

The Influence of CSR on Marketing to Children over Time

An Analysis of the Food Industry's Attitude towards Advertising to Children from 1988-2008



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I 1998 gjorde WHO opmærksom på, at fedme nu var blevet et globalt problem. Siden da har mange undersøgelser bekræftet denne påstand. Heriblandt kan nævnes, at antallet af overvægtige i Danmark er steget med 30-40 gange gennem de sidste 50 år således, at 40 % af den danske befolkning er overvægtige og 15 % går under kategorien fede. Fedme er også et problem, når det kommer til børn og unge. I løbet af de sidste 30 år er der kommet tre gange så mange overvægtige børn, og en af de faktorer, som i denne forbindelse har været i stigende fokus gennem de senere år er markedsføring af usunde produkter rettet mod børn. Det er op til flere gange blevet påvist, at der findes rigtig mange reklamer for usunde fødevarer rettet mod børn, og at sådanne reklamer påvirker børn og deres spisevaner. Der er dog også tegn på, at der er ved at ske en holdningsændring fra virksomhedernes side. Toms sænkede for eksempel for nogle år siden sit marketingbudget kraftigt, og i 2008 blev Forum for Fødevarereklamer etableret, en organisation hvor medlemmerne følger et kodeks mht. markedsføring til børn.

Formålet med denne opgave vil derfor være at undersøge, hvorvidt debatten om fedme har resulteret i større social ansvarlighed mht. markedsføring af usunde produkter til børn og unge i Danmark. Måden vi vil undersøge dette på er ved at udvælge nogle af fødevarerbranchens virksomheder (Coca-Cola, Ferrero, Kellogg's og Toms), som så vil repræsentere denne branche i vores analyse. Virksomhederne fører alle produkter, som i højere eller mindre grad er rettet mod børn, og de markedsfører alle deres produkter i Danmark. Vi vil så analysere virksomhedernes tv-reklamer og CSR op gennem de sidste 20 år for at se, om vi kan spore en ændring i holdningen til markedsføring af usunde produkter rettet mod børn.

Vi kan konkludere, at alle fire udvalgte virksomheder nu støtter ansvarlig markedsføring til børn på den ene eller anden måde; de har alle en eller anden form for

politik på området, og de støtter alle også en sund livsstil. Således ser det ud til, at virksomhederne har gode intentioner, da de forholder sig til sundhed og til effekten af deres markedsføring overfor børn. Synligheden af dette i deres tv-reklamer er dog vekslende. I nogle af tilfældene kan man tydeligt se en udvikling hen i mod mere ansvarlig markedsføring, dvs. at reklamerne ikke er rettet mod børn og/eller at virksomheden ikke reklamerer for sine usunde produkter. I andre tilfælde er udviklingen knap så tydelig. Således finder vi, at reklamerne til en vis grad er blevet mere etiske, der er dog stadig lang vej endnu og mange ting, som man kan stille spørgsmål ved. F.eks. bliver der stadig reklameret for Kinder, Nutella og Coca Cola Light/Zero (som selvfølgelig er uden sukker, men stadig ikke sundt). Den eneste forskel er, at reklamerne ikke er direkte rettet mod børn. Følgelig er virksomhederne begyndt at forholde sig til CSR og markedsføring rettet mod børn, om end det først er sket inden for de seneste år. Det betyder dog ikke, at børn er fuldt ud beskyttet mod markedsføring, i og med at en reklame rettet mod voksne også kan appellere til børn. Derudover har fokus været meget på TV som det primære medie. Flere virksomheder har dog benyttet eller benytter stadig mange af de andre kanaler, når de markedsfører sig til børn, og det er derfor et område, som bør udforskes nærmere.

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APPENDIX 1-17 (PLEASE SEE APPENDIX FOLDER)

1 Introduction

In 1998 the World Health Organization (WHO) called attention to the fact that obesity had become a big issue globally (The World Health Organization, 1998). Following in 2000 a report from the Worldwatch Institute, a Washington DC-based research organisation, stated that for the first time in human history the number of overweight people rivalled the number of underweight people. It saw a slight decline in the world's underfed population since 1980 to 1.1 billion, while the number of overweight people had grown to 1.1 billion (Worldwatch Institute, 2000).

This epidemic of obesity is also of great concern to the Danish population. Research shows that during the last 50 years the number of obese people has increased by 30-40 times in Denmark. Overweight is an issue for approximately 40% of the adult Danish population while 13-15% fall in the category of obesity. A great cause of concern is the increase in overweight and obesity among children and teenagers. This group has seen a three-fold increase in the last 30 years. (Ernæringsrådet, 2003). Furthermore, a Danish research project has found that overweight children reaching the age of 9 start to accumulate risk factors for developing what is referred to as metabolic syndrome (Deichmann, 2007), a combination of medical disorders that increase the risk of developing cardiovascular disease and diabetes ("Metabolic", 2006).

This tendency could be the result of several factors. The common perception is that obesity is put down to an environment promoting overeating and less physical activity. Therefore, campaigns encouraging children to eat healthy are becoming more frequent. Simultaneously, those same children are, however, exposed to marketing of unhealthy/fatty foods. A factor which politicians, researchers and the media have increased their focus on. This marketing happens in the shape of advertising in e.g. electronic, written media and the supermarket. This is a serious issue as research has shown that food marketing targeted at children does affect their preferences in foods and food brands (International Association of Consumer Food Organizations, 2003). Adding to this, a study by "Forbrugerinformationen" of commercials broadcasted on the channel TV2 from October 2002 to March 2003 showed that all food commercials aimed at children were of unhealthy foods (Forbrugerrådet 2005A).

There are, however, indications that companies in their marketing are beginning to take into consideration this development. Take for example the company Toms which from one year to another cut advertising costs with no less than 85.7% (Fredslund, nd.), or McDonalds that has set up a blog dedicated to a discussion of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) issues allowing customers to engage in dialogue with McDonalds (“Open”, n.d). In addition, as of 1 January 2008, a broad group of advertisers and media in Denmark have come together and established “Forum for Fødevarereklamer” whereby they agree to follow a code of conduct regarding advertising of unhealthy foods towards children (DRRB, n.d.A). Thus, there seems to be a tendency for companies and organisations to take more responsibility for the problems with obesity and overweight among children. In the light of this, the purpose of this paper will be, with focus on Denmark, to look into how companies who produce unhealthy food products relate to the problem with obesity and overweight among children.

Therefore, our problem statement will be as follows:

How has the issue of obesity influenced marketing of unhealthy/fattening foods to children and teenagers?

In order to answer this question, the following aspects need to be researched:

- To what extent have companies producing unhealthy/fattening foods for children and teenagers embraced CSR policies? And has this had an impact on their advertising and marketing practice?

1.1 Hypotheses

We do expect to detect a development in the attitude towards the embracing of CSR and a more responsible conduct. In addition, we also expect to find that the focus on CSR and obesity has resulted in a change in marketing practice concerning children and teenagers, but not to the extent that all marketing has been banned. Furthermore, we do

not expect all companies to be equally devoted to responsible marketing. Therefore, we are also not convinced that the development in the field of CSR will be distinctly reflected in the marketing. We do expect to find the companies to be focusing more on health, but we also expect to still find marketing for unhealthy foods. Marketing which could potentially attract children.

1.2 Delimitation

We will be focusing on if and how companies who market unhealthy products to children and teenagers in Denmark relate to the issue of obesity and whether or not this has changed over time. This will be done by researching selected companies which market their products in Denmark. The companies chosen are: Toms, Ferrero, Coca-Cola and Kellogg's. We believe that these companies make up a good cross section as they account for beverages, candy and breakfast products and are, thus, important marketers to children and teenagers when dealing with unhealthy products. Therefore, we believe that they will provide a good overview of the situation and its development without researching every company that is and has marketed its products in Denmark. By focusing on Denmark, we will be able to conduct an exhaustive analysis of the development in Denmark instead of a sketchy comparison of the situation in two countries. Adding to this, when comparing two countries a risk is not being able to gain access to an equal amount of empirical material for both countries, or material of the same quality.

We will be looking into these companies' marketing approach by analysing commercials from the last 20 years to see if there is a development in how companies relate to the issue of obesity. Our focus will be on TV commercials as these constitute an important part of children's exposure to marketing (cf. section 3.4.3). To the degree that it is relevant, we will also take into account other media such as magazines, the Internet and the like.

Furthermore, we will be focusing on obesity among children and teenagers, as we find them to constitute an interesting group in the sense that they do not have the same

knowledge and foundation with regard to resisting commercials and other types of marketing (c.f. section 3.2.1). Adults are to some extent expected to be able to take responsibility for their own actions contrary to children who therefore constitute a group which should be taken special consideration to. Being an adult does, however, not mean that you are not affected by commercials and other types of marketing or that all the decisions you make are good ones. Even though adults know that smoking, eating unhealthy food, drinking, refraining from exercising etc. are all things we should keep at a minimum, this is rarely the case in reality. So, no one can be said to be uninfluenced by marketing and making decisions which are not always the most responsible, but children and teenagers still constitute a more vulnerable segment compared to adults (c.f. section 3.2.1) and this is why we find it interesting to focus on this particular segment.

Adding to this, when dealing with the companies' CSR policies, we will be focusing on the areas relevant for our research i.e. health and marketing and only briefly mention other aspects of their CSR.

Finally, we will not be dealing with the consequences of overweight and obesity but only shortly mention that obesity does have severe consequences, as going deeper into the different consequences will quickly become an area outside our expertise. This is also why we will not be looking into how obesity and overweight can be prevented as our thesis then would become a socio-economic one, and this is not our intention.

2 Methodology

Method is, in brief, the systematic process we use to validate a given body of knowledge. That is to say that we cannot simply claim that something is correct because we ourselves believe it to be so. We have to be able to provide a basis for our claim that it is correct (Rasmussen, Østergaard, & Beckmann, 2006:10).

As per this quote, this part of the paper will deal with the area of methodology. The purpose of this is to enable the reader to assess the validity and reliability of our research.

2.1 The Purpose of the Research

The purpose of our research is to analyse how the issue of obesity has influenced company marketing of unhealthy/fattening foods to children and teenagers. This will involve an assessment of the extent to which the emergence of CSR has affected the marketing and advertising practice of selected companies.

According to Ib Andersen (2003) of utmost importance is for the research to have a clear purpose. Referring to Finn Borum (1990:42) he sets up the following categories of purposes:

- Descriptive
- Explorative/Identification of problem
- Explanatory/Understanding
- Problem Solving/Normative
- Intervention

However, Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2000:97) point out that the most widespread purpose of any given paper is explorative, descriptive or explanatory. Thus, in accordance with this theory the purpose of our research is threefold. It is descriptive as we provide an overview of the extent to which obesity has become a problem in Denmark. Furthermore, the CSR policies of selected companies are looked into. It is exploratory in the sense that we examine how the tendency to show more social

responsibility among companies is reflected in their commercials over time. Finally, it is explanatory as we look into how the increased focus on obesity and social responsibility has affected the companies.

2.2 Research Method

To choose an appropriate research technique is the next step. There are several ways of conducting research which becomes evident in the following.

Deductive and Inductive Reasoning

Scientific conclusions can be drawn on the basis of deductive and/or inductive reasoning (Andersen, 2003:39). According to Ib Andersen (2003) deductive reasoning is mostly applied when the point of departure is existing theories. Thus, any conclusion is reached from previously known facts (p. 39). Inductive reasoning, on the other hand, is the process of arriving at a conclusion based on a set of observations (empirical material (Andersen 2003:39-40)). This method is most often used when few theories exist on any given subject and the purpose is to create new theories. Ours is a deductive way of reasoning given that the purpose of this paper is on the basis of theory to create knowledge on how the tendency to show more social responsibility among companies is reflected in their commercials over time. Yet, we also draw general conclusions based on the situation of relatively few companies, which could be said to be an inductive way of reasoning.

The Qualitative and the Quantitative Methods

Two main methods exist of conducting research according to Ib Andersen (2003:41). These are the qualitative and the quantitative one, respectively. Implementing the qualitative method one seeks to create a deep and holistic understanding of any given object. Counting of data or quantity is not at the centre of this method; however, this is distinctive of the quantitative method whose aim is standardization and structuring based on a large group of respondents (Rasmussen et al., 2006:94). The opposite is, however, the case with the qualitative method which is characterized by flexibility and a small number of respondents (Rasmussen et al., 2006:93).

A quantitative study could have been conducted by for instance including a large number of corporations and looking at the number of their commercials for unhealthy foods over time, or how many times these commercials were broadcasted. However, we believe that the qualitative method will be most suitable in providing an answer to our problem statement, given that the purpose of the paper is to create a deeper understanding of the influence of obesity on marketing.

We do not claim that the analyses of commercials provide a completely accurate picture of how and the extent to which companies have embraced and dealt with the emergence of CSR, however, we do contend that it will give an indication of the circumstances.

2.3 Empirical Material

Our empirical material consists of three main parts. First we have four selected case companies, then a collection of commercials covering a period of 20 years from 1988 to 2008 and finally articles relating to the case companies' CSR and marketing covering the period from 1980 to 2008. In some cases it was, however, not possible to locate any articles from the 1980s.

The case companies have been included with the purpose of analysing their marketing or more specifically their commercials. This, along with the collection of articles will help us assess how the issue of obesity has affected the marketing of the chosen companies over time. In the following we elaborate on our approach to the choice of empirical material.

Case Companies

- Should be large/well known corporations as they are more likely to use commercials for marketing purposes compared to small players
- Should have available commercials for their products broadcasted in Denmark dating back to the 1980s

- Product range should include unhealthy/fattening foods. The companies should together cover the product areas of breakfast, beverages and candy as these are products often marketed to children
- Should sell their products in Denmark as the point of departure of the paper is obesity in Denmark

Commercials

- The collection should cover the period of 1988-2008 as we believe that analysing 20 years will allow us to create a comprehensive overview of the development in the area of obesity. Furthermore, the first TV commercial was not broadcasted until 1987 (“Reklamens”, 2007)
- One commercial per company per decade will be analysed. In some cases i.e. Kellogg’s and Ferrero two commercials for each company will be analysed as these companies at the time marketed two rather different kinds of products. This should give a more balanced picture of the companies’ marketing
- Should have been broadcasted around the same year each decade, i.e. 1988, 1998 and 2008
- Should all have been broadcasted on TV2, as this channel is available to all and delivers about half of all commercials seen in Denmark (Mediesekretariatet, 2007)
- Should advertise for foods/drinks
- Should as far as possible be targeted at children. In the case one such cannot be retrieved, commercials targeted at adults will be analysed instead, as the fact that the company at the time did not advertise to children also reflects its attitude towards responsibility

Articles

- Should have been found through the database Infomedia as it contains articles from some of the biggest newspapers, web sources and trade journals in Denmark
- Should cover the same period as the commercials analysed

- Should appear as a result of the search words: “fedme”, “reklame”, “børn”, “markedsføring” and the company’s name. Thus, the articles will be found under the same conditions for each company. We are, however, aware that some companies might have received more media coverage than others and this might affect the picture
- Should be related to the companies’ CSR in compliance with the CSR pyramid in the sense that they deal with one or more of the four tiers in the pyramid (cf. section 3.3.1)

Adding to this, we also include the websites of the selected companies to gain an insight into their attitude towards CSR today. Finally, to clarify on given issues as well as to acquire copies of recent commercials, mail correspondence with marketing employees from those companies has taken place and this will also be referred to in the paper.

The Process of Data Collection

The task of acquiring the commercials needed for our analysis started at the library of the University of Southern Denmark. Here we gained access to files with listings of all commercials broadcasted on TV2 from 1987 to 2001 – a collection called “TV2R Månedens nye reklamer”. Our task was first one of narrowing down, based on the above mentioned criterion, the companies whose commercials we were to analyse. From the files we chose a collection of commercials from the selected companies based on the product they advertised for after which we acquired the tapes containing the chosen commercials. After a thorough review of the tapes we were able to narrow down further the collection again based on the abovementioned criterion for commercials. As “TV2R Månedens nye reklamer” has not been produced since 2001, we have retrieved the most recent commercials by contacting the companies. Both writers went through the chosen commercials together getting an overview of the content after which it became possible to embark on the process of analysis.

2.4 Theory

The purpose of this paragraph is to briefly clarify the choice of theoreticians/researchers whose theories we apply in the analysis of our empirical material.

As the point of departure we discuss the effect of commercials on children and the process of consumer socialisation. This discussion is based on a branding point-of-view provided by Naomi Klein (2002) who argues that brands to an increasing degree are gaining significance while Hastings Stead, McDermott, Forsyth, MacKintosh, Rayner, Godfrey, Caraher, & Angus (2003); Hastings, Stead, & McDermott (2004) offer an understanding of the influence of food promotion on children. Anne Martensen (2006), furthermore, provides insight into the relationship of children with commercials. Finally, Birgitte Tufte (2007) adds the view of a consumer sociologist on this issue by outlining the development of children into consumers.

Another vital aspect relevant to this paper is the one of CSR. To provide a basis for the investigation of company CSR policies, we seek to define the subject of CSR. To this end Marcel van Marrewijk (2003) among others is included to offer some initial thoughts as regards this subject, and providing a comprehensive definition of the concept are Carroll and Buchholtz (2003). Providing a stakeholder perspective on CSR are Majken Schultz and Mette Morsing (2006). Finally, the main theoretical framework which combined with the abovementioned theories constitutes the basis of the analysis of our empirical material is presented. This framework is based on the IMK model (Frandsen, Johansen, & Nielsen, 1997) also involving Charles Peirce (Christensen & Askegaard, 2001) to elaborate on certain features of the IMK model. The presented theories are to be elaborated on in chapter three.

2.5 Structure of the Thesis

This paper is structured in the following way:

In Chapter One we seek to clarify the problem area.

In Chapter Two a description of the method applied in the thesis is provided.

In Chapter Three we set out the extent to which obesity is an issue in Denmark thereby substantiating the seriousness of this matter, especially with regard to children. Following, the matter of children and advertising is discussed including a brief account of current legislation on the area. We also outline the main features of the emergence of CSR after which a definition is presented. Furthermore, the purpose of this chapter is to provide the theoretical background for the communication of CSR as well as the communication that takes place through marketing, in this case commercials. This will help substantiate our empirical research.

In Chapter Four we analyse the selected commercials and their CSR policies to determine the extent to which those companies have actually embraced CSR policies as well as whether or not these policies have had an impact on their marketing strategies.

In Chapter Five we present a timeline of the most significant events in relation to company as well as society's attitude towards marketing of unhealthy foods to children.

In Chapter Six we conclude on our findings.

In Chapter Seven we discuss our findings thereby putting them into perspective. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overall assessment of the attitude of the selected companies towards marketing of unhealthy foods and CSR communication.

3 Theory

3.1 The Issue of Obesity

Over the past decade the number of headlines with the word obesity has increased significantly and, thus, the point of this paragraph is to assess the seriousness of this matter.

The opinion has been voiced that obesity, especially among young people, is not as widespread as it might seem (“Sessionslæge”, 2007; Statens Institut for Folkesundhed, 2008). Nevertheless, when measured according to Body Mass Index (BMI) the number of obese people has increased by 30-40 times over the past 50 years. BMI is measured in the following way: weight/kg divided with height/(m)² and is an acknowledged way of measuring if a person is overweight (Forbrugerrådet, n.d.A; Statens Institut for Folkesundhed, 2006). Normal weight people have a BMI between 18.5 and 25, overweight people have a BMI over 25 and obese people have a BMI over 30. In a report from “Dansk Institut for Folkesundhed” published in 2006, it is stated that 53.4% of the adult Danish population is normal weight, 2.2% are underweight, while 11.4% are obese and 33% are overweight. To compare over time, in 1987 the percentage of adult Danes who were obese was 5.5 (Ekholm, Kjølner, Davidsen, Hesse, Eriksen, Christensen, & Grønbæk 2006: 114-116; Forbrugerrådet n.d. A; Forbrugerrådet n.d.B). It is, however, to be mentioned that there might be a certain degree of uncertainty related to the use of the BMI method, especially with regard to children. The amount of body fat might be a bit difficult to determine as the child might be muscular and big boned rather than overweight. A medical examination would then be in order to determine the actual condition of the child (Pearson, Olsen, Hansen, & Sørensen, 2005).

In addition, focus has also lately been drawn to the fact that people who are skinny can be fat, as they have an excessive amount of body fat compared to muscles. These people are also at risk when it comes to lifestyle related illnesses (DR, 2007).

Although there are a few voices counter-arguing the so-called obesity epidemic, most researchers agree that obesity is a big problem which needs to be dealt with before it

gets out of hand. Without doubt, the evidence does indicate a continuous increase in the number of overweight and obese people, making it hard to argue against it being a problem.

3.2 Children and the World of Advertising

3.2.1 Children and Commercials

Every day we are exposed to a large amount of commercials, be it on billboards, the Internet, TV, radio or other places. Companies are consistently trying to convince us that their products are fantastic. Naomi Klein (Klein, 2002) has made it clear that she feels that it has gone too far. She argues that over the past decades focus has moved from the product to the brand and that the brand has increasingly become the product resulting in e.g. Nike being about sports not shoes and Microsoft about communication not software. However, these are just a few examples; she is convinced that the whole world has become a marketing opportunity. Even though she tends to focus on the high-profile brands which are not necessarily the culprits, she seems to have captured a tendency in how marketing is taking on a more significant role.

Not all writers and researchers have as extreme points of view as Naomi Klein. Generally, however, the topic of marketing and branding is one of opposing views especially when the discussion is about children and commercials. This discussion has resulted in a vast amount of articles and research projects containing many different views on whether or not children are affected by commercials and the consequences of this. This section is an attempt to provide an overview of some of the most significant points of view in this debate to help create the foundation of our analysis.

A review of research into how food promotion affects children first of all shows that food is the most promoted product towards children, except for toys (and this is only at Christmas), and that television is the primary medium for this promotion. In addition, it is argued that there is plenty of evidence that children notice and enjoy this promotion. It was also found that food promotion does influence children's food preferences and purchase behaviour and that advertising can influence children's preferences not just for

different brands of e.g. chocolate biscuits but also for chocolate biscuits, crisps or apples. Finally, it was found that advertising does influence children's eating preferences regardless of other factors such as parents' eating habits, attitudes etc (Hastings et al., 2003 & Hastings et al., 2004).

A study into the relationship of 2000 children and young people with commercials, however, shows that even children around the age of 8 to a high degree understand the purpose of commercials and that they become more critical of commercials with age (Martensen, 2006:301-303). Eight out of ten children at the age of 8-9 years do not believe commercials are honest and believable and this grows to nine out of ten children for the older age group (Martensen, 2006:309). Even so, the researchers did find commercials to affect children and also here age was an important factor. At the age of 8-9 years the share of children who are affected by the commercials (depending on how the question is asked 41% and 47% wish for products seen in commercials) is much higher than it is for children at the age of 17-18 (25% (Martensen, 2006: 310)). So even though many children said they understood the purpose of commercials, they were in many cases affected by them. The number of children who are affected by commercials could, however, easily be bigger as you cannot expect children (or adults) to be able to provide an accurate answer to a question concerning an area where most of what happens is unconscious.

Many authors support the view that commercials affect children and that the dividing line is around the age of 8. Until this age children do not seem to recognise the persuasive content of commercial advertising (Kunkel & McKinley, 2007; Spake 2003). Yet, one thing is agreeing that marketing does affect children another is what to do about it. As 85% of the food business' advertising budget is spent on commercials, the debate has mostly focused on whether or not there should be restrictions regarding commercials directed at children (Forbrugerrådet n.d. A). One view is a ban on advertising because of the apparent effect of commercials on children along with the claim that marketers are to blame for obesity (Wasserman, 2004).

Another author draws attention to the fact that commercials for food to children do not mention taste; instead the message is that food will make you happy, cool and give you friends. In addition, it is argued that marketing fuels children's desires not only for food but for large portions using an example from McDonalds where children could win prizes by collecting Monopoly pieces which only followed with medium, large and supersize portions (Spake, 2003).

Anne Martensen, however, suggests that the debate should not be about limiting children's exposure to commercials but rather about how to teach them to relate to commercials in a healthy way, as a ban against commercials for children or commercials broadcast around children's programmes would not make much sense when research shows that 60% of the 8-9 year-olds and 68% 10-12 year-olds watch commercials for adults on a daily basis (Martensen, 2006: 312-313).

Another author shares somehow the same opinion and argues that it is naive to believe that if we isolate young children from marketing, they will grow up to become savvy consumers the moment they are deemed mature enough to be exposed to commercials. The same author argues that it is the parents who are responsible for which products are bought, what programmes children watch etc. It is also argued that when it comes to obesity the real culprit is lack of physical activity (Berman, 2006; "The advertiser's", 2007).

Another argument against a ban is that statistics from countries that have a ban show no significant improvement with regard to obesity (Berman, 2006; Wood, 2004). This argument is, however, opposed in another article where it is argued that too many factors prevent the bans from having the full effect. In Sweden and Norway for example the ban only applies to commercials on television, making it possible for advertisers to use one of the many other channels. Adding to this, in both Sweden and Quebec the ban only applies to broadcasters and advertisers within the jurisdiction, and as much TV comes from abroad it leaves plenty of room for commercials addressing children. Furthermore, the wording of the laws is weak with expressions such as "not directed at children" or "not designed to attract children", allowing advertisers to be creative in

how to exploit possible loop holes. Another problem is that the bans are not enforced well enough, as not enough resources have been devoted to the area. Moreover, some researchers have found the ban in Quebec to have had an effect as regards the people who mainly watch national television. Finally, who is to say that the number of obese people would not be even bigger if there had not been a ban? (Obesity Policy Coalition, 2007).

Obviously, there are many different views on this topic. Yet, what is essential is that research does seem to show a connection between commercials and children's eating habits. Thus, it cannot be denied that people and children in particular are to some extent affected by commercials. The easy solution would be to ban commercials for unhealthy foods targeted at children, but the question is whether this is the best solution. Obviously, children are exposed to a great deal of marketing every day, but as we have seen a ban does not necessarily protect children fully from advertising. There are loop holes which advertisers are very good at finding. Furthermore, children will eventually reach an age where no law protects them against advertising, and how will they be able to cope with this if they have never been accustomed to a world full of advertising? As a result, it does seem somewhat naive to believe that a simple ban would solve the obesity problem all together. The problem of obesity is much more complicated. Commercials are only part of the problem. Lack of physical activity because of too much TV, computer games and surfing the Internet, and a culture where the concept of "Hygge" is often connected with soda and candy also serve as reasons. We do not deny that commercials are a part of the problem and that changing attitudes towards healthier living will not be easy if companies market their products as healthy or in a way that signals that using the product will make you happier. However, we do not believe that a total ban will serve as the best solution. Rather we agree with Anne Martensen that it would be better to teach children how to relate to marketing. We are not suggesting that this solution will solve the issue of obesity; rather we consider it a way to improve the conditions concerning advertising to children in a way that is in the best long-term interest of the children and which may in time contribute to children eating healthier.

3.2.2 Children as Consumers

As mentioned earlier, children constitute an interesting target group because they do not have the same preconditions as adults for navigating the consumer jungle. But exactly how much do children understand with regard to consumption and how and when do they become consumers? These are some of the aspects this section will deal with in order to get a better understanding of how children develop with regard to consumption.

3.2.2.1 Age and Consumer Socialisation

Birgitte Tufte (2007:38-39) defines consumer socialisation as a process which takes place through life along with other socialisation processes. The process includes acquisition of knowledge, insight into consumption, economy, taste and lifestyle.

Age is considered the most important factor when dealing with children and consumption as was also indicated in section 3.2.1. Children have been found to go through a number of stages where they develop skills relevant for becoming a consumer (Hansen, Martensen, Halling, Lauritsen, Nielsen, & Puggard, 2002: 23-26). In an article by Deborah Roedder John (John, 2008) where she unites many years' findings on consumer socialisation, she comes to the conclusion that the socialisation of children into consumers can be divided into three age groups; 3-7, 7-11 and 11-16 years.

The stage from the age of 3-7 years is called the Perceptual Stage. Children at this stage are often ego centred and only able to see things from their own perspective. They have only limited ability to decode and organise information, and decision taking is based on a limited set of strategies with only little information. The next stage which goes from the age of 7-11 years is called the Analytical Stage. Children at this stage are characterised by being far more analytical and able to understand that people can have different opinions and motives. At this age children start to have a more detailed perception of markets and brands. Furthermore, they think much more about the decisions they are to make, and choices are based on more qualities. Finally, the stage from 11-16 years is called the Reflective Stage. These children are able to, at the same time, view things from their own as well as from another person's perspective. They can

treat information in an abstract manner and are able to adapt their decisions to any given situation and circumstances. These children are more focused on social relations and the need to create an identity which in some way fits into the group's expectations.

This division corresponds very well with the one also used by Anne Martensen (2006: 295-296) in her study of children's relation to commercials. She however uses the division 2-7 instead of 3-7. But as Deborah Roedder John (John, 2008) also states, children are different and the division should only be perceived as an approximation.

3.2.2.2 Today's Children

Over the past decades the traditional nuclear family has become less prominent. Defining families is no longer simple. Generally, people in this part of the world are less inclined to get married, and if they do they wait longer. At the same time divorces have become more frequent and people have fewer children. This tendency leads to people putting greater emphasis on siblings, close friends and other relatives for support and companionship (Solomon, Bamossy & Askegaard, 2002: 349-350).

Being a child is not the same any longer either. They quickly grow up and become consumers with a lot of money to spend. A phenomenon also called KGOY - Kids Grow Old Younger. An example of this is how children grow out of using toys at a younger age. Girls for example start losing interest in toys around the age of 9 and all in all only 17% of 11-12 year-olds are interested in toys (Forbrugerstyrelsen, 2005; Tufte, 2007:20-21). An example of how early the interest in consumption begins is illustrated in how children at the age of 2-3 years are able to recognise familiar packing and familiar figures on products (Hansen et al., 2002: 126; John, 2008). The fact that children grow up much sooner has created a whole new target group for companies called tweens which consists of children at the age of 8-16 years depending on your sources (Forbrugerstyrelsen, 2005; Tufte, 2007:20-21).

Not only do children grow up a lot faster, they also have quite a lot of money to spend. In Denmark children up to the age of 12 have around DKK 300 at their disposal each month and teenagers have between DKK 1,400 and 2,900. The money available is in

many cases spent on soda, sweets and the like (Hansen et al, 2002: 242-243; Forbrugerstyrelsen, 2005; Solomon et al, 2002: 361-362).

Even though they have quite a lot of money at their disposal and can buy their own products, children and teenagers also have a considerable influence on what the family buys as a whole. Hence, when asked, 40% of the parents said that their children had a big influence when it comes to grocery shopping. Children's own assessment of their influence on daily shopping has, however, been seen to be higher (Forbrugerstyrelsen, 2005). Regardless, it is especially when it comes to cookies, snacks, chips, fruit, candy, beverages and cereals that children have an influence on what is bought. The role of children in a buying decision can take several forms. It can be in the form of a request or more discretely in the sense that the parents buy what they know the children like (Perceptual Stage). The older the child the more influence. The way this influence is carried out develops as the child grows; it can begin with a simple pointed finger at a certain toy (Perceptual Stage) and develop into a complicated negotiation (Analytical and Reflective Stages) (Hansen et al, 2002: 235-238, 246-249; Forbrugerstyrelsen, 2005).

Another view of the child's role in shopping comes from Daniel Miller, who in his book "A Theory of Shopping" (Miller, 1998) compares the ritual of sacrifice to shopping. He argues that the main purpose of sacrifice could be seen as being an activity with the divine as the desiring subject and that in shopping it is the other or a relationship with the other which is the desiring subject. In a parent – child relationship the parent, naturally, wants the best for the child and to have the best possible relationship with the child. This along with being a parent and raising a child in itself involves many sacrifices. As a result, sacrifice to a great extent defines the parent – child relationship. This relationship is often manifested in the form of what Daniel Miller refers to as "the treat" which he argues is a very common element when people go shopping. The treat is often directed at the shopper himself/herself but can also be directed at another individual such as a child. A typical example could be a parent rewarding a child for behaving during shopping or for having behaved while staying at home. The reason why the parent sacrifices so much for the child and buys treats is, according to Daniel

Miller, love. Showing love through shopping is, however, not only visible in parent – child relationships.

As a result, shopping does seem to play an important role in a parent – child relationship and the child does seem to have a say as to what is put in the shopping cart.

3.2.2.3 Factors Influencing the Buying Decision

Considering the previous sections, it seems fair to conclude that children and teenagers account for an interesting target group for companies, as they have a lot of money at their disposal along with a great influence on purchases in the family. In the previous section on children and commercials we established that children are to some extent affected by commercials. However, commercials are not the only factor affecting children's choice of brand.

In a buying decision process, which includes the roles of an initiator, a decision maker, a buyer, a consumer and an influent, a child is most likely to take on the role of either initiator or influent (Andersen, Jensen, Jepsen & Schmalz, Trojel, 2004: 138-142). Naturally, when the child gets older and has its own money to spend, it will be able to take on the other roles as well. In a study parents were asked who or what had the biggest influence on children's choice of brand. 35% believed that they themselves accounted for the biggest influence, 30% that friends and siblings had the biggest influence whereas 34% believed that commercials were the most important influence (Forbrugerstyrelsen, 2005). The results from this study therefore imply that children's networks in the form of family and friends have a bigger influence than commercials. Nevertheless, you cannot trust these results 100% as parents cannot know for sure what the biggest influence on their children is nor can children themselves know this, as the process of a buying decision is often unconscious.

However, even though it can be questioned how much children use their network in buying decisions they do use them, we all do. This network is often referred to as reference groups. (Solomon et al., 2002: 303). Reference groups are not equally important in every buying decision. When e.g. we perform a simple routine-buy we do

not have the same need for our reference group. Reference groups can sometimes determine whether you buy a bottle of water or a soda and at other times they may decide specific brands e.g. a particular brand of soda (Solomon et al., 2002: 310). With regard to who or what affects the purchase it has been argued that children learn about consumption by observing their parents and that teenagers are affected by their peers and advertising (Solomon et al., 2002: 361-362, 407; John, 2008). Also school has been mentioned as a factor influencing children by being a part of children's socialisation and upbringing (Tufte, 2007:57-62). What is important is that commercials are not the only factor influencing a purchase; they are a participating factor on the same line as reference groups.

To sum up, children have indeed become an interesting target group given the influence they have on the family's purchases along with the fact that they grow up faster and hence become interested in consumption sooner and the amount of money they have at their disposal. A walk down Strøget or a trip to the mall on a Saturday bears plenty witness to this development. With regard to obesity, it is interesting that it is mostly the unhealthy products children buy and have an influence on, which makes the issue of advertising towards this group even more relevant. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that children are influenced not only by advertising but by a whole range of people as well.

3.2.3 Legislation

The discussion on whether to regulate or not in relation to commercials and children is one of continuous interest. There are two main views in this discussion (Tufte, 2007:22). Either the child is viewed as one that needs protection (consumer critical view) or as a competent, independent individual (market oriented view). These opposing views are also apparent when looking into the regulation on children and commercials in Denmark.

From 2000-2001 Denmark had in place legislation that forbade some cases of commercials towards children, but this was removed when the new Government was

formed (Tufte, 2007:80-82). Today, the main message in the Danish Marketing Practices Act is that businesses must show proper marketing practice as well as consideration for consumers, other businesses and society as a whole. Some aspects are, however, specified. For example it is specified that incorrect and misleading statements are not allowed and that a commercial must be recognisable as a commercial. In addition, in relation to our thesis, it is of interest that in 2006 a section on children was added stating that special consideration needs to be shown for children and young people given their natural naivety, lack of experience and critical sense (Markedsføringsloven, n.d.).

It is the Consumer Ombudsman who makes sure that companies adhere to the law. In this connection, he provides guidelines for businesses in order to help them understand the specific requirements in the law (Markedsføringsloven, n.d.). These guidelines specify that businesses need to consider especially the age of the target group, but that companies must be aware of every aspect of the commercial in order to not abuse the naivety of children. Especially, attention must be paid to ensure an accurate presentation of the product in order not to mislead with regard to e.g. size, value, price, performance and the like. In addition, it is specified that marketing must not undermine social values in the sense that it cannot give the impression that using the product will give the child physical, psychological or social benefits compared to other children at the same age. Moreover, he specifies that companies producing unhealthy products, in particular, need to show responsibility when marketing to children. Commercials for such products cannot give the impression that eating or drinking the product will give the child success or that it is somehow healthy and they cannot undermine healthy eating (“Børn“, 2006).

Another piece of legislation that advertisers must be aware of is the executive order concerning advertising and sponsorship on television (“Bekendtgørelse, n.d.”). Where the Danish Marketing Practices Act is aimed at advertisers, the executive order is aimed at management in radio and TV which is to make sure that these rules are followed with “Radio og TV-Nævnet” as the supervisor (Forbrugerstyrelsen, 2006). This executive order shares somewhat the same view as the Danish Marketing Practices Act and the

guidelines from the Consumer Ombudsman concerning advertising to children and many of the subjects mentioned are similar to the ones already mentioned.

As a result, the legislation in Denmark seems to reflect the consumer critical view where the child is viewed as one that needs protection, given that the regulation in this area is characterised by its focus on protecting the consumer and, lately, especially children. This attitude towards consumers seems to be a good reflection of what Gabriel and Lang (2006) refer to as “The consumer as a victim”. Here the consumer is considered as a victim in the jungle of products and as a result legislation is needed in order to protect the consumer. However, legislation from the authorities does not stand alone any longer, as will be described in the following section; the industry has also begun to regulate itself.

3.2.4 “Forum for Fødevarereklamer”

In 2004 the Danish Food Industry introduced the first set of principles with regard to advertising targeted at children (Dansk Industri, 2008). In the following years these principles were further developed and as of 1 January 2008 the Danish Food Industry, grocery trade and media- and advertising business have come together and established “Forum for Fødevarereklamer”. The members have agreed upon a voluntary code of conduct (“Kodeks for Fødevarereklamer”) promising not to advertise for food with a high content of fat, sugar and salt in any media that addresses children (Forum for Fødevarereklamer, n.d.). The code of conduct builds on the existing legislation on the area but goes further than this legislation (Forum for Fødevarereklamer, 2007A). The reason for introducing this code of conduct is the increasing number of overweight and obese children in Denmark. Furthermore, the organisations behind this code of conduct acknowledge that children are more easily influenced than adults and therefore need some kind of protection to help them get healthier habits at an early age to prevent so many children from becoming overweight or obese (Forum for Fødevarereklamer, 2007B).

In the directions of this code of conduct specific limits have been set for the different food groups as for how much fat, sugar and salt they are allowed to contain. Nevertheless, the code of conduct states that in certain cases producers may be allowed to advertise for products even though they contain too much of either, sugar salt or fat, if proper reasons are stated. Examples of such products are juice, food for infants, bread and breakfast products. Each case will, however, be assessed with consideration for the values of the code of conduct. In addition, not all age groups are included in this code of conduct as the age limit has been set to 13 years, however, it is requested that suppliers show consideration for teenagers as well (Forum for Fødevarereklamer, 2007A).

Based on this, there does seem to be a tendency for companies and other organisations involved in marketing to show more consideration as regards the effect of marketing towards children and the consequences it might have. Thus, social responsibility seems to be gaining importance, and we will therefore be exploring this concept in the following.

3.3 Corporate Social Responsibility

3.3.1 Definition of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

Globally, the demand for companies to show social responsibility and sustainability is bigger than ever, and Denmark is no exception. In 2007, as much as 58% of Danish companies with international activities worked with CSR, and 54% of the companies with more than 50 employees had a written code of conduct. What is more, 60% to an increasing degree experience that their surroundings set demands for the companies to deal with ethical issues (Skov, 2008). Also consumers set demands. There is now a tendency for consumers to want to know more about the companies; i.e. how profit has been generated, how profit is to be distributed along with how the products have been produced (Morsing & Pruzan, 2002). Finally, as much as 80% of Danish companies expect ethical responsibility to play a bigger role in the future (Rasmussen & Dalhoff, 2007).

When it comes to the food industry, research has also shown that consumer health and CSR are issues that dominate this industry globally. According to an industry survey "CIES - The Food Business Forum: Top of Mind 2007" which asks over 300 senior-level retail and consumer goods executives from 48 countries to choose their top three issues for the year ahead, it is confirmed that health and nutrition are the current top priorities, rising from third place in 2006. Also indicating concern for the environment, sustainable development and social standards in society at large, CSR moved up six places to enter the top five for the first year (CIES, 2007).

There does, however, not seem to be one definitive answer as to what CSR is. It is an issue that has been and still is widely debated resulting in many different views (Carroll, 1999). As Marcel van Marrewijk notes, this makes it challenging for business executives wishing to explore this area, as there is no knowing exactly what to understand by the term CSR and what it means for a company to implement it (Marcel van Marrewijk, 2003).

One of the early and for its time very significant definitions came from Howard Bowen (Carroll, 1999) who defined CSR as follows: "It refers to the obligations of businessmen to pursue those policies, to make those decisions, or to follow those lines of action which are desirable in terms of the objectives and values of our society" (Bowen, 1953). This definition captures the main idea of CSR, namely to do what is good for society. However, it is not very concrete and does not tell companies exactly what is expected from them, but merely gives an overall idea of the concept.

A somewhat more precise definition comes from Steiner and Steiner (2003): "Corporate Social Responsibility is the duty a corporation has to create wealth by using means that avoid harm to, protect, or enhance social assets." As a result, we learn that CSR means to avoid causing any harm, and protecting and even improving social assets, but questions such as which social assets and how, still come to mind.

Another more recent definition comes from the EU Commission. Here CSR is defined as "a concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their

business operations and in their interactions with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis” (European, nd.). Where the two previous definitions have chosen to describe CSR as an obligation and a responsibility, this one underlines that CSR is voluntary. Adding to this, it attempts to specify what CSR could involve i.e. social and environmental concerns. It is, however, still not a very precise definition.

Marrewijk (2003:102) also offers what he himself calls a broad and to some extent vague definition of CSR: “...company activities – voluntary by definition – demonstrating the inclusion of social and environmental concerns in business operations and in interactions with stakeholders”. The purpose is, however, not to provide a clear-cut definition. Instead he uses it as a starting point and then elaborates on it by providing five different interpretations ranging from doing simply what is required by law to embedding CSR in every aspect of the company. It is then up to the company in question to choose which of the five interpretations to use while still taking into consideration society’s expectations. As a result, he reaches the conclusion that there is no one way of defining CSR but that it is dependent on the company and its ambition level along with the expectations of society. A conclusion which does somehow still leave companies in a lurch with no clear-cut answer. He does have a point in CSR differing societies and companies in between, but it cannot be disregarded that at least in the western world we do find some general characteristics which make up the essence of CSR.

A definition which manages to unite these characteristics into one definition is provided by Archie Carroll (Carroll and Buchholtz, 2003) who is behind one of the most widely cited definitions of CSR. He manages to provide us with a definition which as opposed to many other theories and definitions paints a very clear and concrete picture of what CSR is and manages to reduce a sometimes very theoretical and lofty subject to four concrete categories. In addition, he also manages to illustrate how these four categories are related. The definition embraces the entire range of business’ responsibilities and is as follows, “The social responsibility of business encompasses the economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary (philanthropic) expectations that society has of organizations at a given point in time” (Carroll & Buchholtz, 2003:36).

As a result, CSR means that a business not only has legal and financial responsibilities towards society but also has to keep in mind its ethical and philanthropic responsibilities. What makes this definition somehow different from other definitions is that whereas most other theories tend to focus on, mainly, what Carroll refers to as the ethical and philanthropic responsibilities, this definition also incorporates the matters of legal and financial responsibilities. According to Carroll and Buchholtz these components are not mutually exclusive (2003:40).

Economic responsibilities mean that a business has a responsibility to be profitable i.e. to produce goods in demand, sell them on a market to a fair price and subsequently make a profit. Next we have the legal responsibilities which, as the title suggests, means that businesses must adhere to any applicable regulation national as well as international as the law is society's codification of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. The ethical responsibilities include aspects that are not included in any law but which are still expected by people. Ethical responsibilities are also what we refer to as norms, standards and what is generally considered fair and often concern matters that in the future will become law. Finally, we have the philanthropic responsibilities which could be defined as what is desired and expected by society but not in a moral and ethical sense. In other words, living up to the philanthropic responsibility could do a company good but it will not be considered unethical if it does not. Examples of philanthropic responsibilities are donations, volunteerism, partnerships with local government and the like (Carroll & Buchholtz, 2003: 35-41).

As a way of making this definition more comprehensible, Archie Carroll has illustrated it by means of a pyramid consisting of four layers, each layer exemplifying one of the four categories i.e. economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibilities respectively (See figure 1). At the bottom of the pyramid we find the economic responsibilities, next the legal responsibilities, then the ethical responsibilities and finally the philanthropic responsibilities. The pyramid shape and the sequence of the different categories suggest that the four layers are given different weighting with a primary emphasis on economic responsibilities followed by legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibilities at the end.

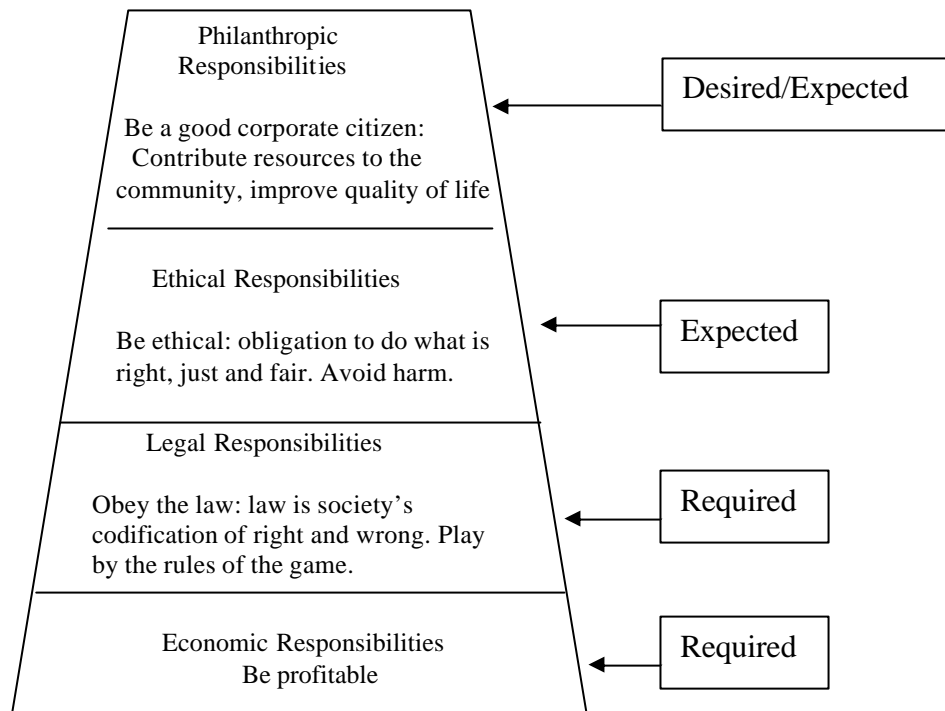


Figure 1: The CSR pyramid (Adapted from Carroll & Buchholtz, 2003:40)

As can be seen from figure 1, the legal and economic responsibilities are both components that are *required* whereas the ethical and philanthropic categories are *expected* to be taken into consideration.

We find that this definition provides a very concrete but also very comprehensive description of the blurry area of CSR and we will, therefore, be using it throughout our thesis when dealing with this concept.

3.3.2 Corporate Social Responsibility Communication

With a definition of CSR now in place it is necessary to add another vital aspect. As the purpose of this paper is to analyse communication processes (in this case, commercials) we need to look into the connection between communication and CSR. To this end it would be relevant to apply the findings of Mette Morsing and Majken Schultz (2006) on the communication of CSR practices.

To develop an understanding of communication processes, the theory of sensemaking might prove productive it is argued (Weick, 1995). Sensemaking is defined as: “we make sense of things in organizations while in conversation with others, while reading communications from others, while exchanging ideas with others” (Nijhof, Fisscher & Honders, 2006). In the case of companies, basically this means that managers need to develop an understanding of the organisation’s internal and external environments and ascribe meaning to it (Thomas & McDaniel, 1990). Sensemaking is then to be followed by action in terms of articulating an abstract vision which is presented to stakeholders. This is referred to as sensegiving “i.e. attempts to influence the way another party understands or makes sense” (Gioia, & Chittipeddi, 1991). For instance, if managers sense that stakeholders expect them to act more responsibly within the field of marketing or health, they can, accordingly, manifest that sensegiving in e.g. a formulation or revision of company CSR policy or maybe even a change in their stance on a given issue in accordance with what they have sensed that stakeholders wish for and, thus, influence the way those stakeholders perceive of the company (Morsing & Schultz, 2006).

Morsing and Schultz (2006) argue that three strategies of CSR communication exist which they link to stakeholder relations. Basically, these describe the ways in which companies might engage in CSR communication in relation to their stakeholders. Following is a description of the three strategies.

3.3.2.1 The Three CSR Communication Strategies

Stakeholder Information Strategy

Here communication is always one-way, from the company to the stakeholders. The intent is to inform (“give sense” to) the public in an objective manner about the company. This model assumes that stakeholders are significant in the sense that they can either support the company by e.g. showing loyalty or buying its products or oppose it by e.g. boycotting or demonstrating against it. The influence of stakeholders necessitates information from the company to those stakeholders in order for it to portray its good intentions, decisions and actions. The mindset for top management

working this model is that positive stakeholder support can be maintained by efficiently informing the general public about what it is doing (Morsing & Schultz, 2006).

Stakeholder Response Strategy

This model is a two-way asymmetric communication model. Companies adhering to this model let communication flow to and from the public, however, they do not change themselves as a result of public relations but rather try to change public opinion. Market surveys and polls are strategies used to evaluate whether communication has been successful. This process of “make sense” is then followed by “give sense”. Even if this approach is seen as two-way communication the response to stakeholders is rather sender oriented in the sense that the intention of the company is to convince its stakeholders of its attractiveness (Morsing & Schultz, 2006).

Stakeholder Involvement Strategy

This two-way symmetric model actually assumes a dialogue with the stakeholders as opposed to the two-way asymmetric model. Influence is mutual in the sense that stakeholders will try to change the company and vice-versa. A company following the involvement approach rather negotiates with its stakeholders than imposing its CSR initiatives on them. Furthermore, the strategy holds that frequent and systematic dialogue with stakeholders is necessary in order for both parties to benefit from any CSR related action, subject to a willingness to change on both sides. Thus, an ongoing iterative process of sensegiving and sensemaking is preferred (Morsing & Schultz, 2006).

3.3.2.2 Communication of CSR in Commercials

According to Morsing and Schultz (2006) companies should avoid placing themselves in situations that might further accusations. This can only happen if “managers can develop and maintain an ongoing awareness towards themselves and their environment” (Morsing & Schultz, 2006) which is rendered possible with the theory of sensemaking (Weick, 1995). Basically this implies that organisations obtain the most effective communication by entering a dialogue with external stakeholders and that the actual

challenge is to be able to engage in this dialogue. Thus, Morsing and Schultz (2006) argue that the Stakeholder Involvement Strategy is an ideal.

This ideal could, however, be difficult to achieve in the case of commercials as communication basically is one-way and does not assume dialogue. Rather than involving stakeholders, the strategy of information is applied in the sense that commercials inform them of selected company products i.e. they “give sense” to their audiences with a wish to convince the stakeholders to buy the product shown. That is not to say that the selected companies have not chosen to follow the Stakeholder Response Strategy or Stakeholder Involvement Strategy as an overarching strategy but that these strategies are not possible to apply in the case of commercials.

It is important to note, however, that Schultz and Morsing (2006) focus on how companies directly and actively communicate their CSR principles while our aim is to look into how, when and to what extent CSR principles have influenced the market communication of those companies. That is, Schultz and Morsing (2006), mainly, have PR and corporate communication as a point of departure while ours is limited to market communication, commercials in particular. We are aware that the area of market communication compared to the one of PR is not necessarily expected to be the primary communication forum for discussion of CSR issues; however, it cannot be denied that this area should provide us with a reflection of whether CSR principles are translated into practice through communication. Thus, to assess whether or not the notion of sensemaking or sensegiving is detectable in the commercials and if so to what extent, will also be an aim of ours.

3.4 Advertising Analysis

3.4.1 Reflection upon Advertising Analysis

Since the aim of this paper is to analyse signs and the nature of the influence rising concerns for CSR has had in the content and meaning of selected TV-commercials, it only seems appropriate to shed some light on the area of semiotics. This is a field which to an increasing extent has become the foundation of numerous works on advertising

analysis and other forms of communication (Mick, Burroughs, Hetzel, Brannen, 2004). Semiotics is an area of which the theoretical point of departure is that all cultural phenomena can be seen as communication between people (Frandsen et al., 1997). A luminary in this field is Charles Peirce whose model is based on philosophy and physical sciences (Mick et al., 2004). He perceives of semiotics as a combination of three categories or rather the relationship between a “sign” (representamen), an “object” and an “interpretant” (or meaning). These are connected in the following way:

A “sign” is not necessarily symbolic, linguistic, or artificial but can be anything such as an advertisement, a product, a written text or an entire campaign (Christensen & Askegaard, 2001). An “object” is so to say the subject matter of a “sign” and an “interpretant”. According to Christensen & Askegaard (2001) this can e.g. be the personality of a product. An “interpretant” is, thus, a kind of an idea created in our minds by the sign linking the sign to its object/referent (Christensen & Askegaard, 2001). For instance, the letter “M” in a certain yellow colour and shape creates in our minds a link between the letter and a specific fast food restaurant.

Code, i.e. the rules that indicate how we should/can choose and combine signs when we communicate, is another important aspect of semiotics. This means that we do not only use language in order to communicate but also e.g. our body movements, the way we dress, traffic rules, and the way we interact socially are means of communication (Frandsen et al., 1997).

Peirce could be applied to our analysis covering the area of semiotics, however, this will not provide us with a full analysis of any given commercial. The method of Kenneth Burke could be relevant to apply to the chosen commercials as it is “ideal for visually rich text because of its reliance on the visual to carry out its persuasive strategy” (Mitchell, 1995). Burke’s method is one of interpretation using dramatisic-rhetorical analysis together with a theory of meaning claiming that human language and symbol making are basically social, dramatic and philosophical in nature. According to Burke (1966, 1969) this method is used to study key aspects of the “grammar” of a text to explain what he refers to as “attitudes” or “motives”. These are interpreted as textual

meaning (Burke, 1966, 1969). One aspect which should be underlined here is what he refers to as “Representative Anecdote” which deals with the underlying plot, tale or story line of a text, an aspect which is highly relevant when dealing with analysis of commercials. However, he does attach any importance to the significance of the receiver which is an essential part of our analysis.

Another highly important factor is that of communication. Thus, the inclusion of a communication theory becomes necessary. A classic within this area is Shannon and Weaver’s engineering model of communication (Mick et al, 2004:20). The Shannon-Weaver Model views communication as a one-way process and proposes that all communication must include six elements: a source, an encoder, a message, a channel, a decoder and a receiver. This process of communication is mostly interrupted by “noise” (Frandsen et al, 1997:35). This might be “snow” on a TV set or smudges on a printed page. Shannon and Weaver’s information theory has had a significant influence on the development of communication theory (Mick et al, 2004:21) but it cannot be overlooked that it has a number of drawbacks. Firstly, having the characteristics of a hypodermic needle model Shannon and Weaver’s information theory perceives of communication as a linear process assuming that all communication travels from point to point, thereby disregarding the influence of contexts and environments on communication. Furthermore, instead of considering extraneous information as contextual influences it is rather viewed as “noise”, which the receiver must filter out in order to discern the meaning of the message. Connected only to each other and not with their contexts, “speakers” and “hearers” are considered to be at the centre of the process of communication. Basically, this model focuses on information processing rather than meaning, which semiotics allows for.

The mentioned theories/models all contribute pieces to the puzzle of a comprehensive model for analysing commercials. A model taking into consideration communication as well as interpretation is the International Marketing Communication (IMK) model which combines communication theory, semiotics and genre analysis making it very apt to apply in our analysis (Frandsen et al, 1997). This model will be presented in the following.

3.4.2 The IMK – Model

The IMK model is built on the basic assumption that marketing is based on interaction. Communication involves two activities – sender's production and receiver's reception. Both activities are based on codes, of which some are shared and some are not. Thus, the receiver's reception is not passive as looked upon in earlier models but rather it is an active interpretation, which itself produces a new meaning. Both sender and receiver interpret the message based on their "reality". This model is based on genres understood as a group of "texts" with the same communicative purpose, e.g. radio spots, brochures and print ads. Furthermore, it also includes semiotics (Frandsen et al., 1997).

Similarities are to be found between the IMK-model and the theory of Mette Morsing and Majken Schultz. The IMK-model is based on the paradigm of interaction in the sense that Frandsen et al. (1997) assume that receivers not only "receive" the message but also actively interpret it resulting in a new "meaning". This is comparable to the concept of sensemaking according to which "no manager or organization makes sense in splendid isolation" (Craig-Lees, 2001). Both sides, thus, argue that the best way to communicate with stakeholders is to involve them in the communication process. However, as opposed to Morsing and Schultz (2006) the IMK model does not take into account that communication may be asymmetric or symmetric. It is, however, our contention that in the case of commercials communication is rather one-way. Adding to this, it could be said to be asymmetric as it is the company that has the power to instil in consumers a specific image of its product or brand. Thus, the IMK model is also to an extent a somewhat linear model that leaves little space for any interactivity; it merely indicates the flow of communication from sender to receiver. However, in this case where focus is on analysis of commercials, interactivity/dialogue between sender and receiver is not a possibility. Adding to this, the IMK model recognises the significant influence of commercials while Morsing and Schultz (2006) do not attach importance to this aspect of marketing.

The concept of stakeholders is somewhat equivalent to what the IMK model refers to as receivers, however, while stakeholders among others include end users, the retail trade, competitors the authorities etc. the IMK model distinguishes only between the private

consumer, the industrial consumer, buyer or decision-taker as receivers. Nevertheless, as focus in this paper is on end users, children especially, this apparent “shortcoming” is actually not one such. All of this makes the IMK-model particularly suitable to apply in this context.

To be specific the IMK model is comprised of the following elements:

Sender

The model distinguishes between two kinds of senders, namely, the external and the internal one. The text-external sender is the actual sender of the commercial which is neither referred to verbally nor visually in the communication taking place. The text-internal sender, on the other hand, refers to the elements used in the text to represent the sender. Thus, it is marked verbally and/or visually in the text in the shape of e.g. the company name and logo or a representative of the company staged in the text in a certain role. In some cases a distinction between a primary and a secondary sender is necessary. The primary sender is one who benefits financially from the communication taking place and has, thus, decided for it to happen. Secondary sender is one who on the basis of his/her credibility, looks or expertise can help get the message across clearly and in a competent manner (Frandsen et al., 1997:52-53).

Receiver

Frandsen et al (1997) distinguish between the text-internal receiver who is marked in the text either visually or by the use of textual reference and the text-external receiver who is the actual receiver. Receiver is usually the private/industrial consumer. A distinction between a primary/secondary receiver can also be necessary. This distinction deals with how marketing communication communicates to a group to create a need which the group, however, does not have the resources to actualise. Therefore, others might need to step in their place. This is often the case with texts addressing children who are not as affluent as their parents (Frandsen et al., 1997:53).

Referent

The referent is defined as the communicative subject of the commercial. This does not imply that the referent merely is the product in itself, but rather it is the combination of the product and brand and the denotative and connotative meanings attached to them (Frandsen et al., 1997:56).

Code

The term code refers to the set of rules or the “grammar” used nationally as well as internationally in connection with the production and reception of the text. Codes are determined by the cultural context in which they are used and, thus, might differ considerably from one group of people to another. Furthermore, the media and genre used to communicate the text also influence the code applied in any given text (Frandsen et al., 1997:57).

Context and Culture

The specific situation in which communication takes place is termed the “situational context” while culture is what surrounds the situational context shaping the latter (Frandsen et al., 1997:64).

Media

This area focuses on the communicative element which ensures the actual physical transmission of a text.

Genre

Communicative Purpose(s)

The communicative purpose(s) relates to the sender’s intended actions and conditions which the receiver expects that the communication will lead to. The rhetorical strategies used in any text are determined by its communicative purpose(s) (Frandsen et al., 1997:111-112).

Move Structure

This aspect deals with the structure of the text – in this case commercials – and how certain features make up a particular genre (Frandsen et al., 1997:112-114).

Rhetorical Strategies

Rhetorical strategies are the means, verbal as well as non-verbal implemented to help create an understanding of the communicative purpose of the text (Frandsen et al, 1997:114).

IMK – Model

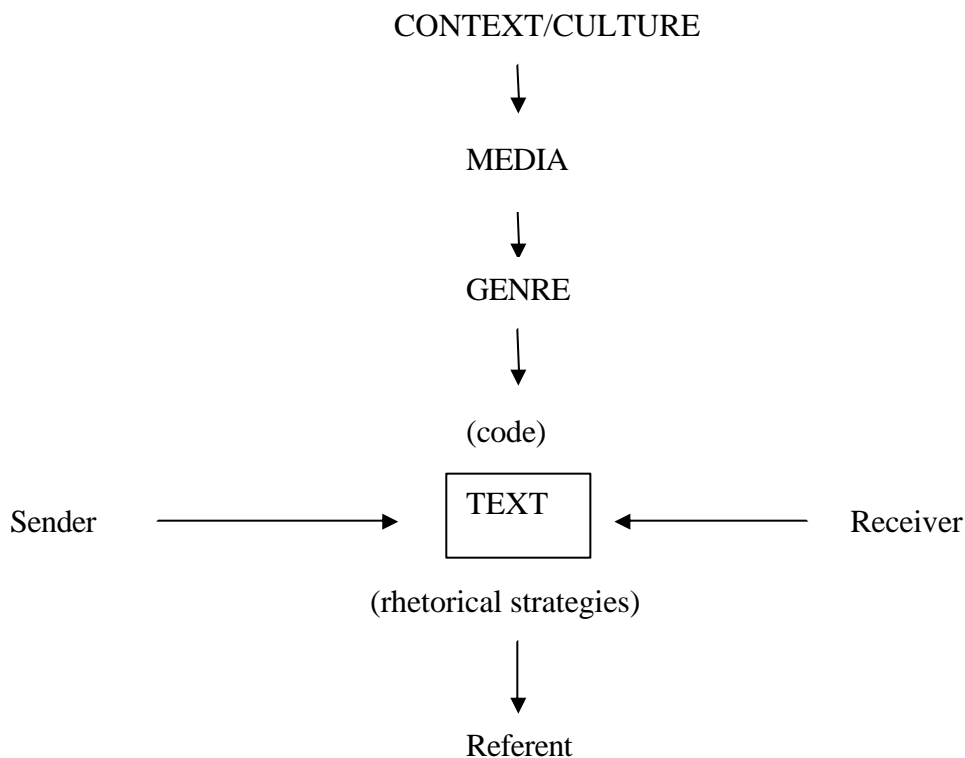


Figure 2: The IMK model (Adapted from Frandsen et al., 1997, p. 52)

3.4.3 Our Approach to Advertising Analysis

Even though the IMK-model to a great extent includes many elements necessary in an analysis of commercials, there are, however, aspects we need to leave out in order to adjust this model to help us fulfil the purpose of this thesis. To avoid repetition, some aspects will only be touched upon briefly, some will be left out entirely, however, none of them will be applied in the analysis. Finally, one point has been added. An explanation as to why we have chosen to do so will be provided for each of those aspects in the following.

Culture

We have chosen to leave out the section on culture entirely as the purpose of our thesis is not to perform an analysis of culture in Denmark. Adding to this, the concept of Code to some extent deals with this area, as code is the result of culture.

Sender

The matter of text-external sender will not be dealt with in the analysis either, as it in all the cases would be the same, namely an advertising agency in cooperation with the company. As for the text-internal sender this will also be somewhat the same in all the analyses, i.e. the company behind the product. As a result, in order to avoid repetition, we will not be dealing with these two aspects in the analyses. The concept of primary/secondary sender will be dealt with only when a distinction between these two is relevant.

Referent

The section on the referent will also not be included in our analysis as this would easily result in a discussion of focus being on the brand or the product which is not relevant in our analysis.

Communicative Purpose

As we are dealing with only one genre, i.e. commercials, the communicative purpose will as a result be the same, namely to create awareness about the product/company and thus increase sales.

Move Structure

Along the same line, this aspect will also be left out of the analysis as all the commercials would have somewhat the same move structure.

Media

The medium for all the commercials is TV, and instead of repeating ourselves we will here elaborate on the significance of TV as a medium due to the importance given to this medium in our thesis. Therefore, looking into how much TV is actually watched by

children and to what extent they are exposed to TV commercials are areas to be explored in the following.

Based on data covering 11 TV channels from TNS/Gallup, the Media Secretariat an institution under the Danish Ministry of Culture has conducted research on TV commercials and children from 1998 to 2007. TNS/Gallup defines children as belonging to the age group of 3 to 11/12 year olds. This group watched a total of 501 hours of commercial TV in 2007, which is a small decrease compared to 2004 where this number was 551 hours (Mediesekretariatet, 2007).

In 2007 the 11 channels broadcasted a total of 5585 spots which is a multiplication by five compared to 1998, however, as most Danish households do not have access to all channels only few people are exposed to all 5585 spots. TV2 on the other hand is available to all and, thus, delivers about half of all commercials seen in Denmark. The number of spots on this channel has risen from 155 a day in 1998 to 515 a day in 2007 and the amount of money spent by advertisers on having their commercials broadcasted has risen considerably from 2000 (1.8 billion DKK) to 2007 (2.5 billion DKK). However, interestingly the number of commercials watched has not increased to the same extent as the commercials shown (Mediesekretariatet, 2007), a reason for which might be that other media such as e.g. the Internet is increasingly gaining significance.

If we look into the amount of spots children are exposed to, the statistics show that in 2007 children watched on average 10 commercial spots a day on TV. This is an increase of six spots a day compared to 2001. However, this number has remained unchanged since 2004. Commercials for toys are naturally most popular and, thus, watched most often, however, commercials for certain food groups are clearly also significant. Even though a remarkable decrease has appeared in children's exposure to commercials for soft drinks (especially Cola), hotels and restaurants (especially McDonalds), cereals and sweets, the number of commercials seen for chocolate has remained somewhat stable and thus become the largest sector in 2007 (Mediesekretariatet, 2007).

Research shows that the significance of TV seems to decrease with age when compared to e.g. radio, the Internet or computer games (Hansen et al., 2002:284). Where 90 % of all 5 to 7-year-olds prefer TV over other media, the percentage for e.g. 11 to 12-year-olds drops to approximately 70 % (Hansen et al., 2002:285). The medium that is spent time on to an increasing degree according to the PHD Network, a strategic media agency, is the Internet. The research conducted by the PHD Network on Internet habits of children and youngsters covers the age group of 12-20 year-olds from year 2000 to 2007. This research shows that among this age group the use of Internet has increased from 30 minutes per day in 2000 to 108 minutes a day in 2007 (Appendix 1). However, there is no doubt that TV is still the preferred medium whatever the age group (Hansen et al., 2002: 285).

Consequently, TV is clearly still a significant medium in children's everyday lives. Furthermore, we find that people are exposed to TV commercials more often than they are to marketing through other forms of media and this validates our choice of medium.

Message

This item is an addition to the IMK-model as in relation to our problem statement capturing the essence of the selected TV-commercials is necessary and although covering several relevant aspects the model leaves out this point of what the commercial is actually communicating.

As a result the revised version of the IMK- model will look as following:

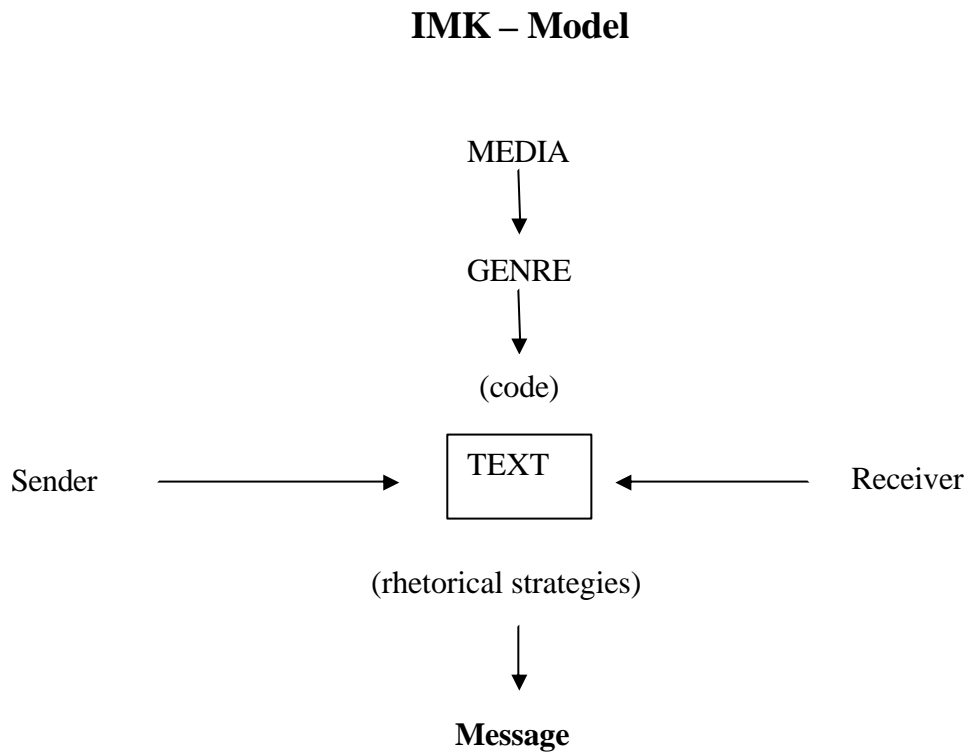


Figure 3: The IMK – model (Adapted from Frandsen et al., 1997, p. 52)

Summary

Inspired by Burke (cf. section 3.4.1) we add a short summary for each commercial to help the reader understand the story line of the commercial which the analysis is based on.

Themes in Commercials

Adding to this, to sum up our findings of the analyses, we provide for each company a review of the themes found in the commercials. This will help us conclude whether the companies have taken into consideration the issues of health and obesity and whether we can detect a development over the years.

4 Analysis of Marketing to Children

In the following we start off by providing an overview of the selected companies' present CSR policies with focus on health and marketing. Subsequently, we provide an insight into the development as regards company attitude towards CSR from the 1980s until now. Finally, we analyse the chosen commercials. This should together enable us to conclude whether or not a development in the attitude towards marketing of unhealthy foods to children has occurred.

4.1 Toms

4.1.1 Toms' CSR

4.1.1.1 Toms' CSR Present Time

When looking at Toms' website (Toms, nd.), it is noticeable that this is a company which seems to be quite devoted to CSR. According to the company itself, it strives to be proactive with regard to CSR and has been going through a significant development in the last years resulting in an increased focus on the responsibility a company like Toms has. Among other things, the company has joined Global Compact, has a Supplier Code of Conduct, is active in several social projects in Ghana, invests in C4, an organisation whose goal is to combat poverty, and is working on achieving several environmental and work environment certifications.

4.1.1.1.1 Health

A significant amount of time and effort is, however, also spent on the issue of health – a very relevant area for a company like Toms. Since 2006 Toms has for example run a health project where its employees have contributed with ideas as to what health is to them and what Toms can do to fulfil their wishes in this area. Furthermore, the company has completed a project with Chris MacDonald who helped inspire employees to a healthier lifestyle. Yet, the company also wishes to inspire people in general to a healthier lifestyle which, according to Toms, very well can be combined with the

occasional spoiling of yourself. The way Toms does this is by informing people about what its products contain, by providing information on its website on healthy eating and exercise along with a guide for parents on the subject of children and candy (Toms, n.d.).

4.1.1.1.2 Marketing Policy

As regards marketing towards children, Toms has according to Camilla Thomsen, “Sponsor & Mediechef”, (personal communication, September 21, 2008) joined the aforementioned “Kodeks for Fødevarereklamer” (cf. section 3.2.4). As a result, the company does not market its products towards children under the age of 13 if the products exceed the limits as regards sugar, fat or salt.

4.1.1.2 Development in CSR at Toms

4.1.1.2.1 CSR at Toms in the 1980s

In 1985 the debate among politicians as to whether TV commercials should be allowed started to be in favour of commercials on television. Toms managing director at the time, Hans Rysgaard, responded to this by saying that he was very pleased to see the politicians starting to come to their senses and that Toms would become a significant advertiser (“500 mio.”, 1985).

4.1.1.2.2 CSR at Toms in the 1990s

In 1996 it was brought to attention that Toms was putting a lot of weight on company visits from schoolchildren. Toms openly admitted that the visits partly had a PR related purpose and that the company considered these visits a part of its marketing. Hence, these visits also served the purpose of attempting to better reach the young (Rothenberg, 1996).

The same year Toms also presented a new and rather different commercial. It took place in a convent where a nun allowed herself to become tempted to take a bite of Toms Guld Barre after which she disappeared into a dream world where she danced to rock

music with men with tattoos and leather necklaces. This commercial was a deliberate attempt to try to position itself towards young consumers at the age of 15-24 years (Jensen, 1996A).

In 1997 Toms decided to increase its advertising budget with DKK 10 million due to some of the products such as Guld Barre experiencing strong competition from international companies (Flensburg, 1997).

4.1.1.2.3 CSR at Toms in 2000-2008

In 2002 a new commercial featuring The Tomsen family quickly became popular among the young and resulted in increased sales of chocolate. Researcher at Copenhagen Business School (CBS), Jens Carsten Nielsen, said that he believed that the commercial had a very wide appeal and that children who were only 10 years old would be able to understand and enjoy the commercial. A special feature about this commercial was the language with expressions such as “Hva’ så, fiskeøje” and “Pas på, ellers får jeg bare karamelskader” which were copied by young people. Jens Carsten Nielsen believed that this was a major reason for the commercial’s popularity (Bredsted, 2002).

In 2003 a change seemed to have happened with regard to the attitude towards marketing. In 2002 Toms was the largest advertiser with a budget of DKK 15.4 million but only a year after the advertising budget had decreased to DKK 2.2 million which was a decrease of no less than 85.7 % (Fredslund, 2003).

In 2005 the results of a survey from TV2 revealed a decrease in the number of commercials for Toms chocolate and similar products with a high content of sugar, fat and salt. Marianne Pittelkow, manager of “TV2 Reklamejura” said that they definitely sensed that the debate on obesity had made advertisers change their advertising in the sense that they no longer wanted their commercials to air around children’s programmes. Jesper Møller, managing director at Toms (since 2004), agreed with Marianne Pittelkow that it was the debate on nutrition that had caused the company to not broadcast commercials around children’s programmes. He said that the company

was not ashamed of its products as they posed no health threat, but admitted that the products contained a high level of calories and that the company did not want young people to eat candy instead of their lunch pack. He then added that Toms wished to live up to the code which the food industry agreed on the previous year concerning the members being extra careful when advertising to children (cf. section 3.2.4 (Schmidt, 2005A)).

Shortly after Toms announced that the company had stopped advertising for candy and chocolate to children on television, attention was brought to the fact that companies such as Kellogg's, Kinder and Toms had started advertising to children on the Internet by offering free computer games, entertainment and contents for the mobile. Jesper Møller said that the websites were a natural part of the advertising and that the company wished to keep its brands young and, therefore, had a number of games and other activities on the website as a supplement to other marketing (Schmidt, 2005B).

The same year a meeting by the name of "Det Fede Topmøde" which was arranged by the Danish Food Industry was held in order to start a debate on the obesity problem. 48 people participated representing different points of view in the form of industry, the authorities and NGOs. Also Jesper Møller participated and surprised by proposing that tax on sugar and fat be introduced as a way to prevent obesity from escalating. Afterwards, he, however, admitted that he was not a big believer in taxes as a way to solve problems (Graversen, 2005A).

In an interview on the increasing focus on obesity and unhealthy products Jesper Møller said that the company was aware of the tendency and acting on it. First of all, by not advertising to children but also by experimenting with adult chocolates in tiny portions along with considering phasing out king-size chocolates. Jesper Møller was aware that their products were not the healthiest and that the company could not sit back and relax but had to act on the development and act responsibly (Nielsen, 2005).

In 2005 Toms also entered into a contract agreeing to support the Danish women's handball league for three years making the new name of the league "Toms Ligaen". The

reason for this was that Toms was taking into consideration the obesity epidemic and therefore wished to support a healthy and active lifestyle and because it wished to communicate that it is possible to enjoy candy and chocolate in fair amounts as long as you are sufficiently active. Furthermore, this sponsorship would make Toms' brand very visible and transfer some of the values associated with women's handball to Toms ("Verdens", n.d.).

In 2006 Toms entered the market for healthy products. According to Jesper Møller they were very aware and affected by the discussion on obesity and since they produce chocolate and candy, they found it natural to try to develop products with less calories ("Fedme", 2006).

Due to decreasing sales of the BonBon products over the past years, Toms decided to try viral marketing where mails and MMS's would get the young to spread the message about BonBon (Stensdal, 2006).

In July Toms was one of the organisations behind GAM3 in "Gellerupparken", an event where the young get to play street basket with professional American basketball players or learn to street dance. In addition, the participants could both taste and learn about healthy eating by a cook (Worm, 2006).

Due to the big focus on obesity, Toms in 2007 decided to try a new strategy, namely, to focus on better and more expensive chocolate. This new strategy was according to Jesper Møller an acknowledgement of obesity and an attempt to be prepared for a future where people might be eating less candy (Friis, 2007).

Jesper Møller also participated in a meeting arranged by the Danish Food Industry on how to ensure good food practice. He was on the board and was, therefore, very involved in these issues. He said that he believed that the Danish Food Industry operated on a high level, but if some cases created mistrust, they needed to deal with it (Alsing, 2007).

In an image survey from 2007 Toms came up as number six with regard to having the best image and number two as concerns business ethics. This was a great improvement compared to the previous year. According to Jesper Møller it was due to the company's large focus on social responsibility. Toms was for example involved in projects in Ghana and supported Fairtrade ("Toms blev", 2007).

2007 was also the year when Toms seriously considered making smaller sizes, but according to Jesper Møller it reached the conclusion that it would not do much good if consumers just bought more of the smaller sizes (Fogt, 2007).

In 2008 Toms became one of the companies using Guideline Daily Amount (GDA) labels on its products. These are guidelines on how much of each of five dietary constituents (calories, sugar, fat, saturated fat and salt) we may consume per day (The Coca-Cola Company, n.d. E) Toms argued that the company did not believe that its products were the main reason for obesity, but only part of the problem and that it therefore wished to be part of the solution as well, and GDA was part of this solution. In addition, Toms stressed that it did not wish for people to eat more candy, and was hoping that GDA would make people eat more refined candy (Holm, 2008 & TV2, 2008).

4.1.2 Conclusion – Toms' CSR

There definitely seems to be a development in the attitude towards advertising to children but also with regard to obesity. In the 1980's and 1990's Toms was very pro commercials and actually increased the advertising budget considerably at one point. The company did not see any problem in targeting children in its advertising either, but all of this has changed in the new millennium. The first real change seemed to happen in 2003 when Toms' advertising budget was considerably lowered, but 2005 is also worth mentioning as it was a year with a lot of changes towards more social responsibility. This year Toms decided to no longer target advertising on TV at children. Advertising towards children on, for example, the Internet, however, continued. In 2005 Toms also became more active with regard to health and started participating in different meetings

concerning this issue and began developing healthy sweets. Other CSR initiatives include a code of conduct, investing in C4, running projects in Ghana and joining Global Compact. As a result, a shift seems to have happened from a focus on profit and merely living up to legal demands, i.e. the bottom two levels in the CSR pyramid, to including also ethical and philanthropic responsibilities. Examples of ethical responsibilities could be not advertising to children, writing a guide on candy and joining Global Compact. As for the philanthropic responsibilities, this is for example reflected in how Toms is involved in projects in Ghana and invests in C4. Based on this, Toms seems to have developed into a company which is quite devoted to CSR and with regard to obesity, Toms seems to be a company which instead of trying to hide from the problems facing it confronts them but also tries to predict future challenges to stay one step ahead of development. Nevertheless, there are also recent examples of the opposite such as the company using viral marketing to children and advertising to children on the Internet, so there is no doubt still room for improvement.

4.1.3 Analysis of Toms Commercials

4.1.3.1 Analysis of Toms Commercial 1988 - A Commercial for Toms Guld Barre Summary (For Stills see Appendix 2)

The setting is a farm where you see a girl wearing a low-neck dress milking a cow into a milk pail while humming a tune. At one point she looks directly into the camera as if looking at the viewer and then away again. The scene changes and now she has picked up the milk pail which is filled with Guld Barre chocolate bars and holds it next to her ample bosom which is just as much in focus as the chocolate bars. We then hear speaker saying: “Guld Barre – nu med nødder” (Guld Barre – now available with nuts).

Receiver

The text-internal receiver is not visually represented in the text but addressed in the sense that the woman milking the cow at one point looks directly into the camera as if she is looking at the receiver. The commercial ends with speaker saying “Guld Barre – now available with nuts” again addressing the receiver by informing him/her about the chocolate bars. The text-external receivers appear to be adults or young

people/teenagers keeping in mind the content of the commercial which is a bit provocative and sensuous in the sense that focus in the end is on the woman's bosom hinting sexual undertones along with the chocolate bars.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

A visual strategy is to stage the brand/logo/company name in a certain place/way. Here it can be argued that the way the chocolate bars shining as gold are placed in the milk pail right next to an image of an ample bosom stages them as something attractive and desirable. Speaker then saying "Guld Barre - now available with nuts" next to an image of the bosom gives the connotation of chocolate as something sexy and libidinal.

Another visual strategy is that of certain image categories i.e. realistic/symbolic, natural/staged etc. This commercial starts off with a realistic setting of a farm with a woman milking a cow. However, when she picks up the milk pail, supposedly, filled with milk it is instead filled with Guld Barre. Their shape and the way they shine and resemble actual gold bars makes them symbolic of actual gold bars thereby connotating something valuable and desirable of good quality. Something more than just good chocolate. Furthermore, there exists a relationship between image and text (what speaker says) in the sense that when speaker mentions the nuts in the Guld Barre he is at the same time referring to the woman's bosom as in Danish the word nuts (nødder) is also slang for breasts.

Code

The fact that a young and attractive girl is portrayed in the commercial shows that it communicates on the same level as the receiver. It should seem appealing to young people and adults. Especially the use of slang indicates the use of an informal code which should go well down with the receiver. Adding to this is the use of humour (bosom next to a milk pail with nut filled chocolate) which should go well down with the receivers as humour in general is an important part of Danish mentality ("Denmark", n.d.).

Message

The message of this commercial is that Guld Barre is more than just chocolate. The girl milking the cow in natural farm settings indicates that the chocolate bar is made of natural products and contains a lot of milk and should, thus, be good for you. Furthermore, a bit of naughtiness is connected to consuming this product as the commercial portrays chocolate as being something libidinal and sexy.

4.1.3.2 Analysis of Toms Commercial 1998 - A Commercial for Toms Dark Chocolate

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 3)

The setting is a kitchen. A block of dark Toms chocolate appears, and when the picture changes it is held by two female hands. Then speaker says: "Toms dark chocolate is more than just good chocolate". Next, we see a knife of the brand Global over the block of chocolate (as the moment before it is being cut to pieces). Then we see milk being poured into a bowl followed by chocolate being poured into a pot, and finally chocolate being added to the bowl resulting in chocolate mousse. Speaker then says: "If you want to experience a delicious chocolate mousse, then Toms chocolate is the right choice." While all of this is happening, we can read at the bottom of the screen that recipes can be found on teletext. Speaker then says: "With as much as 57 % cocoa" (which is also written at the bottom of the screen). We then see the final result, i.e. the chocolate mousse presented on a plate and a woman's hand adds some decoration to it, and a block of dark Toms chocolate is visible in the background. Meanwhile, speaker says: "Toms chocolate - a gathering point", and at the bottom of the screen it says: "The more we are together".

Receiver

The text-external receiver of this commercial will be women, maybe housewives or at least women who enjoy cooking. This is based on the female hands holding the chocolate and preparing the chocolate mousse. Furthermore, the commercial takes place in a kitchen underlining the cooking theme.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

As for the linguistic strategies, we first of all find the use of a model receiver in the form of the woman who owns the hands shown in the commercial. These hands are well-cared-for and the kitchen is rather new, modern, clean and tidy. Many women would probably like to be in this woman's shoes. All of this also helps establish a specific staging of the product making everything look perfect. Furthermore, the description of the product and product attributes is carried out with a rather positive tone by means of adjectives and expressions such as "more than good chocolate", "delicious chocolate mousse" and "the right choice". Along the same line, there is some extent of repetition, as the name of the product, Toms chocolate, is mentioned three times. Finally, we have a case of intertextuality, given that most people already know Toms, and it is therefore not necessary to explain about the brand, and attention can be devoted to communicating about the specific product.

With regard to the visual rhetoric strategies, there first of all seems to be consideration behind the use of colours. A significant colour is blue, as it is the colour of the wrapping. This colour is very much in focus as also the flowers in the beginning, the bowl, the plate where the chocolate mousse is served and a plate of fruit right behind it are blue. Another colour worth mentioning is gold which is the background colour of a small box on the wrapping where it says "pure dark chocolate" as well as the colour when it says "57 % chocolate" and "the more we are together". The last two quotes are, furthermore, written in italics. This together looks very elegant and resembles quality. Furthermore, we have a case of two different logos with the same name (Toms) which are both written on the product. The logo of the product is visible; it is placed on the middle of the block of chocolate and written in big white letters making it very visible on a blue background. The other logo namely that of the company is also written in white letters but is smaller and on a red background. The red background also serves to make this logo clear.

Code

To be successful, this commercial would have to use the codes of Danish women. We believe that the commercial does achieve this. The use of female hands makes you think of a woman, maybe a housewife and the woman as the primary person in the kitchen. Furthermore, the commercial focuses on bringing people together (the more we are together) which could be related to the Danish concept of "Hygge" which is often connected with consuming something delicious. As mentioned, the commercial focuses on Toms being of high quality. This is underlined by the use of a Global knife, which is considered a high quality brand in Denmark. Furthermore, it is stated that the chocolate contains 57 % cocoa which also underlines the quality i.e. that the product is not full of additives. Finally, another aspect underlining the quality is the fact that the woman's hands are well-cared-for and that the kitchen is rather new and modern.

Message

The message in this commercial is that Toms dark chocolate is of high quality and a first choice when you want to make a delicious chocolate mousse (which will bring people/family together).

4.1.3.3 Analysis of Toms Commercial 2006-2007 - A Commercial for Toms

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 4)

A door appears with a red sign which reads "Tomsen" – indicating that this is the house of the Tomsen family – but underneath the sign it also reads "Godnathistorie". Next, we are in a bedroom where Skildpadde is lying in bed and Guld Barre is reading him a bedtime story. The story is based on the fairytale "De tre bukkebruse", but in this case it is about three Guld Barre in different sizes ranging from the small one meant for a coffee to the one weighing 200 grams. The story ends with the large Guld Barre scaring the troll away, and when Skildpadde asks Guld Barre what happens to the troll, he says that it probably went home – to eat mock-turtle after which he turns out the light and leaves Skildpadde with a scared look on his face. The words Toms – "Danske originaler – www.toms.dk" appear on the screen. During the commercial we hear the tunes of "Mester Jakob".

Sender

The primary sender of this commercial is Toms, but we also find a secondary sender in the form the Tomsen family – in this commercial represented by Skildpadde and Guld Barre. We know these characters from previous commercials and therefore automatically connect them with Toms.

Receiver

As for the target group of this commercial, this is not so straightforward given that this commercial, as other commercials featuring the Tomsen family, does not focus on one particular product. Instead we see several different products in this case Guld Barre and Skildpadde which may not necessarily have the same target group (DRRB, n.d. B). As a result, the text-external receiver of this commercial will be Danes at different ages; it could both be adults and children/teenagers as both age groups might enjoy the humour in the commercial. The commercial is not directed at children per se, and Guld Barre and Skildpadde are not products that would attract children in particular but that is not to say that children might not find the commercial amusing. As mentioned in the section on Toms' CSR (cf. section 4.1.1.2.3), it was argued by a professor from CBS that children as young as 10 years old would be able to understand and enjoy this kind of commercial.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

First of all, as has been mentioned, we know Toms and the Tomsen family from earlier; we therefore have a case of intertextuality. As a result, there is no need to make any form of presentation; we immediately know who the characters are. A strategy used in this as well as previous commercials featuring the Tomsen family is the one of terminology. The producers play with the words and the characters as a result end up saying things like “med nødder og næppe” and “forloren skildpadde” –referring to the Skildpadde in the commercial being eaten for dinner by the troll. In addition, we see a personification of the products – in this commercial Skildpadde and Guld Barre - who have their own personality (DRRB, n.d. B). In the story which Guld Barre reads the products are once again personified as “De Tre Bukkebruse” are replaced by three

different sizes of Guld Barre. Furthermore, the whole commercial is made like a sitcom (DRRB, n.d. B). This is visible in how we watch the characters during a funny situation in their home and in the end we hear people clapping and saying “oh” – the same way as in a sitcom. These strategies are all part of what makes the commercial humorous.

Furthermore, we see the logo several times. In the beginning and in the end we see it on the middle of the screen, but during the commercial we also see it several times on the products. Part of what makes the logo so visible is the colour red creating a good contrast to the background. The colour red is also used for the book read by Guld Barre and part of the wrapping on the Guld Barre. Another significant colour is gold which is used on Guld Barre but also for the stripes on Skildpadde. Skildpadde is, however, also brown and this colour is also used for the sheets and pillows underlining the importance of the colour.

Code

First of all, the way the characters play with the words should appeal to Danish humour. In addition, the use of the story “De tre bukkebruse” is a good way to make people relate to the commercial, as we probably all know this story and remember having it read to us when we were children. In this case it is Guld Barre and Skildpadde resembling the parent and the child, respectively, right before the child goes to sleep and the parent reading a bedtime story. Furthermore, the use of the actors Søren Hauch-Fausbøll and Søren Fauli as Guld Barre and Skildpadde, respectively, should also appeal to Danes as we all know and recognise these persons and perhaps connect them to something humorous. Humour is a very important element in this commercial because it is produced to resemble a sitcom, and the code used contributes to it being targeted especially at Danes. An advantage for Toms is that its products are considered Danish originals given that they have been on the market for many years and some have not changed for quite a few years. As a result, people consider them part of Danish culture, and even though each product has its own characteristics, which makes it original, we still consider them to be in family with each other (DRRB, n.d. B). This should together result in a successful commercial.

Message

The message in this commercial is connected with the message in the other commercials with the Tomsen family. Together these commercials have created a universe where the different products each develop their own personality (DRRB, n.d. B). It is not a traditional commercial simply telling us that the product is delicious. Instead, this commercial connects Toms to something funny, Danish and original thereby implying that products from Toms are one of a kind; they have a brand-personality making a contrast to foreign mass-produced products.

4.1.4 Conclusion – Themes in Commercials

The first Toms commercial analysed from 1988 connects chocolate with something sensual, sexual and libidinal. Furthermore, Guld Barre is connected with quality, and milk is portrayed as an important element. We see no focus on health and obesity, the only thing remotely connected to health is the fact that milk is used to illustrate what the product is made from. The commercial is, however, not directed at children (even though it could appeal to teenagers) and portrays Guld Barre as something related to luxury and giving into your desires. The commercial from 1998 is not targeted at children either and portrays the product as something delicious which will bring family together which can be related to the Danish concept of “Hygge”. In addition, the product is related to quality. Again we see no direct focus on health or obesity. The final Toms commercial from 2006-2007 is targeted at Danes at different ages but as mentioned earlier it could be understood and enjoyed by children down to the age of 10. Thus, even though the commercial is not directly targeted at children, they might still enjoy the commercial. The focus in the commercial is on humour and Toms’ products as something Danish and original. Also here we see no direct focus on health or obesity. As a result, none of the commercials directly take up the issues of health or obesity. Yet, none of the commercials are directly targeted at children either, even though especially the last commercial might be enjoyed by children. A recurrent theme in these commercials seems to be the one of quality which could be interpreted as the products being meant for luxury and not something to be eaten every day in large amounts. Based on these commercials alone, the process of sensemaking does not seem to be a

part of Toms' strategy. Rather only sensegiving seems to have been present in the sense that the development in the area of CSR is not apparent in these commercials.

4.2 Kellogg's

4.2.1 Kellogg's' CSR

4.2.1.1 Kellogg's' CSR Present Time

Kellogg's Danish website is a very health oriented one. You can among other things read about nutrition, health and GDA (Kellogg's, n.d. A). At the general company website additional information on the company's social responsibility is available. Once again you can read a great deal about health, nutrition, breakfast and exercise. In addition, you can read about the company's social commitments which include combating hunger, improving opportunities for minorities and women, building stronger communities and conducting business in a manner that is sensitive to the environment (Kellogg's, n.d. B).

4.2.1.1.1 Health

As mentioned, health seems to be an important issue for Kellogg's and this is, not surprisingly, connected with breakfast. The focus is on how breakfast is important for your health and well-being and that it prevents overweight and obesity., Finally, there is also a section on how breakfast furthers children's learning (Kellogg's n.d. A).

As a part of the work with nutrition information, Kellogg's (in DK) has since 1995 cooperated with "Dansk Skoleidræt". This is an attempt to make children want to exercise, eat healthy and to teach them about healthy eating. In addition, Kellogg's has been the sponsor or co-organiser of several exercise events such as triathlons and running competitions. Kellogg's has also since 1997 every year given a Kellogg's Communication award to a person, project or campaign that has made itself noticed with regard to nutrition or exercise. Finally, Kellogg's states that it tries to give consumers what they want i.e. products for children with less sugar, provides

information about healthy diet, and on a regular basis meets with a number of nutrition experts to learn about their points of view on Kellogg's products (Kellogg's, n.d. A).

4.2.1.1.2 Marketing Policy

Of special interest to our research paper is the part on the company's marketing practices which states that Kellogg's strives to market its products responsibly and has guidelines to ensure uniform standards of marketing and communication around the world. Previously, the rules concerning children and marketing included no advertising to children under six, promoting appropriate levels of consumption and portraying safe activity and exercise. In June 2007 new rules on marketing to children under the age of 12 were launched which means that only products that meet the Nutrient Criteria are advertised to children under 12. The Nutrient Criteria set an upper limit per serving based on a 2,000 calorie daily diet. Products that don't meet the Nutrient Criteria will either be reformulated or no longer be marketed to children under 12 by the end of 2008. Almost 50 % of Kellogg's' products currently marketed to children do not meet the criteria. In addition to this, the new rules include making content changes on all child-directed web sites including session time limits and incorporating healthy lifestyle messaging. Furthermore, the company will not use product placement in any medium designed to appeal to children under 12 or advertise to children in elementary and preschool settings (Kellogg's, n.d. B).

4.2.1.2 Development in CSR at Kellogg's

4.2.1.2.1 CSR at Kellogg's in the 1980s

In 1989 Kellogg's stated that the company was fine with the fact that children's products contained a great deal of sugar. The company's nutritional adviser, Anne Knudsen, did not believe that sugar was harmful. She based this on research from England and the USA which concluded that sugar did not cause obesity or cavities. Kellogg's' market manager, Jørgen Andersen, said that the sugar in children's breakfast products added flavour, colour and crispness and if the company took away the sugar the products would become boring ("Børnene", 1989).

Adding to this, according to the financial statements from “TV2 Reklame”, Kellogg’s was the biggest client in 1989 with an investment in commercials for breakfast of DKK 15.6 million (“Godt”, 1990).

4.2.1.2.2 CSR at Kellogg’s in the 1990s

In 1996 Kellogg’s’ managing director, Mika Olenius, stated that Kellogg’s’ market share was no more than 38 % in the 1980’s but that this had changed due to heavy marketing both in the stores, in magazines and not least on TV with Tony the Tiger as an important element when it came to Kellogg’s Frosties (Steno, 1996).

In 1997 it was brought to attention that on Kellogg’s’ website children could play in an interactive universe with for example the monkey Coco and Tony the Tiger. The website, furthermore, contained competitions and games. Kellogg’s’ strategy was to get the children to link what they experienced on the website to the characters on the products in the supermarket and thereby get the parents to buy the product which according to the Consumer Ombudsman seemed like a commercial in disguise and added that he was concerned about the fact that Kellogg’s encouraged children to give information about themselves. He discussed this with the company but they did not reach an understanding as Kellogg’s did not believe that the company should follow Danish regulation when the server was placed in the USA and the language on the website was English (“Kellogg’s markedsføring”, 1997).

The same year Kellogg’s provided breakfast advice to consumers where the company told about breakfast in general, how it was important if you wished to lose weight and to children’s learning capabilities etc. However, it was noticeable that Kellogg’s recommended bread with jam and sugary products for girls who went to kindergarten (Christensen, 1997).

In 1998 Kellogg’s was no longer allowed to enrich its products with nutrients and advertise with how its products contained three important B vitamins and iron which it had been doing for more than 10 years. The ban surprised Kellogg’s who said that the

company wished to help people get the necessary vitamins and minerals and that even though it admitted to no research documenting a general lack of B vitamins among the population it could not rule out that some people did lack these (Sørensen, 1998).

4.2.1.2.3 CSR at Kellogg's in 2000-2008

In 2000 it was brought to attention that children's math books were full of commercials from companies such as Kellogg's and Coca-Cola, and the Consumer Ombudsman wanted to prevent this. Both Kellogg's and Coca-Cola claimed that they had not paid to have their names/brands mentioned in the books ("Skolebøger", 2000).

A counting of the commercials advertising for food on TV2 was carried out from March 2000 – September 2000, and the results showed that 2/3 of these commercials advertised for unhealthy products – without counting commercials for candy and chocolate. In this period of time a total of 9,300 commercials for food were broadcasted. Kellogg's Frosties was with its 429 broadcastings in the six months one of the topscorers (Sønderlund, 2001).

A study into the nature of commercials on TV2 in the period October 2002 – March 2003 showed that all TV commercials for food aimed at children were commercials for unhealthy products. One of the worst culprits was Kellogg's Coco Pops. The commercials for Kellogg's Frosties were also singled out and criticised for sending the message that the product gave you more strength which is very far from the truth (Lorentzen, 2003).

In 2004 the chat room "Højhuset" was criticised for mixing commercials into the chat room. More precisely, companies such as "Danske Bank", Kellogg's, "UngRejs" and Sprite bought a so-called sponsor room in "Højhuset" where children and teenagers chatted all the while they were bombarded with commercials. Children who were only 8 years old visited the chat room. Kellogg's did, however, not see any problems with this ("Børn er", 2004).

In 2005 Kellogg's decided to focus more on healthy products. According to marketing manager Steen Koch, this was due to the debate on health. Kellogg's began focusing on health in the fall of 2004 by reducing the sugar content in its popular children products. The following year the company began developing products with a high percentage of fibres and only a small amount of sugar. Kellogg's, however, still advertised on TV, including for the new edition of Frosties with reduced sugar content (Hjerteforeningen, 2005).

It was also found that the number of commercials for unhealthy foods had decreased over the past years. Yet, more subtle methods were being used such as online games and putting computer games in the boxes of cereal. The Danish subsidiary of Kellogg's, however, underlined that it did a lot to ensure that its website and advertising in general was ethical. Kellogg's for example worked on cutting down on the marketing towards children because many parents were unhappy about this. According to Steen Koch the company wished to focus more on developing healthy products and avoid marketing so heavily towards children (Søndergaard, 2005; Forbrugerrådet, 2005B).

The same year companies producing unhealthy products were pressured to lower the sugar content. Kellogg's found that it already did a lot to comply with these demands and said that it would launch a product with seven different species of grain as well as a product to children with only 9 % sugar. It did, however, not wish to withdraw sugary products all together as the company found that consumers should be able to choose themselves (Schmidt, 2005C).

In 2007 Consumer International (CI) the international consumer watchdog chose Coca-Cola and Kellogg's as the companies responsible for the worst marketing with regard to abusing consumers' trust and rights. As regards Kellogg's this was due the company selling Coco Pops with Shrek and Kellogg's Crispies with Star Wars figures. As much as 27 % of the company's American marketing budget was spent on marketing directed towards children under the age of 12 in the shape of commercials which bragged about children's fantastic physical accomplishments when eating the sugary products (Landbrugsrådet, 2007; "Årets", 2007).

As of the end of 2007 Kellogg's and other food companies labelled their products with the new GDA nutritional label. The label was, however criticized for not being usable by "Videnscenter for Fødevarer og Sundhed" as well as the Danish Consumer Council as the need for energy differs for e.g. a little boy and a teenager (Schmidt, 2007).

In 2008 The Danish Consumer Council accused and reported Kellogg's Coco Pops for misleading the consumer with regard to sugar content and a portion size of 30 grams which is far from realistic. The Danish Consumer Council argued that you cannot set a standard portion and that the GDA labelling on Coco Pops is based on a grown woman's daily need in spite of it being a product made for children (Christensen, 2008).

4.2.2 Conclusion – Kellogg's' CSR

Also for Kellogg's, a change seems to have happened since the 1980's and up till now. In the 1980's Kellogg's saw no problem in children's products containing a high amount of sugar and even argued that it had been proved that sugar does not lead to obesity and overweight. In the 1990's Kellogg's seemed to continue down this path and heavily marketed the sugary children's products, especially, Kellogg's Frosties featuring Tony the Tiger. This continued into this decade where both Kellogg's Frosties and Kellogg's Coco Pops were heavily marketed both on TV and on the Internet. It was not until 2005 that a change in Kellogg's' attitude was detected. This year Kellogg's announced that the company was going to focus more on healthy products due to the debate on health. As a result, the company, among other things, launched a version of Frosties with less sugar which the company advertised for on TV. This year Kellogg's also decided to cut down on advertising towards children on the Internet. In spite of this change in attitude, Kellogg's still produces sugary products as the company believes that the consumer should have a choice. In this connection Kellogg's was in 2007 criticised for advertising towards children by putting Shrek figures in the Coco Pops boxes but also for its newly introduced GDA label which some found to be misleading.

Today, Kellogg's seems to be a company which is very focused on CSR, especially, with regard to health, nutrition and exercise and focuses a lot on how breakfast can

prevent obesity and overweight. Before 2007 the company did not advertise to children under the age of six but now the age limit is 12 and only products that meet the nutrient criteria will be advertised to children under this age. Consequently, Kellogg's seems to have developed into a company that is quite devoted to being socially responsible especially with regard to health. Kellogg's does a lot to prevent obesity and also seems to be quite dedicated to market its products in a responsible manner. During the 1980's and 1990's the focus seemed to be on profit and merely staying within the law i.e. the bottom two levels in the CSR pyramid. Now, by having a guideline with regard to marketing towards children, it fulfils also its ethical responsibility. The philanthropic responsibility is also fulfilled by for example sponsoring different sporting events. So, Kellogg's has definitely developed and does a lot of good. What seems to be missing, however, is recognition of some of the products being too unhealthy to be eaten for breakfast. Furthermore, as we have seen, there are recent examples of the company still trying to market its products to children and how it seems to try to make its products appear healthier than they actually are. As a result, there is still room for improvement for Kellogg's.

4.2.3 Analysis of Kellogg's Commercials

4.2.3.1 Analysis of Kellogg's Commercial 1989 - A Commercial for Snap Corn Flakes

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 5)

The commercial is centred around an ordinary family comprised of a father, a mother and three children sitting at the breakfast table having breakfast. The father reads from a newspaper to his family the benefits of Corn Flakes which contain good carbohydrates, three important vitamins and a low fat content. The commercial ends with speaker saying: "Danmark er vokset op med Snap Corn Flakes" (Denmark has grown up with Snap Corn Flakes).

Receiver

The entire family shown sitting at the breakfast table having breakfast can be said to represent the receivers of this commercial. Represented are children as well as adults

indicating that this is a product meant for the entire family. Receiver is also explicitly addressed in the end when speaker says: “Denmark has grown up with Snap Corn Flakes”. Thus, receivers are marked visually as well as verbally making them text-internal.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

As is if reading a story from the newspaper the father lists some of the content (vitamins, good carbohydrates and low fat content) of Corn Flakes thereby explaining the benefits of consuming this product to his family and, thus, providing arguments for why people should buy this product. A perfect example of a linguistic strategy. Another example thereof is the use of a model receiver in the shape of a happy nuclear family having breakfast together and enjoying themselves. Playing on this feeling of harmony and tradition, the slogan “Denmark has grown up with Snap Corn Flakes” is used to give us the feeling that this product is a part of everyone’s daily lives and has been so for generations. A visual strategy used is the box of Corn Flakes which is strategically placed in a way that makes it stay visible throughout most of the commercial.

Code

By showing a very concrete situation in which a happy nuclear family is gathered around the breakfast table, talking, enjoying and having breakfast together while the father reads the newspaper, this commercial uses a code understandable to most people as they would easily be able to familiarise with the situation and characters displayed.

Message

Seemingly, this commercial sends the message that Snap Corn Flakes is an essential part of the breakfast table for any family; it has been so for generations and will continue to be just that. Adding to this we get the impression that this product is healthy and nourishing for both children as well as adults.

4.2.3.2 Analysis of Kellogg's Commercial 1989 - A Commercial for Frosties

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 6)

The commercial begins with a boy in his early teenage years practising his basketball skills. He looks a bit despaired when Tony the Tiger (a cartoon tiger) comes along ensuring him that he will make it (implied is that he will win an upcoming match). He makes the boy eat a bowl of Frosties after which he is approached by two other boys who mockingly say to him: "let us see if you are good". The young boy plays the match and wins after which the slogan: "Kellogg's Frosties smager godt, vækker en tiger i dig" (Kellogg's Frosties taste great, arouse a tiger within you) is sung. The commercial ends with the display of a box of Frosties.

Sender

The primary sender of this commercial is Kellogg's, but a secondary sender also exists in the form of Tony the Tiger who acts as a representative of the product.

Receiver

With this commercial we can distinguish between a primary and a secondary receiver. Primary receiver, keeping in mind the theme of this commercial is youngsters, especially boys. The situation portrayed should appeal to young boys as they should be able to identify with the young boy depicted. Secondary receiver could be argued to be the parents as it is most likely that they do the grocery shopping. Primary receivers can thus influence secondary receiver to buy this product. Primary receivers are text-internal in that they are represented visually in the form of the young boy and also explicitly addressed as the slogan of "Kellogg's Frosties taste great, arouse a tiger within you" is uttered with an emphasis on the pronoun.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

As for the verbal strategies the entire commercial is in the shape of a story told about a boy who does not think he has it in him to win a game until Tony the Tiger convinces him otherwise. Furthermore, intertextuality is also found in the sense that most people should be able to relate this commercial to other Kellogg's commercials as the brand is

mentioned several times thereby making use of receiver's previous knowledge of other Kellogg's commercials. Adding to this is the repeated use of the slogan 'Kellogg's Frosties taste great, arouse a tiger within you' which along with mentioning the product attributes gives the idea that consuming the product will help make one a winner. The tiger is used as a metaphor for the supposed strength, willpower and energy one should get from having Kellogg's Frosties.

A visual strategy used is the use of colour. Red and blue are a consistent part of the commercial. First of all, the box of Kellogg's Frosties has these two colours as well as the cartoon tiger who wears a red scarf and has a blue nose. Furthermore, the two teams of boys playing basketball shown in the end wear the colours red and blue respectively. The consistent use of these colours should help receivers remember the product even though they might forget its name. Another visual strategy is how Kellogg's Frosties are shown to be a part of the breakfast table as this product at one point is placed on a table next to other breakfast items while at the bottom of the screen it is written that Frosties contain three important types of vitamin B and iron, thereby, making it seem as if this product should be an essential part of one's breakfast routine.

Code

This commercial should easily be understandable to young people, especially, boys as it portrays a situation most boys should be able to relate to. The desire to do well is basic to human beings, and the situation of being belittled or mocked at some point in time cannot be too unfamiliar to most people. Thus, an opportunity to do better by using this product is provided and this should appeal to youngsters.

Message

What this commercial seems to convey is that consuming this product will give you an energy boost ("arouse a tiger within you") thereby helping you enhance your abilities, thus, making you come out as a winner.

4.2.3.3 Analysis of Kellogg's Commercial 1998 - A Commercial for Kellogg's Cornflakes

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 7)

A box of Kellogg's Cornflakes appears floating on the screen. The scene changes and we see a woman wearing a yellow sweater and a white pearl necklace telling us about how wonderful Cornflakes are. Meanwhile, we see her sitting at the kitchen table between her two children (a boy and a girl – age 8 maybe) eating Cornflakes. During this, the picture from time to time changes to a full screen picture of Cornflakes and milk being poured into a bowl. At the end speaker says (also in writing) “Morgenmad er ikke morgenmad uden Kellogg's Cornflakes” (Breakfast is not breakfast without Kellogg's Cornflakes) and we see three different types of Kellogg's Cornflakes. The picture changes into Kellogg's' logo, a big K in the middle of what looks like a sun, and in writing it says “Kellogg's Cornflakes. Gør mere ud af morgenmaden” (Kellogg's Cornflakes. Makes your breakfast special).

Receiver

The woman/mother and the two children constitute text-internal receivers in the sense that they represent the actual consumer and, thus, the text-external receiver. The receiver could also be the entire family, as the woman in the commercial speaks about “us” i.e. the whole family.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

First of all, the woman in the commercial makes use of colloquial language. This is visible in the way she does not always use a full sentence such as when she says: “When you get the first mouthful of Cornflakes, you feel great... crunchy and it is crisp and it is fresh and it is lovely.” Furthermore, she makes up her own word, and instead of saying the word snack she puts it the following way: “We use it both as breakfast and as in between meals.” This strategy makes it sound as if she is speaking her own opinion instead of reading from a script. In addition, she uses a lot of adjectives when describing the product. An example of this could be “Cornflakes has a crispness that makes it incredibly crispy and tasty” This woman with her yellow sweater, pearl necklace and

two children, a boy and a girl, looks somehow like the perfect mother and wife and, therefore, signals a model receiver. The commercial also makes use of two slogans in the end. The slogan ‘Breakfast is not breakfast without Kellogg’s Cornflakes’ is both uttered by speaker and written on the screen. After this, another slogan appears in writing on the screen, namely, “Kellogg’s Cornflakes. Makes your breakfast special”. Finally, the commercial makes use of intertextuality given that we know and recognise Kellogg’s from earlier commercials, and it is, therefore, unnecessary to explain about the company behind the product.

As for the visual rhetorical strategies, we have a very deliberate use of colours. The colours red, yellow and green which are the ones we connect with Kellogg’s are very visible. As mentioned the mother wears a yellow sweater as does the daughter, and during the commercial we see beams in these three colours, so if you cannot remember the name of the product there is a chance that you will remember the colours. As for the Kellogg’s Cornflakes logo, we see it three times, i.e. every time we see the box of Kellogg’s Cornflakes. Adding to this, at the end we see Kellogg’s logo.

Code

The commercial plays on some of the characteristics of Danish families. First of all, we have the myth of the breakfast table with the mother and her two children sitting and enjoying their breakfast together, and the father probably at work making the mother the person who buys groceries and makes sure that the children get breakfast etc. Secondly, the mother has two children which is rather typical of a Danish family. This together resembles a very idyllic version of a typical Danish family.

Message

The message of this commercial is that Kellogg’s Cornflakes are delicious and crispy and can be used as both breakfast and snack. The commercial could be argued to encourage the receiver to go buy Cornflakes right away if they have not already got any given that the woman in the commercial says ‘So if you have not got any Cornflakes, you have hurry down and get some, we have to.’ Furthermore, Kellogg’s Cornflakes is

somehow related to being healthy in that we see several pictures of both milk, strawberries and corn.

4.2.3.4 Analysis of Kellogg's Commercial 1998 - A Commercial for Kellogg's Frosties

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 8)

At the beginning we see a girl (teenager) playing basketball, but she is not doing that well. Tony the Tiger comes and encourages her, they play and she starts doing better. Tony the Tiger then says: "Winners train hard and eat wisely, start with Kellogg's Frosties as a part of a healthy breakfast. Crispy corn flakes with a lot of energy, they are great". During this we see the girl eating Kellogg's Frosties. After this two boys come and ask them if they want to play, and the girl is now confident so she agrees and they win the game. During the commercial we hear the song with the slogan: "Kellogg's Frosties smager godt vækker en tiger i dig" (Kellogg's Frosties taste great, arouse a tiger within you).

Sender

As with the previous Frosties commercial, the primary sender and the company behind the commercial and the product is Kellogg's, and the secondary sender is Tony the Tiger.

Receiver

Based on the characters in the commercial and the product as such, the text-external receiver is children and teenagers. The girl in the commercial and to some extent also the two boys represent the text-internal receiver. The primary receiver would therefore be children and teenagers, but it could be argued that a secondary receiver exists in the form of parents who will be buying the product for the children. Part of the commercial i.e. the focus on the product being healthy and containing vitamins could be an attempt to reach the adults.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

The rhetorical strategies in this commercial are quite similar to the ones used in the Frosties commercial analysed from 1989. First of all, the whole storyline of the commercial is somewhat the same. In addition, we have the use of the slogan “Kellogg’s Frosties taste great, arouse a tiger within you”, the tiger symbolising something strong and unbeatable. Also the use of the phrase “with 3 important B vitamins and iron” is repeated, a phrase that implies that the product is healthy and good for you to eat. Another strategy is the one of the dialogue which goes on between Tony and the girl as well as the one of intertextuality given that we know Tony and Frosties from earlier so there is no need to present these. Finally, the words “crunch”, “corn” and “energy” appear on the screen during the commercial signalling that the product is tasty and crunchy, will give you energy and that it is made from corn and, thus, healthy.

Also the visual strategies are quite similar to the ones in the commercial from 1989. Again we have the extensive use of the colours red and blue which are the ones we connect with Frosties. Tony with the blue nose, red scarf, the girl wearing a red shirt, the boys wearing a red cap and blue shorts respectively all underlines the importance of these colours. Another strategy that is reused in this commercial is how Kellogg’s Frosties is placed on a tray next to milk, fruit and bread making the product seem as an important part of a breakfast.

Code

This commercial also uses the story of a person in this case a girl wishing to do better at a particular sport and being able to show people that she can do it which is something most of us can probably easily relate to.

Message

First of all, we are told that Kellogg’s Frosties taste great which is, however, rather normal for a food commercial. However, it is also implied that when you eat Kellogg’s Frosties you will suddenly get a lot of energy and be good at something you earlier were not that good at - you will become a winner (arouse a tiger within you). Furthermore,

the company tries to connect the product with something healthy and argues that the product should be part of a healthy breakfast.

4.2.3.5 Analysis of Kellogg's Commercial 2008 - A Commercial for Kellogg's Special K

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 9)

A woman in her early 30s is getting ready to go out. She tries on many different sets of clothes among other things some jeans which are obviously too tight. She is very focused on her looks and twists and turns to see if her behind is too big or if she has double chin. Frustrated that she cannot find the right set of clothes, she ends up throwing it all on the floor. After this speaker says: "Do you also take too long getting ready to go out, then try Kellogg's Special K 1 2 3 programme. Studies show that people who eat breakfast have a lower BMI than those who skip breakfast. Make breakfast a good habit and gain control of your BMI". During this we see the woman sitting in a couch eating Special K, and in the end we see a breakfast table containing Special K, juice, fruit, bread and milk. On the screen is written: "Gode vaner giver gode former" (Good habits will get you into shape).

Receiver

Based on the woman in the commercial, who is a text-internal receiver, the text-external receiver is women in their 20's or 30's who would maybe like to lose a couple of pounds or maybe just avoid ending in the same situation as the woman in the commercial.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

As with many of the other commercials analysed, this one also makes use of the product and the sender being known to the receiver beforehand and, therefore, does not explain who or what Kellogg's and Special K are. Instead the commercial focuses on sending a message about breakfast and health. One of the means to do this is by using a model receiver in the form of the woman in the commercial; she and her situation is what the

receiver is assumed to recognise. The commercial actually encourages us to do this by asking a rhetorical question (Do you also take too long getting ready to go out?) and then afterwards using the imperative mood (Make breakfast a good habit and gain control of your BMI.) hence giving us the answer which is eating breakfast/Special K. In the end the commercial uses a slogan “Good habits will get you into shape” – hereby implying that eating Special K is a good habit which will give you the shape you wish for. Another strategy used to target women especially is using a woman as a speaker thereby implying that because she is a woman she knows the situation which entitles her to hand us the solution. Furthermore, the commercial makes it sound very easy to become healthy and get into shape by using the phrasing (try Kellogg’s Special K 1 2 3 programme) while replacing the numbers with a plate, a spoon and a box of Kellogg’s Special K. This way of phrasing it (especially the numbers 1 2 3) makes it sound easy and as if it will only take very short time before you are healthy and have a lower BMI. The word “programme” also implies that it is somehow something similar to a diet which has been tested and approved even though all that the commercial is conveying is that you should eat Special K for breakfast.

The use of colour seems to be very carefully planned. The colour red which is part of the product’s logo – used to write Kellogg’s and K – is for example used both for the walls in the bedroom, the sofa, some vases and the woman’s belt in the end. In addition, blue is also a colour worth mentioning as it is also part of the logo – the words special and classic are written in this colour. In the commercial this colour is used also for her underwear, much of the clothes she tries on as well as the clothes she wears in the end. So even though we do not see the logo that much, the use of colours definitely underlines it which is another way of making us remember it.

Code

In order to reach the target group, this commercial should appeal to women in their 20s or 30s. By using what is probably a familiar situation to many women, i.e. standing in the bedroom trying on clothes before going out but not being able to find a set that you feel good about, the commercial will most likely appeal to women. In addition, the focus on health and BMI goes well with what is consuming many people nowadays.

Along the same line, the focus on breakfast as an important meal also goes well with what is preached in the media on almost a daily basis at the moment.

Message

The message in this commercial is very much connected with health and seems to be that Kellogg's Special K will make you fit and healthy and that you will achieve a lower BMI by eating it and thereby avoid ending up in the same situation as the woman in the commercial.

4.2.4 Conclusion – Themes in Commercials

A recurring theme in the Kellogg's commercials analysed seems to be the one of health and how it is connected to breakfast. Even when advertising for a sugary product like Frosties, Kellogg's made the product appear healthy, a matter on which the company has received a great deal of criticism. In the first commercial analysed i.e. Snap Corn Flakes, focus is on how the product is healthy and nourishing. The target group is the whole family - both adults and children. Also in both Frosties commercials the focus is on health but in a slightly different way and the primary receiver is not the entire family but young people. In these commercials health is integrated in the sense that it is implied that eating the product will give you energy and make you a winner in sports. Furthermore, we are in both commercials told that the product contains 3 important B vitamins and iron and in the commercial from 1997 the product is shown along with milk, fruit and bread – all important and healthy parts of a breakfast. This feature of showing the product together with other healthy breakfast products is also used in the commercial for Kellogg's Cornflakes from 1998 where the product is depicted together with milk, corn and strawberries. The receiver of this commercial is the family/mothers and the commercial presents the product as an essential part of breakfast. The final commercial is for Special K Classic and in the same way as the previous commercials it focuses a great deal on health. In this commercial health is again connected with breakfast and this message is furthered by focusing on how you can achieve a lower BMI by eating breakfast. Once again the product is shown together with healthy products; juice, fruit, bread and milk. The target group of this commercial is,

nevertheless, not children but rather women in their 20s or 30s given that Kellogg's has decided to no longer advertise unhealthy products to children. As a result, in this entire period of time – from 1988-2008 – Kellogg's has generally tended to focus on health which could be connected with the fact that we are dealing with breakfast products instead of candy. A change has, however, occurred in the sense that that Kellogg's no longer advertises unhealthy products to children and we, therefore, see no more commercials for e.g. Frosties and the commercial from 2008 tends to focus somewhat more on health as it includes the term BMI which is directly related to weight and, therefore, also obesity. As a result, we find that a sense-making process has taken place as we clearly see a development in the commercials towards a more responsible stance.

4.3 Coca-Cola

4.3.1 Coca-Cola's CSR

4.3.1.1 Coca-Cola's CSR Present Time

The Danish version of the company's website does not signal any specific dedication to CSR other than the fact that it on its front-page has an announcement mentioning that it now has labelled its products with the GDA label. Furthermore, it runs the Onside Sport foundation the purpose of which is to support, financially, people belonging to the world of sports as well as sport related events. Concern for the environment is also at the heart of this company. To this end it has in 1998 in cooperation with SAS (Scandinavian Airlines) established The Environmental Foundation the goal of which is to support projects among children and youngsters improving the environment in the Nordic and Baltic countries (The Coca Cola Company, n.d. A). However, upon entering the global Coca-Cola Company website it becomes clear that Coca-Cola focuses on several areas within CSR. Among these are areas such as the workplace (covering issues such as e.g. diversity, workplace rights and ethics), the environment (e.g. accountability and reporting, sustainable packaging and climate protection), the community (community water projects, active lifestyle and local initiatives) and the marketplace (e.g. sustainability of the business, product quality and responsible marketing). Furthermore, it also has in place a Code of Business Conduct for its employees to make

them stay within the realm of law and ethics while it also expects the same of its suppliers as to why it has also formulated a Code of Business Conduct for Suppliers (The Coca Cola Company n.d. B).

4.3.1.1.1 *Health*

Health is an area also of great concern to this company. Besides the initiatives already mentioned Coca-Cola recognises the fact that obesity is a global problem and, thus, works at developing physical fitness and nutrition education programmes in collaboration with governmental agencies and health experts in many of the countries it produces and markets its products (The Coca Cola Company, n.d C)

In EU for instance, each year, approximately 100,000 grassroots physical activity events are supported by the Coca-Cola system. These initiatives aim to encourage young people to focus on their health by developing active lifestyles (The Coca Cola Company n.d D). Promoting an active lifestyle in Denmark the Coca-Cola Company has joined hands with The Danish Cyclist Association to increase the bicycle use in Denmark (“Nutrition”, n.d.).

Being an official sponsor for the Olympics in 2008 is also a way for the company to show its support for an active and healthy lifestyle. Furthermore, Cola-Cola also provides product nutrition information on labels (“Nutritional”, n.d.).

4.3.1.1.2 *Marketing Policy*

The Coca-Cola Company has committed to refrain from advertising to children. It has had a policy in place for its “sparkling, full calorie soft drinks for more than half a century” (“Responsible”, n.d. A) but with the increase in marketing messages children are exposed to the company has now decided to include all of its beverages under this policy of not advertising directly to children (“Responsible”, n.d. A). This policy includes a commitment to avoid marketing products on TV, Internet sites and mobile phones targeted at children. To make sure that this policy is adhered to, it has in place a monitoring and measuring program and is also working on establishing a Children's Review Committee to help guide this policy. To this end the company has also been

successful in having the International Council of Beverage Associations adopt guidelines consistent with its policy. Next on its agenda the company, in cooperation with other willing partners, peers and competitors, has the creation of an independent monitoring mechanism. (“Responsible”, n.d. B).

4.3.1.2 Development in CSR at Coca-Cola

4.3.1.2.1 CSR at Coca-Cola in the 1990s

In 1990 Coca-Cola funded research on soft drinks done by “Dansk Tandlægeforening”. This research whose main message was that soft drinks do not cause cavities in clean teeth became a part of teaching resources for 7th and 8th grade children (“Coca Cola”, 1990). Though Jesper Møller, CEO of Coca-Cola, stated that the company had had no say in the execution of the research other than the funding, he did mention that the teaching resources had been scrutinised by the Coca-Cola international head quarter with the main purpose of ensuring that they did not contain any advertisements. He further informed that it was company policy to support teaching resources relevant to the company’s products or its target group, children and youngsters. On being asked if whether or not Coca-Cola would fund teaching resources that encourage children and youngsters to limit their intake of soft drinks Jesper Møller hesitantly replied that if such material would be presented to the company it would of course look into it (“Lærebog”, 1990).

Whereas in 1990 a Dane would consume 26 litres of branded soft drinks a year, this number had grown to 91 litres in 1995. A total of 469 million litres of soft drinks were sold of which Coca-Cola had 56 %. The growth was due to increasingly intense marketing by big companies as well as the lower prices on soft drinks. Furthermore, it was not only youngsters, although marketing most often was aimed at them, which to an increasing degree were consuming Coca-Cola but also people a bit older. The consumers of the 90s had been mesmerised by the life style commercials of Coca-Cola portraying confident, happy people dancing away on beaches (Jensen, 1996B).

4.3.1.2.2 CSR at Coca-Cola in 2000-2008

In 2001 Coca-Cola used the release of the first Harry Potter movie to heavily market its products. However, even though the company had heavily invested in a marketing campaign called “Live the Magic” it had decided to restrict its marketing in Denmark to a Harry Potter menu with popcorn available at cinemas while the movie was running. This restriction was the result of the critical Danish consumers according to Malene Gram, lecturer at the Department of History, International and Social Studies at Aalborg University. Coca-Cola did not want to be accused of luring children into buying sugary drinks, thus, the restrictive marketing. However, as a part of the Live the Magic campaign Coca-Cola from 2001 and three years onwards chose to hand out children’s books every year to hospitals and institutions in Scandinavia among these also Denmark, while in Great Britain Harry Potter would be portrayed on the Coke bottles and in Sweden and Norway Harry Potter cardboard cut-outs would be placed next to the Coca-Cola logo. Kresten Schultz Jørgensen director of communications for Scandinavia and the Baltic States explained that while 4-5 years ago the company would have one marketing strategy for all its markets, in 2001 this was no longer the case (Blicher, 2001).

In 2003 a number of food manufacturers retorted against nutritionists who blamed the large portions of candy and soft drinks for playing a significant part when it came to obesity among children. They believed that the intake of soft drinks, chips and candy could not alone explain the increase of obese people. The reason was rather lack of exercise. At Coca-Cola they did not feel that it was necessary to sell soft drinks in small bottles as director of communications of Coca-Cola Nordic Kenth Kærhøg saw no connection between the sale of ½ and 1 litre bottles of fizzy drinks and the growing number of obese people. He referred to research showing that the intake of sugar in Denmark had been constant for several years. According to him obesity was due to people being less active than before. For instance, children were much more often driven to school by their parents rather than walking or riding their bicycles (“Fødevareindustrien”, n.d.).

In 2004 British research determined that soft drinks are more fattening than tap water and, thus, one of the main reasons of child obesity. This made Danish health experts demand that soda machines be removed from schools right away. Kenth Kærhøg replied that if any legislation was made within this area the company would remove the soda machines in an instant but he, however, did not believe that the removal would have any effect on the calorie intake of Danish children (Bruun & Aagaard, 2004).

In 2005 the results of a survey from TV2 revealed a decrease in the number of commercials for Coca-Cola and similar products with a high content of sugar, fat and salt (Schmidt, 2005A).

The same year Kenth Kærhøg stated that the company also had a responsibility to help eliminate the obesity problem which was why Coca-Cola intensified its marketing of light products by increasing the budget for these products with 50 % as well as reducing marketing of its traditional products (Graversen, 2005B).

Also in 2005 “Bryggeriforeningen” of which Coca-Cola and other giants are members chose to lie down its own set of rules regarding marketing to children and youngsters. The Danish Consumer Council applauded this initiative but stressed the need for legislation on this area as well due to the fact that it was relatively unclear how violation of rules was to be dealt with. Violation was very likely as many companies had started to move their marketing to e.g. the Internet or mobile phones. Among the rules to be followed by members of the “Bryggeriforeningen” was not directly to market to children, not to broadcast commercials around children’s programmes on TV and avoid actively marketing themselves at schools. Furthermore, they decided not to place soda machines on e.g. schools and after-care centres and voluntarily label their products so that the content of energy, protein, carbohydrates and fat per 100 ml was evident (Vestergaard & Grund, 2005).

In 2006 Copenhagen Business School conducted a big conference on children and media inviting 50 national as well as international researchers to share their research results. Big advertisers such as Coca-Cola, McDonald’s, Nestlé and Kellogg’s were also

invited to listen in. What the participants all agreed on was that there was a need for a much more varied debate on the entire issue of the connection between obesity and the large fast food groups. Too much emphasis was being put on commercials as the main reasons for the epidemic of obesity according to the researchers. This was grist to Coca-Cola's mill (Solgaard, 2006).

The same year large corporations manufacturing unhealthy, sugary products queued to sponsor sporting events all in the name of helping people become fit. Coca-Cola Scandinavia also signed a million DKK contract with The Danish Cyclist Association claiming that it would like to play a big part in solving the issue of obesity even though it, according to itself, was not at all the cause of this particular problem (Thielst, 2006).

In 2006 the EU Commission chose to acclaim corporations such as McDonald's and Coca-Cola for taking action against obesity, especially among European children. Coca-Cola was awarded for not advertising to children under the age of 12 ("Anti-fedme", 2006).

In 2008 Coca-Cola was reported to "Fødevareregion Øst" by The Danish Consumer Council for misleading marketing. It was the GDA labelling that was the reason for this step. The Consumer Council deemed this label to be useless as it actually misinformed consumers under the pretext of informing them. The content of sugar stated on the labels was misleading as it was not stated in accordance with the Nordic nutrient recommendations. Furthermore, the GDA-percentages on the Coca-Cola labels were much lower than they should be as the company used 250 ml of Coca-Cola as a point of departure when it is most likely that a consumer would drink the entire half litre bottle at one go. GDA labelling is according to The Danish Consumer Council a highly doubtful method as there is a big difference between people, helpings and products (Forbrugerrådet, 2008).

In May 2008 Coca-Cola, in cooperation with Nestlé, introduced a soft drink by the name of Engiva which supposedly helps your body burn more calories than it takes in. According to a Danish obesity researcher the research behind this product seemed

complete, however, the long-term effects had not been looked into. In the USA Nestlé and Coca-Cola had already been threatened with law suits for marketing Engiva as a product that helps burn calories. In agreement with Thomas Meinert Larsen, lecturer at Copenhagen University Department of Human Nutrition and expert in prevention and treatment of obesity, the NGO Center for Science in the Public Interest warned that the product was a waste of money due to the fact that the period of study on the effect of Engiva had been very short, too short to base any conclusions on. Adding to this, the study was based on former results from research funded by among others Coca-Cola (Nyvold, 2007).

4.3.2 Conclusion – Coca-Cola's CSR

Coca-Cola does seem to have gone through a development, but it is far from clear-cut. True enough, the company has gone from heavily marketing its products in the 1990's – also to children – to adopting a marketing policy whereby the company promises to no longer target children under the age of 12, and in 2005 it decreased its budget for traditional products while increasing it for light products by 50 %. However, along with these positive steps the company has also more than once been in the limelight for dubious marketing and deception of consumers. As late as 2008, the company was for example accused of misleading consumers with its GDA labelling. Thus, there seems to be an inconsistency between its actions and statements. This inconsistency seems to have been constant over time. In addition, as was also the case with Kellogg's, there seems to be no recognition of the company's products being unhealthy and not meant to be consumed every day. As a result, on the surface the Coca-Cola Company seems to have in place several CSR initiatives which it is also able to document, but other actions tell us that CSR is still not fully implemented in the company. As regards, Carroll and Buchholz' CSR pyramid, Coca-Cola does to some extent seem to have moved from focusing on the bottom two layers to also focusing on the ethical responsibility, e.g. by having a marketing policy concerning children. Examples of philanthropic responsibilities are community water projects, local initiatives, disaster relief and foundations. Yet, when it comes to health and advertising, there are still aspects which seem to be the result of a focus on profit.

4.3.3 Analysis of Coca-Cola Commercials

4.3.3.1 Analysis of Coca-Cola Commercial 1989 - A Commercial for Fanta

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 10)

This commercial is in English. We start off seeing a yacht in the water with a captain and several children inside it accompanied by Disney cartoon characters (Goofy, Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse and Pluto). The children jump into the water with the cartoon characters and follow the bottles of Fanta to the bottom of the sea to a treasure chest which they pull out of the water. This they open up and find it filled with Fanta bottles which they drink and enjoy. All through the commercial we hear a song in English telling us what the children are doing and praising the Fanta drink. Fanta is referred to as “My friend, Fanta”. The commercial ends with it displaying two Fanta bottles with the character of Mickey Mouse standing next to them while speaker asks us in Danish to check out what is going on, on the Fanta labels.

Sender

The primary sender is Coca-Cola, but all the Disney characters constitute a secondary sender given that they account for an authority in the sense that children will recognise them from cartoons and connect them with something positive and fun.

Receiver

The children portrayed in the commercial looking for the treasure chest full of Fanta bottles function as representatives of the receiver. Receiver is, furthermore, also marked in the text with the pronoun “my” in the statement “Fanta, *my* friend” which appears both verbally and visually in the commercial. Here a distinction between a primary and secondary receiver is also possible. Primary receivers are children while their parents/adults are secondary receivers. The fact that the primary receivers are marked in the text makes them text-internal while the secondary receivers are text-external as they are not addressed explicitly or represented in the commercial.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

A verbal strategy implemented is having the speaker in a singing tone describe the wonder that the Fanta drink is. The slogan of “My friend Fanta” used several times both during the song as well as in writing at the end of the commercial is a verbal rhetorical strategy as it should give children the impression that Fanta has the quality of a companion rather than merely being a soft drink. Further to this, the use of intertextuality in the shape of cartoon characters would seem appealing to children as they would recognise them from cartoons as something fun. To further give the product a feel of being more than a simple drink, the bottles are placed in a treasure chest, thereby symbolising something valuable as we would expect such a chest to be filled with jewels and other valuables.

A visual strategy implemented in the commercial is to connect this product with something adventurous and exiting by placing the children on a yacht in the middle of the sea and letting them explore the deep waters. Furthermore, this commercial uses a model receiver in the sense that it depicts children doing what they do best; having fun and being adventurous which are attributes that children should be able to identify with.

Code

Since the theme song is in English it is doubtful that small children would understand most of the song, however, it can be argued that the images of children off on an adventure accompanied by famous cartoon characters are enough to intrigue a child and even without listening to the wordings the meaning of the commercial should be easily understood. Thus, the sender seems to communicate on the same level as the receiver.

Message

This commercial seems to give the impression that drinking Fanta is no less than an adventure. Fanta is more than just a soft drink, it is a companion which not only quenches your thirst but is also fun and fresh.

4.3.3.2 Analysis of Coca-Cola Commercial 1998 - A Commercial for Coca-Cola

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 11)

We are in a theatre. A man dressed as a clown is singing opera while looking and sounding very sad. A boy (about 4 years old) is standing on the side watching the clown, and you can tell that he is getting sad and feeling sorry for the clown. The boy then sees a Coca-Cola bottle placed on a chair next to him, he grabs it and walks onto the stage and hands it to the clown. The clown reacts with a smile, takes his hand and they walk off the stage together while the audience breaks out in applause. In the end the logo “Always Coca-Cola” appears at the bottom of the screen.

Receiver

The target group of this commercial seems to be very broad as the text-external receivers of this commercial based on the storyline could be viewed as people who need a little pick-me-up. The commercial playing on the feeling of being sad and supposedly needing to be cheered up is a state which people will be able to relate to. The receivers do not seem to be children per se, but this does not mean that some children will not find it appealing. As regards the text-internal receiver, this is the clown who gets a Cola from the boy.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

This is a case of a commercial with rather limited use of linguistics as there is hardly any text and no talk at all in the commercial. One of the few linguistic rhetorical strategies is the use of the slogan “Always Coca-Cola” which is written at the bottom right corner at the end. In addition, it could be argued that this is a case of intertextuality, as we know the product from earlier commercials.

As for visual rhetorical strategies, we first of all have the placement of the logo at the bottom right corner which is the last place you see before the commercial ends given that we read from the left to the right. Furthermore, the colour of the logo (red) is very visible as it appears on a dark background when the camera is zooming away from the scene. The colour red is not only visible in the logo but also on the clown’s mouth

which is of course a natural part of a clown attire, but what is interesting is that the camera zooms in on the mouth several times until it takes up most of the screen. Furthermore, also the curtain and the boxes are red. So the colour red does seem to be in focus, clearly a strategy to make people think about Coca-Cola.

Code

The commercial would be understandable to adults because we know the product and understand the symbolism in the commercial. As for children, they are as mentioned not the primary target group of this commercial, but it cannot be disregarded that some children will have watched this commercial. Depending on their age, children may understand that the boy gives the clown a Coca-Cola, because he is sad, but they would not necessarily understand the greater context/symbolism but rather interpret the commercial concretely based on the particular situation in the commercial.

Message

If the commercial is interpreted very concretely, the message could be that if you are sad and feeling down, you should drink a Coca-Cola and that even a (4 year old) child understands this. More broadly interpreted the slogan “Always Coca-Cola” suggests that no matter what you should choose Coca Cola, that it is always a good choice and will work in any situation.

4.3.3.3 Analysis of Coca-Cola Commercial 2008 - A Commercial for Coca-Cola Zero

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 12)

This commercial starts off with a car arriving at a diner while the screen reads: “The Breakup”. We then see a man in the diner being served a Coca-Cola Zero while waiting for his girlfriend. Upon arrival of the girlfriend his intention is revealed. He wants to break up with her but does not know how to convey that to her, which is why he takes a large sip of his Coca-Cola bottle. Suddenly the tables turn into poles with skimpily clad women coming down from them and the girlfriend baffles the man by saying what apparently was on his mind; that he cannot be with just one woman when there are so

many to choose from. The commercial ends with him riding a motorbike out of the diner with his Coca-Cola and the women attached to the bike as if they were water skiing. An enormous Coca-Cola Zero bottle is then shown with those same women rubbing up and down it while speaker says: “Break up – as it should be”.

Receiver

Receivers of this commercial are youngsters and young men in particular (“Ny reklamefilm”, 2007). The receivers are portrayed visually in the commercial making them text-internal. Most youngsters would be able to relate to the situation the young man is in of having to break up and not really being sure of how to go about it.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

In this case the commercial is actually an imitation of the movie genre in the sense that it is in the shape of a movie trailer (for a movie by the name of “Breakup - as it should be”) advertising for Coca-Cola Zero. Helping along this idea is speaker saying “From the makers of Coca-Cola Zero comes...” in a voice resembling the sort we usually hear when a movie trailer is introduced. In line with the idea of the commercial being a movie the man is portrayed as the hero with a problem. The product/brand is brought in as a helping hand in the sense that by drinking the product all his problems fade away and things turn out to be in his favour. The girlfriend completely understanding the boyfriend’s situation and even offering to be there for him when he wants to have some fun is an example of this.

Another verbal strategy is intertextuality. The receivers are assumed to know of Coca-Cola beforehand. This becomes obvious when in writing it says: “Coca-Cola Zero Pictures Presents”. Had people not known of Coca-Cola as a company or its products, this might have seemed confusing.

The sentence “...as it should be” is used several times. E.g. the name of the “movie” is “Breakup – as it should be” and at the end of the commercial it becomes a part of the slogan “Real taste Zero sugar - as it should be”. The content of the commercial along

with this slogan gives connotations of a product that is perfect (taste, but no sugar) which is how life should be. The breakup could be said to be an illustration of a breakup in a perfect world which sends the message that if everything was as Coca-Cola Zero, then life would be perfect.

Among the visual strategies is the use of specific colours. For instance the seating in the diner is red and one of the girls suddenly appearing wears black and red which are also the colours of the Coca-Cola Zero label. At one point a black puma also appears in a flash the black colour again representing the drink. However, it can also be argued that the puma appears as a symbol of something raw, edgy and exciting which most likely are the connotations the Coca-Cola Company wishes that consumers would relate to their new product.

Finally, the use of a specific font during the commercial also serves a purpose. When first introduced to the diner the bottom of the screen reads “The Breakup” in the same font as used on the Coca-Cola bottle’s label. The same is the case when the man is introduced as “The Hero”. This is to make consumers think of the product even when the product is not apparent.

Code

The commercial uses a code that should work with young men as it contains many things that would appeal to this group right from the way the problem is solved to the attractive women and the motor bike at the end.

Message

First of all, the message is that the product is supposed to have the real taste without the sugar which would seem as a perfect product. As mentioned, the story in the commercial could be said to convey that if everything was as Coca-Cola Zero, then life would be perfect.

4.3.4 Conclusion – Themes in Commercials

In the commercial from 1989 which advertises for Fanta, we see no focus on health or obesity. Rather, the commercial seems to portray Fanta as a friend and connects it with a treasure hunt, fun and famous cartoon characters. All aspects that would appeal to even rather small children. The commercial broadcasted 10 years later does not focus on health or obesity either. Coca-Cola is portrayed as a product that is the right choice in any kind of situation – which is reflected in the slogan “Always Coca-Cola”. The target group is not children in particular, but some children might enjoy the commercial. In 2008 health has, however, become an issue given that focus is on the product containing no sugar. With the slogan “Real Taste Zero Sugar” it is indicated that the product tastes like the original Coca-Cola even though it is without sugar. The message is that this is how things should be. The situation with the “Breakup - as it should be” is an example of how things would be in a world as perfect as Coca-Cola Zero. Based on this situation, the target group in this commercial is not children but rather young men – teenagers could be included. As a result, we do to some extent detect a change into more focus on health, given that the most recent commercial is for a product without sugar. Furthermore, the commercials no longer target children as was the case in 1989. Based on this, it can be argued that Coca-Cola has gone through a process of sense-making.

4.4 Ferrero

4.4.1 Ferrero’s CSR

4.4.1.1 Ferrero’s CSR Present Time

According to Ferrero’s main web page the company has in place several CSR initiatives. Among these are initiatives covering the areas of social programmes, the environment, communication policies and health. The area of social programmes aims at making a concrete contribution to help improve the living conditions and development of the population in the third world along with creating employment for them. Adding to this are the opportunities Ferrero puts at the employees’ disposal to further the development of those employees. These are company nurseries, scholarship programmes and employee discounts at supermarkets among others (Ferrero, n.d.).

4.4.1.1.1 Health

The area of health is also one Ferrero emphasises by sponsoring sporting disciplines which it has done since 1967 and supporting sporting associations. For instance, Nutella a Ferrero brand has since 2001 sponsored the Danish national handball teams (Nutella, n.d.). Moreover, it supports children by arranging tournaments and rallies and by supplying equipment along with supporting food education programmes such as EPODE an initiative of the European Public Health Alliance (EPHA) the aim of which is to facilitate “the adoption of healthier lifestyles in the everyday life (European Public Health Alliance, n.d.).

4.4.1.1.2 Marketing Policy

Ferrero acknowledges the existence of health problems related to over-eating which is why it has in place communication policies supporting initiatives which aim to teach children how to discern between advertising messages and programmes. Further to this, Ferrero aims to respect the self-regulatory codes of the International Chamber of Commerce ([ICC], n.d.; Ferrero, n.d.). The ICC approach to marketing and advertising is: “To promote high standards of ethics in marketing by business self-regulation through ICC international marketing codes, and to elaborate world business views on government initiatives affecting marketing and consumer protection” (International Chamber of Commerce CC, n.d.). Adding to this, the company has since 2007 decided not to target children in its commercials starting with the Nutella commercials, and since 2008 the company has followed the aforementioned “Kodeks for Fødevarereklamer” applying it on its entire range of brands (J. Hafsjold, personal communication, October 10, 2008).

In spite of having in place a position on CSR, the information on the company’s CSR is not very exhaustive giving the impression of a superficial approach to CSR.

4.4.1.2 Development in CSR at Ferrero

4.4.1.2.1 CSR at Ferrero in the 1990s

In 1995 The National Consumer Agency of Denmark released research on the content of milk in the product Kinder Milk-Slice claiming that one needs to consume 25 of those bars before it equals to a quarter of a litre of whole milk. This was not the idea the Kinder Milk-Slice commercials conveyed. On the contrary, they gave the impression that the Milk-Slice mainly consisted of milk and honey. Ferrero retorted with the threat of a lawsuit based on financial damage as a result of negative publicity as it claimed (based on its own research) that the calculations carried out by the National Consumer Agency of Denmark were wrong. Only 6.5 Milk-Slice bars were required to be consumed before the amount of milk equalled to a quarter of a litre. Executive of the National Consumer Agency of Denmark Henning Steensig maintained that the calculations made were correct if the point of departure was Ferrero's own description of contents (Vølver, 1995).

In 1996 an article appeared in Politiken on a commercial for Kinder Milk-Slice shown on TV. This portrayed a blonde and a brunette jogging next to a river when their run is interrupted by shouts such as "hey" and "wouw, wouw, wouw!" by men in a rowing boat. The blonde giggles as if she is flattered while the brunette with a sad look on her face asks the blonde how she manages to stay in such good shape. The blonde replies that she exercises and does not eat too much to what the brunette says that she does the same and has even forbidden herself sweets. "Really?" we hear from the blonde. "When I feel like having something good I always grab a Kinder Milk-Slice". Speaker takes over saying that the bar is "a lot of milk with a drip of honey between two slices of cake which give you a fresh, light taste". Politiken asked Ferrero's marketing director Carsten Hecquet if this commercial did not arouse in people a sense of false security to which he replied that he did not believe that the commercial made it appear that consuming a Milk-Slice would help you stay in shape, rather it offered an alternative to e.g. a chocolate bar when you felt like something sweet. Admitting that fruit might be healthier than a Milk-Slice, Carsten believed that having something delicious once in a while prevents life from becoming dull. Furthermore, he compared having a Milk-Slice with yoghurt. Head of department at the National Food Agency of Denmark and doctor

Lars Ovesen strongly disagreed and warned against accepting this commercial at its face value, as he did not find any notable difference between Kinder Milk-Slice and other sweets (Rothenborg 1996).

In 1998 a food law was tabled in the Parliament to tighten the rules as regards placement of products. This put milkslice like products usually placed next to milk and other dairy products considered being healthy at the risk of losing their attractive placement. A consultant at the Danish Consumer Council Karin Andresen commented that the placement of milkslice like products next to other dairy products (milk, yoghurt etc.) had actually been an issue as it gave the impression that the product was healthy. The Consumer Council saw the marketing of milkslice like products as rather problematic. Ferrero manager Paul Hörlin on the other hand did not feel the need for a tightening as he believed that consumers' ability to make sensible choices should not be underestimated (Kyster, 1998).

In 1999, 2643 readers of the newspaper Politiken participated in a poll to determine what they believed were the worst commercials of 1998. The previously mentioned Kinder Milk-Slice commercial with the blonde and the brunette shown jogging came out as the winner one reason for which was the dim-witted behaviour of the women along with their belief that consuming a Milk-Slice would help them stay in shape (Rothenborg, 1999).

4.4.1.2.2 CSR at Ferrero in 2000-2008

In 2001 Ferrero decided for Nutella to officially sponsor the Danish national handball teams. Ferrero director of marketing Stephanie Illgner argued that Danish handball is world-class and, thus, it was only appropriate that it was now, according to Ferrero, associated with a world-class product. Furthermore, she hoped that the exposure of the handball players would lead to an increased interest among youngsters in sports, handball in particular (Nutella, n.d).

Until 2007 Ferrero had been adamant that it would not actively market Nutella as the company was sure that the product was strong enough to sell itself, however, in 2007 a

sponsorship did not seem adequate any longer as Ferrero felt that Nutella deserved a lot more attention. Therefore, it produced three commercials with the men's national handball team focusing on the relationship of the players with Nutella throughout their childhood (Just, 2007). The company was sure to stress that the target audience of these commercials were adult viewers. Ferrero did not find that combining things such as sports and chocolate was inappropriate, but rather thought that this combination was quite suitable. This in the sense that the Nutella commercials promoted a healthy lifestyle with room for Nutella once in a while ("For første", 2007).

The following year the cooperation between the national handball team and Nutella was criticised by paediatrician Vibeke Manniche. She referred to the mix of Nutella and athletes as role models as a very dangerous one sending a very bad signal to children and youngsters. She considered Nutella to be on par with candy as it contains a lot of sugar and fat. The general manager and general secretary of the national handball team who entered the agreement with Nutella had now been replaced with Morten Stig Christensen who refused to speak on the health aspect of the sponsorship. He added that speaking negatively of an ongoing sponsorship was not an option and that the health aspect would be considered at the time of a possible renewal of the contract with Nutella (Zahle, 2008).

4.4.2 Conclusion – Ferrero's CSR

A slight development is seen for Ferrero regarding its attitude towards advertising to children and obesity starting from 1995 until now. In the 90s no real focus seems to have been on the fact that Ferrero products might be unhealthy. The company did not seem to have any qualms about portraying some of its products, Kinder Milk-Slice in particular, as being a healthy snack even if research proved otherwise. Advertising directly to children was not considered a problem either. At the turn of the millennium Ferrero seemed to turn over a new leaf. In 2001 the Ferrero brand Nutella was made an official sponsor of the national handball team, thus, actively showing its support for sports and a healthy lifestyle. Six years later it went even further by producing somewhat controversial commercials for Nutella with some of the handball players. The

discussion of whether or not it is sensible for a handball team to advertise for a product such as Nutella continued in 2008. The handball team and Nutella, however, are happy with the arrangement. The company's attitude towards advertising to children is, however, changed now as it emphasises the fact that these commercials are targeted at adults. In fact this same year it completely stops advertising to children. As a result, it can be said that Ferrero has moved from merely focusing on the legal as well as the profit oriented aspects of business (bottom two tiers of the CSR pyramid) to also giving importance to ethical and philanthropic responsibilities. Today Ferrero's CSR efforts relating to ethical responsibilities include responsible advertising by supporting initiatives which aim to teach children how to discern between advertising messages and programmes. Furthermore, supporting sporting events as well as providing sporting equipment to children shows an interest in philanthropy. The desire to help create employment in third world countries as well as help better their living conditions would also fall into this category. Even though it seems that Ferrero does focus on CSR to a great extent, this is a company that to an extent sends mixed signals. It claims to be a responsible company but at the same time it makes commercials such as the one for Nutella. Whether or not this is an irresponsible move depends on how one "reads" these commercials. A need is felt for this company to adopt a more consistent way of conduct.

4.4.3 Analysis of Ferrero Commercials

4.4.3.1 Analysis of Ferrero Commercial 1989 - A Commercial for Kinder Egg

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 13)

This commercial is in the shape of a cartoon. It starts with a talking chocolate egg introducing itself as a Kinder Egg filled with surprises. It goes on to explain that it is made of milk chocolate and a lot of milk and finally that it contains collectible toys emphasising that the egg is not meant for children under the age of three.

Sender

The primary sender of this commercial is Ferrero, but it could be argued that the talking Kinder Egg acts as a secondary sender as it is a representative of the product.

Receiver

This commercial addresses children as primary receivers and their parents as secondary receivers as they most likely are the ones to acquire the chocolate egg for their children. The primary receivers are text-internal and marked in the sense that the talking egg addresses them directly with the sentence “Hi friends” at the beginning of the commercial and several times it mentions that the chocolate is for children. The secondary receivers, in this case parents/adults, are text-external as they are not directly marked in the text.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

A rhetorical strategy implemented is the certain way the product is presented. In this case the way the chocolate egg addresses children calling them its friends and then telling a little story about itself in a sweet, friendly and child like tone of voice should help maintain the interest of children. It also puts forth the argument that it is full of milk, and one thing children know is that milk is good for you. Thus, children would get the impression that not only is it chocolate but it is also good for them. A visual strategy used is designing the commercial as a cartoon, thereby, making the egg come alive rather than showing the real thing. Making it a cartoon should automatically make it appealing to children. Adding to this, the trees in the commercial have the same colour as the Kinder Egg which also makes one think of chocolate.

Code

The combination of a talking cartoon chocolate egg with a small toy should instantly appeal to a child. Furthermore, keeping the description of the product very simple with a friendly almost childish tone of voice shows an understanding of what would grasp the attention of a child. Thus, sender of this commercial seems to manage approaching the receiver using the receiver's own code.

Message

The message is that the Kinder Egg gets you excitement, toys and chocolate which is made from lots of milk, all at the same time.

4.4.3.2 Analysis of Ferrero Commercial 1998 - A Commercial for Kinder Surprise Egg

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 14)

A mother comes home from shopping groceries and from her basket she picks up two Kinder Surprise Eggs and says to the boy that they are for him and his sister. The boy grabs them and hides them behind his back and wants his little sister to guess what it is. He then helps her by saying that when you shake it, it says “click click”, when you open it, you say “wauv”, and when you eat it, you say “mmm”. She then guesses that it is Kinder Surprise and they all smile. Speaker then says “Yes, Kinder Surprise Egg is excitement every time, new toys and lovely chocolate with lots of milk, Kinder Surprise gives you something to look forward to every time”.

Receiver

The text-external receiver would in this case be children probably at the age between 5 and 10 years based on the children in the commercial which are the text-internal receivers. Furthermore, the product as such does not appeal to older children. However, it could also be argued that parents account for a receiver as they could be attracted by the harmonic situation depicted in the commercial. Hence, the primary receiver could both be children and adults, but as these children are not necessarily capable of buying the product on their own the parents could also constitute a secondary receiver.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

As for the linguistic rhetorical strategies, the use of description is very much used in this commercial as we have description of the product attributes by the boy as well as by speaker. In addition, we see how to use the product which is verbalised by simple core words and sounds which give positive connotations; we see and hear the girl shaking the egg, the boy saying “wauv” when seeing the toy and the mother saying “mmm” when tasting the chocolate. Thus, the product attributes are repeated several times. In addition, the commercial uses a model receiver, in the sense that it depicts a harmonic family.

As regards visual rhetorical strategies, the use of colour should be mentioned. The colour orange is important for Kinder, and in this commercial the girl wears an orange shirt and the boy has a shirt with stripes of somewhat the same colour. So, this could help children remember the colour when they go to the store if they are not able to remember the name of the product. In addition, the story in the commercial with the mother and the children represents the context we imagine the product being used in and should, thus, give us connotations of a similar situation in our own home. Adding to this, music is playing throughout the commercial. In the beginning a harmonica is playing, but when the girl guesses that it is Kinder Surprise, the theme song for Kinder starts playing.

Code

To be understandable this commercial must use the same code as Danish children and adults. With this in mind, we believe that this commercial should be understandable to both children and adults as it shows a very concrete and familiar situation of how the product is used with the mother coming home from shopping groceries and bringing home a little something for the children which could be related to Daniel Miller's concept of a treat. In addition, the commercial manages to repeat the product attributes several times and actually also shows them, so there is a good chance that children will understand the commercial.

Message

The message that this commercial seems to send is that with Kinder Surprise you get both excitement, toys and chocolate which is made from lots of milk. The commercial connects the product with a happy situation, no one is arguing, everyone is happy and smiling all the time which gives a positive image of Kinder Surprise.

4.4.3.3 Analysis of Ferrero Commercial 1998 - A Commercial for Nutella

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 15)

The commercial is set to take place in a desert resembling the Wild West. At the beginning of the commercial we see a jar of Nutella while speaker says “Look in Nutella and find...” Then the image changes, Lucky Luke appears and speaker says “Lucky Luke the wildest hero from the wildest west”. From here on the commercial resembles a cartoon. Next, examples of the other figures that can be collected appear while speaker says "You can collect as much as 12 figures”. In the end we see a jar of Nutella along with examples of the figures that can be collected, and Lucky Luke comes out of the Nutella jar and fires a couple of shots. Meanwhile speaker says “Meet your western friends soon – with Nutella”. During the commercial, western like music is playing.

Sender

The primary sender is Ferrero who owns Nutella, but Lucky Luke also acts as a secondary sender in this commercial.

Receiver

As for the text-external receiver, this is children, given that the commercial is made like a cartoon and because children would want to get Lucky Luke toys. Naturally, adults may also be fond of Nutella, but they would probably not want to buy it because of this particular commercial. Speaker also addresses the receiver directly by using expressions such as “you” and “yours” making receiver text-internal. Again we have both a primary and a secondary receiver, the primary being children who then influence the secondary receiver i.e. their parents/adults to buy the product.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

As for linguistic rhetorical strategies, we have a case of intertextuality as we know both Lucky Luke and Nutella. Thus, the commercial does not need to explain us who or what they are but can go straight to the point and deliver the message. The message is delivered by means of explanation as speaker explains to us what you get from buying

the product. The use of persuasion should, however, not be overlooked as he also uses adjectives to make it sound more exciting. An example of this is when speaker says “The wildest hero from the wildest west” underlining the cowboy theme. Another aspect that underlines the western theme of the commercial is the music which plays throughout the commercial. Finally, as mentioned receiver is directly approached. Examples of this are, “find your friends...” and “you can collect...”.

The logo of Nutella is visible on the jar and we see it several times, but it is also apparent on the cardboard when we see examples of the different figures that can be collected. The colour of the logo which is red (with exception of the “n” in Nutella which is black) is also part of what makes it so visible. The colour red also matches Lucky Luke’s red scarf. Other colours worth mentioning are green and yellow. On the jar there is a thick green line where it says Lucky Luke in yellow writing. This is written in the same font as when we see the names of the figures you can collect on the cardboard. Adding to this, the whole commercial resembles a cartoon which should appeal to children.

Code

This commercial should be understandable to Danish children as it contains a relatively simple message: buy Nutella and get a Lucky Luke figure or a figure of one of his friends. Speaker explains this message and the pictures support it. Furthermore, children would know who Lucky Luke as well as what Nutella is. So, there seems to be no reason why this commercial should not be understandable to children.

Message

The message of this commercial is pretty straightforward, namely, that if you buy Nutella, you get a Lucky Luke figure or one of his friends.

4.4.3.4 Analysis of Ferrero Commercial 2008 – A Commercial for Nutella

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 16)

The men from the Danish national handball team are eating breakfast. Joachim Boldsen is taking a bite of a piece of bread with Nutella when Anders Oechsler asks him how he became a good handball player. Boldsen then recalls a situation from his childhood where he, his father and his two sisters were sitting at the breakfast table. The mother placed a jar of Nutella on the table, and all three children reached out to get it. Boldsen was, however, the quickest and took the jar of Nutella and hurried away from the table, but he had to get past his father as well as his sisters who were trying to stop him. He managed to get past them, and we see him eating a piece of bread with Nutella. The picture then changes and we are back in the present, and Boldsen answers “because of the good taste” while taking another bite. We then see a glass of Nutella after which it says: “you are at the top”. “Official supplier to the Danish national handball teams”.

Sender

The primary sender is Ferrero which is visible in the sense that we see the logo on the jar of Nutella several times during the commercial. We also have a secondary sender in the form of the Danish men’s handball team in this case represented by Anders Oechsler and Joachim Boldsen; persons most people are likely to be familiar with after the team’s success at both the European and the World Championship.

Receiver

As mentioned earlier, Nutella no longer directs its commercial at children, and according to Julie Hafsjold (personal communication, August 12, 2008) at Nutella, this commercial is directed at adults and is not broadcasted around children’s programmes. As a result, the commercial is not targeted at children per se, but that does not mean that they do not watch and enjoy the commercial given that many children do not restrict themselves to children’s programmes. In addition, the product as such would also appeal to not only adults but also children and teenagers. Therefore, the text-external receiver of this commercial could include both children, young people but also adults and as a result the entire family. We are in no way implying that Nutella is targeting

children directly, but merely drawing attention to the fact that this is not a guarantee that children do not watch and are influenced by the commercial.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

One of the few linguistic rhetorical strategies in this commercial is the use of intertextuality which means that no presentation of the product is necessary. Furthermore, the use of the slogan: “you are at the top” implies that Nutella will get you to the top. At the same time as this slogan is shown, the words: “Official supplier to the Danish national handball teams” are also written on the screen which brings connotations to companies writing on their product that they deliver to the royal family. As mentioned, the handball team is used as a secondary sender. It could be argued that the team constitutes a model sender in the sense that these men are rather fit, good at sports and also seem nice and fun. By making them the secondary sender, all these things are also connected to Nutella. Therefore, Nutella does not appear as a particularly unhealthy product.

A significant colour in this commercial is red which is used in Nutella’s logo and also for the track suits worn by the players which underlines the colour of the logo. Naturally, the track suits of the players are often red due to the colour being important in the Danish flag, but what is striking is that all the players wear the exact same red track suits, no one is wearing something a bit different which is not to be expected. Furthermore, the logo is quite visible due to this colour and the size of the letters compared to the jar. It should be mentioned that the first letter “n” is written in black making a good contrast to the red colour. What is also noticeable is that the exact same technique is used for the word “top” i.e. black starting letter and the rest is red signalling a connection between the two. Finally, Nutella is shown on a table together with juice, milk, fruit, bread and the like. All important and healthy parts of a breakfast.

Code

The primary code in this commercial is using the men’s handball team as representatives of Nutella, given that most Danes know who they are and connect them

with something positive due to their popularity. Another way of communicating successfully to the target group is by using the familiar situation with the three children sitting at the breakfast table, the mother setting the table and the father reading his newspaper - a situation familiar to many Danish families.

Message

First of all, Nutella seems to be connected to fun given that this and the other Nutella commercials featuring the men's handball team all include a funny element. Second of all, Nutella is seen being consumed by the men's Danish national handball team which results in the product being connected to sports and thereby also something healthy. The same is also achieved when the product is shown together with other healthy breakfast products. There seems to be two different ways of interpreting this. On the one hand, it could be interpreted as if it is acceptable to eat a piece of bread with Nutella for breakfast if you also have fruit, drink milk and juice and if you exercise as much as the players do. On the other hand, it could be interpreted as if Nutella is portrayed as a somewhat healthy and natural part of a breakfast and that eating it will make you a good handball player at the same level as Joachim Boldsen. As a result, it depends on how critical a view you decide to have.

4.4.3.5 Analysis of Ferrero Commercial 2008 - A Commercial for Kinder Milk-Slice

Summary (For Stills see Appendix 17)

Alexander Kølpin a well known Danish ballet instructor is introduced instructing two students. For those who might not know who he is, this is explained in writing at the bottom of the screen. Then he comes home to his little daughter with groceries and upon opening a fridge a Kinder Milk-Slice falls out which he catches. He is then shown dancing around with his daughter followed by a description of the Milk-Slice. Finally, the daughter has a Milk-Slice of which she gives her father a bite. The commercial ends with the display of the aforementioned product.

Sender

In the case of this commercial we have a primary as well as a secondary sender. Primary sender is obviously the company Ferrero as it has decided for the communication to take place. Alexander Kølpin can due to his celebrity status be said to function as a secondary sender.

Receiver

Even if the product is actually meant for children it can be argued that adults especially women are primary receivers. This in the sense that women might find Alexander Kølpin attractive in the role of a caring father who brings a treat (Kinder Milk-Slice) for his daughter. They might also to a higher extent than men be able to relate to the situation of bringing home groceries. Primary receivers are then text-external as they are not visually represented in the commercial. However, we do not believe that men can be left out entirely as some would definitely be able to put themselves in Alexander Kølpin's shoes. Not the one's of a ballet instructor but rather a father. This would make receiver text-internal as well. Children, thus, become secondary text-internal receivers represented in the shape of the little girl as the product is actually meant for them.

Genre

Rhetorical Strategies

A linguistic strategy used is that of description. Speaker in this commercial describes the attributes while we also see them in writing letting us know that a Milk-Slice contains 40 % milk and honey and no colouring agents or preservatives. This is a way of saying that this is a very simple product containing ingredients that are good for you. The slogan at the end "Ganske enkelt" (Simply) adds to the notion of this being a simple and "light" product. Furthermore, this commercial depicts the model receiver in an idyllic family situation of a parent coming home from work and spending quality time with his child. Kinder Milk-Slice is shown as being a part of this harmonic situation. But unlike older Kinder commercials where a mother is shown bringing home groceries this one is a more contemporary one as we see a father in that situation.

As regards visual rhetorical strategies, the colour white has been used a lot. This is a very “bright” commercial as the room in which the ballet dancers are shown rehearsing is white. Also the setting in Alexander Kølpin’s house is very bright and almost white. This might be an attempt to make receivers relate the white colour to the milk used in the Kinder product. Furthermore, using Alexander Kølpin, a personality for whom staying fit and active is very important, and letting him take a bite of his daughter’s Kinder Milk-Slice also signals that if someone like him can consume a product like this then “normal” people should not have a problem with it. Another strategy used is that of music. The same classical tune is played from beginning to end. This is music that most likely will not appeal to children but rather adults which goes to show that this is a commercial targeted at adults even though the product is meant for children which becomes obvious when we see the little girl having the Kinder Milk-Slice.

Code

This commercial portrays the same type of situation as earlier Kinder commercials but this time by adding a celebrity who should appeal to adults (mostly women), using classical music and ballet and portraying a concrete situation of a parent coming home from work, spending time with his child and then giving her a treat should be understandable to most adults.

Message

The commercial depicting a father having fun and spending quality time with his daughter while the little girl has a Kinder Milk-Slice sends the message that this product is/should be a part of such situations. More than being a treat the Milk-Slice also contains lots of milk which everyone knows is good for your health thereby almost making it appear as if this product is good for you.

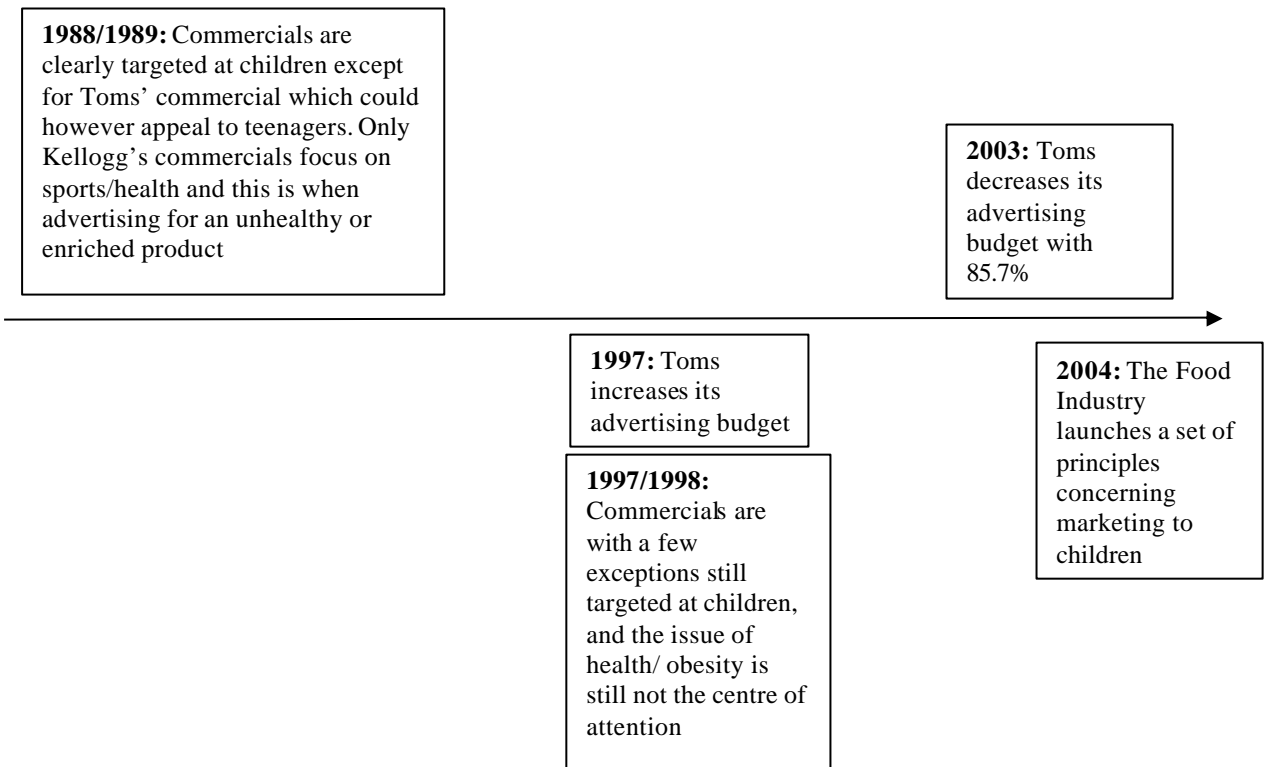
4.4.4 Conclusion – Themes in Commercials

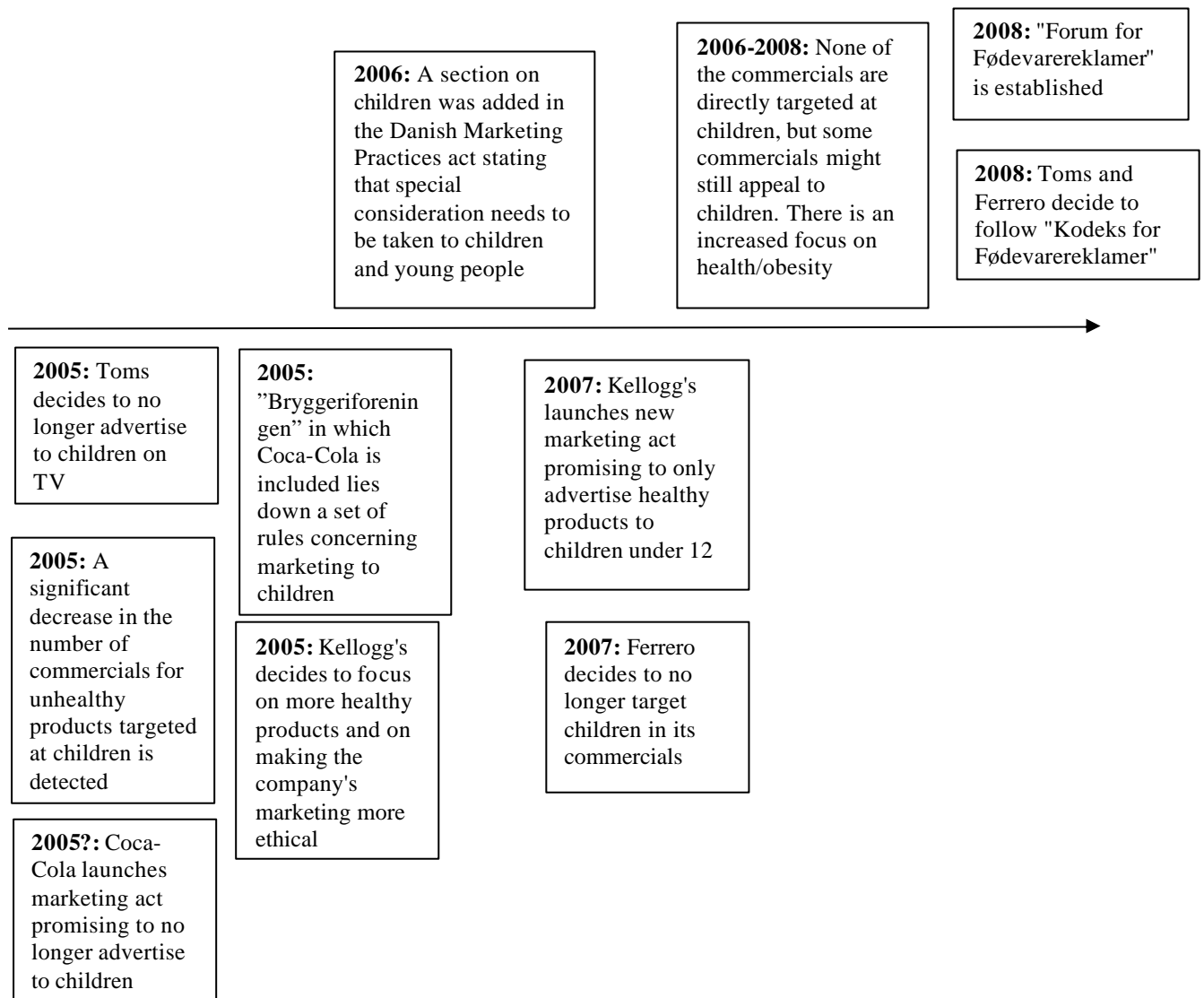
What is similar between the Kinder commercials (Kinder Milk-Slice and Kinder Surprise Egg) right from 1989 to 2008 is the content of milk, or rather the focus on the high content of milk in the products. The first Kinder Egg commercial from 1989 is

directly targeted at children making sure that they understand that this is a product for them. It is everything a child could be interested in. It is something fun as it has a surprise element, chocolate and a toy. That the commercial is in the shape of a cartoon only makes it more appealing to children. In 1998 the commercial is still targeted at children but adults are also part of the target group. The shape of it has changed but the content remains somewhat the same. It is a fun product containing lots of milk (the only aspect relating to health). An aspect that has been added to this commercial is the happy family situation we experience when the mother brings home Kinder Eggs for her kids. We see the bonding between the mother and her children. The Nutella commercial from 1998 resembling a cartoon with Lucky Luke also targets children by associating the Nutella product with something familiar to them. It gives them a feeling of making new friends when getting the chocolate spread. Or so it seems that the Nutella commercial wishes to signal when speaker says: "Meet your western friends soon – with Nutella". As a result no consideration as to health or obesity seems to be taken. But in 2008 things seem to have taken a somewhat different turn. The issue of health has been taken into the picture by connecting Nutella to the world of sports and activity. The product is shown to be a part of the breakfast table which also consists of other healthy products such as bread and fruit. Even though not targeting children directly it does not mean that they will not see or enjoy this commercial. A situation familiar to many people of a family having breakfast together again touches upon the element of family values just as the 1998 Kinder Egg commercial. This aspect seems to also be a part of the 2008 Kinder Milk-Slice commercial. Here we again have the bonding between a parent (Alexander Kølpin) and his daughter - family values. Health wise we are told that the product contains no preservatives and colouring agents and yet again lots of milk – 40 % to be exact. But the interesting change here is that this commercial is not directed at children but adults instead. This change is also highly understandable as all Ferrero brands in Denmark from 2008 have decided to follow "Kodeks for Fødevarereklamer". This development indicates that a sense-making process has taken place to some extent.

5 Timeline

We here provide a timeline of the most significant events in relation to company as well as society's attitude towards marketing of unhealthy foods at children. This should help provide a better overview of the development before we conclude on our findings. The year Coca-Cola's introduces its marketing act is, however, an approximation from our side as it was not possible to retrieve any information on this from the company.





6 Conclusion

As can be seen from the timeline, a change does indeed seem to have happened in the attitude towards marketing of unhealthy foods directed at children. A change which has occurred especially within the past five years where we have seen both society and companies embracing a more ethical attitude towards this issue. This has resulted in a stricter Marketing Practices Act, the establishment of “Forum for Fødevarereklamer” along with companies in the food business introducing marketing policies restricting themselves with regard to advertising towards children.

All the companies investigated in this thesis seem to have changed their attitude to marketing of unhealthy foods to children. As a result, today all the companies in some way or another support responsible marketing towards children. Toms and Ferrero have joined the before mentioned “Kodeks for Fødevarereklamer”. Kellogg’s has a marketing policy which states that the company will not market unhealthy products towards children under the age of 12. Finally, Coca-Cola has a somewhat similar marketing policy the only difference being that none of the company’s products are advertised directly to children under 12.

In addition to this, all the companies also support a healthy lifestyle in one way or another. Toms is for example very focused on CSR and especially health, the goal being to communicate how to combine a healthy lifestyle with the occasional spoiling of oneself. For Kellogg’s the focus on health is especially on how health is connected with eating breakfast, but Kellogg’s also focuses on health by e.g. cooperating with “Dansk Skoleidræt”. Coca-Cola incorporates health into the company’s CSR by, for example, sponsoring various sporting events and by developing physical fitness and nutrition education programmes in collaboration with governmental agencies and health experts. Finally, Ferrero also supports a healthy lifestyle by sponsoring different sports, along with supporting food education programmes.

As a result, there does seem to be good intentions among the companies given that they all more or less incorporate health into their CSR policies and because they take into consideration the effect that their marketing can have on children and their eating habits.

The question is, however, whether this is reflected in the companies' commercials over time or if they are simply lofty principles in an attempt to avoid attacks from the press and critical consumers and in the worst case stricter legislation.

When looking through the different analyses of commercials, we do in some of the cases detect a development towards more focus on health and a move away from advertising towards children. The first Coca-Cola commercial was, for example, targeted at children and used famous cartoon characters to attract children, but in the most recent commercial the target group is young people and the commercial is for a light product. When it comes to Kellogg's, the commercials all in one way or another focused on health (even the ones for Frosties which could of course be discussed how ethical this is). There is, however, a change in the sense that the company no longer advertises for Frosties and other unhealthy products. Therefore, the most recent commercial is for an adult product. Adding to this, this commercial focuses more on health than the previous commercials given that it, for example, mentions the term BMI. Also most of the Ferrero commercials have tended to incorporate aspects related to health in one way or another, either by focusing on the product containing lots of milk or by connecting the product with sports. A development has, however, happened as regards the target group. Whereas the first commercials were clearly targeted at children, the most recent ones tend to address the parents even though the commercials are still for a children's product. Finally, when looking at Toms the picture is not so clear given that none of the analysed commercials are directly targeted at children – even though the last commercial could be understood and enjoyed by children down to the age of 10. Furthermore, there is no focus on health or obesity in any of the analysed commercials.

Consequently, we do to some extent see the commercials becoming more ethical in the sense that they are no longer directly targeted at children and because the companies no longer advertise for unhealthy products directly to children. Nevertheless, it cannot be disregarded that the companies who on the one side preach about health in many cases still advertise for their unhealthy products. Toms still advertises for candy and chocolate, Ferrero still for Nutella and Kinder, and Coca-Cola still advertises for Coca-

Cola Zero and Light – even though these are made without sugar they are still not healthy. What is different is that the commercials are not targeted at children – at least not directly.

7 Putting our Findings into Perspective

We concluded that a change has appeared in the attitude towards marketing of unhealthy foods directed at children in the sense that the companies all incorporate health into their CSR and because they no longer target children directly in their commercials for unhealthy foods. This change mainly occurred in the past five years and is thus quite recent, some companies having acted a bit faster than others. Yet, it does seem as if it did take quite a bit of time and pressure from the public, before the companies decided to restrain themselves with regard to advertising towards children. Obesity among children and the role of commercials in obesity has been debated for quite a few years now, yet it was not until a couple of years ago that the companies decided to introduce marketing acts. Of course, the marketing acts along with the establishment of “Forum for Fødevarereklamer” are a proof of how companies are ahead of government legislation, but this could be in the hope that the authorities will see this as an act of good fate and not introduce even stricter legislation.

Today, the companies have, however, committed to responsible marketing and, thus, do not target children directly in their commercials for unhealthy foods. However, does this mean that they can wash their hands and say that their commercials do not appeal to children? Is the problem of advertising towards children so simple that it can be solved by simply arguing that commercials are not targeted at children? The answer is no. Take, for example, the most recent analysed Nutella commercial which is targeted at the family, but which obviously still could appeal to children. Adding to this, as has also been mentioned earlier, children do watch TV around adult programmes and as a result also watch the commercials broadcasted around these programmes and could, therefore, potentially become targets of these commercials. What is more, most of the companies with marketing policies define children as being under the age of 12 or 13. So, in reality the companies could target their commercials at young teenagers and still appear ethical because they have a marketing policy.

Another aspect worth mentioning is the fact that focus seems to have been on commercials on television, most likely due to the visibility of this medium. This left companies with plenty other opportunities to market their products to children, as was

also discovered during the analyses of the companies' marketing and CSR up through the years. On some websites it was, for example, possible to play games or participate in competitions clearly targeted at children, other companies advertised to children via mobiles or put toys together with the product. Recently, however, it seems that also other media have achieved increased attention and that it is now the general opinion that all channels should be included when considering children. The Consumer Ombudsman has specified this in his guideline, and "Forum for Fødevarereklamer" also acknowledges that companies cannot market their products to children in any media – not just television. In spite of this, it is still possible to find websites with games clearly targeted at children. When entering Kinder's Danish website, there is e.g. a link to a website www.magic-kinder.com where exactly this is possible. Accordingly, it seems to be an area where there is still room for improvement, and the extent to which advertising targeted at children still takes place through other channels is an area in need of further research.

As a result, the issue with advertising to children is still far from resolved because it is not as simple as it is often brought down to being. Commercials targeted at families can and do still appeal to children, yet the marketing acts do not take this into account leaving room for the companies to exploit this loophole. Adding to this, there are recent examples of companies using other channels than TV when trying to market themselves towards children. Thus, even though we do see companies becoming more ethical when it comes to advertising towards children, the marketing acts have not resulted in children being completely protected from commercials for unhealthy products.

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The Influence of CSR on Marketing to Children over Time

An Analysis of the Food Industry's Attitude towards Advertising to Children from 1988-2008

APPENDIX FOLDER



Cand.ling.merc. Master's Thesis

Copenhagen Business School 15 December 2008

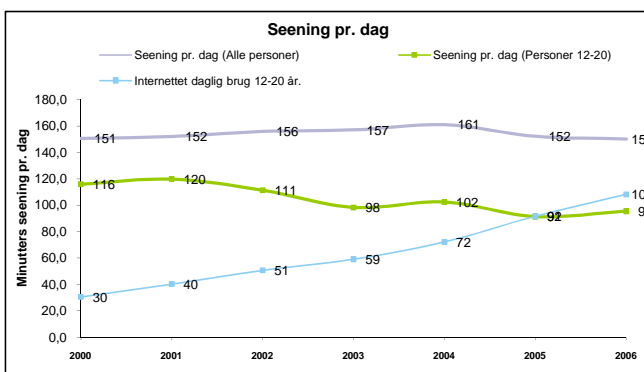
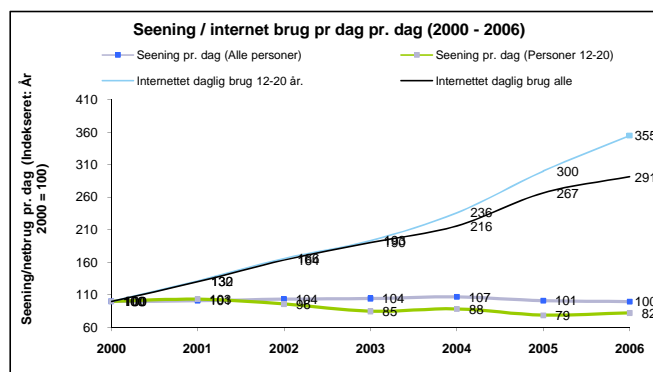
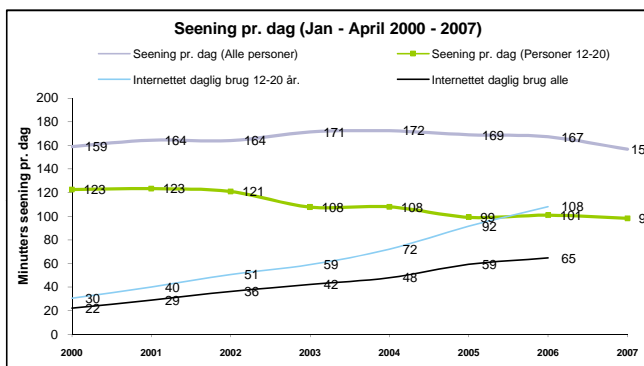
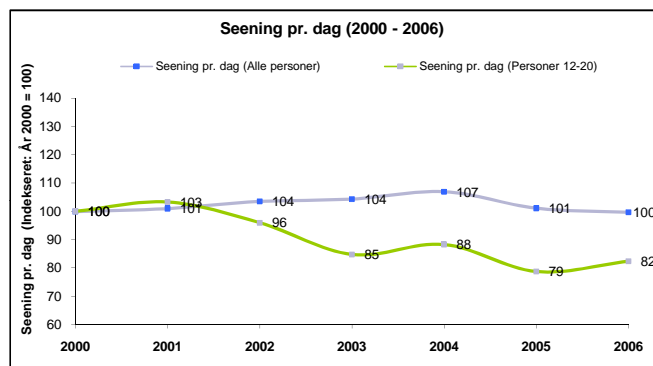
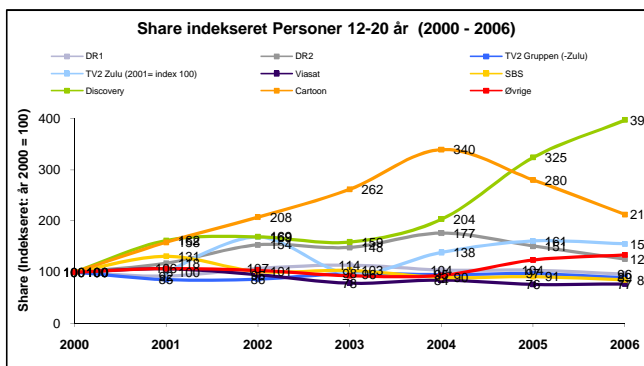
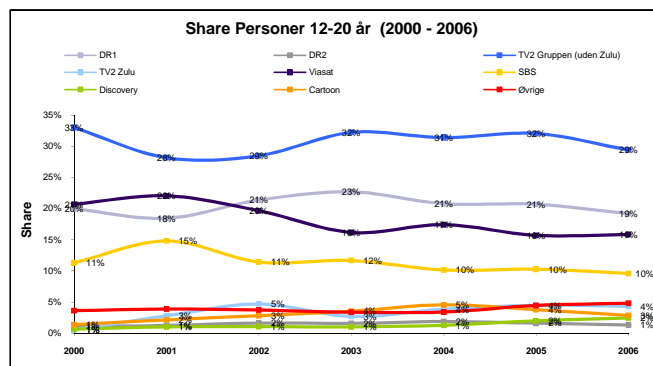
Written by: Farah Noreen Ahmed

Christina Vandborg Nielsen

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Number of pages: 120

Appendix 1



Source: J. Theilgaard, personal communication, June 23, 2008

Stills – Toms commercial 1988



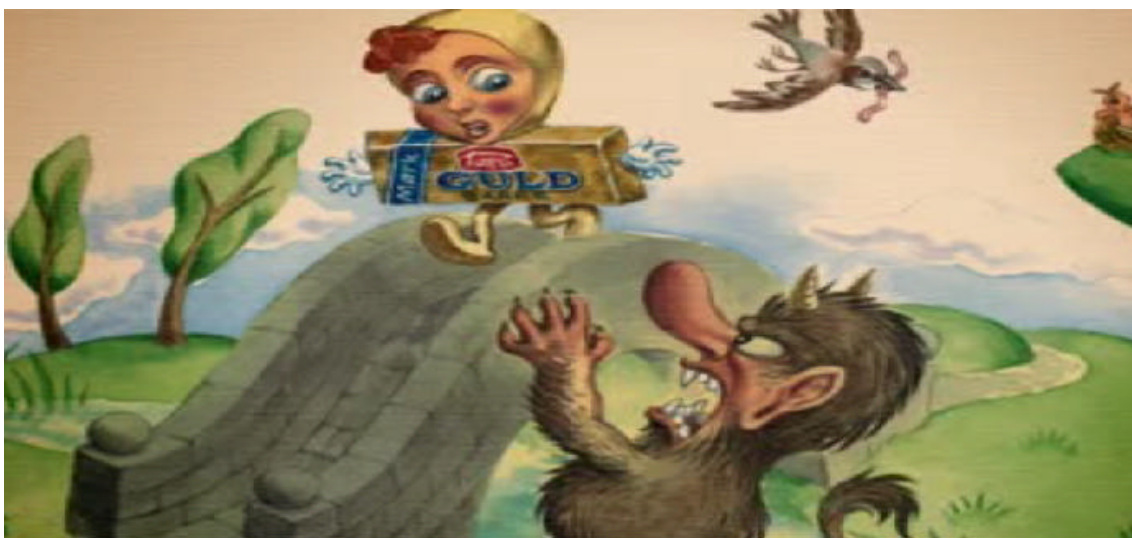


Stills – Toms commercial 1998



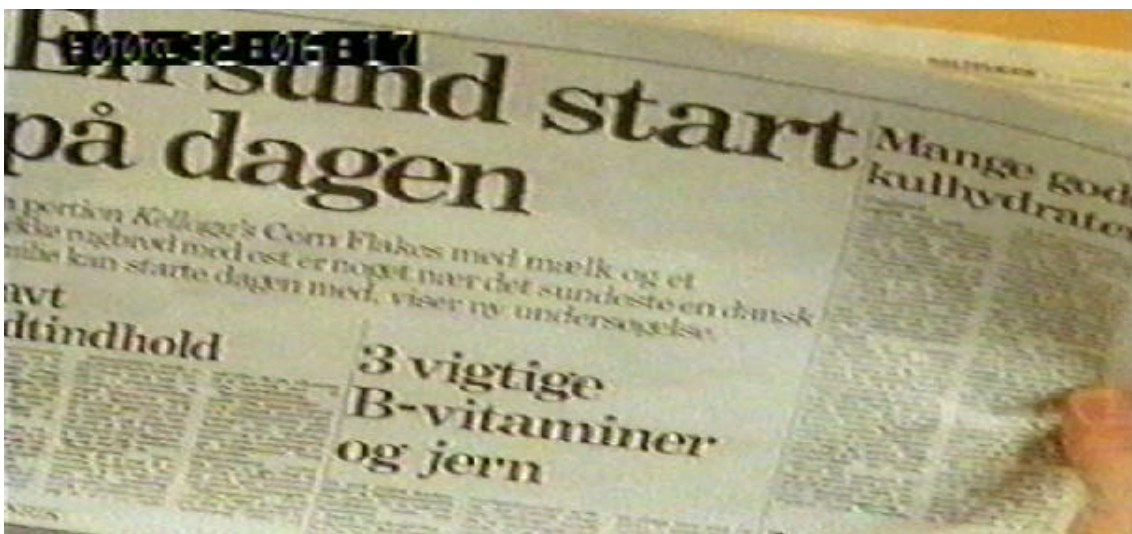


Toms commercial 2006/2007





Stills – Kellogg's commercial 1989





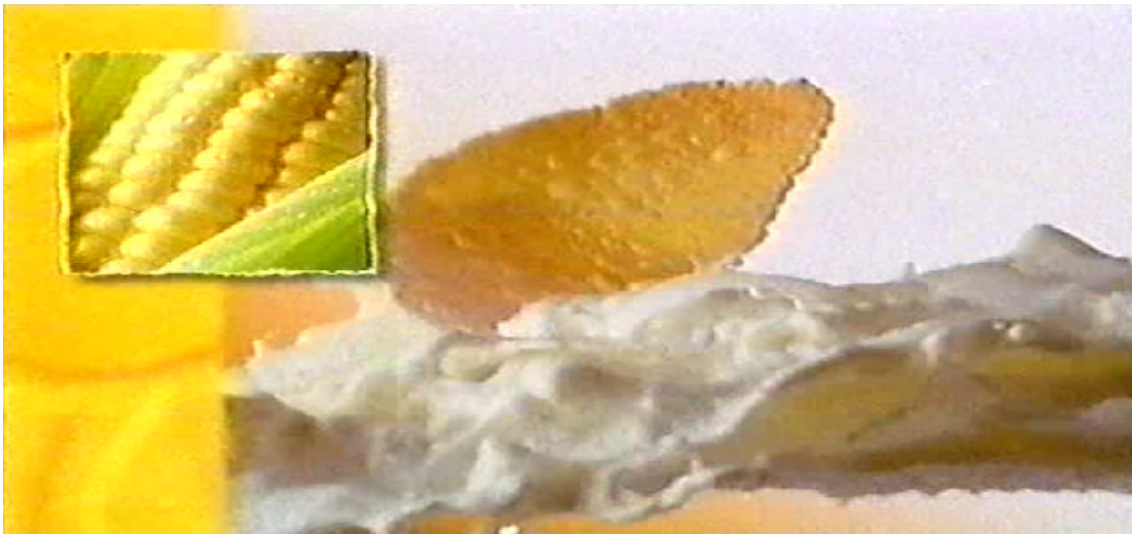
Stills – Kellogg's commercial 1989





Stills – Kellogg's commercial 1998



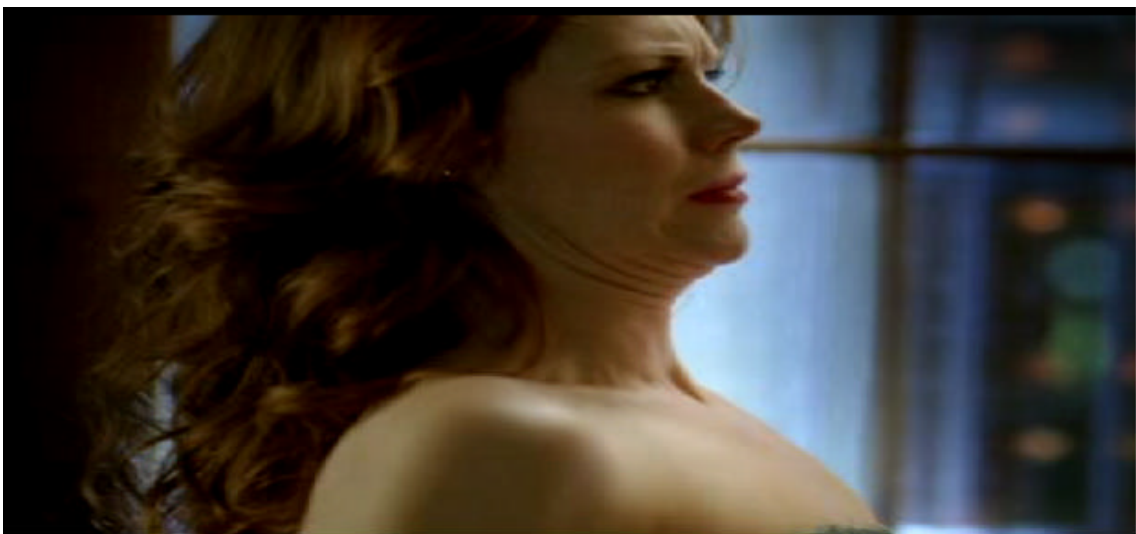


Stills – Kellogg's commercial 1998



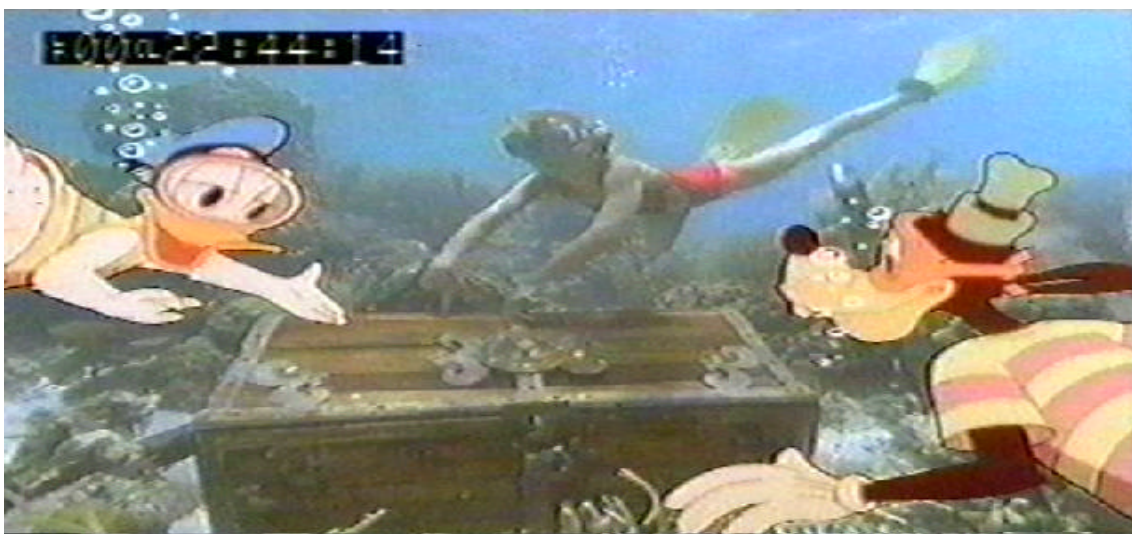


Stills – Kellogg's commercial 2008





Stills – Coca-Cola commercial 1989





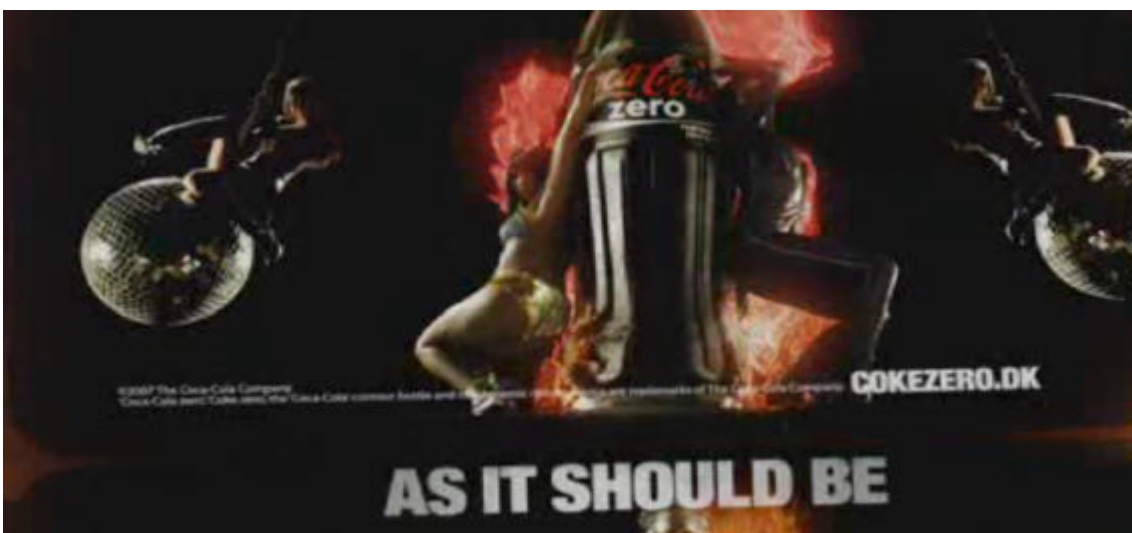
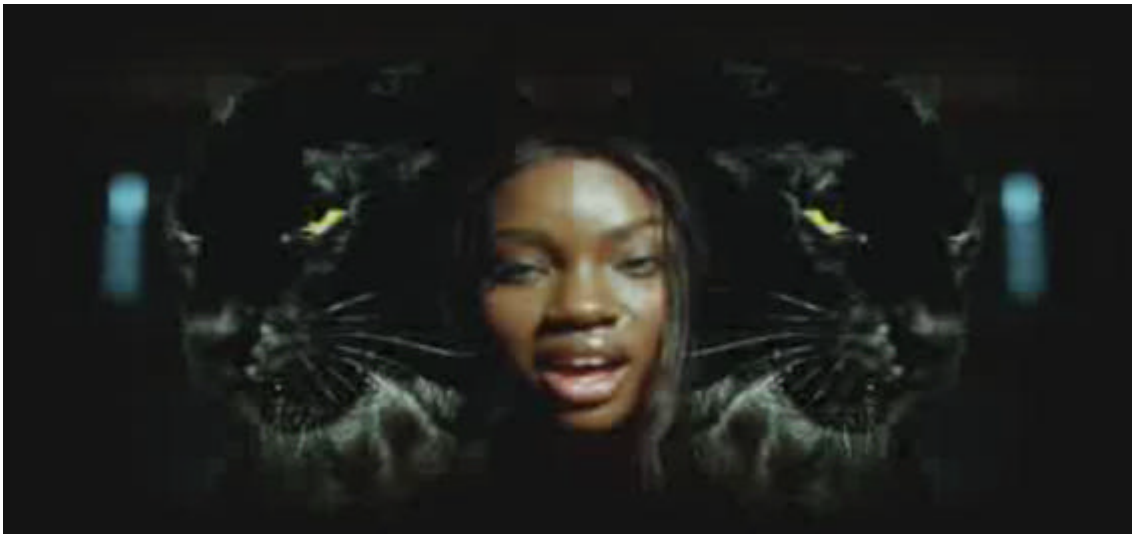
Stills – Coca-Cola commercial 1998





Stills – Coca-Cola commercial 2008





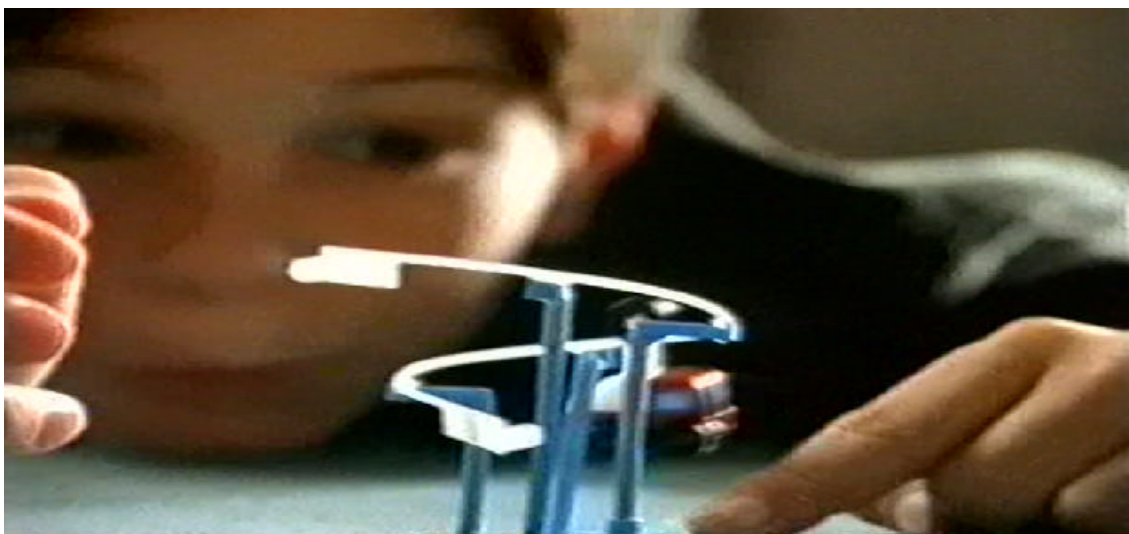
Stills – Ferrero commercial 1989





Stills – Ferrero commercial 1998





Stills – Ferrero commercial 1998





Stills - Ferrero commercial 2008





Stills - Ferrero commercial 2008



