

ETHICAL AND RESPONSIBLE FOOD AND BEVERAGE MARKETING TO CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

By Jerome D. Williams, PhD, Professor, Rutgers Business School–Newark and New Brunswick
and Minette E. Drumwright, PhD, Associate Professor, University of Texas at Austin

Introduction

Few doubt that childhood obesity is a serious threat to our nation's health; however, there is a huge debate over who is responsible and what should be done. One aspect of the debate involves significant disagreement over food and beverage marketing and advertising targeting children (Healthy Eating Research 2011, Williams 2005). What does ethical and responsible food and beverage marketing to children look like? Depending on where one goes to find the answer, either to food and beverage companies (and the supporting marketing communications industry), or to the public health community, the answer may vary dramatically. To some extent, the degree to which certain marketing tactics are considered unethical may be in the eye of the beholder. What might be considered good business practice by some marketers might be considered bad ethics by the public health community. In fact, according to some business ethics scholars, a major part of business decision-making falls within gray areas where the border between right and wrong behavior is blurred (Bruhn 2008).

In this report, we will attempt to highlight the intricacies of these complicated issues by examining perceptions of different groups of the ethics of marketing food and beverage products to children. As such, the purpose of the report is not to establish or identify “right” or “wrong” practices, or “ethical” or “unethical” behavior. Our focus will be on stepping back as academic marketing communications researchers and applying our lenses to elucidate more fully the complexities of this often heated debate over issues of the ethics of food and beverage marketing to children. In doing so, we will first review and examine the self-regulatory efforts of the food and beverage industry during the past few years. We will then report the findings of three studies that we conducted. The first study uses in-depth interviews to

investigate the perspectives of the various parties engaged in the debate regarding ethics and food and beverage marketing—the industry, the public health community, and the academic community. The second study is an analysis of websites of marketing communication associations regarding content related to targeting children generally and specific issues related to childhood obesity or children's health. The third study uses the KLD Social Ratings Database to examine the performance of food and beverage companies participating in self-regulatory programs and compares their performance with their competitors that are not participating in self-regulatory programs. We conclude with a discussion of our findings.

Self-Regulatory Efforts of the Food and Beverage Industry

During the past few years, the increased criticism and scrutiny related to the obesity crisis have prompted the food and beverage industry to become actively engaged in attempts at self-regulation to encourage more responsible and ethical practices. Many companies already have committed to various pledges through a variety of initiatives, including the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative, the International Council of Beverage Association Guidelines on Marketing to Children, the International Food and Beverage Alliance Global Policy on Marketing and Advertising to Children, the EU Pledge, the Canadian Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative, and the Brazil Public Commitment on Food and Beverage Advertising to Children, to name a few.¹

Based on a recent study examining various pledges, Hawks and Harris (2011) noted that between 2005 and 2009, the food and beverage industry developed thirteen pledges on

Components of this report are included in a book chapter that will be published in 2012:
Williams, Jerome D., Keryn E. Pasch, and Chiquita Collins, eds. (forthcoming 2012),
Advances in Communication Research to Reduce Childhood Obesity, New York: Springer.

The authors wish to thank ChangeLab Solutions, NPLAN for their support in conducting this research.

marketing to children involving fifty-two companies. Two of the pledges were global, two were regional, and nine applied to specific countries. Three pledges were specific to the soft drink and fast-food industries, and the remainder of the pledges was food industry wide. Ten of the pledges required companies to publish individual commitments; a total of eighty-two such commitments were published, many of which extended beyond the minimum standards set by the pledge initiatives. All pledges included definitions of children and child-targeted media, as well as the communication channels and marketing techniques. Companies also were permitted to set criteria for foods that were exempt from any restrictions. While noting that there were many similarities between the pledges and individual company commitments, Hawks and Harris (2011) observed that there were also many differences. Although conceding that the development of pledges on food and beverage marketing to children in such a short span of time is impressive, the researchers observed that limitations and inconsistencies in the pledges and commitments suggest that the food industry has a long way to go if its pledges are to reduce comprehensively the exposure and power of marketing to children.

Perhaps the most notable example of a pledge is the Better Business Bureau's Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI), which began in 2006.² Through CFBAI, 17 major food companies have taken voluntary pledges to be more responsible in their marketing and advertising to children. The participating companies represent more than 85 percent of all packaged foods and include industry leaders such as Kellogg Co., General Mills Inc., Coca-Cola Co., McDonald's USA, and Burger King (Lochhead 2011). The companies have publicly committed to advertising only "better for you" products to children under 12. They also have made commitments to ratchet down the salt, sugar, saturated fats, and calories in their children's products. The pledges have evolved over the years, and the industry notes that the updated pledges include marketing on mobile devices and other forms of new media (Richtel 2011). Elaine D. Kolish, director of CFBAI, asserted that compliance on the part of industry has been excellent and that only rarely do the companies violate their pledges, and when they do, "it's pretty dam infrequent and it's not willful" (Richtel 2011, p. A1).

On the other side of the coin, the public health community and nutrition experts contend that the voluntary pledges are fraught with loopholes, and that "better for you products" is a relative term that allows companies to keep marketing unhealthy options to children. See Ralston, Aoki, and Moore (forthcoming 2012) for a more in-depth discussion of CFBAI and whether or not modifications are merited to strengthen existing guidelines. Despite CFBAI and

other industry pledges, many public health advocates feel that there still is tremendous room for these companies to strengthen their self-regulatory programs, especially in areas such as in-school marketing. According to some advocates, these pledges seem to allow more types of marketing than they limit.

In assessing CFBAI, Schwartz and Ustjanauskas (2012) observed that the industry has made moderate progress in both the number of companies that participate and the strength of the pledges to limit marketing of unhealthy foods to children under 12 years old. They noted that the original strategy of allowing each company to define its own criteria for "better for you" products will be replaced by 2014 with a uniform set of nutrition criteria. They also noted that CFBAI members have strengthened the criteria used to define "child-directed marketing" so that it includes traditional, digital, and social media, as well as product placement in movies primarily directed to children under 12. However, despite these positive developments, Schwartz and Ustjanauskas (2012) observed that there are still serious and significant limitations to CFBAI standards. For example, they pointed out that definitions of child-directed advertising do not include marketing outlets such as product packaging and point-of-sale promotions, and the pledges do not cover general-audience advertising on family shows watched by large numbers of children. Also, they noted that although child-directed websites are included, they are defined so narrowly that even Happymeal.com would not be covered. Furthermore, they pointed out that the largest numbers of child visitors are found on general audience websites (e.g., Domino's and Pizza Hut's main websites; MyCokeRewards.com), which are not covered by CFBAI pledges. Finally, they asserted that while CFBAI covers some aspects of marketing in elementary schools, major components of marketing that occur in school settings are exempt, including food and beverage displays, charitable fundraising activities, and public service messaging sponsored by food companies. Schwartz and Ustjanauskas (2012, p. 86) concluded, "In sum, the CFBAI has moved the needle, but it isn't enough." They offer a ray of hope by suggesting that stronger standards in 2014 may make a difference, but future research will have to bear that out.

Food Marketing Workgroup (FMW) reported discouraging findings regarding the effectiveness of industry self-regulation. An organization that has focused on tracking industry efforts and assessing the efficacy of pledges and self-regulation, FMW is a network of more than 100 organizations and academic experts who are concerned about the proliferation of marketing of unhealthful foods and beverages that targets children and adolescents. This national network, convened by the Center for Science in

the Public Interest (CSPI) and Berkeley Media Studies Group (BMSG), is dedicated to eliminating harmful food marketing—particularly marketing aimed at those who are most vulnerable to obesity and other nutrition related diseases—by actively identifying, investigating, and advocating changes to marketing practices that undermine health. An FMG summary of key dates and developments in food marketing to children noted that three important studies of industry pledges were released in 2009 (Food Marketing Workgroup 2011). First, a study by the Rudd Center at Yale University that was funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation found that the least healthful breakfast cereals were the ones most marketed to children (Harris et al. 2009). Second, the Center for Science in the Public Interest released a study showing that while the nutritional quality of food and beverage products marketed to children met companies' own standards, the majority of the products (60%) did not meet a single third party nutrition standard (Batada and Wootan 2009). Third, Children Now released a study finding that 68% of all advertising to children by companies participating in the Council of the Better Business Bureau's Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative were in the lowest category of nutritional quality (Kunkel et al. 2009).

Also, in 2010, CSPI released the results of a study that examines whether food and beverage manufacturers, restaurants, and entertainment companies that market food and beverage to children have adopted a policy on marketing (Wootan et al. 2010). Results show that two thirds do not have a policy for food marketing to children. In addition to the 2009 Rudd Center study on breakfast cereals noted above (Harris et al. 2009), the Center followed with two other similar studies, one on fast food (Harris et al. 2010), and another on sugary drinks (Harris et al. 2011). Both studies emphasized the need for marketers of these products to change their current practices that expose children and teens to enormous amounts of highly persuasive marketing for products contributing significantly to childhood obesity, including those firms that have taken the CFBAI pledge and those that have not,

The federal Interagency Working Group (IWG) on Food Marketing to Children is another promising way through which more can be done regarding industry pledges and self-regulation (Healthy Eating Research Report 2011). Created by the 2009 Omnibus Appropriations Act (Pub.L. 111-8), IWG is a collaborative effort of four federal agencies: the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the Food and Drug Administration, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. However, so far this "promising way" is not being fulfilled. Although Congress directed the IWG to develop voluntary nutrition standards for foods and

beverages marketed to children and adolescents ages 17 and younger, these standards have been met with significant industry opposition because they are stronger than those of CFBAI (Schwartz and Ustjanauskas 2012).

Schwartz and Ustjanauskas (2012) noted three significant ways in which the IWG recommendations have been sterner than CFBAI pledges, and as such, have met industry opposition. First, the original IWG recommendations encouraged the food industry to consider children aged 12–17. CFBAI responded quite negatively to any suggestion that marketing to children 12 or older should be on the table for discussion. Second, the IWG defined "marketing" and "child-directed" more comprehensively than CFBAI. For example, "marketing" included packaging and in-store marketing, and "youth-targeted media" was defined more broadly by IWG. CFBAI argued that the IWG marketing definitions were difficult to measure, not practical for application purposes, and so broad that they encroached upon philanthropic efforts and marketing activities directed at families and adults. Third, the IWG nutrition recommendations were stronger than those of CFBAI; they required the presence of "food groups to encourage" and allowed only small amounts of sodium, saturated fat, and sugar. CFBAI argued that the IWG guidelines were too complex and difficult to apply and would threaten the palatability of products. Based on the most recent information at the writing of this report, Schwartz and Ustjanauskas (2012) noted that in October, 2011, the FTC agreed that the focus should be on children under 12, apparently abandoning efforts to protect children in middle school and early high school. The FTC also indicated greater agreement with CFBAI definitions of marketing and "better for you" products. It is against this background of attempts at self-regulation that we conducted our studies.

Study 1

Study 1 is based on in-depth interviews with participants in the debate on ethics and self-regulation of food and beverage marketing. The interviews were designed to solicit their observations and advice regarding ethics in food and beverage marketing.

Methodology

In-depth interviews are a particularly useful approach when the research objective is to understand perceptions, beliefs, and values, especially when the researcher cannot be sure what is motivating the actors (McCracken 1988; Miles and Huberman 1994; Corbin and Strauss 2008). We interviewed 19 experts from various groups involved in the debates: seven informants representing the industry (food/beverage and marketing/advertising), seven informants representing the public health and nonprofit community,

and five academics whose research has informed the debate. Some of the informants were identified through their participation in conferences, consortiums, and symposiums related to food and beverage marketing and public health. Others were identified through experts and press coverage.

The interview protocol consisted of a broad set of questions that permitted informants to determine which issues to focus on. (See the interview protocol in Appendix A.) All informants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality in an effort to reduce biases. Eighteen of the interviews were conducted by phone, and one was conducted in person. Sixteen of the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed to produce verbatim transcripts. Three informants declined the request to record the interviews, so the interviewer's notes were used in lieu of verbatim transcripts. The interview data were analyzed using standard qualitative methods (e.g., Corbin and Strauss 2008).

Findings

Below we report the findings of our in-depth interviews as themes. Unless otherwise noted, the themes were characteristic of many of the interviews. One theme set the framework for many of our other themes:

Theme 1: There was extreme polarization between the two sides—food and beverage marketers and public health advocates—to the point that there did not appear to be much common ground.

We were not prepared for the intensity of the feelings that we encountered. A nutrition scientist on the company side described the rancor surrounding the debate and expressed a profound sense of discouragement that was common to both sides:

I think that there is so much hyperbole going on in the advocacy groups . . . There are those who . . . say that the sky is falling in, the world is going to end, the industry is unethical. It's all this screaming going on—on both sides. . . I have never been so depressed about the state of affairs as I am right now because there are really serious health issues out there. . . but I don't see how they are ever going to solve this issue with the rhetoric that is going on out there. It just really disheartens me; it really does.

A public health advocate expressed an extreme lack of confidence in the potential of self-regulation:

Self-regulation can't work. If that is the thesis here, I don't want to waste my time [talking with you]. Self-regulation can't work. . . Looking at self-regulation is a cop out.

A nutrition scientist on the public health or advocacy side said, "Some people are crazed on one side; and some people

are crazed on the other. . . Nobody likes to be scolded, and there is a lot of scolding going on." A former fast food company CEO said, "There are nutrition Nazis and crazy people out there." A nonprofit CEO said, "We need to focus on how to fix things instead of throwing rocks at each other. . . We've got intense warfare going on . . . and the process is getting high jacked by extremists." What seemed to determine one's view of the situation was not whether or not she was a nutrition scientist or a marketer, but whether or not she worked for a company or a nonprofit group.

Theme 2: Like politicians of all stripes quoting Lincoln, both groups evoked the First Amendment, but they had very different views of the First Amendment and commercial speech.

Although both sides brought up the First Amendment and used it to bolster their arguments, First Amendment scholars suggest that this debate has little to do with the First Amendment. Nevertheless, debates about the meaning of the First Amendment stoked the emotions and the sense of the rightness of the respective sides.

The industry informants argued that commercial speech deserves protection in and of itself, and as such, their commercial speech should not be regulated. Period.

Public health advocates asserted that commercial speech deserves protection in as much as it provides consumers information to make rational decisions. As one public health advocate said:

The reason that we protect commercial speech is to make sure that consumers have good product information, and none of this [debate about food marketing] has anything to do with that. [Food marketing] is bypassing any rational approach to information and going straight for an emotional response, and when you are talking about kids, it's particularly egregious.

Theme 3: Related to the general polarization and animosity are very different views of rights and responsibilities, especially with respect to marketing to children.

The company side presumed that food companies have a right to market to children as long as they do so within the letter of the law. If it's legal, it is ethical. When asked about ethical issues, one company nutrition scientist said:

Companies are making claims within the letter of the law—"i's" dotted and "t's" crossed—and they are still being screamed at by the advocates. . . Companies that are working 100% within the regulations are still being sued.

Public health advocates have a very different view of ethics in food marketing. They assert that even if food marketers have the right to market unhealthy foods to children, it is not the right thing to do. As a member of the public health community said:

Given the childhood obesity epidemic, there are real ethical problems with industry pushing mainly salty, fatty, sugary foods at kids in this context. . . In my mind, it's almost fact that any advertising to children under 12 is inherently deceptive. . . It's unethical to market to young children. Period. Specifically to advertise junk food to young children.

Preston's (1994, p. 128) statement about advertisers seems to describe many company respondents: for advertisers who believe that the law is sufficient, "ethics never really starts." Public health advocates see a number of ethical problems that company representatives do not see. For example, public health advocates see ethical problems in messages that are technically in compliance legally but that are not serving the public interest. As one advocate said:

There are misleading messages that don't necessarily rise to the level of the FTC or FDA in that they are not out and out lies, but the companies are peddling stuff that doesn't do what they say it will. . . like they are advertising whole grains and they are not in trouble with the FDA but that doesn't mean that there is a lot of whole grains in it, and this is particularly bad when it comes to children . . . or they are technically in compliance with the requirement for TV ads to children that must put the product in the context of a healthy meal, but they do so in the last half second. They are technically in compliance, but that is not in the public interest.

Public health advocates also have problems with techniques that companies are using in the digital environment. As a public health advocate said:

Companies are using techniques to market to children, new digital techniques where they are very strategically taking advantage of children and teenagers' emotional vulnerabilities to communicate with them at an emotional level and bypass any rational analysis of product information and cueing them to want to consume these products. There is a real unfairness there.

The public health community particularly has problems with peer-to-peer marketing initiatives in which kids market to kids and with what they refer to as "immersive environments." One such immersive environment is the Doritos Asylum 626 game,³ which brings teens into the game using their webcams and prompts them to bring their

Facebook friends in as well. Again, however, most of our respondents from companies viewed the question of ethics in terms of whether or not a company and its marketing were complying with the law and regulations.

Theme 4: There was a serious and contentious debate about adolescents.

While there certainly was disagreement over marketing and advertising to children, the disagreement over adolescents was even more pronounced and acrimonious. Company representatives viewed the ethical issues related to marketing to adolescents as very dissimilar to those of marketing to children and much more akin to, if not the same as, those related to adults. As one company representative said:

To try to treat adolescents like children is ridiculous when you have pregnant mothers, people who can drive cars and sign up for the military. To try to treat them like children is insulting.

Public health advocates see adolescents as vulnerable in special ways just as children are. As one academic who studies advertising to children said:

The old model is that it is only children under 12 that we need to worry about, which is rooted in children's understanding of persuasive intent. I don't think that persuasive intent is the standard anymore. I think that the new model governing regulation or practices has to include adolescents, who are also at risk in terms of the kinds of techniques that are reaching them . . . and their abilities to control their impulses. . . I think that given the rise in obesity and the fact that adolescents are engaged in risky behavior . . . that we need to have higher ethical standards where adolescents are concerned.

Public health advocates argue that two types of factors make adolescents vulnerable. One type is related to the adolescents themselves—their susceptibility to peer pressure, their difficulty controlling their impulses, and their inclination toward risky behavior. The other type is related to the context of adolescents in the marketplace—that adolescents have more money to spend than children and that they do not typically have parents as gatekeepers to the degree that children do. These two types of factors converge to exacerbate potential problems of adolescents. A public health advocate said, "The law is out of touch with reality. . . It is behind the times. . . It doesn't reflect reality."

Theme 5: The opposing sides have very different views of parental responsibility.

Given the disagreements about children and adolescents, it is not surprising that the two groups have different views of parental responsibility. Industry representatives view

parents as the ultimate gatekeepers, as the people who should say “no” to children’s desires for unhealthy food; all of their parents did say no. They claim that the public health advocates want the government to be a “nanny state,” which they view as highly inappropriate. One public health advocate responded, however, by saying:

We already have a nanny state, and the nanny is the corporations. . . Their default options are junk food and fast food, and they barrage children with advertising.

Theme 6: There is a two-fold battle over evidence. It involves 1) science and nutrition and 2) marketing and advertising.

Some industry representatives see public health research as advocacy research rather than scientific research. As one industry scientist said:

The public health community, their philosophy is that they don’t really care what the evidence is. If they think that it is the right thing to do, it almost becomes like a religious belief. We have to do it because we don’t think that it will do any harm and it has the potential to do a lot of good. I’m sitting here as a scientist saying, “Where is the proof that any of this is going to work?” . . . I think that they are as irresponsible as marketers who make sleazy claims.

She went on to say:

The field of nutrition epidemiology has been disastrous for the field of nutrition science . . . They are using smoke and mirrors to come up with whatever they want to support. Talking with a lot of my colleagues, the statistics are so complicated, it’s hard to critically evaluate that stuff. It just keeps going on and on and on.

There is debate about the evidence related to nutrition science and nutrition epidemiology, but there is also a debate about the evidence related to marketing and advertising guidelines. Regarding the Interagency Working Group guidelines, a company representative said: “There is not a whit of evidence that what they are recommending will work.” A former CEO of a food company said, “I don’t know of anybody who has gotten fat from watching a commercial.”

From the public health side, an academic referenced evidence of a causal chain: TV advertising affects children’s food preferences, which affects their eating patterns:

When you look at the 2006 IOM [Institute of Medicine] Food Marketing Report, there is really good evidence that there is a causal chain that has

been developed. TV advertising does affect children’s food preferences, purchase requests, food choices, and at least in 2 to 12 year olds, their eating patterns. If that is the case, if you change the kinds of foods that you are marketing to children, it will have an effect.

Evidence can be a difficult issue, as a public health advocate explained:

There is evidence. The question is, “Is it enough evidence?” And there is never as much evidence as we would like. But with soda taxes, as an example, there is plenty of evidence to show that sodas are contributing to obesity through higher caloric intakes and that people should cut back on sodas. . . . I think that there is lots of evidence to point to [soda taxes] as a promising policy approach. There is never definitive evidence to show that it will absolutely work as a public health strategy until you do it. Even with menu labeling, there have been a lot of academic studies that show that nutrition information in restaurant settings helps, but until you have a nationwide policy in place, and consumers become accustomed to using the information, and companies start to reformulate products, you don’t really know what the public health effect really is.

She went on to observe that an Institutional Review Board, an independent ethics committee that reviews research proposals, would probably never approve the types of experiments that would be needed—e.g., randomly assigning children to healthy vs. unhealthy food marketing environments.

Theme 7: Both sides see the causes of the obesity crisis as multi-factorial, but they place very different weights on the importance of changing company behavior.

An industry representative explained a prevalent perspective among company informants that the public health side simplistically places too much weight on the influence of companies and too little weight on other factors:

The obesity issue is extremely complex. Because it is so complex, the advocates try to look for what they consider an easy target, and I think that they view clamping down on industry as an easy target. It’s easy to make the industry look evil. . . . What are they doing about physical education in schools? What are they doing about safe neighborhoods so that kids can go out and play? Those are the tough things to do. What are they doing about single parent homes where you don’t have time to prepare the kind of meals that Harriett Nelson did? Those are the really serious issues

in this culture that are contributing to the problems that we have. But who do they pick on? The food industry. . . I wish that they would put as much passion into advocating changes in other areas of society.

A public health advocate expressed a prevalent perspective among the public health community that the culture and the environment, upon which companies have a powerful influence, must be changed:

We must change social norms . . . We harken back to tobacco, but changing norms is much more complicated in the food context because one Oreo won't kill you. The causes of obesity are multi-factorial. Education will only go so far. We are surrounded by a community in which the default options are junk food and fast food, so we have got to tackle changing the environment.

Theme 8: The two groups have very different perspectives in terms of solutions.

Company representative emphasize the importance of consumer self-control, self-discipline, and personal choice supplemented by information and education in addressing the obesity crisis. In contrast, the public health and academic communities emphasize the importance of changing the environment and providing healthy default options. As one academic said, "Information is just not going to do it. People know what foods are unhealthy, and they still eat them. It's going to take something more, like calorie taxes."

Central to this debate is the question, "Will self-regulation work?" Some public health advocates believe that the only solution is external regulation, such as the informant who felt that he would be wasting his time talking with us about self-regulation because it will not work. Another public health advocate held a similar, if less dogmatic, position:

One thing that I have a hard time wrapping my head around is what would it mean to be an ethical corporation because there is not a legal infrastructure for corporations to take into account the obesity epidemic when they are developing their various products. On the one hand, we say it is an ethical problem, but I am not sure that there is a solution that lies in ethics when we are talking about artificial entities created to make a profit.

Another public health advocate had a very different perspective and saw motivating companies to be ethical as a key part of the overall solution:

It's interesting because the way I came to our position on food marketing to kids was in part through ethical considerations. We were thinking about various approaches to legislation . . . and I was concerned about

the timeline for legislation. . . and a colleague said to me, "What about appealing to the companies because it's the right thing to do?" . . . and we've used that as the key rationale for our public policy approach.

When asked about self-regulation as a potential solution, a former marketer said, "Regulation is not in the DNA of companies. We're much better off appealing to them with the business case—that they can be successful and ethical."

Theme 9: Neither side sees academic participants in the debate in a positive light or as a viable and productive part of the discourse.

We conclude with a theme that was sobering to us as academics. It deals with the manner in which academics are seen by both sides. Companies generally see academics as being on the public health side. As one company representative explained:

The academic community is out of touch with reality. They don't have a clue as to what it is like to have to survive in business. I think that they are as much a part of the problem as the public health community by having their university public relations departments sending out press releases for every little study that they do. They want publicity. It's very competitive for them getting grant money. They are going to do the kinds of studies that will give them sensational headlines and the attention that they want. I see an awful lot of that going on.

However, academics are not necessarily seen favorably by the public health community either. A public health advocate explained that some academics are perceived as having sold out to the industry and others are unwilling to engage in public policy debates:

You have academics all the time that take money from industry. . . and that research is used to support industry positions that do not have the public health in mind. . . Frankly, there are very few academics who are willing to spend some time doing public policy work. So there's another ethical issue. Academics are doing research rather than getting involved in the broad public policy debates. Many academics don't really see themselves as public intellectuals, and that's what they should be.

Many of the scholars involved in food marketing research appear to be public health scholars rather than business or communication scholars. As this chapter highlights, many of the questions call for academic research—not by public health scholars but by marketing and advertising scholars. We question if marketing and advertising scholars are engaged in the debate to the degree that they should be.

Study 2

Because marketing communication industry associations influence norms related to ethics and corporate responsibility, we examined the websites of these organizations with respect to content related to two topics: 1) targeting children generally and 2) specific issues related to childhood obesity or children's health.

Methods

We examined the websites of 22 marketing, advertising, and public relations industry association websites, including the American Association of Advertising Agencies, the American Advertising Federation, the American Marketing Association, the American Academy of Advertising, the Marketing Research Association, the Advertising Research Foundation, the Internet and Mobile Marketing Association, and the Public Relations Society of America. For the complete list, see Appendix B. We recognize that websites change frequently, and for that reason, we report our findings at the time of our study without identifying specific associations.

Findings

On the websites, we found very little content related to advertising or marketing communication directed to children and even less on specific issues related to childhood obesity or children's health. Only eight of the 22 websites mentioned children at all, and even fewer, five websites, acknowledged that there is a difference between advertising to children and advertising to adults. With very few exceptions, statements regarding marketing to children typically appeared in a code of conduct and were general and vague, such as stating an obligation to recognize "a special commitment" to children or taking into account the "maturity of the audience to which the message is directed." An example of a notable exception was an association that took a stand against the inclusion of children under the age of 13 in any kind of word of mouth marketing program.

Mentions of specific issues related to childhood obesity or childhood health were even rarer than general mentions of children on the websites—two websites. One association stated that it supports the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI) and, advertising to improve physical education and activity among children. Another described CFBAI, but it did not take a stance.

Even when associations take a stance on marketing and advertising to children or on childhood obesity or children's health, there typically is not an enforcement mechanism. Only a very few of the associations have processes in place to enforce their stances, principles, or codes. Even those with enforcement bodies and processes can only "admonish,

suspend, or expel" a wayward practitioner or company from membership. One website explained that it had had a process in place for enforcing its code for many years, but it had abandoned attempts at enforcement. It stated that the results of the efforts to enforce its code in relation to the time and resources required failed to provide a valuable return on investment for the association, its members, or the broader profession.

Study 3

Study 3 compares the performance of food and beverage companies that were participating in self-regulatory programs with the performance of their competitors that were not participating from 2006, the year when the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI) began, to 2010 (the most recent year available at the time of the analysis). Study 3 comparisons are based on the KLD Social Ratings Database, an annual snapshot of the environmental, social, and governance performance of companies rated by KLD Research and Analytics, Inc. Before describing our methodology and reporting our results, we provide background regarding assessing the ethics of a company.

Background

Assessing the ethics of a company from a public opinion or survey standpoint is a relatively easy task to implement. However, how valid the results are is another matter. In fact, Carroll and Buchholtz (2009) suggested that there is no scientific way to determine whether or not business ethics has really deteriorated. They observed that while public opinion polls can gather data about public perception of the ethics of a firm, such polls are hardly definitive. However, there does appear to be a link between the public's perception of the ethics of a firm and their proclivity for purchasing products from that firm. For example, Castaldo et al. (2009) investigated the link between the consumer perception that a company is socially oriented and the consumer intention to buy products marketed by that company. They suggested that this link exists when at least two conditions prevail: (1) the products sold by that company comply with ethical and social requirements and (2) the company has an acknowledged commitment to protect consumer rights and interests. These studies are based not on public opinion polls, but on methodologies designed to tease out the ethics and social responsibilities of firms for comparison purposes through an assessment of the firm's behavior and characteristics. First we discuss the results of the World's Most Ethical Companies database in this section, and then in the next section the KLD Social Ratings Database.

One approach that is not based on public opinion polls is that of The World's Most Ethical (WME) Companies. The WME designation recognizes companies that truly go beyond making statements about doing business "ethically" and translate those words into action (Mielach 2012). WME honorees not only promote ethical business standards and practices internally, they exceed legal compliance minimums and shape future industry standards by introducing best practices today. Ethisphere Institute, which compiles the WME list, indicates that it bases its rankings on the following factors: ethics and compliance programs; reputation, leadership and innovation; governance; corporate citizenship and responsibility; and culture of ethics. At the heart of the evaluation and selection process is Ethisphere's proprietary rating system, the corporate Ethics Quotient (EQTM). The framework of EQ is comprised of a series of multiple choice questions that capture a company's performance in an objective, consistent and standardized way. The information collected is not intended to cover all aspects of corporate governance, risk, sustainability, compliance or ethics, but rather it is a comprehensive sampling of definitive criteria of core competencies. According to the website, the EQ framework and methodology was determined, vetted and refined by the expert advice and insights gleaned from Ethisphere's network of thought leaders and from the World's Most Ethical Companies Methodology Advisory Panel.

The most recent listing indicates that for 2012 four companies in the Food and Beverage Category made the list, all of which are U.S. companies: Kellogg Company, PepsiCo, Solae, LLC, and Stonyfield. These four companies are among a record 145 companies that made the 2012 list (www.ethisphere.com/wme/), which also includes more than three dozen industries, from aerospace to wind power, with 43 of the WME winners headquartered outside the U.S. The website also lists the rankings from 2007 to 2012.

Methodology

KLD uses approximately 80 indicators that encompass seven major qualitative issues areas, including community, corporate governance, diversity, employee relations, environment, human rights, and product, as well as quantitative indicators such as revenues and credit rating scores.

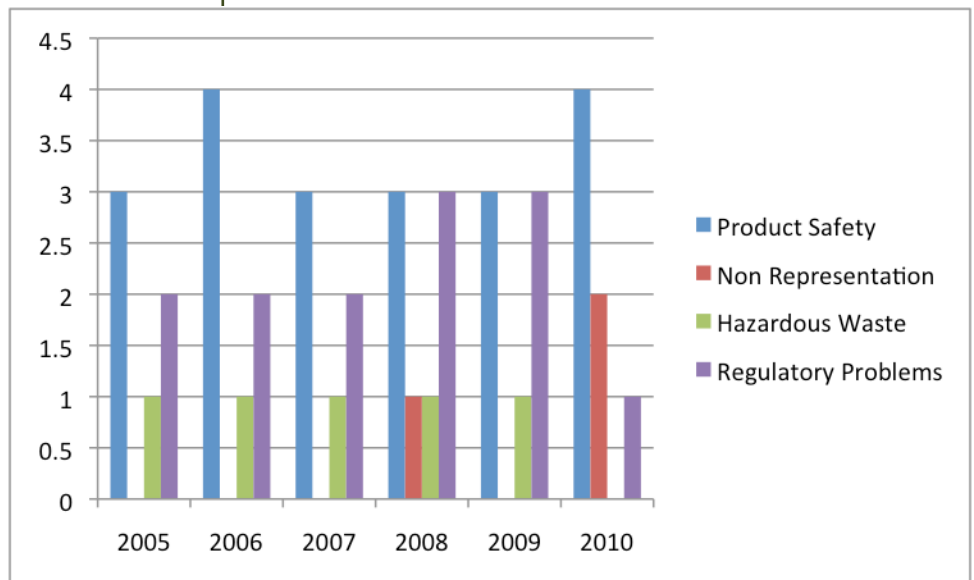
For our analysis, we examined firms in the food and beverage industry that were part of the Children's Food and Beverage

Advertising Initiative (CFBAI) and the Healthy Weight Commitment Foundation (HWCF) (pledge participants) and compared them with firms in the food and beverage industry that were not participating in either self-regulatory program (nonparticipants). However, five companies that were pledge participants (Cadbury Adams, the Dannon company, Mars, Inc., Nestle USA, & Post Foods) were dropped in the analysis due to the missing data in the KLD dataset.

To conduct our analysis, we grouped together data regarding factors that were viewed as positives or strengths (e.g., Beneficial Products, Pollution Prevention, Clean Energy, Product Quality, and Benefits to Economically Disadvantaged) and data regarding factors that were viewed as negatives or concerns (Product Safety, Non Representation, Hazardous Waste and Regulatory Problems). Figures 1 and Figures 2 portray the performance of the companies that were pledge participants on the factors that composed the indices. The negative factors for each pledge participant were then subtracted from the positive factors to create an index of corporate social responsibility (CSR).

Figure 1 – Food and Beverage Firms

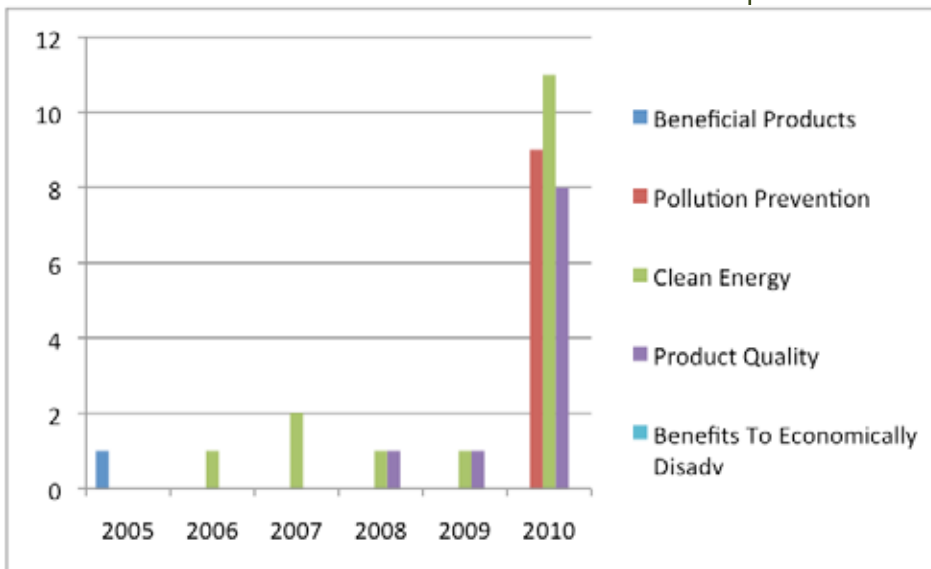
Trends in Product Safety, Non Representation, Hazardous Waste and Regulatory Problems (Concerns):



The x-axis corresponds to the year, and the y-axis represents the number of companies the reporting concerns across these years. For example, for the year 2005, 3 companies reported product safety issues. This number increased to 4 in the year 2006.

Figure 2 – Food and Beverage Firms

Trends in Beneficial Products, Pollution Prevention, Clean Energy, Product Quality and Benefits to Economically Disadvantage (Strengths):



The x-axis corresponds to the year, and the y-axis represents the number of companies the reporting strengths across these years. For example, for the year 2010, 8 companies reported product quality as their strength. This number is a significant increase from the year 2009 where only 1 company reported this factor as its strength.

Findings

When we analyzed the performance of pledge participants (CFBIA and HWC firms) using the CSR index, we found that scores of pledge participants were higher than those of pledge nonparticipants (11.71 vs. 8.09). Based on this analysis, the results suggest firms with higher CSR orientation tend to join the pledge programs.

Another interesting observation was that there seemed to be a “pull” effect on competitors in joining the pledge programs. For example, McDonald’s joined the CFBAI initiative in 2006, followed by the direct competitor, Burger King in 2007. After Coca Cola joined the initiative in 2006, the direct competitor, Pepsi joined the initiative in 2007.

We also analyzed financial performance. Revenues of all participant companies except for one, Hershey, increased the year after they joined the pledge initiative. However, the revenues of nonparticipant companies also increased during the same time period. Therefore, at best, we can conclude that while joining the initiative seems not to be a main driver of boosting revenues, it does not seem to have a negative impact, and it may help to keep a certain competitive position relative to those firms who were not participating in a pledge program.

When comparing the credit rating scores of the two groups, we found that the scores of those firms that were pledge participants were relatively higher than those of nonparticipants. From these results, there seems to be evidence firms with higher credit rating scores are more likely to join pledge programs. This may be due to the fact that firms with higher credit rating scores may be focusing on meeting a certain level of the market’s and/or creditors’ expectations.

Discussion

We are neither nutrition scientists nor public health scholars; so we cannot comment on the debates related to evidence regarding nutrition science or nutrition epidemiology. We are, however, marketing and advertising scholars; so we may be able to provide another way to think about some of those issues. We suggest that there are some incentives for food and beverage businesses to rethink and reframe their rights and responsibilities. For example, the politics surrounding food and

beverage marketing could become similar to the politics that surrounded tobacco. If that were to happen, it would be a disaster for the food and beverage industry on many fronts. The appropriateness of the analogy is beside the point. In such a case, there would be little middle ground. Moreover, external regulation would happen. Government regulation would not be the preferred course for the food and beverage industry. There are lessons that food and beverage companies should learn from the uncooperative, obstructive, and unyielding manner in which the tobacco companies reacted to criticism and scrutiny. Even if a “worst case scenario” did not happen, finding common ground and room for effective self-regulation would certainly be advantageous for the food and beverage industry.

We also suggest that the public health community may have incentives to rethink its role and interactions with industry. Despite the desire for government regulation of the food and beverage industry, it may or may not happen; and if it happens, it may or may not solve the problems related to childhood obesity. Often venues for government regulation are toothless, yielding the worst of both worlds. Despite a near catastrophic collapse of the economy, little has been done to regulate financial markets, and even when laws exist, enforcement has been lax. The same can be said for issues involving the environment. As such, the public health community may have incentives to work more collaboratively with business to improve self-regulatory efforts as a second-best strategy.

Our in-depth interviews highlighted the polarization and

rancor that exist between the food and beverage industry and the public health community. The question remains regarding whether companies can be counted on to self-regulate, but if they can, the polarization and rancor do not encourage listening, mutual understanding, or collaborative problem solving. In an attempt to foster increased understanding, we identify and elaborate on the factors that underpin these dramatic differences in perspectives and point to some ways to push forward toward solutions.

From the industry perspective, food and beverage marketers are following the basic marketing process that they and their predecessors have been trained to follow. This process is referred to as “STP” (Segmenting, Targeting, and Positioning). The initial component, “segmentation,” is “the process of subdividing a market into distinct subsets of customers that behave in the same way or have similar needs. Each subset may conceivably be chosen as a market target to be reached with a distinct marketing strategy” (American Marketing Association 2008). The STP formula is widely considered the essence of strategic marketing.⁴

As such, the food and beverage industry has long viewed children as an attractive market segment, often targeting them from an early age with intense and specialized food marketing and advertising efforts. Targeting children, however, is not unique to the food and beverage industry. Marketers hope that preferences for specific brands established in childhood will carry over into adulthood. In fact, a recent academic marketing study concluded that marketers should target children before they even turn five years old in order to build lifetime brand recognition (Harris 2009). A host of specialized market research firms focus on children, not to mention internal, proprietary research conducted by the companies themselves.

For example, one external research firm, Kidsindustries (www.kidsindustries.com), includes the following on its website: “We create communications that cut through the digital clutter to connect with parents and children.” Another firm, Smartypants (www.asksmartypants.com), conducts an annual online survey of brand “likeability” by children and mothers regarding a wide variety of brands. It results in the “Top 100 Kids’ Most Loved Brands” list. See the chapter by Wilcox et al. (forthcoming 2012) for an analysis of data from this firm. To many firms, targeting children effectively is the lifeblood of current and future success. Moreover, as expressed by our informants, marketers believe that it is their right to do so.

In contrast to the industry, public health advocates and researchers take a dim view of aggressive marketing and advertising efforts that target children and adolescents as attractive market segments with intense and specialized marketing and advertising efforts (Story and French

2004). They reject the claim that parents can shield their children from these efforts or control the behavior of their children in response to them. When the marketing and advertising tactics revolve around food and blur the line between advertising and entertainment, they are a source of intensifying concern for the public health community (Richtel 2011).

In this age of digital marketing, the public health community is particularly concerned that children can be targeted without the knowledge of parents by marketing and advertising that is “flying under the radar” (Harris, Yeo, Brouwer, and Siegel 2009). As pointed out by Montgomery et al. (forthcoming 2012), digital food marketing is advancing rapidly and is poised to reach a crucial tipping point in the very near future as expenditures for Internet and mobile advertising continue to rise. As one example, major brands have significantly increased their spending for online display advertising, exhibiting double-digit and in some cases triple-digit growth (Montgomery et al. 2011).

At the forefront of research and innovation in the interactive marketing arena, major food and beverage companies are investing heavily in global research and development strategies. They are working with dozens of ad agencies, marketing firms, and high-tech specialists to design campaigns that take advantage of young people’s engagement with social networks, interactive games, mobile phones, online videos, and virtual worlds. Public health advocates focus on the great power that corporations wield in influencing the environment in which consumers, especially children, make choices about food. Corporations determine what types of food and beverage products are available, and they choose the marketing strategies and messages that permeate the world in which consumers make their choices. Public health advocates would tend to agree with Mick (2007) who argued that the influence of business in contemporary life is so omnipresent and powerful that it even surpasses the historical role of religion and government.

To the public health community, there is an extreme power imbalance between the industry, the environment it creates, and its vulnerable target, children. As such, they emphasize the rights of children to grow and develop in healthy environments rather than the rights of marketers to target children. Kumanyika (2011) pointed to a key question at the center of the debate: should the rights of children be elevated to a level that supersedes potentially conflicting rights claimed by food marketers to identify children as a market segment that they have a right to pursue? Kumanyika (2011) also noted that the public health community has a formidable challenge in standing up to the industry, given its power, and that having rights may be less important than having the power to exercise one’s rights.

Given the polarization of views, it seems difficult to find any common ground or a strategy to move forward toward a solution. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is one approach that has the potential to suggest some new ways of thinking about the issues in a manner that is palatable or perhaps even attractive to businesses. A sophisticated and nuanced understanding of CSR is essential to arriving at new insights. During the past few years, the concept of business' responsibility has evolved from an economic model, to a legal model, to a social model, and now to a stakeholder model, which embodies a richer and more sophisticated understanding of CSR (Carroll and Buchholtz 2009). A stakeholder model focuses not just on shareholders and maximizing their returns but also on a host of other parties that are affected by the firm—e.g., internal parties such as employees and external parties such as local communities, policy makers, activist groups, the public health community, etc.

Underlying this transformation is a different and broader focus on performance and results—a new calculus of the bottom line or a multiple bottom line. The multiple bottom line approach argues that firms should be concerned not only with the traditional, economic/financial bottom line, but also with a social bottom line that focuses on stakeholder relationships, an environmental bottom line that assesses the business's impact on the natural environment, and a cultural bottom line that assesses a firm's influence on the culture or cultures within which it operates (Drumwright 2007). If food and beverage companies were to calculate overtly not just their financial bottom line, but their social, environmental, and especially their cultural bottom line, which would include their impact on the overall environment and culture in which children make food choices, they would be likely to view their responsibilities differently.

A more sophisticated understanding of CSR must be accompanied by a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the application of marketing concepts. Smith, Drumwright, and Gentile (2010) cautioned corporations about adhering too closely to the more traditional marketing constructs, which actually may hinder the adoption of a CSR orientation. They argue that marketers have learned too well the lessons of Levitt's (1960) classic "marketing myopia"—a distortion of strategic vision in which marketers fail to focus on the customer. They asserted that marketers have focused on the customer to the exclusion of other stakeholders, and they argued that this focus has resulted in a new form of marketing myopia, which also causes distortions in strategic vision and can lead to business failure. This "new marketing myopia" stems from three related phenomena: (1) a single-minded focus on the customer to the exclusion of other stakeholders, (2) an overly narrow definition of the customer and his or her

needs, and (3) a failure to recognize the changed societal context of business that necessitates addressing multiple stakeholders.

Ferrell et al. (2010) also cautioned firms about adhering too closely to a traditional marketing focus. They made a distinction between the concepts of market orientation and stakeholder orientation, noting that the market orientation construct focuses on customers and competitors and only indirectly on other stakeholder groups. In contrast, the stakeholder orientation construct does not designate any stakeholder group as more important than another, and the prioritization of stakeholders may change depending on the issue.

Relatedly, Hult et al. (2011) pointed out that stakeholder theory deals with the nature of the relationships between the firm and its various stakeholders. Hence, they suggested that the unit of analysis is the firm along with its network of stakeholders, observing that marketers typically have not adopted this unit of analysis and seem to only look at the firm and one stakeholder at a time. Therefore, since marketing has not adopted a holistic stakeholder perspective, the public health community may view this as an opportunity to continue forming coalitions with other stakeholder groups, such as public policymakers and local community groups, putting further pressure on the food and beverage industry to adhere to responsible, ethical standards in marketing to children. See the chapter by Kramer et al. (forthcoming 2012), which discusses these issues.

If there is a silver lining in the dark cloud of concerns over the conduct of the food and beverage industry, it is that more and more firms appear to be moving toward a greater CSR orientation. Study 3 suggested a "pull" effect on competitors in joining the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI) and taking pledges. For example, McDonald's joined CFBAI in 2006, followed by the direct competitor, Burger King, in 2007. After Coca Cola joined CFBAI in 2006, the direct competitor, Pepsi, joined the initiative in 2007. It is encouraging that an analysis of companies that had taken either the CFBAI pledge or the Healthy Weight Commitment pledge revealed that those companies scored higher on a variety of CSR indicators than their competitors that had not taken pledges. Thus, firms with higher CSR orientations tended to join the pledge programs.

However, we recommend that CFBAI firms place more emphasis on reviewing their own compliance to their pledges are a part of the CSR efforts. When we analyzed the websites of CFBAI firms, we found that only seven of the 17 firms indicated on their website that they had some type of marketing review board or in-house auditing team

with responsibility to review its marketing and advertising before external dissemination. It is also encouraging that an analysis of the annual revenues of pledge companies and non-pledge companies revealed that joining a pledge initiative did not appear to have a negative impact on revenues.

Study 2, which involved examining the websites of marketing, advertising, and marketing communication associations, highlighted the fact that neither children generally nor childhood obesity/health is on the agendas of these industry associations to the degree that it could or should be. Few of the industry associations' websites engage either topic in ways that are not general and vague. Because industry associations influence groups of organizations on issues related to ethics, they could be quite influential in changing norms and encouraging ethical practices related to food and beverage marketing to children.

We are encouraged by the recent formation of the Institute for Advertising Ethics,⁵ which is a partnership of the American Advertising Federation (AAF) and the Reynolds Journalism Institute of the University of Missouri School of Journalism. Its purpose is to inspire advertising, public relations, and marketing communication professionals to practice the highest personal ethics in the creation and dissemination of commercial information to consumers. It does address topics such as the blurring of advertising and entertainment and the vulnerability of children in behavioral targeting.

Pledge initiatives, such as CFBAI, operate at the level of organizations and groups of organizations, and as such, we view them as particularly critical.⁶ We, along with others, acknowledge that the CFBAI pledges are less than perfect, but we also note that they have improved since they were begun in 2006. We are encouraged by the plans for increased consistency related to nutrition criteria that will be implemented across pledges by 2014. We hope that CFBAI companies will lead the industry in bold and compelling ways.

Academics have an important role to play by engaging with topics with public policy implications, such as food and beverage marketing and advertising, and providing independent, sophisticated, and credible research. As one of our informants noted, academics often are not willing to engage in broad, public policy debates. Also, many of the academics involved in the debates are public health academics, yet many of the research questions pertain to marketing and advertising. The participation, engagement, and collaboration of an interdisciplinary set of researchers, drawing from both marketing/advertising and public health and related disciplines, could play an important role in

identifying solutions and understanding the most effective ways to implement them.

The transformation of food and beverage marketing is ongoing and poses serious threats to the health and wellbeing of young people, both children and adolescents. The old standards and solutions are inadequate. Addressing the transformation requires both new thinking and new comprehensive agendas. Success depends upon the collaborative and whole hearted engagement of the food and beverage industry, the public health community, and academics. To draw on a cliché, both sides need to be attuned to the problem of winning battles but losing the war.

Endnotes

- ¹ For more information on these and other pledges, see an international database of pledges on food marketing to children (www.yaleruddcenter.org/marketingpledges/) made available by the Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity at Yale University.
- ² For more information, see www.bbb.org/us/childrens-food-and-beverage-advertising-initiative/.
- ³ See Goodby, Silverstein & Partners' explanation of Doritos Asylum 626 for an award show: www.myawardshows.com/2010/OneShowEntertainment/asylum626.
- ⁴ For elaboration on the STP formula, see Kotler and Keller's (2006) Marketing Management textbook, which is widely recognized as one of the most authoritative textbooks on marketing.
- ⁵ For more information, see www.aaf.org/default.asp?id=1236.
- ⁶ The level of organizations and groups of organizations has been referred to as the "meso" level (House et al. 1995, Drumwright 2007). Drumwright (2007) argued that the meso level, which has been neglected in advertising ethics, is particularly important. Norms set at the meso level have a strong influence on the moral sensitivity and behavior of individual advertising practitioners. Moreover, solutions to some macro level ethical problems to which advertising contributes require the collaborative efforts of organizations or groups of organizations.

The National Policy & Legal Analysis Network to Prevent Childhood Obesity (NPLAN) is a project of ChangeLab Solutions. ChangeLab Solutions is a nonprofit organization that provides legal information on matters relating to public health. The legal information in this document does not constitute legal advice or legal representation. For legal advice, readers should consult a lawyer in their state.

Support for this document was provided by a grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

© 2012 ChangeLab Solutions

Appendix A: Interview Protocol

1. Every industry faces ethical issues in general and also ethical issues specific to the industry. What do you see as issues that could pose ethical issues in food marketing?
 - What role do you think that food marketing plays in the obesity crisis?
2. How should we think about targeting children in this context?
 - How should we think about the age of the child?
 - Are the ethical issues related to adolescents more like those related to adults or more like those related to children?
 - There has been a debate in the media about Ronald McDonald as the spokesperson for McDonald's? How should we think about issues like this?
 - There has been debate about giving away toys with fast food. How should we think about this issue?
3. How should we think about mass media?
 - Some people worry about what they refer to as the unintended consequences related to mass media advertising? How should we think about these issues?
4. How should we think about ethical issues related to food advertising in schools?
 - Are there different issues for elementary schools vs. middle schools vs. high schools?
5. How should we think ethical issues related to food marketing and electronic media?
 - Privacy?
 - Social media?
6. How does one go about changing the culture of unhealthy snacking vis a vis the obesity epidemic?

Consumers

- Marketers always value consumer choice. Is there ever a point when consumer choice gets outweighed by broader issues?
- How does one retrain the American consumer, who likes salty, fatty, sugary snacks?

Food Companies

- What role should the food companies play? What could keep food companies from addressing the obesity crisis as they should?
- Should food companies be cast as moral pariahs like the tobacco companies were?

Public Health Community

- What role should the public health community play? What could keep the public health community from addressing the obesity crisis as it should?

Academic Community

- What role should academics play? What could keep academics from addressing the obesity crisis as it should?
7. What would make the self-regulatory efforts of the food industry more effective?
 - What do you see as the strengths and weaknesses of self-regulation?
 - What could be done to keep politics from derailing this effort?

Appendix B: Industry Associations

Marketing

- American Marketing Association
www.marketingpower.com/Pages/default.aspx
- Direct Marketing Association
www.the-dma.org/index.php
- Business Marketing Association
www.marketing.org
- Promotion Marketing Association
www.pmalink.org
- eMarketing Association
www.emarketingassociation.com
- Mobile Marketing Association
<http://mmaglobal.com/main>
- Word of Mouth Marketing Association
<http://womma.org/main>
- Internet Marketing Association
www.imanetwork.org
- International Internet Marketing Association
www.iimaonline.org
- The Web Marketing Association
www.webmarketingassociation.org

Advertising

- American Association of Advertising Agencies
www2.aaa.org/Portal/Pages/default.aspx
- International Advertising Association
www.iaaglobal.org
- American Advertising Federation
www.aaf.org
- Retail Advertising & Marketing Association
www.rama-nrf.org
- Outdoor Advertising Association of America
www.oaaa.org
- Association of Hispanic Advertising Agencies
www.ahaa.org/index.htm
- Indoor Billboard Advertising Association
www.indooradvertising.org
- Asian American Advertising Federation
www.3af.org
- Interactive Advertising Bureau
www.iab.net

Public Relations

- Public Relations Society of America
www.prsa.org
- International Public Relations Associations
www.ipra.org
- Institute for Public Relations
www.instituteforpr.org

References

- American Marketing Association (2008), Market Segmentation, accessed on-line at www.marketingpower.com/_layouts/Dictionary.aspx?dLetter=M#market+segmentation.
- Batada, Ameena and Margo G. Wootan (2009), Better-For-Who? Revisiting company promises on food marketing to children, November, Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), report available at www.cspinet.org/betterforwho.
- Bruhn, John (2009), "The Functionality of Gray Area Ethics in Organizations," Journal of Business Ethics, 89, 205-214.
- Carroll Archie B. and Ann K. Buchholtz (2009), Business & Society: Ethics and Stakeholder Management, Seventh Edition, Mason, OH: South-Western Cengage Learning
- Castaldo, Sandro, Francesco Perrini, Nicola Misani, and Antonio Tencati (2009), "The missing link between corporate social responsibility and consumer trust: The case of Fair Trade products," Journal of Business Ethics, 84 (1), 1-15.
- Cobin, Juliet M. and Strauss, Anselm (2008), Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory, 3rd Edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Drumwright, Minette E. (2007), "Advertising Ethics: A Multi-level Theory Approach," in The Sage Handbook of Advertising, Gerald Tellis and Tim Ambler, eds., Los Angeles: Sage Publication, Inc.
- Ferrell, O. C., Tracy Gonzalez-Padron, G. Tomas M. Hult, and Isabelle Maignan (2010), "From Market Orientation to Stakeholder Orientation," Journal of Public Policy & Marketing, Spring, Vol. 29, Issue 1, 93-96.
- Food Marketing Workgroup (2011), The Genesis of the Food Marketing Workgroup: Where We've Been & Where We're Going, December, Center for Science in the Public Interest and Berkeley Media Studies Group (BMSG),
- Harris, Dan, Suzanne Yeo, Christine Brouwer, and Joel Siegel (2009), "Vigilant Parents Say They Are Often Unaware of Marketing Techniques That Draw Teens, Kids: Advertising Industry Says Regulations Effective, but Watchdog Groups Disagree," November 1, http://abcnews.go.com/WN/w_ParentingResource/vigilant-parents-unaware-marketing-techniques-draw-teens-kids/Story?id=8969255&page=1.
- Harris, Jennifer L. Harris, Marlene B. Schwartz, Kelly D. Brownell, et al. (2010), Evaluating Fast Food Nutrition and Marketing to Youth, December, Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity at Yale University.
- Harris, Jennifer L. Harris, Marlene B. Schwartz, Kelly D. Brownell, et al (2009), Evaluating the Nutrition Quality and Marketing of Children's Cereals, October, Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity at Yale University.
- Harris, Jennifer L. Harris, Marlene B. Schwartz, Kelly D. Brownell, et al (2011), Evaluating Sugary Drink Nutrition and Marketing to Youth, October, Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity at Yale University.
- Harris, Misty (2009), "Targeting Tots Could Build Lifelong Brand Recognition: Study," Canwest News Service, October 23.
- Hawkes, Corinna and Jennifer L. Harris (2011), "An analysis of the content of food industry pledges on marketing to children," Public Health Nutrition, doi:10.1017/S1368980011000607.
- Healthy Eating Research (2011), Food and Beverage Marketing to Children and Adolescents: An Environment at Odds with Good Health, A Research Synthesis, (April), Healthy Eating Research, A National Program of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.
- House, Robert, Denise M. Rousseau, and Melissa Thomas-Hunt (1995), "The Meso Paradigm: A Framework for the integration of Micro and Macro Organizational Behavior," Research in Organizational Behavior, 17, 71-114.
- Hult, G. Tomas M., Jeannette A. Mena, O. C. Ferrell, and Linda Ferrell (2011), "Stakeholder marketing: a definition and conceptual framework," AMS Review, Vol. 1, Number 1, 44-65.
- Kotler, Philip and Kevin Lane Keller (2006), Marketing Management, 12th edition, Prentice Hall.
- Kramer, Karen, Liz Schwarte, Mariah Lafleur, and Jerome D. Williams (forthcoming 2012), "Targeted Marketing of Junk Food to Ethnic Minority Youth: Fighting Back with Community Empowerment and Legal Advocacy" in Jerome D. Williams, Keryn E. Pasch, and Chiquita Collins, eds., Advances in Communication Research to Reduce Childhood Obesity, New York: Springer.
- Kumanyika, Shiriki K. (2011), "A question of competing rights, priorities, and principles: a post-script to the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation symposium on the

ethics of childhood obesity policy, *Preventing Chronic Disease: Public Health Research, Practice, and Policy*, Vol. 8, (No 5), A97, 1-4.

Kunkel, Dale, Christopher McKinley, and Paul Wright (2009), *The Impact of Industry Self-Regulation on the Nutritional Quality of Foods Advertised on Television to Children*, December, *Children Now*, report available at www.childrennow.org/uploads/documents/adstudy_2009.pdf.

Levitt, Theodore (1960), "Marketing Myopia," *Harvard Business Review*, 38 (July–August), 57–66.

Lochhead, Carolyn (2011), Food giants fight proposed nutrition guidelines, *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 12, accessed at www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2011/12/11/MNRV1MAK70.DTL&ao=all.

McCracken, G. D. (1988), *The Long Interview*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Mick, David Glen (2007), "The End(s) of Marketing and the Neglect of Moral Responsibility by the American Marketing Association," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, Vol. 26 (2) Fall, 289–292.

Mielach, David (2012), "World's Most Ethical Companies Revealed," *LiveScience.com*, accessed at www.ethisphere.com/wme/ on March 17, 2012.

Miles, Matthew S. and A. Michael Huberman (1994), *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Montgomery, Kathryn C., Sonya A. Grier, Jeff Chester, and Lori Dorfman (forthcoming 2012), "The Digital Food Marketing Landscape: Challenges for Researchers" in Jerome D. Williams, Keryn E. Pasch, and Chiquita Collins, eds., *Advances in Communication Research to Reduce Childhood Obesity*, New York: Springer.

Montgomery, Kathryn, Sonya Grier, Jeff Chester, and Lori Dorfman (2011), *Food Marketing in the Digital Age: A Conceptual Framework and Agenda for Research*, Research Report from Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's Healthy Eating Research Program (Grant #65063).

Preston, Ivan (1994), *The Tangled Web They Weave*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Ralston Aoki, Julie and Elizabeth S. Moore (forthcoming 2012), "Self-Regulation as a Tool for Promoting Healthier Children's Diets: Can CARU and the CFBAI Do More?" in Jerome D. Williams, Keryn E. Pasch, and Chiquita Collins, eds., *Advances in Communication Research to Reduce Childhood Obesity*, New York: Springer.

Richtel, Matt (2011), "In Online Games, a Path to Young Consumers," *The New York Times*, April 21, A1.

Schwartz, Marlene B. and Amy Ustjanauskas (2012), "Food Marketing to Youth: Current Threats and Opportunities (Editorial)," *Childhood Obesity*, April, Volume 8, Number 2, DOI: [chi.2012.0082.schw](https://doi.org/10.1007/s12161-012-0082-2)

Smith, Craig, Minette E. Drumwright, and Mary Gentile (2010), "The New Marketing Myopia," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, Vol. 29 (Spring) 4-11.

Story, Mary and Simone French (2004), "Review: Food Advertising and Marketing Directed at Children and Adolescents in the US," *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity*, Vol. 1, No. 3, www.ijbnpa.org/content/1/1/3.

Wilcox, Gary B., Jerome D. Williams, Sara Kamal, and Kyung Ok Kacy Kim (forthcoming 2012), "The Role of Advertising on Attitudes and Consumption of Food and Beverage Products," in Jerome D. Williams, Keryn E. Pasch, and Chiquita Collins, eds., *Advances in Communication Research to Reduce Childhood Obesity*, New York: Springer.

Williams, Jerome (2005), "Product Proliferation Analysis for New Food and Beverage Products Targeted to Children 1994–2004," University of Texas at Austin Working Paper.

Wootan, Margo G., Ameena Batada, and Ona Balkus (2010), *Report Card on Food Marketing Policies: An Analysis of Food and Entertainment Policies Regarding Food and Beverage Marketing to Children*, March, Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI) report available at www.cspinet.org/marketingreportcard.