking *too much* to describe drinking responsibly. But, it is clear that there was no shared definition of “moderate” or “too much” consumption among them—a factor that supports the strategic ambiguity of RDMs caused by industry framing of such messages to provoke multiple meanings (Atkin et al., 2008; S. W. Smith et al., 2006).

More Confusing Interpretations

As noted above, RDMs are often strategically framed to provoke multiple interpretations, and this is abundant in the subthemes explored above. Additional accounts shared by some of the out-of-school participants, and shown below, demonstrate more ambiguous meanings that they attributed to the RDM. For example, when one of them was asked to describe his understanding of the drink responsibly statement, he said:

Osaroh: Drink responsibly, that's you can take alcohol in excess... but at least you will still respect yourself as a normal person (Male- out-of-school).

Taking alcohol in excess does not show ‘responsibility’, but based on his understanding, as long as the drinker ‘respects himself/herself’, s/he has drunk responsibly. Another male out-of-school participant engaged with what can be called the *antithesis*, using two differing drinking behaviours to illustrate his understanding of the DRM:

Bayo: Drink responsibly to me means we should be drinking the appropriate way, not drinking it in excess or in the lower quantity (Male, Student).

While male participants interpreted responsible drinking in relation to behaviour, a female participant drew on the drinking context to share her understanding:

Helen: It means don’t drink in public, don’t drink in the open place, it is not good (Female out-of-school).

As stated earlier, the out-of-school participants were mainly apprentices and secondary school-leavers. Thus, their low level of education may have contributed to shaping their interpretation of the drink responsibly statement. Together, the participants provided nuanced views showing

their perspectives concerning RDMs in Nigeria. While participants expressed diverse views, they highlighted the ambiguity and multiple subjective interpretations of the drink responsibly. These views also summed up the individual responsibility framing that stigmatized industries employ in CSR messages/activities.

Discussion

Our study explored adolescents' and young adults' awareness and understandings of the DRM that alcohol companies promote in Nigeria. We presented the findings under two main themes (awareness of drink responsibly message and participants' understanding/interpretation of RDM). The findings showed that while most of the interviewees, especially the undergraduates, were knowledgeable about the existence of the DRM, some of the out-of-school participants were not. Their lack of knowledge of the DRM could be attributed to various factors, including their low level of education, mainly because, aside from the English language, the 'drink responsibly' does not have a 'Pidgin English' version. Second, Nigeria has over 250 languages, but none of the alcohol companies translates its RDM into any of the indigenous Nigerian languages. Although English is the official Nigerian language, the country has a high illiteracy rate (THISDAY Newspaper, 2019). Therefore, for any public health information/intervention to be widely noticed, it should have local language versions.

Relatedly, none of the interviewees had seen the DRM on labels of alcoholic products in Nigeria. The drinks industry in Nigeria self-regulates alcohol labelling. Despite the so-called self-regulation, most alcohol companies do not inscribe 'drink or enjoy responsibly' or on the labels of locally-produced beers and spirits (Odeigah *et al.*, 2021). Alcohol producers who inscribe RDMs on labels also strategically use tiny fonts placed inconspicuously at the margins, making their noticeability very difficult (Odeigah *et al.*, 2021). Evidence shows that poor positioning of health information on labels can result in such information being overlooked (Dossou *et al.*, 2017). Again, the way information on labels is ordered and positioned significantly affects the judgements of those who are exposed to it (Petticrew *et al.*, 2020). Given that the provision of lucid and "unbiased health information would pose too much of a risk to the alcohol market" (Petticrew *et al.*, 2020, p.1313), alcohol companies in Nigeria strategically place 'drink responsibly' and other health information inconspicuously (see Figure 1) to the detriment of public health.

Additionally, based on our observation and analysis, RDMs in Nigeria are embedded in conventional alcohol adverts that glamorize drinking and support alcohol use. This confirms a US study that reported that industry-sponsored RDMs are immersed in pro-drinking alcohol advertisements' humorous themes (Hill et al., 2005). This is why Pettigrew *et al.* (2016) noted that industry-sponsored RDMs portray scenes that encourage young people's drinking cultures. In Nigeria, where there are no policies on alcohol advertising and promotion (WHO 2018), and the drinks industry sponsors all manner of social events to increase sales (Dumbili & Williams, 2016), vague statements such as drink responsibly that are also embedded in pro-drinking commercials will not be effective in reducing hazardous alcohol consumption.

We also observed that multinational alcohol companies in Nigeria (e.g., Guinness Nigeria) refer alcohol users to the UK's websites of their companies (e.g., Diageo's DrinkIQ) or their social aspects organizations such as Drinkaware to access RDMs (Odeigah *et al.*, 2020), but this is problematic in many ways. First, it ignores the fact that people's leisure behaviours are shaped to a large extent by their socio-cultural environment. Globally, the alcohol industry relies on the hazardous use of its products to increase sales and profits (Casswell et al., 2016). Given the lack of alcohol policies in Nigeria (WHO, 2018), multinational alcohol companies engage in unregulated aggressive marketing activities (Dumbili & Williams, 2016)- a factor that influences the timing, volume, and social environments of alcohol use (Jernigan *et al.*, 2017). Therefore, it is unsurprisingly deceptive that the same industry pretends to warn the public about the harms caused by its products, by directing them to websites in another country. This supports Hawkins *et al.* (2021) findings that the alcohol industry often frames its CSR to appear as solving alcohol-related problems.

Additionally, there is abundant empirical evidence that “environmental triggers” (Petticrew *et al.*, 2020, p.1308) can influence drinking. For example, a UK study of leisure sites found that serving wine in larger glasses led to the consumption of larger quantities compared to when it is served in standard-sized glasses (Pechey *et al.*, 2016). A recent study that compared alcoholic beverages simultaneously produced in Nigeria and the UK found that the Nigerian products were higher than their UK counterparts in volume, alcohol units, and alcohol by volume (Odeigah *et al.*, 2020). Therefore, these peculiar factors make it difficult to rely on the alcohol industry's UK's websites to protect public health in Nigeria. Also, these websites mostly contain images that support drinking (e.g., happy drinkers), rather than discouraging it (Petticrew *et al.*, 2020). As Hallahan (1999, p.206) noted, “outbound public relations communications involve attempts to define reality... for the many publics on whom the

organization depends''. Given that one of the crucial works framing analysis performs is to ''shape perspectives through which people see the world'' (Hallahan, 1999, p.206), the alcohol industry directs consumers to sites that are preloaded with pro-drinking images/messages.

Furthermore, these industry-affiliated organizations vaguely define or frame responsible drinking without referencing any specific level of alcohol use, and they hardly refer to government-specified drinking guidelines (Maani Hessari & Petticrew, 2018). Of course, this is expected because these industry-affiliated bodies and funded organizations were established to serve self-interests (McCambridge *et al.*, 2014; Petticrew *et al.*, 2020). This is why they often misrepresent scientific evidence supporting alcohol harms (Lim *et al.*, 2019; McCambridge *et al.*, 2014). According to Petticrew *et al.* (2020, p.1290), their RDMs are embedded with ''dark nudges'' so that consumers can act against their interests. Thus, the information they share on their websites will neither discourage drinking nor enhance public health. Importantly, at a population level, information-based interventions have proven to be less effective in preventing alcohol-related harms (Foxcroft *et al.*, 2003). Interventions that focus on WHO 'Best Buys' such as marketing, pricing, and availability are economical and more effective (Chisholm *et al.*, 2018) than ambiguously framed RDMs. Unfortunately, these measures are aggressively opposed by the alcohol industry. Indeed, directing consumers in a country without alcohol policies to websites in another country where standard drinks are defined, and alcohol policies exist is a subtle way to divert attention from Nigeria's lack of policies.

As acknowledged earlier, in Nigeria, there are neither low-risk drinking guidelines that specify standard drinks nor standard-sized serving glasses (Dumbili, 2014). This makes it more difficult to know the amount of alcohol to consume to be considered to have acted 'responsibly'. The non-provision of drinking guidelines may have resulted in our participants' use of intoxication features to illustrate their understanding of *safe* drinking. For example, in the US, Barry and Goodson's (2011, p.306) participants drew on government drinking guidelines (e.g., ''only having the recommended one drink a day for females and two drinks a day for males'') to describe the features of drinking in moderation. While drinking and not getting drunk seemingly describes responsible consumption (at least on the face of it), someone can exceed the recommended safe threshold without showing any signs of intoxication. Relatedly, using how an alcohol user absorbs alcohol without displaying physical signs of inebriation to determine whether or not s/he drinks responsibly is dicey. This is because the same amount of alcohol may affect individuals differently based on factors such as gender

(Zakhari, 2006), body mass index, and other genetic/biological compositions (Wall *et al.*, 2016).

Similar to the food industry, the alcohol industry frames its RDMs to promote “the individual responsibility rhetoric” (Ban, 2016, p.307). In so doing, it tries to exonerate itself from the problems it creates (Yoon & Lam, 2013). This is exactly what industry-sponsored drinking responsibly (CSR message) stands for in the Nigerian context. Our participants also understood and interpreted the drink responsibly statement in a like manner. Our findings show that many participants used knowing one’s ‘limit’ or not drinking *too much* to describe responsible drinking, but what they considered to be “too much” differed from one individual to another. That is, each person’s limit was “solely guided by personal experience and interpretations” (Barry & Goodson, 2011, p.306) rather than by specified or standardised guidelines. Alcohol not only impairs judgement, the extent of that impairment can also be gendered (Fillmore & Weafer, 2004). Thus, it becomes more difficult to determine what constitutes the ‘limit’ for a male or female drinker without drinking guidelines in Nigeria. Similarly, given the lack of a definitional consensus around the responsible drinking concept, it was interpreted as ‘moderate’ consumption, but this is also a subjective interpretation. Scholars have criticized the use of subjective terms such as “moderate” (Dufour, 1999) or “responsible” (Moss & Albery, 2018) drinking because what constitutes *moderate* or *responsible* consumption may differ from person to person or situation to situation (Gray *et al.*, 2021a).

Also, some of the non-students gave conflicting and confusing interpretations of their understanding of the DRM. Drink responsibly campaigns are often framed to provoke multiple interpretations; thus, they are inherently and strategically ambiguous (Smith *et al.*, 2006). If native English-speaking US college students could give confusing interpretations of RDMs (Barry & Goodson, 2011), the non-native English speakers in Nigeria could not have been expected to do otherwise, especially because of their level of education and the lack of native language alternatives.

In Nigeria, multinational alcohol corporations such as Heineken-owned *Nigerian Breweries* and *Guinness Nigeria* have been at the forefront of responsible drinking campaigns (Dumbili, 2014). The available evidence shows that the campaigns are strategies to distract stakeholders from initiating discussions that will facilitate alcohol policy development and implementation (Dumbili, 2014). Thus, they substitute the implementation of evidence-based

policy with self-regulation and self-serving CSR RDMs. Suppose alcohol companies in Nigeria were sincere in protecting public health and well-being; in that case, they should be encouraging abstinence because it is a socially acceptable choice, especially in Nigeria, where drinking among young people is traditionally prohibited (Oshodin, 1995).

Limitations and Direction for Future Research

The study has some limitations. First, it was conducted in one region of the country. Nationwide studies should be conducted in the future to aid policy development. Second, although we included a heterogeneous population, the uneven number of students and non-students and male and female participants may have limited the study's findings. Also, the selection of samples was not representative of the population, especially because we used convenient sampling technique for recruitment. Nonetheless, our results support previous research (e.g., Atkin *et al.*, 2008; Petticrew *et al.*, 2020), which revealed that industry-sponsored RDMs are ambiguously framed and do not convey messages that can reduce alcohol misuse and enhance public health. Aside from RDM, alcohol producers in Nigeria also engage in other CSR activities such as constructing classroom blocks for government-owned secondary schools and sponsoring the national football team (Dumbili, 2014). Using framing theory, future studies could examine how they frame these CSR messages and public understanding/interpretation of them. There is also a need to examine the awareness and interpretation of drink responsibly among older alcohol users. Such studies will determine whether or not a uniform intervention is adequate for young people and the older population who use alcohol.

Conclusion

Our study has demonstrated that both the framing of the DRM and participants' understanding/interpretations support alcohol consumption and individual responsibility. RDMs are one of the non-coercive or *appeasement* methods (Lacy-Nichols & Marten, 2021) that the industry uses to avoid stringent government regulations (Jones *et al.*, 2017). Thus, we recommend implementing effective alcohol control policies that will introduce national drinking guidelines and specify standard drinks in Nigeria. Awareness-creating/raising public health channels should be developed in the country. Effective public health information and

intervention that will take care of both the educated and the less-informed should be prioritized. For each intervention to be effective, policymakers should provide the Pidgin English and indigenous language versions. This will help the general public, who may not understand the English language, make the right choices about their alcohol use because imperfect information through RDMs jeopardizes public health. To develop effective health communication that will facilitate harm reduction, producers of unhealthy products such as alcohol should not participate in its development.

Funding

This study was funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, Germany.

References

- Adeloye, D., Olawole-Isaac, A., Auta, A., Dewan, M. T., Omoyele, C., Ezeigwe, N., . . . Alemu, W. (2019). Epidemiology of harmful use of alcohol in Nigeria: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*, 45(5), 438-450.
- Atkin, J., McCardle, M., & Newell, S. (2008). The role of advertiser motives in consumer evaluations of ‘responsibility’ messages from the alcohol industry. *Journal of Marketing Communications*, 14(4), 315-335.
- Barry, A. E., & Goodson, P. (2011). How college students conceptualize and practice responsible drinking. *Journal of American College Health*, 59(4), 304-312.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 11(4), 589-597.
- Casswell, S., Callinan, S., Chaiyasong, S., Cuong, P. V., Kazantseva, E., Bayandorj, T., . . . Wall, M. (2016). How the alcohol industry relies on harmful use of alcohol and works to protect its profits. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 35(6), 661-664.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2021). Dietary guidelines for alcohol . Retrieved from <https://www.cdc.gov/alcohol/fact-sheets/moderate-drinking.htm>
- Chisholm, D., Moro, D., Bertram, M., Pretorius, C., Gmel, G., Shield, K., & Rehm, J. (2018). Are the “best buys” for alcohol control still valid? an update on the comparative cost-effectiveness of alcohol control strategies at the global level. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, 79(4), 514-522.

- de Graaf, A., van den Putte, B., & de Bruijn, G. (2015). Effects of issue involvement and framing of a responsible drinking message on attitudes, intentions, and behavior. *Journal of Health Communication*, 20(8), 989-994.
- Dossou, G., Gallopel-Morvan, K., & Diouf, J. (2017). The effectiveness of current French health warnings displayed on alcohol advertisements and alcoholic beverages. *The European Journal of Public Health*, 27(4), 699-704.
- Dufour, M. C. (1999). What is moderate drinking? defining "drinks" and drinking levels. *Alcohol Research & Health: The Journal of the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism*, 23(1), 5-14.
- Dumbili, E. W. (2014). Can brewer-sponsored "drink responsibly" warning message be effective without alcohol policies in Nigeria? *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 21(6), 434-439.
- Dumbili, E. W. (2020). Drinking practices and alcohol-related problems among Nigerian students. *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 27(3), 238-247.
- Dumbili, E. W., & Williams, C. (2016). Anywhere, everywhere: Alcohol industry promotion strategies in Nigeria and their influence on young people. *African Journal of Drug and Alcohol Studies*, 15(2), 135-152.
- Dumbili, E. W. (2014). The politics of alcohol policy in Nigeria: A critical analysis of how and why brewers use strategic ambiguity to supplant policy initiatives. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 49(4), 473-487.
- Farace, B., Apicella, A., & Tarabella, A. (2020). The sustainability in alcohol consumption: The "drink responsibly" frontier. *British Food Journal*.
- Fillmore, M. T., & Weafer, J. (2004). Alcohol impairment of behavior in men and women. *Addiction*, 99(10), 1237-1246.
- Flick, U. (2014). Mapping the field. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp. 1-18). London: SAGE Pub.
- Foxcroft, D. R., Ireland, D., Lister-Sharp, D. J., Lowe, G., & Breen, R. (2003). Longer-term primary prevention for alcohol misuse in young people: A systematic review. *Addiction*, 98(4), 397-411.
- Ghaljaie, F., Naderifar, M., & Goli, H. (2017). Snowball sampling: A purposeful method of sampling in qualitative research. *Strides in Development of Medical Education*, 14(3)
- Gioia, D. A., Corley, K. G., & Hamilton, A. L. (2013). Seeking qualitative rigor in inductive research: Notes on the Gioia methodology. *Organizational Research Methods*, 16(1), 15-31.
- Glassman, T., Kruger, J. S., Deakins, B. A., Paprzycki, P., & Blavos, A. A. (2016). Abstinence, social norms, and drink responsibly messages: A comparison study. *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education*, 60(2), 72-90.
- Glock, S., Klapproth, F., & Müller, B. C. (2015). Promoting responsible drinking? A mass media campaign affects implicit but not explicit alcohol-related cognitions and attitudes. *British Journal of Health Psychology*, 20(3), 482-497.
- Gray, H. M., Wiley, R. C., Williams, P. M., & Shaffer, H. J. (2021a). A scoping review of "Responsible drinking" interventions. *Health Communication*, 36(2), 236-256.

- Gray, H. M., Wiley, R. C., Williams, P. M., & Shaffer, H. J. (2021b). Understanding responsible drinking is in the service of evidence-based public health: A response to Petticrew et al. (2020). *Health Communication*, 36(2), 260-262.
- Hallahan, K. (1999). Seven models of framing: Implications for public relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 11(3), 205-242.
- Hawkins, B., Durrance-Bagale, A., & Walls, H. (2021). Co-regulation and alcohol industry political strategy: A case study of the public health England Drinkaware drink free days campaign. *Social Science & Medicine*, 114175.
- Hill, S. C., Thomsen, S. R., Page, R. M., & Parrott, N. (2005). Alcohol advertisements in youth-oriented magazines: Persuasive themes and responsibility messages. *Journal of Health Education*, 36(5), 258-265.
- Jackson, K., & Bazeley, P. (2019). *Qualitative data analysis with NVivo* (3rd ed.). London: SAGE Publications Limited.
- Jernigan, D., Noel, J., Landon, J., Thornton, N., & Lobstein, T. (2017). Alcohol marketing and youth alcohol consumption: A systematic review of longitudinal studies published since 2008. *Addiction*, 112, 7-20.
- Jones, S. C., Hall, S., & Kypri, K. (2017). Should I drink responsibly, safely or properly? confusing messages about reducing alcohol-related harm. *PloS One*, 12(9), e0184705.
- Knai, C., Petticrew, M., Capewell, S., Cassidy, R., & ... Weishaar, H. (2021). The case for developing a cohesive systems approach to research across unhealthy commodity industries. *BMJ Global Health* 2021;6:e003543., 6(2), :e003543.
- Koutonin, M. (2016). Story of cities #5: Benin city, the mighty medieval capital now lost without trace Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/mar/18/story-of-cities-5-benin-city-edo-nigeria-mighty-medieval-capital-lost-without-trace>
- Krugman, D. M., Fox, R. J., Fletcher, J. E., & Rojas, T. H. (1994). Do adolescents attend to warnings in cigarette advertising? an eye-tracking approach. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 34(6), 39-53.
- Lee, M. J., & Chen, Y. (2013). Underage drinkers' responses to negative-restrictive versus proactive-nonrestrictive slogans in humorous Anti-Alcohol abuse messages: Are humorous responsible drinking campaign messages effective? *Journal of Health Communication*, 18(3), 354-368.
- Lim, A. W., Van Schalkwyk, M. C., Maani Hessari, N., & Petticrew, M. P. (2019). Pregnancy, fertility, breastfeeding, and alcohol consumption: An analysis of framing and completeness of information disseminated by alcohol industry-funded organizations. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, 80(5), 524-533.
- Linneberg, M. S., & Korsgaard, S. (2019). Coding qualitative data: A synthesis guiding the novice. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 19(3), 259-270.
- Maani Hessari, N., & Petticrew, M. (2018). What does the alcohol industry mean by 'Responsible drinking'? A comparative analysis. *Journal of Public Health*, 40(1), 90-97.
- Maher, C., Hadfield, M., Hutchings, M., & de Eyto, A. (2018). Ensuring rigor in qualitative data analysis: A design research approach to coding combining NVivo with traditional material methods. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 17(1), 1-13.
- McCambridge, J., Kypri, K., Miller, P., Hawkins, B., & Hastings, G. (2014). Be aware of Drinkaware. *Addiction*, 109(4), 519-524.

- Milgram, G. G. (1996). Responsible decision-making regarding alcohol: A re-emerging prevention/education strategy for the 1990s. *Journal of Drug Education*, 26(4), 357-365.
- Morojele, N. K., Dumbili, E. W., Obot, I. S., & Parry, C. D. H. (2021). Alcohol consumption, harms and policy developments in sub-Saharan Africa: The case for stronger national and regional responses. press]. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 40(3), 402-419.
- Moss, A. C., & Albery, I. P. (2018). The science of absent evidence: Is there such thing as an effective responsible drinking message? *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, 53(1), 26-30.
- Moss, A. C., Albery, I. P., Dyer, K. R., Frings, D., Humphreys, K., Inkelaar, T., . . . Speller, A. (2015). The effects of responsible drinking messages on attentional allocation and drinking behaviour. *Addictive Behaviors*, 44, 94-101.
- Odeigah, O. W., Olley, B. O., Patton, R., & Dumbili, E. W. (2021). Fitting a quart in a pint pot: A comparison of selected alcoholic drinks produced in Nigeria and the UK. *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 28(3), 278-285.
- Odeigah, O. W., Dumbili, E. W., Patton, R., & Olley, B. O. (2021). Alcohol labeling regulations and industry compliance in Nigeria: Evidence to guide policy implementation. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, 82(1), 60-65.
- Pechey, R., Couturier, D., Hollands, G. J., Mantzari, E., Munafò, M. R., & Marteau, T. M. (2016). Does wine glass size influence sales for on-site consumption? A multiple treatment reversal design. *BMC Public Health*, 16(1), 1-6.
- Petticrew, M., Maani, N., Pettigrew, L., Rutter, H., & Van Schalkwyk, M. C. (2020). Dark nudges and sludge in big alcohol: Behavioral economics, cognitive biases, and alcohol industry corporate social responsibility. *The Milbank Quarterly*, 98(4), 1290-1328.
- Pettigrew, S., Biagioni, N., Daube, M., Stafford, J., Jones, S. C., & Chikritzhs, T. (2016). Reverse engineering a 'responsible drinking' campaign to assess strategic intent. *Addiction*, 111(6), 1107-1113.
- Pilling, V. K., & Brannon, L. A. (2007). Assessing college students' attitudes toward responsible drinking messages to identify promising binge drinking intervention strategies. *Health Communication*, 22(3), 265-276.
- Population Stat. (2021). Benin city, Nigeria population. Retrieved from <https://populationstat.com/nigeria/benin-city>
- Richards, K. A. R., & Hemphill, M. A. (2018). A practical guide to collaborative qualitative data analysis. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 37(2), 225-231.
- Smith, S. W., Atkin, C. K., & Roznowski, J. (2006). Are "drink responsibly" alcohol campaigns strategically ambiguous? *Health Communication*, 20(1), 1-11.
- THISDAY Newspaper. (2019). The growing illiteracy in Nigeria . Retrieved from <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2019/04/12/the-growing-illiteracy-in-nigeria/>
- Thomsen, S. R., & Fulton, K. (2007). Adolescents' attention to responsibility messages in magazine alcohol advertisements: An eye-tracking approach. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 41(1), 27-34.
- Towers, A. M., Kishchuk, N., Sylvestre, M., Peters, C., & Bourgault, C. (1994). A qualitative investigation of organizational issues in an alcohol awareness program for blue-collar workers. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 9(1), 56-63.

- Wall, T. L., Luczak, S. E., & Hiller-Sturmhofel, S. (2016). Biology, genetics, and environment: Underlying factors influencing alcohol metabolism. *Alcohol Research: Current Reviews*, 38(1), 59-68.
- World Health Organization. (2018). *Global status report on alcohol and health*. (). Geneva: World Health Organization.
- Yoon, S., & Lam, T. (2013). The illusion of righteousness: Corporate social responsibility practices of the alcohol industry. *BMC Public Health*, 13(1), 1-11.
- Zakhari, S. (2006). Overview: How is alcohol metabolized by the body? *Alcohol Research & Health*, 29(4), 245-257.

Figure 1

Label of Heineken beer - Produced by Heineken-owned Nigeria Breweries Plc

The red arrow points to 'Enjoy Responsibly' with tiny fonts