

**Media, Alcohol Consumption and Young People in an
Eastern Nigerian University Campus: A Qualitative Study**



Emeka W. Dumbili

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Abstract

This study draws on cultivation analysis (Gerbner, 1969) to explore the interrelating factors concerning the role of media in young people's consumption of alcohol at a south-eastern Nigerian university. Nigeria has the second highest alcohol consumption in Africa. Traditionally, drinking spaces were dominated by adult males for socio-cultural reasons but in contemporary Nigeria there is increasing concern that younger men and women are now also drinking harmfully.

Qualitative interviews were conducted with 22 male and 9 female undergraduate students (aged 19-23 years) to explore the ways in which media consumption shapes their drinking behaviour. Whilst young people's consumption of both local and foreign media was high and gendered, one key motivation for using alcohol was aspirational, particularly among those who consumed Hollywood films. Many of the participants who consumed Hollywood films may have learned to associate heavy consumption with high social status. Importantly, this thesis demonstrates that although local films portray alcohol in a mainly negative light, this also motivates young people to drink as they learn how to use alcohol to ameliorate anxiety or depression.

Young people's drinking patterns were found to be gendered, underscoring a resilient socio-cultural belief in which men see alcohol as good for males while women believe that it should not be confined to men. Consequently, the women employed male-gendered drinking behaviours such as heavy drinking to develop social capital. At the same time, both male and female participants discussed taking part in risky sexual behaviour but the outcomes differed for males and females, with this behaviour being more stigmatised in women. Alcohol advertising and promotion were found to be highly influential because they encourage brand preference and brand allegiance, actively facilitate change of brand, and lead to excessive consumption amongst male and female participants. Although the participants confirmed that promotional activities facilitate alcohol misuse, they argued that promotions should not be regulated because promotional prizes alleviate poverty.

This study furthers the discussion on cultivation theory by demonstrating that heavy television viewing cultivates alcohol consumption among this population and it contributes to cultivation and audience research by revealing that negative portrayals can also influence

young people. This study's findings can inform educational campaigns and policy formulation in Nigeria, particularly those that tackle alcohol availability, heavy episodic drinking and risky sexual behaviour; and those that encourage media literacy and more positive and equal relationships between women and men.

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List of Abbreviations

ABV	Alcohol by volume
CL	Centilitre
DG	Drinking games
ED	Emeka Dumbili
GUS	Gulder Ultimate Search
ML	Millilitre
SMS	Short message service
SNS	Social networking site
STIs	Sexually transmitted illnesses
TV	Television
WHO	World Health Organization

Definition of Terms

Nigeria does not have national written alcohol control policies (WHO, 2014), and there is no definition of a standard drink. As such, these definitions are based on the World Health Organisation's guideline or what obtains in countries where recommendations of what constitute standard drinks exist.

Alcohol abuse:

This is an excessive use of alcoholic beverages beyond recommended level.

Alcohol misuse: This is used "for any level of risk, ranging from hazardous drinking to alcohol dependence" (Babor and Higns-Biddle, 2001: 5). This concept is used interchangeably with alcohol abuse throughout this thesis.

Harmful alcohol use:

This is defined as "a pattern of drinking *that may cause* damage to health. The damage may be either physical (e.g., liver damage from chronic drinking) or mental (e.g., depressive episodes secondary to drinking)" (Babor and Higns-Biddle, 2001: 5).

Hazardous drinking:

This denotes "a pattern of alcohol consumption carrying with it a risk of harmful consequences to the drinker. These consequences may be damaging to health, physical or mental, or they may include social consequences to the drinker or others" (Babor and Higns-Biddle, 2001: 5-6).

Heavy episodic drinking:

This is consuming at least 60 grams or more (i.e., approximately six standard drinks) of pure alcohol on a drinking occasion in one week. It is generally applied to the proportion of adults who are 15 years and above.

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Declaration

I declare that the following publications were produced as a direct or indirect result of the research discussed in this thesis:

Published Journal Articles:

1. **Dumbili, E.W.** (2015) 'A Review of Substance Use among Secondary School Students in Nigeria: Implications for Policies'. *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, Online first. DOI: 10.3109/09687637.2015.1041455.
2. **Dumbili, E.W.** (2015) 'What a man can do, a woman can do better': Gendered Alcohol consumption and (de)construction of social identity among young Nigerians. *BMC Public Health*, 15(1), pp.1-12.
3. **Dumbili, E.W.** (2014) 'Can Brewer-sponsored "Drink Responsibly" Warning Message be Effective without Alcohol Policies in Nigeria?' *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 21(6), pp.434-439.
4. **Dumbili, E.W.** (2014) 'Use of Mixed Methods Designs in Substance Research: A Methodological Necessity in Nigeria. *Quality & Quantity*, 48(5), pp.2841-2857.
5. **Dumbili, E.W.** (2014) 'The Politics of Alcohol Policy in Nigeria: A Critical Analysis of how and why Brewers use Strategic Ambiguity to Supplant Policy Initiatives'. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 49(4), pp.473-487.
6. **Dumbili, E.W.** (2013) 'Patterns and Determinants of Alcohol Use among Nigerian University Students: An Overview of Recent Developments'. *African Journal of Drug and Alcohol Studies*. 12(1), pp.29-51.
7. **Dumbili, E.** (2013) 'Changing Patterns of Alcohol Consumption in Nigeria: An Exploration of Responsible factors and Consequences'. *Medical Sociology Online*, 7(1), pp.20-33.

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Chapter One:

Alcohol and the Historical Development of Nigeria

1. Introduction

This study explores the interplay between media and young people's consumption of alcohol on a Nigerian university campus. The study focuses on the pattern of students' media use and how it mediates their daily lived experience in relation to alcohol consumption. In doing so, it starts by briefly exploring the history of alcohol in Nigeria. The background information contained in this chapter is of paramount importance because it introduces a historical overview of the diversity of alcoholic beverages in Nigeria and the place of alcohol in the Nigerian culture; and it also sets the agenda for this thesis.

Before I go further, I would like to highlight that this research partly grew out of the curiosity to unravel the culture shock I experienced myself as a first year University student. I was born in a village where climbing palm trees to cut the fruit and tapping palm wine¹ serve as boys' rites of passage from childhood to adolescence. Although this is expected of every young male because of the associated prestige, status and respect it bestows upon one's father (and the adolescent), tapping palm wine is not a guarantee that the young tapper will drink from his product. Rather, the young tapper is expected to submit the first tapped wine (usually on a calabash that is customarily used to tap wine) to his father or guardian, who uses it to entertain his friends or guests in the evening after the day's farming is over.

The gain accruable to the tapper during this first experience is that he assumes a higher status than his peers who are yet to pass through this process. Second, as the eldest man (in this small gathering) pours the libation because this is customary before each drinking occasion commences, he pronounces multiple blessings on the tapper. After this social status has been obtained, the young male may decide to continue or discontinue this wine-tapping trade. As with most teenagers, I decided to secretly taste this *forbidden fruit* one afternoon and this resulted in heavy consumption and drunkenness and I was severely

¹ Palm wine is sap from palm tree.

punished to the extent that I did not eat lunch and dinner on that day. Henceforth, I grew up seeing alcohol as a substance that is strictly reserved for adults. This began to change when I gained admission to Higher Education.

Although I had attended a polytechnic before switching to the university, I experienced these settings as being very different. While the former had some similarities with how people conducted themselves socially in my village, the latter was a society where non-drinkers developed drinking careers while those who drank learnt to let their guard down. In fact, “drinking beer” was associated with being a mature student. Indeed, without consuming “Star or Heineken beer”, one was not just seen as a social misfit, but other boys distanced themselves from you. I never understood this tension between how drinking norms are socially constructed in different societies until I started this research and discovered that while alcohol is seen in some societies as “part of sociability”, it may be seen as “a special product to be controlled” or even as a “moral threat” in other societies (Holmila and Raitasalo, 2005: 1766). It is against this backdrop that I start this thesis with a historical overview of alcohol in the Nigerian polity.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. First, it begins with general background information about alcohol before the entity that is presently called Nigeria came into existence. In particular, this explores the place of locally-made alcoholic beverages before imported industry-made alcoholic beverages were introduced. Second, it examines alcohol and the colonial administration in Nigeria. Next, it reflects on the tension generated by the importation of alcohol and how the anti- and pro-liquor activists argued about the importation of European-made liquor to Nigeria. To date, the argument over the importation of liquor has been the only organized debate about whether to control (regulate) alcohol availability or alcohol use and misuse in Nigeria. As the discourse unfolds, I explore the issues of alcohol and social identity in colonial Nigeria and conclude by examining alcohol and the local culture. Although the focus of this chapter or this thesis is not on the history of alcohol and the colonial government in Nigeria, it has become increasingly difficult to ignore the fact that some of the patterns and determinants of alcohol consumption and the resultant alcohol-related problems in contemporary Nigeria, arguably have their roots in the drinking practices, patterns, spaces and cultures of this pre-independent Nigeria.

Before I address the history of alcohol, it is important to state that the general objective of this study is to explore the pattern of young people's media consumption and alcohol use on an eastern Nigerian university campus. Drawing on Gerbner's cultivation theory, 31 interviews were conducted with male and female undergraduate students (aged 19-23 years) in order to answer the following research questions:

1. What role does contact with media representation play in facilitating alcohol consumption among a sample of students on an eastern Nigerian university campus and to what extent does this differ between male and female students?
2. What roles do alcohol advertising and promotion play in young people's drinking behaviour on an eastern Nigerian university campus and to what extent does this differ between males and females?
3. To what extent does students' alcohol consumption facilitate the acquisition of social capital on an eastern Nigerian university campus and to what extent does this differ between male and female students?

1.1. The Historical Context of Alcohol in Nigeria

Rum has ruined my country; it has ruined my people. It has made them become mad (Pan, 1975: 11).

In substance literature globally, one of the most significant current discussions is around the growing alcohol-related problems, especially among young people, which are invariably fuelled by high alcohol availability and harmful alcohol consumption (Babor *et al.*, 2010). Different researchers have shown increasing interest in exploring the growing culture of intoxication among young people (e.g., Piacentini and Banister, 2009) in order to understand the causes of this growing social problem. In the Nigerian context, alcohol consumption is high among users (World Health Organization, 2014; 2011) and complex patterns and motives for consuming this drug are extant. Presently, Nigeria's adult per capita consumption (10.1 litres) is the second highest in Africa (World Health Organization, 2014) even though more than a quarter of the alcohol consumed in Nigeria is unrecorded (Obot, 2007).

Understanding the rationale behind this increase in and level of alcohol consumption demands scrutiny that can only be fully appreciated by taking a cursory look at the link between alcohol and the historical development of Nigeria. Nigeria, a former British colony, is made up of 36 states and the federal capital territory (see figure 1.1). Alcohol was a cherished substance among early settlers in the entity that is presently called Nigeria. Alcohol was also central to the socio-economic, historical and political development of present-day Nigeria (Heap, 2005). This historical background is important to consider because as Pan (1975) argues, “the interpretations and reinterpretations put upon past events quite often determine current approaches and courses of action. And these interpretations in turn hinge upon questions which each age asks” (Pan, 1975: 1).

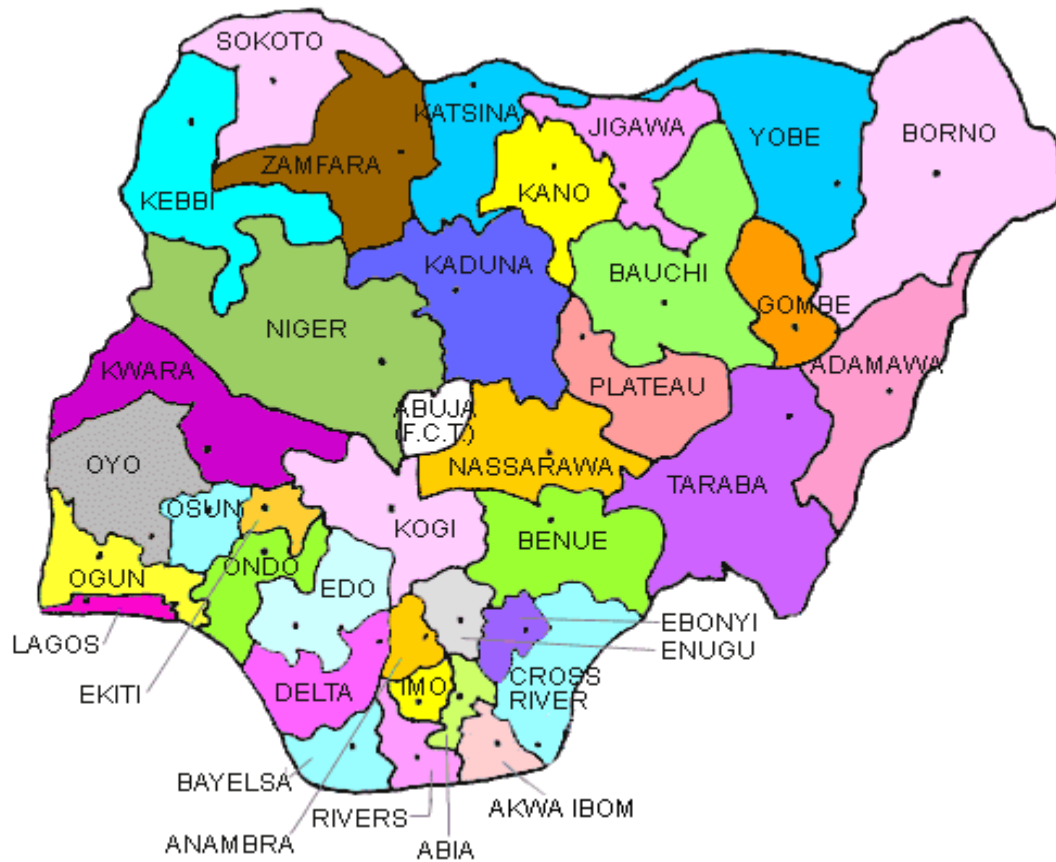
Different alcoholic beverages have existed in human society for over ten thousand years (Smart, 2007) to the extent that brewing was part of Egyptian civilization and was present in many other African Empires (Obot, 2007). In what constitutes present-day Nigeria, locally-produced alcoholic beverages such as *burukutu*, *pito* (fermented beverages from maize or Sorghum) and *palm wine* (sap from palm tree) served different purposes before any contact with the European traders (Heap, 2005). Because alcohol had strong symbolic value, different communities used locally-produced alcoholic beverages for diverse purposes such as oath taking and the pouring of libations during ancestral worship and child naming celebrations. These locally-produced alcoholic beverages were also used during chieftaincy enthronements, celebrations of bountiful harvests (Netting, 1964) and funeral occasions, as well as for the entertainment of guests and so forth (Heap, 2005; Korieh, 2003). Although alcohol was present in this traditional era², its consumption was culturally regulated (Umunna, 1967). Adult males dominated drinking spaces while youths (and women in most communities) were restrained from drinking alcohol (Oshodin, 1995) because “alcohol consumption was a sign of being an elder” (Heap, 1998: 29). This tradition was altered following the arrival of European traders in the 15th century (Adi, 2012; Ekundare, 1973), marking a point of departure not just for new forms of drinking practices, but also for new types of alcoholic beverages. European traders introduced into West Africa

² The traditional era in this thesis refers to the period before the establishment of the first brewery in Nigeria in 1946.

westernized alcoholic beverages such as whisky, brandy, rum, gin and so forth in order to enhance their trade missions (Korieh, 2003).

In this era, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to engage in the Trans-Saharan Trade, initially through buying diverse items including dyed cloths, leather products and gold, but later by purchasing slaves to boost the labour force in different European countries (Ekundare, 1973). The shipment of the first slave by the Portuguese in 1441 became the main factor to draw the attention of several other European countries to West Africa (Ekundare, 1973) to scramble for slaves and other items such as ivory, cotton, etc. Spain joined in the trade in 1510, while the British traders indicated an interest in the West African trade in the latter part of the 15th century. The British traders gained full access to West Africa in 1588, and this marked the point of departure for what led to the eventual colonization of many nations, including Nigeria (Ekundare, 1973).

Figure 1.1: Map of Nigeria



A map of Nigeria showing the 36 states and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory

During the Transatlantic Slave Trade, western-made alcohol was central to the trade in many ways. First, it was used as part of the transactional currencies to purchase slaves. This took the form of “alcohol-for-slaves”, to the extent that African men, women, and children were exchanged for brandy and gin (Korieh, 2003: 112). Adi (2012) argues that the quest for slaves reached its climax in the mid-17th century, following the unprecedented demand for labour in American plantations owned by Europeans. Therefore, to meet this demand, local chiefs in West Africa and other agents were empowered to apply more coercion in the quest for slaves and were rewarded with consumable goods such as gin (Olorunfemi, 1984). This is arguably one of the factors that helped to cultivate and popularize the demand for gin and brandy among traditional rulers in southern Nigeria, which is being reinforced in contemporary Nigeria (Van Den Bersselaar, 2011). This is because among the people of the south-eastern region, Schnapps became popularly known as “Mmnaya Ndi-Eze” (alcohol for the kings). In fact, Heap (2005: 72) argues that as the slave buyers and their middlemen widely circulated this strong drink (spirit), “the taste turned into a habit and Nigerians demanded continual supplies”. In other words, the easy availability of this alcoholic beverage due to high importation encouraged demand for it and resulted in increased consumption among the natives.

Following the passing of the Slave Trade Act in 1808 by the British Parliament, trade in slaves dwindled in West Africa. Therefore, the same merchants (such as the Royal Niger Company) who bought slaves with alcohol transitioned to other products such as palm oil, palm kernel and cotton wool (Olukoju, 1995). In doing so, alcohol remained one of the transactional currencies used to pay for these items through trade by barter (Heap, 2005; Pan, 1975) despite the existing cowry currency even before the year 1600 (Nwani, 1975). Politically, Britain gained full control of the Northern and Southern Protectorates (present Nigeria) in 1900 as part of its colonies (Heap, 1998). Again, the importation of alcohol did not fizzle out with the Protectorates; rather, it became the conduit for the colonial administration’s revenue and governance.

In 1914, the Northern and Southern Protectorates were amalgamated to form the current Nigeria, but imported alcohol still served as the main thrust of the administration’s revenue, which depended heavily on duties and taxes on spirits (Olukoju, 1991). To sustain its policy of self-sustenance (Heap, 1996), colonial officials argued that increasing the

importation of different types of alcohol was vital to the administration (Heap, 1998). The Colonial Office in London that regulated the colonial administration in Nigeria made it compulsory for every colony to generate its revenue (Olukoju, 1995). Therefore, the Nigerian colonial administration (trapped under this policy) resorted to the maximization of the ready-made platform of trade in spirits to raise revenue through duties, taxes and fines from liquor imports. This financial concern necessitated the “Colonial Office to view with some satisfaction the beauty of a system by which the consumers of spirits are made to contribute more than anyone else to the cost of governing the country” (Olorunfemi, 1984: 293).

One policy espoused by the British administration, which was designed to serve imperial interests, was the construction of railways and roads to complement the river transport (Olukoju, 1995). This was intended to facilitate access to the hinterland for easy transportation of agricultural produce (Olukoju, 1991). Incidentally, as these agricultural products were transported out of the rural areas to the seaports, alcohol was transported in via the same transport services, being facilitated by “African middlemen *who* helped to push trade into the hinterland” (Heap, 2005: 72). Hence, different alcoholic beverages became readily available to the natives (Heap, 1998). Olukoju (1991: 354) asserts that it was believed that “the Lagos railway was facilitating the rapid spread of ‘firewater’ into the hinterland where it was alleged to be doing great damage to its consumers.”

Irrespective of the accumulation of evidence that the high volume of spirit imports was facilitating drunkenness and criminality among the natives (Heap, 2005) and attracting increasing agitation (from within and without) with regard to ending the imports, unsurprisingly this was not a popular idea among the colonialists because of financial interest. Therefore, the over reliance on revenue from imported alcohol by the administration, “because there was no practical alternative, vitiated the attempt to abolish the trade” (Olorunfemi, 1984: 236). This quest for revenue to further the colonization mission through the tax on alcohol continued to the extent that “southern Nigeria became the first West African colony to earn a million pounds in revenue, the majority coming from liquor duties” (Heap, 2005: 71).

Even in northern-Nigeria, (dominated by Muslims) where prohibition was supposed to ensure that alcohol could not be sold due to the Brussels agreement (Olorunfemi, 1984), the connection between alcohol and colonial revenue also militated against total prohibition. This was manifested when the colonial administration did not show serious concern about the growing drunkenness, but rather imposed a tax on the brewing of locally-made alcohol rather than discouraging its consumption among non-Muslims. The imposed tax that came into being in the latter stage of the colonial rule was due to the

“quest for extra revenue rather than any sincere desire to control liquor traffic and such financial considerations were cleverly masked by a feigned concern about the health of the colonial subjects” (Olukoju, 1991: 363).

This dependence on alcohol revenue continued until it was affected by a deliberate decision by the colonial administration to stop trading with “enemy countries” such as Germany during World War I (Olukoju, 1995: 30).

Thus, the First World War affected the spirit trade and led to the reconsideration of the gin currency that had lasted for over sixty years. This made feasible the emergence of an economy that relied on cash (Heap, 2005: 84). The war also reduced the importation of trade spirit drastically, making the price escalate. This hike in price forced the natives to begin a quest for an alternative (Heap, 1996). This quest was one of the factors that engendered the establishment of the first local distillery in 1930. At this juncture, it becomes pertinent to pause and reflect on how debates regarding whether to stop or continue the importation of alcohol to the colony were carried out amongst the anti- and pro-liquor activists.

1.2. The Anti and Pro-Liquor Trade Activism

It is important to highlight the debate on regulating alcohol in colonial Nigeria because this is the only officially organized attempt to control alcohol availability in Nigeria to date. In the latter part of the 19th century, there were some organized debates and protests against the export of alcohol to West Africa (Olorunfemi, 1984). These protests were led by some “cotton textile merchants representing the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, the

London-based humanitarian societies” led by Bishop Tugwell (Olorunfemi, 1984: 229), missionaries, and other individuals under the umbrella name of “the Native Races and Liquor Traffic United Committee” (Olukoju, 1991: 354). This group was responsible for asking the parliament to legislate against the import of liquor to the West African colonies because the imported gin and the like contained poisonous substances that were detrimental to health and they were also encouraging the spread of drunkenness (Olorunfemi, 1984). This was vehemently opposed by the colonial administrators and the alcohol merchants, who stated that “their commerce to West Africa depended on liquor trade for survival and development” (Olorunfemi, 1984: 230). In other words, the taxes and duties derived from the imported alcohol were heavily depended upon by the colonialists, while the alcohol importers gained from the profit they derived from the high demand for their products.

This debate led to the setting up of a committee by the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce to conduct an investigation and invite testifiers (Pan, 1975). One of the testifiers (a colonial administrator), known as Mary Kingsley, who unsurprisingly was on the side of continued import, argued that “the missionary partly have exaggerated both the evil and the extent of the liquor traffic in order, I believe, to account for their own want of success” (Pan, 1975: 10). Be that as it may, one question that needs to be asked is whose interest each group was protecting. Scholars have argued that while the colonialists needed the revenue from alcohol duties and taxes to sustain the administration (Olorunfemi, 1984), the merchants wanted personal economic gain while the missionaries were looking for Christian converts (Olukoju, 1991).

Lord Lugard (the first Governor-General of colonial Nigeria), who was on a transfer from Asia to West Africa, cogently countered Mary Kingsley’s argument, stating that “the import should be restricted before the taste for alcohol has been implanted in the mass of people” (Pan, 1975: 11). One main argument that Lugard put forth was that there was no basis for Mary and other pro-liquor activists’ comparison of drunkenness in cities of England and Africa because “drinking took place in villages out of sight of Europeans, who lived in quarters segregated from the Africans” (Pan, 1975: 11) and this fact was undeniable due to the transport system that was opening up the hinterland (Heap, 1998; Olukoju, 1991). Lugard further argued that “not less than two million gallons of gin found their way to

north-western Yorubaland and the Niger Company's Territories by land every year from Lagos" (Olukoju, 1991: 353).

He strengthened his argument by referring to testimonies and appeals previously sent to the Queen by some Nigerians, as recorded in the Anti-Liquor Traffic Committee's pamphlet. One such passionate appeal was made to the Queen in 1884 by the Emir of Nupe (in the present day Kogi State of Nigeria) through Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther (the first Nigerian bishop). The Emir stressed the startling drunkenness and harm that alcohol was causing among the natives. He reported to the Queen that: "rum has ruined my country; it has ruined my people. It has made them mad" (Pan, 1975: 11). The Emir further lamented to the "English Queen to prevent the bringing of rum into this land to spoil our country" (Pan, 1975: 11). Good as Lugard's arguments may be, another side of the story told by historians is that Lugard's position was also bereft of altruism for two main reasons. First, his opposition to the import of trade spirits was due to the fact that they were mainly manufactured by German and Dutch companies and not British ones; thus, it was detrimental to British economic interests (Olukoju, 1991). Additionally, he believed that liquor would encourage degeneracy because "drunken Africans were not expected to make good export producers, nor would they make good customers since export earnings determine the power to purchase imports" (Olukoju, 1991: 365).

Another bone of contention, especially for the seemingly neutral group, was the poor quality of the liquor being exported to the colony. Although the committee set up by the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce was not convinced that the spirit was of poor quality, an earlier letter written by one of the colonial administrators in West Africa (who incidentally was a pro-liquor activist) "to the Times [stated] that Africans were sold semi-poisonous compounds under the name of gin" (Pan, 1975: 12). This indicted the pro-activists by painting the real picture of the situation in the colony. This poor quality spirit imported by the merchants to Africa was said to have been facilitating widespread criminality and disease such as tuberculosis in the neighbouring French colony of Dahomey (presently Republic of Benin) and many other parts of the present day Nigeria (Pan, 1975).

The gradual and continuous spread of liquor use and misuse was, in part facilitated by the colonial administration and employers, because, while the former derived tax and

duties from alcohol imports (Olorunfemi, 1984), the latter used gin as part of their incentives and remuneration. According to Pan (1975: 13), employers began to reify European-made alcohol because colonialists allotted “one whisky and soda per day, with added gin before supper, in some cases, all of which were given free, as part of the remuneration” of their employees. The volume of gin imported soared seamlessly until 1914 when World War I commenced. The decreasing volume of imports during the war was caused by restrictions placed on the trade relationship with Germany (Olorunfemi, 1984), but high importation was reinforced after the war ended (Heap, 1998; Heap, 2008b). The importation of spirits continued throughout the colonial rule in Nigeria until it was again punctuated by the economic recession in the late 1920s, the establishment of local distillation in the 1930s and brewing in the 1940s.

1.3. Alcohol and Social Identity in the Pre-Independence Nigeria

A person’s wealth was not reckoned merely by the amount of cash he possessed. Bottles, even empty ones, had economic and social value, signifying the abode of a person of high status, a big man (Heap, 2005: 78).

The existing accounts suggest that before industry-made alcohol was produced locally in Nigeria, imported alcohol became prominent due to many factors. First, due to the fact that imported alcohol was reified in this era, it assumed superior social status, permeating the fabric of different Nigerian cultures (Korieh, 2003). Many historians and economists (e.g., Adi, 2012; Ekundare, 1973) argue that buying able-bodied humans (during the slave trade era) with alcohol, despite the existence of other forms of exchange such as cowry currency, was one of the main reasons why the natives believed that European-made alcohol was superior to locally-produced beverages and an object to strive for. The Africans believed that the Europeans and everything about them was superior and this was an offshoot of what happened during the colonial era. This is due to the fact that British officials lived in segregated areas, recruited Africans to serve them as maids, cooks, mechanics, and so forth, and drank imported alcohol, despising locally-made beverages. Additionally, they allowed

their Nigerian employees and allies to drink and trade European-made alcohol by granting them “colonial liquor permits” (Heap, 1998: 24).

In doing so, the colonial administration allowed those who received these ‘permits’ to see themselves as privileged people; a factor that can be authenticated by the fact that many of these Nigerians were later used to govern the colony through the colonial administration’s policy of Indirect Rule (Harneit-Sievers, 1998). Because the colonialists had already imposed “Rum and Gin Civilization” (Heap, 1999: 29) on the colony, which meant that the Africans elites had “regular access to whisky, brandy and other high-class European spirits” (Olorunfemi, 1984: 239), these Nigerian elites and other Nigerians such as those employed as maids, clerks and court attendants during the early part of colonial rule saw consuming European-made alcoholic beverages as something to covet and brag about. This is because their consumption was associated with “the prestige of white man” that was “operative among all classes of the Natives” (Olukoju, 1991: 366). This lends credence to Heap's (1996: 80) argument that even when beer consumption began to grow, “the consumption of German, British and Danish lagers was further accentuated by the fact that many Nigerian drinkers saw it as an emblem of European lifestyles and values”, which were worthy of emulating.

In addition, those from southern Nigeria were given *alcohol incentives* by the colonialists for working in the north because “the government implemented a liquor permit system to attract sufficient numbers of able staff to the North” (Heap, 1998: 38). This caused those who received these permits to regard themselves as privileged people whose social status was increasing (Olukoju, 1991). Thus, the local people believed that consuming ‘Whiteman’s alcohol’ meant that their status had risen above that of their peers. This was evident in the fact that those who received the alcohol permit conspicuously placed it where their colleagues (who were not privileged to receive it) could see it (Olukoju, 1991) while “others flaunted their permits as status symbols” (Heap, 1998: 39). Furthermore, the British government declared locally distilled spirit ‘illicit’, arguing that it was unhealthy, although this was due to their economic interest that was being hindered by the locally-produced alcohol (Korieh, 2003). This unhealthy tag placed on the locally-made spirit made the ‘westernized Nigerians’ despise the illicit spirit and the other local beverages that they

had formerly consumed (as the Europeans did), regarding such beverages as a “choice for the poor” (Van Den Bersselaar, 2011: 394).

This reification of European-made alcohol existed throughout the colonial era. It decreased when ogogoro (local gin) emerged and was embraced due to a lack of cheaper alternatives (Van Den Bersselaar, 2011), but was strengthened when Nigerian Breweries started to brew ‘Star beer’ in Nigeria in 1949. Again, those who consumed Star during this era were also regarded as belonging to the upper class or being ‘modern’. This supports Van Den Bersselaar's (2011: 395) assertion that a Star beer advertisement in the 1950s was created around people who wore a “European suit and tie (male) or a dress (female)” and the advertising message read: “you belong to the Star people when you entertain friends with Star, the beer of distinction”. Because decolonization had gained currency in West Africa, Nigerian elites promoted modernity, associating it with progress. Therefore, advertisers cashed in on this to create advertising messages to suit the local parlance, associating the use of their products with modernity or success (Van Den Bersselaar, 2011). This link between modernity and success, which was already rife among urban dwellers, led Star beer to become increasingly associated with “men of distinction” and this made these urban dwellers jettison traditional alcohol (Van Den Bersselaar, 2011: 399).

Furthermore, as gin became central to every transaction from the slave trade era to the colonial period, it became a currency with which to purchase landed properties, pay court fines or gratuities, and offer as gifts to the chiefs. Thus, it became an indicator “of the status of chiefs and elders” (Van Den Bersselaar, 2011: 392) and a measure of wealth (Heap, 1996). This made gin the “King of Drinks”, transitioning from “modernity to tradition” (Heap, 2008a: 320) and coveted as the “choice for chiefs and elders” (Heap, 2008a: 321) even in contemporary Nigeria.

In fact, it can be surmised that one of the factors that encouraged the local people to jettison the locally-produced alcoholic beverages (they had formerly consumed) in favour of westernized alcohol was the increased importation (in the quest for revenue) and the fetishization of imported beverages by the Europeans, making them an object to strive for by the natives in order to be associated with Whiteman's prestige. This arguably marked the point of departure for the construction of social identity with industry-produced alcoholic

beverages, which was reinforced after independence, and is becoming more prominent among young drinkers in contemporary Nigeria (Chikere and Mayowa, 2011). The next section will explore the ties between alcohol and the Nigerian culture.

1.4. Alcohol, Culture and Nigerian Society

Alcohol and cultural beliefs and practices in Nigeria are inseparable because alcohol is a traditional embodied reified artefact. As previously mentioned, diverse locally-produced alcoholic beverages were present before the amalgamation of present-day Nigeria and these beverages are still used for diverse purposes in contemporary Nigeria (Obot, 2007). Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and cultural society with 250 officially recognized languages, and these diversities mediate who can occupy drinking spaces, the types of alcoholic beverages to be used and drinking rituals. The central characteristic that scholars (e.g., Odejide, Ohaeri, Adelekan and Ikuesan, 1987; Umunna, 1967) have pointed out is that alcohol consumption is for elderly males in most communities and its functions are regulated by tradition or religion.

In the north, especially among Muslims, intoxicants are prohibited due to religion. In the south, alcohol is a crucial element required for almost every occasion (Oshodin, 1995). As mentioned earlier, in the traditional era, different alcoholic beverages were produced locally in different regions and drinking patterns also differed. In the north, burukutu and pito (produced from grain) were the most common alcoholic beverages while palm wine served different functions among the people of the south (Obot, 2000). The sharp contrast is that while burukutu was mainly produced by women, palm wine was (and is still) tapped by men because it involves climbing a tree, which women are culturally forbidden to do in many parts of the country (Obot, 2000).

In this era, culture defined the rationales for drinking, the functions alcohol performed, and drinking time and space in different communities. Another important fact is that alcohol was mainly consumed for pleasure (Odejide, Odejide, Peele and Grant, 1999). In most communities, there were connections between drinking and bonding. Indeed, solitary drinking was rare because people often gathered to drink for different ceremonial reasons,

and locally-produced alcoholic beverages were served in a single calabash cup according to age or title hierarchies (Umunna, 1967). Alcohol was used as an instrument for social cohesion, which made it possible for people to monitor the quantity that others drank, since intoxication was culturally frowned upon (Oshodin, 1995). For example, Oshodin (1995: 215) described drinking space in Benin, (south-southern Nigeria) this way:

The youngest person present, usually a teenager, pours drinks from a container, handing the first cup to the oldest person and then to others, in descending order of age. All males are usually served before the oldest female. Often only a single cup is used; hence it is regarded as a sort of communion and social unity is reinforced.

Due to the fact that alcohol was served along an age or traditional title hierarchy, it might be that the younger individuals never had a turn because alcohol was not produced in large quantities.

Alcohol was also an embodiment of ancestral worship, used for the celebration of the end of the farming season (Netting, 1964) and served as an elixir in some communities (Odejide *et al.*, 1987). For example, the Anioma people of the present Delta state used palm wine as a medicine for healing, for ritual cleansing and as a cure for infertility (Dumbili, 2013a). It is believed among people in this region that palm wine cures low sperm count, enhances eye sight, heals measles, and enhances breast milk. Therefore, any child who contracts measles for instance, can be “forced” to drink to intoxication in a bid to cure the disease quickly, even though ordinarily she or he would have been forbidden from drinking alcohol. It is noteworthy that some of these functions are still performed by alcohol in many communities in contemporary Nigeria.

As said, European-made alcoholic beverages came to Nigeria during trade with the Europeans, and many new drinking patterns and cultures emerged. Although imported alcoholic beverages and the Western style of drinking did not completely displace locally-produced alcohol and drinking rituals (Heap, 1998), they largely altered the patterns and purposes of consuming alcohol, with serious cultural implications in contemporary Nigeria. The high status placed on industry-produced alcoholic beverages as the socio-political and economic development of Nigeria unfolded has led to an “irreversible taste transfer” (Heap, 1998: 39), which is manifesting in many contemporary Nigerian communities’ rituals,

festivals and celebrations. Evidence shows that some social events no longer permit some locally-made alcoholic beverages to be served because they are believed to be for the poor (Obot, 2007). A typical example is the requirement for the bridegroom to provide cartons of Guinness stout, gin and Schnapps before the bridal price can be paid and accepted at traditional weddings³ in many parts of southern Nigeria. Ironically, palm wine was the only alcoholic beverage to be consumed by adult males in this part of Nigeria in the traditional era (Obot, 2000) before the European merchants arrived.

Further supporting the point that factory-produced alcohol has assumed prominence over palm wine in southern Nigeria, the Ubulu people in Delta state (who were famous for palm wine tapping) now call gin 'Mmany-Jeakwa', which literally means 'drink that wore cloth'- signifying the fact that it is superior because it is packaged in beautiful cartons while palm wine is tapped with a local calabash (Dumbili, 2013a). Irrespective of this, there are some resilient aspects of the past in contemporary Nigeria's drinking cultures and spaces. Alcohol (locally and industry-made) still remains a vital object for worship, featuring on occasions such as marriages, child naming ceremonies, and so forth. In many communities and especially among adult drinkers, the oldest person is culturally responsible for blessing drinks before each drinking occasion starts, even among those who prefer industry-produced beverages. Another aspect is that among indigenous or traditional worshipers,⁴ some rituals cannot be performed with factory-produced alcohol in contemporary Nigeria, while some fraternities such as Kegite (a campus-based fraternity) do not use industry-made alcohol in their rituals (Ohaeri *et al.*, 1996).

1.5. Conclusion and Overview of Thesis Chapters

This chapter has explored alcohol in the context of Nigeria's historical and socio-political development. It has examined how locally-produced alcoholic beverages were used, who used them, and what they were used for in traditional Nigerian society. Furthermore, it has highlighted how European-made alcoholic beverages such as rum, gin and whisky

³ This is a traditional marriage rite where a groom goes with his family and kin to the bride's family to perform the required rituals.

⁴ Three religious beliefs (Christianity, Indigenous and Islamic) are present.

penetrated Nigeria, who brought them and why they were brought. Additionally, the chapter has looked at alcohol and the colonization of Nigeria and concluded by exploring alcohol, social identity and the local culture. This background information sets the scene for the rest of the chapters by providing a link between alcohol in the historical context and contemporary Nigeria. Throughout the remainder of this thesis, the essence of this history will resonate throughout the findings of this research.

In the next chapter, I will focus on the empirical and theoretical literature on alcohol use among Nigerian students, alcohol advertising and promotions, and the use of alcohol for gender construction among Nigerians. The chapter also explores the state of knowledge on media and alcohol portrayals, and describes alcohol-related problems in Nigeria. Chapter three focuses on the theoretical framework guiding this study. It provides the rationale for my choice of cultivation analysis as the appropriate theory for the study. Chapter four provides a detailed account of the study's methodologies and research procedures. This chapter addresses the rationale for choosing qualitative methods and describes how the data were collected, analysed and interpreted to justify the choice of my methodology.

Chapter five addresses issues of consumption. This chapter addresses the first research question and reveals the patterns of media use among participants, how many hours participants spend on both traditional and social media, and the content of the media these young people consume. The chapter reflects on how media consumption is gendered and provides information on participants' drinking games participation. I will also explore participants' alcohol use and daily lived experiences, and how media mediate these experiences. Chapter six focuses on the perception of media portrayals of alcohol in terms of direct and non-direct advertising, and their mediating effects on participants' drinking behaviours. The chapter explores the impact of alcohol promotions on drinking behaviours and comments on its gender dimension.

Chapter seven provides details of participants' perceptions of alcohol as a symbol of gender (de)construction and a marker of social identity, and in consequence, reveals how this mediates what is seen as gender-appropriate drinking behaviour. This chapter further describes how participants struggle for drinking spaces and how this generates tension and risks among them. Consequently, it provides details of how each group manages these risks

in order to accrue social capital and remain relevant. The last chapter discusses the findings in relation to the literature. Importantly, the chapter discusses the implications of these findings and highlights how this study contributes to knowledge. Following on from this, it points out the strengths and weaknesses of this present study and concludes by pointing out some recommendations and directions for future studies.

Chapter Two:

Exploring Patterns of Alcohol Use in the Nigerian Context⁵

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the empirical and theoretical literature relating to alcohol use conducted in Nigeria or among Nigerians living in other countries. The review describes the results of relevant studies conducted among Nigerian students in order to critically highlight their strengths and weaknesses and the gaps that informed my research questions. I will highlight the methodological designs of the studies and their implications for my study and in doing so, I will consider the following areas. First, I will explore the patterns, determinants and consequences of alcohol consumption among students. Second, I will highlight the findings of the available studies on alcohol consumption among Nigerian women. Similarly, I will describe alcohol and gender identities and highlight the findings on how the Nigerian mass media portray alcohol. I will also consider alcohol advertising and promotion, and reflect on sexuality in Nigeria. Throughout the review, I will critically consider alcohol-related problems in Nigeria in the context of findings in Western countries. It has been argued outside Nigeria, particularly in Western societies, that young people, especially students, are drinking hazardously (e.g., Kypri *et al.*, 2009; Foxcroft *et al.*, 2003) and that this is encouraging a growing culture of intoxication among youths (Piacentini and Banister, 2009).

Therefore, the review will comprehensively examine studies conducted among young people (student and non-student populations) so as to examine whether the discussions about the growing alcohol consumption and drinking dilemma (Shute, 1997) reported in western literature are mirrored in Nigeria, or whether they can be considered as just a moral panic (i.e., growing concerns about young people's drinking in Nigeria which may or may not be true). Even though the emphasis is not for comparison, alcohol consumption among young people in many Western countries is not culturally taboo. By

⁵ The bulk of this chapter (with some adjustments) has been published as: Dumbili, E. W. (2013) 'Patterns and determinants of alcohol use among Nigerian university students: An overview of recent developments', *African Journal of Drug and Alcohol Studies*, 12(1), pp.29-51.

contrast, alcohol use among young people in African countries such as Nigeria was culturally restrained in the traditional era except on festive days in some communities (Odejide *et al.*, 1987). This restriction to an extent is still enforced, especially in rural communities where young people mainly live with their parents, but there are increasing concerns that there is a paradigm shift in these communities. The available studies reveal that some young people in Nigeria are using and misusing alcohol and other substances (e.g., Abikoye and Olley, 2012; Afolabi *et al.*, 2012). The easy availability of alcohol (Umoh, Obot and Obot, 2012), globalization (Ikuesan, 1994), a lack of parental discipline and unemployment (Abasiubong *et al.*, 2012) are some of the mitigating factors identified in these studies.

Suffice to say, while a plethora of studies has been conducted concerning alcohol use and misuse in developed countries, there is a dearth of studies in many African countries. In Nigeria, alcohol research is still nascent and only a few studies (and even fewer qualitative studies) have been conducted among young people. As a result, this chapter will include a mixture of past and recent published literature conducted on Nigerian campuses or among Nigerian students living outside Nigeria, so as to broaden the depth of the literature review and highlight gaps that this present study can fill. The review will include studies identified via my search of databases such as Scopus, African Journals Online, African Journal Archive and PubMed. Others are EBSCO host, MEDLINE, PsychArticles, Sociological Abstracts, and Google Scholar. Out of the studies identified and considered, the majority used quantitative methodologies. Only one adopted a solely qualitative methodology but it involved a mixture of student and non-student participants.

There are many reasons for the insufficient qualitative alcohol studies in Nigeria. One of these is that substance research has been dominated by medical, epidemiological and psychological disciplines, which are known for quantitative methodologies (Dumbili, 2014c). Another reason is that sociology in Nigeria has been dominated by positivists. Lastly and most importantly, medical sociology is relatively new in Nigeria. It is said to have commenced in the late 1980s at the University of Ibadan (the first Nigerian university). My study attempts to fill this methodological gap by drawing on qualitative methodologies to study this understudied group. It is also worthy of note that all of the identified studies were cross-sectional surveys; none of them adopted either a longitudinal design or a theoretical framework.

2.2. Alcohol Use among South-western Nigerian University Students

In this section, I will focus on substance use and misuse among students in the Nigerian universities, but before I address that, it is worthy of note that my study is situated in south-eastern Nigeria. This section is aimed at exploring the drinking patterns, motives or determinants and consequences of alcohol use in the different regions that make up the Nigerian polity. The reason why I decided to highlight the findings on a regional basis is because of cultural relativism, which often determines patterns and purposes of alcohol use. Nigeria is made up of three main ethnic groups: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. It comprises 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (see figure 1.1 for map of Nigeria) and the socio-cultural differences to a large extent determine what constitute food and drink. I will begin by highlighting the findings of the studies conducted in the south-western region. This will be followed by a review of the studies conducted in the south-east where my study site is situated. I will also highlight the findings of studies conducted in the south-south by juxtaposing the results with findings of studies from the western and eastern regions as the discourse unfolds. This is because only one study was identified from the south-south region. It is worthy of note that no study conducted among university students was identified from northern Nigeria. One of the reasons why I chose to start with the western region is that more studies have been conducted among student and non-student populations in this region than any in other region in Nigeria. This may be because the majority of Nigerian substance researchers are from western Nigeria (or they conduct research in institutions situated in that region).

Abikoye and Osinowo's (2011) cross-sectional study conducted among 1709 university students who patronise drinking bars located within the host communities focused on exploring the patterns of alcohol consumption and how alcohol's role is perceived among students. The samples were selected purposively while the instrument was the World Health organization's (WHO) "Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test (AUDIT)" questionnaire that measures drinking patterns and behaviour (Abikoye and Osinowo, 2011: 261). The results revealed that 44.5% of the participants were categorized as low-risk alcohol users, who require mere education to facilitate a behaviour change,

while 43.3% were categorized as high-risk alcohol users, who require advice from counsellors. Additionally, it was revealed that 10.4% of the respondents who used alcohol hazardously not only required advice from counsellors, but also needed continuous monitoring. Also, 3.7% of the high-risk alcohol users needed to be referred to treatment facilities for diagnoses and treatment because they were alcohol dependent (Abikoye and Osinowo, 2011).

Furthermore, the results regarding perceptions show that 72.6% of the participants believed that alcohol facilitates socialising with friends, 67.9% reported that it reduces stress, and 57.7% used alcohol because drinking signifies maturity (Abikoye and Osinowo, 2011). In addition, it was found that 39.2% utilized alcohol so as to be alert and concentrate, 36.2% believed that alcohol enhances sexual pleasure and performance, 25% use it to have fun, while 21.7% and 10.4% respectively reported that alcohol consumption makes them bold or confident (Abikoye and Osinowo, 2011). It was argued that in the three universities investigated, these themes regarding perceptions were common. The participants also reported having knowledge of alcohol-related harm such as violence, injuries and accidents, but these factors did not stop their consumption of alcohol. It was reported that other independent predictors of alcohol consumption included: parental drinking, parents' socio-economic status and the students' place of residence (that is, whether they resided off-campus or in the university halls).

Having said that, it is worth reflecting on other interesting findings of Abikoye and Osinowo (2011), in that they confirmed the results of other studies conducted in Nigeria (Chikere and Mayowa 2011) and among Nigerian university students studying in the USA (Gire, 2002). For example, Abikoye and Osinowo (2011) revealed how students use alcohol to enhance sexual performance. This is in keeping with one of the findings of Chikere and Mayowa (2011), which I will review in the ensuing section. Meanwhile, the finding that alcohol is good for socialising is in agreement with Gire's report. Abikoye and Osinowo (2011) reflected on hazardous drinking practices among the participants but they failed to provide any quantifiable data on binge drinking. This is attributable to a lack of specification or definition of what constitutes binge drinking in Nigeria because alcohol policies, which exist in most countries and specify the definition of a standard drink (that can be used to identify binge drinking), do not exist in Nigeria (Umoh *et al.*, 2012; Obot, 2007). This means

that alcohol by volume (ABV) and standard units of drinks are not defined. Arguably, this may be one of the reasons for adopting the WHO's AUDIT measuring scale to examine drinking patterns among these students. Nevertheless, the findings that revealed that many are in the category of risky drinkers (as determined by the AUDIT scale) underscore the point that alcohol use among students in this part of Nigeria appears to be high among the age group studied. This trend corroborates the findings of Odejide *et al.* (1987), who conducted a study among adolescents in this region and reported that a 'social change' is occurring with regard to the consumption of alcohol in Nigeria.

There appears to be a paradigm shift from the traditional Nigerian society where young people rarely drank alcohol and were monitored on festive days (when they were allowed to drink) to avoid misuse. As Oshodin (1995: 215) states:

...It is generally believed that it is bad to drink too much. For the prestige of the family, relatives make sure that an intoxicated person is not a nuisance. Occasionally, women may be excluded from drinking.... Often only a single cup is used; hence it is regarded as a sort of communion and social unity is reinforced....

Although Godwin Oshodin's (1995) assertion was based on Benin culture and might not have depicted the patterns or purposes of alcohol consumption in all of the Nigerian ethnic groups, it emphasizes the fact that outright hedonism was not the norm and lends support to Heap's (1998) assertion that consuming alcohol signifies that one is mature and generally male. Abikoye and Osinowo's (2011) findings show that young people are not just beginning to drink, but some are drinking harmfully. This result is similar to the findings of a study conducted in Belarus (Europe) among students from three different cultural groups: Slavics, Arabians and Nigerians (Welcome, Razvodovsky and Pereverzev, 2010). In that study, it was reported that 60.71% of Nigerian students were current alcohol users, 22.62% were "problem drinkers" (using the AUDIT scale), and Nigerians were consuming alcoholic beverages with higher ABV than the native Slavs (Welcome *et al.*, 2010: 59). The identification of some Nigerians as problem drinkers lends support to Abikoye and Osinowo's study. Additionally, Abikoye and Osinowo's (2011) results regarding motives for using alcohol in contemporary Nigerian society are also inversely related to the motives for drinking in traditional Nigeria. This is because, in the traditional era, the role of alcohol was

mainly religious, or for entertainment and pleasure (Odejide, Ohaeri and Ikuesan, 1989), but in contemporary Nigeria, drinking motives include inter alia, to evoke ecstasy (to feel high).

Another interesting finding of Abikoye and Osinowo (2011) is that non-residential universities were associated with alcohol consumption. Students from one of the universities reported a higher rate of drinking because they lived off-campus and had easy access to bars and 'drinking joints'. This finding is of great significance to my study in two ways. First, a study conducted in Enugu (eastern Nigeria- the region where my study is sited) among students in four different higher institutions reported that living off-campus increased students' risky sexual behaviour more than living on campus (Okafor and Obi, 2005). Although economic reasons were mainly responsible for the risky sexual behaviour (female students involved in prostitution), living off-campus increased such behaviour because students had no restrictions on when they could come and go from their off-campus hostels.⁶ Therefore, they had increased access to nightclubs, bars and hotels, which exposed them to risky behaviours. Similarly, the majority of the students in my study did not reside in university halls due to insufficient on-campus accommodation and hotels, nightclubs and bars are growing businesses around the school. In Nigeria, many universities prohibit the sale of alcohol on campuses, especially in the halls. Thus, entrepreneurs in the host communities often take advantage of this prohibition to build hotels, bars, and nightclubs in order to sell alcohol near campuses.

While Abikoye and Osinowo's (2011) study involved a large population sample, it does not clearly address how the data were analysed. Additionally, it was conducted with a self-reporting instrument; thus the students may have under-estimated or over-estimated their consumption. Also, the authors noted that there are numerous programmes to reduce alcohol problems in Nigeria, but failed to name any. This may have been to create an impression because different studies have recommended programmes that can help to reduce alcohol-related problems in Nigeria, but none to date has either been translated into policy or implemented (Obot, 2012; 2007).

Contributing to these discussions on alcohol use and risky behaviour, Olley (2008) conducted a study of freshmen (year one) undergraduate students at the University of

⁶ On-campus hostels managed in Nigerian universities often have time restrictions. Thus, students that reside in school halls do not have access to the hostels late at night.

Ibadan in south-western Nigeria, where he reported that 33% of the participants had consumed alcohol prior to the study. Furthermore, he reported that out of the 30.8% of those who were sexually active, 53% were current alcohol users, and 18% of females and 8.5% of males used alcohol hazardously (Olley, 2008). Additionally, it was revealed that 7.2% had had sexual intercourse and received payment in the form of alcohol, while 11% of the participants consumed alcohol heavily prior to sexual intercourse (Olley, 2008). Although the result that revealed that some students exchanged sex for alcohol is novel in Nigeria, Townsend *et al.* (2011) reported a similar finding in their South African study, in which alcohol served as a transactional currency for paying for sex. In the same vein, that 18% of current female drinkers use alcohol hazardously lends support to an earlier study (Olley and Ajiteru, 2001) that was conducted among females in the same university. In their 2001 study, Olley and Ajiteru reported a high prevalence (54.2%) of alcohol use among female undergraduate students.

Globally, alcohol use and misuse have been reported to have diverse behavioural, social, physical, economic and environmental consequences (Grenard, Dent and Stacy, 2013; World Health Organization, 2013). Harmful alcohol use is one of the leading contributors to the global burden of morbidity and mortality (Room, Rehm and Parry, 2011), and it is the main cause of a myriad of harm and disorders among young people (Adger and Saha, 2013). Room *et al.* (2011: 1547) indeed argue that:

Alcohol is among the four most-important risk factors for non-communicable disease (NCD); alcohol consumption, especially heavy consumption impacts on cancer, liver cirrhosis and stroke.

Because alcohol is often a choice drug among young people (Shute, 1997), it is argued that the majority use and misuse this licit drug without a second thought for the immediate or future consequences (Mckay *et al.*, 2012). Even among those who supposedly know the consequences of harmful alcohol use (due to their training or knowledge), drinking motives often overshadow the inherent consequences (Kuntsche and Cooper, 2010).

It is against this backdrop that I will highlight the findings of a study conducted among 961 participants, who were studying medicine at the University of Ilorin at the time of the study. In the study, Makanjuola, Daramola and Obembe (2007) focused on the

patterns, prevalence and determinants of psychoactive substance consumption among these medical students. The results revealed that 32% of them either lived with their friends or were living alone. Furthermore, it was reported that 74.1% claimed to be “very religious”; among them 68% were Christians and 32% were Muslims (Makanjuola *et al.*, 2007: 113). It was also reported that 40.4% were using at least one of the substances, and the “lifetime prevalence of substance use was 78%” with mild stimulants being the most-used substance (Makanjuola *et al.*, 2007: 113). Overall, 13.6% of the participants were consuming alcohol at the time of the study and this made it the second most-used drug. There were significant differences between the males and females who were using alcohol and the lifetime use. Furthermore, it was reported that factors such as older age (25 years and above) and having difficulties in one’s academic studies increased substance use. Importantly, those in clinical medicine and students who did not have roommates used more of the substances (Makanjuola *et al.*, 2007).

While a significant relationship was found between alcohol, tobacco and cannabis, those who reported that they were mentally fit were non-current users of alcohol (Makanjuola *et al.*, 2007). Makanjuola *et al.*’s (2007) finding that students who lived off-campus were likely to be using substances more than on-campus students, lends support to two other studies conducted in the same region (Abikoye and Osinowo, 2011; Abikoye and Adekoya, 2010). Although Makanjuola *et al.* did not point out the particular substance that was most used by those who wanted to stay awake at night, they stated that one motive for substance use was to be awake to read at night. The findings that ranked alcohol as the second most used substance among these medical students are inversely related to what was reported in some studies conducted in Nigeria. For example, in a similar study among medical students (although conducted earlier and in another region), Ihezue (1988a) reported that alcohol was the most-used licit substance. In another related study, he reported that alcohol (60%) was the most frequently used substance, and out of those who consumed it, 68% misused it monthly, 23% misused it twice or thrice monthly, while 7% had abused the substance at least once (Ihezue, 1988b).

Although some female participants were users of these substances, a consistent finding among these studies is that males used and misused substances more than females. Makanjuola *et al.*’s findings are relevant to the current discussions on students’ use and

misuse of substances, especially because the study was conducted among medical students who supposedly were knowledgeable about the consequences of substance abuse. The findings confirm that the motives for drinking or benefits of inhibition superseded the perception of inherent harm (Mckay *et al.*, 2012). Again, this is in agreement with Abikoye and Osinowo's (2011) finding that students (who revealed that they were aware of the consequences) drove their cars after heavy drinking. Two major weaknesses of Makanjuola *et al.*'s (2007) study are its cross-sectional design, which makes it difficult to make inferences based on the results, and the non-adoption of qualitative or mixed methods designs in order to further probe the motivations behind the use of alcohol. Thus, my study will attempt to fill this gap by employing qualitative methods.

Still focusing on discussions on the use and misuse of alcohol among students in south-western Nigeria, evidence suggests that there are growing numbers of younger students who are drinking harmfully. For instance, Abayomi *et al.*'s (2013) study of first-year undergraduate students at a government-owned university reported a 14.9% hazardous drinking prevalence. Further analysis of the data revealed that 24.3% of females and 49.1% of males had consumed alcohol during the previous year prior to the study (that is, they initiated drinking before gaining admission to the university). Additionally, 67.8% reported using alcohol monthly while 7.3% revealed that they had suffered injuries or inflicted injuries on others after drinking (Abayomi *et al.*, 2013). Factors such as male gender, having a father who was educated, and not being in a cordial relationship with one's father were among the predictors of alcohol misuse among the participants. Abayomi *et al.* (2013) added that those who reported a hazardous use of alcohol were four times more likely to have health-related problems than those who did not use alcohol hazardously.

Additionally, Adewuya *et al.* (2007), who studied 2668 university students in the same region, reported that 4.4% of males and 1.1% of females abused alcohol. These scholars reported that 1.1% of males and 0.13% of females could be categorized as alcohol dependent. Other factors that predicted alcohol use disorder include parental alcohol consumption, not being active in religious activities and having parents with high socio-economic status (Adewuya *et al.*, 2007). This finding regarding high parental socio-economic status and alcohol use lends credence to Abikoye and Osinowo's (2011) study- a factor attributable to parental permissiveness. In recent years, there have been many popular

maxims, mostly coming from parents who might have encountered difficult socio-economic conditions as they grew up. One is that “their children should not undergo hardship because they (the parents) had it tough in life” (Abikoye and Adekoya, 2010: 305). This appears to facilitate young people’s substance misuse in contemporary Nigeria due to a lack of parental discipline, increasing leniency and non-enforcement of traditional values that value young people’s abstinence. Although there is evidently a dearth of research on this debate in Nigeria, studies from other countries (e.g., Pokhrel *et al.*, 2008; Ledoux *et al.*, 2002) have reported that less monitoring due to parental leniency and permissiveness encourage young people to misuse licit and illicit drugs.

The discussions of alcohol and other substance use among Nigerian students have not yielded consistent results. Different reasons, in the studies reviewed so far and earlier studies have been given as predictors of alcohol use and misuse among this group. Some of the studies conducted in the 1980s and 1990s implicated parental and siblings’ drinking (Oshodin, 1984), and this is still extant in contemporary Nigeria (Abasiubong *et al.*, 2012), while other causal factors include poor academic performance and poor relationships between students and their teachers (Adelekan *et al.*, 1993). Other predictors include early onset of alcohol consumption (Oshodin, 1981), a factor that is consistent with other studies (e.g., Windle and Windle, 2012; Pitkänen *et al.*, 2005) conducted in other countries. Other factors include easy accessibility and non-regulation of alcohol (Odejide *et al.*, 1987; Oshodin, 1985). While some of these reasons still exist in contemporary Nigeria (Obot, 2013; Umoh *et al.*, 2012), some novel predictors have emerged in some studies (this will be revealed in the subsequent sections). The studies I have reviewed so far were conducted in south-western Nigeria. I will now shift focus to studies conducted in other regions. The ensuing section highlights findings of identified studies from south-eastern Nigeria.

2.3. Alcohol Use among Undergraduate Students in south-eastern Nigeria

It is worthy of note that while a considerable number of studies concerning alcohol use among students in south-western Nigeria have been conducted, few studies were identified in south-eastern Nigeria, where my study site is situated. Chikere and Mayowa (2011), in a study conducted in Owerri (Imo state capital), selected 482 male undergraduate students

from four different higher institutions with the aim of determining the prevalence of alcohol and how students perceive its health-related effects. The focus of the study included amongst other things: the rationale for alcohol consumption, the quantity consumed per day (in terms of bottles), and the prevalence and consequences of alcohol use. It is not surprising to see the question of the 'number of bottles' consumed per day, unlike the units of a standard drink, which is replete in studies conducted in other countries. One of the reasons is that industry-produced alcoholic beverages, especially beer, are sold in bottles in Nigeria (cans were recently introduced in Nigeria), and the buyer is expected to drink and return the bottle to the seller because alcohol is sold in terms of *liquid content only*.

The data were elicited through a semi-structured questionnaire, and the results revealed that the most-used alcoholic beverage is "Star", a 60-centilitre bottle of beer produced by the Nigerian Breweries. Further description of the data revealed that 79% of the participants were married while 21% were single (Chikere and Mayowa, 2011). In terms of religion, 460 participants were Christians and 22 were Muslims. This is unsurprising because the region is predominantly a Christian region with few indigenous (traditional) worshipers (Oshodin, 1995). The findings revealed 78.4% alcohol-use prevalence and showed that single participants used alcohol more than their married counterparts (Chikere and Mayowa, 2011). The rationale for alcohol consumption showed that 24.4% drink because alcohol "makes them feel high or on top of the world" while 6.6% drink because "it makes them belong to the group of happening guys" on their various campuses (Chikere and Mayowa, 2011: 118). Chikere and Mayowa further revealed that 52% of the participants used alcohol for relaxation and to reduce stress, 16% used alcohol in order not to be different from their best friends, and 51.1% used alcohol to enhance sexual performance or pleasure (Chikere and Mayowa, 2011).

Additionally, the participants reported some alcohol-related problems such as hangovers, weakness, bad feelings, drowsiness and excessive driving speed, which often resulted in accidents (Chikere and Mayowa, 2011). The results showed that those in the age bracket of 16-20 years (70%) formed the majority of the alcohol users while those in their third year (86.1%) had the highest prevalence rate of alcohol consumption (Chikere and Mayowa, 2011). 11.6% of the participants had their first drink between the ages of 11 and 15 years, while 45% had their first drinking experience at 16-20 years. The scholars

questioned where these students sourced alcohol and found that 23.8% obtained alcohol from nightclubs while 38.9% reportedly bought alcohol anywhere (Chikere and Mayowa, 2011). That alcohol can be accessed *anywhere* is in consonance with Oshodin's (1995: 219) assertion that "in Nigeria, it is possible to purchase alcohol anywhere", in that "people sell alcohol from their bedrooms or turn their living rooms into beer parlours". It also supports other studies (Umoh *et al.*, 2012; De Bruijn, 2011), and this is attributable to alcohol marketing (Jernigan and Obot, 2006) due to the loopholes created by a lack of alcohol policy (Obot, 2007).

One of the interesting findings of Chikere and Mayowa (2011) is that while 47.9% of the current alcohol users intended to give up alcohol consumption due to religious (7.8%) and medical (62.4%) reasons, 52.1% had no intention of quitting or reducing their alcohol use. This corroborates Abikoye and Osinowo's (2011) finding that although people may be aware of the consequences of alcohol misuse, they may not take the necessary action to reduce excessive drinking or to quit drinking. That alcohol was used among these undergraduate students hazardously confirms Klein's (2001) study that reported a high rate of substance use among young Nigerians between the ages of 14 and 25 years. Again, that over 50% of the current drinkers believe that alcohol can be used to enhance sexual pleasure is in keeping with Abikoye and Osinowo's (2011) study.

Another insightful result is that 'Star beer' was the most-used alcoholic beverage among the participants. This lends support to Obot's (2007) assertion that bottled beer is the most-used alcoholic beverage in Nigeria. One probable reason is because Star beer was the first industry-made beer in Nigeria (Heap, 1996). Its popularity has also been attributed to the sophisticated advertising, marketing and promotion used to sell the product. In fact, in the 1960s, Nigerian Breweries (the producer of Star beer), "wrote a new advertising brief for their agency, specifying the need to build up a stronger brand image, and the aim of persuading 'light' drinkers (defined as one to three bottles per week) to drink more regularly" (Van Den Bersselaar, 2011: 401). This was as a result of the findings of earlier market research conducted by the company. This persuasion of light drinkers to consume more has continued to date (I will return to this in the section on alcohol marketing).

Scholars from Western countries (e.g., Ridout, Campbell and Ellis, 2012) have revealed that some university students use alcohol and drunkenness for the construction of social identity, and this has also emerged in Nigeria because Chikere and Mayowa (2011) revealed that students drank alcohol because they wanted to be recognized among groups of “happening guys” on campus. This study revealed many interesting findings, but the study has two main shortcomings. First, it included only male students, and the rationale for excluding female students was not explained. Chikere and Mayowa would have painted a fuller picture of alcohol consumption among students had they studied both male and female students because a few available studies (e.g., Klein, 2001; Olley and Ajiteru, 2001) have reported that young Nigerian females use alcohol and other drugs.

For example, Egbuonu *et al.*'s (2004) study, which examined female secondary school students in Anambra State (in the same south-eastern region), revealed that, while 4.7% of the students used tobacco, 9.5% consumed alcohol. Therefore, if students in secondary school, who are mainly under parental control, have started to use different substances, the likelihood of consuming such substances at university is high because they will be independent of parental monitoring during term time. This is supported by the fact that students in another study reported that one of the reasons why they engage in premarital sex (which is culturally forbidden in Nigeria) on campus is because they are not being monitored by their parents (Okonkwo, 2010).

2.4. Alcohol Consumption among Nigerian Women

In contemporary Nigeria, women are drinking alcohol and this is causing diverse alcohol-related problems (Room and Selin, 2005). In a male-dominated society like Nigeria, drunkenness among males may be easily overlooked or pardoned (Ikuesan, 1994). This may not be extended to females because a known female user may not just be seen as feckless and a social misfit; her family will have been dishonoured, to the extent that other females in her family will be prevented from getting married (Ikuesan, 1994). It is against this background that this section of the review will explore available empirical findings on female drinking behaviour.

Mamman, Brieger and Oshiname (2002: 583) conducted an exploratory study to describe the drinking patterns of women in a community in Nigeria. The 300 randomly selected participants were aged between 20 and 65 years (students and non-students, mean age = 38 years) and the data revealed that 32.7% of the participants were current alcohol users; 26.7% had used alcohol before abstention; and 40.7% were lifetime abstainers (Mamman *et al.*, 2002). There was an age variation among the abstainers, those who had stopped drinking and the current users. This is because the older participants (41.4 years) were lifetime abstainers; those who had stopped were in the age range of 35.3 years; and, the current users were aged 36.2 years. The findings also showed that drinking increased in line with educational attainment. For example, 28.9% of the drinkers had never acquired formal education, 33.8% had primary education, while 39.2% had secondary and post-secondary education (Mamman *et al.*, 2002).

The results also showed that those who were single, separated or divorced (46.3%) were current users of alcohol, as against 29.7% of the married participants. Those who sold food were among the current drinkers (51.4%). In Nigeria, women (popularly called *mama-put*) sell food in addition to locally and factory-produced alcoholic beverages in bars, kiosks and restaurants. For example, Hathaway's (1997: 147) study of Ado (south-western Nigeria) reported that out of the "44 traditional bars" examined, "women ran 41" of them. Although it is believed that they sell the food and alcohol to male patrons, the possibility of drinking is high.

In terms of brand preference, it was revealed that 64.3% used Guinness stout, 21.4% preferred Schnapps, mainly for religious purposes, 20.4% used industry-produced beer, 14.3% drank locally-produced beer or palm wine, and 10% used the local gin (Mamman *et al.*, 2002). The findings further revealed that 34.7% had experienced drunkenness that had led to vomiting, loss of memory and so forth, and the drunkenness was as a result of partying (81.8%). With regard to the aspect of alcohol and the media, Mamman *et al.* added that 67.3% had listened to radio alcohol adverts, 54% had seen posters, and 51.7% had seen alcohol advertising on television; 27.3% had also seen billboards, while 18% had seen magazine advertisements (Mamman *et al.*, 2002).

Importantly, while reasons for drinking were ceremonious and religious, others used alcohol for medication, especially to improve blood level (due to menstrual cycles), to relieve cold, to gain strength or to alleviate worries. Furthermore, the participants were asked if they believed that alcohol performed special functions for them and 29 participants revealed that it performed special roles. Among these 29 women, 12 reported that one of these special roles is to aid those who are “ready to deliver a baby” to ease pain (Mamman *et al.*, 2002: 589). They also reported that alcohol helps them to sleep soundly, and it is good to give it to children who suffer convulsions (Mamman *et al.*, 2002). The participants believed that women who drink alcohol frequently are “harlots, unmarried women, divorced, and students” (Mamman *et al.*, 2002: 590). That these women are aware that females who drink are stigmatized corroborates Ikuesan's (1994: 942) statement that in Nigeria, “drinking has never been part of the acceptable image of women”.

The participants revealed that alcohol-related problems among females include: “accidents, fighting, illness, rape, abortion, neglect of children, mental problems, and tarnished image”, and they also believed that their children are likely to copy their drinking behaviour (Mamman *et al.*, 2002: 589). The finding that showed that the majority of women drink at parties lends support to Enekwechi's (1996) result that Nigerian females are social drinkers. One plausible reason for this is that at a party, which is a product of modernization (Ikuesan, 1994), women may not be constrained from drinking alcohol by culture. For example, young women who may not be allowed to buy alcohol and drink in the presence of their parents due to cultural constraints (Enekwechi, 1996), may maximise the opportunity of a party atmosphere to drink alcohol. The result that identified a preference for Guinness stout among women is associated with the way in which Guinness stout has been advertised as a source of vitality, energy and so forth (Obot and Ibanga, 2002). Again, the findings that showed that participants' educational attainment increased their alcohol use has also been reported by Ikuesan (1994) and this is likely to be as a result of more exposure to the effects of globalization, self-independence and more money to spend due to well paid jobs.

Two other findings that need to be highlighted are that alcohol is given to children who suffer convulsions and is also used to ease the pain of childbirth. Although the authors did not reveal how many participants had engaged in such practices, it is undeniable that such beliefs and practices have serious implications. On the one hand, it can lead to early

alcohol initiation (Oshodin, 1984). On the other hand, it may lead to medical complications as medicinal alcoholic drinks that are common in Nigeria have high ABV (estimated to be above 20% Kehinde and Olusegun, 2012)). This study has found that changes to alcohol consumption may not just be on campuses, but that women are beginning to use (as well as give their children) locally and industry-made alcoholic beverages for different reasons. Some of these reasons are against the cultural norms because “Nigerian women traditionally did not drink palm wine”, which was the main alcoholic beverage, especially in southern Nigeria (Umunna, 1967: 534). Therefore, in my study, I will explore the factors that motivate young female students to use alcohol in contemporary Nigeria, in order to shed light on the determinants of alcohol consumption among them.

2.5. Alcohol and Nigerian Media

2.5.1. Alcohol portrayal in Nigerian-made Movies

This section explores the extent to which alcohol is portrayed in the Nigerian mass media and how this portrayal may engender subsequent alcohol use. This is important because of the controversies in the literature. Some studies from Western countries argue that media’s portrayal of alcohol in a positive light influences young people to desire, initiate, use and misuse alcohol (Austin, Chen and Grube, 2006; Connolly *et al.*, 2006). It is also argued that some non-commercial aspects, such as music, prime time television shows and motion pictures have the potential to encourage alcohol initiation. This is why Cherrington *et al.* (2006: 213) posited that “these sources are all interconnected to the on-going construction and maintenance of positive views about alcohol, but receive very little critical attention in dominant approach to advertising research”. By contrast, others argued that media portrayals partially predict drinking or do not encourage alcohol use (Pasch *et al.*, 2007).

In Nigeria, only one study could be identified with regard to alcohol portrayal in movies. The study was conducted in Lagos where the official headquarters of the Nigerian movie industry (‘Nollywood’) is situated. The study involved the authors and research assistants visiting viewing centres to watch the locally-made films (Aina and Olorunshola, 2007). The films in the study were either acted in the Yoruba language (205) or the English

language (274), and the researchers took notes of scenes portraying substance use and the kind of substances portrayed as they viewed the movies.

Aina and Olorunshola (2007) reported that 55.9% of the movies portrayed substance use in one or multiple scenes. Among those that had substance use portrayals, 247 (51.6%) had scenes showing one substance being consumed, but 21 (4.3%) revealed the use of many substances. They revealed that alcohol, which had 197 (41.1%) portrayals, was the most frequently portrayed and used substance in the movies, followed by tobacco 81 (16.2%), heroin and cocaine 8 (1.6%), and cannabis (0.6%) (Aina and Olorunshola, 2007). The results also revealed that movies acted in English had 57% depictions. Regarding the pattern of alcohol use, they reported that 146 (74.1%) scenes portrayed people drinking socially, 31 (15.7%) portrayed alcohol dependence scenes, and 20 (10.2%) showed outright drunkenness. Regarding the brand or type of alcoholic beverages used, the data revealed that bottled alcoholic beer was mostly used 131 (66.5%); next in (descending order) were wine and brandy 42 (21.3%), palm wine (6.6%), and the locally-produced gin (Aina and Olorunshola, 2007).

That alcohol was the most-used substance in these 268 movies supports the fact that alcohol is the most used substance in Nigeria (Gureje *et al.*, 2007). Also, that industry-produced beer is the mostly used alcoholic beverage is in keeping with other studies (Dimah and Gire, 2004; Obot and Ibanga, 2002). It was found that drunkenness and alcohol dependence scenes were portrayed in a positive light (Aina and Olorunshola, 2007) and thus may facilitate young people's substance use. This is because studies have shown that many adolescents believe that what they see on the screen is reality (Strasburger, Wilson and Jordan, 2007), especially if they admire the media character (Tanski *et al.*, 2009).

This study has produced insightful findings because it was the first attempt in Nigeria to empirically analyse the role that movie portrayals of substance use may play in facilitating viewers' substance consumption. Irrespective of this, the study was merely descriptive, did not collect data from human participants and lacked analytical rigour. Thus, my study will subjectively examine how movie (Nigerian-made and foreign films) portrayals of alcohol consumption facilitate young people's alcohol use. This focus is important because studies conducted in the USA and some European countries have revealed that Hollywood films

portray multiple alcohol scenes, and these films are heavily consumed among young people (this will be explored in detail in the next chapter). Similarly, as shown above, Nigerian-made movies also portray high numbers of alcohol scenes and this may have effects on audiences, especially young viewers. Having reviewed this study on alcohol portrayals in Nollywood movies, the next section will turn to alcohol marketing in Nigeria.

2.5.2. Alcohol Marketing Strategies in Nigeria

In Nigeria, although advertising codes exist (one stipulates that alcohol advertisements should not be aired on television and radio before 8 pm), they are either not enforced or are circumvented by alcohol producers and their representatives via diverse and sophisticated marketing strategies (De Bruijn et al., 2014). One factor that scholars have identified is that alcohol policies do not currently exist in Nigeria and this is related to the government's economic interest (Obot, 2007). Therefore, alcohol companies largely rely on self-regulation. In consequence, alcohol availability has continued to increase, exacerbating consumption among young people (World Health Organization, 2014). For example, in a study conducted in Ibadan, Odejide *et al.* (2008) reported that alcohol marketing was one main factor that influenced participants' current alcohol consumption to the extent that one of the participants was able to recite the lines of advertising messages he had seen. Similarly, the study reported that the participants believed that giving away free alcoholic drinks facilitated excessive consumption. Although alcohol is served freely on many occasions in Nigeria (as a sign of hospitality), promotions that involve free drinks or a reduction in sale prices by brewers have been reported to encourage minors to drink (De Bruijn, 2011) and to result in excess consumption (Obot, 2013). As Odejide *et al.*'s study was conducted in the south-west, my study will explore this phenomenon among south-eastern Nigerian students, especially because no study of this nature has been conducted in this region.

In a study that compared alcohol marketing practices in seven developing countries (including Nigeria) with the United Kingdom's standard, Farrell and Gordon (2012) reported that alcohol marketers engage in practices that contravene international marketing codes. For example, they revealed that some products from Guinness are associated with

aggression, virility and strength (Farrell and Gordon, 2012), and this is in line with a previous study (Obot and Ibanga, 2002) that showed that Guinness portrays its product as a potential source of energy and an enhancer of sexual potency. It was concluded that “alcohol producers are seemingly taking advantage of a lack of regulations” (Farrell and Gordon, 2012: 150) or ineffective ones to use measures that have been outlawed in developed countries.

Another measure that has been employed is product development. Although this has been a strategy in other countries (Jernigan, 2009), it appears to be increasingly employed in contemporary Nigeria. For example, in August 2012, SABMiller invested 100 million US dollars in Nigeria (SABMiller News and Media, 2014) and a new beer called Hero is now brewed by the company. Alcohol producers do not just design new products; they link alcohol brands and consumption to youth culture, music and fame (Obot, 2013) and through these means build brand capital. This is mainly because “young people find great pleasure in the language of alcohol advertising”, in that this language is carefully selected to appeal to them (Ruddock, 2012a: 61). A recent example is ‘Hero’ beer, which has been branded “Oh Mpa” (oh father- a popular slang among young males in south-eastern Nigeria) in the local language.

Similarly, alcohol companies have recently introduced female-friendly, ready-to-drink sweetened alcoholic beverages in order to encourage more women to drink. For example, in 2012, Guinness Nigeria unveiled one of these beverages called SNAPP (Obot, 2013) to complement the already existing Smirnoff Ice, and in 2013 it introduced “Orijin”, another ready-to-drink herbal alcoholic beverage. Additionally, Consolidated Breweries in partnership with Bacardi Tradall introduced Bacardi Breezer in August 2014. Although this marketing strategy has existed in other countries (Hastings *et al.*, 2005), evidence shows that it increases the physical availability of alcohol and results in heavy drinking among users (Huckle *et al.*, 2008). Again, scholars have shown that ready-to-drink alcoholic beverages increased underage drinking due to the way in which producers package these products (Gates *et al.*, 2007). Some other reasons why ready-to-drink beverages are popular among young people are because of the taste, the belief that these sweetened beverages facilitate partying, and the inability to detect that such products have intoxicating effects (Jones, Barrie and Berry, 2012).

Alcohol companies in Nigeria have been engaging in diverse promotion and sponsorship. In the early 2000s, Obot and Ibanga (2002) noted that they sponsored youth-oriented fashion shows, concerts and carnivals, and even secondary school essay competitions. Although some of these strategies still exist, they have introduced others. These include “Star Trek” (all-night parties where local musicians and comedians are contracted to entertain young people in different 10 Nigerian cities annually) and ‘Star Quest’- a musical talent hunt (Nigerian Breweries, 2013a). Others are the ‘Legend Real Nite Deal’ (another all-night party to which admission is free), the “Star-Time-to-Shine Promo”, where 16 brand new Toyota cars and other prizes are given away to winners (Nigerian Breweries, 2013b), and many others.

Again, promotions such as buy-two-get-one-free and open-and-win (where codes are concealed under the crown cork of bottles) are rampant (Nigerian Breweries, 2013c). Similarly, raffle draws where people are given the opportunity to win tickets to travel to Dubai to shop at the expense of the company (Agency Reporter, 2013) and the most-recent promotion in which 11 people were sponsored to watch the world cup in Brazil with all expenses paid (Agency Reporter, 2014), are present. A significant aspect of these promotions is that they are not only televised via national television channels, but alcohol companies also upload marketing messages and associated images on Facebook, YouTube and Instagram (and other social network sites- SNSs), and young people are encouraged to view, comment, like and share these posts. Thus, alcohol companies flaunt their success by displaying how many “likes” such promotions have received from followers on these SNSs. This is why Ruddock (2012a: 57) notes that “Facebook is part of the alcohol advertising conundrum because it is a valuable marketing tool for drinks industry, especially among students”.

2.5.3. A Case Study of Alcohol Advertising on Electronic and Print Media

To paint a fuller picture of alcohol marketing in Nigeria, I will now consider a fairly recent case study because of its comprehensive nature. The study was sponsored by the African Regional Office of the World Health Organization, in 2011, to examine alcohol marketing in Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda (De Bruijn, 2011). The data from Nigeria revealed that

alcohol advertisements appeared in all of the media (electronic and print) examined, but less print advertising was reported due to the low literacy level and the cost of procuring magazines or newspapers (De Bruijn, 2011). It was revealed that although alcohol advertisements featured in newspapers or magazines, marketers also advertised by placing alcoholic beverage logos on print media websites.

With regard to the electronic media such as television and radio owned by the government or private operators, De Bruijn (2011) reported thus:

Noticeable...was the sponsorship of programs by alcohol producers, which show the logo and slogan of the brand in the screen during almost the whole program. Popular programs that have been sponsored by alcohol producers are Big Brother Africa by Star beer; Ultimate Search by Gulder beer. On Channel 5, 11 alcohol advertisements were found within a period of 1.5 hours. Alcohol commercials of certain brands were clustered around programs... people watching the music and sport programs are exposed to too much alcohol ads (De Bruijn, 2011: 42).

The data reveal similar results for both radio and television. Although alcohol commercials on radio and television in Nigeria are not supposed to run before 8pm, De Bruijn (2011) reported that different alcohol producers and marketers indirectly used different means such as sponsorship of special programmes to advertise their products during the day (Obot and Ibanga, 2002). With regard to outdoor advertising, it was reported that whilst billboards are used to advertise alcohol:

Stacked crates of beer, often in combination with small posters are displayed on the street to indicate selling points of alcohol. The frequency of places with crates of beer on the street indicates the enormous number of selling points and distribution centres of alcohol... the interviews with bar and shop owners indicate that the crates of beer in front of the store are used as a marketing instrument.... (De Bruijn, 2011: 45).

De Bruijn (2011: 45) also found that “producers provide shop and bar owners with... chairs, tables, umbrellas and refrigerators with logos of the brand”. He added that alcohol producers provide these materials to ensure that the retailers market their products. In the

villages, De Bruijn reported that the promotion of factory-made beer through the use of posters was common. Some other strategies were reported including the sponsorship of sports, especially the national football team, and the giving away of branded promotional paraphernalia (De Bruijn, 2011: 47). This study further examined the effects of alcohol marketing on young people by conducting interviews with four 12 to 14-year old adolescents, and it was revealed that advertisements and promotions were having serious effects on these minors. For example, a female participant revealed that “people of her age drink Star beer”; another boy reported that he admired the advertisement for Guinness stout due to “the free drinks they promote” and added that “if I don’t see the stout ad on television, I feel bad” (De Bruijn, 2011: 37). This boy pointed out his readiness to initiate drinking because of the advertisements he had seen. Another participant reported that she saw alcohol advertisements up to four times per week, and further explained that she preferred Star commercials “because you can win so many things, for example, free drinks” (De Bruijn, 2011: 37).

De Bruijn's (2011) study has many findings that confirm other earlier studies. For instance, the use of aggressive advertising, and the sponsorship of social events, football and so forth were reported by Obot and Ibanga (2002) and confirmed by a review of the role of brewers in alcohol marketing in Africa (Jernigan and Obot, 2006). The former study reported that respondents revealed that the advertisements they saw were meant to encourage people to drink beer while producers aimed to increase sales (Obot and Ibanga, 2002). Studies conducted outside Nigeria have revealed that the sponsorship of sporting events encourages people to drink (O'Brien *et al.*, 2011) while winning promotional paraphernalia directly induces those who have received the items to use the product (O'Brien and Kypri, 2008). De Bruijn's (2011) study has highlighted insightful findings that are worth investigating further because aggressive marketing, promotion and other strategic ‘corporate social responsibilities’ (Nigerian Breweries, 2012) are evolving in Nigeria. Irrespective of the strengths of the study, it did not elicit enough data from the participants. This is because only four adolescents were interviewed and surprisingly, a picture of one of the participants was displayed in the study. My study, therefore, will attempt to fill these gaps.

2.5.4. Effects of Alcohol Promotion on Students and other Young People

Evidence shows that one of the most effective ways to reduce alcohol-related problems is to control its availability. In a study that investigated alcohol advertising regulations in 16 European countries, Bosque-Prous *et al.* (2014) showed that countries with stricter rules on alcohol marketing experience reduced hazardous alcohol consumption. Additionally, research shows that restricting alcohol availability correlates with lower alcohol consumption (Cook *et al.*, 2014), and as said, alcohol marketing often results in increased availability of alcohol. In the USA, for instance, Thombs *et al.* (2009) noted that bar-sponsored drink specials increased patrons' level of intoxication; this confirms Kuo *et al.*'s (2003) study. Indeed, this may not be unconnected with the fact that promotional activities are common on American campuses (Clapp *et al.*, 2000). In the Philippines, Swahn *et al.* (2013) revealed that alcohol marketing that involves giving away items such as free drinks encourages drunkenness among students.

In Africa, similar findings have been identified. It was reported that young people's exposure to alcohol marketing in Kampala (Uganda) had an association with alcohol use and misuse (Swahn, Palmier and Kasirye, 2013). Here, it was revealed that marketers give away branded paraphernalia with alcohol logos and offer free alcoholic drinks. Swahn *et al.* (2013) stated that receiving free alcoholic drinks from representatives of alcohol companies resulted in "current alcohol use, problem drinking and drunkenness" among 14-24-year old youths (Swahn *et al.*, 2013: 5). As this accounts suggests, one of the reasons for this result may be because "advertising messages are received and understood in the contexts of the recipients' lived experience" (Casswell and Maxwell, 2005: 349). Many people live in abject poverty in Africa, (and many other developing countries); therefore, people may see free drink as an excellent opportunity to drink because such promotions do not last forever. Summarizing the effects of sponsorships, Casswell and Maxwell (2005: 350) noted that:

Sponsorship can cash in on the prestige, fun or glamour of the event, accessing audiences when they are receptive during an enjoyable or exciting time. Sponsorship offers the advantages of ready targeting of a particular market and enabling exposure beyond the restrictions sometimes placed on more direct advertising.

Because sponsorship and other promotional activities are increasing (and have a wider reach on vulnerable groups), they promote “a culture in which excessive alcohol consumption is seen as a norm” (Jones *et al.*, 2007: 478). Thus, in the current study, I will explore the role of alcohol promotion in students’ drinking behaviours. Having reviewed alcohol marketing, my concern in the next section will be to explore gender and sexuality in Nigeria.

2.6. Conceptualising Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity has been a concept widely employed by gender scholars to describe the subordination of women through specific strategies (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Donaldson (1993: 645) states that:

Hegemonic masculinity concerns the dread of and the flight from women. A culturally idealized form, it is both a personal and a collective project, and is the common sense about... manhood. It is exclusive, anxiety-provoking, internally and hierarchically differentiated... and socially sustained. While centrally connected with the institutions of male dominance, not all men practice it, though most benefit from it.

According to Demetriou (2001), two types of hegemony: internal and external exist. External hegemony occurs in patriarchal societies where men’s dominance over women is institutionalized. In these societies, men’s higher social status positions them to have material benefits or “patriarchal dividends” (Connell, 1996: 2). Internal hegemony occurs when a category of men maintain a higher social status than other men, thereby establishing the subordination and marginalization of the lower status men. Hegemonic masculinity needs only a minority of men to police the majority, excluding those categorized under “subordinate masculinity” and women (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 832).

2.7. The Fluidity of Gender

Every society has specific behavioural patterns that are categorized as either masculine or feminine, and this is often borne out of consensus (Peralta, 2007). Because such behaviours are not inherently biological, individual members of such societies acquire these behavioural patterns through the socialization process. This suggests that gender is not fixed but fluid because “gender behaviour is accomplished in the presence of onlookers” who categorise such behaviour as masculine or feminine (Peralta, 2007: 742). Given that the formation of hegemonic masculinities is contextual and because social situations change, hegemonic masculinity can be altered (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Indeed, research has shown that individuals may construct masculinity differently in particular contexts, thereby suggesting that there are *multiple masculinities* (Peralta, 2007; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). To further show the fluidity of gender, Measham (2002: 350-351) stressed that:

Gender is something we all do in situational ways. Masculinities and femininities are not something imposed on men and women, but something men and women accomplish themselves on an ongoing basis, constructed in specific social situations in which people find themselves.

Wenger (cited in Lyons and Willott (2008 p.695)) suggested that “masculinities and femininities can be treated as community of practice in which people learn what it is to be male and female within particular localized communities”. Additionally, Paechter (2003: 71) note that “practice is not fixed, but fluid; the practices of a particular community are constantly being shifted, renegotiated and reinvented”. This underscores the fact that what is feminine or masculine is learned or practised contextually. Similarly, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) posited that gender relations were borne out of history. Therefore, there is the possibility that hierarchies of gender can change. Humans construct gender through their day-to-day interactions with others (Connell, 1995) and these contextual interactions may necessitate pluralistic masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Thus, through the resistance of, or challenge to patriarchy by women or men that are subordinated by other men, hegemonic masculinity becomes subject to change (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). It has been argued that hegemonic masculinity confers benefits to men over women. An example of one such benefit is that men’s alcohol consumption is

perceived differently (i.e., with less stigmatization) from women's alcohol use. As such, this thesis will explore the extent to which this applies to the Nigerian society.

2.8. Hegemonic Masculinity and Sexuality in Nigeria

Nigeria is a patriarchal society; thus, preference is often given to males in many facets of daily life. Women have been subjugated and denied many rights such as the right to vote, be voted for and so forth for many decades. Even in contemporary Nigeria, there are many government posts that women have never occupied. For example, no woman has been a central bank governor to date while the first woman to be appointed a Supreme Court Judge in 2012 held the post for only two years. Although a few communities accord females respect, it is uncommon. To demonstrate the height of this practice, Ezeifeke and Osakwe (2013) argued that even the 1999 constitution (which is the present Nigerian constitution) has only one reference to feminine language.

The notion of patriarchy, the construction of males' superiority over females, the socialization of females into passive femininity and the importance attached to these are replete in different Nigerian cultures and manifest in diverse dimensions (Okonkwo, 2010; Izugbara, 2008). For example, due to cultural constructions, women in Nigeria do not inherit land from their fathers, and many face different forms of discrimination and socio-economic deprivation (Fawole, 2008). The importance attached to "maleness" and in consequence, the preference for male children is very common to the extent that many Nigerian couples offer sacrifices and consult spirits in the belief that this will help them to bear male children (Gbarale, 1999). In terms of sexuality, there is abounding evidence to show that sexual exploitation is one of the methods that boys employ to demonstrate that they have approached manhood (Barker and Ricardo, 2005). Although this practice is a way in which men construct their gender identity and assert their masculinity in many parts of the world (Harper, 2004), its emphasis in the Nigerian context is significant. For example, Izugbara (2004: 27) notes that the:

Dominant sexuality discourses in Nigeria are premised on patriarchal ideologies which privilege men and encourage their socialization into forms of masculinity that

are domineering. The discourses also demean women and support their socialization into forms of femininity that are submissive.

Popular songs and chants in Nigeria, especially among young people, depict sexual adventure, where men are seen as good risk takers, clever and smart, and women's bodies are demeaned as objects to be enjoyed by men (Izugbara, 2005). As discussed in Okonkwo (2010: 283), males are encouraged by their peers "to act like a man" when it comes to premarital sex. This display of masculinity is encouraging risky sexual behaviours among Nigerian students (Okonkwo, 2010), a factor that has been attributed to the influence of mass media (Agha, 2009).

Additionally, Nigerian women suffer physical, psychological and sexual violence (Antai, 2011; Okenwa *et al.*, 2009; Ajuwon *et al.*, 2001) from men, and many of these attacks are not reported due to many factors such as stigmatization. For example, in a study conducted among female hawkers (street traders) in south-western Nigeria, Fawole *et al.* (2002) reported that 36.3% of these hawkers suffered sexual harassment, which made it the most-common form of violence that women experienced. Again, the study revealed that out of the 19 girls who had experienced rape, only one had reported it to the police. Similarly, these scholars reported that 66.9% of those examined were either forced to stop schooling in order to go into full-time hawking or to get married (Fawole *et al.*, 2002). With regard to why rape victims refused to report, they added that the stigma attached to this in Nigeria and the fact that rape victims find it very difficult to attract marriage suitors often hinder victims from reporting such acts of violence.

Because the ability to dominate is a feature of hegemonic masculinity, men practise this with women but this appears to perpetuate the *rape culture* (Hlavka, 2014). This raises obvious questions concerning how young people construct their gender identity and seek sexual exploit; yet no notable research has explored this in Nigeria. Although Chikere and Mayowa (2011) reported that some males consume alcohol because they believe that drinkers are famous, they did not examine the motivation for this. Thus, my study will attempt to address these gaps.

2.9. Conclusion

This chapter focuses on studies that concern Nigerian young people and alcohol with a specific focus on student populations. Although a few studies conducted among non-student populations have been included, this is in order to have a wider scope because alcohol research is nascent in Nigeria. In the studies considered (except two that had only female participants), it was revealed that males dominate drinking spaces, and the reason for this is the cultural constraints on alcohol use among females. The review has also shown that young people, and especially students, are drinking alcohol and using the substance to construct gender identities in contemporary Nigeria. What the study that reported this failed to do was to investigate the motivation for this phenomenon, and this is one of the gaps that my study seeks to fill.

Additionally, the chapter has explored alcohol portrayals in the Nigerian media and highlighted findings on the role of advertising and promotion and their relationship with alcohol availability. Importantly, the review has highlighted various findings and gaps regarding the interplay between alcohol marketing, availability, and use and misuse among young people. Although two empirical studies (each with less than 10 participants) on alcohol marketing in Nigeria were identified, neither was conducted among a student population. This bolsters support to subjectively explore alcohol marketing among students in Nigeria, especially because studies conducted outside Nigeria have revealed that students use and misuse alcohol more than non-students. The chapter has also described the interplay between hegemonic masculinity and young people's sexual behaviour and revealed the consequences of alcohol use and misuse in the Nigerian context. Although I have highlighted the gaps that the current study aims to fill, a significant gap in the literature is that no study was identified that measured why and how young people "use alcohol consumption to do gender". Therefore, my study attempts to fill this and the other gaps I have revealed above.

Chapter Three:

Media and Cultivation Theory

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the theoretical framework that has guided my study. Here, I will conceptualize cultivation theory, highlight its origin and show its relevance to audience research. I will also demonstrate the rationale for choosing cultivation theory for this particular study and describe the extent to which it can be applied in the Nigerian media environment. Mass media portrayals are pervasive and their impact on young people is high (Buckingham, 2013; Koordeman *et al.*, 2011; Livingstone, 2003). Traditional media such as television and new media such as Facebook are all important sources of information on health and wellbeing that individuals utilize (Zhang *et al.*, 2013; Lariscy *et al.*, 2010), but these channels also disseminate information that can be detrimental to health such as portrayals that associate drinking with masculinity.

Studies have shown that the majority of young people are exposed to more hours of media consumption than adults (Strasburger *et al.*, 2007). For instance, in the 1990s, it was argued that children and adolescents in the USA spent an average of seven hours per day watching different television channels and programmes (Gerbner 1998). In the contemporary world, young people arguably spend longer hours consuming diverse traditional and social media, and this is likely to be “for a pleasurable experience rather than ascetic messages” (Seale, 2002: 2). Because young people spend time consuming media messages, this affects their attitudes and behaviours (Strasburger *et al.*, 2007). From a theoretical standpoint, media-effect researchers appear to be divided into two main schools of thought: *the media as determiners of audience behaviour* and the *active audience* perspective. Whilst the first group argues that media exert influences on audiences’ attitudes and behaviours (e.g., Hanewinkel *et al.*, 2014; Ybarra *et al.*, 2014; Strasburger *et al.*, 2007), the latter stresses that audiences are not passive but active recipients of media messages (e.g., Buckingham, 2007; Livingstone, 2009; Srinivas, 2002). The latter group posits that media audiences do not literally act in congruence with what they receive from the

media because they have the ability to interpret and make value judgements about media messages.

Standing close to the first group mentioned above are the *third-person effect* and *presumed media-effect* schools of thought. On the third-person effect, some past (e.g., Duck *et al.*, 1995; Gunther and Mundy, 1993; Davison, 1983) and recent studies (e.g., Stavrositu and Kim, 2014; Atkinson, Bellis and Sumnall, 2013; Jung and Jo, 2013; Shin and Kim, 2011; Taylor *et al.*, 2011) have provided a myriad of evidence to demonstrate that individuals perceive or believe that media exert considerable influence on others rather than themselves (particularly weak or vulnerable populations such as children). For example, Shin and Kim (2011) reported that students believe that alcohol placements in youth-oriented movies influence other students but have no effect on them and a similar result regarding antidepressant advertisements was reported among depressed people (Taylor *et al.*, 2011). Relatedly, presumed media-effect scholars argue that although individuals believe that media influence others rather than themselves, they in consequence change their behaviours based on their presumptions (e.g., Hartley *et al.*, 2014; Noguti and Russell, 2014; Gunther and Storey, 2003). For example, if young people presume that the reason why their peers exhibit violent behaviour is because they are exposed to violent portrayals in the media, they will stop viewing such movies in order to avoid manifesting violent behaviour.

Additionally, a large and growing body of literature from the USA and Europe has continued to provide evidence that supports the fact that although media representation of young people may be different from other groups such as adults (e.g., as always involving in deviant behaviours), portrayals meant to capture their interest, especially for commercial purposes, are created sophistically (Henderson, 2014; Strasburger *et al.*, 2014; Atkinson *et al.*, 2013). As such, young people's attitudes and behaviours are affected. Indeed, it is argued that young people who are exposed to long hours of television and other media consumption are likely to behave in tandem with 'media fact' (i.e., what the media characters portray irrespective of whether such portrayals depict reality or not). This, on the one hand, is because many young people take media messages at face value (Atkinson *et al.*, 2013; Hanewinkel *et al.*, 2012; Hanewinkel and Sargent, 2009). On the other hand, these messages are too pervasive and persuasive even when they are not direct advertisements. This is why some audience research scholars have argued that there is an unambiguous

relationship between constant or heavy exposure to media content and acting out in reality among young people (Colombi *et al.*, 2009; Strasburger *et al.*, 2007), especially in relation to alcohol and other drugs (Thomson, 2012; Minnebo and Eggermont, 2007).

One of the reasons for this relationship between media and young people's use of substances according to Atkinson *et al.* (2013: 91-92) is because young people copy the behaviours of significant others such as "television characters...as a guide to what are 'normal' drinking practices". This authenticates Koordeman *et al.*'s (2014) recent study on transportation, which reported that young people were more transported into having positive attitudes towards movies that portrayed alcohol in a positive light than they were towards negative portrayals. This study also revealed that the participants were more transported into having positive dispositions towards movies that portrayed alcohol than others that did not portray any alcohol scenes.

Although other factors such as peer influences, familial factors and so forth have also been identified as affecting young people's drinking and sexual behaviours (Hartley *et al.*, 2014), a large number of studies have argued that media are the most-influential sources through which young people learn to drink alcohol (e.g., Stoolmiller *et al.*, 2012; Bremnar *et al.*, 2011; Sargent *et al.*, 2006). This may not be unconnected to the assertion that "particular stories may be promoted by particular interest groups seeking to exert influence over population" (Seale, 2003: 514). Examples of such groups in the Nigerian context are the media and alcohol industries. Therefore, this study explores how media mediate young people's alcohol use in Nigeria by drawing on cultivation analysis⁷ (theory), which reveals the extent to which the accumulation of media messages created with a special interest shape social reality.

3.2. Exploration of Cultivation Analysis

Audiences are the opium of television- it craves them, longing to control their time and space... Television has physical existence, a history of

⁷ Cultivation scholars use 'analysis' and 'theory' interchangeably.

material production and consumption, in addition to its renown as a site for meaning making (Miller, 2010b: 2).

In this section, I will conceptualize cultivation theory, show its origin and reveal its principles, which distinguish it from other media theories. I will also demonstrate how the theory has been applied in different studies concerning developed societies and show how it can be used in the Nigerian media environment. In social science inquiries, theories do not just function to aid scholars who are trying to comprehend links between different variables; they also serve as wheels that guide empirical inquiries (Curry *et al.*, 2009). To Creswell *et al.* (2003: 222):

One question raised by qualitative researchers in the social sciences... is that all inquiry is theoretically driven by assumptions that researchers bring to their studies. At an informal level, the theoretical perspective reflects researchers' personal stance toward the topics they are studying, a stance based on personal history, experience, culture, gender... At a more formal level, social science researchers bring to their inquiries a formal lens by which they view their topics.

To this end, this study draws on George Gerbner's (1969) cultivation analysis to explore the relationship between media exposure and alcohol consumption among young people on an eastern Nigerian university campus. Cultivation analysis focuses on television as a channel of mass communication (although as I will exemplify below, it has dovetailed into new media recently). It examines how heavy television viewing (i.e., four hours and above in a day) contributes to shaping how audiences conceive social reality (Morgan *et al.*, 2012a; Morgan and Shanahan, 2010; Bilandzic, 2006; Gerbner, 1998). The history of cultivation analysis can be traced back to 1969, when Gerbner worked at the "Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania" (Bryant and Miron, 2004: 689). According to Bryant and Miron (2004: 689), Gerbner's central argument was that individuals "are immersed into the cultural environment created by the media and cannot escape its cultivating influence". The theory's point of departure is that:

Changes in the mass production and rapid distribution of messages across previous barriers of time, space, and social grouping bring systematic variations in a public

message content whose full significance rest in the cultivation of collective consciousness about the element of existence (Gerbner, 1969: 138).

Cultivation, therefore, is “the collective context within which, and in response to which, different individual and group selections and interpretation of messages take place; thus, a message (or message system) cultivates consciousness of the terms required for its meaningful perception” (Gerbner, 1969: 138). Cultivation theory (like other media-effect theories) depends on the interpretation that audiences give to the messages they receive, but cultivation goes further to examine how the centralization of mass media production encourages and shapes receivers’ interpretations to fall in line with the message they are exposed to.

The kernel of cultivation theory is that the more time that audiences spend watching television, the more they believe television facts, and the more their worldviews and behaviours are shaped by television reality. In other words, when an aspect of social reality is overemphasized on television while other aspects are underrepresented, viewers who heavily consume these overemphasized portrayals will perceive social reality in relation to the aspects that are dominantly emphasized. This is why Morgan and Shanahan (2010: 337) argue that individuals who spend more hours watching television “are more likely to perceive the real world in ways that reflect the most common and recurrent messages of the world of fictional television”. For example, if an audience heavily and regularly consumes messages about crime on television, she or he will perceive the world as a place where crime is ubiquitous. As such, if a criminal incident eventually occurs around this viewer, she or he will react towards it based on the television-induced internalized worldview.

This dialogue about the power of television is not the ‘effect’ that a media programme may have on an individual per se, but the *cumulative effects* (due to heavy/repetitive consumption) that alters viewers’ perceptions of social reality. Again, this is why Ruddock (2012b) notes that cultivation analysis holds the assumption that the power of the media extends beyond persuasion, and this is one of the ways in which cultivation theory differs from other media-effect theories. Although many other means of mass dissemination of information exist, television remains predominant, especially for spreading

local culture globally via its satellite or cable programmes (Miller, 2010b; Straubhaar, 2007), and this may not be unconnected to the reason why cultivation analysis focuses largely on television.

Gerbner (1998: 180) draws our attention to cultivation, arguing that it is “the independent contributions television viewing makes to viewers’ conceptions of social reality”. He highlights that the “independent contribution of television viewing *means* that the development (in some) and maintenance (in others) of some sets of outlooks or beliefs can be traced to steady, cumulative exposure to the world of television” (Gerbner, 1998: 180). Gerbner (1998) also states that this is a two-way thing. For instance, while television can influence people to take a particular action, their beliefs, like, hate, and so forth can affect their subsequent viewing of the programme. This is another way in which cultivation theory distinguishes itself from other similar theories, in that it does not just focus on how television affects audiences, but also considers people’s subsequent actions or reactions to previously televised programmes. This will be explored in-depth in my study. In keeping with Gerbner’s argument, “cultivation is not conceived as a unidirectional but rather more like a gravitational process. The angle and direction of the pull depend on where groups of viewers and their style of life are with reference to the line of gravity” (Gerbner, 1998: 180).

An important aspect of Gerbner’s argument is that television is not just a technology, but an institution (Morgan and Shanahan, 2010). It is an institution that mass produces and rapidly distributes messages that create “new symbolic environments that reflect the structure and functions of the institutions that transmit them” (Gerbner, 1970: 69). Thus, “messages short-circuit other networks of social communication and superimpose their own forms of collective consciousness...upon other social relationships” (Gerbner, 1970: 69). In fact, Potter (2014: 1016) notes that cultivation theory focuses on “the interplay of influence across three components: the media institutions, the mass-produced messages, and their cultivated effect on large aggregates”. To explain further, cultivation theory points to the fact that commercial or political messages are central to target audiences and these are created for a specific purpose and directed towards publics. This is why scholars have asserted that: “the notion is that living in a symbolic environment in which certain types of institutions with certain types of objectives create certain types of messages, tends to

cultivate (support, sustain, and nourish) certain types of collective consciousness” (Morgan and Shanahan, 2010: 339).

On his part, Andy Ruddock argues that cultivation analysis focuses “on how message systems encourage audiences and media users to make meanings that favour the interests of hegemonic institutions” (Ruddock, 2012a: 60), and one of these institutions is the media industry (in conjunction with transnational alcohol industries). Studies have shown that while alcohol (and tobacco) industries spend billions of dollars yearly on media advertisements, they increasingly engage in product and brand placement on movies (Rannamets, 2013; Babor *et al.*, 2010). Because for media institutions to survive and continue their businesses they have to serve the interests of their funders; therefore, alcohol and other drug messages are carefully integrated into entertainment for audiences to consume (Hudson and Hudson, 2006).

Again, this is why cultivation analysis does not intrinsically concern itself with the active or passive audience dichotomy, but goes beyond that by focusing primarily on how the media industries exert power over audiences by producing what they want receivers to see and making audiences consume this regularly without receivers’ input. This is referred to as ‘gravitational pull.’ Cultivation analysis also examines how this pull affects the interpretations of messages that audiences receive to favour the producers’ intentions. For example, in the case of my thesis about Nigerian youths, the gravitational pull may be to watch commercials, promotions or other brewer-sponsored programmes on television, brewers’ websites or other social network sites. In doing this, these youths will be satisfying the hegemonic industries’ interests. A very significant element of this exercise of power by media industries over audiences is that the latter may not know that the messages they receive are produced to satisfy the institution that produces them (Morgan and Shanahan, 2010; Gerbner, 1998).

In fact, this act of creating and distributing messages that reflect the institutions from which the messages emanate is arguably one of the reasons why Seale (2003) stated that what we see in the media are either partial truths or total lies, in that media often portray messages (especially commercials) that create “product hyper-reality” (McCreanor *et al.*, 2005: 255). This creation of exaggerated messages has been argued by several

scholars (e.g., Nicholls, 2012; Gordon *et al.*, 2009; Gunter *et al.*, 2008; Connolly *et al.*, 2006; Ellickson *et al.*, 2005; Saffer, 2002), to enhance young people's beliefs in alcohol's benefits. This often results in use and misuse because they are often targeted at young people (Jones and Donovan, 2009). Another reason is because they "entail an interactive aspect in the sense that the content engages the audience, evoking their cultural capital in a way that relies on some of the methods of conversation" of the media characters (McCreanor *et al.*, 2005: 256). One of the ways in which this conversation or imitation of media characters is played out among young Nigerians, especially boys, is the frequent use of *shine-shine bobo* (literally translated as a young shining man), a slang associated with the Star beer⁸ advertisement. A fairly recent study that investigated young people (aged 15-20 years) in the USA has further identified that long hours of exposure to alcohol advertisements on television, the internet and alcohol portrayals in movies lead to brand preference and binge drinking (McClure *et al.*, 2013).

Furthermore, Gerbner (1998) provides detailed analysis to show that the "cultivation differential is the margin of difference in conceptions of reality between light and heavy viewers in the same demographic subgroups" (Gerbner, 1998: 180). This differential is what cultivation scholars term *first order effects* and *second order effects* (Kean *et al.*, 2012; Lett, DiPietro, and Johnson, 2004). The 'first order effects' or belief means that spending more time watching television influences an individual's perception of social reality to an extent (Kean *et al.*, 2012). For example, a study conducted in Belgium revealed that spending more time watching television made some young people believe that substance use is rife among young people (Minnebo and Eggermont, 2007). On the other hand, 'second order effects' are "due to the repetitive lessons we learn from the television", which shape our core beliefs and make "television a significant source of general values, ideologies and perspectives" (Gerbner, 1998: 185). Again, using Minnebo and Eggermont's (2007) study, this would mean that as young people believe that substance use is 'normal' behaviour amongst their peers, they will in turn begin to consume substances.

It is important to note that although Gerbner's analysis was based on television viewing, contemporary cultivation theorists are expanding the analysis to social media. Morgan and Shanahan (2010) attributed this to the refinements in the theory, the fact that

⁸ Star beer produced by Nigerian Breweries (partly owned by Heineken) is the most popular beer in Nigeria.

new media did not exist in the 1960s when cultivation analysis started, and to the fact that cultivation is “moving from a theory to a paradigm” (Morgan and Shanahan, 2010: 348). Having said that, it is crucial to highlight that Gerbner’s emphasis on television (at its early stage) was because television provided a medium where “exposure to the total pattern rather than only to specific genres” affects audiences (Gerbner, 1998: 178). That is, his analysis was based on how the total patterns of messages (e.g., news, commercials, movies etc.) disseminated via television influence audiences and not how genre-specific programmes can have effects. Despite that, advances in cultivation studies have shown that genre-specific messages can also cultivate influences on audiences (Bilandzic and Busselle, 2012; Lee and Niederdeppe, 2011; Cohen and Weimann, 2000).

Furthermore, cultivation analysis in its infancy, had no specific method of inquiry (Morgan and Shanahan, 2010), but things began to change following Gerbner’s collaboration with Larry Gross to study quantitatively how long hours of television viewing cultivate excessively magnified violence perceptions in the USA (Gerbner and Gross, 1976). In personal communication (via email) with Professor Michael Morgan (2014, 26 July), who is arguably the most-influential disciple of Gerbner, he stated that conventionally, “cultivation analysis as a research technique typically involves the analysis of quantitative data- most often using survey research to compare differences between large numbers of heavier and lighter viewers of television”. The aim is to generate data that can reveal the interpretations that audiences (heavy and light viewers) bring to television portrayals. Although Gerbner was essentially a quantitative media scholar, Andy Ruddock argues that he was not averse to the fact that cultivation could be qualitatively explored. This is because “Gerbner used a qualitative reading of alcohol advertising in an early version of his signature point; that mass media fostered political inertia, and then channelled it into consumption” (Ruddock, 2012a: 56).

Again, this is why Morgan (2014) asserts that the issues and implications raised by cultivation research are certainly not restricted to quantitative methods, in that the choice of “research method (qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods) should be a function of the specific research questions”. This is why contemporary cultivation scholars are employing qualitative approaches to explore key issues related to cultivation analysis. For example, Ruddock (2012b) drew on cultivation theory to explore its intersections with

cultural phenomena such as rituals. Again, he drew on this theory to examine students and alcohol marketing (Ruddock, 2013). Other scholars who have drawn on cultivation to explore different phenomena qualitatively include Boda and Szabó (2011), who used cultivation theory to explore portrayals of crime and justice system, and Van den Bulck and Vandebosch (2003), who examined how prison inmates make sense of what they see in American movies.

During its infancy, cultivation researchers were predominantly applying the theory to examine violence and crime in the USA (Lett *et al.*, 2004; Gerbner and Gross, 1976). For example, Gerbner (1970) applied it to study violence portrayed on USA television and came to the conclusion that people who spend long hours (defined by Gerbner in 1970 as four or more hours) per day watching TV tend to believe that the real world is filled with violence, and thus, they are fearful. As the theory continued to develop, other scholars used it to analyse other phenomena such as heavy television viewing that portrays food and subsequent behaviour changes toward food (Henderson and Kelly, 2005; Kean *et al.*, 2012), and alcohol consumption (Kean and Albada, 2003; Kean and Albada, 2002).

On their part, Cohen and Weimann (2000) employed the theory in Israel and argued that cultivation effect is genre specific, in that it has an association with the genre or type of media programme that a group favours. Other scholars have also employed this theory to investigate exposure to romantic films and subsequent romantic behaviour (Hernandez, 2012), and how repeated or frequent viewing of music videos correlates with alcohol use before driving (Beullens *et al.*, 2012). To my knowledge, no study (either quantitative or qualitative) has been identified that has drawn on cultivation analysis in Nigeria. Therefore, using this theory to explore how media portrayals of alcohol affect young people's alcohol use would be a novel contribution to knowledge. The next section will reveal the potential strengths of the theory that made it the choice for my study.

3.3. Importance of Cultivation Analysis and why it was selected for this Study

A number of other theories were considered before the choice of cultivation analysis was made. As I have demonstrated above, in audience research, there are divergent views in

terms of how active the audiences are and how much they can resist media messages. After a thorough examination of the different theories, I arrived at the conclusion that cultivation analysis would be the most-suitable choice due to its principles, which I have discussed above, and its usefulness, which I will explain below. Bryant and Miron (2004) analysed scholarly articles published in communication journals between 1956 and 2000 and argued that cultivation theory is one of the three most-popular mass communication theories.

This lends credence to Morgan and Shanahan's (2010) assertion that more than 500 scholarly works that employed cultivation theory existed as of 2010. Morgan and Shanahan added that “research in this area is vibrant, thriving and branching off into areas Gerbner could not have imagined” (2010: 337). Thus, my study provides one of these “branching offs” because as well as drawing on cultivation theory to explore media use and alcohol consumption in the Nigerian context, it also uses the theory to explore an understudied population. Therefore, it will shed light on how television and social media serve as vectors of youth socialization into drinking, especially in a developing economy where cultivation analysis has been underutilized.

As I highlighted earlier, cultivation analysis is not a linear or unidirectional theory; therefore, it does not see audiences as robots. Because it examines the interpretation(s) that audiences give to media portrayals (in association with their personal beliefs, likes, hates, etc.), and in turn, how they act based on these factors, it is germane to my study. In my literature review, I showed that alcohol portrayals in the Nigerian media are high in number. Again, I demonstrated that alcohol consumption among young people is culturally controlled. Thus, the theory is relevant to my study in order to explore how the media portrayals are received, interpreted and acted upon in association with the cultural beliefs about young people’s use of alcohol. Additionally, all we know about cultivation analysis is mainly from quantitative studies conducted in other countries (with a few findings from qualitative studies). Hence the theory is now lending itself to qualitative methodologies; I will explore these elements subjectively among this understudied group. This arguably will help to provide deeper insights into how media cultivate influence and contribute not only to audience research, but also to the ongoing expansion of cultivation analysis via qualitative methodologies.

Gerbner (1998) demonstrated that media help to cultivate values and attitudes that are *existential* in that particular culture. Therefore, within a culture, it can propagate or nurture beliefs that are exaggerated among individuals or group members with heavy television viewing, which can help in binding the latter group together (Brunson, 2011). Additionally, Bilandzic (2006: 335) note that “things that are within my reach can become the focus of my attentional ray..., highlights the topic I think about, something I look at and an event I act upon”. As I demonstrated in chapter one, the region in which my study is sited is predominantly a cultural milieu where alcohol consumption is expected and tolerated (primarily among adult males), not just because it is a non-Muslim area, but also because alcohol as a reified cultural artefact is used for different purposes such as a symbol of worship, festival celebration, and so forth.

Similarly, as I will demonstrate in chapter four, my experience from the pilot study revealed that bars and other alcohol outlets are common in and around this campus and students drink freely in these venues. Therefore, seeing alcohol portrayals in the media arguably reinforces already held beliefs and everyday practices regarding alcohol consumption and thus produces what cultivation scholars call double dose or “resonance effect” (Potter, 2014: 1019). This is because what we experience on a regular basis becomes more relevant when we view it on television, thus reinforcing our beliefs (Bilandzic, 2006). Again, as “media content is utilised and appropriated according to specific social contexts and personal experiences” (Atkinson *et al.*, 2013: 378), this study draws on cultivation theory to explore how young people on this campus contextualize alcohol-related content in the media, based on their locales, their personal and group experiences, and how this shapes their alcohol consumption.

As I stated briefly above, scholars have argued that young people who are exposed to repeated portrayals learn from media characters through the principles of imitation, especially when the character is admired (Snyder *et al.*, 2006; Robinson *et al.*, 1998). Not only may this facilitate behaviours that are in congruence with the media characters, it can result in aspirational drinking (Robinson *et al.*, 1998). As has been reported in other societies, alcohol advertisements in Nigeria often portray drinking and bonding where alcohol consumption serves as a cultural capital and resource (De Bruijn, 2011; Chikere and Mayowa, 2011), and famous celebrities are used as models. This is likely to lead young

people, especially males, to drink so as not to be 'losers' as well as to acquire more social capital, as studies from Europe have revealed (Demant and Järvinen, 2010). This is yet another reason why my study draws on cultivation theory, to explore the extent to which the contact with media representation affects the drinking motives of the young people in the study site.

3.4. Nollywood, Hollywood, Cultivation Analysis and Alcohol Consumption

Although I have demonstrated some of the strengths of cultivation theory and why it was chosen, this section will further deepen our understanding of this potential by exploring how and why cultivation analysis should be applied to the Nigerian media environment. Morgan *et al.* (2012b) note that cultivation analysis has been explored in 25 different countries, but to date, the theory has not been applied in Nigeria. This lack of scholarly attention is heightened by the fact that Nigerian Nollywood (Nigerian film industry) is the third largest film industry globally (Akinola, 2013). Importantly, Nollywood produces the highest number (250 movies) of films per month globally (Jedlowski, 2012). This means that as more movies are produced, audiences are exposed to more media portrayals that may affect their thoughts and behaviours because “media industries are primary definers of the things that matter” (Ruddock, 2012b: 368).

As I highlighted briefly above, studies conducted in Western countries (e.g., Mekemson and Glantz, 2002; Morton and Friedman, 2002) found that movie industries incorporate substances via product placement and other similar portrayals in movies (Hudson and Hudson, 2006). This is because they receive fees from the substance producers (Rannamets, 2013). Similarly, exposure to such movies has been found to influence drinking (Dal Cin *et al.*, 2009) and smoking among young people (Dalton *et al.*, 2003). Although no study has examined if the movie industry in Nigeria receives any monetary reward for incorporating alcohol and other substances into its movies, Nollywood actors and actresses are used by alcohol companies in Nigeria for various promotions and social events. Therefore, the movies produced are arguably commercially motivated to “maintain value systems” that produce them (Ruddock, 2012b: 370).

Regarding portrayals of substance use messages, Aina and Olorunshola (2007) reported that alcohol portrayals are popular in Nollywood films. Therefore, if alcohol, for instance, is increasingly portrayed because the commercialized movie industry (that shapes the message system) wants to create the impression for audiences that alcohol is good, the latter, arguably, are likely to receive these repetitive messages (the first order effect). Moreover, if they repetitively and heavily consume messages on alcohol portrayal, they are likely to believe what they see, and if they do, they will in turn consume alcohol (the second order effect). This is because “heavy immersion in a medium encourages audiences to accept the general rules of the game” (Rowe *et al.*, 2010: 304).

On the other hand, Hollywood films appear to be popular in Nigeria due to globalization effects. Because their dissemination channels are difficult to regulate (there are no strict regulations currently in Nigeria and movies are increasingly pirated and distributed), these movies are likely to cultivate influence among audiences as they do in countries where such influences have been examined (e.g., Hanewinkel *et al.*, 2012; Stoolmiller *et al.*, 2012; Anderson *et al.*, 2009). This, on the one hand, is because “the culture of American TV still reaches far beyond its borders” (Morgan *et al.*, 2012b: 400). On the other hand, the Hollywood movie industry is highly capitalistic in nature (Dickenson, 2010), and as noted, has been found to receive financial inducements for alcohol and tobacco product placement in its movies (Bergamini *et al.*, 2013; Mekemson and Glantz, 2002). Evidence has been found that placement of alcohol products in movies has a third-person effect (Shin and Kim, 2011); thus it may directly influence audiences, especially young people. Additionally, Hollywood movies propagate cultural imperialism (Miller, 2010a) by showing that whatever is American is best and should be the norm globally. In doing so, they may sway audiences with these portrayals or representations (Ruddock, 2012b).

Moreover, as these foreign films contain high numbers of substance scenes (Thrasher *et al.*, 2014), young people in Nigeria who watch the movies are likely to practise what they see. This is particularly because seeing these alcohol scenes in Hollywood movies (i.e., their contemporaries drinking freely) appears to be conflicting with what the society they live in expects them to believe and do (i.e., alcohol is for the elders). Because these films and other satellite or cable channels that are contributing to the homogenization of

youth culture (Straubhaar, 2007) are popular in Nigeria, they may cultivate alcohol use among young Nigerians. Therefore, this study will employ cultivation theory to investigate these phenomena. The ensuing section now turns to the shortcomings of cultivation analysis.

3.5. Potential Weaknesses of Cultivation Analysis

Although cultivation theory has been employed by numerous scholars to investigate different phenomena of interest, it has also been critiqued. Notable critics such as Newcomb (1978), Hughes (1980), Hirsch (1981) and so forth have taken as their point of departure cultivation's "conceptual, methodological, and analytical grounds" and this has led to some "refinements" that have further aided the popularity of cultivation theory (Morgan and Shanahan, 2010: 340). One main criticism that these critics have raised is that cultivation analysis sees audiences as totally passive viewers who do not in any way involve themselves actively in what they watch on television. By contrast, Morgan *et al.* (2012b) posit that those who hold this view misrepresent as well as misinterpret Gerbner's theory. This is because cultivation theory does not see audiences as robots that are influenced by every message that they receive (Ruddock, 2012).

The premise of cultivation theory is that "routine exposure to many consistent messages, over time, results in absorption of the main features of those messages by heavy viewers" (Morgan *et al.*, 2012b: 395). Similarly, Morgan *et al.* note that the active audience school of thought often assumes that audiences (both young and old) are "very active" people who always critically interpret and rationally judge every message that they receive (Morgan *et al.*, 2012b: 396). Based on this, these critics tend to presume that theorists from other schools see audiences as "very passive" people who never interpret or judge critically what they see and thus, are "victims of television's magic bullet". Morgan and colleagues add that "viewers of either type are imaginary" (Morgan *et al.*, 2012b: 396) and that cultivation analysis does not see audiences as helpless individuals. To assert that cultivation analysis sees audiences as passive misrepresents Gerbner's original idea because he noted that although media portrayals have the potential to affect audiences, their lifestyle, hates, likes, and so forth contribute to shaping their subsequent actions (Gerbner, 1998).

Additionally, Milkie (1999) argues that active media scholars have not been able to show how the assumption that audiences are very active can be measured directly.

Another criticism of cultivation analysis is its inability to generate large effect sizes (Morgan *et al.*, 2014; Potter, 2014), but this is not peculiar to cultivation theory because it is a general criticism of media-effect theories. This is one of the reasons why researchers who study how media exert power on audiences often look for other explanatory elements aside from media. For example, Hartley *et al.* (2014) found that although media affected young people's construction of gender and alcohol consumption, peer influences also contributed to these behaviours. Although my study focuses on how media portrayals affect young people's use of alcohol, I will take into account other factors that I have highlighted so as paint a fuller picture of factors that mediate alcohol consumption among this group.

3.6. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide a theoretical review of relevant literature on cultivation analysis and why it was chosen for this study. Media-effect research that is dichotomised into passive and active audiences is replete with controversies and heated debates. This chapter has explored these controversies and showed where cultivation analysis takes its point of departure. As I have highlighted, cultivation theorists assert that media influence audiences' behaviour but this influence is based on heavy consumption of media portrayals. I have also highlighted other principles of cultivation theory and demonstrated why it was considered the appropriate theory for my study. As cultivation theory does not measure linear effects and does not consider audiences as robots, it is most suitable for my study. The chapter has also revealed that because cultivation analysis considers the effects of media in association with other variables, my study will use it to explore young people's use of alcohol at the university. This is because I will explore other variables such as peer influence, personal motivation, and so on, which may predict alcohol use among young people. Based on the detailed description of the importance of cultivation to audience research and its ability to accommodate qualitative methodologies, I believe that this theory is most suited to subjectively investigate how media influence alcohol use, especially in Nigeria, where quantitative studies on alcohol are predominant.

As I have highlighted, media messages are created to satisfy hegemonic institutions, and these messages are increasingly disseminated around the globe. I have also revealed what these messages portend for the audiences, and what cultivation theory reveals about such messages and the institutions that create and disseminate them. As cultivation analysis has not been applied in the Nigerian media environment, the theory holds potential to explore these phenomena. However, I recognize the fact that I am sensitive to the limitations of the theory. Again, as cultivation theory examines the effects of total pattern as well as genre-specific aspects of media portrayals, this study will employ it to explore how the consumption of local and foreign media affect young people's use of alcohol in Nigeria. This will help to paint a fuller picture of the effects of media on young people's behaviour. The results chapters of this thesis will employ cultivation theory to explore the effects of media portrayals on young people's drinking on a Nigerian university campus. The following chapter will explore the methodologies employed in this study and how cultivation theory was utilized in the research process.

Chapter Four: Methodology⁹

4.1. Introduction

Social researchers often set out to study and understand complex social phenomena such as human behaviour, but the task of studying in order to understand “the reality of this complexity is limited by research methods” (Morse, 2003: 189). In other words, choosing the appropriate methodology in every research endeavour is vital. This is because methodologies are useful tools that determine the whole research process from the beginning to the end, and in particular how researchers will answer the research questions raised in order to arrive at valid conclusions (Silverman, 2011). This chapter provides a detailed account of the methodological procedures that I followed to conduct this study. First, the chapter offers an overview of the research design, describes how the fieldwork was planned, and how ethical approval was secured. It then shows how the pilot studies were carried out and how they were helpful during the main fieldwork. Second, it provides an account of how the main fieldwork was conducted, how the participants were recruited and interviewed and how the data were analysed. Third, the chapter considers the conceptualization of qualitative research and outlines the characteristics that made it the most suitable choice for this study. Because qualitative research is a paradigm with a myriad of methods, the chapter subsequently gives detailed accounts of qualitative interviewing, its usefulness and why it was chosen for this study. Finally, it highlights some reflections on the fieldwork processes.

⁹ A small part of this chapter has been published as Dumbili, E.W. (2014). Use of Mixed Methods Designs in Substance Research: A Methodological Necessity in Nigeria. *Quality and Quantity*, 48(5) 2841–2857. Also, the method section of the paper declared in chapter seven was taken from this chapter.

4.2. Strategies of Inquiry

4.2.1. Pilot Studies and Planning

This study draws on qualitative interviews to explore the interrelationships between young people's use of media and alcohol consumption on an eastern Nigerian university campus. Alcohol consumption among young people and its related problems are complex issues that can only be addressed via empiricism. To this end, this chapter addresses the various procedures of data collection. I first approached the Dean of the University in 2012 to negotiate access to the student population for the purposes of my study. Following this, the Office of the Dean of Students' Affairs (headed by the Dean of the university) granted ethical approval in May 2012 (see Appendix 1). Subsequently, the Brunel University London Ethics Board approved the study (Appendix 2). After gaining ethical approval in 2012, I visited major student eateries and 'drinking joints' (bars on and around the campus which are also called beer parlours) around the university. At these sites, I saw that students, especially males, drank many bottles of beer. While some drank as they ate food, others only drank beer without eating food. Of particular interest was the way in which some groups of boys sat with girls around the same table, but drank different beverages (i.e., boys drank beer while girls used either non-alcoholic beverages or sweetened alcohols). This took place in November 2012 and after observing how students use alcohol in these drinking venues and exploring the terrain (the study site), I decided that the fieldwork would be carried out at the beginning of the academic session, which is usually between September and November in Nigeria. This was in order to collect data without any unnecessary interference with the activities of the students.

Between December 2012 and May 2013, I completed the required confirmation (upgrade) and made plans for the second pilot (interview) study. Although the research questions had not been concluded at this stage, I had gained some insights via the literature. Therefore, in July 2013, I conducted six pilot interviews (four males and two females), and was able to gain more insight into the various complex socio-cultural issues around alcohol in Nigeria. For example, one of the interviewees in the pilot interview noted that locally-produced alcoholic beverages are not regarded as alcohol among many Nigerians because they are seen as 'natural.' This was helpful in shaping my interview

questions and protocol, in that I probed to find out how each participant conceptualized alcohol. Another major lesson I learned was that alcohol promotion has been going on at the study site since the 1990s: this came about because of my discussion with an alumnus of the school. This helped capture useful contextual data of which I was unaware.

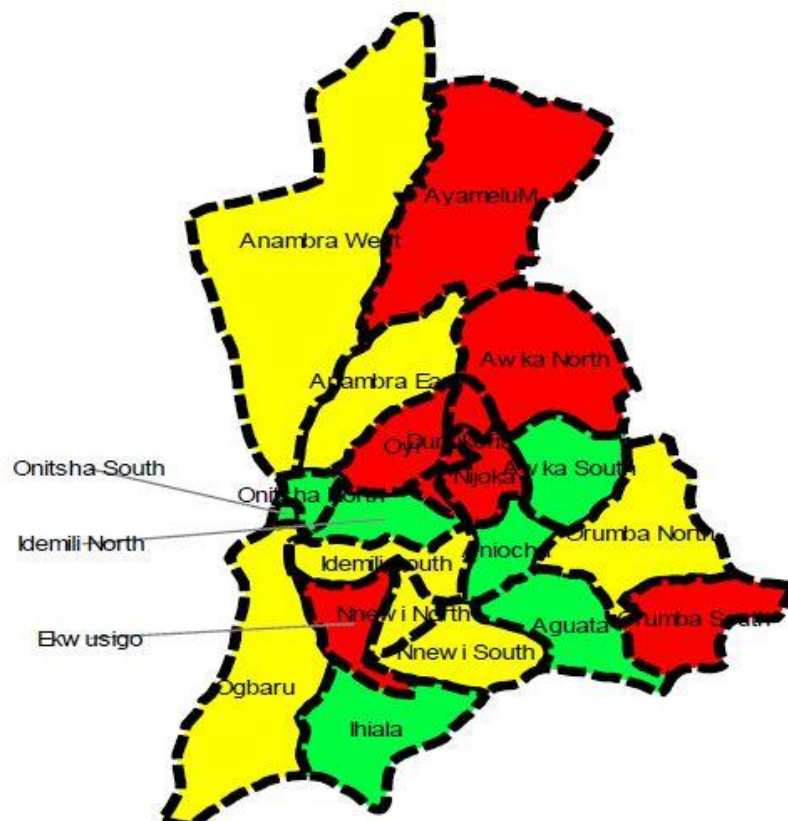
Additionally, I learned how young people use different words to define different brands of alcohol. For example, “nmanyandi-okenye”, literally translated means “alcohol for the elders”, but young people from this study site use this to mean *alcohol for the upper class*. Examples of such alcoholic beverages are Heineken (which is presumed to be foreign) and other costly brands. Also, I learnt from another interviewee the various jargon, slang, and banter that young people use when they want to use alcohol for different purposes such as in drinking games, and I also learnt how to position myself when interviewing young people. Similarly, I learnt the importance of taking notes, especially when nonverbal means of communication are used, and what such signs may signify. Methodologically, the pilot interviews and the earlier observation were very useful because the knowledge I gained was used to refine my questions in the interview protocol. It is worthy of note that the data from my pilot interviews are not included in my thesis because the interviewees have either graduated from the school or were students from other institutions. Importantly, my supervisors moderated my way of conducting interviews via practical rehearsal sessions before conducting the pilot fieldwork, and after my pilot interviews they examined my transcripts and modified some of the questions.

4.2.2. The Research Site and Gaining Access

The study site of this research is located at a university situated in a metropolitan city in Anambra State of Nigeria (see figure 4.1 below). The city is renowned for its commercial and government activities. A common feature of the university is that it is largely non-residential; therefore, the majority of students live off-campus. The rationale for selecting the study site is underpinned by a variety of reasons. First, studies concerning Western countries (e.g., Kypri *et al.*, 2005; Wechsler *et al.*, 2002) have revealed that student populations use alcohol more than their non-student counterparts.

Figure 4.1

MAP OF ANAMBRA STATE SHOWING THE 21 LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS



Although no comparative study (between students and non-students) has been conducted in Nigeria, Abikoye and Osinowo (2011) found that freedom from parental monitoring engendered more alcohol use and abuse on two south-western Nigerian university campuses. Similarly, it was reported that the non-residential status of a university predicted high alcohol use among students (Abikoye and Osinowo, 2011; Makanjuola, Daramola and Obembe, 2007). This is notable because in many Nigerian schools (secondary and higher education), the sale of alcohol is prohibited in students' hostels and eateries. The situation at this study site is surprisingly different because alcohol is sold freely in the students' eateries.

In all of the eateries I visited in 2012 during the pilot study, alcohol posters (advertising and promotional items) and other marketing products such as branded fridges, glassware, bottle openers, tables, and chairs were conspicuously displayed and used by customers. Televisions and other entertainment facilities were provided. As such, students who use these eateries are likely to see alcohol portrayed in both electronic and print media. Importantly, as shown in chapter two, all we know about students' alcohol consumption in Nigeria comes from studies conducted in the south-western region. Indeed, only four studies were identified in the eastern region¹⁰ where my study site is located, but none from Anambra state where this current study is situated. Additionally, in the study site, there is a growing concern about the increasing number of bars, nightclubs, hotels and so forth, around the campus. This arguably has the potential to increase the chances of using alcohol among students who ordinarily are not permitted to use alcohol in the school's halls. Another reason for the choice is the frequent occurrence of violence through cult clashes around this campus. Many studies in Nigeria have attributed the increasing violence in Nigerian higher education to the misuse of alcohol and other drugs (e.g., Popoola and Alao, 2006; Rotimi, 2005), but none have studied this site. Gaining access to the study site was not laborious because the Student Affairs unit of the school gave approval to have a study conducted focusing on alcohol use among students in the university.

¹⁰ Nigeria is made up of 36 states and divided into four regions (east, west, north and south); the eastern region has five states.

4.2.3. Procedure for Recruiting Participants

Recruitment, a process of finding or identifying those interviewees that possess the requisite knowledge about the phenomenon of interest to be interviewed, is crucial because it determines in no small measure the outcome of the whole research process (Rapley 2004). Again, taking notes of the process the researcher employed in recruiting the interviewee is paramount because this will help to contextualize the outcomes of the study (Rapley, 2004). Indeed, Rapley (2014) adds that in qualitative studies, claims are often made based on small numbers of participants (unlike quantitative studies). Therefore, selecting appropriate participants for meaningful analytical purposes becomes imperative. Although the essence of qualitative research is not to make generalizations, it is vital to select study participants carefully so as to be able to understand the research topic (Byrne, 2012).

The participants were recruited across the nine faculties on the university campus using word-of-mouth and snowballing techniques (Byrne, 2012; Seale, 2012). Here, I used a word-of-mouth approach to recruit the first group of participants. On campus, I approached students and politely introduced myself and my research to them. After establishing a rapport with them, I then asked if they drank alcohol. Those who self-identified as current alcohol drinkers were then asked if they would consider participating in the study and share their experiences of the use of media and alcohol consumption. Those who indicated an interest were provided with an information sheet that detailed the aims of the study, the role of participants, the potential benefits and harms of participation, the methods for securing data and maintaining confidentiality, and the voluntary nature of participation (Flick, 2014). Following this, I collected their mobile phone numbers and asked them if and when it would be convenient for me to call and answer any questions about the study. While the majority of these potential interviewees were interviewed between two to three days after they were given the information sheets, in six cases it took more than a week before the participants were interviewed, while two (a male and a female) ended up not participating. This was because the female noted that she was sick while the male did not respond to my call and I did not want to pressure him. Informed consent was emphasized, and students were encouraged to ask questions before deciding whether or not to participate (Byrne, 2012).

Additional participants (three females and two males) were recruited through friendship networks. After each interview, I asked any interviewees who mentioned during the interview session that they had friends that drank alcohol whether they could link me to the latter to give the potential participants the information sheet to read and possibly participate in the study. Also, they were told that if the potential participant wished, I could call him or her and answer any questions about the research.

Similarly, many participants, especially females, volunteered to speak to their friends to participate, and through this process others were reached. It is necessary to state that these processes were adopted because alcohol consumption among young people is a sensitive topic in Nigeria, and young people (especially females) are not easily accessed to participate in such studies. Thus, reaching them through any means that can expose their identity may hinder their participation. This was one of the lessons I learned during the pilot study. According to Seale (2012), snowball sampling technique is useful because it helps researchers to reach participants with the most valuable knowledge on the research topic. Additionally, it is one of the best techniques to reach hidden populations, especially when researching sensitive topics such as drugs (of which alcohol is a good example). On the other hand, the method has shortcomings, one of which is that because it is based on the recommendation of people with similar experiences, the possibility of eliciting diverse opinions is reduced. In this current study, efforts were made not to recruit many participants via this technique. Thus, as shown above, only five participants were recruited through friendship networks (Table 4.1 below shows an anonymized list of participants).

Table 4.1 Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Name of Participants	Sex F: Female, M: Male	Age	Faculty
Genny	F	23	Arts
Chichi	F	23	Education
Chimanda	F	22	Biological Sciences
Patience	F	23	Management Sciences
Chisalum	F	19	Social Sciences
Pretty	F	20	Social Sciences
Ada	F	21	Environmental Sciences
Agatha	F	21	Biological Sciences
Chioma	F	21	Physical Sciences
Diogor	M	23	Social Sciences
Ejike	M	23	Social Sciences
Chikere	M	23	Physical Sciences
Okezie	M	23	Social Sciences
Femi	M	22	Arts
Achike	M	21	Engineering
Kelechi	M	23	Engineering
Ekene	M	23	Education
Dozie	M	23	Physical Sciences
Buchi	M	23	Engineering
Jacob	M	23	Environmental Sciences
Boniface	M	21	Social Sciences
Chike	M	21	Environmental Sciences
Las	M	21	Social Sciences
Peter	M	23	Biological Sciences
Favour	M	23	Engineering
Kelly	M	21	Law
Collins	M	23	Management Sciences
Fred	M	22	Engineering
Eduhim	M	23	Management Sciences
Levin	M	21	Biological Sciences
Okey	M	21	Physical Sciences

4.2.4. Research Questions

Johnson (2001) posits that if research questions are formulated with clarity, methodological issues become less cumbersome. Again, it is argued that researchers should be more committed to the content and research questions rather than focusing on method alone, otherwise they will fall victim to “methodolatry” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 97). Against this backdrop, the following research questions guided this study.

1. What role does contact with media representation play in facilitating alcohol consumption among a sample of students on an eastern Nigerian university campus and to what extent does this differ between male and female students?
2. What roles do alcohol advertising and promotion play in young people’s drinking behaviour on an eastern Nigerian university campus and to what extent does this differ between male and female students?
3. To what extent does students’ alcohol consumption facilitate the acquisition of social capital on an eastern Nigerian university campus and to what extent does this differ between male and female students?

4.2.5. Conducting Interviews with Young People

Thirty-one semi-structured interviews lasting approximately 33-90 minutes were conducted with 22 male and nine female undergraduate students, aged 19-23 years (see Table 4.1). The fieldwork was conducted between September and December 2013. The interviews were recorded with a digital device with the permission of the participants. One of the purposes of interviews (and other qualitative approaches) is to understand how others create meaning for themselves and their social world (Warren, 2001). To understand this meaning making better, Johnson (2001) notes that interviews should be recorded verbatim, as this will help to capture the perceptions and experiences of the participants, especially in their own language or words. Another benefit of this is that it aids the production of meaningful, quality and valid analysis and results (Johnson, 2001). Therefore, all the 31 interviews were recorded verbatim and I took notes during the conversations.

All but one of the participants was from the Igbo tribe (the region is inhabited by the Igbo ethnic group), and as expected, all self-identified as Christians. The participants were invited to select the location of the interview (Herzog, 2012). While four of the interviews were conducted inside the school campus, 27 were conducted in participants' off-campus hostels, and the safety of the interviewees (and the researcher) was of the utmost importance (Byrne, 2012). Although the focus of the research was alcohol consumption, alcohol was not used by the participants during the interviews, and no incentive was given to the participants.

After testing the interview protocol in a pilot study, I developed an interview schedule with 12 main questions that were expanded through probes and prompts during the interviews (Warren, 2012). Each interview began with an effort to establish a rapport and make the participant feel relaxed and comfortable. The interview began by requesting demographic information. This was followed by questions about the meaning of alcohol to the participant. Here, I also asked about the quantity of alcohol consumed, the frequency, the locations of consumption, and with whom they most frequently drank alcohol. Other questions addressed their friends' drinking patterns, the differences between their drinking patterns and those of their friends, and to what they attribute the difference. Questions were asked regarding the participants' attitudes and perceptions regarding their friends' use of alcohol, with a focus on how this differs according to the gender of the friend and what the basis of this difference may be. Importantly, the participants were questioned on their use of media. Here, I explored the patterns of media use by asking questions about how long they spent on television, Facebook and YouTube. I also asked questions about their media consumption and what they saw on the various media channels (see Appendix 5 for interview protocol). To ensure that I generated rich data, the participants were allowed to speak freely, while I was an active listener during the interviews.

4.2.6. Selecting Interviewees: how many is enough?

Qualitative scholars differ in the numbers of interviews (participants) that can be considered enough in a given study, and when to stop interviewing because enough data have been elicited (O'Reilly and Parker, 2013). For example, while earlier scholars such as Spradley

(1979) suggest between 25 and 30, more recent researchers (e.g., Guest, Bunce and Johnson, 2006) revealed that they reached theoretical saturation in their coding at the twelfth interview. This is why Mason (2010) urged caution, stating that this depends on the discipline as well as the researcher's experience, because a few interviews conducted by an experienced researcher may produce more quality data than numerous interviews conducted by a neophyte interviewer.

Irrespective of this lack of consensus, it is argued that the interviewer should interview informants until he attains what Johnson (2001: 113) called "enough". This means that the interviewer must have "learned all there is to be learned" (Johnson, 2001: 113). In the current study, the original plan was to interview 25 participants because some problems of recruitment were envisaged, due to my experience of the pilot study. During the main fieldwork, I was able to recruit 22 males (with less difficulty) and nine females (with many difficulties). I interviewed males until I discovered that I had elicited enough and sufficient good quality data to answer my research questions. In fact, I had to draw to a close as the data became increasingly repetitious and nothing new was being uncovered from the participants.

This was easier for me to discover because I was transcribing (and conducting initial analysis of) my interviews and frequently listening to my tapes as well as regularly reflecting on my data and research process during the fieldwork. In terms of female participants, I suspected that there could be a possibility of eliciting more data with other perspectives but the recruitment difficulties I explained earlier hindered me from collecting more data from them. In the ensuing sections, I will now focus on why qualitative methodology was employed for this study. Next, I will highlight why the interview method was considered as the most appropriate qualitative method for this study.

4.3. Rationale for Choosing Qualitative Techniques

Qualitative research attempts to gain access to the insider's view of his or her own social world without, at the stage when data is being collected, making any value

judgements. This is research that focuses on the experiences and meanings of individuals or groups in order to analyse how and why people form associations with other people, with things and with their immediate environments (Carter and Henderson, 2005: 215).

In contemporary social research, it has become difficult to deny that three research designs- quantitative, qualitative and mixed-methods (Creswell, 2009; Bryman, 2007) - are available to researchers who are seeking to understand and explain the complexity of human behaviour. The choice of one or more of these approaches greatly depends on “the nature of the research problem, the researcher’s personal experiences, and the audiences for the study” (Creswell, 2009: 3). Therefore, choosing the right method to a large extent determines how well a researcher will be able to examine, understand and explain factors that shape human behaviour and experiences (Morse, 2003).

My choice of qualitative methods was informed by a myriad of reasons. Contemporary youth cultures are mediated by a number of interrelated but multifaceted factors. Some of these factors include the upsurge of new media and the ongoing expansion of traditional media channels and their increasing consumption, especially among young people. Therefore, understanding those factors that are responsible for shaping young people’s social and cultural lives demands strategies that can directly and subjectively examine this group. Again, scholars such as Lyons *et al.* (2006) argue that although alcohol portrayals in the media that target young people are growing, substantial qualitative studies have not been conducted on this. In Nigeria, no qualitative study has been conducted to examine alcohol portrayals in the media. This is one of the main reasons why I chose to study this group with qualitative methods. Before I delve into other reasons for choosing qualitative methodologies, I will briefly conceptualize qualitative research.

Qualitative inquiry involves an “interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter”, and this connotes that scholars that use this method of enquiry “study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994b: 2). Because it is characterized by the use of a range of methods, such as interviews, observation, ethnography and so

forth, it provides a means to understand in detail the subject that is studied, and also equips researchers to capture the meanings and interpretations people give to their lives (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994b). To Denzin and Lincoln (1994b: 3), although qualitative research is inherently multimethod, it “privileges no single methodology over any other”. It is advantageous because it produces results that can engender positive social change (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994a), in that it detects nuances and provides insights regarding the social world. Unlike the quantitative approach, that focuses on testing hypotheses and examining cause-effect relationships (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011), qualitative enquiry employs broader approaches to explore and unravel the complexity of social phenomena from the participants’ perspectives. This is why it produces a more nuanced and rich description of social realities than quantitative methodology.

Undeniably, many trajectories of qualitative enquiries are “pragmatic... and grounded in people’s lived experience” (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2012: 30). This is why any well-conducted qualitative enquiry provides more meaningful insights than when quantitative methodology is employed to study the same phenomenon (Carter and Henderson, 2005), and this is another reason for choosing the technique. According to Seale *et al.* (2004: 6), “any general framework to guide research can only be regarded as provisional”. That means that methods must be flexible, and only qualitative methods can accommodate flexibility, in that they do not involve a fixed-choice approach (Silverman, 2011). Again, this is another reason why I employed this method. Qualitative enquiries have the ability to yield unexpected results the researcher never thought of, and it is useful when the aim of the research is to extend or develop an extant theory (Carter and Henderson, 2005).

Flick (2014) notes that diverse qualitative methodologies have gained currency, and this is evident in the fact that qualitative methods of inquiry have penetrated areas where quantitative designs were dominant, in which “we are doing science” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994a: ix), or where *numbers are king* was the popular slogan. One such area is substance research (although to a large extent quantitative methods are still dominant). In recent years, things have been changing, especially in developed countries, because qualitative methods are penetrating substance studies. Nigerian substance research, by contrast, has remained quantitative. This is because researchers from a medical background such as

psychiatrists, medical doctors, epidemiologists, and so forth, who do not understand or appreciate the principles and benefits of qualitative methods, dominate this field of enquiry in Nigeria (Dumbili, 2014a). This is yet another factor that informed my choice, in order to arrive at more nuanced results.

Although the essence of my argument in this chapter is not to laud qualitative methods or to belittle quantitative enquiries (because methods do not have intrinsic values), the benefits of qualitative methods (some of which have been shown above) that have not been utilized in Nigeria necessitated my choice of qualitative methods. For example, as quantitative methods do not allow researchers to explore directly how people “actively construct their social world” (Silverman, 2011: 169) because of their fixed-choice nature, they have failed to ask the *why* and *how* questions. Therefore, they have failed to unravel the complex reasons for the increase in alcohol availability and consumption and their related consequences in contemporary Nigeria (World Health Organization, 2014). Also, they have not been able to reveal the motivations behind the use and misuse of alcohol among young people and the role of the media in these trajectories. Therefore, the study employs qualitative methods in order to gain a better understanding of the complex and interrelated factors underlying the phenomena of media and alcohol use among young people in Nigeria.

4.3.1. Reason for Choosing Qualitative Interviewing Method

Qualitative interviewing is particularly useful as a research method for accessing individuals’ attitudes and values- things that cannot necessarily be observed or accommodated in a formal questionnaire... *It* therefore, provides better access to interviewees’ views, interpretations of events, understandings, experiences and opinions (Byrne, 2012: 209).

Qualitative interviews are a valuable way to capture participants’ shared cultural meanings and understanding of their world, and if well conducted can yield rich data (Ogden and Cornwell, 2010). To Fontana and Frey (2003: 76), the “Interview is an active, emergent

process”. This is why many questions that originally may not be in the interview protocol could be asked or followed up during the interview process (through probes and prompts), and this often yields rich, nuanced and unexpected findings. For example, in this current study, drinking games, alcohol and sexuality, etc., were not initially covered by the questions in the interview protocol. During the course of the interviews, these factors kept recurring to the extent that 28 participants revealed that they had either participated, or knew someone who had engaged, in one of these practices. Indeed, these unexpected findings are some of the most interesting results of this study.

An interview is a “story that describes how two people, often relative strangers, sit down and talk about a specific topic” (Rapley, 2004: 15). Data from qualitative interviews are produced by the active collaboration of the interviewer and the interviewee (Warren, 2012; Silverman, 2011), and that is why Rapley (2004: 16) notes that “interviews are by their very nature, social encounters where speakers collaborate in producing retrospective (and prospective) accounts or version of their past (or future) actions, experiences, feelings and thoughts”. Additionally, Johnson (2001) argues that the structure of the interview protocol begins with icebreakers, then some “transition questions” that often explain the research objectives or are used to seek the consent of the participants to the use of a tape recorder, followed by the main questions (Johnson, 2001: 111). Although this is the standard practice, the actual interview may not always follow this sequence (Johnson, 2001). This was confirmed by my experience, in that the participants were often unpredictable in how they answered questions.

According to Byrne (2012: 209-210), interviews provide researchers with opportunities “to explore voices and experiences *that may* have been ignored, misrepresented or suppressed in the past”. As I mentioned earlier, no study has been conducted among this group, and females have largely been neglected by many Nigerian alcohol researchers. Thus, this current study opted for interviewing methods to study an understudied group, and particularly to accommodate female voices and experiences. Between the interviewer and the interviewee, many factors mediate the interactions. These factors include the interviewer’s gender, status (Warren, 2001), how the recruitment process went (i.e. the conversation between the two parties during the recruitment process), as well as the interviewer’s gestures, comments (during an interview situation),

and so forth (Rapley, 2004). With regard to gender, Fontana and Frey (2003) note that gender mediates responses, especially when the interviewer is of a different sex. Although gender can affect the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, Johnson (2001: 109) argues that how research questions are structured is the central issue that can affect interactions, in that “some research questions may elicit responses or perspectives for which gender has great relevance, whereas others may not”.

Another important element that may affect interaction is the presence of a tape or video recorder, because not every participant will talk freely while a tape recorder is on. In some situations, respondents will demand that the tape be switched off if they say something personal (Warren, 2001). Be this as it may, Warren (2001: 92) posits that “the hallmark of qualitative interviewing *is* that unrecorded data of this kind are as important as those derived from tape recordings”. Although this is ideal, in my fieldwork, I discovered that my participants were more apprehensive about my note taking than the tape recorder. This is arguably because of the tiny recorder I used to record the interviews. Because of its small size, its presence tended to fade as the interviews progressed.

Although some early qualitative scholars argue that interviewers have to apply a considerable level of neutrality, Rapley (2004: 21) notes that “being neutral is a mythological (and methodological) interviewer stance” because “interviews are not neutral tools of data gathering, but active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results” (Fontana and Frey, 2003: 62). Fontana and Frey argue that “we cannot lift the results of interviews out of the contexts in which they were gathered and claim them as objective data with no strings attached” (2003: 91). Again, Rapley (2004: 21) adds that if this issue of neutrality is not well managed, it can affect the collaborative role of the interviewer and interviewee by silencing or banishing the active participation of “producing the talk” in an interview. This is particularly true because an interview is a social interaction or encounter (Warren, 2012; Carter and Henderson, 2005) between an interviewer and the interviewees. Both co-create and co-produce the story (data) to be analysed and reported to the readers (Byrne, 2012).

4.3.2. The Usefulness of Interviews

Silverman (2011) notes that one main advantage of interviews is that they do not require specialized, extraordinary expertise or skills. This does not mean that interviews can be handled haphazardly (because interviewing requires listening skills, being respectful to interviewees, flexibility, and so forth); it simply means that novice researchers can conduct interviews without being methodologically intimidated. Additionally, if properly conducted, qualitative interviewing “is able to achieve a level of depth and complexity that is not available to other, particularly survey-based approaches” (Byrne, 2012: 210). Bridget Byrne adds that it is most suitable when studying sensitive topics. Interviews help researchers to “discern meaningful patterns within thick description” (Warren, 2001: 87), and this is why researchers can, through the process of interviewing, generate in-depth information (Johnson, 2001) that other techniques may not give.

Using interviews also allowed the interviewer to draw from his or her well of experience when interviewing the interviewees (Johnson, 2001). For example, Warren (2001) argues that she applied this ‘insider’ or “member status” (Johnson, 2001: 107) approach in one of her studies by opening a discussion with her experience. This helps to build the confidence of the participants and helps them to unpack and divulge information they may have planned to keep private (Rapley, 2012). For example, during my fieldwork, two female participants were able to open up on some sensitive issues (e.g. alcohol-related problems) when I adopted similar methods.

In fact, Carter and Henderson (2005: 217) note that the “interview makes it possible for the researcher to directly intervene in the research process; allowing the researcher to ask a number of participants the same broad questions on a particular theme”. This is why this method helps researchers to explore participants’ “cultural world” (Silverman, 2011: 198) in order to gain insights on their lived experiences. Additionally, interviews can be used to explore or verify what is being studied. The researcher may begin by exploring the topic with some interviewees; what they say may then form part of what he or she will begin to verify subsequently as the study progresses (Johnson, 2001). Because of the flexible nature of qualitative interviews (Silverman, 2011), researchers have the opportunity to deviate from their original questions “to go where the informant seems to want to go or perhaps to

follow what appear to be more interesting leads” (Johnson, 2001: 113). This dynamic, interactional process often yields nuanced and unexpected results that questions in interview protocols may not ordinarily produce. This is one of the main strengths of qualitative interviews that my study benefits from. For example, during my fieldwork, this approach was used, and this helped to identify many unexpected results such as drinking games, gendering of alcoholic beverages, alcohol and sexuality, and the heightened ignorance (among males) about the higher alcohol by volume (ABV) of the sweetened alcoholic beverages that women use, which are discussed in chapter seven.

Another benefit of interviews is that they provide the interviewer with an opportunity to use diverse interviewing styles. Because no particular style is superior to the others, Silverman (2011) notes that an interviewer can decide to be more active in a particular interview context and passive during another, depending on the interview situation. These flexibilities allow researchers to approach topics of interest through diverse ways (Byrne, 2012; Carter and Henderson, 2005) and other salient features underscore the reason why interviewing was chosen for this study.

4.3.3. The Potential Disadvantages of Qualitative Interviews

Even though interviewing has many advantages, it is also fraught with weaknesses. One main drawback of using qualitative interviews is the difficulty of finding willing interviewees, especially when the topic is sensitive or stigmatizing (Warren, 2001). In my case, many young women were not willing to share their experiences of drinking alcohol. This is why I was only able to recruit nine females out of the 31 participants in this study. Another problem affecting not just interviews, but qualitative research as a whole, is the issue of signing consent forms, especially when the topic is sensitive, stigmatizing or controversial (Warren, 2001). Oral or recorded consent can be sought if written consent becomes a problem (Warren, 2001). Although written consent was compulsory in this current study, I did not encounter any serious problems with it.

Another shortcoming of the interview is that it produces data that can only be taken as a representation or a version of participants’ opinions or viewpoints (Silverman, 2011). As

Rapley (2012: 550) notes, “given that we have no access to what goes on inside people’s heads, we cannot assume that what people say in interviews is what people think”. Participants may come to interviews with agendas that may deviate from the researcher’s purpose (Jacobsson and Åkerström, 2013). Thus, the former may not give helpful responses to questions. Again, failure to disclose or give detailed accounts of how and why the participants were recruited to take part in the interview, and the likely stake or interests of both interviewer and those participants, are also problems of qualitative interviews (Potter and Hepburn, 2005). Irrespective of these flaws, interviews are still the most popular qualitative data collection methods due to the benefits they offer. What many scholars have advised is to combine interviews with other qualitative methods to produce more valid data. As I mentioned earlier, the interview was deemed most suitable for this current study due to the sensitive nature of alcohol consumption among the study population.

4.3.4. Rationale for Choosing Observational Method of Inquiry

Fontana and Frey (2003: 99) note that “human beings are complex, and their lives are ever changing; the more methods we use to study them, the better our chances to gain some understanding of how they construct their lives and stories they tell us about them”. As I mentioned earlier, this study’s data collection involves two qualitative methods (in-depth interviews and observation). Miller and Glassner (1997) posited that although interviews yield nuanced results, researchers should carry out observation prior to interviewing participants in order to observe potential participants’ cultural milieus and how they engage with and make meanings out of their social world. This will equip the interviewer to be able to engage the interviewees actively in the interviews (drawing examples from their social world he or she has observed). This is why I observed how young people drink in different bars and television viewing centres.

As I mentioned earlier, before conducting the main fieldwork, I visited some of these eateries during the pilot study in November 2012. During this visit, different eateries located within and around the university were observed to understand how students use alcohol, although this was done without their specific consent. A major European football league viewing centre around the school was also visited to observe how students use alcohol as

they watch live football games. Some of these venues were also revisited during the main fieldwork and what I observed (in both phases) was that while males were drinking beer, females drank non-alcoholic beverages, sweetened alcoholic beverages and a few drank stout. A very consistent finding is that both males and females sat around the same tables chatting as they drank, but what they drank differed. I also observed that boys, who sat at the same table, mainly drank the same kind of beer in some eateries (i.e., each table has bottles of similar brands of beer). As I discovered that observation was not going to work for my study (females are likely to drink differently in public and in secret), I decided to pursue interviews. Again, it must be noted that none of the participants I interviewed was recruited during these visits or from these venues. This was vital because, as alcohol is sensitive among this group and as these venues are around the university, students may have misunderstood my intention and believed that I was monitoring their alcohol use.

4.4. Data Analysis and Synthesis

Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79).

It is important to detail how the data were analysed because without this, evaluating the research that yielded the data will not only be difficult, comparing or synthesising such research with similar topics may be impossible. The data were analysed using the thematic analytical method, which is one of the analytical approaches that allow for “thematizing meanings” of data (Holloway and Todres, 2003: 347) based on the prior research questions (Willig, 2014). It is relatively straightforward and can be a useful method for earlier career (beginners) qualitative researchers (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Indeed, Rivas (2012: 367) notes that “it is easier to make sense of data when they are divided up into themes”, as this helps in data reduction, facilitating the easy grasp of meanings therein.

Similarly, Braun and Clarke (2006: 83), in their seminal paper, note that thematic analysis is often very useful because it allows the researchers to give a rich description of their data, especially “when investigating an under-researched area, or you are working with participants whose views on the topic are not known”. This underscores the choice of this method because, in the Nigerian context, my study is novel both in theory and method. Indeed, it is argued that in every qualitative study, the researcher(s) can either draw on a theoretical lens to investigate his or her phenomenon of interest or aim to generate theory, and this is because no research is totally devoid of theory (Silverman, 2011). In my case, I drew on Gerbner’s Cultivation theory to explore alcohol and youth’s lived experience as mediated by their media consumption, and the concepts inherent in this theory guided not just the research questions but the analysis. This is inevitable in that “any analysis depends on the use of certain theory-dependent concepts” (Silverman, 2011: 60).

The interviews were transcribed verbatim before the thematic analysis was undertaken. Because Silverman (2011) advises that one of the ways to guarantee quality and timely analysis is to begin early, I initiated the main preliminary analysis immediately after the first interview was conducted by following some specific steps. Before I outline these steps, it is worth stating that although this was the stage where I initiated my systematic analysis, the analysis actually preceded this stage. This is because analysis is an “ongoing process that routinely starts prior to the first interview” (Rapley, 2004: 26). Thus, during the interview sessions, I took notes and interpreted the interviewees’ responses based on my prior knowledge of the literature and theoretical concepts (Roulston, 2014b). In order to complete the analysis, I developed, read and re-read the field notes I took during the interview sessions and wrote down my reflections about the entire process.

This step was taken because researchers are advised that no matter what the situational constraints, researchers should “take notes regularly and promptly: write everything down, no matter how unimportant it may seem at the time... and analyse their notes frequently” (Fontana and Frey, 2003: 79) as the fieldwork progresses. Second, I listened to the audio recording to check for accuracy (Braun and Clarke, 2006), crosschecking it with the field notes and my reflections, and revisited the assumptions of my theoretical framework (Holloway and Todres, 2003). This is because the analysis of interviews is often determined by the researcher’s “theoretical interests, and your

theoretical interest will, in part, define what sort of questions you ask in interviews” (Rapley, 2004: 27). This provided an opportunity for me to identify some new areas to probe and explore further in the subsequent interviews. It equally helped me to write down some tentative coding schemes (Braun and Clarke, 2006) based on my research questions. Additionally, it made further analysis easier because coding and analysing small parts (open coding) of data are often useful ways of undertaking a rigorous analysis (Rivas, 2012).

Following this, I transcribed the first interview. As the audiotape was being transcribed, I began to identify and categorize initial extracts that would form my broad themes. This was done through the use of annotations and marginalia. Because some of the underpinning assumptions of qualitative studies are consistency and coherence (Holloway and Todres, 2003), this process was repeated for the next six interviews. Additionally, as collaborative analysis is imperative to ensure quality and rigour in qualitative data analysis (Cornish, Gillespie and Zittoun, 2014), my supervisors read and commented on some of the interviews, my initial thoughts about coding, and thematic ideas. These processes turned out to be very useful, in that they helped me to have an early grasp of my data (Morse, 2012), making my subsequent data analysis and interpretations easier and more focused (Willig, 2014). Furthermore, some of these themes grouped manually became the parent nodes while others were condensed (Saldaña, 2012) into different child nodes that formed my thematic coding framework when the data were imported into Nvivo 10.

After all the 31 interviews were completed, transcribed and anonymized, I read the transcripts several times, crosschecking and reconciling them with the field notes, audio recordings and my reflections (Rapley, 2012). Because in thematic analysis, the analyst consciously searches “across a data set... to find repeated patterns of meaning” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 86; Ryan and Bernard, 2003), in that themes do not just emerge (Morse, 2012), I was able to identify other embedded codes and themes through this process. This was followed by re-examining the field notes before importing both into Nvivo 10, which helped in organizing and managing my analysis (Gibbs, 2014; Seale and Rivas, 2012) and subsequently creating nodes (parents and child nodes) under different themes. While some themes were generated manually (based on the assumptions of my theory), I also searched inductively through the transcripts to identify other themes based on expressions that were repeated by the participants (Ryan and Bernard, 2003).

As mentioned earlier, because “any analysis depends on the use of certain theory-dependent concepts” (irrespective of how inductive the analysis may be (Rivas, 2012; Silverman, 2011: 60)), some of the nodes were conceptualized based on the assumptions of my theoretical framework. Being guided by my research questions, I conducted a number of queries, the first of which was a word frequency query (Ryan and Bernard, 2003) to gain an insight into the words most frequently used by my participants (which included, amongst others, alcohol, drink, drinking, students, High School movies, etc.,) and how this could help to understand and unpack the patterns of meaning within my data set. It also helped me to code the data further (Seale and Rivas, 2012). This is because by clicking and opening each referenced source, I was able to highlight, and drag and drop the reference (extract) to the appropriate nodes. At the end of this process, I reread each transcript and coded further data that had not been coded through the first process.

When this stage of coding was completed, I read the nodes thoroughly to identify incompatible quotes (data cleaning). Through this means, I became increasingly immersed in my data, and that helped me to identify quotes that required refinement. I subsequently condensed or expanded such quotes into existing child nodes or created new nodes for them, while a few were discarded (because they had no relevance to my research questions but will be useful for future papers). Some themes were also merged, and these procedures constituted the backdrop for running matrix coding queries to explore and identify the point of interceptions in my data. For example, whether exposure to the media has any relationship with aspirational drinking, such as imitation of media characters’ alcohol use, or whether drinking frequency has any relationship with alcohol marketing. Having completed the matrix coding queries, I summarized the meaning of the themes in my analytical memo. Next, I exported the nodes to the Word document and read them repeatedly to be able to “distil the essence or meaning of participants’ description” (Roulston, 2014a: 304).

As noted, themes do not just emerge; thus I then reflected upon the entire analytical procedure, taking into consideration my theoretical framework, my research questions, and my place as someone who took an active part in the research process. This was important because as a researcher and analyst with appreciable knowledge of the cultural values and ways of life of the people I am studying, I have to demonstrate that I am not just a cultural member (who understands the place of alcohol in ‘Igbo’ culture), but a cultural

commentator (who is expected to give a transparent and systematic account of the research process that yielded the data, taking note of the patterns of meaning in the data, without leaving out contradictory voices (Braun and Clarke, 2006)). Although this was a theory-driven analysis, I combined deductive and inductive coding approaches to produce a robust analysis (Rivas, 2012). This combination was helpful to me because it allowed me to explore my data at length, avoiding early and invalid interpretations, and thus it yielded many other valuable themes that may not have been reported in this thesis (because they were not within the remit of this study), although they may form the basis of my future papers and research.

Again, as analysing qualitative data is a “continuous iterative enterprise” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 12), I undertook a comparison with the themes that had been generated manually to see how consistent I was in my coding and also to ensure that negative or deviant cases had not been ignored (Silverman, 2011; Mays and Pope, 2000). It is worthy of note that, during the interviews and process of transcribing the data, I was careful to identify alternative voices or deviant cases (Mays and Pope, 2000) and these were noted down in my reflection memos. For example, while the majority stressed that they (or other young people) are influenced by alcohol portrayals in the media, a few argued otherwise. This was relevant to my analysis and interpretation of data, in that some of my participants that argued otherwise were using large amounts of alcohol. Thus, I was able to search for alternative predictors of this pattern of alcohol consumption (one such predictor is peer influence).

Next, I reflected again on my research questions (to see whether the interpretation arrived at, based on the themes, answers my research questions) before writing down the patterns of meaning that emerged from the key themes. It is worthy of note that although nine themes were distilled, only six are reported in the thesis. Based on the fact that my research focuses on how media mediate young people’s lived experience in terms of alcohol use, the fact that a researcher can choose to interpret a section of the data that best captures the essence (purpose) of their studies (Willig, 2014), and the advice of my supervisors, other themes were reflected on but not in detail. Although the whole process described above may appear to be linear, the qualitative process is never a linear process. The indisputably flexible nature of the thematic analytical method (Braun and Clarke, 2006)

provided me with the opportunity of reflexively going back and forth over the data set (when the need arose) before arriving at the themes (May and Perry, 2014). At the end of my analysis, interpretations and writing up of my chapters, I reflected on the whole procedure of conducting pilot interviews, planning for fieldwork, conducting interviews, analysis, interpreting my data and writing up my results chapters (Roulston, 2014a).

4.4.1. Field Notes and Analytical Memo

I found it convenient and useful to jot down key words during my interview sessions. This was challenging, as it was important for me to concentrate on the flow of discussion with my participants. However, my participants did not mind and I found it helped, especially to capture their use of nonverbal signs, such as gesticulations, during the interviews. After each interview, I developed the notes and later crosschecked by comparing them with the audio recording. When the interviews were completed, the notes and reflections were imported into the field notes and reflection sub-folders in the memo folder of the Nvivo 10 software. This was helpful in three ways. First, it assisted me in validating information on the transcripts. Second, it was a source of additional data, because some participants gave useful information with non-verbal signs or when the interviews had ended and the digital recorder was switched off, something that I wrote down in my field notes. Additionally, after coding was completed, and I read and cross-checked the nodes, useful insights and patterns emerged and these were immediately typed up into the reflection folder and later utilized during my writing up stage (Rivas, 2012).

4.5. Reflection on the Fieldwork

My fieldwork in Nigeria was full of a number of insightful experiences. First, it is worth reiterating that one of the difficulties of conducting qualitative interviews is the ability to recruit participants who are willing to be interviewed, but this can be at least partially overcome if researchers adopt good measures to approach potential participants (Byrne, 2012). In this study, I was confronted with some problems because females were difficult to

reach for interviews. Here, many believe that wines, sweetened and other locally-produced drinks are not alcohol.¹¹ Although many females were unreachable, I was surprised by the readiness with which the female participants (who agreed to participate) shared their stories during the interview sessions. This can be attributed to many factors. First, it arguably could be attributed to the fact that I was studying in another country; thus, they felt that their identities would be protected. Another factor that may have accounted for this was the way in which a rapport was established. Here, I tried not to establish a hierarchy in terms of age, education or any other status marker by communicating via the local language or Nigerian Pidgin English during the recruitment exercise.

Most importantly, the women's emancipation movement (that became more prominent in the 1980s), which engendered the maxim "anything a man can do, a woman can do better", may also be held responsible. Having been marginalised for a long time, Nigerian women are increasingly using every available channel to express their views in order for the world to hear their voices. For example, the excerpt below from my fieldwork experience shows how a female reacted when her boyfriend told her that alcohol is for males:

It is a dazzling morning, and everyone is preparing to go to school or work. At about seven o'clock, I dressed up, picked my tape recorder, field note and left for school. On getting there, I met some groups of students, and there was this particular couple that attracted my attention. I walked closer, and politely introduced myself to this smiling boy and girl before presenting my research to them. Then I asked if they could read my participants' information sheet (not to read or participate immediately), but to my surprise, before I could finish the explanation, the boy vehemently said that alcohol is for men therefore I should leave the girl out of it. However, the girl immediately retorted: "females drink too; we drink because alcohol is good for both genders, after all, anything a man can do, a woman can do better". This reaction from the female shone a light on the area of alcohol consumption and gender through observing a brief interaction (personal reflection, 18 October 2013).

¹¹ This belief was also expressed among males, and as I mentioned, I learnt about this during my pilot interviews.

During the interviews with females, I discovered that even when some questions regarding sensitive issues such as alcohol and sex were asked, females were more open than males. For example, when Agatha was asked why she used a bottle of champagne before any sexual intercourse with her boyfriend, she responded without much difficulty and gave a great deal of data that I never anticipated. This was not the case with most of the male participants, who used “vague or other persons” when they were actually speaking about their personal experiences.

Qualitative researchers have posited that interviewees tend to be apprehensive when presented with recording devices; thus, some will request that their interactions should not be recorded (Warren, 2012). By contrast, all of the 31 participants accepted that our interactions be recorded. Additionally, the female participants volunteered to recruit their friends that used alcohol. A particular example was Chimanda, who suggested that she would contact her friend, and when we met, she introduced her by saying: “see her here, she is a drunkard” and as both laughed, her friend jokingly said I should not mind her.

Although the participants’ information sheet had detailed information about the research, many wanted to hear by word of mouth why the research was being conducted, the relevance and what they stood to gain as participants (especially in terms of monetary gain). Some of the tactics I used to surmount these difficulties were explaining that they were important and knowledgeable (because there is no right and wrong answer), and that participation was voluntary. An additional problem I faced was the lack of security in the study area. Thus, I had to be careful not to be kidnapped and therefore could not observe students’ late evening or night parties. This is for two main reasons. First, the security situation in Nigeria in general and the study site in particular is presently volatile. Therefore avoiding night journeys, even within the same street, is advisable. Second, there is a notion among the majority of Nigerians that people who live abroad are rich. Kidnappers might have assumed that because I was studying in the United Kingdom, I could afford to pay a huge ransom when kidnapped.

Another interesting aspect of the fieldwork was learning that interview venues are very significant in determining how participants respond to questions (Gagnon, Jacob and

McCabe, 2014). Sensitive topics demand a private environment (Herzog, 2012). For example, I interviewed a male participant and as he was sharing his story, he lowered his voice when he wanted to discuss his experience of drinking and urinating in his room. Although he was very loud while sharing other stories, he lowered his voice irrespective of the fact that no other person was in the room. This arguably is because of the stigma attached to such an experience, especially in a patriarchal society like Nigeria.

Again, I learnt that establishing a rapport is necessary. In fact, depending on the rapport a researcher establishes during the recruitment exercise, participants may not turn up for the actual interview, and if they do, they may not respond freely. This is one of the reasons Warren (2012: 131) argues that the “interview encounter is framed by the circumstances that got the interviewer and the respondent to the moment of the *actual interview*”. This rapport must be extended from recruitment to the end of the interview (or even beyond). Before each interview is held, there is a need to greet the interviewee politely; the researcher is duty-bound to make participants relaxed and actively engage them in the interaction (Warren, 2012). In my fieldwork, I discovered that most of my participants still maintained or wanted to maintain a relationship after the interview. For example, some of my participants, especially males, requested that they would like to read my publications when I concluded the study. Importantly, some also saw me after some days or weeks and stopped to inquire how my fieldwork was progressing and if they could be of any help to recruit other potential participants. On one such occasion, although I was busy looking for other potential participants, I stopped and politely had a brief chat with him and again expressed my appreciation for his participation and offer of assistance. This is why Darlington and Scott (2002: 54) argued that “the researcher-participant relationship is subject to continuing negotiation”.

Additionally, two female participants requested to listen back to their voices after the interview, and while the recorded interviews were played back to them, they smiled and this arguably shows that they enjoyed hearing their voices and opinions. Although qualitative research is time-consuming, researchers should be ready to play back the tapes to any participant who makes such a request (or to politely explain why this should not be done, especially if a third party has come in after the interview has ended). Another related element is that some participants may reveal useful information after the interview has

ended, and the tape has been switched off. One participant began to give additional details of something he had discussed superficially during the interview when I was about to leave the interview venue. This is why Warren (2012: 139) noted that “even after the interview has officially ended, the interaction may be prolonged - especially if turning off the tape recorder frees the respondent from the fear of being on record”. Although I did not immediately switch on my tape recorder or take down notes, I used my ability as a trained journalist to memorize the most important things he said, and when I left, I scribbled them in my field notes. This process, which I have called *interaction after interactions*, yielded useful data and suggested that participants may not disclose full information while the tape recorder is on even after agreeing to be recorded.

Yet another lesson learnt in the study is that some participants may not paint a full picture of their stories at the beginning of an interview, but may open up as the interview progresses. For example, among the 31 participants, only three males and a female agreed that they used large quantities of alcohol at an early stage of the interaction, but as the discussions progressed, others revealed that they had used more than seven bottles of beer (males) or five bottles of other sweetened beverages (females) on a drinking occasion. For example, Kelly argued that he did not drink much alcohol but from his data, it was evident that his drinking pattern could be categorized under binge or harmful drinking. In fact, this could be used to argue that it is probably not good to ask a specific type of question at the beginning of an interview (but this may depend on the nature of the study).

4.5.1. Ethical Considerations and Reflection on Social Positioning as a Male

Researcher

One of the main aspects of contemporary empirical research involving human beings is the ethical implications. Ethical approval for this study was given by the Office of the Dean of Students’ Affairs of the university, before the Brunel University London Ethics Board reviewed and granted ethical approval in 2012. After starting my doctoral study in March 2012, I immediately negotiated access to the study site with the Dean of Students’ Affairs whose office handles students’ matters. I submitted a letter with details of my research and

my potential participants. The study was approved on May 11, 2012, and full access to the students was granted. This was sine qua non for the subsequent approval by the Brunel Ethics Board. During the fieldwork, each potential participant was given the participants' information sheet (Appendix 3) to read and those who indicated an interest in participating signed the consent form (Appendix 4). All of the names used in this thesis are pseudonyms.

According to Willig (2014: 148), it is vital that researchers' "frame of reference such as (personal, theoretical, emotional, conceptual) investments" be revealed *because* "in one way or another, these will be used to interpret the data". Similarly, Bloomberg and Volpe (2012: 29) argue that "constructivist researchers recognize and acknowledge that their own background shapes their interpretation, and they thus position themselves in the research to acknowledge their own cultural, social and historical experiences". Against these backdrops, it is imperative to state how some of these factors, and others such as age and gender, were managed during the research process (Byrne, 2012).

In terms of age, I was very careful to be the first to greet the participants, and I often used the local language or pidgin to do so. In Nigeria, it is culturally ideal that when two people meet, the younger person is supposed to greet the other. Although this is the norm, there are other types of greeting that can be used for general purposes and these were carefully selected. Examples are 'Ndewo', which literally means 'well done' and 'I dey salute or greet', which means 'I am greeting or saluting you'. With regard to the aspect of gender, I had no difficulty in recruiting males but as I have shown above, recruiting females was more difficult. However, my interview encounters with them were more memorable due to the finesse, choice of words, body language, and so forth that they employed to answer the questions. Again, some of the participants brought up sensitive topics such as sex, and what I did was to follow up or probe further so that the participants could unpack the information. I did not press any participant who did not seem to be comfortable in explaining further. Although these interviews were conducted either in their rooms or on campus, no-one other than the interviewer and interviewee was present, and doors (in some of the venues) were kept open throughout the interview sessions. To ensure that people did not overhear our discussion, I was careful to monitor any movement in the corridors.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a description of the research design that guided this study. Research methods are unavoidable wheels that drive social research. However, making the right methodological choice is essential if results are to be valid and useful. This chapter has provided the rationale as to why I employed a qualitative research design to explore young people's media consumption and alcohol use on a Nigerian university campus. It started by providing a description of the procedures for planning and conducting pilot fieldwork and the main fieldwork, how the research participants were chosen and what informed the choice. Next, it considered the conceptualization of the qualitative research paradigm before providing the reasons why it was chosen for this study. Subsequently, the rationale for choosing interviews as the main method of data collection was provided. The chapter then revealed how interviews were conducted, the analytical procedures employed and what informed the choices I made. I concluded by providing detailed reflections on the whole research process and the lessons I learnt as a trainee qualitative researcher. The following three chapters will draw on the results of these methodological procedures to demonstrate the factors linking media and alcohol consumption among the participants.

Chapter Five: Patterns of Media Use

5.1. Introduction

With their power to frame, define, and neglect aspects of the social world, the mass media are a principal social and cultural institution. The central position of media in everyday life ensures that symbols distributed through the media become points of focus and interaction in the population (Milkie, 1999: 191).

In this chapter, I map the media consumption patterns of my research participants (television, Facebook and YouTube). This is due to the fact that these media channels were the key media discussed by my participants and I want to fully understand how they interact with the media environment. I will describe when and where the participants use the media, with whom they use media channels and for how long they are exposed to media portrayals. My major concern here is to explore the impact of heavy viewing of media on the participants' lived experience. I will also give an account of young people's participation in drinking games and how the media may be implicated in this game playing. Before I proceed further, it is worthy of note that there may be many other ways of addressing my data but as Silverman (2011: 202) argued, my research is presented "as a descriptive study based on a clear social problem."

5.2. An Overview of Hours Spent Watching Television by Participants

In this section, I will draw on quantitative data to explicate media use patterns. Although this is a qualitative study, scholars such as Ruddock (2012b) employed a similar approach by drawing largely on numbers and percentages to present a qualitative study. This will help me to explore the role of the media in mediating alcohol consumption among the

participants. Therefore, in order to unpack this detail, I will start with how these participants use television.

Each of my 31 participants stated that they watch television, but how long each participant spends watching television is dependent on many factors, such as the nature of the programme being televised, the television channel (local or foreign), the availability of the electricity supply and whether or not it is term time. The participants were asked to quantify how long they spend watching television each day and each week. Based on their responses, the participants can be grouped into three categories: light, moderate and heavy viewers of television. Those in the light category (n= 12; 9 males; 3 females) spend around two hours a day (i.e., approximately 14 hours weekly), those in the moderate category (n= 4- all males) spend around three and half but not more than four hours a day (i.e., around 24-27 hours weekly), while the heavy viewers (n= 15- 9 males; 6 females) spend four or more hours per day (i.e., 28 or more hours per week) watching television. The reason for this division is that cultivation theory defines heavy viewing as four hours (or more) exposure to television in a day (Gerbner, 1998; Gerbner, 1970). Therefore, this is a useful categorization for my analysis because it will help me to examine whether or not heavy viewing is associated with heavy alcohol consumption. Although this categorization is important, it is worthy of note that “light, moderate and heavy viewing are relative terms” and the four-hour benchmark for heavy viewing “is not an absolute cut off” (Morgan, 2015 personal communication). For many of the participants, watching TV is part of their daily routine. From their accounts, it appears that those who watch films three or more times per week spend longer watching television per week than others who watch sponsored programmes, football or news. Among the participants that watch films, the types of films they see are gendered, in that whilst the females prefer comedy or drama films, the majority of the male participants prefer action-related films.

Table 5.1 showing estimated patterns of media use and quantity of alcohol consumption per drinking occasion

Name of Participants	Sex F/M	Hours spent on TV weekly	Hours Spent on Facebook	Hours spent on YouTube	Quantity of alcohol per drinking occasion
Genny	F	6	2 and half	NA	Smirnoff= 2 bottles
Chichi	F	70	NA	NA	Wine= 2 bottles; Stout= 3 bottles
Chimanda	F	56	42	NA	Spirit= 1 bottle; Smirnoff= 4 bottles
Patience	F	42	Irregular	Irregular	REDD'S= 2 bottles
Chisalun	F	90	70	NA	Smirnoff= 2 bottles
Pretty	F	40	30	NA	Smirnoff= 4 bottles
Ada	F	8	14	NA	Stout= 1 bottle
Agatha	F	14	21	NA	Champagne= 1bottle
Chioma	F	50	56	NA	REDD'S- 2 bottles
Diogor	M	5	3	NA	Beer =3 bottles
Ejike	M	56	7	NA	Stout= 3 bottles
Chikere	M	14	42	NA	Beer= 8 bottles
Okezie	M	30	15	Irregular	Beer= 2 bottles
Femi	M	12	4	NA	Beer= 3 bottles
Achike	M	56	38	Irregular	Stout= 4 bottles
Kelechi	M	1	20	NA	Beer= 4 bottles
Ekene	M	5	1	NA	Beer= 4 bottles
Dozie	M	8	8	NA	Beer=5 bottles
Buchi	M	21	14	Irregular	Beer= 3 bottles
Jacob	M	14	14	14	Beer= 5 bottles
Boniface	M	18	30	NA	Beer= 4 bottles
Chike	M	21	NA	NA	Beer= 4 bottles; Stout= 3 bottles
Las	M	42	4	NA	REDD'S= 4 bottles; Spirit= 1 bottle a day
Peter	M	21	50	Irregular	Beer= 2 bottles; Spirit= a glass
Favour	M	28	56	Irregular	Beer= 3 bottles
Kelly	M	96	Irregular	Irregular	Beer= 3 bottles
Collins	M	28	14	Irregular	Spirit= half a bottle; Wine= 2 bottles
Fred	M	50	77	NA	Beer= 2 bottles
Edulim	M	56	30	NA	Beer= 9 bottles
Levin	M	7	Irregular	Irregular	Spirit/rum= 1bottle; Beer= 5 bottles
Okey	M	7	Irregular	NA	Beer= 8 bottles

NA: Not available; Liqueur: 70CL; Spirit: 75CL (17-43% ABV); Beer (5% ABV) and stout (7.5% ABV): 60CL; Smirnoff Ice: 30CL (5.5% ABV); REDD'S (5% ABV): 30CL

Similarly, how long each participant spends watching TV is determined by a combination of factors. The participants talked about spending longer hours watching TV during weekends, at the beginning of semesters and during holidays. They stated that TV viewing during term time is mainly during the evenings when they come back from school, except during weekends or on occasions when they go to eateries inside the school to eat or relax. Relatedly, whether these participants watch television at all or spend a long time watching television during their free time is dependent on four interrelated factors: the content of the programme, the value placed on such programme(s); whether they live alone or not, and also the availability of an electricity supply. For example, Patience stated that she spends up to six hours per day viewing television but this depends on the nature of the programme being televised. Meanwhile Jacob described his typical viewing during the week:

Jacob: I watch TV like two to four hours daily; ... because at times you might be busy, and there aren't opportunities to watch, especially in school. During normal school days, I go to school, come back by 4 pm, maybe after I've eaten and done every other thing, then I just have the opportunity to watch TV....

Other participants also discussed how they use television. While Las' account suggested that watching television depends on the environment, it also shows his preference for films. His views were repeated by Chike, who noted that he sees movies up to four times per week. Additionally, Ejike stated that the time he spends watching television is limited during term time but his account suggests that he prefers news and other entertainment programmes that are not usually as long as movies.

Similarly, Chisalun (a self-confessed TV addict), who lives with her parents, stated that although she always watches TV, how long she spends doing so depends on two factors: how early she is able to finish her home chores and the availability of the electricity supply. Additionally, Chichi, who had earlier noted that she liked watching TV, especially movies, noted that: **"...if there is light, and I'm not doing anything throughout the day, I think I can spend the whole day watching TV..."** While some of the participants stated that they defy the erratic power supply by purchasing standby electricity generating sets, others stay awake all night to watch television, because a public electricity supply is provided at night. For instance, Pretty revealed that she uses television heavily, but this is often during

the night: **“...I know it is up to 40 hours in a week because I like watching movies all night because of my activities in the day.”**

The fact that some of the participants spend the entire night watching television is worth reflecting on. First, as these participants consume television messages heavily at night, they may not escape the alcohol portrayals. This is because the advertising Code in Nigeria stipulates that alcohol advertising on television and radio should be aired from 8 pm to 5 am. Although alcohol marketers use different means to advertise indirectly during the day (De Bruijn, 2011), direct advertising on the local channels is relayed from 8pm. To illustrate that those who use television during the night are likely to see these portrayals, Chisalum stated that:

Chisalum: I see adverts on TV, especially during the news because I can remember on STV [a popular local television station], Star beer sponsors entertainment news. So during the news, before the newscaster says it is time for entertainment news, there will be a Star advert... after the entertainment news they will tell you: ‘this entertainment news was brought to you by Star, sharing happiness’, and they will do an advertisement for Star. So like every 30 minutes they do an advertisement for alcohol...

5.3. Patterns of Facebook and YouTube Consumption

Although my study’s emphasis is on television, the interviews were flexible to allow the participants to describe and shed light on their use of social media. This section will help to illuminate the reasons for using social media, how the participants use them in order to contribute to the discussion on young people’s use of social media, and how this shapes their alcohol consumption. Research shows that the most commonly used Social Network Site (SNSs) among students is Facebook, and what is displayed has a wide reach to diverse audiences (Pempek *et al.*, 2009; Lewis *et al.*, 2008). Similarly, these sites carry a myriad of advertising messages and other similar portrayals of controversial products, such as alcohol and tobacco, which may be difficult to regulate, unlike in the traditional media.

Unlike television, not all of the participants currently use Facebook. Although two of the participants do not currently use Facebook, they reported that they have, at one point or another used this medium. The 29 participants who currently use Facebook stated that they do not necessarily have to plan when, where or for how long they will use Facebook for understandable reasons. One of these reasons is that they are connected to the social media through their mobile devices and usually receive beeps when messages are sent to them. Because of this, the majority interact with this medium more regularly. Despite the fact that they make use of Facebook on a regular basis, the majority spend less time on this medium than they do watching the TV. For instance, Las, who stated that he spends up to 42 hours per week watching TV, only uses Facebook for four hours per week.

Although some of the participants do not currently use Facebook, among those who use it, nine (6 males, 3 females) spend more time on Facebook than they do watching television. Additionally, a substantial number of the participants spend long hours using both television and Facebook. For example, Chisalum, who spends about 90 hours watching television, reported that she spends a long time on Facebook: **“if I’m not watching my TV, I’m on my phone; I will be pinged... on Facebook...”**. This is irrespective of the fact that she also uses other social media. Although these accounts have illuminated how the participants use this medium, it must be stated that a few of the participants, especially the males, use Facebook more than the TV. For example, Fred, who watches TV for about 50 hours per week, spends up to 77 hours on Facebook. Importantly, some of the females revealed that Facebook is losing its popularity, and the reason appears to be because other social media are springing up and competing with Facebook.

With regard to their current use of YouTube, only one participant (Jacob) regularly uses this platform. Among the female participants, the data showed that Patience uses YouTube sporadically while the other eight participants do not currently use it. Among the other 21 male participants, eight use YouTube irregularly while 13 do not currently use it. In response to why the current users do not frequently use this platform, their individual accounts appear to yield a consensus answer; they reported that this was because of the poor Internet connectivity in Nigeria. In terms of whether they see alcohol portrayals on Facebook or YouTube, Chioma reported that she sees alcohol advertisements on Facebook, while of the four male participants revealed that they see alcohol advertisements on

Facebook or YouTube. Again, Ekene revealed that he sees alcohol advertisements on a popular site called “Naija-Loaded” (a site where Nigeria Hip-Hop music can be downloaded). A substantial number of the male participants also stated that they see advertisements and promotional messages on other Internet sites, while out of the female participants, only Chioma gave a similar account.

5.4. Drinking as a Collective Social Activity in Football Viewing Centres

The previous sections have highlighted the patterns of media consumption among the participants. This section takes this further by exploring television viewing as a social and collective activity. While the female participants watch movies more than the males, the males compensate with European football matches (in viewing centres owned by individuals or alcohol companies), which they often watch in groups because each network of friends has a particular football club that it supports. As Milkie (1999: 208) asserted, “images are not simply accepted and interpreted individually but are understood in everyday experience to be part of the collectivity of individuals’ social worlds”. Therefore, it can be suggested that young people who view media portrayals in groups, especially during football matches, are likely to be affected collectively because of this social viewing. This is especially the case because drinking has always been socially constructed in Nigeria (as it is in most societies Oshodin, 1995).

In discussing how and why these men view football in groups and often in viewing centres, the majority stated that it is not just because these viewing centres are more conducive for practical reasons (because of the assurance of an electricity supply), but because the centres also provide opportunities to enjoy football games while sipping one’s drink. Picking up on this point, I probed the relationship between football viewing and alcohol among students. A substantial number of the participants argued that alcohol could not be separated from football because alcohol companies sponsor different teams and use that medium to advertise their products during games. In the light of this, I questioned the participants further in order to understand this relationship better. In one of the interviews, Fred revealed that as a football fan, while watching live games he often sees alcohol

portrayals. Indeed, he stated that **“football is associated with Guinness.”** I then probed further in order to encourage him to unpack what he meant by this association:

ED: You just mentioned that football is associated with Guinness, how can you explain that?

Fred: Every Premier League Game you watch, after the first half, you must see Guinness adverts up to four times before the second half starts. Besides, Guinness even has what they call a Guinness Soccer Manager.

ED: Do you mean in Nigeria or elsewhere?

Fred: Yes in Nigeria; it is an online thing where you choose a team and become a coach. You will be coaching the team online, and they will be fixing matches for you...

ED: Okay, can you describe the popularity of this Guinness Soccer Manager?

Fred: Certainly, everyone that watches football knows about it. It is very interesting; if you love football, you will want to participate in it.

Also, when a similar question on alcohol and football was raised, the majority reported that when they view football games they see alcohol portrayals:

Diogor: ...Normally every week, they play football like all those EPL [English Premier League]... so we see alcohol adverts. After the first half of the game, when they are showing other adverts, they end up bringing up the alcohol advert, and this may be two to three times...

Only two female participants (Chisalum and Pretty) recalled that they had seen alcohol portrayals during football games. That alcohol advertisements are broadcast while live matches are being televised is not new because even in many Western countries, alcohol industries fully or partially sponsor football clubs and other sporting events (O'Brien *et al.*, 2011). In the Nigerian context, what may raise concerns is that alcohol advertisements on TV or radio are not supposed to be aired before 8pm, but it appears that alcohol producers

place advertisements and other promotional activities on cable network television channels that are not regulated in Nigeria.

Another issue is the symbolic value placed on alcohol in television viewing centres due to the role that drinking plays during live matches. For instance, the majority of the participants noted that drinking and watching football go hand-in-hand because alcohol either helps the viewers to enjoy live games and share in the camaraderie among friends or to alleviate anxiety when the team that one supports is losing in a game:

Fred: When someone is drinking, it may be that his team is losing...; it is to reduce pressure... Most people eat gum. I have a friend, from the way he chews gum you will know he is angry or trying to get his mind off the ball or relax a little. Others take alcohol instead of gum.

Although, as previously mentioned, the role of alcohol in sports is evident globally (Adams *et al.*, 2014; O'Brien *et al.*, 2014), a different picture of its role in the Nigerian context was painted by some football fans. This is because they stated that buying a particular brand of alcohol qualifies one to enter and view matches in specific viewing centres, especially those operated by alcohol producers such as Heineken or their marketers:

Chike: ...There are some specific bars that won't allow you to come in and watch a match unless you buy that brand like Heineken. I once went to a bar they call "Heineken Bar".... They have this public viewing centre where you can view matches, but to have the privilege of staying there, you must buy Heineken.... Personally, I don't drink Heineken, but for the fact that I really wanted to see that match, I bought Heineken... Guinness does the same kind of thing too. It's about football, which they know that a lot of males support. So they tend to bring customers to themselves.

From these accounts, it seems that football viewing centres are places that one goes with many expectations. First, if the team that a particular viewer supports wins, the supporter is likely to drink even if he does not originally intend to drink because alcohol serves as a symbol of celebrating victories among team supporters. Second, if the team that the viewer

is supporting loses, alcohol becomes an object that he uses to cheer himself up. Third, as football viewers are exposed to alcohol portrayals, they are likely to drink as they watch live games (Dal Cin *et al.*, 2009), especially because males often use alcohol to enact friendship (Emslie, Hunt and Lyons, 2013) in spaces such as bars and sport centres. Additionally, individuals are likely to use alcohol because purchasing beer serves as a ticket to some of these viewing centres, but this may lead to alcohol misuse because in Nigeria, beers are sold based on the liquid content only. That is to say, buyers do not buy the bottle itself, only the liquid content is purchased. This encourages high consumption or misuse because every bottle of beer that is purchased must be consumed on the spot, whether or not the consumer has reached his limit.

5.5. Content of Media Consumed by Participants: Foreign and Nigerian Media

5.5.1. Foreign Media Portrayals and Aspirational Drinking

Like influenza, images in Hollywood movies begin in one region of the world then spread globally, where they may affect drinking behaviours among adolescents everywhere they are distributed (Stoolmiller *et al.*, 2012: 8).

In this section, my focus will be to explore the extent to which the participants are exposed to both foreign and local media and how this mediates their alcohol consumption. The media will include portrayals in foreign films viewed through cable network television or Hollywood films in the form of DVDs and Nigerian movies produced by Nollywood that are seen via DVD or on local television. Although I have highlighted the debates and controversies in the literature among audience researchers regarding whether or not media affect audiences, I will briefly describe this lack of consensus so as to set the scene for this

section and to re-emphasize where my study fits. While a plethora of studies emphasize that media portrayals of alcohol in a positive light influence young people to use alcohol (e.g., Austin *et al.*, 2006; Connolly *et al.*, 2006), others scholars (e.g., Livingstone, 2009) argue that individuals, as rational beings, determine what they do with the message they receive from the media. Little or no research on this has been carried out in the Nigerian context.

Regarding the use of media, my participants are divided into two groups: those who view only foreign media such as Hollywood films (including cable TV stations) and those who view local television stations, watch Nollywood films (home videos), and also see foreign films. In response to the type of movies she saw, Pretty (a self-confessed movie addict) stated that although she sees both local and foreign films, she prefers foreign films. By contrast, Peter argued that he only sees foreign movies. Following on from this, I inquired whether he sees alcohol portrayals in these movies and how such portrayals may have an effect on him or other youths:

ED: Okay, as you said that you preferred foreign movies, how can you describe alcohol portrayals in the movies you watch?

Peter: ...I just noticed that they enjoy it, and ladies drink alcohol too... They enjoy drinking.

ED: So do you think these portrayals can affect the drinking culture amongst students?

Peter: Yes because you know one thing about Nigerians is that they really like portraying what they are not [they imitate a lot]... Seeing a celebrity drinking Heineken... and maybe he drank it in a very unique style, you'll now want to keep that same position when you drink. You just want to be like him. Therefore, you make Heineken your brand. Like if this big man can really like Heineken, why don't I try Heineken? ...So you'll go to a bar and say, 'please give me a bottle of Heineken,' because you just want to have those feelings that you're like him.

Again, Las identified that he prefers foreign movies, especially High School films, but his account provided some insights into drinking and masculinity and how such portrayals may influence audiences:

Las:In movies, they usually make the actors drink or smoke so they kind of give you this impression that for you to be mean you need to be a drinker or a smoker. They give the impression that for you to be recognized as a strong guy you need to be a good alcoholic...

ED: Okay, how can this portrayal affect the drinking culture of the people that watch these movies?

Las: ...It does and like I said, these High School movies portray alcohol too much. Unfortunately, the majority... in this campus love High School movies... High School movies are just about fun, and their fun cannot be without alcohol... So for the fact that the majority of the movies we watch here is fun and usually with beer... because in any party there must be beer and the girls drink beer like boys, as in freely and also in large quantities just to get drunk. Everybody wants to get drunk while having fun, so you want to be like them.... It influences us... We want to have fun like the whites. In their movies, they drink alcohol so much, so let's do the same thing and have fun too.

These extracts reveal some complex nuances regarding the preference for foreign films and how alcohol is portrayed in these films. Indeed, Las' views that High School movies are common on campus supported what many other participants reported; thus, they may be influential. Las is one of those who are exposed to the media for a longer time, in that he spends about six hours per day (42 hours weekly) watching foreign films and football games and he is one of those who consume a large amount of alcohol because he drinks at least four bottles of alcohol with 5% ABV on any drinking occasion. He also reported that he uses

a bottle of Amarula liqueur (with 17% ABV) each day, and his preference for liqueur is related to the fact that he wants to avoid developing a pot-belly. In fact, the participants reported that they prefer to watch foreign movies because they perceive them to have higher production values. This led to further probing to determine what they see in these media, paying careful attention to alcohol portrayals (on cable television and in foreign movies) and how the participants perceive these portrayals. The majority of the participants overwhelmingly stated that alcohol portrayal occurs frequently, and both young and old alike drink freely. For example, Boniface reported that **“it’s kind of rare where you watch American films, and you don’t see drinking in that film”**, whilst Patience recalled that:

Patience: In Nigerian films, alcohol use among young people is kind of restricted. I don’t know why but I think I see Nigeria as more of a religious kind of country than Americans because most “Janded” [foreign] movies I watch, they tend to drink alcohol and stuff like that, especially the New Yorkers and those New Jersey people... the youth there drink alcohol... most of their scenes are always in clubs. The portrayal of alcohol is like massive.

Although Chike prefers action movies (that have little or no alcohol portrayals), he revealed that a drama movie he had watched portrayed alcohol:

Chike: ...There was a movie that I watched last week called ‘Knockout’ where a guy met a girl who was a very influential lady in the society... They went to the same bar coincidentally. The guy and the girl got drunk and somehow they met [had sexual intercourse]. So they had a baby and somehow they just had to marry and that was how the guy’s life changed and he became influential.

Among the participants, seeing alcohol portrayed constantly or being drunk freely among their peers creates tension among them. This is because, as some of the males mentioned, young people including females drink freely in these films, whilst this is not usually seen on this campus or around the city that hosts the university (the reasons for this will be discussed in chapter seven). When I asked the participants if they believe that seeing alcohol

portrayed in the films can make young people use or not use alcohol, their accounts reveal that those portrayals have already influenced them or their friends:

Chike: ...There is this drama that I saw; the guy does this funny thing of always having a bottle or a can of beer in his pocket.... and he always drinks. Sometimes he opens it [the bottle] with the head of his belt or he hits it on his head to open the bottle before drinking.... So this kind of thing would make you feel like... you really want to be like him. The guy is always the happening guy [popular]... I think I would like to go to a bar one day so that I can feel like this guy... It can actually make people tend to drink or something like that.

When I asked why they thought seeing alcohol consumed in a movie could have an impact on their drinking, many of the participants noted that many students identify with and admire these actors and actresses and act as their fans. Also, as Peter said: **“Nigerians like portraying what they are not”**, which literally suggests that Nigerians (old and young) like imitating or doing what they see in non-Nigerians (even when this may not be ideal). Chisalum noted that portrayals could lead to alcohol initiation:

Chisalum: You will see them being sad and after drinking alcohol they will feel so good. You will be like, let me just try this once, and when you taste it you’ll see that it’s not as bad... so you will start drinking it, and eventually you will get used to it.

Again, some of the participants stressed that their preference for the brand they currently drank was due to seeing it in the movies, while others argued that they had learnt to drink and enjoy themselves as the actors in these foreign movies do. For example, Chichi, who prefers red wine, explained why she had started drinking red wine:

Chichi: ...Like in all these movies I watch, I noticed that [paused] these outsiders [foreigners] take red wine all the time. Like even if they are just eating... lunch or dinner, you’ll see them pouring themselves a glass of wine, and they are always drinking. So I felt like, ah why are these people always taking red wine?... So

someone said in one movie, I've forgotten the name of the movie, that red wine is good for the heart... so I just started taking it.

ED: So are you saying that you learnt to drink red wine because you watched the movie...?

Chichi: [Interrupts] yeah, and because they always take it. It's more like 'professional' because these people [movie characters] always use it for 'professional things'... they are the ones that actually, you know, made me develop a liking for red wine. Because... if they go to meetings or they are celebrating something, you will see them just open wine and pour it, and they take it with the wine glasses. So it looks very professional and mature. So, I think that's why I just like it.

From Chichi's account (and others like her), it is clear that movies not only influence her brand preference, but the way in which movie characters comport themselves while partying also influenced her. For example, when I asked her what she meant by "professional" when she said that foreigners use alcohol for "professional things", she stated that in these movies, characters queue up, collect food and then waiters will pour wine into their glasses in an orderly manner. In her words: **"as they are talking, they sip, and they drop [put down the glass], so it's very clean and classic"**. I probed further to unpack how seeing these movies had personally affected her drinking habits, and she revealed a great deal of aspirational sophistication:

Chichi: You know sometimes when you see all these things, you say let me do what this guy was doing in that movie or what this lady was doing... Another thing that stimulated me was the 'American Next Top Model'; it's a TV programme. So one of the tests these models had to pass was wine testing.... just to show you how these people [from Western society] value wine. They are blindfolded and then they bring two different types of wines... and tell you to taste this one. After taking it, you'll taste the other one. After testing them, they will be like, can you differentiate these two wines or can you name the one that is a French or an

American wine? ...And then you'll see some of the models getting it right. At least... even though they don't get both of them, they will get one right just because... wine is something they are used to...

From these accounts it appears that Chichi, who said that she likes drinking because of what she see in the movies, is not just influenced by alcohol portrayals; she is also affected by the lifestyle of the media characters. In Nigeria for instance, the queuing culture is very poor and queue jumping occurs regularly. Additionally, beer is often drunk directly from the bottle (with few exceptions) while some people use glasses to drink wine. Therefore, seeing these actors queue up while they take a drink and gently sip as they discuss issues in the movies may have affected her to the extent that she seeks to emulate the actors' comportment. This may not be unconnected to the reason why scholars argue that indirect advertising aspects of media portrayals influence young people even though they may not have attracted much scholarly attention. Chichi spends up to 10 hours per day (70 hours in a week) viewing television and she uses three bottles of stout but her brand preference is wine, and she reported that she consumes two bottles on any drinking occasion. From her story, it appears that spending a lot of time seeing foreign media had cultivated not just the consumption of a large amount of alcohol but also brand preference. These complex nuances revealed by these participants can help to unravel how media images are arguably accepted more readily among young people because they emanate from foreign media. This supports the argument that the media also use subtle persuasion rather than coercion to influence young people's behaviour (Castells, 2010).

5.5.2. Nigerian Media and Youths' Drinking Behaviours

This section explores how alcohol is portrayed in the local media, especially how young people act in alcohol scenes, how the portrayals are perceived by young audiences and how this may influence drinking behaviours. One of the most commonly discussed issues among all of the participants (including those that are not currently watching local films) is the high number of alcohol portrayals in Nollywood movies. The participants stated that alcohol portrayals are popular, but divergent opinions were expressed with regard to how it is portrayed and how the portrayals are perceived. Some of the participants identified that

alcohol scenes are often connected with crime and violence. Indeed, the majority stated that alcohol is negatively portrayed in Nigerian movies, especially when the actors are young people. For example, Chioma argued that young people in these films use alcohol to construct a social identity:

Chioma: In the movies, when they want to be bad girls or bad boys, definitely they will be taking alcohol. They will be showing them taking alcohol and forming [displaying that]: we are the big girls or the big boys.

Chioma also noted that some Nigerian movies portray alcohol as something to be coveted among students, especially among subgroups. In Nigerian universities, various subgroups and confraternities exist. For example, the Kegite Club¹² uses alcohol (palm wine) as a symbol of ritualistic worship. Additionally Chimanda recalled that alcohol scenes are not just rife, but they always portray the consequences of heavy consumption:

Chimanda: ...To an extent, it's not in a smaller amount because most of the time in Nigerian movies you will see them go out to a club and they will drink to stupor, and it will make the people do some nasty things that they are not meant to do... Maybe in a family setting, the wife or the husband will be angry, and the man leaves for a bar. At the end of the day, he gets drunk and engages in some things that are not beneficial.

Even though Pretty prefers foreign films, she had seen some Nollywood films. When I asked her to describe how alcohol is portrayed in these films, she gave some insightful revelations about how alcohol is used to gain social capital:

Pretty: Let me say, in a function being portrayed as that of the elites, maybe a rich man's birthday or something like that, they show them using glasses of wine but in a local function like a party they show them using beer.

ED: Okay, what do you think is the cause of the difference?

¹² The Kegite Confraternity is a student club that was formed to promote African culture.

Pretty: I think the differences include the prices of beer and wine and number two is the social status that has been accorded to that particular beer or wine. People see wine as classic, so they normally use it on big occasions while beer can be bought by anybody.

From Pretty's account, it appears that the brand of alcohol that a host offers to his or her guests is a marker of status. It is useful to reflect on the fact that consuming costly brands of alcohol or using these to entertain guests at student parties was revealed by other participants in this study. For example, some of the males mentioned that using costly wine, brandy or Heineken beer, which is believed to be imported (as opposed to 'Star beer', which is believed to be made in Nigeria), distinguishes them from their peers.

These negative views were not only expressed among the female participants. Some of the men also repeated this point, stating that too high a number of portrayals of negative consequences of alcohol consumption in Nigerian films, unlike what is seen in foreign movies, makes them unreal:

Levin: In Nigerian movies, alcohol is taken when a guy is going through some hard times, when you want to do something bad... these are the only times you'll see someone taking alcohol. In foreign movies, you'll just see someone drinking with friends and laughing. They drink at parties, have fun... after that, they go to bed and sleep. The next morning they wake up and talk about what happened last night... In Nigerian movies, someone will take alcohol, then come home and beat his wife and do all sorts of bad things.

A significant aspect of these accounts is the participants' ability to compare how alcohol is portrayed in foreign movies compared to local movies. It can be suggested that in addition to the low quality of Nollywood films, these negative portrayals are another reason why the majority of the participants prefer foreign films that portray alcohol differently.

Despite the fact that a substantial number of the participants argued that what they portray is always negative, Genny, who prefers Nollywood films, noted that the portrayals of negative scenes depended on the theme of the movie:

Genny: ...It depends on the theme of the movie... When the movie is centred on maybe campus life or is about youths, the intake of alcohol will be great. Let me give an example. There is a movie I saw few days back; the title is “Campus on Fire.” It has to do with campus cultism and stuff like that... In each episode, there are like six or seven guys on a round table gulping down alcohol. As in, they will be drinking irresponsibly. That’s what they are trying to portray... They are trying to show that cultism is bad...

Although divergent opinions on how alcohol is portrayed were given, some of the participants revealed that these and other similar portrayals have either made them drink or have the potential to do so. When I asked Genny how such portrayals might affect people’s drinking behaviour, she noted that the effects depend on the specific message in the movie and how each audience interprets this message. Again, as some of the participants revealed that Nigerian movies show people drinking because they are going through difficult situations, many of the participants stressed that one of the motives for using alcohol is to forget their sorrows. Following this, I questioned where this was learnt, and some of the participants revealed that it was learnt from the movies they had watched:

Kelly: ... It’s from the media. I have heard a lot of people talk about that. Although initially I didn’t believe the whole thing, when I started drinking I discovered that it worked for me.... It worked for me, so now I have formed the habit of taking it when I am depressed.

As Kelly’s account reveals, he has been influenced in his drinking due to what he has seen in the local movies. When I asked him to describe how this may influence other young people to drink alcohol when they are depressed, he added:

Kelly: ...In the movies, they normally create this scenario that whenever you are depressed you have to drink; maybe... one of your relatives died or somebody that is important to you and you are heartbroken, and you will go out and drink. Under normal circumstances, if somebody breaks your heart you’ll think over it and get rid of it, but if you are watching those videos where they normally create the

impression that when people are depressed or heartbroken they will prefer to go to drink, you will do that.... Even the women... maybe her boyfriend annoys her so she will go to the bar and start drinking. That is the scenario they create... When you are depressed the next thing you will do is go to the bar and start drinking.

That Kelly has learnt to use alcohol as an anti-depressant may not be unconnected to the fact that he spends a large amount of his time watching television. For example, he spends about 13 hours 40 minutes per day (about 96 hours per week), and this heavy viewing may be cultivating an influence on him. Additionally, Kelly is among the few male participants that prefer Nollywood films (that portray alcohol in a negative light) and as he revealed, he drinks at least three bottles of beer and also uses a large quantity of palm wine (which is portrayed a great deal in the local media). Again, Dozie stated that these negative portrayals could influence drinking **“because those actors and actresses actually are some people’s role models”**. He stated that young people might believe that if actors they admire use alcohol to alleviate depression or pain, they could drink for the same reasons.

Another aspect of these portrayals that some of the participants stressed might affect them is where actors use alcohol for the construction of social identity. Just as Chikere and Mayowa (2011) revealed that boys drink in order to be noticed as popular guys on campus, some of the participants also stated that many rich or famous campus boys and girls use different expensive alcohols to differentiate themselves from other groups. It is possible that portraying such scenes may reinforce already held beliefs. For example, Collins argued that portrayals in Nigerian movies could have an effect, especially when actors that he called **“big boys”** drink a particular brand to show off their class or status. He even noted that he longs to taste a particular wine that he has seen drunk by an actor he admires. Also, some of the men argued that portrayals in which actors use the number of bottles one can drink to show off might affect other young viewers, not just to drink but also to drink more:

Kelly:In these movies, they will place close to fifteen bottles on the table, creating the impression that the person has taken the fifteen bottles. If the person who is watching the movie is the type that takes only two or three bottles, they may even be thinking that they don’t drink at all [they are losing] because they

have seen people that take close to fifteen bottles. Now, they will be forced to take close to fifteen bottles... and with time, they'll form the habit of taking many bottles. I know mostly it is got from home videos.

From these accounts, it appears that the participants understood that alcohol portrayals dominate Nigerian movies. Although many of the scenes are acted in a negative light, this affects some to use alcohol in several ways. For example, the higher the number of bottles one consumes, the more masculine he is rated among his peers. Although Chioma did not mention that this type of portrayal had influenced her, she did however note that this might encourage students (male and female) to use alcohol, especially when what is portrayed relates to student fraternities. This is arguably because campus cultism is a status symbol on Nigerian campuses. Against this backdrop, this study may use this finding of being influenced even when alcohol is portrayed in a negative light to develop contemporary discussions on the influence of negative portrayals. This is because some of the participants showed that even though what they see may be negative, they still act out these scenes in real life. As studies on performing masculinity have revealed, motive supersedes alcohol-related harm, and this appears to be present in Nigeria. This notwithstanding, a substantial number of the participants believed that because one aim of the movies is to teach people lessons, they do not believe what they see in the movies because they are not real (Atkinson, Bellis and Sumnall, 2013). I will now turn to the next part of this chapter where I will describe drinking games and how media portrayals may be implicated in game playing.

5.5.3. Media and Drinking Games Students Play

Drinking games (DG) are an important part of students' lives. Drinking games are characterized by rules that govern the amount of alcohol to be consumed, as well as when and how it should be consumed (Polizzotto *et al.*, 2007; Pedersen, 1990). In the Nigerian context, to my knowledge, no study has explored the playing of drinking games. When the first set of participants mentioned this game playing, I explored it further by asking other

participants questions such as whether they have heard about, witnessed or participated in drinking games (drinking competitions in the words of the participants). I also explored how they are played, who participates, the reasons for participation and where they are learnt. A large number of the participants revealed that drinking games are not just popular on the campus, but among Nigerian youths. Some of the phrases they used in their answers include: **“it is very popular here”, “it is normal here”, “everyone is involved in it”,** and so on.

Kenney *et al.* (2010) note that over 500 types of drinking games exist. From my participants’ accounts it seems that there are three main types. These are: the party-type, the bar-type, and “truth or dare” drinking games. Party-type DGs take the form of the fastest drinker or who is able to drink as many bottles as possible without vomiting or giving up:

Chikere: ... At parties they do that. They call it the ‘fastest drinker’. Just like you have ‘fastest eater’; maybe... three people come out; the number can be more, but at least three people. You give them alcohol... so whoever gulps down his first, as in finishes his bottle first, wins the competition.

Pretty: ... Each time they do a function, picnic, an occasion, or a night show [night party] or anything like that, they always do it, and it is like a normal game....

ED: Okay, it is like a normal game? Can you explain more?

Pretty: Most people see it as a chance to take free alcohol, so they go into the game to perform.... It’s just like a game where they say the best, or rather the person that finishes his or her bottle first, is the winner.... They bring out alcohol and people that want to participate will come out. But most people go into it as an opportunity to take free alcohol while some go into it to show off that they are better than others.

In response to who participates in the party-type DG, a range of gendered and other responses were elicited. All of the male participants who answered this question stated that

only males participate in party-type DG. They further argued that contenders are not usually friends, but males drawn from volunteering party attendees. A large number of those interviewed noted that the importance of this in student-organized parties is that it adds to the fun, and this is why they include game playing on the party agenda. With regard to the prizes that participants receive for winning this type of game, a range of interrelated responses was elicited too. In fact, more than half of the participants argued that the prizes are fame, glory, applause or money donated by the host. For example, Pretty noted that there is **“no physical prize; it’s just the hailing...; the crowd will be hailing and applauding them”**. In a similar vein, others agreed with the first group but added that winning the game not only makes the winner popular in that environment, but also draws girls to him.

While participating in the party-type DG is voluntary, the bar-type of DG is almost compulsory. This is because the participants are subtly coerced into playing it by their friends. Some of the participants stressed that it may or may not be pre-planned but it often starts as a test of manliness and drinkers risk losing their worth, money or other valuables if they fail to play, or if they play and lose. My participants also stated that competitors mostly drink the same brand, and this appears to make it easier to judge who the drinking macho (i.e., the heaviest drinker) is as well as helping to cement friendship ties (Emslie, Hunt and Lyons, 2013). One way in which this is done is that males dare themselves before going to bars to try it out. My participants identified that it mainly starts from a common argument such as **“I can drink more than you”, “how many bottles do you think you can drink”** and so forth. When I asked Las if he had witnessed this type of game playing on campus, he said: **“of course, everywhere you go you’ll see it; there is always competition while drinking among boys”**.’ When I asked him to explain how DGs are played, he noted:

Las: It mainly depends on the finance and the mood of the people that want to compete... most of the time they can go out and some might even buy a crate of beer, and they will want to know who will take the highest number of bottles without getting drunk. They might take this little test of... ‘you should point at your nose to see who the first person to get tipsy is’. Usually it is kind of difficult to directly point at your nose with your index finger when you are tipsy; so they will keep drinking and when they suspect that someone is getting drunk, they will tell

him to walk in a straight line. So they will just compete and compete... [till someone fails the test].

According to these participants, DGs are popular among students but how they start, the style of play and why people participate differs among game players. As Las' account revealed, friends plan to play the games, and they go to bars with the intention of competing in a game. By contrast, Dozie painted a slightly different picture:

Dozie: Just like friends drinking and all of a sudden one person starts making a noise or acting childishly and another will challenge him by saying 'you just drank only two bottles, and you are acting like this'. In defence, the other will say, 'okay let's see, I will drink more than you'. And that's how they will keep drinking and at the end of the day you will see who has the bigger head.

From these accounts, it is clear that being able to 'hold one's drink' without showing signs of intoxication or drunkenness is prized. As those who have participated argued, if a contestant drinks more bottles (because it is usually beer) than their rival but starts throwing up before the end of the game, he loses the game. Again, it appears that the bar-type of DG is mainly played among those in close friendship networks and thus, as some of the participants revealed, they often take care of the loser, who must be heavily drunk, by leading him home to his hostel. Indeed, Peter noted that **"they took me home, dropped me on my bed and went to their rooms..."** As a substantial number of game-playing participants said, the prize is that the 'drinking macho' becomes the "boss", gains more popularity among his peers and attracts more girls, while the loser either pays for all of the drinks and still gets mocked or loses the money contributed before they started the contest:

Dozie: It is betting money actually, like 'If I drink more than you, you have to pay for the drinks, and you still pay me [some money]. The loser pays for the drinks and still pays the winner and stuff like that.

Although the majority of the participants believe that DGs are mainly played by males, some of the female participants have participated or witnessed other girls playing the games. For example, Chioma reported that she had competed with a female twice in this type of game, but the bar-type DG she played was initiated by males. When I asked the participants about the relationship between game playing and winning the attention of girls, some of the men stated that some boys play the game to impress girls and get more girlfriends.

The third type of drinking game is truth or dare, but from the data it appears that this type is not as popular as the other two described above. Here, tasks are shared among groups based on agreed rules, and the loser is punished by being made to drink more alcohol:

Chioma ...There was a time that my friends and I were just having fun; we were like ten girls. We bought drinks and were doing this truth or dare competition... You will be asked to do something... but if you cannot do it, you will be asked to take a shot of alcohol and it is a hot drink [spirit]... Because one of my friends could not answer the questions, she was just consuming more of the drink, and she just started throwing up [laughs]; that day was very funny.... and she felt sick the next day because she had drunk so much alcohol.

Although only Chioma reported this type of game, her account suggests that there is no specific prize attached to it, and this may be the reason why it is not popular among the participants, especially the males.

5.5.4. Learning to Play Drinking Games

When I asked the participants where these games are learned, various opinions were given. Although diverse responses were elicited, they can be categorized into three main groups: peer influence, students' creative ability and media portrayals. The first two are related because as the participants reported, students are creative and often want to try new things. Also, the majority commented that peer pressure makes students participate in the bar-type of DG in order to avoid being tagged with such names as a "dulling guy" (someone

that is not clever or a social misfit). This pressure, in addition to other prizes attached to winning drinking games, engenders game playing.

Importantly, the majority stated that DGs are learned from the movies, and because these young people are increasingly exposed to the media, this suggests that many do practise what they see in movies, in real life. Because Chimanda revealed that she had played DGs, I asked her to explain where the games are learned. She stated:

Chimanda: I've seen movies where friends do drinking competitions; they give you a glass of wine and you've got to gulp it down all at once. If you take it twice, you lose the game.... Even if it's a bottle, you have to drink it without removing the bottle from your mouth until the drink finishes; so they have different forms of competitions.... Sometimes they will give drinks that have higher alcohol content, and if you vomit you lose the game. So... it's [learned] in movies. That is where we see different competitions, and that's where I saw for the first time that you could drink alcohol without removing the bottle from your mouth; you have to drink it steadily till it finishes.

While the vast majority stated that they had learned the game playing from Hollywood movies, Kelly, who prefers Nigerian-made films, reported that he had learnt the game playing from locally-produced movies, and his view was repeated by Fred:

Fred: It is learnt mainly from Nigerian movies [laughs]. The drinking competition they usually portray in white [foreign] movies does not involve beer; it involves shots [spirit]. You will have four, five, seven shots, and this is between military and ex-military guys.

Although Kelly and Fred noted that students learn how to play drinking games from Nigerian movies, Chisalun demonstrated that these films are mostly those that replicate Hollywood films. Additionally, when I asked Levin where students learn how to play drinking games, he added that although drinking games are learnt from movies, they could be learned from other sources too:

Levin: ...For those ones they do in parties, I think they learn it from scenes in High School movies. I mean 'the first to drink and drop the bottle', but it's more of the influence from the environment.

These accounts have revealed some interesting nuances about game playing and how it is learned. The data have revealed that although the majority of those who play these games believe that they are learnt from movies, they also differ in terms of the type of films. While the majority argued that they are learnt from High School movies, a few suggested that they are learned from Nigerian movies acted in the form of High School settings. Although diverging opinions were reported, arguably, one central point is that media portrayals are part of the interrelated trajectories that are responsible for game playing.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter focused on media consumption among young people. The aim was to explore Gerbner's cultivation theory and how this might explain the role of the media in alcohol use. In doing this, the chapter described the types of media that the participants use and the number of hours they spend on each media channel. It was suggested that while the participants plan their use of television, their consumption of social media is seemingly unplanned. The chapter also showed the participants' preference for either local or foreign media, and explored the varied gender dimensions in this preference. Here, it was revealed that women prefer drama movies. On the other hand, social viewing of football games was reported among men, as this helps them to consolidate their group support for their favourite teams, but alcohol is also used in sharing camaraderie among sports followers. Among the women, the findings revealed that Hollywood films engender aspirational drinking although such effects were also found in men.

Furthermore, the chapter described drinking games and the role of the media in game playing. The findings showed that three main types of drinking games are played on campus and that these are gendered. It was revealed that amongst other purposes, DGs are played to gain social capital among peers, particularly amongst young men. Importantly, it was found that media consumption, especially Hollywood films contribute to participants' game playing, although peer influence and other related factors also appear to mediate

participation in these games. In sum, the chapter highlighted that although the media have many influences on the participants interviewed, thereby supporting Gerbner's cultivation theory, this influence appears to be interconnected with other factors in terms of shaping young people's perceptions of alcohol and their lived experiences on this campus. Again, this supports Gerbner's theory because cultivation analysis also examines how other factors work in connection with the media to facilitate subsequent behaviour. Having described how young people engage with various media formats and platforms, this will guide us in the subsequent chapters to see the place of the media in shaping alcohol consumption among young people on this campus.

Chapter Six:

Alcohol Marketing and Students' Drinking Behaviour

6.1. Introduction

Alcohol production and marketing have continued to grow in different parts of the world, facilitating increased availability, use and misuse (McCreanor *et al.*, 2013; Babor *et al.*, 2010; Henriksen *et al.*, 2008). While transnational alcohol industries spend millions of dollars on advertisements and expansion into emerging markets such as Nigeria (Jernigan, 2009), they also employ promotional and other non-advertising marketing strategies that are usually targeted at young people and other vulnerable groups (Copeland *et al.*, 2007). Some of these strategies are explored in this chapter. Here I ask: 'what roles do alcohol advertising and promotion play in young people's drinking behaviour? To what extent does this differ between males and females?'

Some of the strategies to be explored in this chapter have been examined in other countries. However, examining them in my study is nonetheless important for the following reason. Research shows that stringent regulatory measures in many developed countries constrain the marketing activities of transnational alcohol industries. As a consequence, they move their activities to developing countries where there is an absence of regulations (or the presence of ineffective ones) in order to recoup the profit margin they lost in their home countries (Barbor *et al.*, 2010). As I demonstrated in chapter two, Nigeria is a country without a policy on alcohol production and marketing.

I will begin by looking at the perception of alcohol advertising amongst the male and female participants. This is followed by a section examining the perception of point-of-sale promotions and the use of female students as beer promoters. Additionally, the chapter investigates the impact of brewer-sponsored TV reality programmes on students' drinking behaviour.

6.2. Perception of Alcohol Advertisements

As noted in chapters two and three, it is largely accepted that alcohol advertising affects young people's drinking behaviour and alcohol producers and marketers employ sophisticated channels to put across persuasive messages to this vulnerable group (Babor *et al.*, 2010; Jernigan, 2010; 2009). Against this backdrop, I will begin this section by discussing how my participants perceived alcohol advertising (on television, posters or billboards, etc.), how ubiquitous it is and how it appears to influence their drinking behaviours. Overall, the participants discussed the fact that alcohol marketers combine direct and indirect advertising in Nigeria. A very significant aspect of the data is that all of the participants were knowledgeable about the rampant marketing around their campus and they reported that students are the targets of this advertising. While sharing their experiences of this, they employed diverse phrases such as **"alcohol adverts are everywhere"**, **"brewers are advertising their drinks"**, **"every time you watch TV you see alcohol adverts"**, and so forth, to describe their perception of alcohol advertisements in electronic media, their frequency and their popularity. Also, my participants were aware of other non-electronic (outdoor) means of advertising and marketing such as the use of posters, billboards, vehicle advertisements and so on, around student environments:

Genny: They advertise on trucks [vehicles] to like sell drinks. Let me take Star [beer] as an example. At the back of the truck, you will see something like a poster written- "Shine-Shine Bo-Bo" [a young man that shines] and stuff like that. It is like that in many breweries; it depends on how they do their own [advertising]. They likewise do adverts on television and newspapers...

Chichi: ...Anywhere you go, they must be advertising alcohol... there are lots of hotels... and a lot of bars.... and immediately you step into each hotel, you must surely see something like a picture [poster] or a wallpaper of one alcohol brand or another because they are trying to advertise their drinks... You can't just go there without buying their drinks, so advertising is very high.

Additionally, Ada gave a similar account that corroborated what Genny and Chichi had said about how alcohol advertisements are popular. An interesting part of her account was that, for some reason, a Guinness advertisement had captured her attention:

Ada: ...It's something I like watching. I just saw the Guinness advert... I just liked the advert and the person there [character]. I like the way they promote the brand and everything about it. I like the action... I just like how the advert is different from any other adverts I've seen... They have this unique advertisement, like actors don't change their faces anyhow [indiscriminately], and they are unique.

She added that the reason why Guinness have advertisements is to create awareness of the fact **“that Guinness is good for drinking...”** As she said, her preference for the Guinness advertisement is due to its unique features, and this may not be unconnected to the way in which Guinness advertisements are produced with sophistication because scholars have argued that Guinness advertisements in Nigeria are often persuasive (Obot and Ibanga, 2002). However, there could be another reason. Ada had earlier stated that she drinks Guinness stout (in addition to sweetened drinks) for medicinal reasons, especially during her menstrual cycles. Thus, it may be that the advertisement is affecting her drinking behaviour (which in turn makes her watch the adverts). This is because Guinness Nigeria portrays stout as having medicinal value (Obot and Ibanga, 2002), to the extent that its consumption among Nigeria women during their menstrual period is common (Mamman *et al.*, 2002).

When I asked Chisalum about her knowledge of advertisements, she identified that advertisers employ a broad range of diverse channels to reach their targets:

Chisalum: In [name of students' eatery] here on campus, which students normally use at their leisure or when they are hungry, you will see posters of Gulder and Star [beers]; they will even tell you the price. It's rampant; you know here, we have mostly teenage boys and girls, so consumption will be high. So adverts are very frequent...

When I probed further to ask her to explain why she feels there is an association between high alcohol use among teenagers and frequent advertisements, she reported two interrelated factors. First, she identified that young people on campus drink a large volume of alcohol because drinking helps youths to gain social capital among their peers. Second, because drinking is common among students, advertisers focus their marketing campaigns

on them to increase sales and make more profits. That drinking facilitates the acquisition of social capital among youths was revealed by many of the participants and this will be explored in detail in chapter seven. The most interesting part of Chisalum's account is that she was able to recall not just the name of the eatery where she frequently sees alcohol advertisements, but she was also able to mention the names of the brands she sees there. Indeed, the majority of both the male and female participants were able to mention the particular brands they see in advertisements, and this suggests that brand awareness may be high among students.

The majority of the men agreed with their female counterparts that alcohol advertisements are rampant in the media and on campus. Again, it appears that some of the participants, who have a higher rate of media exposure (because they spend more time watching television), may be affected by the alcohol messages they see. This exposure affects their drinking behaviours, especially by determining their brand preference. For example, Fred, who spends about seven and half hours a day (i.e., about 50 hours per week) viewing television, reported that he had started drinking "Harp" beer due to a particular advertisement he had seen on the television. His view was in tandem with that of Buchi, who also spends 21 hours per week watching television. Yet another insightful aspect of Buchi's account was that he was able to give an explicit description of the particular advertisement that had caught his attention:

Buchi: ...Before it was Heineken that I was drinking, but now what made me like Harp [beer] is one particular advert on the TV that Harp did. I just fell in love with that advert, and I just said, let me try this Harp thing. I tried it, and I was okay with it.

ED: Okay, you just mentioned the advert you saw on the TV. How can you describe this advert that made you abandon Heineken?

Buchi: ...The advert was a guy... who went to drink with his friends; so the guy wanted to take the bottle of Harp from the barman.... There was a girl too who wanted to take the [same bottle of] Harp from the bartender, and the bartender told them that there was just one remaining [bottle]... So the guy that wanted to

take the bottle of Harp said he had an idea. And the idea was for them to do a dancing competition. So he told the girl that they would dance, and the winner would take the bottle of Harp. So... he danced very well. So it was the turn of the girl, and she danced well too, and let me say they drew. He didn't know that the bartender was just playing with them. So after they had danced, the bartender opened another freezer and showed them where many bottles of Harp were stored. So I just loved that advert.

From Buchi's account, it appears that alcohol advertising has influenced him to change his brand preference and this was reported by a substantial number of the men. For example, Chike (who spends about 21 hours per week watching television), noted that **"personally, I'm beginning to drift off from Star [beer] to Hero [beer]"**, when I discussed similar issues with him.

Additionally, when I asked Levin what made Heineken adverts his favourite on the TV and YouTube, he revealed that it is **"because I know their adverts are usually intriguing. They keep you in suspense; they add many interesting things, so I always want to see their new adverts."** Similarly, Chike stated that advertising is not only popular; he stressed that it can affect students' drinking behaviour, particularly because marketers bring the adverts closer to where students live:

Chike: It's popular because in this environment, we have three or four major eateries and among the things you see in these eateries are adverts. In front of these bars, they design their fences with posters of Star, Heineken and other alcoholic brands. And it's just within our reach here [on campus]. So even when you are strolling, whether you are going to the bar or not, you will see it; just at the market down there, you will see adverts on a regular basis... So I think it really affects students because if it doesn't affect them consciously it affects them subconsciously.

Although Chike revealed how he had changed his preferred brand, another aspect of his account suggests that advertising had influenced his drinking behaviour recently. This is because he recalled that on his birthday, a friend called him and asked him if he could suggest a bar he wanted them to go to. As he said, he was able to remember a particular bar due to the advertising message on a poster that he had stored in his memory. Additionally, Kelly painted a slightly different picture. To him, alcohol advertisements are rife when a new alcoholic beverage is introduced and this influenced him to taste a new product:

Kelly: Adverts connote a lot... like when Hero came out, people didn't really know about Hero at all, but now, most people have started drinking it. It was through television adverts that I saw it, so I just said, let me go and taste it and know how it tastes. I went, bought it and tasted it; the taste was okay for me...

A very interesting aspect of this is that although both the male and female participants are exposed to large numbers of alcohol adverts, it appears that the effect is gendered, in that I found television advertisements to particularly affect the male participants. One factor that may be responsible for this is that, as the data revealed, beers such as Star, Harp, Gulder, Hero and Heineken have higher rates of advertisements and as women hardly drink beer in Nigeria (the reason for this will be explored in chapter seven), such advertisements may not affect them. As Chichi said: **“the spirit [producers] do not really do adverts like that, but a lot of beers do”**.

Additionally, the majority of my participants argued that although alcohol advertisements are seen through different television and other media channels, they are more widespread and influential when they are on posters and billboards, especially on campus. While Las revealed that alcohol marketers use posters and billboards that **“look appetizing”**, they also use different marketing niches such as **“Gulder makes you be a man”**. These accounts suggest that alcohol advertising is widespread in and around the campus, and the vast majority of the participants are aware of the advertisements and the reasons behind them.

As these participants reported that alcohol advertisements have affected their drinking, they also revealed that advertisements might affect other youths who may not be students due to the way in which alcohol is portrayed in a positive light. Despite that, a few revealed that alcohol advertising has no effect on them, but this “does not imply that advertising has no general effects” (Ruddock, 2012: 61) because audiences may interpret media messages differently. Although divergent opinions were reported on the effects of alcohol advertising, it appears that promotional activities have influenced the majority of the participants to use alcohol. It is against this backdrop that the ensuing section will examine promotional activities in and around the campus.

6.2.1. Perception of Alcohol Promotion

Among all of the participants (n= 31), the most discussed strategy with regard to alcohol marketing was the dynamic alcohol promotional activities that are targeted at various campuses. The participants identified different types of alcohol promotion in Nigeria, and argued that these are very frequent and popular around this university. For example, when I asked Edulim questions about alcohol promotion, he explained that he was knowledgeable about diverse promotions and he narrated how he had witnessed a fight between a bus conductor and a woman over who would collect a crown cork during a promotion. This is because promotional prizes are concealed under the crown corks and the winner must present the crown cork in order to redeem the prize at a redemption centre. When I questioned other participants about this, the majority gave a catalogue of different brewer-sponsored promotions and social events that they knew about:

Favour: ...Nigerian Breweries, which produces Star beer and Gulder, have events they sponsor; some of them are on TV, some of them on radio like a question and answer session... They sponsor football competitions that they organise for communities to sort of give back to the society through these events. They have raffle draws in terms of rewarding their winners or the customers who patronise them. They form promotions to reward these customers...

Chisalum also gave a range of interrelated opinions. She started by describing televised brewer-sponsored social events and narrowed her discourse down to how popular other promotions are on her campus. An interesting part of her account is the repetition of the word “promotion” which indicates that this is common on and around this campus. Similarly, Pretty gave a detailed account of how alcohol promotions are frequent around this campus and when I asked her to explain the reason for the frequency, she said:

Pretty: The main reason is because this is a student environment and a very good site for marketing such products. They go to other schools too. They see youths as their major target, so wherever they come around here people patronise them a lot, and being students as we are, we like free things... So when you see someone marketing a product that is cheaper, and it might even get you a gift, you tend to patronise them even if you didn't originally intend to. You can even buy it and take it to your hostel just because it is cheap at that moment... If you see this company this week, next week you will see another company.

Marketers target student environments in order to increase sales (e.g., Kuo *et al.*, 2003). In my study, all of the male participants stated that marketers target not just students, but all youths, a factor that can be attributed to the globalization of alcohol marketing strategies by transnational alcohol companies such as Guinness and Heineken, which are operating in Nigeria. From their accounts, it appears that the interrelationship between the construction of gender and high alcohol consumption is one of the reasons why young men drink heavily and this orchestrates the concentration of many bars on or around this campus, which in turn serve as promotional sites for marketers.

Again, Pretty revealed other insightful roles of the media in alcohol promotion and how these mediate people's drinking. Pretty had earlier recognised herself as **“a very strong person who can drink more than males”** (this will be discussed in chapter seven). When the question on how alcohol marketing may affect young people's and particularly females' drinking was asked, she gave some interesting replies:

Pretty: Let me say, the orientation is changing... The mass media are displaying it and this time around, it is no longer restricted [to males]. And people are going out; they are no longer restricted to one place. When you come to an environment

like this university where your parents are not there, you meet people, you mix with friends, and you hear this orientation of equality between male and female genders; so everybody wants to try out new things. Nobody wants to be left behind just because you are tagged a woman. I think the orientation generally is changing.

ED: You just mentioned the role of the media in this; can you explain that further?

Pretty: ...There are different companies producing alcohol and the promotions are one major reason why people take alcohol, due to the buy-one-get-one free or buy one and get different gifts, which are rife. Not to talk of the shows they do on TV.... So people take alcohol most of the time just to participate or to win a present [prize] or to show others that they have arrived in the institution.

Some of Pretty's responses support the interrelationship between gender construction, alcohol intake ("**to show others that you have arrived in the institution**") and peer influence on alcohol consumption. As she revealed, drinking among students is engendered by media portrayals and promotions, but another motivation is gender construction and the majority of the male participants mentioned this. In fact, her account is worth reflecting on in some detail because what she said appears to support the fact that men and women have different influences on the construction of identity. In particular, she believed that females are trying to change perceptions of how traditional femininity is constructed ("**everybody wants to try out new things**", "**nobody wants to be left out just because you are tagged a woman**"), whilst males appear to use alcohol to engage in traditional masculine gender construction.

Indeed, it appears that her high consumption of the media may have influenced her changing orientation because she spent 40 hours per week watching television (see Table 5.1). It is also clear that her use of media has influenced her sense of gender equality, and this, on the one hand may be because some alcohol advertisements in contemporary Nigeria portray young men and women drinking together and bonding (although male characters still dominate). Again, she believes that the media affect people, as she repeatedly used words and phrases such as "**people**", and "**the main reason why people take alcohol**", when she was talking about how the media portrayals of alcohol and

promotion influence people to drink. Although the media arguably have an influence, it appears that the student environment also encourages drinking because the absence of parents (or guardians) is one of the factors that cause students to let their guard down. This may be another reason why marketers target such an environment, especially the study site, where over 80 per cent of the students live in off-campus accommodation. Having demonstrated the participants' perception of the frequency of promotional activities, the ensuing section now turns to some specific promotional strategies in and around the university.

6.3. Impact of Buy-Two-Get-One-Free Point-of-Sale Alcohol Promotion

As revealed above, alcohol marketing is popular in this university and as this section will explore further, one factor that appears to encourage promotional activities is that many bars and other sale outlets are located in and around the campus. With regard to the type of alcohol promotion that is done on campus, a great deal of data was elicited. Although diverse views were expressed, the majority of the participants identified that the three most popular types are the "buy-two-get-one-free", the "open-and-win-promos" and the "lucky dips" (where instant prizes are won) point-of-sale promotions. For example, Boniface had revealed the popularity and potential influence of poster advertising on campus and when I asked why he felt that posters are more popular, he said that posters are the best way to reach students by creating awareness when diverse promotions are going on. Furthermore, he gave a detailed account of how this type of promotion is planned and executed. First, he stated that alcohol producers, through their marketing agents, monitor sales, and if they discover that a particular brand is not receiving enough patronage, the producer will initiate a promotion to encourage buyers to patronise such brands. He stated that marketers not only use the buy-two-get-one-free strategy, they also combine this strategy with a price reduction. As such, students patronise them because of the price reduction, and the more you buy, the greater the possibility of winning extra free bottles:

Boniface: ...That was 'Life beer' when they did that 150 naira stuff [promo]. I actually entered the bar and requested Life and drank two [bottles], and they gave me one free bottle. On that day, the only thing on the tables was Life beer. You

know students will always be students; any way they see to have the edge over someone, they'll do it. That's why we are students; we all want free things.

Similarly, Ada drew on the story shared by her friend who had participated in the promotion to discuss how these point-of-sale promotions are done and her view is in agreement with that of Favour, who argued that such promotions encourage drinking because people do not want to miss such opportunities:

Ada: He went to the bar, took a bottle of Star [beer], and they told him that if he took more than two bottles, they would give him an extra bottle. That meant that he then started drinking so that they would give him extra bottles.

Favour: ...I know that any bar you go to, you will see alcohol promotions; any bar you go in, and people are like, 'fine there's a promotion, let me take one bottle so that I can get more.' That is what people are doing.

Additionally, Collins, who had participated in the buy-two-get-one-free promotion, reported that promotions allow marketers to sell their products for two main reasons. First, through promotions, drinkers receive free extra bottles, and this makes them buy more bottles or crates in order to gain more free bottles. Second, he stated that because such promotions reduce buyers' expenditure (**"that day, I went out with friends to drink, and it lessened our expenses"**), students increase the number of bottles or crates they drink (in the quest for free bottles). He added that youths always want the promotions and this was also discussed by many of the other participants. From these accounts, it appears that this marketing strategy is very complex. As the majority reported, many bars run diverse point-of-sale promotions, but this is often in conjunction with alcohol producers, who hide under the guise of reaching out to the society to sell their products (this will be discussed later in this chapter). Boniface gave a candid account of how market surveys are carried out, and in turn how they necessitate promotions. In doing so, he revealed an aspect of gender, stating that **"they want to have this promo for guys"**. It should be recalled that Chichi (and some other participants) had earlier recalled that advertisements mainly portray beer and this may be because what is mainly advertised or promoted is beer. However, it appears that marketers

are beginning to promote female-friendly alcohol, as Chioma argued that: **“even REDD’S [a female-friendly drink] did a promo, and when you bought two bottles, you got one free”**.

From what some of the female participants stated, it appears that the promotion of female-friendly alcoholic drinks encourages people (particularly women) to drink more than they intended:

Chimanda: ...There’s this drink called REDD’S; when the drink came out, they have to launch it... They did the launch in a big way; people came and drank [freely]... After the launch, when you go to a sit-out to drink, you will see one of them [the promoters] who will come and tell you that ‘this is REDD’S, if you drink two bottles you’ll have one free or if you drink up to three bottles you’ll have a gift...

ED: Okay, you mentioned drink-two-and-get-one-free; is there any way you feel that that could affect people’s drinking behaviour?

Chimanda: Yes, it does affect it; there are people that can only take one or two bottles, but because they are looking at what you have to do [to win], the person will be forced to take more. And you see, people that can take four bottles always want to get more from the company because the more you drink, the more you have a chance of getting more free bottles. So, people tend to drink more because of the gift.

The fact that beer is promoted more can be attributed to two factors. As revealed earlier, female-friendly alcoholic beverages are relatively new in Nigeria (Obot, 2013). For example, while Star and Guinness have been brewed since 1949 and 1962 respectively, Smirnoff Ice and REDD’S were introduced in 2006 and 2012 respectively. Favour stated that diverse promotional activities are rife, and that these are publicised via the media. He revealed that those who participate in these promotions also help to make others aware of the promotions, and the bars in which they are taking place:

Favour: ...I have friends who drink alcohol regularly and when they come back [from the bar], they will be like, ‘I went to this bar, and there was a promo of ‘buy-two-get-one-free,’ or ‘what you see is what you win.’ Then, when you’re walking

down the street to your lecture hall, you'll see a van; it is either one brand of alcoholic drink or another, and they will be shouting at the top of their voices, describing this promo or that promo, and telling people that they should come to this bar [where the promos are taking place]....

These findings have shed light on the buy-two-get-one-free promotion, its ubiquity around the student environment and some of the motivations for young people's patronage. Although some of the participants have not participated personally, they know other youths who have been involved in these promotions, and they are aware that participating in such promotions can make someone drink more alcohol than he or she would drink on a normal drinking occasion. As some of the male participants reported, in these bars (where the buy-two-get-one-free promotions take place), alcohol producers or marketers add glamour by organising social events such as "show your talent", dancing competitions or the company's anniversary party. This helps to attract more people, especially those who originally had no intention of drinking, but who may end up drinking on such occasions because of the diverse promotions. Although the majority of the participants expressed their belief that these buy-two-get-one-free promotions are rife, they suggested that other promotions are also popular and to this I now turn in the next section.

6.3.1. Impact of other Alcohol Promotions on Students' Drinking Behaviour

Here, my participants identified that in conjunction with the buy-two-get-one-free promotions, marketers engage in other types of promotions. The promotion is either in the form of a raffle draw, or another type where "winning seals", "codes" or "numbers" are concealed under the crown cork of beer bottles. Here, when you buy a bottle of beer, you uncover the seal under the crown cork where codes or numbers are concealed. When you send the code or number via an SMS to a specified telephone number (Casswell and Maxwell, 2005), the producers will reply to inform you of the outcome. They also publish the winners on their website and in national newspapers. Talking about this type of promotion, Boniface stated that every bar does it and that the prizes include **"umbrellas, T-shirts and free drinks."** Similarly, Ejije recalled that:

Ejike: Promotions are happening; they're not scarce. Like there's this bar called [name of a bar] at [a popular site]; they normally do it every week. I don't normally go every week, but people that go every week say they do it every Sunday. Maybe Star [beer] will do it this week, and the next week it might be Gulder [beer] and all those stuff. They do promos where you drink two bottles, and they give you a raffle ticket, and anything you win they give it to you.

An interesting part of these accounts is that both male and female participants reported that Nigerian Breweries, who produce Star, Heineken, Gulder and Legend, regularly do this kind of promotion where the more the bottles someone drinks, the more raffle draw tickets he can win. Indeed, Peter stated that **"most of the time it really makes someone drink more because if you drink more you will have more chances of winning"**. Although Chimanda did not drink beer, she reported that many alcohol producers engage in this type of promotion and she narrated the effects of such promotions:

Chimanda: ...There is this stout [Legend] that is doing it. If you buy a drink, you come and pick a paper. If you open the paper, they have gifts to give you like televisions, fridges, standing fans, T-shirts, caps, bags, generators [electric generating set] and a lot of things. So the more you drink the more chances you have to win...

In response to a question about other types of promotion known to him, Las provided the most revealing evidence on one recent promotional trend. He stated that an alcohol company sponsors winners to shop abroad via promotions. He also identified that everybody likes to win, so people drink in a quest to win codes, and he acknowledged that such promotions could affect his alcohol intake:

Las: ...Everybody wants to be a winner and everybody wants to be affiliated to winners. So when you hear that someone in Kaduna¹³ won, you will want to be a winner too. So, if spending maybe eight hundred naira... on drinks might give you an edge or an opportunity to win, most of them will do it. Did I say most of them? Most of us will do it.

¹³ Kaduna is a city in northern Nigeria.

Although, as shown above, beer brands are promoted more, but it appears that both beer drinkers and non-drinkers alike know a lot about these promotions and participate in order to win gift items. For example, Pretty reported that her favourite alcoholic drink is Smirnoff Ice, but from her account, it appears that the quest to win branded paraphernalia or money motivated her to participate in this open-and-win type promotion:

Pretty: The promo that has affected my drinking pattern is the one that you open a beer bottle, and you win anything [you see]. So most of the time, people just drink to open the cover [crown cork] so they might see something and win... We students see it as an opportunity whereby you open a beer bottle, and you can win a car or something else. So it makes you drink more of that particular alcohol because of the opportunity to win something.

When I asked Pretty to explain more about how this promotion had affected her drinking, she replied:

Pretty: ...I attended a function where there were varieties of alcoholic beverages but because that particular alcohol company was doing an open-and-win promo, I decided to go for the [beer] brand so that I could win something by chance.

From these accounts, it appears that this type of promotion, where people can win costly prizes such as cars, may motivate individuals to initiate drinking or to drink more. Additionally, it is clear that it may even influence alcohol users to change their brand. The fact that promotions have influenced the participants, especially the women, to change brand, is worth reflecting on, because as I will reveal in chapter seven, beer is categorized as men's alcohol in Nigeria. In fact, this reveals one of the ways in which alcohol marketing facilitates young people's alcohol consumption.

Chimanda also revealed other dimensions of this promotion. According to her, alcohol companies know how to influence people to drink more than they originally intended and this is done in two ways. First, they do "spell your beer promotion" where people are asked to check under the crown cork for the spelling of a beer brand. She revealed that because producers often make a particular letter of the alphabet scarce, this

encourages people to drink more or more regularly in order to complete the spelling of the beer. Second, she reported that because prizes include cars or cash in millions, people drink more; again, in a bid to complete the spelling and win, drinkers make friends with other drinkers. As she explained, this is because when Star beer did this kind of promotion, where each crown cork carried only one letter of the alphabet, people were united in the search for the letter “R”, which was scarce, and the reason for this was to try and win the car prize. Additionally, her account reveals that although her brand preference is spirit, she had participated in this promotion just to win prizes. She narrated how she was encouraged to drink at least two bottles of REDD’S by a promoter so that she could receive a prize, and she added that: **“I ended up drinking the two bottles and to my surprise she gave me a gift, but it was just a band [laughs]; it was a hand band”**.

As these accounts suggest, it is clear that these types of promotions affect people’s drinking behaviour in diverse ways, and the motivation is to win gift items. From the participants’ perspectives, the desire for large items such as fridges, cars, cash (in millions), and shopping trips to Dubai, are serious motivating factors for participating in the promotions, and this lures people to drink, or to drink more than they intended. In the same vein, it was evidenced that females are employed to promote these beers in many bars. The next section now turns to this marketing strategy.

6.4. Use of Women as Beer Promoters

The majority of bar-attending participants argued that young, beautiful females are used as promoters. Alcohol consumption among women in Nigeria was not common in the traditional era due to sociocultural constraints. Although this is changing in contemporary Nigeria, women who drink alcohol are often stigmatized (this will be explored in chapter seven). Despite that, young women are employed to market beer brands in bars, nightclubs hotels, etc. They are also used to promote or publicize the various promotional activities or to serve as ushers during brewer-sponsored events. From the data, it appears that they are trained, clothed and commissioned to encourage people to drink and this is because their salary (commission) is often dependent on how many crates of beer they are able to sell:

Levin: They usually use girls because the personality talking to you can attract you to buy the product. They use fine girls and because of youthful exuberance [boys patronise them]. When you see a fine girl putting on a T-shirt and a face-cap, the way she will talk to you will make you buy drinks rather than when an old woman [approaches you]... Attractive girls are used to get men to buy their products. It's a promo tactic.

Additionally, it was revealed that female students on this campus are employed to promote beer. Dozie for instance, revealed how his girlfriend was recently recruited as a beer promoter. When I asked if she was a student, he said yes and stated that, **“what she does is that she encourages people to drink and if you drink two bottles you can win a prize like key holders, pens, free drinks, caps, T-shirts, etc”**. Additionally, four females also discussed the use of women to promote alcohol in Nigeria. For example, Pretty, who had previously applied to work as a beer promoter, shared her experience of this:

Pretty: ...What you do is tell people what your products can offer them [the benefits of the brand]. You make it sound better than other products, and when they buy it, you give them gifts like umbrellas, T-shirts and stuff like that. And they sell it at cheaper rates. It is a very popular thing; you see students dressed up in their T-shirts; it is either this company or another that is advertising their products. Students do it often because of the quick cash they can get from it while advertising their products... If you go down to [name of promotion site], you will see students dressed in polo [T-shirts] advertising one product or another... You can do it within the space of six weeks, and you will be paid.

Regarding the reasons why female students accept offers to promote beer, it is clear from Pretty's account that this is because of the monetary gain they hope to derive within a short period. The use of females by alcohol companies was also expressed by Chioma, who recently worked as an usher: **“this REDD'S I was talking about, I was one of their ushers when they did their promotion in [name of city].”** When I asked why she had taken the job, she added that it was because of **“the money”** they pay.

Additionally, Las revealed that one of the reasons why marketers use students is because they can be patronised by other students who may be their classmates, but he added that this may encourage not just drinking, but also sexual relationships: **“...if you hang out as guys do, maybe you see a lady selling this drink, some guys will buy her products in order to get a rapport with the girl”**. Although the use of women to promote different products is a popular practice globally, Ruddock (2012: 63) notes that while this is one of the “choices women in Western nations freely make”, it is “forced on others in the developing world, who must respond to neo-liberal demands” due to the dearth of economic resources.

Indeed, additional evidence that is indicative of the fact that these females are clothed by brewers or marketers and trained to encourage people to drink was provided by Edulim (a self-confessed regular bar patron): **“when you walk into a bar... where people visit all the time, you might see a lady wearing a shirt with Star beer and another lady wearing the one of Harp beer...”**. He elucidated his experience to show that marketers use well-known bars as sites in order to make more sales. Additionally, Chike reflected on his recent experience with these female promoters and how it made him and his friends consume more alcohol than they had planned:

Chike: ...We were supposed to actually get Star and Hero [beers] but a lady approached us and was like, ‘do you want to buy beer?’ And we were like, ‘we are already buying’. She said that she was from Legend stout and that she was doing a promo of – ‘buy-two-get-one-free’. We were six guys, and the six of us had planned to have an average of two bottles each. So, everybody changed immediately [to Legend]. Everyone said, ‘we’ll have two bottles of Legend’, and they gave us one more bottle each too. And then everyone actually drank three bottles instead of two.

As these accounts reveal, female students are used to promote diverse alcoholic beverages on campus and in the neighbouring environment. From the accounts of the male participants, the use of these female students (in combination with diverse promotions) encourages people to drink more than they had planned. Arguably, this is why producers employ these females, because it has been revealed that the presence of females engenders

higher risk taking by men. As Las explained, students prefer to patronise fellow students (**“because young people who are selling it are your fellow students”; “maybe you might even know the person from your department”**) and this appears to be because they know the student-promoter will need the commission. On the part of the female participants, it appears that the quest for quick cash encourages them to accept such an offer.

6.5. Impact of Brewer-sponsored Reality Television Shows

Alcohol companies not only employ promotional strategies to reach young people and other vulnerable groups, they also use other tactics and one of these is the creation of different youth-oriented TV reality programmes. In contemporary Nigeria, one of these programmes is the Gulder Ultimate Search (GUS, an annual reality TV series that started in 2004). With regard to how the GUS is done, an “Ultimate Treasure” is hidden in the forest and young men and women between the ages of 21 and 30 (who have passed various screening exercises) go into the forest to uncover the treasure (Njoku, 2014; Nigerian Breweries, 2013b). One of the unique features of the GUS is that it is favourably endorsed by political actors or celebrities. For example, one of the people who endorsed the 2014 edition was Mr Willie Obiano, the present Governor of Anambra State (see Figure 6.1).

Also, television viewers participate (via SMS voting system) in choosing the Gatekeepers, who assist the participants to find their way in the search (Njoku, 2014). Indeed, the most interesting part of the GUS is the prize. For example, the winner of the 2013 edition received a 10 million naira (about £40, 000) cash prize and a brand new Mitsubishi Pajero 3.0L SUV car, while the second runner up received three million naira (about £12, 000) and other consolation prizes (Njoku, 2013).

Figure 6.1: GUS 2014 participants and the Governor of Anambra State.



Executive Governor of Anambra State during his courtesy visit to the 2014 GUS contestants in Aguleri forest on October 10, 2014

To make it more engaging, they promise to reward TV viewers with diverse prizes (Nigerian Breweries, 2013b). In fact, Njoku (2013) reported the following:

This year, the consumers of the premium lager beer, Gulder will enjoy the privilege of being part of the search tagged “Fan based Search”, which will open from 2nd of August and run through to 20th of September. The winner will be presented with a brand new Mitsubishi Pajero 3 GLX MT at the grand finale of the event.

It is against this backdrop that I will explore the impact of the GUS, which is sponsored by Nigerian Breweries (which are partly owned by Heineken).

6.5.1. Impact of Gulder Ultimate Search Reality TV Show on Drinking

Behaviour

I started by questioning the participants on their knowledge about alcohol industry sponsored events, and all of the participants mentioned that the GUS is the most popular TV programme that they sponsor. For instance, Pretty mentioned that the GUS is very popular amongst students who **“die to participate” [have a strong desire].** When I asked her to explain what attracts students, she stated that:

Pretty: ...It pays because after the search, you’ll have this huge amount of money, sometimes a car as a consolation [prize] for the winners... and also you will be on the TV. So when you come back to school, the influence and the crowd it draws to you...

Additional evidence for the popularity and the followership of this programme was provided by the men. For example, Fred stated that the **“Ultimate Search is very interesting”** and when I asked him what makes it interesting, he noted that:

Fred: It is like an adventure; it is suspense-filled, and you have your favourite person in the house that you are supporting by sending text messages and admiring it. ...It is fun.

Additionally, Edulim recalled that the **“Ultimate Search is very, very interesting, it keeps me busy, it is not something I watch alone, the family, my dad, my mum, my siblings, and everybody does”**. A substantial number of the participants also identified that this programme is sponsored in order to sell Gulder beer:

Boniface: The truth is that brewers know what they want; it is part of advertising their products... the Ultimate Search, the money [prize] they give to the winner is small compared to what they will gain at the end of the event... So it's just all part of the marketing strategy, apart from the entertainment they give us, the viewers. It's all part of trying to sell more.

On the criteria for participation, Agatha, who is eager to participate, revealed that:

Agatha: Students always drink Gulder because they want to have [empty] cans any time they are doing the programme because you have to come with cans, and if you don't have cans you can't participate.

Similarly, some of the men, who had registered for the GUS screening exercise, revealed some insightful parts of this event. For example, Okey shared his experience from the point of making an attempt to participate: **“at first they told us that for you to participate, you have to come for an audition, and you have to buy a certain amount of Gulder beer”**. Dozie, who had passed the online screening and was subsequently invited for the physical screening exercise, stressed that buying the Gulder brand is one of the requirements:

Dozie: Actually how it is done is that you register online when registration starts around the end of August. When you register and pass the online screening, they will send you an email that has a referee form and the terms and conditions... So

you'll fill it in and come to the venue of the screening with ten cans of used Gulder. That is a kind of the entrance criterion for the [physical] screening.

Again, Femi, who had withdrawn from the programme because he was unable to meet the requirements, also revealed that: **"...you have to come with 20 cans of Gulder that are not squashed..."**.

Although Dozie and Femi differed on the number of empty cans of Gulder beer that are required for the screening, this arguably may be due to various reasons. First, they did not attend the screening the same year or at the same venue, and furthermore, as the monetary prize increases annually (Njoku, 2014), it appears that the criteria for participation change and become stricter. Second, as this criterion (i.e., coming to the screening exercise with cans) is controversial (newspaper publicity about the GUS does not mention such a criterion, and it is not on the sponsor's website), the organizers may be applying different methods at each screening exercise. Again, because the sponsors know that young people will do everything possible to participate due to the huge monetary prize, they may be cashing in on this, especially because some of the criteria for qualification are communicated via email rather than being posted online.

A substantial number of the participants noted that while viewing the GUS could influence TV viewers to use Gulder beer due to the advertisements and Fan Based Edition, it could also influence relatives or friends of those who participated in the reality programme:

Chike: There is a girl called [name of girl] in this hostel... She participated in the Ultimate Search and came out as the first or second runner-up. When she came back to the school, she went out with her group [girlfriends], and they went to the bar and asked for Gulder instead of their normal brand [sweetened drink]. We were there, so we saw them. So it affected her...; and her friends drank Gulder, and as they were drinking, they raised the bottles and started screaming. So they tend to feel this connection with the energy that comes with the Gulder Ultimate Search...

Dozie also said that he prefers Gulder beer:

Dozie: I just like the drink. It befits my status. As I said, I had gone for the Gulder Ultimate Search competition, and ever since then I just got attached to the drink.

ED: Okay, you also said it befits your status. Can you say a little more about this?

Dozie: Just like the advert says: 'it is for champions'; that is it [the reason]. I am aspiring to be a champion. It's a message about champions where adventurous men go to the forest and come out with cash and all that. Mainly it is for champions; that's why I drink it.

Participating in the GUS requires both physical and mental energy, and fitness. It requires abandoning your job or studies for a period of time to be in the camp, from which you go to the forest where the treasure is hidden. However, it appears that young people do not mind the strenuous exercises due to what they hope they will gain (millions of naira, new cars, etc.). Young people clearly have a strong desire to participate, as Dozie explained:

Dozie: ...Students are actually sceptical about the future, about being comfortable in life. So whatever they can do to actualise it, it is worth it. If I can earn nine million [naira] by just registering for Gulder Ultimate Search, buying ten cans of Gulder and transporting myself to the venue of the screening, I think it's worth it. It's just that mind-set of young people who are trying to get a better future.

Similarly, Pretty stated that she would like to participate when the opportunity arose: **"because I will need the money that is involved and any other gifts"**. Fame was also a key motivating factor:

Genny: Once you go there and come out you are automatically a celebrity... because it's not easy appearing on the television [laughs]... When they see you on the street, they will be like, I know this person, he went for Ultimate Search last session and stuff like that. You will end up being famous, yeah!

From these accounts, it is clear that young people crave participation, not just in the GUS, but also in other promotions, due to the promise of instant cash and fame. Although these are unrealistic fantasies propagated to sell drinks, the desire to participate appears to be what the sponsor of this TV show is cashing in on to recruit millions of young people (who must buy their product in order to participate), and other viewers, who must buy Gulder beer in order to participate in the fans' edition, because the codes to be sent via SMS are concealed under the crown corks (Nigerian Breweries, 2013a). The next section will now exemplify why youths do not want these promotions to stop in Nigeria.

6.6. Exploring how the Participants Evaluated Brewer-sponsored Promotions

Globally, a plethora of evidence shows that alcohol producers hide under the guise of social responsibility to market their products (Babor *et al.*, 2010). In this section, I will demonstrate the participants' evaluation of various promotions and how they judge the promoters. Despite the fact that the majority of the participants reported that these promotional activities motivate people to drink and even misuse alcohol, they also believe that by engaging in these frequent promotions and sponsorships, alcohol producers are distributing their wealth and making people's lives better. For example, when I asked Agatha how these promotions could affect drinking, she catalogued her reasons, but she also said that people would continue to drink because alcohol producers are helping to reduce poverty through these channels:

Agatha: ...You know they are using this opportunity to help people to earn a living. They help people that don't have a livelihood to earn a living... With their Ultimate Search, you'll see somebody who does not have something doing [a job]; the person goes to the screening, gets into the house [programme] and comes out a millionaire. The person has gained something from the producer. So they are encouraging young people to participate and get something.... So people might say this Gulder, I love them, because they are not making their money and just storing it in the bank; they are using it to help people, and for that reason, let me help them to promote their products.

Although the vast majority of my participants revealed that these promotions and social events are strategies that alcohol companies employ to market their products and make more profits, they likewise believe that producers are helping the society through these means. Indeed, many of the participants used phrases such as: **“they give back to the society”, “rewarding their customers”, “that is to help the youths”, “they take that means to make people popular and help them out”**, to describe the impact of these promotions on the winners. In fact, Genny argued that: **“it is a kind of reaching out to youths”**, due to the huge amount money that is involved. Again, she described how rewarding these promotions and events are:

Genny: I will say they [brewers] do try their best... at times they will do this stuff where you open a cork [crown cork], they will be like, you remove the leather inside it and if you see all these gifts that are meant to be given out, maybe cash, electronics and stuff like that, you just go to the redemption centre and they will give you that gift. So, they [brewers] try their best in that aspect.

A very interesting aspect of the data is that although the study participants are knowledgeable about the effects of these promotions and social events on young people’s drinking behaviour, none of them would wish the events or promotions to stop, and the main reason for this appears to be the diverse prizes which are seen as helping society.

6.7. Conclusion

With a focus on one specific campus, this chapter has revealed some of the contemporary alcohol marketing strategies used in Nigeria, and how this commercialization of alcohol on campus may be resulting in what could be defined as hyper-consumption among students (i.e., students consume large quantities of these products essentially to win prizes). The chapter addressed the second research question: ‘what roles do alcohol advertising and promotion play in young people’s drinking behaviour on an eastern Nigerian university campus and to what extent does this differ between males and females?’ In doing so, it began by exploring the ubiquity of alcohol advertising and examined how knowledgeable the participants are about this. Here, it was found that while advertisements influence

drinking behaviour, the effect is arguably greater on some of the participants, who spend longer hours viewing television. This is because advertising messages affect their brand preference. In doing this, the results support cultivation theory, which stipulates that heavy television viewing, affects audience behaviour. Although this effect was found, it was not established for all of the participants that spend long hours consuming media.

The chapter also revealed that the impact of non-direct advertising, such as buy-two-get-one-free point-of-sale promotions and raffle draw promotions, on students' use of alcohol was high. Regarding the widespread use of promotions, it was revealed that diverse promotional activities are common, and the density of alcohol outlets such as bars and kiosks on campus provide the promoters with ready-made sites. Additionally, it was found that students and other young people are mostly targeted through these promotions, and they participate in drinking free alcohol, or in promotions in which they can win other paraphernalia. Furthermore, it was identified that females are employed to promote alcohol. Amongst these promoters, it was found that the quest for economic empowerment encourages them to accept jobs as beer promoters, but this may expose them to unwanted relationships in a bid to sell alcoholic beverages (discussed in chapter eight). A very notable aspect of these promotional activities is that they significantly influence the participants to use and increase their alcohol intake. Additionally, it was found that females change their brand in order to win promotional prizes.

The second part of the chapter revealed that alcohol producers also sponsor youth-oriented TV reality programmes, and young people crave participation in these due to monetary rewards and the quest for fame. Despite reporting that alcohol producers are encouraging people to use or misuse alcohol by drinking beyond their intention, it was found that young people evaluate these promotions and other events as being helpful to students and to society more widely, and thus the participants stated that they should be continued.

Chapter Seven:

Alcohol, Gender Identity Construction and Sexuality¹⁴

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will explore how my participants construct their gender identity with alcohol and use it as social capital. The chapter starts by exploring alcohol consumption and gender identity before highlighting how student parties provide spaces for those who use alcohol consumption to gain social capital. Next, I will explore how male participants appropriate alcohol consumption to themselves and how the females use alcohol consumption to (de)construct their gender identity and challenge the drinking practices that discriminate against them. The third section then explores the use of alcohol for sexual activities and how gendered drinking practices may facilitate and encourage sexual violence against women.

7.2. Drinking Motives: as Mediated by Gender and Party Environment

All of the 31 participants are current users of alcohol but their drinking patterns and motives vary and this is related to what alcohol means to each participant. That is, if alcohol is something that one consumes when he/she wants to get high, the person tends to consume it in large quantities and frequently, or vice versa. Among the participants, drinking stories were constructed around who should drink, what should be drunk and why this should be drunk. While the ability to drink a large quantity without showing a sign of intoxication created social capital among the majority of the male participants, others acquire this

¹⁴ The first part of this chapter has been published as Dumbili, E.W. (2015) 'What a man can do, a woman can do better': Gendered Alcohol consumption and (de)construction of social identity among young Nigerians'. *BMC Public Health*, 15(1), pp.1-12.

capital by becoming the fastest drinker. Among those that used alcohol for social reasons, alcohol is consumed at events such as parties. This is because it gives pleasure or fun and it is normative to drink on such occasions (Frederiksen *et al.*, 2012). However, the quantity is usually not much, especially among females as Genny explained:

Genny: When you go to parties, you don't expect them to give you juice or a soft drink. What you need is alcohol and when you take alcohol, it will make you feel the groove, it will make you be in the spirit of the party so you can dance... you just end up being happy.

Similarly, another female participant confirmed that alcohol consumption at the parties she attends is mainly for pleasure and the essence is to brighten one's mood:

Chioma: ...if people at the party are consuming only juice, everywhere will be dull and some people will not misbehave; so it will not be fun. You know that some people are shy but when they take alcohol, they tend to dance and so it is more fun when you take alcohol.

Every male participant argued that they drink for social reasons, but equally they have other reasons for using alcohol at parties. While they corroborated what the female participants said that alcohol must be present at every party, their drinking motives at parties vary significantly and differ from those of the females. For them, alcohol not only facilitates the opportunity to let their guard down, it also serves as currency for sexual negotiations:

Okezie: Alcohol gives you the boldness and enhances the spirit. You might see a lady... you might have been eyeing her for a long time and you don't have that gut to walk up to her and say hi, what's up, can I know you? But with a bottle of beer or two, you will feel as if the world is at your feet. It drives away fear. After drinking, you will be able to walk up to the girl and tell her what you want.

I was surprised that as many as 18 of my male participants stated that alcohol at parties not only facilitates sexual negotiations, but also provides an opportunity to gain social capital. As they identified, this in part is because as “**alcohol is for the strong**” and not for people with “**light brains**”, males participate in drinking games (to win fame among their peers) and they tend to make this game playing exclusive for males. Although the majority of the

participants (both males and females) stressed that they have witnessed many varieties of drinking games (Kenney, Hummer and LaBrie, 2010) among the students, a particular type of drinking game that they play at parties is gendered. This is because it is a male preserve and played by heavy and fast drinking males (Zamboanga *et al.*, 2013). Although I highlighted how media consumption is implicated in game playing in chapter five, I will briefly expand on it in this chapter. This is because one of the reasons for game playing among students is to gain social capital. With regard to how this game is played, a great deal of data was gathered from the participants on game playing and why it is part of student parties. This game is played at student parties because as social events (Zamboanga *et al.*, 2013), they provide fun for the party attendees, but there appear to be other motives for game playing at parties:

Boniface: At parties, you will see guys who will come out and show themselves [as men] to impress the ladies and stuff like that. Actually, I have witnessed guys volunteering themselves to drink beer... The highest drinker or the fastest actually wins. Boys do it just to have bragging rights. It's just getting the bragging rights over others, such as 'I drank and you couldn't', which makes boys do it, and at the end of the party boys and girls will be hailing you after you've won the competition.

Similarly, Buchi agreed that boys use this game playing to demonstrate their masculine superiority over other boys and to gain more social capital:

Buchi: What they do is that they make people know that when it comes to drinking, you're the boss. People grade you by the level of drink you can take; I mean the number of bottles you can consume. So people know that when it comes to drinking, 'this guy is the boss'...

To demonstrate that, in this study, playing this game at mixed-sex parties is exclusively for males, all of the females stated that they have never participated (although two out of the nine had played other types of games with females) because it is not normative for females to do so. Although three out of the nine females argued that they could drink more than

many males, drinking beer or competing in drinking games at parties would be seen as 'unfeminine':

Pretty: The society sees Star, Gulder, Legend [popular beers in Nigeria] and most of these beers as masculine; so seeing a female take it, even I myself see that person as indecent.

These findings shed light on some of the reasons for participating in or not playing drinking games given by these students. As they identified, a party environment provides space for game playing while the actual game performs many functions. While it serves as a source of fun for the party-goers, it also provides an opportunity for the players to demonstrate their manliness and gain social capital. Consequently, the player attracts female friends and this may result in sexual negotiations and activities.

7.3. Alcohol as a Marker of Masculine Identity

Internationally, evidence shows that alcohol consumption is gendered, particularly in patriarchal societies (e.g., Rolfe *et al.*, 2009; Lemle and Mishkind, 1989). Amongst males, the more one drinks, the higher his masculinity is rated (Mullen *et al.*, 2007; Peralta, 2007). Expectations for women to maintain femininity are not seen as compatible with heavy consumption of alcohol (Peralta, 2010; Skeggs, 2005; Day, Gough and McFadden, 2004). In the Nigerian setting, the ways in which men construct their masculinity differ even among the "alcohol machos". For example, some men focus on how fast they can drink as proof of their masculinity (as I have identified above), some emphasize their ability to consume large quantities of alcohol without intoxication, while others might use the consumption of drinks with high alcohol content. Worthy of note is that even though the majority of men drink large quantities of alcohol and use this to construct gender, a few revealed that this is a marker of those who are beginning to learn how to drink (Peralta, 2007). In fact, this group argued that individuals who do this either do not know what their limits are or do not know how to 'handle their drinks'.

Against these backdrops, I will exemplify in this section the gendering of alcohol among my participants, by demonstrating their belief in what "drinking well" means, who

should and who should not drink alcohol, and what should be drunk. For example, Dozie described one of his friends as **“someone who drinks well”**. When I probed him to unpack what he meant by “drinking well”, he argued:

Dozie: By drinking well, I mean that some can drink more than I do; that is, they drink more than four or five bottles and some brag about it... Like there’s a friend of mine... he drinks well and he has this kind of mind-set that if he wants to drink, if it’s not ‘small stout’ [45-centiliters bottle] he does not drink anything. So if it’s ‘small stout’ he can gulp up to a crate [24 bottles on a drinking occasion] and he will still be intact.

When the question on their attitude towards male and female friends’ drinking was asked, the majority of the male participants (n= 15) stressed that drinking and getting “knocked out” or “wasted” (i.e., excessively drunk) is the embodiment of men’s drinking career. Thus, they emphasized that alcohol should be drunk by only males and some of the words and phrases they employed to express this belief included: **“alcohol is for the guys”, “it is a man’s world”,** and the local colloquialism **“nwoke-adi-njo”** (nothing a man does is really bad), **“it is not in our culture for a woman to drink or get drunk”** and so on. Again, Dozie noted that **“there is this saying that men are in charge. There’s this feeling that they are in charge, it’s cool, it’s a man’s world, that’s what it is”**. Similarly, Kelly gave his views, but what he said appears to reflect resilient socio-cultural beliefs:

Kelly: ...Igbo people generally have the belief that women are restricted, so they don’t take alcohol. They don’t do things that men are meant to do... People normally have the perception that only men should take alcohol. Women are restricted from taking alcohol because once a woman starts taking it, the society will start to take the view that, look, you are getting out of your bound.

Some of the male participants expressed fairly conservative ‘traditional’ sexist views of women as being ‘weaker’ or ‘fragile’, and said they should not drink. A very interesting aspect with regard to these males is that while it appears that they were expressing their

beliefs about this, they often used words such as 'people' and 'they' instead of 'I' or 'we' to explain that women should not drink:

Diogor: I know that if males take alcohol, it is good because they can control themselves because they are guys. For females, if they take alcohol, they might end up getting drunk and might easily derail.

Although these participants believe that women should not drink alcohol due to cultural notions or the assumed fragility of females, the majority argued that pressure from the environment in which they study influences females to drink alcohol. Amongst other factors, presumed differences in physiological composition were presented as reasons why males should drink alcohol:

Kelly: For me, males should drink because of their body system... Males generally should take alcohol because of their body system. For the women, their body system is not strong so if they take alcohol it might have an adverse effect on them.

Similarly, moral reasons to justify their beliefs in women's traditional gender identity were presented by some males, who argued that they did not support females to use alcohol because it is unfeminine to see a female get drunk or misbehave. For instance, Las noted that **"first of all, it is kind of pathetic to see a woman that is drunk..."**, while Ekene reported that:

Ekene: When you talk of being responsible in our society, we expect the females to be more responsible than the males... when you begin to see a girl in a bar, you tend to see the lady as not being responsible or as someone who does not come from a good home.... That is why in most cases, if ladies have the urge to take alcohol, they won't do that [publicly] because of what people looking at them will say....

Although Dozie had stated earlier that alcohol should be drunk by men, he added that occasionally he allowed his sisters to have a taste of alcohol but they must **"drink inside the**

house or within the comfort zone". At this juncture, I questioned why his sisters should drink within their comfort zone and he said:

Dozie: Because as a woman, if you drink inside the house and misbehave, your misbehaving may get to a certain level but if it is outside, you might end up being in the midst of people that do not know you, and if they see you at that point, it gives the wrong impression of who you are.

Alcohol consumption among females in Nigerian communities has been culturally controlled and those who make and enforce these rules are men. This appears to be resilient in contemporary Nigeria as these participants revealed. Again, when I asked Dozie how he feels about some of the females that had reported to me that they drink more than males, he stated that this might be due to their upbringing. He then recalled that he had advised his female friends that they should never drink whenever he was with them to avoid being belittled.

Alternatively, Edulim suggested that women could drink but this must be for a reason. Although he noted that one such reason why women could drink was to relax, he stated that they should never get drunk through this process because this would be stepping outside of their boundary. He mentioned that he had drunk heavily on one occasion and thrown up, but he argued that this should never be heard of for a woman due to moral beliefs. When I asked him to describe how the society would react if a woman behaved in this way after drinking alcohol, he added:

Edulim: I don't see a woman drinking as a good thing... Though it is not totally bad if a woman takes a bottle of small stout... That is enough, then she goes home and relaxes, and she has a reason for taking that. But for a woman to sit down like a man and take two, three, four, five bottles, no, I don't regard her as a woman. I take them to be like animals or men.

ED: Okay, is your reaction towards women's drinking based on your experience or on other people's reactions?

Edulim: ...It is based on my experience because I know a lady that comes to this [name of bar]; she drinks, she smokes. Nobody here takes her as a nice person; they call her names.

ED: Why do they call her names?

Edulim: Because what she is doing is bad. Though I see ladies drink a bottle... her own is not what I want to see [unbecoming]. It is normal for us guys to drink and get drunk, but for the ladies, it is not.

Although the majority of the female participants did not agree that only males should drink alcohol, they presented similar reasons for why males should drink more, due to their body system, and cultural and moral beliefs. For example, Chisalum noted that:

Chisalum: Males can handle it because their heads are strong; they are more mature. God created women to be fragile, to be tender, and then he created males to be strong...

Similarly, when I asked Chimanda, the only female participant that consumes spirits, why she feels that alcohol should be consumed by males, she gave similar reasons to those given by the males:

Chimanda:Their brains can contain higher alcohol than females because they are stronger than females. The females are weaker vessels, and a little drink can affect a girl.... Talking about the effect, when a guy is drunk, it is easily understood that, okay he is a guy.... They just take it as fun; it is nothing [serious], but when they [society] see a girl that is drunk, they take her as someone who is not responsible. So people prefer males to drink to females.

Although these females believe that men are stronger and thus can control the effects of alcohol, they arguably have another reason for why they want males to drink or drink more alcohol than females. As Chisalum identified: **“if something happens the males can handle it”**. It emerged that many of the young women are anxious about sexual violence, and avoiding situations which expose them to risk of alcohol-related rape (I will discuss this in

detail in the alcohol and sexual aggression section). Presenting moral reasons for disapproving of women's drinking is common in Nigeria (Ikuesan, 1994) because a known female alcohol user in Nigeria will not only fail to find a suitor, but her female siblings will be affected too because of the societal belief that they are not responsible people.

Again, not only do men restrict alcohol to themselves, they also use alcohol to determine 'who is a real man' among themselves because the more a man can drink relates to how he is rated among male folk (Morojele *et al.*, 2006), while an abstainer is regarded as a woman (De Visser and Smith, 2007; Lemle and Mishkind, 1989). Importantly, as Diogor identified that, **"if I don't drink they will force me"**, it appears that men apply some level of coercion to persuade their friends who do not want to drink. As some of the men noted, this is because drinking together makes men who are drunk loosen up and discuss men's affairs, while a person who has drunk more and is able to "hold his drink" (i.e., control himself) is rated more highly than others. An interesting aspect of this display of masculinity is that the number of bottles (not glasses) one can consume contributes significantly to his status among his peers. Thus, a male participant narrated how he had had to change his brand from stout, which contains 7.5% ABV, to Star beer with 5% ABV, because among his friends drinking the same brand helped their camaraderie (Iwamoto and Smiler, 2013). Meanwhile, the number of bottles one consumes is used as a 'badge of honour' (Peralta, 2007):

Eduhim: There is this masculine ego that comes into play even before we head to the bar. Like, 'how many bottles do you think you can finish?' Do you think you can do four or five? Hey! I've drunk seven bottles... So you don't expect, after making such brags, that you will go there and take only two bottles.... Instead of going to the bar and drinking only two bottles and feeling less of a man in the presence of your colleagues, which means that they will mock you for a while, it's better to go for Star [beer] that has less alcohol content, so that I can drink more bottles and feel manlier...

From these accounts, it is clear that culturally, males believe that alcohol should be consumed by men, and they also use other beliefs such as their perceptions of morality as

being linked to stereotypical 'femininity' (Skeggs, 2005); and the notion of being stronger than females, to display their stereotypical beliefs and accrue for themselves patriarchal dividend (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Although this belief, that alcohol should be used by males because 'they are strong people', was also expressed among some of the females interviewed, as shown above, three of the female participants gave different views and to this I will now turn in the ensuing section.

7.4. Investigating how Females Struggle for Drinking Spaces

Evidence shows that "gender and identity are performative, negotiated and tied to a community of practices" (Lyons and Willott, 2008: 696). Because gender is fluid, new femininities (Budgeon, 2014) are emerging, thus making alcohol consumption one of the methods that women can employ to construct their gender and challenge traditional gender identities and roles in Nigeria. Even though six of the females interviewed believe that only males should drink or that they should drink more alcohol, it appears that their beliefs are not just mediated by culture, but also by the fear of being tagged wild girls or unfeminine (but that is also an expression of culture). The other three expressed several reasons for why females should drink like men do. Some of these reasons include gender equality, media portrayals of men's and women's drinking sprees, women doing better than men in some organizations, pleasure and so on. For example, Pretty argued that she drinks to display her 'badge of honour' (Peralta, 2007) among her peers by showing them that she can hold a lot of alcohol:

Pretty: I can take more than three bottles and still feel okay... I've always known myself to be a strong person and when I'm determined to do something I don't look back. So when taking alcohol... I want to have fun.... Like I said, I always take myself to be very strong, so I don't let myself get down before my friends. I don't like them seeing my weak points; so I try not to get tipsy in their presence.

Similarly, Chichi stated that the quantity of alcohol consumed by males and females should be the same because whatever is good for the men should be good for women too, in that they are both human:

Chichi: I believe the quantity should be the same. Why can't ladies drink alcohol the way guys are taking it? Because funnily enough, you see some guys that cannot even take more than two bottles but some ladies can take 10; there are some ladies that when it comes to drinking, you cannot even defeat them...

When I asked Chichi what she thought about the idea that women should not drink in Nigerian society, she noted that she is aware of the negative perceptions of women who drink, but added that such a cultural belief makes some women indulge in secret drinking. Therefore, she argued that men should not restrict alcohol to themselves in the contemporary world because not only are females getting into employment in the same way as men, some women are attaining the same or a higher status than some men (Bloomfield *et al.*, 2001). Indeed, her account and that of Ada reveal complex nuances:

Chichi: Why can't a woman do what a man is doing? Okay, come to this contemporary world, I don't believe there is anything a man can do now that a woman cannot do. Men are ministers and women are ministers... in some countries women are presidents. Men and women now work in the same companies, doing the same kinds of jobs... In some houses, the women are making more money than the guys. So why should you now tell me that a man should drink alcohol and a woman should not drink even if she likes to drink alcohol? Except if the woman does not like to drink alcohol, but if she is someone that loves drinking alcohol, why not let her drink?

Ada: When I see [Nigerian] girls going for...[drinking and other risky activities]... they are like telling the people in the world that what a man can do, a woman can do better.

As hegemonic masculinity is often contested as children grow up, individuals have the "capacity to deconstruct gender binaries and criticise hegemonic masculinity" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 853). As these excerpts revealed, this can be said to be what some of my female participants (and a few males) are doing with regard to alcohol consumption in

contemporary Nigeria. In the ensuing section, I will exemplify that not only are drinking spaces contested, what should be drunk (alcoholic drinks) is also gendered.

7.4.1. The Gendering of Alcoholic Beverages

Women are beginning to drink in contemporary Nigeria but what they drink and how they are supposed to drink is still contested and divided into two parallels: men's and women's alcohols. The majority of the males shared their views on what they called 'males' or guys' alcohol' such as beer, spirits, gin, and they suggested that females should not drink them. Again, they employed culture to defend their beliefs:

Ejike: In this eastern region, and [name of city] to be precise, when you see a girl drinking Gulder [a popular beer in Nigeria]... people will say ah, what is this girl doing? It's abnormal, it does not make sense, it's not good; she is supposed to be taking something like malt [a non-alcoholic drink] and leaving Gulder [beer] for men to take.... So they see it as totally abnormal that a young girl should be taking beer.

Additionally, some of the males that agreed that women should drink shared their opinions. Although the majority stated that if females must drink, they should drink sweetened alcohol such as wine, Smirnoff Ice and other similar brands, a few argued that women could drink stout due to its medicinal value. Similarly, one stated that while males should drink beer, he might allow females to drink spirits because this could help them to maintain their slim "twiggy stature", in that beer makes people's stomachs protrude. On the part of the females, diverse opinions were expressed but all of them commented that alcoholic beverages that have a bitter taste or a high ABV should be left for the men. For example, when I asked Chisalun (who had earlier said that men should drink) what men should drink, she argued that they should drink beer. As such, I probed to find out why she felt that men should exclusively drink beer, and she noted:

Chisalum: ...It is bitter and it is for guys. I have never seen on this campus a female drinking beer; rather they drink red labels like Night Train [with 17.5% ABV], Andrea... but to open beer or Guinness, girls don't drink it. They drink alcoholic wines and drinks like Smirnoff, not beer.

ED: Why do you think girls go for wine and Smirnoff and boys drink beer?

Chisalum: ...I feel in the adverts, it is only males that drink those [bitter alcohol]; although females are portrayed, but rampantly you will see guys, they will do cheers. They portray that it is unisex but I feel that the males are portrayed more during the advertisements. And here, like I said earlier, the culture [determines what to drink], the trend is that males drink beer. If you are a female and you are drinking beer, they feel you are irresponsible and you lack home training; so I feel that is why the males drink beer and the females drink wines...

All of the female participants are current users of sweetened alcoholic beverages. Many drink such beverages due to the taste and fear of people's reactions if they drink beer, but a few mix different brands. While Chimanda prefers spirits because, as she said, they make her **"get high quicker"** and help to maintain her body shape, she also drinks other sweetened beverages. Similarly, Pretty (a self-confessed female alcohol macho) drinks Smirnoff Ice but a very interesting aspect of her account is that she is aware of the danger of sweetened alcoholic drinks (Hookem-Smith, 2014). For example, she argued that although the beverages that society calls women's alcohol are sweet, most of them contain more alcohol than many of the beers that men drink:

Pretty: ...Like Smirnoff ice, which is the common and most popular alcohol for ladies, which I take often; it is about 5.5% alcohol... It doesn't really taste bitter but still it has an alcohol percentage. The taste is a little bit mild but the alcohol percentage is equivalent to or higher compared with most of the beers that taste bitter like Star. The truth is that most people don't know the alcohol percentage of Smirnoff Ice... So when people see you taking it, they think you are just taking a

soft drink because of the appearance, but we know it has a high alcohol percentage...

Regarding the belief held by men that females should drink sweetened beverages, Pretty reported that she does not support the consensus view that females should drink sweetened alcohol, stating that they should be allowed to make their own choice. She stressed that: **“everybody knows what fits him or her. If you feel you can take bitter alcohol why not take it?”**

From these accounts, it appears that some females are beginning to challenge why men occupy drinking spaces, and there is also a growing consciousness that irrespective of one's gender, individuals should be allowed to choose the type of alcoholic beverage they want to drink. Again, as has been exemplified, alcohol consumption may appear to be lower among women, especially in societies where their drinking is restrained or totally stigmatized (Montemurro and McClure, 2005), but such a restriction may open doors to different types of alcohol-related problems. In the Nigerian case, females may be drinking stronger alcohol than men (due to the higher ABV) and this they have no control over because the society sees sweetened beverages as women's alcohol.

It is worthy of note that although the majority of the men and some of the women use heavy consumption to construct their gender identity, it was revealed that none of them want their parents to know that they use alcohol. In fact, during one of the interviews, a male participant revealed that his friend's mother was angry with him because he had allowed a first year student, entrusted to his care, to use alcohol during game playing. This arguably is related to the socio-cultural belief that young people are not supposed to use alcohol in Nigeria. In the next section, I will deal with the participants' accounts of alcohol consumption and risky sexual behaviour.

7.5. Alcohol Consumption and Gendered Sexual Behaviour

7.5.1 Females' Accounts of Drinking Alcohol for Sexual Activities

Here, I will discuss the connection between drinking and sexual activities and how this culminates in risky sex, by drawing on the participants' experiences of using alcohol for sexual reasons. Although this subsection focuses on the female participants, both male and female participants identified that while some of them or their friends intentionally drink in preparation for sexual activities (Morojele *et al.*, 2006), others engage in sex spontaneously under the influence of alcohol (Sumnall *et al.*, 2007). To illustrate how alcohol is used before sexual activities, I will largely draw on Agatha's account of how she drinks before sex. This specific account is worth reflecting upon in some detail because it is a useful exemplar of how alcohol is used for sexual purposes, especially in preparation for sexual intercourse by females. I started by asking her what comes into her mind when she hears about alcohol, her drinking pattern and that of her friends. Like many of the participants, Agatha repeatedly argued that **"I am not an alcohol person"** (i.e., she does not drink too much alcohol), but she added that she drinks when she wants to do **"extraordinary things"**. It was at this point that I probed her to find out what she meant by drinking to do extraordinary things:

Agatha: ...I take alcohol maybe when I am with someone that I like and I want to feel different, I want to like feel good and feel happy [in preparation for sexual intercourse] and do extraordinary things; that's when I take alcohol. So there is an excitement I get when I take alcohol, but not any kind of alcohol.

ED: Okay, you just said you take alcohol when you want to do extraordinary things. Could you say a little more about this?

Agatha: [Laughs] it's funny, I don't want to really go into that because it is private but no problem. Kind of [pause for about three seconds], let me say sexual life. There is a kind of excitement you get when you take alcohol and you wanna have sex... You'll feel happy and you'll do extraordinary things.

ED: Can you shed more light, I mean explain further?

Agatha: Okay, like I said before, I know that when I take alcohol, it puts me in the mood, it makes me feel horny; it makes me feel like I wanna have sex... And at that moment I am happy... The way I feel when I take alcohol is not the way I feel when I don't take alcohol. When I don't take alcohol and I wanna have sex, I just have [dry] sex but when I take alcohol and I have sex, it is as if it is extended; the satisfaction is as if [paused and then demonstrates with gesticulation]; it is hard to get satisfied at that moment and you want more; you just want more of it... and you enjoy it more too.

Another interesting element of Agatha's account is that not every type of alcohol will serve this purpose. She shed light on how she tasted many types of alcoholic beverages and thereafter argued that champagne is the only beverage that makes her feel "horny", and that she drinks a whole bottle before sex. She also revealed how she had learnt this practice and narrated that she drinks in consensus with her boyfriend for sexual reasons. She argued that if she does not drink, her boyfriend will say to her: **"baby I want you to take alcohol because when you take alcohol I like the way you act"**.

Agatha's account seemingly matched Chioma's, who revealed that she **"was really so horny and all that with alcohol"**. She reported that alcohol increases her sexual urge and when I asked if she knows any other person that uses alcohol for sexual purposes she added that some of her female friends drink for sexual reasons:

Chioma: There is one of my friends; she was having her birthday party... So she took alcohol... so she was just touching herself [demonstrating with body movement], feeling very horny [laughs]; that day was funny. There was her [boy] friend... she didn't even care whether people were around her, all she wanted was someone who would touch her and sleep with her and all that.

A slightly different picture was painted by Chichi, who used phrases such as 'some people' to describe how alcohol is used by women for sexual activities. She explained that alcohol consumption helps women to relax and to be freer during sexual intercourse. She then narrated her friend's experience:

Chichi: ...Some of my friends do it; like there is this friend of mine, I know that it helps her in this sexual aspect. When it comes to sex, yeah, she needs to drink alcohol for her to be like...[laughs] relaxed to have sex with her boyfriend or do stuff very well. Yes, she has to drink and when she gets high, she can really be very active, wow [with increased voice and body movement] and that kind of stuff...

These accounts from these female participants suggest that alcohol is related to sexual activities and it is intentionally used to increase sexual urge, experience elongated sex or delayed orgasm, and to enjoy sex. Although only three of the nine females interviewed revealed that they use alcohol for sexual purposes or that they have female friends that engage in such practices, other participants showed that they are aware that being drunk can lead to unplanned sex and date rape (Cowley, 2013). The males' accounts of using alcohol for diverse sexual purposes are discussed in the ensuing section.

7.5.2. Alcohol Use and Males' Sexual Behaviour

Some people drink alcohol because it helps them get an erection when they want to have sex with their girlfriends. That's why they have to take alcohol (Chike).

The males' accounts of the use of alcohol for sex reflected complex nuances by showing that it is used for many purposes, one of which is linked to virility. Here, out of the 22 male participants, only one participant argued that he did not know about using alcohol for sexual reasons. Amongst the other 21, 13 use alcohol or know someone that uses alcohol for diverse sex-related activities, which include sexual negotiation (Abrahamson, 2004), increasing sexual urges, stimulating an erection and deriving sexual satisfaction, and to last longer. For example, alcohol not only increases Jacob's urges, it also helps him to initiate sexual negotiation:

Jacob: Alcohol gives you the boldness to approach a girl. I would say, when you drink... it allows you to make a decision [to negotiate sex with a female?]... It will

make you want to have sex... and I noticed that if you're drunk and you're with a girl, normally you feel that urge, you know, as a man, it increases the urge seriously and at the end of the day you see yourself having sex and you see yourself lasting and all that.

Similarly, Chike presented his own account by drawing a slightly different picture to show how alcohol affected sexual urges. Although he believed that alcohol could facilitate an erection, when the use of alcohol to enhance sexual urges was discussed, he said:

Chike: ...I just feel it brings down your limitations. It brings down your obstacles. It makes you less able to control your urges... Normally, every guy has a sexual urge once in a while, but on a normal day, you are able to suppress your sexual urge. But when you take alcohol it brings down the obstacles, as in, you become less able to suppress your urges. It is not only a sexual urge, it affects most urges... what alcohol does is just to make your brain very weak and make you unable to suppress some urges, of which the sexual urge is one of them.

From Chike's accounts, it can be inferred that he believes that drinking alcohol exposes the drinker to diverse actions that he may not be able to control at that moment due to inebriation (i.e., it can be used by men as an 'excuse' for poor sexual behaviour). As he identified, one of these actions is that the person is unable to suppress their sexual urge and say no to sex at that particular time but this may increase the chance of unprotected sexual activities. His account and those of the other participants reveal that diverse views are held regarding the effects of alcohol on sexual urge and erection, but none was averse to the fact that alcohol increases such an urge and that some men intentionally drink for such purposes. The following section will now turn to the use of alcohol for other sex-related activities.

7.5.3. Males' Accounts of Taking Alcohol to Last Longer and Derive Pleasure

As the previous sections revealed, while the context of alcohol consumption (e.g., bars, nightclubs, pubs) facilitates establishing contact with potential sexual partners (Abrahamson, 2004), actual consumption enhances sexual negotiation (Livingston *et al.*, 2013). This is because it boosts the confidence of both male and female users for such negotiations (Abrahamson, 2004). The majority of my participants revealed that alcohol actually improves their sexual encounters in different ways. First, I will exemplify this with my discussion with Peter.

ED: Some people I interviewed told me that guys drink alcohol to enhance sexual performance, what can you say about this?

Peter: Yes, but it's not really like... maybe when you want to do it [have sex], you rush after alcohol, but you find yourself going out [on a date] with a girl and maybe when you come back something happens [actual sex]. You just want to tell her that you're good. Alcohol does it anyway; it works.

ED: Okay, how about using alcohol to last longer during sex?

Peter: That is to enhance it, to make you do better. Definitely, I think when you take alcohol, that's when we can do better and it might just make you be a bit aggressive or something like that. So it helps, but it is not what you will be doing every time, it's occasional, you know.

Again, Las' and Buchi's accounts were in tandem with Peter's because when I asked them whether they knew about using alcohol for sex, they emphatically yelled yes and went ahead to talk more about how it enhances sexual intercourse. While Las noted that many boys use alcohol to enhance their sexual experiences, Buchi revealed that:

Buchi: ...Sometimes when you drink alcohol it makes you more active and makes you last longer [during sex intercourse]...; it makes you last longer when you perform. I mean, it makes you more active.

Although some of the male participants revealed that alcohol enhances their sexual activities, they mentioned that not every type of alcohol could be used for sexual purposes:

Boniface: Emmm...I've seen stuff like that on that sexual stuff... where a guy tends to perform better when it comes to that kind of stuff. ...I would like to agree on that but... I don't know how beer intake tends to help in sexual intercourse. But I would say that, there is this particular drink, I don't know if you have heard about it? It is called Alomo Bitters¹⁵ ...I think everybody I have met; in short, every guy I've met has told me the same thing that it helps in sexual stuff, I mean in sexual intercourse with a girl.

Fred: Normally, as in when guys gather around, they talk about stuff. They said that it works when you mix it. For example, if you take Star beer and drink garri [granulated cassava], you last longer during sex...

A very interesting part of these accounts is that when men gather, they discuss this practice and circulate stories that are learned and retold within peer groups. This appears to be how others, who may not have known or tried this practice, learn about it. With regard to how drinking can facilitate lasting longer during sexual intercourse, contrasting opinions were given by two of the participants. Although Chike had identified earlier that using alcohol could affect sexual urges, he stressed that heavy consumption of alcohol would not make the users last longer (La Pera *et al.*, 2003) but seemingly agreed that a little alcohol might improve the experience:

Chike: ...I know from the findings that I actually did that when you take excessive alcohol..., I mean when you become dead drunk on alcohol, it actually affects you; it does more harm than good for your sexual pleasure, it makes your erection weaker and it probably makes you die down faster than normal; that is if you are very high. But if you are a little bit tipsy, I think it helps...

¹⁵ Alomo Bitters is a herbal alcoholic gin imported from Ghana; it comes in 750-millilitre bottles and contains 42% alcohol by volume.

Similarly, Kelly totally disagreed and argued that, **“you even feel weak when you take alcohol”**. From these accounts, it is clear that young people use alcohol for diverse sexual purposes. While the majority drink intentionally to facilitate sexual activities, it appears that a few also engage in sexual intercourse due to the inability to take control of their sex drive under the influence of alcohol. One insightful aspect with regard to the use of alcohol for sexual purposes is that both male and female participants engage in this practice. An interesting part of these findings is the use of ‘Alomo Bitters’ as an aphrodisiac among the males. The fact that using Alomo Bitters’ is popular appears to be the result of globalization driven by neoliberal policy in Nigeria (Alos, 2000). Evidence shows that bitters are increasingly used as aphrodisiacs in other countries (e.g., van Andel *et al.*, 2012), and as Nigeria mainly imports goods from other countries, this appears to impact on Nigerian youths because sexual activity is culturally taboo among unmarried youths.

7.5.4. Accounts of how Males use Alcohol to Perpetuate a Rape Culture

Studies have revealed that while some individuals drink for sexual desire, others intentionally use alcohol to lure victims to engage in sexual activities, thus leading to sexual coercion (e.g., Devries *et al.*, 2014; Marston, 2005). One way in which this can be done is that they intentionally make their victims drink and become stupefied; thus they are unable to resist sexual advances or actual sex (Bellis and Hughes, 2004). This often results in date rape and other types of sexual assaults (Cowley, 2013) that are especially prevalent among men that have aggressive tendencies towards women (Abbey, 2011). Although many other drugs are used for this purpose (Ajuwon *et al.*, 2001), Bellis and Hughes (2004) argued that alcohol is the most commonly implicated. To gain sexual advantage of their victims, the perpetrators employ subtle coercion by pressurising their targets to drink large amount of alcohol beyond their limit (Bellis and Hughes, 2004), and one way in which this can be achieved is by buying them free drinks or persuading them to consume drinks with a high percentage of alcohol. It was revealed that seven of the male participants had either used alcohol to coerce girls into sex or knew people who had done so, while two of the females claimed to know girls who were victims. For example, when I asked Chike if he knew about

this practice, he employed indirect speech (“most guys”, “they”) to represent “others”, but from his conclusion, it appears that he is also involved in such practices:

Chike: ...Most guys do it and I have friends that do it... most of the time they do it to a girl they’ve actually wanted to have sex with and the girl probably has been refusing them sex... Probably the girl is a friend... but the girl is not willing to give in to sex... they’ll decide to just take her out under the pretext of taking her out. Meanwhile, they are trying to get her drunk because they know that when you get drunk, you become less able to suppress your urges. So when the girls get intoxicated, you find out that they are less able to resist the guys. So as guys we know about these things, so we just use them, to try and get the girls and it works....

Similarly, Boniface expressed what he believed was the main reason why men drink with girls: **“mostly, it’s to get what they want from the girls”**. Again, he employed words like **“guys like drinking with”, “they”** to represent vague others:

Boniface: Guys always do stupid things; they actually want to give the girl alcohol... so that they can make her tipsy... So, boys actually want to set them up, lay it out for them. We guys have more knowledge about alcoholic drinks obviously than girls. So they actually bring alcohol that will knock them out...

ED: Okay, why do you think boys do that?

Boniface: Sometimes they do it to take advantage of them sexually. Sometimes they just do it so that people can laugh at them, snap them on a phone and when they recover you show them their picture or video.

ED: So as you said that guys drink alcohol with girls, who do you drink with, males, females or both?

Boniface: I won’t tell lies, most guys will say they want to drink with girls, and I would say so too.

ED: Okay, why do you prefer drinking alcohol with girls?

Boniface: Okay, let me put it now that most guys actually want to drink with a girl because they feel they might have a chance with that girl sexually by making the girl drink and “dulling” [weakening] the senses of that girl.... They also follow the girl and drink.... Most guys actually have the body to withstand the effects of alcohol. Girls don’t have that kind of body. So they might follow them and drink and while the girls are drinking and getting high, they actually know what they want.

A very interesting aspect of drinking with girls with the intention of having sex with them is that those who claimed that they have never been involved in such practices shared accounts with a similar tone as those who have engaged in such acts. For example, Kelly and Las claimed that they have never used alcohol to seduce girls but they know how other males did it. When I asked Kelly to describe how men did this, he argued that boys subtly persuade girls to drink until: **“they will start getting this kind of sensation.... and sleep off. They [males] will now do whatever they want to do”**. Similarly, Las noted that it is:

Las: ...Very, very simple. You make the person tipsy or drunk so there is this little resistance both physically and mentally because I know full well that alcohol affects the brain... The majority of girls don’t take a large quantity before getting drunk. If a girl happens to take alcohol, say two to three bottles, she becomes a little bit drunk so they [males] kind of make an advance to the person, and at that time they cannot resist.

From these accounts, it appears that through the application of subtle coercion hinged on masculine pressure or persuasion, females fall victim of unplanned sex. Similarly, males apply deception (**‘take a glass, it doesn’t harm’, ‘it has only two percent’**) to lure females into drinking and becoming inebriated, and thus unable to resist sexual advances. A similar account was given by Edulim. This time he narrated the story of his friend who was raped:

Edulim: I have a friend... she told me that two boys raped her on her matric day [Fresher's Day]... She said she met these guys at [name of site] and they were like, you are new. It is like there are some boys that are good at knowing Freshers. She said ah yeah... They actually hung out and she took Smirnoff [Ice]. She took the first bottle, second, third, and the girl was no longer herself. The guys were like forcing her to take [more] and she took the fourth bottle, the next thing was that she found herself on the bed of these guys, so the two boys made love to her.

On her part, Agatha claimed that she has never experienced this **“because even when I take drinks, I always know myself”**, but this may be due to two reasons. First, as she had revealed earlier, she intentionally drinks whenever she wants to have sex with her boyfriend. Second, it may be that she does not want to use her personal experience to illustrate how males engage in such practices. This is because during the course of the interview, she reported that she had twice been drunk at different parties and fell asleep, only to wake up at the end of the parties to be told by her friends that she was carried to the bathroom and bathed (by her friends presumably to try and sober her up) before dozing off. Nevertheless, she reported that some girls known to her have been victimised. When I asked her to explain how females fall victim she noted:

Agatha: Talking to a girl and she refuses, you try to make her drunk so that you can have sex with her because when some girls are drunk they cannot hold themselves. When you touch them they can respond because that moment there is these horny feelings that come with some drinks, but in your mind you may not want to have sex with the person but you see yourself having sex with him and in the morning you get so pissed off...

Agatha's account was supported by Chioma. Like Edulim, who narrated a story from his friend's experience, Chioma also reported how her male friend was involved in the practice:

Chioma: My friend told me about this girl; he felt the girl was using him, as in wanting him to just spend his money on her and all that. He was now like okay; I will take you out if you want to go out. They went to a place [a bar]. He knows the guy [barman]... He told the guy to put plenty of alcohol that is sweet into the

cocktail so that the girl would drink it; so that the girl would get high and all that. So he did it and the girl was really high and he had sex with the girl...

ED: Okay, how did the guy explain to you the reaction of the girl when she became aware of what happened?

Chioma: When she got herself [when she sobered up], she was like what happened? How come I didn't go home? He said ah, it is not my fault. You said you wanted to go out so we did it. He was not even remorseful; he was like we did it. The girl was really sad because she felt he took advantage of her because she took alcohol.

From Chioma's story, it appears that even though males intentionally drug girls and rape them, they do not want to take sole responsibility for their actions. Rather, they want the females to either share the blame ("**you said you wanted to go out and so we did it**") or take all of the blame. This reflects the notion of the "playboy", where men employ sexual coercion and exploitation as strategies to demonstrate hegemonic masculinity in Nigeria (Agunbiade, 2014; Izugbara, 2008; 2004). Although what can be inferred from these accounts is that outright rape and sexual violence (Okenwa, Lawoko and Jansson, 2009) are prevalent in Nigeria (Antai, 2011; Izugbara *et al.*, 2008), she (and other males) omitted the use of such words. A very significant aspect of this is that some males use this to construct hegemonic masculinity and it appears that many women are not ready to report their experiences due to fear of stigmatization and also because they believe that it is happening to everybody, thus normalising the rape culture (Hlavka, 2014). These excerpts reveal the multiple sex-related roles that alcohol plays for the participants and their friends by revealing how alcohol can be used before sexual activities, its effect on actual sex (enhancement), and how it can be used to trap potential female sexual partners into having unplanned sex. I will now turn to the use of alcohol after sex.

7.5.5. Perceptions of Alcohol as a Contraceptive

The majority of the male participants and all of the female participants revealed how alcohol is used for medical purposes such as to ease pain during menstrual cycles. Similarly,

three of the participants (two females and a male) revealed that they believe that alcohol also serves as a contraceptive. Again, I will start with Chioma, who uses alcohol as medicine during her menses. She has a friend who mistakenly thinks that alcohol might prevent pregnancy:

Chioma: My friend told me that... if she has sex and maybe her boyfriend releases inside her, that he gives her stout and dry gin mixed together and she drinks it. She said it helps her; it helps her according to what she told me [to avoid conception].

ED: Okay, how did your friend learn it?

Chioma: It is on the Internet because I was trying to Google it to check whether it is true. Some people said that it is true; others said it is not. Because everybody has a different body system, so it could work for her...

Although no alcohol can serve as a contraceptive, Chioma's account shows that some people mistakenly think that some brands of alcohol can be used as a contraceptive. Her account also shows that she is curious about this practice, in that she searched the Internet to confirm her friend's story. Agatha also noted that females use spirits (locally-made), while Jacob, who mentioned that some use salt, also reported that alcohol works when you use it immediately after sex:

Jacob: ...If a girl doesn't want to get pregnant, she should take alcohol immediately after sex... After having sex, if you take a lot of alcohol...the chance of getting pregnant, I believe is low. So it's something that is common among students. When you think of contraceptives and all that, apart from drugs, that's another thing most students think of and that's what they use.

In Nigeria, pregnancy out of wedlock is generally taboo to the extent that a family can disown their female child. Similar, the bridal price of any female who becomes pregnant during courtship is reduced in some communities. With abortion being illegal, it appears that young people often resort to trial and error. When Jacob revealed that students also use salt, I asked how this is learned and he said that it is from their peers:

Jacob: When you see yourself in this situation [faced with the likelihood of your girlfriend being pregnant], you want to ask one or two questions and get to know about this.

In sum, the participants shared their experiences based on the multifaceted uses of alcohol in contemporary Nigeria to demonstrate the roles of alcohol, their lived experience and that of some of their friends.

7.6. Conclusion

This chapter has revealed detailed accounts of the participants' use of alcohol for a myriad of purposes and thus, shows the diverse and competing roles that alcohol plays in their daily lives. The central question that the chapter sought to answer is: 'to what extent does students' alcohol consumption facilitate the acquisition of social capital on an eastern Nigerian university campus and to what extent does this differ between male and female students? To answer this question, I first outlined the gender dimension of alcohol use and depicted how the male participants employ alcohol to construct hegemonic masculinity and attribute patriarchal benefits to only males, and how a few of the females in turn contest men's drinking practices and spaces. The chapter proceeded by showing that even though males use heavy alcohol consumption to construct their gender identity and gain social capital, a few obtain this honour while the majority, who might not drink as fast as the alcohol machos or be able to hold a large amount of alcohol, are categorized under subordinate masculinity.

The chapter also revealed that in the process of 'doing gender with alcohol', males distance themselves from sweetened alcohol and attribute this as feminine but this has intricate relationships with different levels of risk, in that it leads to the consumption of more potent alcohol by females. It was also found that some of the female participants are beginning to challenge hegemonic masculinity and female gender roles by employing male-gendered drinking behaviours, such as heavy drinking, to develop social capital. It was found that alcohol not only serves as an aphrodisiac, but that drinking contexts also provide spaces for sexual negotiation. Another notable finding was that some of the participants mistakenly believe that alcohol serves as a contraceptive because different alcoholic beverages or a

mixture of alcohol and other substances is used in the bid to prevent conception. It was also revealed that males, in the guise of offering free alcohol to females, lure them into sexual situations, and the participants recounted disturbing stories of sexual assault that go unreported presumably because of stigmatization. In sum, the chapter has explored diverse roles of alcohol consumption and the lived experience of young Nigerian students. It seems that alcohol has complex relationships with gender construction and it is used to enhance sexual intercourse on this campus.

Chapter Eight:

Discussion and Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

In this final chapter, I will interpret and summarize the findings of this research, drawing on the relevant literature and concepts in order to contextualize my results. First, I will summarize the findings under each research question, reflecting on how the thesis contributes to media and substance research. In the concluding remarks I will discuss the limitations of the study, areas for future research, and offer some recommendations.

The findings of this exploratory study shed light on the roles of the media in young people's alcohol consumption by investigating an understudied group of 19-23- year-old students at a Nigerian university. As the studies reviewed in chapters two and three highlighted, a polemical relationship appears to exist between media-effect scholars. While the first group argues that media exposure influence audiences (e.g., Hanewinkel *et al.*, 2014; Ruddock, 2013), the second group states that the media do not necessarily influence people's behaviours because of their ability to make rational decisions (e.g., Livingstone, 2009; Srinivas, 2002). In order to explore the impact of media consumption on my participants, I posed three questions, the first of which is: ***what role does contact with media representation play in facilitating alcohol consumption among a sample of students on an eastern Nigerian university campus and to what extent does this differ between male and female students?***

My results revealed that media exposure does influence young people to use alcohol, although this influence is intertwined with other factors that will be discussed later. All of the participants are active media users and the media play divergent roles in their lived experiences. While my participants consume television routinely, this media channel is central to their lives and thus permeates their behaviour in different ways. A notable finding is that the availability of an electricity supply determines whether they will watch television or not, in that an erratic electricity supply is one of the most common features of the Nigerian polity (Olukoju, 2004). Thus, to circumvent the problem of the erratic power

supply, participants either view their favourite programmes in public viewing spaces or they buy electricity generating sets. Using Gerbner's (1998; 1969) definition that exposure to four (or more) hours of television in a day constitutes heavy viewing, 15 of the participants are heavy viewers, while nine are light viewers and seven are moderate viewers. On their part, these participants recalled that alcohol portrayals are ubiquitous on television programmes. The findings also show the way in which my participants compared how alcohol is used in foreign media and how it is consumed in the local media. It was found that in the former, young people drink freely and alcohol scenes are always portrayed in a positive light.

By contrast, my findings show that alcohol portrayals in the Nigerian media often reveal negative effects. Similarly, the findings show that while some of these negative portrayals are meant to teach audiences the consequences of alcohol misuse, it was also revealed that portrayals where people consume too much alcohol are associated with fame or with enhancing masculine gender identity (i.e., drinking to show off). Hence, some of these negative portrayals were found to have influenced some of the participants' drinking behaviours. For example, I found that seeing young men drinking many bottles of beer in a movie could influence young male audiences to drink like the media characters. This is because, as I illustrated in chapters five and seven, among males, the higher the number of bottles one consumes, the higher his masculinity is rated among his peers. Additionally, it was revealed that portrayals in the local media, in which people drink alcohol in order to forget their sorrows and ameliorate anxiety or depression, influence men. Although these were portrayed in a negative light, they nonetheless had influenced some of the participants to use alcohol. That negative portrayals had influenced my participants arguably is an extension of the ongoing discussion regarding how the media influence young people. Among media-effect scholars, it has been established that media portrayals in a positive light affect young people's drinking behaviour (e.g., Hartley *et al.*, 2014; Hanewinkel *et al.*, 2014; Primack *et al.*, 2009) but in this study, the data showed that negative scenes can also produce positive effects, resulting in increased alcohol intake.

Another result that is noteworthy is the way in which the participants revealed that some portrayals in the local media show that the brand of alcohol depicts social status. Wine, expensive whisky and Heineken beer (assumed to be foreign) for instance, are seen at events organized by wealthy people, while locally-produced beverages are used at middle

class or poor people's occasions. This study reveals that such portrayals influenced the male participants to associate themselves, particularly with Heineken or brandy, because they were aspirational and reflected attributes of sophistication and worldliness. Indeed, this result is worth reflecting upon in some detail because it is an offshoot of what happened before Nigeria obtained its independence in 1960. While highlighting the history of alcohol in chapter one, I demonstrated that the reification of imported alcoholic beverages was engendered by the European merchants and colonial officials, who used these to purchase slaves and agricultural produce, pay workers' incentives and so forth. In consequence, imported alcohol assumed a higher status compared to locally-made beverages, to the extent that possessing empty bottles of these beverages even conferred higher status on the possessor (Heap, 2005).

Again, after independence, consuming factory-made beer was equated with being modern, while using locally-produced beverages was associated with poverty (Van Den Bersselaar, 2011). Therefore, this result has revealed a resilient consumption pattern that was engendered by the European merchants, promoted during the colonial era and carried over by westernised Natives after independence. Scholars (e.g., Cheung *et al.*, 2011) have revealed that Facebook is popular among students, and its use influences their drinking behaviours (Westgate *et al.*, 2014). By contrast, the current study found that the use of Facebook was becoming unpopular among the participants. One plausible reason is that as other social network sites have emerged, the participants are shifting their focus from Facebook to these new media.

8.1.1. Genre-specific Cultivation on Alcohol Consumption

This study also explored the cultivation effects of genre-specific portrayals on the participants. Early cultivation scholars (e.g., Gerbner *et al.*, 2006; Gerbner and Gross, 1976) focused on how the patterns of media portrayals cultivate influences and not on the effects of a specific genre. Recent studies by contrast, show that a specific genre can also influence audiences (e.g., Bilandzic and Busselle, 2012; Lee and Niederdeppe, 2011). In this study, I found that exposure to some types of Hollywood films such as action movies or trailers did not appear to promote drinking among males that prefer these genres. On the other hand,

my findings show that seeing Hollywood drama films and reality television programmes results in aspirational drinking mostly amongst females (i.e., imitating the drinking style, posture and brands that movie characters consume).

This heavy viewing not only influences females' brand preference and drinking position (postures), it also appears to have strengthened their courage to challenge patriarchal gender norms that demean females who use alcohol (chapter seven). Despite these portrayals not being direct advertisements, they did appear to influence my participants. This supports Ruddock's (2012b) findings that the power of the media goes beyond persuasions. In Nigeria, women face diverse socio-cultural constraints that shape how society views and relates to them and this affects their behaviours. For example, the idea of respectable femininity is replete in Nigerian culture and women who try to express their views are easily termed 'wild'. As these results show, exposure to aspirational images appears to promote the quest for freedom in a culture where this is regarded as going beyond one's limit. As Morgan *et al.* (2014) posited, this is as a result of cumulative or *second order* effects because "heavy immersion in a medium encourages audiences to accept the general rules of the game" (Rowe *et al.*, 2010: 304).

Furthermore, that portrayals in movies had influenced the participants lends credence to what Koordeman *et al.* (2014) revealed, that young people were more transported into having positive attitudes towards movies that portrayed alcohol in a positive light than they did with negative portrayals. Again, as Atkinson *et al.* (2013: 91-92) reported, youths see drinking behaviours of "television characters.... as a guide to what are 'normal' drinking practices", and this appears to be evident, particularly in what some of the female participants reported. This is why Stoolmiller *et al.* (2012) revealed that portrayals in Hollywood films affect young people's drinking behaviours in any location where they are exported worldwide. Although this was the case for some of the participants, such an effect of heavy viewing was not found to be present in others who did not report aspirational drinking per se although they used alcohol. This therefore supports Gerbner's (1998) assertion that even though television portrayals influence people's behaviours, their attitudes, opinions or beliefs are parts of the dynamic trajectories that affect their subsequent behaviours.

8.1.2. Men, Hollywood Movies and Embodied Drinking

It is important to note that the findings of this study extend the discussion on the effects of genre-specific exposure by revealing its gendered dimension. For example, as I demonstrated above, while females' viewing of Hollywood drama films influenced their brand preference and aspirational drinking, this was not found to be exactly the same among men. The men revealed that they had mostly learned how to play drinking games (DGs) from Hollywood's High School Musical series. Although game playing is popular among young people, there is a dearth of empirical studies on this in the Nigerian context. Additionally, even though DGs have been explored in many Western countries, no notable research was found that investigated how seeing Hollywood films engenders game playing. My participants reported that three types of drinking games (party-type, bar-type and truth or dare) are present around this campus. While the last was only reported among women, the other two were mainly played by men. I found that DGs provide spaces for the acquisition of social capital and the reproduction of masculinity (Zamboanga *et al.*, 2014a).

Another insightful aspect of these games is that alcohol not only serves as a vital substance in these embodied ritualistic games, but drinking the same type of beer also helps to reinforce friendship networks. Indeed, my findings point to the way in which the act of drinking the same brand makes it easier to judge who the real *drinking boss* (macho) is. Similarly, the loser in this game will not have any grounds on which to object to his loss (i.e., he cannot say that he lost because his brand had a higher alcohol percentage). Additionally, it helps the winner to gain more social capital (among the competitors) and sometimes physical prizes (e.g., cash from bets made before they started) through a display of superior masculinity. Again, as an extension of the former, this drinking ritual is used to gain fame among onlookers, especially females who admire machismo. It was revealed that this admiration engenders rapport that results in sexual relationships after game playing.

A plethora of studies from Western countries (e.g., Zamboanga *et al.*, 2010; Borsari *et al.*, 2003; Johnson and Cropsey, 2000) have reported that students participate more than non-student populations in DGs. It is also believed that men participate more than women, and heavy drinking students become involved in game playing more than light drinkers (Johnson and Cropsey, 2000). In the USA, scholars (e.g., Johnson and Cohen, 2004) have

argued that amongst other motives, sexual reasons motivate game players to participate, and this is because these games provide space for sexual negotiations (Hone *et al.*, 2013). Thus, as Johnson (2002) notes, DGs often culminate in sexual intercourse, either because someone (usually men) gets another person to have consensual sex with them, or another person indicates a sexual interest in him. These assertions are supported by my study because one of the prizes that game players gain is admiration from females, which can result in sexual relationships.

As the findings from this study shed light on some of the reasons for game playing, the study supports Ronay and von Hippel's (2010) result that the presence of attractive women heightens risk taking among men. That exposure to foreign media cultivates game playing among Nigerian youths has some serious implications. This is because DGs facilitate binge drinking, which has health and social consequences (Zamboanga *et al.*, 2014b). Although game playing or its consequence has not been investigated in Nigeria, media-reports show that a young man died in 2012 while participating in a DG in Lagos, south-western Nigeria (Anonymous, 2012). Again, this fits with global trends because deaths resulting from game playing are becoming more common around the world (The Guardian, 2014). Therefore, media exposure that engenders game playing contributes to the growing alcohol-related problems in contemporary Nigeria.

8.1.3. Nigerian Media, Young People and Drinking

On the other hand, it was discovered that Nigerian Nollywood movies are more popular among the female participants. Although a few males watch these films, they prefer those movies that replicate Hollywood patterns, such as High School films. Again, this has influenced a few to engage in drinking games. This lends support to Morgan *et al.*'s (2012) assertion that American culture and lifestyles that are portrayed through American media are spreading globally and thus cultivating influences on audiences. Similarly, my participants discussed that the reason why portrayals in Nigerian-made movies cultivate influence is that many of the actors and actresses are models for young people. Therefore, people may drink a particular brand or emulate the drinking style of these significant others. Although this effect may appear to be linear, it has become too difficult to ignore the fact

that young people's drinking behaviours are greatly affected by media characters that they admire (Atkinson *et al.*, 2013; Koordeman *et al.*, 2011).

8.1.4. The Limits of Cultivation Theory

In this study, the analysis of my participants' responses has, to a large extent, revealed that exposure to the media results in diverse drinking patterns among the participants. Although many other theories were considered when I began this study, the potential of cultivation analysis to go beyond the linear effects drove me to make it my heuristic choice. As Andy Ruddock notes:

With its methods for showing how storytelling naturalizes gender inequalities..., cultivation theory is a valuable... device that explains the necessity of moving beyond users' accounts of mediated social experiences to further detail how drinking assumes particular meaning within historical traditions (Ruddock, 2012a: 60).

The results of this study have shown that although the local media influence young people's drinking behaviours, the cumulative effects of Hollywood movies, to a large extent, cultivate more influence on their alcohol use.

It has been established that while the Hollywood movie industry exerts hegemonic power over other movie industries (Dickenson, 2010), as found by Stoolmiller *et al.* (2012), its movies, in consequence, have a strong influence on young people worldwide. Many Nigerian movies are now created to depict an American lifestyle, a factor that Straubhaar (2007) has referred to as the 'glocalization' of American movies. Among media and substance researchers, it is believed that product placement of alcohol and other portrayals in Hollywood movies are rife (Hanewinkel *et al.*, 2012; Hudson and Hudson, 2006). My study has attempted to explain why and how these movies influence the participants' drinking behaviours.

Additionally, whilst public health analysts and policy makers point out substantial evidence for how alcohol advertising influences young people's drinking, it appears to be difficult to prove this in motion pictures (Hunt *et al.*, 2011). This is because of their non-

persuasive nature (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986). As Ruddock (2012b) argues, the emphasis on the power of the media should extend beyond its capacity to persuade audiences. This is because portrayals in movies are potent as advertising and can lead to early alcohol initiation and risky drinking. This early initiation and risky consumption have associations with future alcohol dependence and other alcohol-related problems (McCambridge *et al.*, 2011). This is yet another reason why my findings support the assertion that the media influence young people to use substances.

Although scholars from the interpretive school of thought argue that audiences are powerful in selecting and interpreting media portrayals, they often deny the fact that the media contribute a great deal to distributing culture transnationally (Straubhaar, 2007). In fact, when the global media industry exports to local contexts, this can create tension in the receiving community. My study has shown how portrayals of alcohol in a positive light in foreign media have resulted in this tension. This is why Milkie (1999) states that those who argue that the media have no influence on people's behaviour have failed to provide means that can be employed to measure their assertions directly. In the debate over whether the media have an impact on their audiences, caution arguably has to be taken for several reasons. First, despite the fact that culture can converge, socio-cultural or ethnic differences mediate how individuals receive and interpret media messages (Milkie, 1999). Again, to my knowledge, all of the studies on this debate are either from the USA or of European origin. A few media studies on this have been conducted in developing countries, but none was identified in Nigeria as showing whether or not the media cultivate influence.

As shown in my literature review, Nigerian Nollywood is the third largest movie industry in the world, but the largest in terms of the number of films it produces monthly (Akinola, 2013; Jedlowski, 2012). Thus, Nigeria is important in global media studies. However, no study has been conducted in this regard. Additionally, Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multicultural entity. As it has been found that these diversities determine what constitute the food, drink and varied behaviours in Nigeria, they may also mediate how individuals receive and interpret media messages there too. Thus, in order to argue that the media do not have effects, large studies that cut across different countries and cultures are needed. If these studies are not conducted, the argument that the media do not influence people's behaviours will remain largely inconclusive. This is because the assertion is mainly

based on studies conducted in two continents (America and Europe), which have different cultures and lifestyles from non-western nations.

Additionally, it is clear that these studies were conducted in Western societies that produce media technologies as well as dictate how they are used. Because the participants that these scholars examined were born into spaces where media technologies are produced and distributed to other nations, they grew up seeing and using the media, and might easily perceive or judge some media portrayals as unrealistic (Atkinson *et al.*, 2013). This commonality arguably can cause some media portrayals not to be taken seriously. In developing countries such as Nigeria, over sixty percent of the populace live in villages. In consequence, they may never see, use or be exposed to most modern media unless they move to the cities for their secondary and higher education. This is mainly because of the problems with infrastructure (access to electricity and internet facilities). Therefore, seeing themselves in these no-man's lands with much pressure from the media environment, as well as from their peers, the majority of my participants are faced with this sharp social change. This arguably contributes to high consumption of the media (to catch up with events happening around the world); as such, this may possibly mediate the reception and believability of media portrayals. My central argument here is that my participants may not have developed media literacy in the same way as their western counterparts because of structural inequalities with regard to access.

Ostensibly, while it may be easy to regulate who uses or sees, or who will not use or see, different media and related technologies such as cable television, age-rated films, advertisements and so forth in Western societies, the reverse appears to be the case in Nigeria. This is because the authorities have not properly regulated most of the local and foreign media in terms of what is portrayed (Farrell and Gordon, 2012; De Bruijn, 2011). This means that children and adolescents are exposed to adult-rated films and this is unrestrained due to the multiple unregulated rental services. Additionally, Milkie (1999) notes that school policies exist in the USA in order to teach students how to be critical of media portrayals. Such a policy does not presently exist in Nigeria. With the hegemonic power of Hollywood movies, the spread and popularity of these films in Nigeria and the belief among Nigerians that things made in Western countries are superior to local ones, arguably adds to the reasons why the media influence youths to use alcohol.

Furthermore, cultivation analysis argues that television is not just a technology, but also an institution (Morgan and Shanahan, 2010). It is an institution that mass produces and rapidly distributes messages that create “product hyper-reality” (McCreanor *et al.*, 2005: 255). Similarly, Gerbner (1998) demonstrated that the media help to cultivate values and attitudes that are extant in a particular culture. This study was carried out in a cultural milieu where alcohol consumption is expected and where communal or ritualistic consumption (although primarily among adult males) is common. Therefore, it can be argued that seeing alcohol portrayals (where young people drink freely in these media channels) can reinforce the already held beliefs and everyday practices regarding alcohol use among these participants. On this ground, it can be argued that media portrayals of alcohol in Nigeria can cultivate an influence because media portrayals depict, create or replicate positive references to alcohol that reinforce extant cultural drinking practices.

In sum, although this study is exploratory in nature, I have shown that media consumption cultivates non-linear influences on young people’s drinking behaviours on this campus, and this therefore supports Gerbner’s cultivation theory, which states that the more audiences are exposed to long hours of television viewing, the more their behaviours are shaped by television facts. Although this was found, as Atkinson *et al.* (2013) reported mixed beliefs regarding media influences, my study supports this point by showing that media portrayals do not necessarily influence all of the participants. Therefore, other factors such as alcohol marketing, peer pressure, the quest for social capital and alcohol-related expectancy (West and Brown, 2013) suffice as other plausible explanations as to why students drink on this campus.

8.2. Effects of Electronic Media Advertisements on Drinking Behaviour

Internationally, alcohol consumption is recognized as a gendered behaviour, but several factors engender the drinking behaviours of male and female users. One of these factors is alcohol marketing. Among students, evidence shows that they use alcohol more than their non-student counterparts, but factors such as alcohol marketing (advertisements and promotions) that facilitate an increase in availability on campuses engender higher consumption of this drug amongst students. While an avalanche of literature on the effects

of alcohol advertising and promotion exists in relation to some Western countries, this was not found in sub-Saharan Africa. In the Nigerian context, only a few quantitative studies were identified. As reviewed in chapters two and three, many of these studies conducted outside Nigeria (e.g., Bosque-Prous *et al.*, 2014; Gordon *et al.*, 2011; Babor *et al.*, 2010; Jernigan, 2010) point to the fact that alcohol marketing facilitates an increase in alcohol availability, as well as use and misuse among young people and other vulnerable groups. Therefore, to examine the effects of alcohol marketing on my participants, I asked: ***what roles do alcohol advertising and promotion play in young people's drinking behaviour on an eastern Nigerian university campus and to what extent does this differ between male and female students?*** Indeed, I found that there is a great deal of alcohol advertising in the electronic media, especially on television, and the effects on students' drinking behaviours are clear.

To a large extent, the findings reveal that all of the 31 participants were aware of the rampant electronic advertisements and they were able to clearly state the reasons why marketers advertise their products. My participants identified that advertisements are aimed at encouraging individuals to initiate alcohol consumption (i.e., among non-users) or to drink more alcohol (among current users). Importantly, the findings show that alcohol advertisements often focus on young people, and this encourages students to drink alcohol. This is because the advertisements not only portray sophisticated images that appeal to young people's culture, but marketers also use models that young people identify with. This supports Gordon *et al.*'s (2010) report in which they state that alcohol marketing that uses images that appeal to young people in the UK has a great effect on their drinking behaviours.

The female participants in this study shared general understandings of alcohol advertisements on the television by recalling that masculine images are mainly portrayed, although a few reported that females are beginning to be used as advertising models. As such, the women identified that masculine images are portrayed on the electronic media because beer is advertised most. Among the men, I discovered that they are more exposed to alcohol advertisements on the television than their female counterparts, and the main reason for this is that they watch live football games more than the women. A body of literature conducted outside Nigeria (e.g., Adams *et al.*, 2014; Cody and Jackson, 2014;

Graham and Adams, 2014; Babor *et al.*, 2010) and within Nigeria (De Bruijn, 2011; Obot and Ibanga, 2002) revealed that alcohol producers sponsor different football clubs and advertise their products during live games. Although the effects of these alcohol portrayals during sporting activities have not been examined in Nigeria, O'Brien *et al.* (2014) reported that such portrayals predicted hazardous drinking among university students in the UK. This effect was reported among the men in my study because they revealed that seeing alcohol portrayed on the television, particularly in viewing centres where men use alcohol to either share in camaraderie while supporting their favourite teams or to ameliorate anxiety when their teams are losing in a game, encourages alcohol use.

One of the notable results that, to my knowledge, has not been reported elsewhere, is that alcohol serves as a ticket to access some football viewing centres. Aside from the frequent and sophisticated alcohol advertisements and product placement during football matches, the men identified that Heineken and Guinness marketers operate special football viewing centres and the criterion to view matches in these centres is to buy their products (e.g., Heineken beer or Guinness products). In chapter five, my participants reported that due to the erratic electricity supply in Nigeria, public football viewing centres are popular. Thus, I found that alcohol marketers use these viewing centres as a marketing tool to attract football fans to these venues.

My results revealed that this has a myriad of serious implications. For example, it can lead to heavy episodic drinking. This is because, as the men identified, one of their drinking motives during football matches is to ameliorate anxiety (which is linked to my findings that point to the way in which alcohol is shown to be a powerful source of comfort when depressed or worried) when their teams are losing in a game, and therefore they are likely to consume a large quantity of alcohol in less than two hours (a football match is less than two hours). This is especially because beers in Nigeria are sold based on the liquid content only. Unlike in the UK (and many other countries), where one buys for example, a bottle of beer and can take the bottle away, a buyer in Nigeria only buys the liquid content and not the bottle. Hence, any bottle of beer bought in Nigeria must be consumed at the spot so that the seller can retrieve the bottle(s). Similarly, as found in Western countries, bars in Nigeria do not sell beers in standardised glasses but in 60-centilitre bottles and more recently in cans.

Therefore, men will consume a large number of bottles during football games when their teams are losing in a game. In a similar vein, this may result in excessive consumption among football fans when the team they support wins. This is because as alcohol was identified as an embodied artefact in male's football fandom (team supporters often drink together and in most cases the same brand), easy access to this substance in these viewing centres may facilitate use and misuse (Scholes-Balog *et al.*, 2013; Babor *et al.*, 2010) because alcohol is used to celebrate success in Nigeria.

Generally, I found that the men had more concrete knowledge of electronic advertising messages. To a large extent, they were able to either recall specific advertising messages or recite the exact message that appealed to them from memory. Again, this confirms what Odejide *et al.* (2008) found in south-western Nigeria, where a participant recited an advertising message that he had seen from memory. With regard to how electronic advertisements influence the participants to use alcohol, it was revealed that although knowledge of alcohol was reported among both men and women, its effects were greater on the men. Importantly, I found that seeing alcohol advertisements on the television motivated men to taste new products, try existing products (they have never used), or change their brand to the one advertised. Among the women, only one reported that a Guinness advertisement had influenced her drinking behaviour. One plausible reason for this difference is that alcoholic beverages that are categorized as men's alcohols are advertised more in Nigeria.

Relatedly, I discovered that the reasons why some of the participants admired alcohol advertisements, especially those for Guinness and Gulder, was because of the uniqueness of the advertising models and the aspiration of becoming champions as the advertising message reads. That some participants identified with electronic advertising messages due to the models portrayed in the adverts supports Milkie's (1999) assertion that significant others play major roles in determining how media messages are received and interpreted and how they affect the receivers' behaviour. This is why Ruddock (2012a) notes that for alcohol advertisements to cultivate influence, the audiences must be active receivers, interpreters and believers of those advertising messages. On the other hand, drinking alcohol due to identifying with a favourite alcohol advertisement confirms a recent study of adolescents in four European countries (Morgenstern *et al.*, 2014). Indeed,

Morgenstern *et al.* (2014) revealed that being able to name one's favourite advertising message was associated with binge drinking among adolescents. Among those who were exposed to alcohol advertisements, my findings show that this also predicted brand preference and allegiance. This supports Tanski *et al.*'s (2011) report that a preference for a particular brand in connection with its advertisement resulted in binge drinking among USA adolescents.

8.2.1. Effects of Outdoor Advertising on Drinking Behaviours

This study also explored the effect of outdoor advertising on young people's drinking behaviours. Although electronic advertisements were found to be popular, all of the participants also revealed that outdoor advertising through the use of posters, billboards, and alcohol-branded paintings on the fences of bars was frequently used around this campus. Other outdoor advertising strategies that they identified included vehicle advertisements and the use of youths to dance around and advertise beer brands. These results support de Bruijin *et al.*'s (2014) report, which states that 50% of the outdoor advertising in the Nigerian city they investigated was through posters.

The effect of outdoor advertising on young people has attracted scholarly attention internationally because it makes sale outlets more visible and easily accessible and also facilitates young people's use and misuse of alcohol. For example, in the USA, Pasch *et al.* (2007) revealed that exposure to outdoor alcohol advertising within the school environment resulted in young people's intention to use alcohol. The seriousness of this influence was that it also affected the intention to use alcohol even among those who had never consumed alcohol. Similar results were reported in Germany, where exposure to alcohol advertising predicted the intention to drink, alcohol initiation and binge drinking (Morgenstern *et al.*, 2011).

As the results of this current study show, both male and female participants reported that these marketing strategies have major effects on their use of alcohol because while marketers bring advertisements closer to the campus, they also employ other marketing strategies such as alcohol promotion (I will explicate this below). As discussed in

chapter six, high numbers of alcohol sale outlets within the school environment provide spaces for outdoor advertisements where posters are used to decorate the fences of bars. The participants recalled that the fences of some bars are also painted with colours and images of beer brands, and this influences their drinking behaviours. For example, the men reported that they were able to recall the appealing messages they saw on posters when they had the urge to drink and subsequently they went to the bar to engage in actual drinking. Here, what cultivation theorists call a second-order (cumulative) effect is played out (Kean *et al.*, 2012; Gerbner, 1998). This is because these participants did not immediately use alcohol due to the media portrayals they saw, but when they had the urge to drink, the media images they had accumulated worked hand-in-hand with alcohol availability to engender actual consumption.

8.2.2. Effects of Alcohol Promotion on Drinking Behaviours

Evidence shows that young people are targeted everywhere by advertising, promotions and so forth (e.g., Babor, *et al.*, 2010), which are now embedded in everyday life. Therefore, to understand how young people are influenced, it is not enough to look only at television because it is very difficult to unpack one influence over another. This is especially because we live in a cluttered media landscape, especially in comparison to Gerbner's time. Indeed, research shows that alcohol promotion is one of the most potent marketing strategies that alcohol producers employ. For instance, Jones *et al.*'s (2007) study in Australia reported that alcohol promotions, where the prices of alcoholic beverages were reduced, and items such as branded T-shirts, caps, free drinks and free tickets to events were given to winners, encouraged alcohol use among students. My findings show that alcohol promotions frequently take place around the campus. The awareness is high and the effects on the students are clear. Unlike alcohol advertisements, the effects of which are higher among males, promotions influence both males and females to use alcohol in different ways. I found that promotional strategies, where people can win free bottles or crates of beer and in which there is a reduction in the price of alcoholic beverages, were more frequent. Other promotions, such as raffle draws where individuals can win cash, refrigerators, electricity

generating sets, tickets to brewer-sponsored social events and cars, were also discussed by my participants.

With regard to how these promotions influence their drinking behaviours, my findings revealed that promotions that involve free drinks have more effect on men to the extent that many reported having initiated drinking a particular beer or drinking more than they intended to on a drinking occasion. This is because as beer brands are promoted more, males use such opportunities to drink more free alcohol or spend less on large quantities of alcohol. De Bruijn (2011) reported that alcohol promotions that promise to offer free drinks resulted in the intention to drink among adolescents in Uyo, south-southern Nigeria. Elsewhere, Raciti *et al.* (2013) revealed that the strategy of buying more and paying less was associated with the intention to buy alcohol among university students. This is why Jones *et al.* (2007: 478) argued that alcohol promotion encourages “a culture in which excessive alcohol consumption is seen as a norm”.

Similarly, the results suggest that promotional activities that involve winning branded paraphernalia (e.g., T-shirts, umbrellas, fridges, cash and cars) result in alcohol initiation and use and misuse among both genders and support a USA study that found that owning or desiring to own promotional items predicted alcohol initiation among students (Henriksen *et al.*, 2008). Although the men were more interested in drinking free alcohol, they also reported that they increased their alcohol use in terms of number of bottles due to the huge and attractive prizes that promoters promise to offer. Among the females, an unexpected result is that they switched over to new brands (although only on a temporary basis) in a bid to win promotional items. This has not been identified in other studies and might suggest that alcohol marketing acquires specific meaning within particular contexts. Casswell and Maxwell (2005: 349) stated that marketing “messages are received and understood in the contexts of the recipients’ lived experience”, and, as my participants reported that people drink more in order to win these prizes and secure their future (due to the poverty level in Nigeria), it can be argued that the extant poor economic conditions in Nigeria may be motivating young people’s participation in promotional activities.

Importantly, the motivation to drink in order to win prizes often results in excessive consumption that is deleterious to health and social wellbeing. This is particularly because

as each promotion lasts for two to three months, people are likely to engage in binge drinking on each drinking occasion in the quest to win seals or codes that are concealed under the crown corks (not every crown cork contains winning codes, thus the more you drink the more likely you are to obtain a winning code). A similar result was found in relation to how tobacco promotion engenders higher consumption in Nigerian adults (Tafawa *et al.*, 2012).

8.2.3. Effects of Alcohol Outlet Density on Drinking

All of my participants argued that the main reason why alcohol promotion is happening regularly around this campus is because of the many bars, hotels and nightclubs within the study environment that provide ready-made venues for marketing. The data reveal that numerous bars, hotels and nightclubs are located around this campus while eateries inside the school also sell alcohol. In passing, I asked questions about how my participants' drinking behaviours might be affected if they all lived in school halls and the consensus view was that their drinking frequency or quantity would be reduced. As highlighted in chapters two and four, this is because alcohol is not sold inside the university halls. Therefore, the distance from the halls to off-campus sale outlets may discourage alcohol consumption. Abikoye and Osinowo (2011) reported that living in off-campus accommodation predicted alcohol use among students in south-western Nigeria.

Internationally, evidence shows that alcohol-related harm increases with the availability of sale outlets and their density. For example, in the USA, it was revealed that an "alcohol outlet was a potential risk factor on the route children follow to school" (Milam *et al.*, 2012: 8) while "clear and significant associations were found between some measures of accessibility such as proximity to specific types of outlets (off-sales) and high consumption among adolescents" in Scotland (Young *et al.*, 2012: 126). In Switzerland, it was reported that alcohol-related deaths were associated with how close alcohol outlets were in the neighbourhood (Spoerri *et al.*, 2013). Therefore, it is believed that one of the best ways to reduce use and misuse of alcohol is to regulate the concentration of outlets, reduce the availability and curtail easy access (Gruenewald, 2011), but instead, alcohol outlets are increasing around this campus, thus facilitating its use and misuse.

8.2.4. Female Alcohol Promoters and the Consequences

Additionally, I found that alcohol producers have recently introduced new beers (and some ready-to-drink sweetened beverages) to the Nigerian market. In consequence, marketers employ sophisticated branding, advertisements combined with promotional activities, to recruit consumers. The unique feature of this new product development is the way in which female students are used to promote these products and other existing beers in bars around the university. The use of females to promote alcohol has not attracted much scholarly attention internationally, but as I showed in chapter six, a few studies from Asian countries have examined the social and health implications of this practice. My study found that female students are recruited and used to promote alcohol and their role is mainly to encourage bar patrons to buy (or buy more) alcohol while their payment is based on how many crates of beer they are able to sell. Importantly, this finding reveals a calculated marketing strategy because of the gendering of alcohol in Nigeria. This is because in the traditional era, females did not drink alcohol, and even in contemporary Nigeria my participants demonstrated that beers are categorized as men's alcohol.

Webber *et al.* (2012) and van der Putten (2011) reported that female beer promoters in Asia often drink with their male customers on the condition that the latter will buy (or buy more) alcohol from them. Similarly, it was revealed that these female promoters face sexual violence (Webber and Spitzer, 2010). These implications of promoting beer are arguably present among these Nigerian beer promoters. This is because it was revealed among the males that buying beer from female promoters constitutes the first step to initiating sexual negotiations or relationships. Again, as it was found that their payment hinges on the quantity of beer they are able to sell, these female beer promoters are likely to be coerced into unwanted sexual relationships, as was found by Lubek (2005). If this happens, they are likely to be exposed to a higher risk of sexual violence, which may go unreported due to the stigma attached to rape in Nigeria (Fawole *et al.*, 2002). They also risk contracting HIV and other STIs, as was reported among these Asian beer promoters (Webber and Spitzer, 2010).

With regard to why women agree to be used as beer promoters, I found that the “quick cash” they are expected to make engenders this practice, but evidence shows that female beer promoters are underpaid (Lubek, 2005). This is why OI (2011) noted that although the practice of using women to promote beer is a boon to alcohol companies or their marketers, it leads to many forms of exploitation. As was revealed by Ruddock (2012a), I found that the poor economic situation in the country that orchestrates a lack of wherewithal necessitated the acceptance of jobs of promoting beer by these students.

8.2.4. Gulder Ultimate Search (GUS) Reality Television Show

Another key finding of my study is the impact of the GUS, a brewer-sponsored reality television programme, on young people’s drinking behaviours. My data analysis in chapter six reveals that this programme is targeted at young people, because to participate one must be between 21 and 30 years of age and another criterion is buying some cans of Gulder beer. Additionally, I found that the GUS is not only popular among youths; adults also participate because of the fan-based edition in which audiences can win a number of gifts such as cash and cars. Here, the findings show that viewing the GUS on television or participating affects people’s behaviour in diverse ways. While the desire to gain fame, cash and cars encourages youths to participate, actual participation demands that the potential participant must pass certain screening exercises. One of these exercises is to come to the screening venue with many empty recently used cans of Gulder beer. While commenting on marketing activities in Nigeria, Farrell and Gordon (2012) reported that alcohol companies engage in activities that contravene international marketing standards and clear evidence was found for this in my study.

Second, among the audiences that watch the GUS on television, their drinking behaviours are affected because to win the fan-based items, it is necessary to drink Gulder beer in order to uncover the winning codes concealed under the crown corks or can lids. Although, to my knowledge, no study has investigated the effects of this reality television programme in Nigeria, Blair *et al.* (2005) showed that alcohol is highly endorsed by reality television reality (in countries where this has been examined). Another way in which the GUS can influence drinking is that it is directly sponsored and produced by an alcohol

company. The viewers are not only faced with multiple scenes of product placement, but they also regularly see direct Gulder advertisements throughout the programme. This confirms Hudson and Hudson's (2006: 492) assertion that advertisements and product placement, in which brands are increasingly “embedded into storylines” of television programmes and other entertainment, are some of the marketing strategies employed by companies that produce controversial products.

8.2.5. Why Young People are against regulation of Alcohol Promotions

One of the unexpected results of this study is the positive evaluation of alcohol promotions among my participants. Generally, they revealed that promotions encourage young people's use and misuse of alcohol, but surprisingly, none stated that promotional activities should be stopped or regulated. Indeed, the main reason they gave is that alcohol producers are helping to alleviate poverty by offering financial and other material gain to winners during promotions. The fact that young people do not want promotions to be regulated confirms Ruddock's (2012a) assertion that marketing strategies can be a red herring tool that is used by alcohol companies to divert attention away from alcohol-related harms. This result also relates to Umoh *et al.*'s (2013) finding that those who consume alcohol do not support the formulation of alcohol policies that may reduce alcohol availability. The belief that alcohol producers are alleviating poverty may be one of the reasons why advocacy that may engender alcohol control policies has not been initiated in Nigeria (Dumbili, 2014b).

Because it is believed that transnational alcohol producers employ sophisticated measures to manipulate the public (Jernigan, 2012), they may be cashing in on the positive appraisal of these promotions to supplant initiatives that may result in the formulation and implementation of evidence-based alcohol policies in Nigeria. In sum, this study has shown that although young people's motivation to drink alcohol in order to win prizes mediates their consumption, the increasing postmodern marketing strategies that are turning Nigerian universities into consumption sites (instead of knowledge producing sites) are to a large extent responsible for students' use and misuse of alcohol. These findings show that among my participants, marketing activities promote alcohol use among both men and

women. Electronic advertising affects mostly men but promotional strategies appear to influence both genders in diverse ways.

8.3. Alcohol and Gender Identity Construction

The results in this section shed light on the use of alcohol for the (de)construction of social identity amongst Nigerian students and provide answers to the third research question: ***to what extent does students' alcohol consumption facilitate the acquisition of social capital on an eastern Nigerian university campus and to what extent does this differ between male and female students?*** Internationally, researchers have established that men drink more (e.g., Emslie *et al.*, 2009; Rahav *et al.*, 2006; Wilsnack *et al.*, 2000) and report more alcohol-related problems than women (e.g., Wells *et al.*, 2014; Emslie and Mitchell, 2009). Indeed, Holmila and Raitasalo (2005) note that the gender difference in alcohol consumption symbolizes and regulates gender roles in many societies. All of these studies were conducted in Western countries. As such, the findings of the present study are novel to alcohol research in Nigeria. As shown in the studies I reviewed in chapters one and two, youths' and women's alcohol consumption in Nigeria is culturally restrained, but my study reveals a range of drinking patterns that are motivated by gender (de)construction.

Essentially, the female participants revealed that they drink socially (i.e., for fun or pleasure) because alcohol is used during social events such as at student parties and the quantity that they consume on such occasions is usually moderate. Although they acknowledged that alcohol plays a vital role at parties because without alcohol, parties would not be fun, none of the female participants drink with the intention of getting drunk at parties. This extends what Frederiksen *et al.* (2012) revealed in Denmark and confirms that "drinking alcohol is inherently a social practice strongly associated with pleasure and celebration" (Lindsay, 2009: 371). The results of the current study concur with the findings of Mamman *et al.*'s (2002) study in south-western Nigeria, in that they point to the way in which women use alcohol (stout) for medicinal purposes, particularly during their menstrual cycles. Again, this supports Rolfe *et al.*'s (2009) result that self-medication is one of the motives for women's alcohol consumption in the UK.

The data elicited from the men, by contrast, point to the ways in which alcohol consumption practices and drinking spaces are used for the acquisition of social capital and the (re)production of hegemonic masculinity. Although men also engage in gendered social drinking and use alcohol to establish and strengthen friendship networks (Emslie *et al.*, 2013; Iwamoto and Smiler, 2013), their drinking practices at parties and in other drinking spaces are motivated by masculine gender norms and roles. My findings show that men drink to gain social capital, to establish or maintain superior masculinity among their peers, and also to win the admiration of female peers, with whom they may end up in sexual relationships. As such, hedonistic drinking practices, whereby men go to parties with the intention of participating in DGs, consuming large quantities of beer and acquiring social capital, mediate their drinking patterns and motives.

Relatedly, as Peralta (2007: 747) found that men drink for “liquid courage” (i.e., courage that emerges from alcohol) and Mullen *et al.* (2007) revealed that some men drink to boost confidence, I found that men drink at parties to gain the confidence to approach girls and initiate a sexual relationship. One of the most notable findings was that even though frequent and excessive drunkenness was found in men, they were unwilling to use the word- “drunk” during the interviews. Rather, I found that embodied in men’s drinking career is “getting wasted” or being “knocked out”. The fact that men intentionally drink to get drunk is replete in the literature concerning both young (Iwamoto *et al.*, 2011) and older men (35-50 years Emslie *et al.*, 2012)). Furthermore, it was found that parties provide men with space to participate in DGs. Here, the fastest drinker or the drinker that can drink the most (measured in terms of number of bottles) wins the game.

Participating in DGs is also motivated by a quest for social approval for being a “strong man”, or “someone who drinks well”, especially among female party attendees, and this often results in sexual negotiations. This is why it is argued that heavy drinking students (Zamboanga *et al.*, 2013), especially playboys (Iwamoto *et al.*, 2011) participate in game playing. Importantly, my results show that men tend to restrict game playing to only men in the party-type DG. Despite the fact that women come to parties as social drinkers, the results show that they will not be involved in DGs. This is because as beer is used for the contests, it will be perceived as unfeminine for women to drink beer or play such games in spaces that are presumed to be men’s.

8.3.1. Alcohol as a Marker of Gender Identity

Similarly, my data show the role of alcohol in men's construction of their gender identities, but this is not related to game playing (i.e., outside of game playing which I discussed above). The findings reveal that the ability to drink large quantities of alcohol without showing any sign of intoxication serves as gender accomplishment (Peralta, 2007) because other men see the alcohol macho (i.e., someone who uses heavy alcohol use to demonstrate his masculinity) as possessing superior masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Although men reported that they drink in friendship groups, as found by Emslie *et al.* (2013), drinking spaces (e.g., bars) provide the opportunity to distinguish oneself as an alcohol macho among one's peers (Willott and Lyons, 2012).

Similarly, my study supports Mullen *et al.*'s (2007) research and Peralta's (2010: 383) "collective intoxication", in that a certain level of intoxication is expected and appreciated among friends. This is because among my male participants, heavy drinking appears to be expected and tolerated, while those who abstain or drink a little alcohol are said to be displaying inferior masculinity or are described as feminine (De Visser and Smith, 2007). Therefore, the use of "subtle coercion", as evidenced by my participants' expressions of how deviation is punished through ridicule- "you are dulling" (i.e., someone who deviates from group norms), was evident. The fact that abstinence is seen as a sign of weakness has previously been reported in Nigeria (Ibanga *et al.*, 2009), but this study's findings are significantly different from those previously obtained. As my literature review shows, in the traditional era alcohol was used for pleasure (among adult males). Although alcohol consumption was associated with pleasure in this epoch, factors such as age, gender, religion and so on mediated who would drink, and when and where alcohol would be drunk (Heap, 1996; Odejide *et al.*, 1989). Indeed, outright hedonistic drinking was prohibited while intoxication was punished (Oshodin, 1995).

Furthermore, this study shows that in men's drinking careers, the number of bottles a drinker can consume on a drinking occasion is what counts, rather than the potency of the alcohol itself. Therefore, in order not to be seen as possessing inferior masculinity, some men will change from alcohol that has a high ABV to a brand with a lower percentage, in

order to drink more bottles than their friends, remain competitive and maintain their position as alcohol machos. This supports what Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 839) rightly noted, that “hegemonic patterns of masculinity are both engaged with and contested as children grow up”. That alcohol is indicative of manliness has been long established (Emslie *et al.*, 2009; Mullen *et al.*, 2007; Peralta, 2007), but one channel that appears to encourage and continue to cultivate this age-old assertion is the media (Lyons *et al.*, 2006), where masculine images are regularly employed in advertising and other similar portrayals. This is why Hartley *et al.* (2014) argue that one of the ways in which young people in the UK *do gender* is through drinking and media portrayals (where alcohol consumption is associated with being powerful) amongst other things are the predictors. This is because the media have often served as channels for disseminating and internalizing meanings that have been culturally assigned to alcohol (Lyons *et al.*, 2006; Lemle and Mishkind, 1989).

Other related results reveal that men employ patriarchal cultural beliefs, moral reasons (Skeggs, 2005) and a belief that women possess fragile bodies to occlude them from alcohol consumption. Here, the idea of respectable femininity (Griffin *et al.*, 2013) is reproduced among men. Even in a culture of intoxication, personal beliefs and values may determine lower consumption or total abstinence. Therefore, not everyone who lives in societies where drinking is normative will use heavy drinking for the construction of social identity (Peralta, 2007). This was evident in my study because a few of the participants mentioned that although they do not support abstinence, they will not consume large quantities of alcohol just to impress their peers because this is a sign of those who are learning to drink alcohol. Be that as it may, this group may also be considered as constructing gender/social identity because they do not want to be seen as inexperienced drinkers.

This study also explored whether women ‘do gender’ with alcohol. In relation to this, I found that even though it was generally believed that men should drink or drink more, some of the female participants talked about how they question the practices that occlude them from alcohol consumption. To Lyons and Willott (2008: 696) “gender and identity are performative, negotiated and tied to community of practices” and because gender is fluid, alcohol consumption has become one of the ways in which women (de)construct their

gender identity and challenge traditional gender roles in Nigeria. One of them, for example, recalled how she drinks large quantities among her peers, and this helps her to gain social capital. She even noted that because she is a 'strong person', she can drink more than many men without showing any sign of intoxication.

Indeed, another female offered a feminist argument, noting that women are presidents or ministers in some countries. She added that some women are bosses or leaders in some organizations and that it is normative for men to obey them in such spaces of "managerial masculinity" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 853), while some even earn more money than men. Therefore, they should be allowed to drink alcohol unhindered. Peralta (2007: 753) reveals that women do not "espouse gender pride" in drinking but some of my female participants use drinking large quantities, being able to "hold their drink", knowing girls that drink large quantities or drinking spirits to espouse gender pride. According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 853), individuals have the "capacity to deconstruct gender binaries and criticise hegemonic masculinity", and this can be said to be what young women are doing with alcohol consumption in Nigeria. Although these women do not advocate females' abstinence, as Lyons *et al.* (2014) found, they nonetheless do not want women to drink beyond their limits. This is because this would be seen as a transgression of femininity (MacNeela and Bredin, 2011).

8.3.2. Gendering of Alcohol Beverages

Another finding shows that although some of the men identified that women may drink, they stressed that women should not drink beer or spirits because this is associated with maleness (i.e., men's alcohol). These men noted that sweetened alcoholic beverages, which they tagged "alcohols for people with light brains", should be used by any woman who wants to use alcohol. This lends credence to the fact that beer and similar alcoholic beverages are regarded as male's alcohol (Lemle and Mishkind, 1989) and females that use them may be termed feckless or transgressors of femininity (Emslie, Hunt and Lyons, 2015). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 840) note that although "hegemonic masculinity is based on a practice that permits men's collective dominance over women to continue", it does not connote the use of violence. Despite the fact that hegemonic masculinity does not connote

violence, Connell and Messerschmidt add that it may be bolstered by force and this is played out in the way in which men restrict women to sweetened alcohols.

Relatedly, the women also expressed emphasised femininity (Peralta, 2010) in the way in which they reported that beer or spirits should be a male preserve, while sweetened alcoholic beverages should be used by women. Again, taste and socio-cultural beliefs, which are intertwined, were some of the reasons the women provided. Three important elements of this finding are worthy of mention. First, even though men do not approve of women's beer consumption, they argued that women could use stout on medical grounds (during their menstrual cycles). Second, it was found that men, due to sheer ignorance of the potency of sweetened alcoholic beverages, believe that these should be consumed by women. Importantly, I found that women are knowledgeable about the percentage of alcohol in these beverages. These findings show that women, in reality, may be drinking more alcohol than men think they are, due to the high ABV of wine and other sweetened alcoholic beverages.

8.3.3. Reason why Women are Drinking Alcohol

Many factors have been suggested as accounting for the reason why women are drinking heavily in modern society, and one of these is that women are increasingly engaging in activities that were men's preserve. Previously male-dominated occupations are now being occupied by women and they are also engaging in leisure activities that were once the preserve of men (Day *et al.*, 2004). According to Holmila and Raitasalo (2005: 1767), women now adopt "male values and behaviour patterns, and their freedom as individual consumers has increased". With the growing alcohol marketing that targets them with female-friendly alcohol (Obot, 2013), the contemporary culture of intoxication among youths (Measham and Brain, 2005) that is becoming globalised, it appears that some women on this campus now consume large quantities of alcohol and use this to redefine and challenge gender identities.

Another factor that is arguably responsible for the changing patterns in alcohol consumption among the females in this study is that women may have begun to question the double standards regarding alcohol drinking practices. For example, Igbo culture requires that in every traditional marriage, the bride must be given a cup of alcohol (after

libation has been poured) and then walk quietly around the guests and pretend to search for the groom. When she finally finds him, she passes the cup to him and the latter drinks from it. He then returns the remaining drink to the bride to finish. At this point, the guests applaud and appreciate them with monetary and other gifts. Then, after this public display, the marriage is consummated. While this same bride, who drank openly in public (although only a small quantity), will be termed feckless (a few days later) if she consumes alcohol afterwards, the man will be praised for being a real man.

As my data reveal, some of my female participants recounted being permitted to drink during traditional social events. This confirms Obot's (2000) finding that in the traditional era, youths consumed alcohol during festivals (although under the watchful eyes of adults). Therefore, the double standards regarding alcohol consumption (where one can drink in one context and be restrained in another) create tension among young women in the face of contemporary youth culture, which is embodied in heavy alcohol and other drug consumption for fun or leisure (Griffin *et al.*, 2013; Plant, 2008).

Another insightful aspect with regard to the use of alcohol to do gender is that although my male and female participants use alcohol to establish, maintain and challenge gender roles on campus, none of them would want their parents to know that they drink alcohol on campus and this is related to the resilient cultural norms whereby alcohol consumption is a feature of eldership (Heap, 1998). Thus, one participant mentioned how his friend's mother had become angry and disappointed in him because he had allowed a younger friend entrusted to his care to get drunk in a drinking contest. This is why this study is different from other studies conducted in Western societies such as Denmark (e.g., Järvinen and Østergaard, 2009), where parents permit their children to drink, get drunk and learn not to transgress or exceed their limits.

In sum, because hegemonic masculinity (and femininity) is subject to change, studies have shown that in a particular context, individuals may construct masculinity and femininity differently, thus demonstrating the essence of multiple masculinities and femininities (Peralta, 2007; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). In the Nigerian setting, this study shows that what men and women draw on to construct gender identities differ. While some use how fast they can drink to prove their maleness, others use how many bottles

they can drink to prove their gender identity. My findings show that although men and women use alcohol to construct their gender identities, a clear difference exists among them.

8.3.4. Motivation to Use Alcohol for Sexual Activities

This study also explored the uses of alcohol for sexual purposes and the motivation for such uses among the participants and the findings show that young people use alcohol for diverse sexual purposes. Although the relationship between alcohol and sex has been explored in many countries (e.g., Kahler *et al.*, 2014; Scott-Sheldon *et al.*, 2010; Bellis *et al.*, 2008), no study was identified that focuses on the motivation to use alcohol for sexual purposes in Nigeria. Here, I found that alcohol is intentionally used to enhance sexual urges, facilitate and elongate erection, increase libidinal efficacy and prolong sexual intercourse. Alcohol also serves other purposes, such as to increase men's aggressive behaviour during sex, to derive sexual pleasure and as a contraceptive.

This study reveals that women and men intentionally drink in preparation for sex. This confirms Kahler *et al.*'s (2014) and Bellis *et al.*'s (2008) findings that individuals drink with the intention of having sex afterwards. Among the females, the study shows that they consume alcohol to delay orgasm. Among the males, similar reasons were elicited because they argued that not only does alcohol serve as an aphrodisiac, but it is also used to prolong erection, which is expected to culminate in sexual satisfaction. Scholars (e.g., Frith, 2013; Lavie-Ajayi and Joffe, 2009) argue that orgasm is often a sexual climax that individuals long for during sexual intercourse. As research shows that men attain orgasm faster than women (Opperman *et al.*, 2013; Frith, 2013), the result that women intentionally drink to delay orgasm is surprising. Indeed, when sexual intercourse is extended beyond its natural limits, friction (injury) may occur to a man's sexual organ. Bellis *et al.* (2008) noted that this may engender the contraction of sexually transmitted infections.

Importantly, the results show that even for sexual purposes, alcoholic beverages are gendered. For example, I found that for improved efficacy, specific brands of alcoholic beverages are used for sexual purposes. Because women's and men's alcoholic beverages

are gendered in Nigeria, women use champagne (and other sweetened beverages). Men use Alomo Bitters and other beers, but this has some implications. First, the quest for sexual pleasure via alcohol consumption may result in binge drinking. Second, unprotected sexual intercourse with casual partners is possible (Lyons *et al.*, 2014; MacNeela and Bredin, 2011; Morojele *et al.*, 2006). Another notable result is the gendering of motivations to use alcohol for sexual purposes. This is not to repeat what has been said before, but I found that pleasure enhancement motivates women. Among the men, in addition to pleasure seeking, they use alcohol to demonstrate their presumed masculine gender superiority. This can be deduced from their responses with regard to why they use alcohol for sexual purposes: **“to show the girl that you are good”**; **“to be more aggressive”**, **“to be more active”**, etc. Of course, Izugbara's (2008) assertion that sexual exploits are used to construct superior masculine gender identity in Nigeria is played out here while alcohol is the actual enhancer of sexual prowess.

Another unexpected result of my study is that alcohol (or a mixture of alcohol and other substances) is used in the misconception that it can prevent pregnancy. Scholars (e.g., Agunbiade, 2014; Agha, 2009; Smith, 2000) have stated that although sexual activities among young Nigerians are increasing, pregnancy out of wedlock is generally taboo. Again, the gender disparity manifests in the ways in which males and females are treated. While the man who is responsible for the pregnancy may only be ridiculed (although in some communities he may be mandated to marry the female if he confesses to the act), the pregnant female is often rejected by her family. This is due to the social stigma that this attracts to her and her family. This appears to be one of the reasons why women resort to the use of alcohol and other substances such as salt, which they believe can prevent conception. Meanwhile, the men argued that for this to be effective, large quantities must be used immediately after sex. Again, the desire to prevent pregnancy can encourage binge drinking.

Additionally, it was revealed that spirits (locally-made) or a mixture of spirits and stout are used. This exposes these women to potential health problems because locally-made spirits in Nigeria contain high ABV (Kehinde and Olusegun, 2012) and they are often produced at unhygienic sites. These findings show that sexual activities give men social capital and that may be why they use alcohol and other substances to facilitate the

acquisition of such capital, but this appears not to be the same for the women, who may be seeking more pleasure and satisfaction. As such, this partly answers the third research question, which explores the extent to which alcohol facilitates the acquisition of social capital and how this differs among male and female students.

8.3.5. The Role of Alcohol in Sexual Violence

Another notable result of this study is that men not only use alcohol to enhance sexual pleasure and performance, they also use alcohol to ensnare unsuspecting women and rape them. Internationally, the role of alcohol in sexual violence is replete in the literature (e.g., Devries *et al.*, 2014; Abbey, 2011). Nigeria is a cultural milieu where having multiple sexual partners is normative among adult males. Despite the fact that sexual intercourse among unmarried youths is taboo, Izugbara (2008) identifies that sexual abstinence among young males is seen as a sign of weakness that attracts ridicule and disrepute among peers in contemporary Nigeria. Therefore, to gain social capital among their peers, young males use diverse means to pursue sexual exploits, and one of these appears to be intentionally pressurising women to drink with them and then rape them. Again, this partly provides an answer to the research question that explores the way in which alcohol is used to enhance the acquisition of social capital among the participants (although only the males acquire such social capital).

In Brooks' (2014) study in the UK, it is evident that women are aware of drink spiking and thus apply caution when they drink in public spaces. In my study, the findings show that men do not use spiking drugs. Rather, they employ embodied masculine persuasion to lure their victims to drink or drink more than their limits and then rape them when they are inebriated. One main reason why this appears to work is that as men occlude women from using beer due to patriarchal beliefs, the latter consume sweetened alcoholic beverages that are more potent than the beers that men drink. Although my findings show that some women are aware of the potency of these sweetened beverages, others do not have such knowledge. Similarly, despite the fact that coercing females to drink alcohol in order to take advantage of them constitutes violence (Cowley, 2014; McKie, 2003), I found that the men did not perceive it as such. Instead, they regarded it as fun or a way of gaining from their

“investment” in the women (i.e., a way to recover the money spent on drinks). Hlavka (2014) found, that in the USA, young women do not report such rape cases because they believe that it is happening to everybody, but Fawole *et al.* (2002), in Nigeria, revealed that rape cases are not reported because women are afraid of the inherent stigmatization, and this appears to be the same in my study. This arguably normalises what Hlavka (2014) called a rape culture in contemporary Nigeria. Having synthesized the findings of this study, I now turn to the concluding statements in the ensuing section.

8.4. Concluding Remarks

Throughout this thesis, I have focused on exploring how, and to what extent, media exposure influences youths to use alcohol on a Nigerian university campus. Importantly, the thesis examined how heavy viewing of television and exposure to Facebook and YouTube influence youths’ drinking behaviours. My concern was to explore how these students interpret and make meaning of the messages they receive from the media and how these mediate their subsequent drinking behaviours. Although this was the crux of my study, I also explored how other factors such as alcohol marketing, gender identity constructions, personal motives and peer influences are part of the trajectories. This study found that media consumption, especially television exposure, could be linked to alcohol use among many participants. Here, my study established that although locally-produced films influence these youths, foreign media have more effect on them.

This study not only contributes to the ongoing discussion regarding how the media influence audiences, it extends the existing research by studying an understudied group, especially with a qualitative method that cultivation research has not substantially benefitted from internationally. Amongst other contributions, my thesis advances the debate regarding how positive portrayals influence drinking behaviour by establishing that negative portrayals can also produce effects. This result does suggest that the media are powerful contributors to the rising alcohol consumption in Nigeria and raises concerns for interpretive media scholars who argue that the media do not necessarily affect audiences.

Furthermore, the study found that alcohol marketing engenders alcohol initiation, use and misuse among young people. Because marketing techniques are increasingly used on campus, they encourage alcohol use and misuse. Amongst other reasons, the mass poverty in Nigeria encourages youths to participate in alcohol promotions. My findings also suggest that alcohol producers take advantage of the lack of alcohol control policies in Nigeria to engage in practices that contravene international alcohol marketing standards. These findings are in agreement with previous studies that found that alcohol marketing increases alcohol availability, use and misuse internationally. It also furthers discussions on how transnational alcohol industries use strategic promotional methods and social responsibilities to circumvent regulatory measures that can engender stricter regulations.

Additionally, I discovered that youths engage in gendered identity constructions through alcohol consumption. Importantly, resilient socio-cultural beliefs in which men assume that alcohol is only good for males while females should not drink so as to maintain respectable femininity were found. In a similar vein, the study found that women challenge gender drinking norms through the use of alcohol in order to deconstruct them. Here, I found that the use of alcohol to maintain or challenge gender drinking norms creates health and social risks for both men and women. The health risk is overconsumption while the social risk is that women are not being seen as properly occupying their gender roles. As such, some women drink in secret (to avoid being tagged feckless) and drink sugary drinks, but this creates further health risks. As this thesis suggests that some young people are drinking harmfully, it confirms previous research on how gender identity constructions through heavy alcohol use create risks for young people. Although it is generally believed that Nigerian women do not drink much alcohol, I found that some young women who use alcohol in contemporary Nigeria engage in risky drinking behaviour. Therefore I support Palmer's (2013: 9) assertion that "hegemonic drinking" should replace hegemonic masculinity because some women in contemporary Nigeria are engaging in heavy drinking.

My study also found that alcohol consumption has an impact on sexual behaviour. Although this was found in both the male and female participants, media consumption was not directly responsible for this relationship. Rather, the motivation for pleasurable sexual experiences or gender constructions engendered alcohol consumption before sex. Although this practice exposes these youths to different levels of risks, their motivations blurred their

appreciation of the risks and confirmed previous studies' findings regarding how drinking motives create risks for young people. It also extends the discussion on how alcohol misuse results in sexual violence against women by revealing how the gendering of alcoholic beverages heightens rape and sexual violence.

8.4.1. Limitations of the study

One main limitation of this study is that it is exploratory. Thus, the data were elicited from 31 participants who were recruited through a non-random sampling technique and collected in one university campus. Although qualitative studies do not necessarily involve a large sample size, nor are they designed to be scientifically generalizable, the views expressed by these 31 youths may not necessarily represent those of other young people in this or other regions in Nigeria. In contemporary Nigeria, individuals gain admission to university before they reach the age of 16 years (the government approved age) unlike the situation before private universities became popular in the early 2000s. Therefore, as people who are younger than 18 years of age were not part of the population included (due to ethical considerations), the findings may not reflect their views.

Additionally, cultivation analysis often examines how heavy viewing of media correlates with subsequent audiences' behaviours. As such, it involves studying a large sample with quantitative methods in order to examine diverse variables among diverse media audiences. Although, as I have revealed, scholars are now applying qualitative methodologies to cultivation analysis because of their inherent advantages, this is still at a preliminary stage. Additionally, some of the participants in this study may have over- or underestimated how they consume each media channel.

Another weakness of this study is that I succeeded in using only one method to collect data in the main fieldwork. Although an observational technique was used in the pilot study, this could not be employed for the main data collection. The fragile security in the study area meant that I could not observe the students' night-time parties and nightclubs where a major type of drinking game and other ritualistic drinking take place. In a similar vein, focus group discussions could also have yielded data with other nuances if they

had been conducted, but this was not feasible. The difficulties in recruiting willing participants and the sensitive nature of alcohol due to socio-cultural beliefs that young people should not drink were some of my constraints.

Another limitation is that I could not find a similar study to build on in Nigeria. Globally, only a few studies have qualitatively explored young people's alcohol use with cultivation theory. In the Nigerian context, while alcohol research is still growing, sociologists appear not to have taken an interest in addiction science. As such, I not only encountered the problem of inadequate qualitative literature on which to build, but I also faced methodological problems. Previous studies would have been beneficial because, as cultural differences impact on alcohol use globally, studies that have subjectively examined a similar topic in the same cultural setting would have been helpful to build upon. At the same time, I could argue that the unique nature of the study means that I have made an original contribution to media and substance research, not only in Nigeria but also internationally. Although in chapter four I pointed out that my gender may have impacted on the outcome of this study, nevertheless I will re-emphasise that as a male researcher, my gender may have influenced the responses of the female participants, especially regarding issues of sex and alcohol consumption. Similarly, this may also have influenced the responses of the males, in that they may have been doing gender, and boasting about how much they could drink and over-estimating it.

8.4.2. Implications and Recommendations

As it is clear that the media influence alcohol use, I recommend that it might be appropriate to formulate and implement policies that will make it mandatory to teach pupils in primary and secondary schools courses on media literacy. Milkie (1999) notes that school policies exist in the USA in order to teach students how to be critical of media portrayals. The Ministry of Education, which is directly in charge of curriculums, should create a similar policy and ensure that it becomes one of the subjects that are studied in Nigerian schools. This will help adolescents to develop (media) critical skills that will guide them through adulthood. These will equip them to exercise caution while receiving, interpreting and using media messages.

Because alcohol marketing was found to be one of the main contributors to alcohol use and misuse, it would be laudable and timely for alcohol marketing activities to be regulated in contemporary Nigeria. Indeed, as there are no alcohol control policies in Nigeria (Dumbili, 2014a; Umoh *et al.*, 2012), urgent steps should be taken to address this lack. Evidenced-based policies that regulate alcohol marketing and availability should be formulated and implemented. Nigeria should adopt the World Health Organization's 2010 policy document and adapt it to fit the local culture. The Gambia has regulated alcohol advertisements on its national television and radio stations (World Health Organization, 2013); therefore, a similar policy should be implemented in Nigeria. This is because it has resulted in lower alcohol exposure to young people (De Bruijin *et al.*, 2014). Again, South Africa has proposed a total ban on alcohol advertising (Jernigan, 2013; Parry *et al.*, 2012); I would argue that similar measures are needed in Nigeria. This is because even though Nigeria's alcohol consumption is close to that of South Africa, Nigeria's unrecorded consumption is one of the highest in the world. Therefore, if a country such as South Africa is strengthening the loopholes in its policy, Nigeria, which has never seriously regulated alcohol, should emulate these efforts. To ensure that effective policies are formulated, alcohol industries and their representatives should be prohibited from being part of the policy process; otherwise their vested interests will encourage ineffective policies.

Although the advertising code in Nigeria prohibits outdoor advertising close to schools, this regulation is not enforced. It is surprising that different outdoor advertising facilities such as posters are pasted conspicuously in the eateries located inside this campus. This necessitates close monitoring of alcohol marketing activities to ensure adherence to the rules by the marketers. As the results showed that students do not want promotional activities to be regulated because of the presumed poverty alleviation benefits, the government should create employment for these youths. This is because the fear of unemployment after graduation engendered participation in many of these promotions even among those who would otherwise not have participated. Most importantly, as Alomo Bitters and other herbal drinks that are used as aphrodisiacs are not produced in Nigeria, the regulatory authorities, especially the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), should reconsider their licensing.

There is a need to pursue evidenced-based educational campaigns aimed at reorienting youths regarding the risks of alcohol in all of the higher education institutions in Nigeria. This is because, as personal motives and peer pressure mediate alcohol consumption, such policies will help to promote abstinence or encourage safer consumption among this group. Again, women need to be informed (through the mass media) about the danger of using sweetened alcoholic beverages as this endangers their health. Additionally, campaigns that target men's use of sweetened beverages to facilitate their predatory behaviour, which promotes rape culture, should be pursued in Nigeria. Educational campaign that will teach men that this behaviour is wrong should be pursued in Nigeria. Women should also be encouraged to report rape cases to the police so that the perpetrators will face justice. To achieve this, there is a need to constitutionally and socio-culturally redress the patriarchal belief system that creates gender social inequality in Nigeria.

8.4.3. Suggestions for Further Research

This study has explored the interrelationships between media exposure and young people's alcohol consumption in a Nigerian university and highlighted numerous gaps that will necessitate further research in the following directions. There is a need to employ qualitatively-driven sequential mixed-method approaches to examine how media exposure cultivates alcohol consumption among youths and other populations in Nigeria. It is worthy of note that the participants discussed how Nollywood movies portray multiple alcohol scenes in connection with crime, violence and campus cultism. As George Gerbner's cultivation analysis was originally used to examine crime profiles in America, it would be laudable if cultivation analyses were employed to examine how media exposure might cultivate alcohol-induced crimes or other deviant behaviours in Nigeria. This is especially important because of the rising crime, violence and social unrest that are evident in contemporary Nigeria.

As my findings revealed that young people have diverse motives for drinking, more comparative qualitative studies that build on my study should be conducted to explore youths' drinking motives in all of the regions that make up Nigeria. This is paramount

because the differences in culture determine who drinks (or does not drink), what is drunk, and where and how alcohol is used in Nigeria. This will help to proffer holistic solutions to alcohol-related problems in Nigeria. Studies that focus on why and to what extent Nigerian universities are becoming consuming sites instead of knowledge producing citadels should be conducted. This is because, as my participants reported, multinational companies that produce alcohol and other products sponsor student and faculty events and use these opportunities to market their products.

Studies that explore why empty cans of Gulder beer are one of the criteria for GUS participation should be conducted in Nigeria. This is particularly vital because, as this contravenes international marketing standards, only substantial empirical evidence can inform policy that will redress it. There is a need to explore further what motivates students to use alcohol as a contraceptive, as this result is novel both locally and internationally. Similarly, there is a need to further qualitatively investigate the association between ready-to-drink alcohol and sexual violence against women, and how this encourages rape culture in contemporary Nigeria. This could help to inform sexual education campaigns that can enhance knowledge about contraception, sexual violence and risks. The participants are shifting their focus from Facebook to other SNSs, and some revealed that they see alcohol portrayals on other SNSs; future studies should include as many SNSs as possible.

Throughout this thesis, I have explored the extent to which young people on this campus engage in diverse embodied forms of ritualistic drinking. While it was clear that the media contributed to this outcome to a great extent, my findings also reflected on how other factors such as personal motives and peer influences are parts of the trajectories. Therefore, to understand young people's drinking behaviour in contemporary Nigeria, there is a need to draw a big picture that will integrate inter alia: media consumption, personal motives, peer influences, and socio-cultural and familial factors. I therefore conclude that, this picture can only be painted fully by studying this group subjectively, rather than using the fixed-choice methods that are popular among Nigerian substance researchers.

Finally, I came to this project as a researcher who was strongly rooted in quantitative research. Having gone through the rigours of a qualitative study by exploring how my participants constructed their drinking stories, my orientation has changed. I now have a

better understanding with regards to why alcohol consumption is a pleasurable social activity with multiple consequences and why qualitative research can provide the rich detailed texture of everyday life of young people. I have also suggested some areas for further research and hope that other Nigerian substance researchers will join me in exploring these suggestions in the near future.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Letter of Approval from Nigerian University

**OFFICE OF THE DEAN
STUDENTS' AFFAIRS**

OUR REF: [REDACTED]
TEL: [REDACTED]
e-mail: [REDACTED]

DATE: 11th May, 2012

The Ethical Committee

Through:

The School of Social Sciences
Brunel University
London
England

RE: EMEKA WILFRED DUMBILI
Registration No: 1130692

This is to certify that the above named student of your institution and in the Department of Sociology and Communication has been permitted to carry out his study among students of [REDACTED] University. You may please give him every assistance and encouragement.

Thanks,
[Signature]
Prof. [REDACTED]
Dean

DEAN:

Appendix 2: Brunel University Ethical Approval Form

2

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH ETHICS CHECKLIST- Sociology and Communications (Effective 1 Oct 2007)

If the ethics submission relates to staff research for which an application to an external funding agency will be/has been made, then please complete and submit the full University ethics submission form.

Section I: Project Details

1. Project title: Media, Alcohol Consumption and Young People in Nigeria

Section II: Applicant Details

2. Name of researcher (applicant): Emeka Dumbili
3. Student ID Number: 1130692
4. Status (please circle): PGR Student
5. Discipline: Sociology and Communications
6. Email address: Emeka.dumbili@brunel.ac.uk
7. Telephone number: 07448244520

Section III: For Students Only

8. Module name and number: PhD Thesis
9. Brunel supervisor's or module leader's name: Dr Lesley Henderson
10. Brunel supervisor's email address: Lesley.henderson@brunel.ac.uk

Supervisor: Please tick the appropriate boxes. The study should not begin until all boxes are ticked:

- ☒ The student states that he or she has read the Brunel University Code of Research Ethics.
☒ The topic merits further research.
☒ The student will possess the skills to carry out the research by the time that he or she starts any work which could affect the well-being of other people. He or she will be deemed to have acquired such skills on passing the relevant research skills module.
☒ The participant information sheet or leaflet is appropriate.
☒ The procedures for recruitment and obtaining informed consent are appropriate.

Please confirm the professional research ethics code that will guide the research (please circle)

ASA/BPS/BSA/Other (please state) _____



Supervisor's signature

3/2/13

Date

Section IV: Research Checklist

Please answer each question by ticking the appropriate box:

	YES	NO
1. Does the study involve participants who may be particularly vulnerable and/or unable to give informed consent, thus requiring the consent of parents or guardians? (e.g. children under the age of 16; people with certain learning disabilities)	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>
2a. Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited?	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>
2b. If the answer to Question 2a is Yes, then will the study involve people who could be deemed in any way to be vulnerable by virtue of their status within particular institutional settings? (e.g. students at school; disabled people; members of a self-help group; residents of a nursing home, prison, or any other institution where individuals cannot come and go freely)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Does the research involve observational/ethnographic methods?	* <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Will the study involve discussion by or with respondents or interviewees of their own involvement in activities such as sexual behaviour or drug use, where they have not given prior consent to such discussion?	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>
5. Are drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>
6. Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>
7. Is pain or more than mild discomfort likely to result from the study?	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>
8. Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>
9. Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing?	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>
10. Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>
11. Will the study involve recruitment of patients or staff through the NHS?	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>
12a. Have you undertaken this study as part of your work placement?	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>
12b. If your answer to Question 12a is Yes, then have the employers at your work placement conducted their own research ethics review?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Does the research involve MRI, MEG, or EEG methods?	<input type="checkbox"/>	* <input type="checkbox"/>

Give a brief description of participants and procedure (methods, tests used etc) in up to 150 words

The research will be conducted among young people who are between the ages of 18 and 23 years. The participants will be drawn from student population of Brunel University

The university, through the office of the Dean of Students' Affairs has given the ethical approval. The study will be in two phases. Firstly, I will do a quantitative survey and a pilot qualitative study. This will be followed by the second phase which will be entirely qualitative. Here, I will conduct interviews and focus group discussions. The participants will be drawn from the population of those who completed the first survey.

Name of Principal Investigator at Brunel University (please print): Emeka
Dumbili

Signature of Principal Investigator at Brunel University: 

E-Mail Address: Emeka.dumbili@brunel.ac.uk

Date: 29 January 2013

This request for expedited review has been: ☒ (1) Approved (no additional ethics form is necessary)
(2) Declined (full University ethics form is necessary)

Signature of School Research Ethics Officer: 

Date: 5/2/2013

Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet



Brunel University

Sociology and Communications

Participant Information Sheet

Title of Student's Research Project:

Media, Alcohol Consumption and Young People in an Eastern Nigerian University Campus

You are being invited to take part in a student research study. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

This PhD study aims to examine the role of the media in influencing how young people use alcohol and to document how, why, where and when young people drink alcohol.

2. Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you are aged between 18 and 23 years and have identified yourself as someone who consumed alcohol at least once in the last month.

3. Do I have to take part?

No. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do, you will be given this information sheet to keep and asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are free to withdraw at any time prior to your data being incorporated into the dissertation (Friday 18th July 2014), without giving a reason.

4. What will happen to me if I take part?

You will take part in an interview that will last between 45-90 minutes. You will be asked to share your opinions and experiences generally about alcohol, specifically about event promotion, sponsorship and advertisement of alcohol in the media.

With your permission, I would like to record your conversation with an audio recorder.

5. What do I have to do?

You will be asked to sign a consent form, and the research will then take place at a convenient time and place for you.

6. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

Some of your time will be needed to do the research.

I (Emeka Dumbili) will use any direct quotations from interview in a non-attributable way, by removing any references which might identify you as an individual. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time up until the data is incorporated into the Thesis (Friday 18th July 2014), without giving a reason.

7. What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There will be no direct personal benefits for you.

8. What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should speak to the student (Emeka Dumbili, Email: Emeka.dumbili@brunel.ac.uk; Phone: 08037613697 or +447448244520), who will do his best to answer your questions.

You can also contact my supervisor Dr Lesley Henderson whose details are given at the end of this sheet.

9. Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

Yes. All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Any information relating to you, such as transcripts, will have your name removed so that you cannot be recognized from it. Every effort will be made to use anything that you say in a non-attributable way, so that your identity is not revealed.

10. What will happen to the results of the research study?

The findings of the study will be included in my PhD Thesis and publications.

Thank you for reading this information sheet, and for considering taking part in this study. If you decide you would like to take part in the research, you will be given a consent form to sign indicating that you have read and understood this sheet, and understand what will happen. You will be given a copy of that consent form and a copy of this sheet to keep. In case of any problem, please contact my supervisor in the Department of Sociology and Communications at Brunel University:

Dr Lesley Henderson

Postal address: Department of Sociology and Communications, School of Social Sciences, Brunel University, Kingston Lane, Uxbridge, Middlesex UB8 3PH.

Telephone: +4401895265459

E-mail: lesley.henderson@brunel.ac.uk

Appendix 4: Consent Form



Brunel University
Sociology and Communications

Consent Form for Interviews

Title of project:

Media, Alcohol Consumption and Young People in an Eastern Nigerian University Campus

Name of student: Emeka W. Dumbili

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the 'Participant information sheet' for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time prior to my data being incorporated into the dissertation (Friday 18th July 2014), without giving a reason.

3. I understand that anonymised data collected during the study may be read by the Thesis supervisor, staff and students affiliated with Brunel University.

4. I give consent for what I say in the interview to be audio-taped.

☐

5. I give consent for direct quotations from the interview to be used in the written products from the study. I understand that any quotations will be used in a non-attributable way.

☐

6. I agree to take part in the above study.

☐

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Emeka W. Dumbili

Name of student taking
consent

Date

Signature

When completed, one copy for the participant; one for the researcher

Appendix 5: Interview Protocol

Department of Sociology and Communications

Brunel University, London, UK

Interview Protocol



Housekeeping

1. I am Emeka Dumbili, a PhD student in Sociology and Communications Department, Brunel University. My study aims to examine media, alcohol and young people.
2. I am interested in your opinion, views and experiences of using the media such as the TV, Facebook and YouTube and also alcohol as a young person. Please note that there is no such thing as right/wrong responses; so, feel free to give any answer you know, speak your mind, give examples or elaborate wherever you think that will be helpful.
3. This interview is totally anonymous and whatever you say will be kept strictly confidential. The only persons that will see the audio-recordings are my academic supervisors. In case there is any publication either in the form of final thesis or journal article, you will not be identified.

4. If this is okay with you, please I would like to audio-record the interview. Please feel free to ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time you wish. You can also stop the interview at any time you wish, and you can decline to answer any questions.
5. Please can I check your age, ethnic background, and religious affiliation? What about your year of study and faculty? Could you please tell me where you live in school? I mean, off campus or in the school hostel?

Questions on alcohol and media

1. As someone who has tried drinking alcohol in the past. When you hear alcohol, what comes into your mind? What do you mean by alcohol? So, how can you describe your alcohol use? I mean, is it daily or something else? Please tell me, how would you describe responsible drinking? Do you have any friends that drink alcohol? How can you describe your friends' drinking pattern? Do you think the amount you drink and the pattern differ from your female/male friends? Please clarify, what do you think that might be the cause of the differences?
2. So how much drink would you normally consume in a drinking occasion? I mean the quantity? What kind of alcoholic beverages do you drink? Could you say why you prefer that particular beverage(s)? What do you like 'most/least about alcohol? Please tell me a little more about this.
3. About how long do you spend watching television in a day/week? Please tell me, do you also use Facebook and YouTube? How can you describe how you use Facebook or YouTube? I mean, like how long do you spend?
4. Where do you see alcohol adverts? When do you see it most? How often do you see it? How could you describe alcohol adverts and promotions on this campus? Please explain further.
5. How would you describe alcohol advertising, promotions and marketing in Nigeria generally? Do you watch any alcohol advert on TV, Facebook or YouTube? Why do you watch it?
6. Do you know any brewer-sponsored events in Nigeria? Please can you name the ones you know? Have you ever taken part in any of these events? Please tell me,

why you participated? If opportunity calls again, will you still participate? Tell me why will you participate (or not participate)? How has your knowledge of alcohol adverts and promos in any way affected your drinking habit? I mean, has the knowledge affected your decision not to drink more or to drink more alcohol?

7. As you made mentioned of some of the brewers-sponsored events you know, in your opinion, are there aspects of these events that influence people to use or not to use alcohol in Nigeria? Why do you think such can influence people to drink/not to drink? How can you describe the Nigerian home video and portrayal of alcohol? I mean, how is alcohol scene portrayed? Can you describe how young people act or appear in drinking scene? Can you describe how such portrayal may affect people's drinking culture?
8. Is there any situation you find yourself drinking more alcohol than you would have liked to? What really happened? I mean what led to that? Can you tell me a bit more about that situation? How did you feel about it later on? Since then, has it happened again? Like how many times has it happened? Please tell me more about this.
9. Would you say alcohol plays any significant role in your daily life? I mean, what do you get out of consuming alcohol? Could you please tell me what your friends feel about you drinking alcohol? What if you don't drink, how will they feel?
10. Tell me about the last time you took little more drink than you usually drink? Who were you with? What happened, I mean what led to that? How did you feel about it? Now tell me, how did your friends react? I mean, were you laughed at or cautioned because you were drunk? Ok, what about other students? I mean, did any other person outside your friendship group know about your drinking and getting drunk? How did they react about this? How would they have reacted if you were a male/female? Could you tell me if this particular situation has any effect on you? I mean, those that are not your friends, how do they see you ever since then?
11. Who do most people in this area think should drink alcohol? Females? Males? Based on your experience, is that the way you feel too? Please tell me more about this? Ok, if it is male/female, what quantity should females/males normally drink? You said earlier that alcohol should be drunk by males/females only, could you say what type of alcoholic beverages they should drink? Why do you think so?

12. In your experience, what can you say are the possible outcomes of drinking too much alcohol? Are the same outcomes applicable to females/males? Have you experience any such thing? Can you mention the ones that have occurred to you? Like how many times have you experienced them? How do you feel about this occurring to you?

Thank you very much for giving up your time to answer my questions. Can I finally ask: is there anything else we have not covered in this interview that you feel you can add?

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