Let´s have a drink, "my friend"!

The portrayal of alcohol-related posts on Instagram

through Dutch social media influencers

Masterthesis

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<u>Acknowledgments</u>

<u>Abstract</u>

Purpose. Previous studies have investigated that peers share alcohol-related content on social networking sites (SNS) and that the exposure to these posts significantly contributes to young people´s alcohol consumption (Chen, Grube, Bersamin, Waiters, & Keefe, 2005; Glassman, 2012; Ridout, 2016). It is argued that posts of peers are similar to posts of social media influencers (SMI) (i.e., third-party endorsers, who have a broad reach on SNS (especially Instagram) and potential impact on other users) (Audrezet, De Kerviler, & Moulard, 2018). Because of the potential impact on users, influencers are also used as a marketing tool by alcohol companies. Hence, regulations for the presentation of alcohol on social media and influencers were embedded in the Netherlands. Since academic research is lacking regarding the portrayal of alcohol through Dutch social media influencers on Instagram, this study was performed including four main objectives: the characteristics of alcohol-related posts, the commercialization in the post, user engagement and the regulations regarding alcohol display on SNS in the Netherlands.

Method. A quantitative content analysis was conducted from 120 Dutch social media influencers. Per profile, four posts (for each season) were extracted in which alcohol was portrayed. During the actual screening process, visual as well as textual components of the posts were extracted, grouped into five categories: profile of the influencer, visual and textual referral, alcohol portrayal, and laws. In total, 37 variables were coded, and around 37000 comments were manually extracted and analyzed.

Results. Analyses explored patterns in these alcohol depictions and relationships between characteristics of these posts, the influencers' characteristics and users' engagements. This study examined that alcohol is mainly portrayed in positive social contexts by Dutch social media influencers. In general, branded content was limited so were educational slogans. Furthermore, if a brand was visible, disclosures of cooperation's with alcohol brands were not clearly recognizable.

Conclusion. Given that SMI are perceived as peers, whom young people aspire, alcohol exposure can affect young people`s drinking behavior. Hence, more awareness should be created among influencers and policy makers regarding the exposure to these alcohol-related posts on Instagram.

Keywords: alcohol portrayal, social networking sites, Instagram, social media influencers, influencer marketing, alcohol regulations, advertising code

Abbreviations

ACAB   Advertising Code for Alcoholic Beverages

ACSMIM   Advertising Code for Social Media and Influencer Marketing

DGP   Digital Guiding Principles

e-WOM   Electronic-word-of-mouth

SMI   Social media influencers

SNS   Social networking sites

STIVA   Stichting Verantwoord Alcoholgebruik (Association for the Responsible

                Consumption of Alcohol)

UGC   User-generated-content

WHO   World Health Organization

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<u>Introduction</u>

Despite a commonly signed **European Action Plan** to reduce harmful drinking of alcohol from 2012 – 2020, a recent study by the World Health Organization (2019) (WHO) reports that the European Union still has the highest alcohol consumption per capita globally. Even though in the Netherlands, the legal consumption and purchasing age is 18 years, people start drinking by the age of 14-15 years. Additionally, almost half of the Dutch population of 16-year olds has already done binge drinking (Netherlands Institute of Mental Health and Addiction, 2017). The consequences of drinking alcohol can increase the possibility of accidents, abuse, and brain damages (World Health Organization, 2019). Especially earlier drinking habits, in other words, minors or adolescents consuming alcohol, enhance the chances of alcohol dependence and accidents (Hingson & Zha, 2009; World Health Organization, 2019).

The reason for these **earlier drinking habits** and a higher consumption of alcohol in general (Anderson, De Bruijn, Angus, Gordon, & Hastings, 2009; D. Jernigan, Noel, Landon, Thornton, & Lobstein, 2017) is the reoccurring exposure to alcohol advertisements on traditional as well as ubiquitous digital media like the social networking sites (SNS) Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and Instagram (British Medical Association, 2009; Winpenny, Marteau, & Nolte, 2013). SNS have become established in peoples' everyday life (Bruhn, Schäfer, Schwarz, & Lauber, 2011; Sharma & Verma, 2018), where particularly **Instagram's popularity** steadily increases among the Dutch population. With over 2,7 million daily active users in the Netherlands, mainly young people between 15-19 years, are using this platform to create content and communicate with each other (Newcom Research & Consultancy, 2019). Niland, McCreanor, Lyons, and Griffin (2017), for instance, researched the portrayal of alcohol on the social media channels Facebook and YouTube and found that pro-drinking behaviors being displayed enhance the adolescents' drinking desire. Furthermore, Noel, Babor, and Grady (2018) investigated the relationship between alcohol-related Twitter content and the willingness to consume alcohol among young adults. As a result, users shared alcohol-related content frequently, and the amount of alcoholic "tweets" was analogous to the consumption and usage of alcohol among these young adults.

The findings from these studies are in line with the social learning theory (Bandura & Walters, 1977), which emphasizes that observations of certain behaviours result in imitating that behaviour.

Moreover, the alcohol industry can benefit from these SNS as a communication instrument in order to reach out to the company's target groups, trying to create awareness towards specific products or the brand itself (Khamis, Ang, & Welling, 2017; Koordeman, Anschutz, & Engels, 2012; Nirschl & Steinberg, 2018; Noel & Babor, 2018; Winpenny et al., 2013). To do so, a common marketing tool are social media influencers (SMI) promoting the company´s products (Ju, 2018; Socialbakers, 2019).

Owing to the rise of Instagram, SMI have become more popular by publishing photos and videos about their "daily life" (Socialbakers, 2019). This daily life includes drinking wine with friends at dinner, celebrating someone's birthday, or presenting a new outfit. In short, creating 'self-branding' by marketing their person (Marwick, 2010). As young people feel connected to SMI by identifying with the displayed "life on Instagram," these influencers are seen as credible opinion leaders and role models (Shamsudeen & Ganeshbabu, 2018). Hence, the possibility is given that if influencers drink alcohol, users aim to be like the influencer. Accordingly, SMI are used by several companies as an advertising method (Ju, 2018). The alcohol brand Jägermeister, for instance, launched an Instagram-focused social media campaign by asking SMI to create Jägermeister-themed content for the audience. As a result, Jägermeister's audience increased by more than 60% (Hall, 2015). This example might indicate that the trend for alcohol brands using SMI as a platform to influence users' behaviour can be successful (Bruhn et al., 2011).

In order to reduce the contact between alcohol-related content and users (especially minors), most countries have implemented legislations. The Netherlands, for instance, expanded their already existing Advertising Code by extending the self-regulation law by 'the Advertising Code for Social Media and Influencer Marketing' (ACSMIM) in 2019 (Stichting Reclamecode, 2019). This law includes that SMI needs to be transparent about a cooperation with a company and that if 25% of the influencers' audience is under 18 years, alcohol may not be advertised. However, the current regulations and codes of conduct have been criticized for failing to protect children and young people from the exposure to alcohol marketing (World Health Organization, 2019).

As the contents of alcohol portrayal and alcohol advertising have been widely discussed in literature in a variety of contexts, such as in movies (Engels, Hermans, Van Baaren, Hollenstein, & Bot, 2009; Gosselt, Van Hoof, & Kokkeler, 2018; Koordeman et al., 2012) and television (Finn & Strickland, 1982; Grube, 1993; David Jernigan, Ostroff, & Ross, 2005; D. H. Jernigan, Ross, Ostroff, McKnight-Eily, & Brewer, 2013; Tanski et al., 2015), thorough scientific research is lacking regarding the portrayal of alcohol through SMI on Instagram, even though the percentage of Instagram users and SMI is steadily increasing (Newcom Research & Consultancy, 2019). Furthermore, regarding the newly introduction of the 'ACSMIM' in the Netherlands as well as the raised criticism regarding the effectiveness of self-regulations for alcohol exposure (Noel, Lazzarini, Robaina, & Vendrame, 2017), this research was conducted.

Accordingly, the theoretical goal of this study is to fill the existing gap in research of the display of alcohol on Instagram by considering the portrayal of alcoholic beverages in Dutch SMI's posts. Getting insights into this topic can be relevant for different kinds of purposes. First, the practical goal is to clarify the display of alcohol through SMI by sponsored and non-sponsored content. Second, this study should raise awareness regarding influencer marketing, SMI's, and which ethical concerns come along by displaying or promoting dependence-causing substances. Lastly, this study reveals the need for further investigation of regulations regarding social media and influencer marketing in the Netherlands.

Against this background, this study takes a closer look at the portrayal of alcohol-related posts through Dutch social media influencers. The following research questions can be addressed:

RQ 1: What are the characteristics of a post portraying alcohol by Dutch social media influencers on Instagram?

RQ2: How are alcohol-related posts commercialized in terms of brand visibility and disclosure?

RQ2a: How does this commercialization relate to the number of likes and context of comments?

RQ3: To what extent do alcohol-related posts comply with the guidelines of the Dutch Advertising Code?

Literature Review

In this theoretical framework, background information is given on SNS and the portrayal of alcohol-related content. First, the characteristics of SNS, especially of the social media channel Instagram, are examined. Second, an introduction to social media influencers is given, followed by an elaboration of the portrayal of alcohol in the media. Lastly, regulations regarding alcohol marketing in the digital media in the Netherlands are discussed.

Social networking sites (SNS)

Within the last decade, social media has become established in people's everyday lives. From the Dutch population, 64% is active on SNS such as YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram. Especially among the youth and adolescents, SNS have become a significant communication tool, which is mainly accessed through the smartphone (mediakix, 2018). Reasons for the high percentage of the utilization of SNS is not only the constant accessibility by mobile phones to these platforms but also a constant information exchange (Hootsuite, 2019). On SNS users create profiles by including any information such as video, photo, or text (called 'post') and can connect globally through this information exchange (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010; Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy, & Silvestre, 2011). This two-way-communication, thus users connecting with users, with friends (Tosun, 2012) and also with brands, are the trademark of SNS (Zheng, Cheung, Lee, & Liang, 2015). Referring to the parasocial interaction (PSI), the interactions on SNS are "an imaginary social relationship, an imaginary friendship, an illusion of face-to-face relationship and an interpersonal interaction between the media user and the consumed media" (Tsiotsou, 2015, p. 403).

The primary motivation using SNS is to be opinion-seeking (i.e., the search of information in order to make a decision), giving (i.e., being an opinion leader in order to impact users' attitudes) and passing (i.e., sharing information) (Chatterjee, 2011). In other words, users do not only read and watch specific content but also want to engage with the content by sharing and discussing it with others (Bickart & Schindler, 2001). This user engagement can be related to the electronic word of mouth (e-WOM), which is according to Hennig-Thurau, Gwinner, Walsh, and Gremler (2004) "any positive or

negative statement made about a product or company, which is made available to a multitude of people and institutions via the internet" (p.39). The following three criteria define this degree of involvement (i.e., user engagement) on several SNS such as Facebook and Instagram: likes, comments, and shares (tags, hashtags) (Carah, 2014; Klassen et al., 2018). Regarding the portrayal of alcohol on SNS and user engagement, Alhabash et al. (2013) discovered that consumer engagement was positively related to the intention to consume alcohol.

Bakhshi, Shamma, and Gilbert (2014) argued that a like on specific content gives an indication for the interest or likability in the post. This is in line with the **social norms' theory** determining that how others behave (i.e., descriptive norms) and what people approve or disapprove of (i.e., injunctive norms), a like on a post can indicate the approval of the displayed content. Furthermore, research revealed that when others clearly approve of a certain behaviour, this, in turn, encourages to imitate that specific behaviour (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991). Boyle, Smith, Earle, and LaBrie (2018), for instance, analyzed whether likes on alcohol-related posts correlate to the approval of risky drinking behavior among first-year peer college students. As a result, observed likes on peers' alcohol-related posts predicted perceptions of peers approval for risky drinking behaviours among non-drinking students. In addition, Alhabash et al. (2013), investigated Facebook users' intention to consume alcohol after being exposed to alcohol-related messages. Findings indicated that posts with high behavioral intention (e.g., many likes) had especially strong persuasive effects on the user to consume alcohol. Owing to these findings, injunctive norms such as a 'like' can illustrate the approval of alcohol-related content on social media and is a possible predicting factor in the influence the post has on the user.

The SNS Instagram

Instagram, known as a popular photo-sharing social media platform, is predicted going to have over 800 million users worldwide at the end of 2019 (statista, 2019). In terms of users in the Netherlands, Facebook remains the bigger platform with 10.8 million users in contrast to Instagram with 4.1 million, but the growth of users of Facebook decreased in the last year (-6%), whereby Instagram denoted the highest growth of users in contrast to other SNS (+20%). One reason for the

decline in users of Facebook is that young people cannot identify anymore with the people who are using Facebook, which results in a "not-feeling-at-home-anymore" attitude (Newcom Research & Consultancy, 2019). Certainly, the change in user behaviour by wanting to be "always-online" and the rise of popularity in phone photography (Van House, 2009) are also important driving factors of the growth of Instagram. That is, as Instagram was mainly programmed for mobile use, other SNS platforms such as Facebook were mostly designed for laptop usage. (Newcom Research & Consultancy, 2019). Hence, it is not surprising, that daily more than 100 million images are uploaded on this social media channel (Instagram, 2019).

Although most SNS look similar at first glance, through uploading, liking, and commenting on content, Instagram differentiates, for instance, by being a photo-sharing platform and by handling asymmetrical connectivity. Table 1 explains the characteristics of social networking and the unique attributes of Instagram in greater detail.

Table 1

Instagram's characteristics

Feature	Definitions
Likes	- Indication for interest or likability of the content - On Instagram indicated by a heart (thus only 'positive' likes possible)
Comments	- Reaction to content: expression of emotions - Interaction between the account holder and user - Allows users to express values regarding a post
# Hashtags	- Categorization: allows users to search for a specific type of interests and brands, reach of the target audience - Enhances virality of the post
@ Tags	- Enhances virality of the post - Post will be present on the profile of the tagged brand/person
Photo-sharing platform	- Visual-oriented culture - In-app photo-editing features
Asymmetry (followers and followees)	- users can follow a "stranger", which meets the interests and personal traits of the user - followers: the number of profiles who follow the account - followees: the number of profiles the accountholder follows

Having a public user profile is typical for Instagram, which allows users to engage with the community around the profile and the profile owner itself by viewing, liking and commenting on content (Lup, Trub, & Rosenthal, 2015). This kind of social connectivity is asymmetric, meaning that if a user A follows a user B, B does not need to follow A back (Hu, Manikonda, & Kambhampati, 2014). As a result, the number of followers can be significantly higher than the number of followees. These findings can be projected to social media influencers, who are users distinguishing from other users in terms of a high number of followers and a low number of followees (Siegler, 2009). Regarding the source credibility model it is said that the effectiveness of a statement depends on the credibility of the source (Hovland & Weiss, 1951). Additionally, G. Scott (2014), emphasized that users with a high number of followers are perceived as more trustworthy and attractive to others. Hence, it is not surprising that social media influencers are seen as role models among minors (Hilker, 2013).

Including that Instagram is not only the most popular platform amongst the youth but also because of its focus on visual self-presentation (Marcus, 2015), Instagram is the most popular platform amongst influencers (Cheung, 2014). The following section will elaborate the term 'social media influencer' in greater detail in order to understand this phenomenon to the fullest.

Social media influencers

It is argued that every user can be an influencer (Ruiz-Gómez, 2019). In general, influencers are people who "have the potential to create engagement, drive conversation and/or sell products/services with the intended target audience (Interactive Advertising Bureau, 2018)". These individuals can range from being celebrities to more micro-targeted professional or non-professional 'peers' (Cheung, 2014). Within the broad reach on social media platforms and the potential impact on others, these influencers are called 'social media influencers' (Audrezet et al., 2018) and are defined as "a new type of independent third-party endorsers who shape audience attitudes through blogs, tweets, and the use of other social media" (Freberg, Graham, McGaughey, & Freberg, 2011). An internal segmentation of the term "social media influencer" is necessary as these influencers vary not only in terms of influence and practices but also in the size of the audience (number of followers) to

determine if an account is of commercial value (Ruiz-Gómez, 2019). However, depending on the source, the categorizations of influencers can differ as there are no standardized sources. As a result, only a rough distinction can be made by taking into account a recent study from Ruiz-Gómez (2019). Throughout this research, two categories of social media influencers were taken into account, (1) micro influencers and (2) macro influencers, as it is claimed that these influencers are the most prominent on Instagram (tapinfluence, 2018).

First, micro influencers range from 5.000 followers up to around 99.000 followers and are constituted as the largest group of social media influencers. Characterizing for this group is the specialization in a specific subject (Ruiz-Gómez, 2019) such as fashion, sports, or beauty. Furthermore, found by the influencer marketing platform Markerly (2015) and argued by Conick (2018) micro-influencers generate the best user engagement (argued the bigger the audience, the less engagement). Through the smaller audience size, these influencers are even more perceived as 'peers', hence more trustworthy than other social media influencers (Lin et al., 2018) by maintaining a higher level of intimacy through an accessible connection between user und influencer (Chen, 2016; Hatton, 2018).

Second, macro influencers range from 100.000 followers up to 500.000 followers. Through the broader reach in audience size, these influencers have turned the account into a more professional business platform (Ruiz-Gómez, 2019). Even though, macro-influencers record a lower engagement rate than micro influencers (tapinfluence, 2018), it is argued that a big follower base can also be beneficial for a great reach of people and in turn accelerates the spread of e-WOM (De Veirman, Cauberghe, & Hudders, 2017).

However, many definitions of what constitutes an influencer are defined, among which micro-celebrity, instafamous or internet famous (Ruiz-Gómez, 2019). Nevertheless, both influencer categories are successful in self-branding strategies by publishing content about themselves and reaching larger audiences (Marwick, 2010). Hence, it is not surprising that SNS consist of two main needs: the need for self-presentation and the need to belong (Nadkarni & Hofmann, 2012), which can also be related to social media influencers.

First, self-presentation can be explained by the self-presentation theory of Goffman (1959), where the presentation of and by an individual is sharing content about themselves with others in social settings. Stated by the Instagram press (Instagram, 2019), people want to "express themselves and share their diverse, unique perspectives every day". Accordingly, SMI are promoting their own person through post creation and appear authentic by engaging with the audience. This authenticity, argued by Smith and Sanderson (2015), is a self-presentation strategy on Instagram and central to form a social identity. By portraying the self as expected by the audience, the person would appear more trustworthy (Goffman, 1959). In general, users on SNS have the tendency to maintain a positive online self-presentation or only display positive aspects of life in order to gain approval from others (e.g., likes) (Jackson & Luchner, 2018). Another strategy to increase the likes and comments of users could be sexual appeal as it is stated that obvious sexual availability serves to attract attention (Lambiase & Reichert, 2006). Regarding the source attractiveness model, the success of a testimonial (in this case the influencer) is determined by its attractiveness (Mc, Guire, 1985).Drenten, Gurrieri, and Tyler (2019), who investigated the sexualized labor among 172 female Instagram influencers, found that sexuality was clearly presented online in many ways visually as well as textually. Hence, it can be argued that social media encourages users to compete for attention in order to increase 'likes'. If a post does not garner enough comments, the adolescent is encouraged to share it to make it more newsworthy, hence using sexuality as a trigger (O´Keeffe, 2012).

Second, the need to belong explains that people have the desire to seek and maintain interpersonal relationships and be part of a social group (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Burke, Marlow, and Lento (2009) established that SNS, in the user's perspective, consists of a group of 'friends' and the content these friends generate. Influencers can be seen as such a social group (friends or peers) whose opinions or recommendations are perceived as more trustworthy than from traditional media (Berryman & Kavka, 2017; Shamsudeen & Ganeshbabu, 2018). Therefore, seen as third-party endorsers or even as a celebrity, social media influencers are role models, who follow similar values and interests to those of the audience (Hilker, 2013; M. Scott, 2018) and in turn can significantly shape the consumers' opinions, attitude and purchasing decisions (Brown & Fiorella, 2013; Freberg et

al., 2011). As a result, social media influencers play a specific role on Instagram maintaining an identity one wished to portray and/or to convey oneself.

All in all, social media influencers, can range from micro-targeted professionals to non-professional users. By aesthetically presenting and socially interacting with the audience, influencers build personal narratives that attract users (Cheung, 2014). Khamis et al. (2017) pointed out that the relationship between user and influencer seems more realistic and approachable than the traditional communication between mainstream media stars and users on Instagram, which in turn creates stronger feelings of intimacy (Berryman & Kavka, 2017). Consequently, it is likely that when users perceive SMI drinking alcohol on social media, users mimic that behavior as a result of 'trusting what friends are doing'. Hence, given the impact of social media influencers on the audience, it is of great importance to investigate the portrayal of alcohol on these accounts.

Alcohol-related content in the media

Alcohol-related posts on SNS

Not only spend adolescents and young people a significant time in online environments to connect (Anderson et al., 2009; Newcom Research & Consultancy, 2019), but also to communicate about alcohol (Beullens & Schepers, 2013). Therefore, it might not be surprising that several studies examined the exposure of peers posting alcohol-related content on SNS which appears to be positively related to the alcohol consumption among young people (Glassman, 2012; Gupta, Pettigrew, Lam, & Tait, 2016; Hendriks, Gebhardt, & van den Putte, 2017; Morgan, Snelson, & Elison-Bowers, 2010; Ridout, 2016). This user-generated content (UGT) is defined as "the act of consumers talking among themselves about a product or service" (Thorne, 2008, p. 280), or rather, content, which is publicly available created by users and/or consumers (Jaakonmäki, Müller, & Vom Brocke, 2017). Glassman (2012) analyzed the relationship of alcohol-consumption posts and the actual alcohol consumption among college students and examined that 56% of all respondents uploaded pictures of peers drinking. These findings are in line with a study by Boyle, LaBrie, Froidevaux, and Witkovic (2016), who found that the exposure to alcohol-related posts of peers on the SNS Facebook, Snapchat and Instagram

resulted in an alcohol consumption six months later. Moreover, Morgan et al. (2010) executed a content analysis of young adults' use on SNS and discovered that 83% of the participants in the study reported exposure to peer consumption and also accepted the consumption of alcohol displayed in the post. After all, enough evidence exists of peers sharing alcohol-related content on SNS and that the exposure to alcohol can significantly contribute to young people´s alcohol consumption (Chen et al., 2005; Glassman, 2012; Ridout, 2016).

Previous research has established that these images of peers posted on social media are often portrayed in a socially and positively environment (Beullens & Schepers, 2013; Hendriks et al., 2017). Beullens and Schepers (2013), found that pictures displaying alcohol in a **positive context** (e.g., having fun, laughing) received more likes from friends on Facebook than alcohol portrayed in a neutral context (i.e., no specific emotion was shown).

Additionally, Huang et al. (2014) examined that the exposure to SNS images of partying or drinking among adolescents increased both smoking and alcohol use. Hence, it is not surprising that several studies identified that the main settings of alcohol consumption are social venues such as restaurants, parties, and bars (Beck et al., 2008; Hendriks et al., 2017; Morgan et al., 2010). Traditionally, in relation to the **social norms' theory** it has been argued that people displayed in different contexts can have a significant influence on persuasion (Asch, 1956; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Cialdini & Trost, 1998). Bot, Engels, Knibbe, and Meeus (2005) did a study on friends' drinking behaviour and alcohol consumption among adolescents and found that **socialization is the driving factor to imitate** that displayed behaviour. In relation to the **social norms' theory**, people can be influenced by the perceived (real or imagined) behavior of peers what is perceived as normative (Foster & Lawson, 2013). This outcome is in compliance with a study by Arnett (1995), describing that individuals learn from relatives and peers how to behave, but also, from mass media acting as a referent of social norms. Regarding the **social learning theory** (1977), people learn from observations in social situations and therefore copy the behaviour of people observed. Therefore, influencers posting alcohol, ingesting alcohol or actually drinking alcohol can result in mimic that normative behavior.

Argued by Gerard, Wilhelmy, and Conolley (1968), people engage in similar behaviour to equal conformity, which is also a function of group size and the need to belong. Humans have the desire to fit into a group and to maintain an interpersonal relationship with another human being (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Furthermore, the social impact theory, argues that the larger the group size, the greater the impact (Latané & Nida, 1981). This can be explained by normative influence, thus the power the group has on someone to receive punish and reward, and informational influence, thus, the power the group has to provide information about "reality" (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955). Furthermore, Bakhshi et al. (2014) did a study on one million Instagram images and discovered that faces displayed resulted in higher engagement in terms of likes and comments.

Overall, alcohol-related posts on SNS are perceived as normal and socially accepted (Atkinson, Ross, Begley, & Sumnall, 2014; Trice & Beyer, 1977). Research suggests that more similar others have a stronger effect on norm transitions (Boer & Westhoff, 2006; Van den Putte, Yzer, Southwell, de Bruijn, & Willemsen, 2011). For example, Van den Putte et al. (2011) showed that conversations with similar peers have a stronger normative impact and Boer and Westhoff (2006) revealed that stronger connections (e.g., when people are close friends) lead to more effects of communicated norms than weaker connections (i.e., when people are strangers). As influencers are also perceived as peers or friends on social media (Berryman & Kavka, 2017; Cheung, 2014), these findings could also apply to social media influencers portraying alcohol.

Nowadays, SMI are also used as a marketing tool by alcohol companies to create awareness among users as these are effective in e-WOM. Given the potential impact SMI have on the audience, it is important to provide insights into the display of alcohol branded content.

Influencer marketing

Even though alcohol exposure can have a significant impact on adolescents' alcohol consumption, alcohol companies are still advertising alcoholic beverages trying to reach a broad audience (World Health Organization, 2019). Argued by Hartigan and Coe (2012), SNS are platforms where alcohol marketing is extremely prevalent. Hence, it is not surprising that companies cooperate

with social media influencers as testimonials to advertise products or to create awareness around the brand (Ju, 2018; Nirschl & Steinberg, 2018; Sheth, 2018) as consumers value opinions and recommendations of others more than messages from the company itself (De Veirman et al., 2017; Litterio, Nantes, Larrosa, & Gómez, 2017). This so-called influencer marketing refers to "the targeted use of people with reputation, influence and great reach for own brand communication" (Nirschl & Steinberg, 2018) and allows the possibility of direct contact between influencers and users (Li & Du, 2011) and the indirect marketing of branded products (De Veirman et al., 2017; Mangold & Faulds, 2009). As a result, organizations can have direct access to, and form part of a person's 'social reality'.

Alcohol companies use a variety of creative strategies to reflect the brand's identity and to enhance interactions among users as well as between users and the brand (Atkinson et al., 2014; Nicholls, 2012; Purves, 2014). This generated content should appeal to the younger audiences so that adolescents engage with the content (Atkinson, Ross-Houle, Begley, & Sumnall, 2017). An example of an alcohol brand using SMI as a communication tool demonstrates the following. The aim of the Swedish liquor brand 'Absolut Vodka' was to create brand awareness in eight global markets (e.g., Germany, USA, and South Africa). Therefore, cooperation's with local influencers from each country were made. The task for the selected influencers was to share images of what, in their opinion, would make an 'Absolut night'. Herby, the post should have been accompanied with the caption "You know those #AbsolutNights when…" whereby the influencer ends the sentence with an explanation of their choice. Overall, the strategy was to post a "beautiful, engaging and entertaining content". At the end of this marketing campaign, the goal was achieved by reaching recorded high levels of page views and downloads in all markets, generating in total of 243 posts and 340,884 interactions (likes, comments) and a reach of 8,273,887 of total followers reached in 17 weeks (Garbarczyk, 2016). Hence, demand and hashtags were used to increase the engagement of the audience.

When creating these strategies, alcohol brands keep in mind associations and emotional response users create in their minds when exposed to specific content. Posts of influencers displaying the brand Malibu in a post, for instance, are framed in exotic locations featuring cocktails. In turn, if

exposed to a picture with a bottle of Malibu, the user will associate Malibu with 'a holiday abroad'. Going along with the example of Malibu, users use alcohol brand-related content to describe their personality, taste, and overall lifestyle on social media. This illustrates how deeply embedded brand associations are young people's everyday lives and that this content, which not directly refers to the alcohol brand, still has an impact (Purves, 2014). Hence, creating a particular lifestyle around the brand is a crucial strategy for many alcohol brands. As the example of Malibu demonstrates, alcohol brands combine commercialized messages and peer influence to generate associations with the brand to embed it. Therefore, alcohol brands also make use of influencers as these reach a large audience while embedding the brand's content and reinforcing the brands' identity. As a result, alcohol brands form communities around various types of entertainers, who directly interact with the audience (Shamsudeen & Ganeshbabu, 2018) while simultaneously promoting the brand or products in a non-obtrusive way (De Valck, Van Bruggen, & Wierenga, 2009). These UGC's are significant for alcohol brands as these are high in reach and blur the boundaries between commercial and peer activity (Lyons et al., 2014), which in turn result in credible marketing messages (Boyle et al., 2016).

The examples indicate that the trend for alcoholic beverages to use Instagram as a platform in order to influence users' behaviour and to trigger engagement is ubiquitous (Bruhn et al., 2011). As influencers are perceived as being trustworthy, this trust can, in turn, be transcribed to the perceived trust in the brand or product (Brown & Fiorella, 2013; Korotina & Jargalsaikhan, 2016). These findings are in accordance with the meaning-transfer-model (McCracken, 1989), which argues that positively characteristics of a celebrity can be transferred to a product and the evaluation conditioning model (Jain & Roy, 2016), arguing that "a change in liking occurs due to an association with a positive or negative stimulus (De Houwer, Thomas, & Baeyens, 2001). As a result, preferences users have towards alcohol brands or alcoholic products can be modified by SMI.

All in all, even though young people are knowledgeable of alcohol marketing on social media, users see this branding as a cultural value and are still motivated to participate in these activities to receive social pleasure (Atkinson et al., 2014; Purves, 2014). Furthermore, through **blurring** commercial and editorial content, it can be hard for users to identify if a post is sponsored by a

organization. Nevertheless, SMI have the possibility to disclose a cooperation between them and the organization by using different features. These options are further elaborated in the following section.

Disclosures for influencer marketing

Companies use influencer marketing to target the audience in a less obtrusive way, mostly because consumers do not recognize the advertisement in the post (Evans, Phua, Lim, & Jun, 2017). This so-called 'paid post' or 'sponsored post' is content posted on the profile of the influencer, who beforehand got paid by the company in order to promote the products or the brand itself (Miles, 2013). Influencer marketing has therefore similarity to native advertising, where paid ads are created in a way to look like editorial content (Evans et al., 2017). In other words, brand messages are presented in a form that is adapted to the content structure of the influencers' account. Argued by Maheshwari (2016) users can therefore not distinguish between paid and non-paid content as branded messages.

Furthermore, research discovered that users are less resistant of advertisements through influencer marketing than traditional advertisements (De Vries, Gensler, & Leeflang, 2012). Findings by Atkinson et al. (2017) and Niland et al. (2017) showed even though some users are skeptical about sponsored advertisements on Facebook by alcohol companies, individuals still enthusiastically endorse and engage with alcohol-related promotions and posts. This outcome is also in line with a study by Boerman, Willemsen, and Van Der Aa (2017) discovering that sponsorship disclosure on Facebook only influences the use of persuasion knowledge when a celebrity disseminates the post. According to the reactance theory (Brehm, 1966) "individuals have certain freedoms with regard to their behaviour". But, if this freedom is threatened by demanding what to do, people react with resistance. If the disclosure is present, consumers can activate defense-mechanisms when feeling unwanted persuasion attempts, which, in turn, threatens the success of the campaign (Fransen, Verlegh, Kirmani, & Smit, 2015). Although, disclosure placement increases brand memory (Evans et al., 2017; E. Van Reijmersdal, 2009), it can also lead to negative brand attitudes by activating persuasion knowledge (E. Van Reijmersdal, 2009; E. A. Van Reijmersdal et al., 2016). As a consequence of the controversy of

paid posts and the associated masquerading of the influencer, criticism raised regarding the use of influencer marketing as it can be seen as unethical and misleading (Miles, 2013).

All in all, social media influencers use Instagram to promote themselves by displaying content appealing to the audience in order to generate a greater network-size and in turn increase the popularity of the influencer (Talavera, 2015). Given the impact of influencers on young people and the increase of cooperation's between alcohol companies and SMI (Nicholls, 2012), it is important to identify what regulations exist in the Netherlands regarding the exposure to alcohol on SNS. The following chapter elaborates regulations of alcohol marketing in the digital world in the Netherlands.

Laws and regulations for digital alcohol advertising

Despite several regulations for alcohol marketing, the percentage of alcohol consumption in the European Union is still the highest per capita globally. Considering alcohol marketing as a worldwide determinant of underage drinking and alcohol-related health consequences, laws and regulations were formulated to control the availability of alcohol displacement in advertisements to "protect" the society (especially the youth) from harmful effects of alcohol marketing (World Health Organization, 2019).

However, this negative effect of alcohol is mostly denied, omitted, or disputed by the alcohol industry (Petticrew, Maani Hessari, Knai, & Weiderpass, 2018). Even though regulations are embedded, the alcohol industry is still trying to influence and interact with consumers by using paid media (e.g., pop-up ads), owned media (e.g., a branded social media page) and UGC. The reasons for this approach are the virality of content and the targeting of young consumers. As a result, creative strategies are embedded to activate emotional persuasion, such as acquire engagement in social networks (i.e., e-WOM). These strategies include, for instance, virtual environments, influencer marketing and narratives or social-, entertainment- and humor-based approaches (World Health Organization, 2018). Regarding humor-based approaches, Aitken (1989) and Chen et al. (2005) found that alcohol ads displaying humor are resulting in the enjoyment by children of all ages.

Overall, regulations regarding alcohol marketing are mostly regulated on a national level. Numerous European countries already practice several types of restrictions in advertising, but with different degrees of limitations. While this study is focusing on the portrayal of alcohol through Dutch social media influencers, the following sections provide a more detailed overview of the regulations of alcohol on SNS and influencer marketing in the Netherlands.

Laws and regulations for digital alcohol advertising in the Netherlands

In general, regulations regarding alcohol marketing are mostly restricted through self-regulation in the Netherlands (World Health Organization, 2018). These self-regulations are without any officially legal restrictions and are promoted by international companies in the alcohol industry as 'adequate regulations' for alcohol marketing and sponsor activities (Noel et al., 2017). The **Advertising Code for Alcoholic Beverages (ACAB)** contains the main regulations regarding alcohol marketing in the Netherlands. In this code, producers, and importers of alcoholic beverages, in consultation with **STIVA** (i.e., Stichting Verantwoord Alcoholgebruik, Association for the Responsible Consumption of Alcohol), have made agreements about alcohol advertising (Stichting Reclamecode, 2019). Additionally, most of the regulations regarding audio-visual marketing are included in the ACAB. The ACAB contains (Stichting Reclamecode, 2019):

- a ban on all media if 25% of the audience is under 18 years old

- a ban on the promotion of alcohol which is specifically focused on people under the age of 18 and which are associated with or reflecting young people´s culture

Advertising Code for Social Media and Influencer Marketing

Since 2019 the ACAB also includes an **Advertising Code for Social Media and Influencer Marketing (ACSMIM)** in the Netherlands, which is the only source explicitly including guidelines for the promotion of alcohol on social media and influencer marketing. This code aims to promote transparency of social media and influencer marketing activities (Stichting Reclamecode, 2019).

The leading producers of beer, wine, and spirits such as Heineken, Anheuser-Busch InBev, Carlsberg, and the Brewers Association of Japan made a collective, but self-regulating commitment to

reduce harmful drinking digitally by developing the **Digital Guiding Principles** (DGPs). These regulations apply to the content of digital media, including to reduce underage drinking, drinking and driving, and harmful drinking. Additionally, the leading producers promise to inform the consumer about the harmful effects alcohol can have. In short, the DGP should support the already stated marketing codes of practice. There are several 'DO´s' and 'DONT's' the ASMIM advises, which also includes the following key areas addressed in the DGP:

1. **Recognition of cooperation**

The relationship between the advertiser and distributor (e.g., blogger, vlogger and/or influencer) should be made recognizable by using hashtags (#ad, #adv, #spon, #collab, #partner(ship)) or by referring to the cooperation in written text ("cooperation with" @name of the company or "received/got from @name of company"). It is also possible to directly name the advertiser through the integrated feature on Instagram "Paid partnership with @name of advertiser". Displaying a branded slogan is not sufficient to make the cooperation recognizable (Stichting Reclamecode, 2019).

2. **Educational slogan**

Advertising, which origins from the advertiser and is spread through the internet needs to include an educational slogan (e.g., "Drink responsibly", "Don´t share content with those who aren´t", "Enjoy responsibly" and/or "No 18, no alcohol") (Stichting Reclamecode, 2019). The slogan(s) can be placed in the bio of the Instagram-account, in the hashtags or captions of a post. Several alcohol brand-accounts on Instagram (e.g., Heineken, Grolsch, Absolut Vodka, etc.) already include at least one of the educational statements. However, exceptions for the inclusion of statements are advertisements which form no longer part of an actual campaign of the advertiser. In other words, posts where the influencer is drinking a glass of wine without having a cooperation with a brand are excluded from this regulation.

3. Direct targeting of children

The ACAB determines a ban on all media, imposing if 25% of the audience is under 18 years old. However, expressions depicted on the internet, which are no longer part of a current campaign, are excluded from this requirement. This includes, for instance, SMI showing products excluded from the original campaign of the product/company. Furthermore, this ban does not apply to advertisements that are part of the regular street scene (e.g., light boxes with indications of the brands that the cafés and/or restaurants distribute) and occasional situations (e.g., arrival of Saint Nicholas) over which the advertiser has no influence. Additionally, children who are 12 years or younger may not be directly encouraged by the advertiser to promote a product or service on social media (Stichting Reclamecode, 2019). For example, if a 12-year-old child likes an Instagram-post of an alcohol brand and in turn, receives a free beer or discount, is not allowed.

Regulations implemented by Instagram

The SNS Instagram also implemented regulations for underaged users in order to prevent them from the exposure of inappropriate content (e.g., dependence causing substances like alcohol and tobacco). First, Instagram tries to prevent underaged people from joining Instagram by restricting the creation of an Instagram-account for people under 13 years (Instagram, n.d.). Second, Instagram offers a feature for business accounts (e.g., brand pages like Heineken or Absolut Vodka) to set up a minimum age limit to enter the specific profile. However, the owner of the profile self can set up a country specific minimum age or which applies globally, but Instagram self is not responsible for this age restriction (Instagram, n.d.).

However, currently it cannot be made sure that users are not lying about their age when creating an Instagram account and it cannot be made sure that minors are still exposed to alcohol marketing. The following example indicates such a case. Voices raised regarding an influencer in the UK advertising a home draught beer pump from Heineken to three million Instagram followers, offering viewers a 40% off promotional code. As a result, the responsible commission received several complaints that the ad was inappropriate targeted due to the influencer's popularity with under 18-year olds. It should be noted that in the UK as well as in the Netherlands, a ban is imposed on all media if

25% of the audience is under 18 years old. Even though Heineken argued that only 11% of the viewing audience was underaged and that the content did not have a particular appeal to minors, alcohol charities questioned this statement. These charities pointed out that like most SNS Instagram has no adequate method of age verifying its users and that the ruling could "open the door to more influencers, who are looked up to by young people, cashing in on promotions with alcohol brands" (Wright, 2019).

Even though, Heineken creates alcohol advertisements on platforms which are mostly used by adolescents, on the contrary, the company also encourages responsible drinking by, for instance, integrating a "never drink and drive" platform and a ban on underage drinking (Heineken, n.d.). Hence, Heineken is promoting a soft approach for battling alcohol misuse without disapproving of alcohol use in general. As a result, it is argued that this approach should create a positive image towards the company among consumers as well as the public health or legislative authorities (de Donder, 2014).

All on all, to date, there has been little agreement on the effectiveness of self-regulation between the alcohol industry and other organizations such as the WHO (World Health Organization, 2018). The issue of self-regulation has been a controversial and much-disputed subject within the field of alcohol regulations as there is an increasing concern that these laws are formulated too ambiguously, which gives space for interpretation (Noel et al., 2017) such as advertising products through social media influencers.

To summarize, this theoretical framework provided theoretical as well as practical background information for this study. First, the characteristics of SNS (especially Instagram) have been discussed as well as the term 'social media influencers'. As a result, it can be argued that influencers are perceived as peers and friends by users, whose opinions and recommendation appear trustworthy (Berryman & Kavka, 2017; Shamsudeen & Ganeshbabu, 2018). Next, an overview was given regarding the portrayal of alcohol on social media and influencer marketing. The evidence presented in this section suggests that alcohol companies use different marketing strategies, such as influencer

marketing, to attract the attention of a younger audience. Lastly, the current regulations regarding alcohol marketing on social media in the Netherlands have been examined. While a variety of regulations are established, it is not clear yet how and if these regulations are implemented by SMI.

The evidence presented thus far supports the idea that a relationship exist between the exposure to alcohol on SNS such as Instagram and the actual consumption of alcohol. Although various literature confirms a steady increase of alcohol-related posts among peers (Glassman, 2012; Gupta et al., 2016; Hendriks et al., 2017; Morgan et al., 2010; Ridout, 2016) and a steady increase of users on Instagram (Newcom Research & Consultancy, 2019), research is lacking regarding the existence of alcohol-related content through SMI. Hence, it is necessary to research how alcohol is portrayed on Instagram through SMI in the Netherlands.

In order to provide further inside into the discussed topic, a content analysis has been conducted. The following section gives an overview of the data collection and the study design.

Methods

In this chapter, the sample selection, the codebook and coding procedure, as well as the pre-test results, will be elaborated. The present study investigates Dutch social media influencers' alcohol-related posts on Instagram by using observational quantitative content analysis.

Sample selection: social media influencers and alcohol-related posts

Through the non-availability of accurate statistics representing a current overview of the top SMI in the Netherlands, the researcher searched Instagram for suitable influencers. Three search criteria needed to be met to be included in the sample: the influencer must have a publicly available profile so that every post on the account is accessible, the influencers needed to have a Dutch nationality and last, the followers of the SMI needed to range from 5.000 followers to 500.000 followers. The aim was to gather the most prominent Dutch social media influencers on Instagram. As it was not possible to search explicitly for these criteria on Instagram, a beginning was made with the list of "DeInfluencer50 2019". This list includes the most influential Dutch influencers and was carried out by the market research company MediaTest and published by "DeMedia 100". With these listed influencers, a beginning could have been made to gather SMI for this study. However, most of these influencers exceeded the number of followers (more than 500.000) and consequently could not be part of this research. As it was assumed that SMI present and tag other SMI in their posts, these posts with other people were examined and subsequently, if the requirements were met, chosen for the sample. In total, a sample of 120 Dutch influencer-accounts (60 micro influencers and 60 macro influencers) on Instagram were analyzed. The final list of the sample can be found in Appendix A.

After determining the sample of influencers, the second step of the sample selection took place, choosing the sample of posts. The sampling units needed to meet specific criteria. First, a choice was made only to include pictures as this is the most effective content format for influencer marketing (mediakix, n.d.). Certainly, videos, Instagram stories, and IGTV were excluded from the study as these contain sound and motion. Furthermore, posts of others where the influencer was tagged in were left out. Next, a post needed to include visible alcoholic beverages being ingested (e.g., the influencer is

touching the beverage with the mouth), being held (e.g., the influencer is holding a glass of wine in the hand) or being present in the post (e.g., a bottle of wine standing on the table, a bar is present in the background). Additionally, pictures featuring alcohol (e.g., a logo of an alcohol brand is displayed on a t-shirt) are included in this research and are also referred to as "alcohol-related posts".

Due to the fact that this study should give an insight into the display of alcohol on SMI's profile throughout a whole year, the decision was made to choose one post from each season, (winter, summer, autumn, and spring). Based on the accompanying date on every post, posts were randomly chosen in each season. Although, if alcohol was not clearly recognizable in the post (e.g., when a beverage was displayed without a hint of alcohol in the picture or in the caption of the post), another post, which clearly indicated alcohol, was randomly chosen as a replacement (then without taking the season of the post into consideration). The final sample compromised 480 posts.

The codebook and data collection

For the creation of the codebook, a deductive approach was handled based on measures from other related studies to create a pre-made code list. A first test sample ($N= 10$) was executed in order to overcome differences when coding and to determine further input. As a result, the codebook contained all analyzed variables with accompanying visual and/or textual examples to enhance a clear understanding of the units. Overall, visual as well as textual data were extracted from the influencers' profile and the posts. For a month (September 2019), each influencer profile and each post were screened and individually documented. In total, the codebook captured 37 variables disseminate among the following five categories: (a) profile of the influencer, (b) textual referral, (c) visual referral, (d) alcohol portrayal, and (e) laws and regulations. First, the profile of the influencer was analyzed, followed by a more detailed coding of the different elements of each post. These categories and several corresponding variables as well as the accompanying scales, are further elaborated in the following sections.

Profile of the SMI. The profile of the SMI was coded by taking the whole profile of the influencer into account (i.e., the main account page). This implies the variables used for gathering information about the influencer self, such as gender, sector of operationalization, estimated age of the influencer, and the display of an educational slogan in the bio of the influencer. All variables corresponding to this level of analysis can be found in table 2.

Sector of operationalization. SMI can be seen as expertise in field of choice (Freberg et al., 2011). By field of choice is meant that SMI are people, who publish content on a subject area at a high and regular frequency (Lou & Yuan, 2019), for instance, fashion, beauty and sports. In total, seven sectors of operationalization were discerned. These categories were based on an extensive web search. A **travel** influencer was coded when pictures include travel locations and different countries or are showcased as a travel blog. The sector fashion was coded when the account mainly presented clothes or clothing attributes. An influencer was coded to be a beauty influencer when posts included beauty products with explaining tutorials, results or reviews. A sports and fitness influencer was coded when the account was focusing on physical activity or sports-related products (e.g., sports supplements, sporting clothes). An influencer operating in the food & beverage sector depicted mostly posts including food, drinks, and recipes. The sector photography was coded when the account showed professional photos of surroundings or people (e.g., nature, portraits of random people). Lastly, influencers displaying mainly pictures of the daily life (e.g., parties, street photos, dinner with friends) are coded as lifestyle influencers.

In some cases, it is quite clear in which sector the SMI are operating as sometimes the sector of operation is present in the bio of the account. However, if this option was not given, the whole account of the influencer was taken into account in order to decide in which sector(s) the influencer is operating.

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Table 2
Profile of the SMI

Variable	Details
Gender of the influencer	Male, female, both, other
Number of posts	The total number of posts.
Followers	The total number of followers.
Following	The total number of followees.
Age of the influencer	Under 18 years, reference age until 25, unmistakably old enough
Sector of operationalization	Travel, fashion, beauty, sports & fitness, food & beverages, photography, lifestyle
Educational slogan in bio	No 18, no alcohol; drink responsibly; enjoy responsibly; don´t share content with those who aren´t

Textual referral. Textual data consist of the number of likes and comments, alcohol-related hashtags, brand tags, and the context of the caption. The latter indicated if there was, for instance, an explicit reference to alcohol in the caption (e.g., alcohol-related question: "I am drinking Aperol tonight, what is your favorite drink"?) or if there was not an explicit reference to alcohol present ("I love animal print. What do you think?").

Moreover, with the aim of analyzing the comments under each post, the online tool "exportcomments.com" was used. When analyzing the comments, engagements indicated by the influencer (i.e., commenting on the user's comments and tagging users) were excluded. Overall, the comments per post ranged from 0 to 1415, which makes it a total of 37.866 comments being examined. Additionally, if the comments include any references to alcohol such as preferences, experiences, alcohol involving events or alcohol-related emojis (e.g., "I love beer.", "Drinking wine is my favorite part of the weekend.", "I was so drunk this weekend") were extracted to see whether users are actively engaging with the alcohol displayed and/or with the caption of the post. The list of the alcohol-related emojis can be found in appendix B. All variables regarding the textual referral are listed in table 3.

In addition, to determine the average number of likes and the average number of comments on a social media influencer's profile, the website phlanx.com was consulted. Every influencers' name was individually inserted and the average number of likes and comments on this specific profile notated in SPSS.

Table 3

Textual referral

Variable	Details
Date of the post	Month and year
Likes	The total number of likes of the post.
Number of comments	The total number of comments of the post.
Comments alcohol	If comments related to alcohol are absent or present.
Comments alcohol distinction	The context of alcohol comments (e.g., clinking glasses, category of alcohol)
Context of caption	Alcohol related, alcohol related question, not alcohol related, non-alcohol related question, alcohol and winning, winning, alcohol free alcohol (e.g., tonic for gin and tonic)
Brand tagged	Absent or present
Hashtags alcohol	If alcohol-related hashtags are absent or present.
Hashtag distinction	Alcohol-related hashtags, which are used.

Visual referral. Visual representations of the post were coded, including themes and appeals, the context of portrayal, and the social evaluative content. The latter includes if alcohol is presented in a positive (e.g., smiling), neutral (e.g., no expression nor faces shown) or negative way (e.g., looking disappointed, crying). The list of all visual variables can be found in table 4. Furthermore, scales from prior studies have been adapted to code several visual items and are described below in greater detail.

Table 4
Visual referral

Variable	Details
Themes and appeals	Token of wealth, humour, self-reward, friendship, love and romance, relaxation, information (product-related), individuality, holiday, party, food, other, sexual connotations
Level of sexual appeal	Low, moderate, high
Time of the day portrayed	Day, night
Context of portrayal	At home, work, sports environment, commercial place, public space, store, holiday, unknown
Number of people	Absent, one, two, three, more than three
Social evaluative content	Positive, negative, neutral
Face portrayal	Absent or present
Cuteness	Absent, baby/child, animal, animated

Themes and appeals. In order to understand what aspects of alcohol consumption is portrayed through SMI, the scale 'Themes and appeals' from Finn and Strickland (1982) was adapted for this research. The items presented in table 4 apply in this study. Additionally, the items 'holiday', 'party', 'weekend', 'food', and 'other' were added to this content analysis. It should be noted that it was possible to code several items of this variable per post with 0 (absent) and 1 (present). The themes and appeals can be inferred from the picture as well as from the caption of the post.

Level of sexual appeal. Alcohol is one of the products which is commonly associated with sexual appeals, also as a stimulation for sexual success (Lass & Hart, 2004; Morgenstern et al., 2015). A choice was made to measure the level of sexual appeal in a post with an adapted scale of Visetbhakdi (2011) by the following nudity levels: low (fully clothed), moderate (exposing some midriff and cleavage) and high (undressed and exposing more back and cleavage).

Context of portrayal. The context of portrayal was measured as research examined that alcohol is mostly consumed in public and social places like bars, at parties or at commercial places (Hendriks, Wilmsen, van Dalen, & Gebhardt, 2019). Hence, a scale by Gosselt et al. (2018) was adapted for this study, including eight different contexts, to investigate in which environments alcohol is mainly displayed. The different categories are presented in table 4.

Social evaluative context. To begin with, the social learning theory (Bandura & Walters, 1977) suggests that media messages containing "desirable associations, and positive consequences are more likely to promote the adoption of the referenced behavior." Based on the research of Beullens and Schepers (2013), the social evaluative context was adapted for this study. The scale includes whether alcohol is displayed in a positive (e.g., someone proposing a toast to someone with a smile on the face; laughing), neutral (e.g., no explicit judgment or emotion is shown) or negative (e.g., showing someone looking disapprovingly at a drunk person; to drown sadness; violence; hangover; or mention a health aspect) context. The social evaluative context can be inferred from the picture as well as from the caption of the post. If alcohol was described with negative words ("I drank too much; headache!") this was coded as negative, and when alcohol was described with positive words ("I'm looking forward to drink tonight!") this was coded as positive.

Next, the alcohol portrayal in each post was analyzed by including, among others, the alcohol consumption and the alcohol quantity. An overview of all variables belonging to this level of analysis can be found in table 5.

Alcohol portrayal. The alcohol portrayal included the consumption of alcohol, the calculated alcohol quantity and the product category. Furthermore, it was coded if a brand was visible and if this brand was also tagged in the post.

Alcohol consumption. Adapted from the research of Gosselt et al. (2018), alcohol consumption was defined by three categories: Active alcohol consumption (when the SMI is actually drinking, thus

touching the glass/bottle with the mouth), passive alcohol consumption (when the SMI is holding a drink in the hand or the consumption is only implied) and no consumption (when the SMI does not touch the bottle/glass in any way, but if the glass/bottle is portrayed anywhere in the picture (e.g., a bottle of wine standing on the table or liquor displayed in the background of a bar)).

Alcohol quantity. The amount of alcohol displayed in a post was determined by 'standard glasses'. Through this division, an indication could be given of the average level of alcohol shown in the picture. An overview of the type of alcohol and the accompanying standard glasses can be found in Appendix C.

Table 5
Alcohol portrayal

Variable	Details
Alcohol consumption	Active, passive, no consumption
Alcohol quantity	Standard glasses of alcohol shown
Product category	Beer, wine, champagne/prosecco/sparkling wine, liquor, cocktails and mixed drinks, mixed beers (e.g., Corona), gin and tonic, other (alcohol processed in food), multiple
Brand visibility	Absent or present
Brand	Name of the brand

Laws and regulations. Lastly, data regarding the laws and regulations were gathered. This level of analysis includes if educational slogans were present in the caption or in the hashtag of the post. Additionally, it was analyzed if disclosures were present in the caption, hashtags and/or through the Instagram feature. Variables regarding the laws and regulations can be found in table 6.

Estimated age of the influencer and estimated age of the displayed person. In the Netherlands, the legal age to consume and to buy alcohol is 18 years. Both, the age of the SMI as well as the person

captured in the post were both coded as it is possible that even if the accountholder's age (the SMI's age) is estimated above 18 years, an underaged person can be present in the post.

Table 6
Laws and regulations

Variable	Details
Age of the displayed person	Absent, under 18 years, reference age until 25 years, unmistakably old enough
Recognition of the cooperation	Absent, paid (in hashtag or caption), paid (Instagram feature), both (hashtag or caption and feature), paid (not alcohol-related)
Cooperation distinction	ad, sponsored, partner
Educational slogan	Absent or present
Educational slogan distinction	No 18, no alcohol; drink responsibly; enjoy responsibly; don´t share content with those who aren´t
Logo	Absent or present
Logo distinction	Pregnant, enjoy responsible, don't drink and drive

On the whole, any features that could only be absent or present (e.g., face present) were measured as 0 (absent) and 1 (present). Latent content, which could be partially present, was measured on a scale. For instance, the level of nudity was coded absent (0), low (1), moderate (2), and high (3). Furthermore, an inductive method was handled when collecting the hashtags or brands visible. Lastly, some variables were scored as count, like the number of posts or the likes on a post. Hence, after defining the list of SMI with the accompanying posts and the codebook, a pre-test took place.

Pre-test and pre-test results

Before starting the actual coding procedure, a pre-test was executed to ensure the suitability of the chosen categories, the reliability of the coded variables as well as interrater reliability. After developing the codebook, which was based on a literature review and a test sample of posts ($N= 10$), a pre-test sample of 25 Instagram posts was independently coded by two coders, the researcher and a trained research assistant.

First, the researcher gave an introduction as well as an explanation of the codebook to the second coder. The second coder was asked to take the whole post into account, meaning the image and the textual references. Although, not all variables were coded during the pre-test, as some items could be easily extracted from the profile (such as the number of likes) and do not have room for interpretation. During this coding procedure, the possibility was given to discuss obstacles and problems the second coder encountered to overcome inconsistencies. Both persons coded the variables separately in Microsoft Excel and afterward, both findings were combined and converted by the researcher into SPSS. At last, the two coding schemes were related to each other and disagreements of specific topics were discussed.

In this study, interrater reliability was measured with Cohen`s Kappa (Landis & Koch, 1977). As a result of the pre-test, an overall Cohen`s Kappa was calculated ($K= 0.9$), which indicates an almost perfect agreement between the two coders. Nevertheless, four items scored under $K= 0.7$, namely the sectors of operationalization 'lifestyle' ($K= 0.63$) and 'beauty' ($K= 0.36$), the theme wealth ($K= 0.60$) and the age displayed in the post ($K= 0.62$). After consulting the second coder it became clear that the description of these items was not detailed enough. Therefore, the explanation of these items was adapted with an enhanced definition to provide more clarity for further coding procedures. In conclusion, (almost) all variables were understood correctly by both coders. The results of the interrater reliability are satisfactory.

All in all, once the pre-test was executed, and the codebook finalized, the actual data collection took place using SPSS. As a consequence of time constraints, subsequent coding was performed by one researcher.

To investigate the characteristics of an alcohol-related posts by Dutch social media influencers on Instagram several descriptive analyses were done. Furthermore, relations between the commercialization of a post and the user engagements (likes and comments) are elaborated by using one-ways ANOVAS. Lastly, it was analyzed how the alcohol-related posts comply with the Dutch Advertising Code.

Results

This chapter presents the results of the study investigating the portrayal of alcohol of Dutch social media influencers on Instagram. In the following, the results are provided per research question. First, the characteristics of the sampled SMI were determined. Next, the main characteristics of alcohol-related posts were analyzed among which the social evaluative content. Third commercialization of the posts were explored, followed by the user engagement. Next, it was investigated whether implications regarding the Dutch Advertising Code took place in posts. In the end, additional analyses took place exploring relationships between different variables.

Descriptive analyses

Characteristics of the influencers

Table 7 gives an overview of all variables coded regarding the characteristics of the SMI. Results show that none of these SMI were perceived younger than 18 years. Furthermore, even though a diverse sample in gender was aspired, 63.3% of all sampled influencers were female. Interestingly, SMI specializing in the sector 'food and beverages' are only present in 4.2% of the sample and are mostly operating in the sector lifestyle (35.8%) and fashion (68.3%).

Table 7
Characteristics social media influencers

Variable	*n (= 480)*	*(%)*	Explanation
Age influencer			
Reference age (25 years)	372	77.5	
Old enough	108	22.5	
Gender			
Male	176	36.7	
Female	304	63.3	
Sector (Σ= 640)			
Lifestyle	328	68.3	
Fashion	172	35.8	
Travel	48	10	
Photography	40	8.3	
Beauty	20	4.2	
Food and Beverages	20	4.2	
Sports	12	2.5	

Characteristics of alcohol-related posts

The characteristics of alcohol-related posts are displayed in table 8. Most Instagram posts presented alcohol in a social positive context (84.4%). In contrast, in hardly any picture alcohol appeared in a negative context (two posts). After evaluating these two posts in greater detail it became clear that the posts did not represent the consequences of alcohol. To begin with, in the first post the SMI was sitting in front of an open fridge to cool down due to hot weather. In the photo, canes of beer next to other things in the fridge were present without explicitly referring explicitly to alcohol. The second post included the caption 'When you realize you didn't even make it halfway through dry January". In this photo the SMI is holding a glass of wine while looking disappointed referring to one's self endurance to obtain from alcohol.

Moreover, alcohol was primarily depicted in commercial places (e.g., restaurants, pub) and in public spaces (e.g., parks, having a picknick). Furthermore, the sampled posts displayed mostly socializing themes likes friendship (33.1%) and partying (24.2%). Additionally, in almost every post people are present (91.1%). Worth mentioning is also that more than 60% of the pictures are representing alcohol during the day. See table 8 for a more detailed overview of the distributions.

Table 8
Characteristics of alcohol-related posts

Variable	*n (= 480)*	*(%)*	*Example*
Social evaluative context			
Positive	405	84.4	Laughing, having fun, etc.
Negative	2	0.4	Sad, disapprove, having a hard time, etc.
Neutral	73	15.2	No explicit judgment, a photo of a table with beer
People present			
Absent	42	8.8	No person, but e.g. a table with a bottle of wine.
Present	438	91.2	If a person or a part of a person (hand) is present.
One	209	43.5	
Two	124	25.8	
Three	41	8.5	
Three +	64	13.3	More than three persons are displayed.
Face present			
Absent	56	11.7	
Present	424	88.3	

Context of portrayal

Commercial	217	45.2	Restaurant, club, terrace, pub, festival
Public space	124	26.8	Park, shopping center, being outside (picknick)
Holiday	66	13.8	Hotel, airport, boat, beach
Home	61	12.7	Kitchen, living room, balcony
Store	5	1.0	Supermarket, liquor store
Work	4	0.8	Office, desk at office
Sports	2	0.4	Gym, golf/tennis court, football arena
Unknown	1	0.2	When a bottle is presented on a black background only.

Themes & Appeals (Σ= 780)

Friendship	159	33.1
Party	116	24.2
Holiday	91	19
Weekend	54	11.3
Food	54	11.3
Information	51	10.6
Wealth	48	10
Humor	46	9.6
Love	40	8.3
Other	39	8.1
Self-reward	34	7.1
Individuality	23	4.8
Relaxation	16	3.3
Sexual connotations	9	1.9

Level of sexual appeal

Absent	69	14.4	No person is present (e.g., table with glasses).
Present	411	85.6	A person is present.
Low	349	72.7	The person is fully dressed.
Moderate	52	10.8	The person shows some cleavage and skin.
High	10	2.1	The person is naked or almost naked (bikini).

Time of the day

Day	303	63.1	The image appears to be taken in the daylight.
Night	176	36.7	The image appears to be taken in the evening.
Unknown	1	0.2	The bottle is placed on an all-black background.

Cuteness

Absent	462	96.3	
Present	18	3.7	
Baby/Child	8	1.7	A little child is holding a bottle of beer.
Animation	7	1.4	Mascot, cartoon or other similar.
Animal	3	0.6	Dog, cat, rabbit etc.

Table 9 presents the characteristics of alcohol. Mainly, alcohol was passively "consumed", representing 64.2% of all posts. Displaying 'no consumption' made up to around 25%. Only around 10% of the SMI were actually drinking alcohol in the picture. Regarding the product category, especially wine (37.7%) and champagne/sparkling wine/prosecco (20.8%) were presented in the pictures, followed by beer (14.6%) and mixed drinks (14.6%). Additionally, the average standard glasses influencers were presenting in one post are three (*M*= 3.01, *SD*= 5.01) (see Appendix C for the list of standard glasses of alcohol).

Interestingly, regarding the context of the caption, more than 50% of the caption did not include any references to alcohol whether a textual reference in the caption nor an alcohol-related emoji (i.e., an alcoholic beverage) (see Appendix B for the overview of alcohol-related emojis).

Table 9
Characteristics alcohol

Variable	n (=480)	(%)	Example
Alcohol consumption			
Active	50	10.4	The mouth is touching the beverage.
Passive	308	64.2	Holding the beverage in the hand.
No consumption	122	25.4	The beverage is not touched.
Product Category			
Wine	181	37.7	Red wine, rosé, white wine
Sparkling	100	20.8	Champagne, Prosecco
Beer	70	14.6	Pils, strong beer
Mixed drinks	70	14.6	Cocktails, Captain Morgan Cola
Mixed beers	23	4.8	Corona, Desperados
Liquor	18	3.8	Vodka, Schnaps
Multiple	13	2.7	Several products are displayed.
Gin & Tonic	5	1	
Standard glasses			
Multiple	53	11.0	Uncountable alcoholic drinks are present (e.g. at a party)
Present	427	89.0	
1 glass	130	27.1	A glass of wine is present.
2 glasses	79	16.5	Two glasses of beer are displayed.
0.9 glasses	33	6.9	A mixed beer (Desperados) is present.
1.8 glasses	25	5.2	
8.5 glasses	21	4.4	A bottle and a glass of wine are present.
7.5 glasses	19	4.0	

Context of caption

Absent alcohol	253	52.7	"Love this dress", "Great night"
Question	12	2.5	"Prints on prints, yay or nay?"
Winning	1	0.2	"Win een weekendje weg"
Present alcohol	191	39.8	"Cheers", "Lekker wijn"
Question	17	3.5	"What is your favorite drink?"
Winning	4	0.8	"Win 12 special beers, if..."
Alcohol combi	2	0.4	"This tonic is perfect for my gin & tonic".

Commercialization of alcohol-related posts (brand visibility and disclosure)

Table 10 illustrates the commercialization of alcohol-related posts including the visibility of brands, brand tags and alcohol-related hashtags. Regarding the visibility of an alcohol brand, far more than the half of the posts (77.5%) could not be clearly recognized as branded content (e.g., no display of a logo visible). Nevertheless, the three brands mainly displayed are Desperados (3.3%), Moët (3.1%) and Heineken (2.1%). By closer inspection of these posts, it became clear that these brands have very prominent logos, which are distinguishing from other brands and clearly recognizable. Heineken, for instance, has a high recognition factor through the green bottle and the red star included in the logo. In addition, the Moët bottle is also very eye-catching through the label name on the neck of the bottle and a prominent red dot. Furthermore, white champagne glasses with the lettering of the brand Moët makes it easy to recognize the brand (see Appendix D for examples of these posts). Additionally, it is not surprising that even though in only around 10% of the posts an alcohol brand was tagged, among the most common brands were Desperados and Moët. Moreover, with respect to textual references of the posts, in 13.5% at least one hashtag was referring to alcohol.

It is apparent from this table that a very few brands are present several times in SMI's post. Therefore, a comprehensive view of all visible brands can be found in Appendix E and Appendix F provides a list of all the brands tagged in the sampled posts. An overview of all alcohol-related hashtags used on the 480 posts is given in Appendix G.

Table 10

Commercialization of alcohol-related posts

Variable	n (= 480)	(%)	Example
Alcohol brand visibility			
Absent	372	77.5	
Present	108	22.5	
Top brands visible (Σ= 104)			
Desperados	17	3.3	
Moët	15	3.1	
Heineken	10	2.1	
AIX	4	0.8	
Ketel One	4	0.8	
Amstel	3	0.6	
Aperol	3	0.6	
Corona	3	0.6	
Grolsch	3	0.6	
Ibiza Ice	3	0.6	
Peachtree	3	0.6	
Tag of brand			
Absent	435	90.6	
Present	45	9.4	
Desperados	6	1.3	
Moët	6	1.3	
Ketel One	3	0.6	
Peachtree	3	0.6	
Other	27	5.8	Brands that were tagged once or twice.
Alcohol-related hashtags			
Absent	415	86.5	
Present	65	13.5	#alcohol, #cocktail, #cheers, #vodka, etc.
Top 10 alcohol # (Σ= 167)			
#wine	12	2.5	
#cocktails	8	1.7	
#drinks	7	1.5	
#champagne	6	1.3	
#cheers	5	1.0	
#moetchandon	4	0.8	
#vino	4	0.8	
#winetasting	4	0.8	
#winelover	4	0.8	

User engagement (likes and comments)

Table 11 presents descriptive outcomes regarding the user engagement. The user engagement includes reactions of users in terms of likes and comments. On average, a sampled post received 6127 likes (M= 6127.44, SD= 9403.05). In total of all 37866 comments, the number of comments per post ranged from 0 to 1415. The average number of reactions was 79 comments per post (M= 78.89, SD= 129.63). In almost 60% of the posts at least one of the comments had an explicit reference to alcohol. These reactions mostly contained references about clinking glasses (24.8%), a general alcohol-related statement (24.4%) or included an alcohol-related emoji (19.4%). Moreover, only 12 comments expressed negativity towards the display of alcohol.

Table 11
Commercialization and user engagement per post

Variable	*n*	*(%)*	*Example*
Comments alcohol			
Absent	201	41.9	
Present	279	58.1	
Explicit reference alcohol			
Clinking glasses	119	24.8	Cheers, proost, salute, chin chin, etc.
Alcohol in general	117	24.4	"I like drinking", "This drink tastes amazing"
Emoji	93	19.4	Glass of red wine, cocktail glass
Wine	60	12.5	"Red wine please"
Beer	33	6.9	"Tasty beer"
Brand names	36	7.1	Grolsch, Heineken, Cava, Aperol, Moët, etc.
Negative statement	12	2.5	"I don´t like drinking alcohol"

Sponsorship disclosure, educational slogans and age of the SMI

The last table (table 12) presents descriptive numbers regarding the disclosure and regulations of alcohol marketing. In total, only 20 posts disclosed a cooperation between a SMI and an alcohol brand. Here, mostly the hashtag #ad was used by the sampled SMI for disclosure of the cooperation. Additionally, educational slogans were barely present. Moreover, people in these posts were mainly perceived as 18+ years, except in eight cases where an underaged person (under the legal age of 18 years to consume alcohol in the Netherlands) was presented. After these eight posts have been

evaluated in greater detail it became clear that one post included kids only, three posts displayed persons of legal drinking age with a baby somewhere present in the picture and the other four posts showed the same SMI, who was perceived as under 18 years. With respect to the presence of alcohol when an underaged person was present, alcohol was never actively or passively consumed by that underaged person. Moreover, the incongruence between the number of people present (table 8) and the absence of the age of the person (table 12) is that 'people present' was also coded when body parts were shown (i.e., the age of the person could not be guessed without the face or whole body visible).

Table 12
Disclosure, slogans and age person displayed

Variable	*n*	*(%)*	*Example*
Recognition of cooperation (Σ= 20)			
Hashtag or caption	17	2.9	Disclosure present in the hashtag or caption.
Instagram feature	1	0.2	"Paid partnership with…"
Both	2	0.4	Feature + #ad/#spon/#partner
Distinction cooperation hashtag (Σ= 19)			
#ad	14	3.5	
#spon/#sponsored	4	0.8	
#partner	1	0.2	
Educational slogan			
Absent	467	97.1	
Present	13	2.7	
No 18, no alcohol	8	1.7	
Drink responsibly	2	0.4	
Enjoy responsibly	3	0.6	
Age of the person displayed			
Absent	41	8.5	
Present	439	91.5	
Under 18	8	1.7	
18 – 25 years	327	68.1	
Old enough	104	21.7	

In the following, relationships between several variables were investigated by primarily one-way analysis of variances (ANOVA). Levene´s test was used to examine the homogeneity of variances and if equal variances were not supported, Welch`s *F* applied. Furthermore, several Chi-Square tests were executed in order to investigate the possible commercialization of the sampled alcohol-related posts and the relationships between the type of SMI.

Possible relationships between several variables and user engagement

Social context of alcohol-related posts (presence of people and face display)

A one-way ANOVA was executed to explore the impact of the **presence of people on the number of likes and comments**. As the assumption was violated a Welch F-test needed to be examined. As a result, there is a statistically significant difference of the presence of people (absent vs. one person vs. two persons or more) on the **number of likes** (F(2, 477)= 1.96, *p*= .008) (absent: *M*= 3443.86, *SD*= 5353.17; one person: *M*= 6565.09, *SD*= 8684.00; two or more persons: *M*= 6220.20, *SD*= 10502.05) and on the **number of comments** (F(2, 477)= 15.91, *p*< .001) (absent: *M*= 50.45 *SD*= 79.88; one person: *M*=115.77, *SD*= 170.09; two or more persons: *M*= 50.45, *SD*= 74.52).

Furthermore, there is a statistically significant difference between **faces displayed in the post and the number of likes** (F(1, 478)= 3.09, *p*= .02), but there is not a significant difference with **the number of comments** (F(1, 478)= 2.27, *p*= .13).

Context of caption and alcohol-related comments

Furthermore, a one-way ANOVA was executed in order to determine the possible relationship between the **context of caption (alcohol related vs. non-alcohol related) and the user engagement**. The results indicated a significant difference between the context of caption and the number of alcohol-related comments (*F*(1, 478)= 38.58, *p*< .001). Alcohol-related comments were more often displayed when an alcohol-related caption was displayed (*M*= 5.43, *SD*= 10.55) than a non-alcohol related caption (*M*= 1.8, *SD*= 4.27).

Alcohol consumption displayed and the number of alcohol-related comments

First a one-way ANOVA was executed resulting in a not statistically significance (*F*(2, 298)= 1.13, *p*= .33) between **alcohol consumption and the number of alcohol-related comments**. As indicated by a visual display of a **means plot**, the means of active consumption (*M*= 3.61, *SD*= 6.41) and passive consumption (*M*= 3.63, *SD*= 10.81) are similar in means in contrast to no consumption (*M*= 1.82, *SD*= 6.39). Therefore, a new variable was created with two levels of consumption: alcohol

consumption present (active + passive) and alcohol consumption absent (no consumption). As a result, a not statistically significance was not given. However, the scatterplots indicated a **correlation between the variables alcohol consumption and number of alcohol comments.**
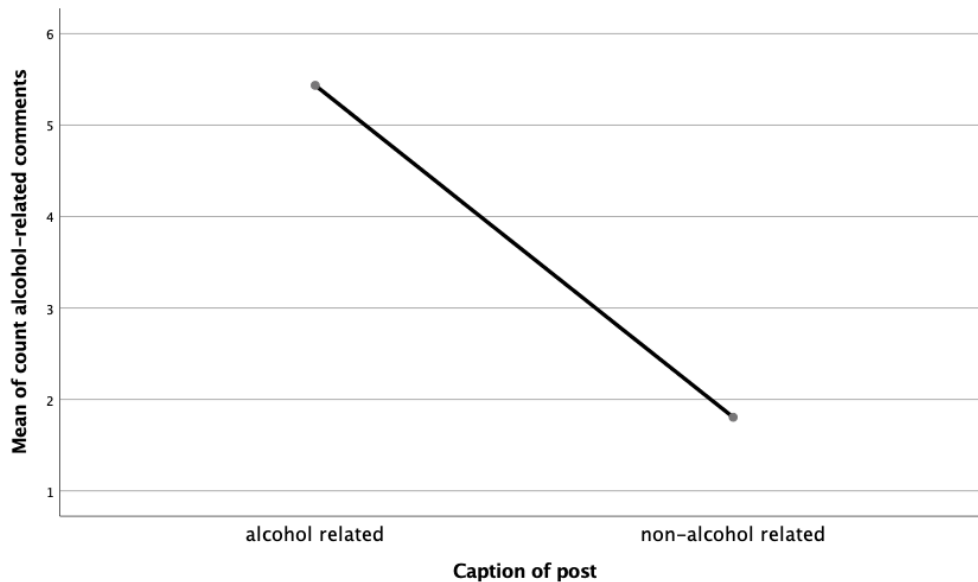

Figure 1. Correlation between caption of post and alcohol-related comments.

Moreover, there is a significant difference between **the alcohol consumption and the general number of comments** (*p*= .028).

Sexual appeal

Next, the presence of the **level of sexual appeal** did significantly influence the number of likes on a post. There was a statistically significant difference between groups as determined by one-way ANOVA ($F(3, 476)= 6.32, p< .001$). The means of the level of sexual appeal revealed that the moderate level of nudity (*M*= 10002.52, *SD*= 12274.20) and the high level of nudity (*M*=9921.10, *SD*= 13623.20) have statistically more **likes** than a low level of nudity (*M*= 6069.33, *SD*= 9303.0). In regard with the **number of comments**, there is not a statistically significant difference between the levels of sexual appeal $F(3, 476)= 1.67, p= .17$.

Recognition of the cooperation and the number of likes and comments

One-way ANOVA did not show any significant difference between the recognition of the cooperation and the number of likes ($F(1,478)= 0.51$, $p= .48$) and the number of comments ($F(1,478)= 0.35$, $p= .56$). It can be indicated that, by looking at the means and the means plots, there is evidence of a linear correlation. However, due to the low number of recognized cooperation's ($n= 20$) it is difficult to make a statement about this possible relationship. But what can be stated is, that from the sample of posts only a small amount indicated a clear cooperation.
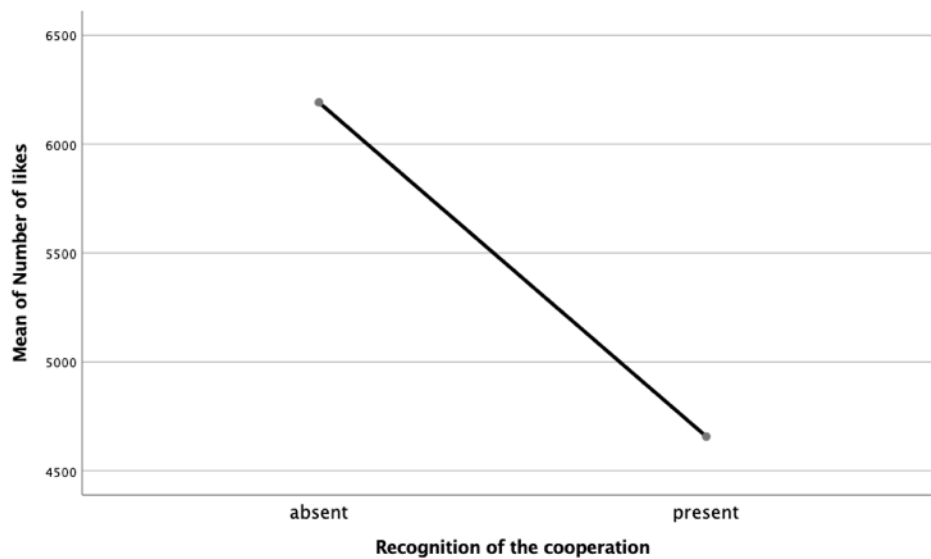
Figure 2. Recognition of the cooperation and the number of likes.
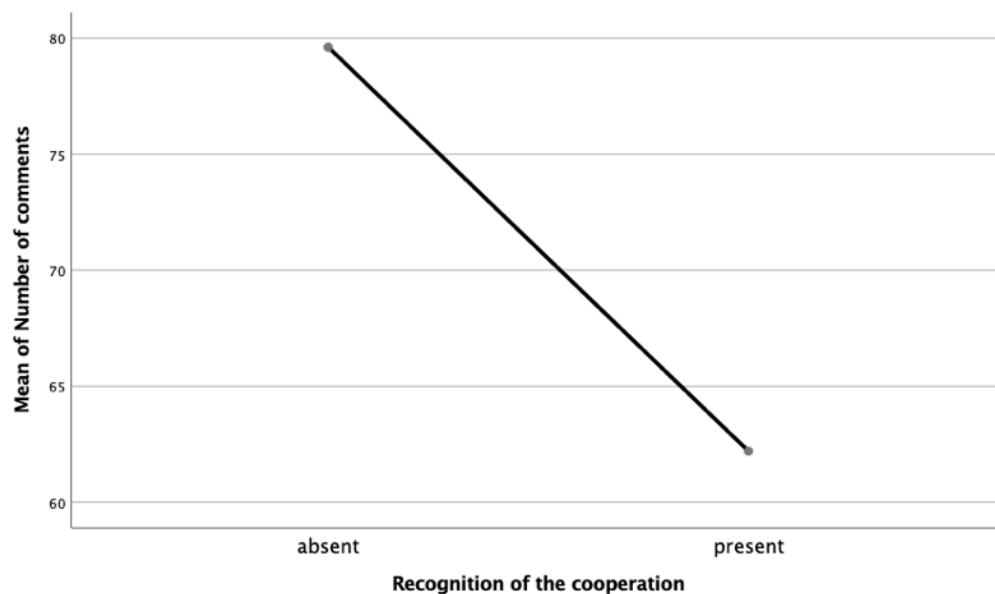
Figure 3. Recognition of the cooperation and the number of comments.

Average likes/comments on general posts and average likes/comments on alcohol-related posts

In order to investigate if alcohol-related posts of the sampled influencers receive on average more or less likes and comments than general posts of the same influencer, a paired sample t-test was executed. Compared were the average number of likes and comments given on the general profile of the influencers and the average number of likes and comments on the sampled alcohol-related posts. As a result, it was revealed that there was a significant difference in both, the average number of likes and average number of comments (both *p* < .001). With regard to the average likes, **alcohol-related posts receive significantly more likes** (*M*= 6127.44, S*D*= 9403.10) than the general posts on the influencer's accounts (*M*= 5518.70, SD= 7848.15). Interestingly, in regard to the average number of comments, **less comments are given on alcohol-related posts** (*M*= 78.89, *SD*= 129.63) than on the general posts of the influencers account (*M*= 88.65, *SD*= 108.17). However, despite this outcome it can be argued that this result is not surprising. On Instagram, a post receives a like faster than a comment as writing a comment on a post takes more effort and time. Daily, more than 4.2 billion likes are given on this social networking platform (West, 2019). Hence, it can be argued that a like is an easy way for 'distant friends' to maintain a relationship and give approval of content without requiring much effort.

Table 13

Means and standard deviations for user engagement

| | User engagement | | | |
| | Likes | | Comments | |
Variable	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Social context				
No person	3443.86	5353.17	50.45	79.09
One person	6565.09	8684.01	115.77	170.09
Two persons +	6220.20	10502.05	50.45	74.52
No faces shown	40055.48	5792.27	54.39	74.71
Faces shown	6401.10	9752.79	82.12	134.95
Caption				
Non-alcohol related			1.37	4.87
Alcohol related			5.70	13.13
Sexual appeal				
Absent	2949.77	4299.46	49.48	77.20
Low	6069.33	9303.0	82.79	142.57
Moderate	10002.52	12274.20	83.67	72.31
High	9931.10	13623.20	120.80	156.05
Recognition of cooperation				
Absent	6191.37	9502.0	79.61	131.72
Present	4657.05	6747.19	62.20	64.75

Note. *M* and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively.

Possible relationships between the category of influencers and other variables

User engagement

An independent sample t-test indicated that there is a significant difference between **micro and macro influencers regarding the number of likes** (micro influencer: *M*= 1416, *SD*= 1814.38; macro influencer: *M*= 10838.84, *SD*= 11372.44) conditions; t(478)= -12.68, *p*< .001) and **the number of comments** (micro influencer: *M*= 36.82, *SD*= 52.56; macro influencer: *M*= 120.96, *SD*= 165.41) conditions; t(478)= -7.51, *p*< .001). These results suggest that the type of influencer, hence macro

influencers with a higher number of followers, increase the number of likes and the number of comments.

Disclosures

The potential relationship between the **category of influencer (micro vs. macro**) and the presentation of **disclosure** was illustrated with a Chi-square. There was not a significant association between the category of influencer and the disclosure of a sponsored post (X^2= .86, *df*= 1, *p*= .36). Although, this outcome can be due to the low number of visible sponsorship (*n*= 19).

Other additional analyses

Recognition of cooperation and brand tagged

A Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the possible relationship between a tag of a brand the recognition of the cooperation. The **potential relationship between these variables was significant**, X^2= 90.28, *df*= 1, *p*< .001. **A recognition of a cooperation was more likely to be present when a brand was tagged** (*n*= 14) (tag and cooperation) in contrast to (*n*= 6) (no tag, but cooperation), brand tagged but cooperation absent (*n*= 31). However, as one of the cells has an expected frequency of less than 5 Fisher`s exact test was computed. As a result, there still was a significant difference between the variables (two-tailed Fisher's exact *p*< .001). But, with such a small sample size of the recognition being present (*n*= 20) the findings might best be regarded as marginally significant and it is recommended that future studies should be carrying out more tests in order to establish the outcome with more certainty.

Brand visibility and brand tagged

A Chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the potential relation between brand visibility and the tag of a brand. When a brand is visible and also tagged in a post could give an indication for a cooperation between alcohol brand and influencer. This possible relation between these variables was significant, X^2= 80.16, *df*= 1, *p*< .001. A brand was more likely to be tagged if a brand was visible (*n*=34) in contrast to an absence in brand visibility (*n*= 11).

Discussion

Former studies have argued that alcohol-related posts from peers on SNS can lead to an increase in drinking behavior among adolescents (Boyle et al., 2016; Chen et al., 2005; Glassman, 2012; Ridout, 2016). Even though the percentage of people using Instagram in the Netherlands is rapidly increasing (Newcom Research & Consultancy, 2019) and the strong impact SMI might have on adolescents (Berryman & Kavka, 2017), to date, only one study (content analysis) has explored the portrayal of alcohol through influencers on Instagram. Therefore, the overall aim of this study was to examine alcohol-related posts displayed by Dutch social media influencers on Instagram. In total, **eight main findings** were revealed and are deliberated in this final discussion.

The characteristics of alcohol-related posts

Positive contexts. The first findings are related to the characteristics of alcohol-related posts. The results of the present study indicate that the majority of the sampled posts are presented in a **positive way (84.4%)** with **social interaction** whether alcohol being actually consumed or being passively in the picture. These findings are in line with studies of Beullens and Schepers (2013) and Moreno et al. (2010) who found that alcohol is mainly consumed in positive contexts. Furthermore, consistent with this literature, the current study detected negative alcohol representation in only two posts. Given that people, in particular SMI, have the tendency to maintain a positive online self-presentation in order to gain virtual approval of others (Jackson & Luchner, 2018), it might not be surprising that alcohol is mainly displayed positively.

Social contexts. Furthermore, another important finding was that alcohol was generally presented in **social contexts**. It was investigated that most posts reflect **social settings** like commercial places (e.g., pubs and clubs) and public places (e.g., on the street, in the park, just being outside). This also accords with our other observations, demonstrating that the themes and appeals projected the most are friendship and partying. These results reflect those of Hendriks, Van den Putte, Gebhardt, and Moreno (2018), who conducted a content analysis of alcohol-related posts among users on Facebook and Instagram, and revealed that alcohol was mainly consumed in social settings. Regarding

the **social learning theory** (Bandura & Walters, 1977) it can be emphasized that, alcohol shown in positive contexts can lead to positive alcohol-related beliefs and norms. This can result in normalization of alcohol consumption through observations of certain behaviors and in turn can imitate that behavior. Moreover, Bot et al. (2005) did a study on best friends' drinking behavior and alcohol consumption among adolescents and found that **socialization is the driving factor** for coping that displayed behavior. Hence, regarding the social learning and social norms theory, the display of alcohol in a positive context through Dutch SMI may lead to more alcohol consumption.

Additionally, as SMI can be seen as friends or peers, whose opinions are perceived as more trustworthy than traditional media (Berryman & Kavka, 2017; Shamsudeen & Ganeshbabu, 2018), this trustworthiness could enhance the consumption of alcohol when portrayed in the posts. Accordingly, as users can even more identify with people who follow the same values and interests (Hilker, 2013; M. Scott, 2018). As the sampled SMI are perceived to be between 18 and 25 and thus, almost the same age as the primary age group of users (15 – 19 years) (Newcom Research & Consultancy, 2019), this younger audience might be more inclined to copy that behavior.

People present. Another important finding was that mostly one (43.5%) or two persons (25.8%) were present in the sampled posts. As Instagram is mostly about self-presentation, thus presenting the ideal self, the results were not unexpected. Current findings revealed that there is a significant difference in the **number of likes and the people present in the post**. If one or more than two persons were present in a post, these posts received significantly more likes than when no person is present. Hence, in regard to the social norms theory, if social settings include groups of people this can further increase the effect of the portrayal of alcohol as **then many approve** of the alcohol consumption.

Furthermore, this study confirms that the higher **the level of nudity** displayed in a post, the more likes the post received. As found in earlier studies, does sexual appeal attract attention (Lambiase & Reichert, 2006), which can explain the statistically significant increase in the number of likes.

Alcohol consumption. An initial objective of the project was to identify the characteristics of the alcohol portrayal. It is somewhat surprising that active alcohol consumption was only noted in around 10% of the posts. With respect to the alcohol consumption it was found that alcoholic beverages were mostly passively displayed (e.g., the person is holding a glass of wine) or no 'consumption' was present in these posts (e.g., a glass of wine is on the table without being touched). Mainly glasses with wine or sparkling alcohol like champagne was present. This can be explained by a recent study in Australia, which argues that these drinks seem to be more "instagrammable", thus visually beautiful, which in turn attracts especially the attention of female users (Australia, 2019).

Thus, potentially, this overly positive representation of alcohol on SNS may lead to an underestimation of the risks involved with alcohol abuse. These results could indicate that alcohol is only a means to the end of self-expression and authenticity in order to receive the highest likability (Smith & Sanderson, 2015). This self-presentation strategy on Instagram is central for SMI to form a social identity by portraying the self as expected to gain approval from others (Voahs et al. 2015) in form of likes.

The commercialization of alcohol-related posts (brand visibility, disclosure, likes & comments)

Brand visibility. Next, the commercialization of alcohol-related posts was investigated in this research. Findings revealed that **alcohol brands** were only clearly **visible** in approximately one fourth of the sampled posts (22.5%). These results reflect those of Lyons et al. (2014), who found that alcohol brands might use the strategy of blurring (i.e., beverages should merge with the content of SMI) so that the content is being perceived as UGC which in turn results in more credible messages. This is also in line regarding the **disclosure of branded content.** In only 20 sampled posts' a cooperation with an alcohol brand was recognizable on account of marking the post with one of the classical terms #ad, #spon, #collab or 'Paid partnership with'. Despite these findings, it cannot be made sure that that branded posts without disclosure were actually disguised commercials. Two reasons can support this statement. First, it can be argued that influencers receive money for branded posts. Therefore, it seems hard to imagine that these SMI would post about a brand for free, especially

when the brand is the 'center of attention' in the picture. Second, although the A**dvertising Code for Social Media and Influencer Marketing** includes the self-regulations to be transparent about a cooperation, influencers are not inclined by statutory law to disclose the partnership.

Furthermore, the sampled alcohol-related posts were mostly posted by SMI operating in the sectors lifestyle (68.3%) and fashion (35.8%). This is not surprising as these two sectors are the most common on Instagram among social media influencers (Socialbakers, 2019). These outcomes can indicate that alcohol is perfectly integrated into the content of SMI, which can therefore result in trustworthy content perceived by users (Boyle et al., 2016).

Even though the **reactance theory** of Brehm (1966) indicates that consumers are more resistant to content if disclosures are present, findings of the current study indicate that there was not a significant difference between the recognition of the cooperation and the number of likes. As stated in literature, possible explanation might be that consumers are less resistant of advertisements through influencer marketing than traditional advertisements (Atkinson et al., 2017; De Vries et al., 2012; Niland et al., 2017).

Caption. Additionally, even though alcohol was present in every sampled post, in only 40% of the sampled posts the **context of the caption** is explicitly referring to alcohol. After conducting a one-way ANOVA it became clear that if an alcohol-related caption was present, alcohol-related comments were more often displayed than when a non-alcohol-related caption was indicated. A possible explanation for this might be that users really want to engage with the content of a SMI or the SMI herself/himself by reacting to the caption of the post.

Comments. Additionally, findings indicate that in more than the half of the posts at least one **alcohol-related comment** was present. Mostly these are referred to as clinking glasses such as "cheers". This can again be related to the socializing factor and the normalization of alcohol. Next, which is also worth to mention that only in 12 of the 37866 comments, users made a **negative statement regarding alcohol**. In accordance with these results, previous studies have demonstrated

that alcohol is perceived as socially accepted among users so that negativity regarding the portrayal of alcohol is minimally displayed online (Atkinson et al., 2014; Trice & Beyer, 1977).

Average likes and comments. Further it was interesting to know comparing the average user engagement (likes and comments) on the SMI's profile and the average engagement on alcohol-related posts. As findings indicate, users on average, liked an alcohol-related posts significantly more often than other posts on the influencers profile. Regarding SNS which are in line with social desirability, the acceptance and tolerance toward alcohol use might explain this liking. As social media influencers appear strong in the approval of alcohol-related posts users may be more inclined to like these posts.

Alcohol advertisements and the guidelines of the Dutch Advertising Code

One of the main objectives of this study was if the self-regulation guidelines from the Dutch Advertising Code were addressed in the alcohol-related posts by Dutch SMI. Stated in the Dutch Advertising Code, it is not allowed to advertise alcohol if 25% of the audience is underaged. However, for outside parties this percentage is impossible to check. Instagram responded in a way to the law by restricting access for under 13-year old and therefore prohibit form creating accounts. Furthermore, alcohol brand accounts can include an age-gate check which prohibits the account for persons a certain age. But, this age-check restriction has possibly no effect on SMI-accounts as these, also found in this study, are mainly focusing on the topics fashion and lifestyle and not on advertising alcohol. This may also explain why in only 13 of the 480 posts an educational slogan was present to remind users of the restrictions on underaged drinking.

Overall, is argued that even though age-checks on Instagram are elaborated, these filters are not working as evidence suggests that underaged people are still exposed to alcohol (World Health Organization, 2019). As stated in the ACSMIM, SMI should be transparent about cooperation's with companies (Stichting Reclamecode, 2019). Even though a brand was tagged in around 45 posts, which might give evidence for a cooperation, in only a small amount of 19 posts, disclosure was given of a cooperation. If it is indeed the case that SMI advertise for alcohol brands (as might be inferred

indirectly from the 108 branded alcohol-related posts, but can be directly inferred from the 19 posts with sponsorship disclosures), then this suggests that the alcohol industry has found a way to reach minors though SMI. This is in line with findings by the WHO (World Health Organization, 2018) stating that the alcohol industry will find **loopholes** to advertise alcohol nevertheless of regulations.

All in all, this study cannot comment on the question whether the displayed alcohol-related posts through SMI actually affects the user's alcohol consumption but, through this research it became clear that alcohol-related posts on SNS through Dutch SMI are displayed by an overrepresentation of positive contexts and the general acceptance of alcohol use by users (through liking these posts). Additionally, regarding socio-cognitive theories (e.g., the need to belong, social norm theory) users' exposure to these alcohol-related posts can affect the perceived norms and the attitude to alcohol. Furthermore, in line with other studies it was interesting to see that there are similarities of characteristics of alcohol-related posts on SNS by Dutch SMI and general peer posts on SNS.

Regarding the exposure of the dependence causing substance alcohol, concern can be raised given that, SMI are aspired by young people (Hilker, 2013), which can increase the mimic of the intended behavior as a result of trust in the SMI and therefore the trust of the displayed product. This is alarming as, argued by WHO (World Health Organization, 2019), alcohol dependence has a stronger negative impact on minors than on adults which results in more accidents and a deceleration of brain development. As educational slogans are barely present, it might be that SMI are not aware of the fact that the display of alcohol in any way can affect the user`s alcohol consumption, especially the youth. Especially earlier drinking habits, in other words, youth or adolescents consuming alcohol, enhance the chances of alcohol dependence and accidents (World Health Organization, 2019).

The obstacle is that even though self-regulations are stated in the Netherlands, often it is not possible for any outstanding institution to see whether, for instance, 25% of the influencers' audience (thus the followers) is underaged or if a specific post is sponsored by an organization. Policy makers should keep in mind that in the Netherlands, daily 2.7 million users consume Instagram, that especially young people are using this SNS (increase of 58% of 15 -19 year olds in 2019) and that

globally, more than 95 million posts are uploaded every day (Newcom Research & Consultancy, 2019).

In the end, this study should make SMI as well as policy makers aware of the fact that alcohol is still one of the high-risk leading factors and that the exposure to alcohol-related posts might have an impact on the alcohol consumption. Regarding the disclosure of cooperation's between SMI and organizations, a beginning could be made by introducing a '**social code**' which is already implemented among YouTubers in the Netherlands. These guidelines were found by brands, organizations and several YouTubers to help to be transparent about advertising for advertisers, users and influencers (Code, 2018). Even though the social code is not an official implemented law, the implementation on Instagram could be a first step to create awareness amongst SMI about disclosures of cooperation's.

Future perspective

The internet is a fast-changing environment. Therefore, current developments which might affect social media influencers' business and alcohol brands marketing activities on Instagram are not uncommon. Three recent developments seem to have several repercussions on user behavior as well as SMI's cooperation's with brands.

1. Hiding likes on Instagram

Ongoing, Instagram is doing a trial by hiding likes on posts. This feature has already been piloted in several countries among which Germany, Ireland, Australia, Canada etc. However, several voices were raised regarding this development. Instagram itself argued that covering up likes should make users more comfortable in sharing content of their choice without having the fear receiving a small number of likes, which in turn should result in a better well-being and health of people (Constine, 2019, November 14). Regarding the impact on SMI it is asserted that this concealment of likes will "weaken their leverage over brand deals and promotions" (Holmes, 2019, November 11). As stated by Alhabash et al. (2013), who investigated Facebook users' intention to consume alcohol after being

exposed to alcohol-related messages, findings indicated that posts with high behavioral attention (e.g., many likes) had especially strong persuasive effects on the user to consume alcohol. Therefore, likes count as decisive for an influencers' success or the success of a campaign.

Results of the first trials indicated a general decrease in likes. Hidden likes might reduce the spend on influencer marketing and therefore, will increase the spend on Instagram ads, which earns the company more money. Due to the disappearance of the number of likes and the tendency of decreasing organic reach, marketers must increasingly invest in paid media, regardless of whether the goal is, for example, impression or conversion (Constine, 2019, November 14).

Hence, SMI might need adapt their strategies by, for instance, focusing more on key figures such as traffic, downloads, shopping baskets, etc. As a result, this can give a return to qualitative contributions instead of the immediate adaptation of functioning contents.

2. Buying possibilities

EUCAM asserts that Instagram is also more and more becoming a shopping platform where alcohol brands using different online strategies to reach consumers online (EUCAM, 2019, October 24). Hence, it is not surprising that since October 2019 it is possible for users to buy the first liquor brand (tequila brand Patrón) via ads in Instagram stories. At the checkout, users have to fulfill the following requirements: inserting their age and showing their ID. Stated by Patrón, the brand uses this marketing tool not only as a purchasing opportunity, but also to build a relationship with the consumer by measuring several KPI´s (conversion rate, clicks).

3. # Hashtagged

The wine industry might also have adapted their marketing strategy within the rise of the SNS Instagram. A report published by the Public Health Advocacy Institute of Western Australia, Cancer Council WA and the Alcohol Advertising Review Board emphasized that especially wines and sparkling alcohol are made appealing to women by designing them specifically for the female market. This includes, among other things, to make drinks pink and therefore, as argued, "instagrammable"

(Australia, 2019). In addition, during the search for posts for this study, this kind of "female, instagrammable" drink came along (see Figure 4). The producers of this wine also use the hashtag #pinkandjuicy, which may drive people to post about this wine when drinking 'pink and juicy'. Through this marketing strategy the producer might generate virality by consumers posting photos (for free).

Figure 4. The wine #hashtagged pink and juicy

Limitations and future research

Limitations

Sample influencers and sample post

This study is not without limitations. The first limitation that needs to be addressed is the sample group of influencers, which was investigated. Even though a diverse sample was aimed (male and female), forthcoming studies should also investigate males in relation to female influencers as in this study, mostly female influencers (67%) were present. Furthermore, even though it was aspired to gather the most prominent Dutch social media influencers, it cannot be made sure the goal was reached as no current statistical overview present. Therefore, it is not possible to know to what extent the present sample is representative of the Dutch social media influencers. Furthermore, the sampling technique might have led to the inclusion of profiles that are not the most prominent on Instagram.

Regarding the sample of posts there also might have been more alcohol present on the profile of the social media influencer in other posts. However, sometimes it was not clearly recognizable if the beverages presented in the picture really indicated alcohol. If also no reference has been made in the caption of the post, this post was not taken into account. In addition, some brands were easier to recognize because of their "key features" such as the unique label of the bottle of Moët or the logo of Desperados.

One coder

Due to time constraints, this study was conducted by only one coder. Accordingly, the subjectivity of the researcher may have influenced the results even though a pre-test was executed with a second coder, and interrater reliability had an almost perfect agreement. Nevertheless, some constructs required interpretation, such as the sector of influencer or the themes and appeals. Hence, this study can be redone using several trained coders and comparing the outcomes of these coding schemes.

Future research

Testing outcome in experiment

It was beyond the scope of this study to test the outcomes in an experiment. Future research could establish whether the exposure of these alcohol-related posts of social media influencers has genuinely an impact on adolescents drinking behavior. Participants could be exposed to these posts and asked afterward what someone wants to drink. Here an assortment of non-alcoholic and alcoholic beverages would be given in order to see if the participant would choose alcohol or not.

Another approach would be to ask participants of different cultures to describe and interpret the alcohol-related posts instead of using a coder. Attention could be given to cultural differences regarding alcohol use and acceptance. Thereby differences could arise between the coding and the interpretations of participants.

Audio-visuals

Future studies should also take a look into the audio-visuals such as Instagram stories, IGTV or videos uploaded by SMI. Here it would be interesting to investigate how alcohol is portrayed, for instance, on Instagram stories. As these posts include sound and motion the portrayal of alcohol could be framed differently by the influencer. Moreover, as investigated by research, Instagram stories gets more and more important for the user and this increase in usage also applies to influencers (West, 2019). Additionally, it is emphasized that videos receive a significantly higher engagement than pictures posted on SNS. As a result, it would be interesting to research if SMI advertise for alcohol brands in their stories and how alcohol is generally framed.

Conclusion

This research aimed to identify the portrayal of alcohol-related posts through Dutch social media influencers on Instagram and is one of the first studies investigating the communication of alcohol through social media influencers on Instagram. Based on a quantitative content analysis of 480 posts several points can be concluded:

- This study illustrates that the sample of Dutch social media influencers mainly portrayed alcohol in positive, social contexts.

- As social media influencers are seen as friends or spokespersons by adolescents, the portrayal of alcohol can be seen as "normal" since mainly young people are using Instagram, which increases the concern regarding the potential of earlier drinking habits when exposed to alcohol.

- Disclosures about cooperation's with an alcohol brands were barely present. In the current study only 20 posts were transparent of a paid partnership between SMI and brand as these labelled the posts with e.g., #ad, Paid partnership with Heineken. Even though self-regulations exist where it is stated to be transparent about a cooperation, the lack of being obtained by law to be transparent about a cooperation may be the reason for the small number of visible paid partnerships.

- Influencers may not be aware of the fact that alcohol is constantly present on their Instagram accounts and the consequences it might have on the audience. Hence, brands, when cooperating with an influencer should be clear in their task-description and should obligate influencers to be transparent about the content and to include educational slogans in the advertised content.

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&__hsfp=2743090641&hsCtaTracking=6bb80e1d-de1e-4995-a78e-
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Appendices

Appendix A

The final sample of Dutch social media influencers (Instagram names)

1. Amakahamelijnck	33. Wiepboers	65. k2im	97. ferrydoedens
2. Chantallelaurent	34. Ophelievita	66. katjaschuurman	98. moniquenoell
3. Cynthiapuntnl	35. Rosalievankalmthout	67. koenkardashian	99. nikkie_official
4. Daanerisman	36. Valerievandermeer	68. lizzyvdligt	100. jolielot
5. Bartvanmaanen	37. Linnndademunck	69. nikkimarinus	101. moderosaofficial
6. Diorno	38. Lisevanwijk	70. robbertrodenburg	102. sophiemay
7. Elise.bak	39. Marije	71. sophiemilzink	103. lusttildawn
8. Freek_van_noortwijk	40. Sarahrebeccanl	72. thysonb	104. irisamber
9. Gezaweisz	41. Maxdevries1	73. timdouwsma	105. polabur
10. Glitziegal	42. Tigervita	74. yara_michels	106. naomiavrahami
11. Isidoor	43. Marliekekoks	75. sabrina.meijer	107. jebroer
12. Joellegullitc	44. Wouterpeelen1	76. disfordazzle	108. rvdofficial
13. Kelvin_de_lang	45. Ronsimpson	77. Gregor	109. leontineborsato
14. Kevingeurts	46. Basvanschaik	78. Lindatol_	110. lecolook
15. Tomcornelisse	47. Timsenders	79. Ssernets	111. joshveldhuizen
16. Lottekeijser	48. Floortjeloves	80. Thootje	112. nicoleballardini
17. Markschadenberg	49. Amarenns	81. Carmenleenen	113. thestylevisitor
18. Nigel_vanderhorst	50. Janoukkelderman	82. Dutch.blend	114. tinneoltmans
19. Nmoszkowicz	51. Merelroozen	83. Esmeraldaattema	115. gwenvanpoorten
20. Phalerieau	52. Marcelstolk	84. Markhoekx	116. maradonnie
21. Rijkhofman	53. Kelly_weekers	85. Lizzyperridon	117. guus.meeuwis
22. Royatiya	54. Liesbethrasker	86. Juulszie	118. domien
23. Sabinecs	55. Themarv.dj	87. Donnyroelvink	119. missmontreal_
24. Thesocialgoodgirl	56. Weslodj	88. Jessiejazzvuijk	120. mariekeelsinga
25. Vincentbanic	57. Ylvavanwijk	89. Charelleschriek	
26. Willem_glas	58. Suusdebrock	90. Rebeccalaurey	
27. Hashtagbylily	59. Marjolein.vandenbroek	91. Bassmit	
28. Igrien.liu	60. Emiliesobels	92. The_beauty_issue	
29. Nicole_huisman	61. Bentheliem	93. Daphnevankerkhoff	
30. Jilla.tequila	62. Vivanhoorn	94. Pablolucker	
31. Laurenssophiemessack	63. Rianne.meijer	95. Cravingsinamsterdam	
32. Maximerokus	64. jaimievaes	96. timmonday	

Appendix B

List of alcohol-related emojis

Table B
Alcohol-related emojis

	Bottle with popping cork
	Wine glass
	Cocktail glass
	Tropical drink
	Beer mug
	Clinking beer mugs
	Clinking glasses
	Tumbler glass

Note: The list of emojis is reproduced from the source https://emojipedia.org/food-drink/.

Appendix C

Standard glasses of alcohol

The Health Council of the Netherlands, an independent scientific advisory body for government and parliament, published in November 2015 the Dietary Guidelines 2015. Based on the available scientific literature the advice of the Health Council concerning alcohol consumption is: "Don't drink alcohol or drink no more than one glass daily." Accordingly, to identify the average amount of alcohol displayed in a post, a division of standard glasses was coded in this study. This table gives an overview of the different types of alcohol and the corresponding standard glasses.

Table A
Standard glasses of alcohol and alcohol percentages

	Standard glasses	ml glass, bottle or tin	Alcohol percentage
Glass of beer	1	250 ml	5 %
Bottle of beer	1.2	300 ml	5 %
Half a liter of beer	2	500 ml	5 %
Glass of special beer	1.7	330 ml	6,5 %
Glass of special beer	2	330 ml	8 %
Glass of sparkling wine /prosecco/ champagne	1	100 ml	12 %
Bottle of sparkling wine /prosecco/ champagne	7,5	750 ml	12 %
Glass of wine	1	100 ml	12 %
Bottle of wine	7,5	750 ml	12 %
Glass of port wine	1.2	80 ml	19 %
Bottle of port wine	11.6	750 ml	19%
Glass sherry	1.1	80 ml	17 %
Mixed drink/bottle (example: Breezer)	0.9	275 ml	4,0 %
Shooter	0.3	20 ml	20 %
Glass of strong drink (vodka, tequila etc.)	1.1	35 ml	40 %
Bottle of strong drink	24	750 ml	40 %

Note: This table is created by the European Centre for Monitoring Alcohol Marketing (EUCAM)

Appendix D

Example posts of alcohol brands clear visibility
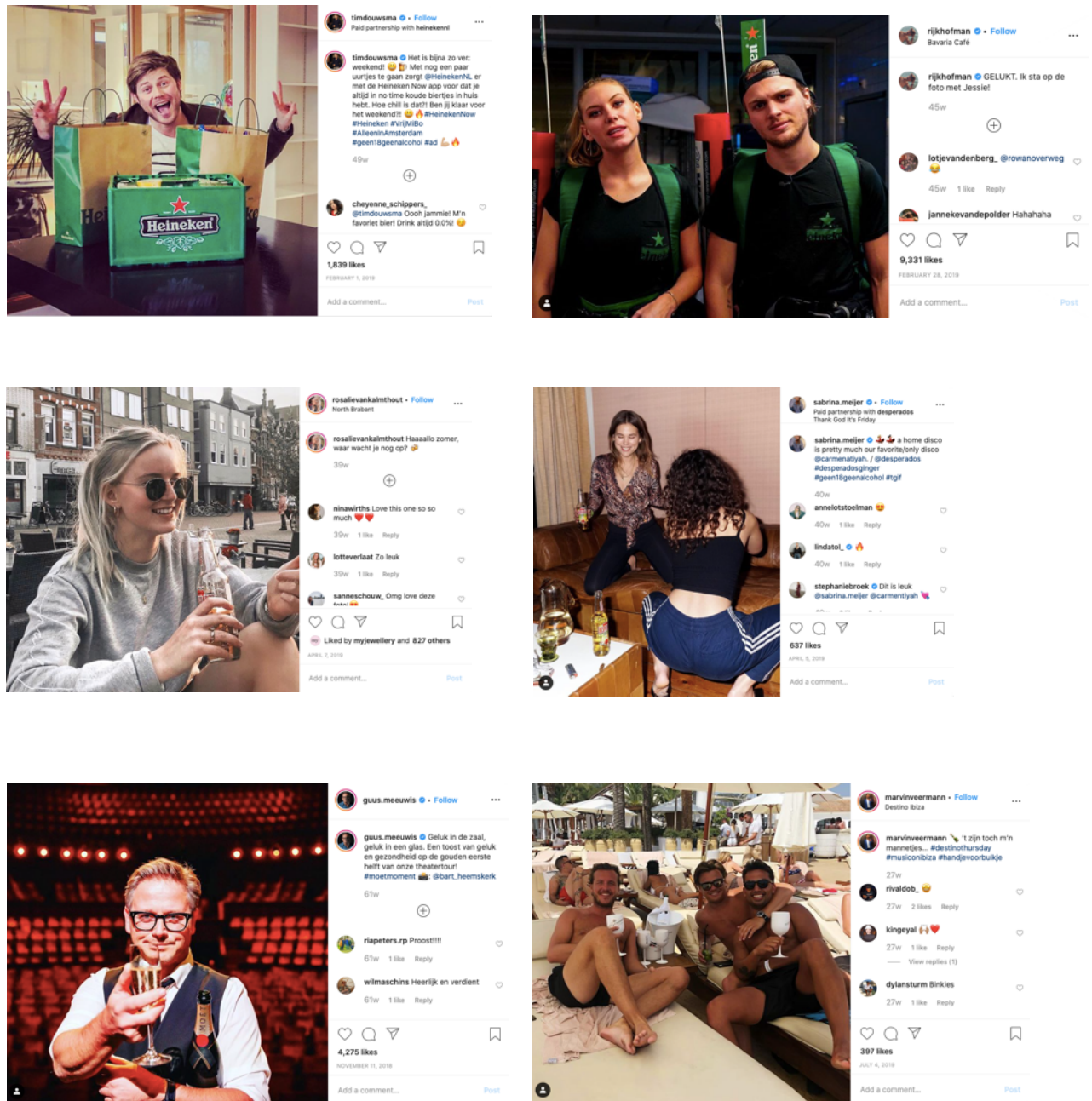
Appendix E

Visibility of alcohol brands

Table E

List of visible alcohol-brands

Brand	Σ= (104)	%
Desperados	17	3.5
Moët	15	3.1
Heineken	10	2.1
AIX	4	0.8
Ketel One	4	0.8
Amstel	3	0.6
Aperol	3	0.6
Corona	3	0.6
Grolsch	3	0.6
Ibiza Ice	3	0.6
Peachtress	3	0.6
Armand de Brignac	2	0.4
Bavaria	2	0.4
Breezer	2	0.4
Canada Goose	2	0.4
Jack Daniels	2	0.4
Jupiler	2	0.4
Affligem	1	0.2
Belvedere	1	0.2
Bintang	1	0.2
Budweiser	1	0.2
Cava	1	0.2
Chapter	1	0.2
Cointreau	1	0.2
Dom Perignon	1	0.2
Familie Pos	1	0.2
Flügel	1	0.2
Ginmare	1	0.2
Hashtagged Pink and Juicy	1	0.2
I am	1	0.2
Jägermeister	1	0.2
Malibu Rum	1	0.2
Miraval	1	0.2
Moavodka	1	0.2
Polar	1	0.2
Ruinart Rose	1	0.2
Sangredetoro	1	0.2
Champagne Taittinger	1	0.2
Tuborg	1	0.2
Veuveclicquot	1	0.2
Vignes n' Oc	1	0.2

Appendix F

Brand tags

Table F

List of brands tagged in posts

Brand	Σ= (45)	%
Desperados	6	1.3
Moët	6	1.3
Ketel One	3	0.6
Peachtree	3	0.6
AIX	2	0.4
Armanddebrignac	2	0.4
champagneofficiell	2	0.4
Ibiza Ice	2	0.4
Malibu Rum	2	0.4
Miraval	2	0.4
Roseallday	2	0.4
Taittinger champagne	2	0.4
Casa amigos	1	0.2
Chapterspirits	1	0.2
Cointreau	1	0.2
Flügel	1	0.2
Ginmare	1	0.2
Glenfiddich	1	0.2
Kornuit	1	0.2
Moavodka	1	0.2
Sangredetoro	1	0.2
Tanqueray	1	0.2
Veuveclicquot	1	0.2

Appendix G

Alcohol-related hashtags used for description of post

Table G

Variable hashtag	$\Sigma = (167)$	%
#wine	12	2.5
#cocktail	8	1.7
#drinks	7	1.5
#champagne	6	1.3
#cheers	5	1.0
#moetchandon	4	0.8
#vino	4	0.8
#winelover	4	0.8
#winetasting	4	0.8
#beer	3	0.6
#bottle	3	0.6
#liquor	3	0.6
#thirsty	3	0.6
#wineporn	3	0.6
#bar	2	0.4
#bartender	2	0.4
#beers	2	0.4
#craftcocktail	2	0.4
#desperados	2	0.4
#drink	2	0.4
#drinking	2	0.4
#drinkup	2	0.4
#gintonic	2	0.4
#glass	2	0.4
#ibizaice	2	0.4
#instawine	2	0.4
#ketelonevodka	2	0.4
#moetmoment	2	0.4
#peachtree	2	0.4
#pub	2	0.4
#rose	2	0.4
#sayyestothefles	2	0.4
#slurp	2	0.4
#theoriginalpeachtree	2	0.4
#thirstythursday	2	0.4
#winenot	2	0.4
#absinth	1	0.2
#alcoholic	1	0.2
#aix	1	0.2
#aixrose	1	0.2
#beersandboxers	1	0.2
#casaamigogoxnobu	1	0.2

#champagneshower	1	0.2
#champagner	1	0.2
#champagnelife	1	0.2
#champagnelover	1	0.2
#chaptergin	1	0.2
#cheerstolife	1	0.2
#cheerstothat	1	0.2
#cheerstotheweekend	1	0.2
#chinchin	1	0.2
#cocktails	1	0.2
#cocktailbar	1	0.2
#cocktailstories	1	0.2
#cocktailtime	1	0.2
#cointreau	1	0.2
#cointreaurussia	1	0.2
#desperadosginger	1	0.2
#domperignon	1	0.2
#drank	1	0.2
#dryjanuari	1	0.2
#emoji	1	0.2
#gin	1	0.2
#ginmare	1	0.2
#heineken	1	0.2
#heinekennow	1	0.2
#highwine	1	0.2
#fizzypeachtree	1	0.2
#foodandwine	1	0.2
#foodandwinewomen	1	0.2
#glenfiddich	1	0.2
#happyhour	1	0.2
#johnniewalker	1	0.2
#kornuit	1	0.2
#lekker	1	0.2
#letscocktail	1	0.2
#libbey	1	0.2
#libbeylifestyle	1	0.2
#maisonmoet	1	0.2
#malibugames	1	0.2
#maliburum	1	0.2
#miraval	1	0.2
#mixcointreau	1	0.2
#moavodka	1	0.2
#moet	1	0.2
#mychampagne	1	0.2
#neverthistipsy	1	0.2
#nooitgeenwijn	1	0.2
#pinkandjuicy	1	0.2
#roseallday	1	0.2

#sake	1	0.2
#salute	1	0.2
#sangredetoto	1	0.2
#sangria	1	0.2
#sangriawine	1	0.2
#sommelier	1	0.2
#spanishwayofwine	1	0.2
#spritzing	1	0.2
#tanqueray	1	0.2
#teacocktails	1	0.2
#veuvechichot	1	0.2
#vinoblanco	1	0.2
#vodka	1	0.2
#whiskeycocktail	1	0.2
#whiskeycocktails	1	0.2
#wineaddict	1	0.2
#winefriday	1	0.2
#winemaker	1	0.2
#wineoclock	1	0.2
#wineoftheday	1	0.2
#winepairing	1	0.2
#winesofinstagram	1	0.2
#winestagram	1	0.2
#winery	1	0.2
#yoigokochi	1	0.2