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How Do Young People Engage with Food Branding?

Project Final Report

Public Health Research Consortium

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

The relationship between food marketing and diet is an important area of research because of marketing's contribution to the obesogenic environment and to the rise in obesity in children and young people. Public health experts and nutritionists need to understand the nature and impact of commercial marketing if they are to develop appropriate policy responses, and also if they are to borrow learning from this field and apply it positively to efforts to promote healthier eating.

Branding is used by marketers to foster engagement and loyalty, and is one of the most powerful marketing tools. The dominance of youth-oriented global brands such as Coca Cola and McDonalds point to the importance of understanding more about what branding means to young people and how it relates to their food choices.

Aims

The objectives of the study were to explore:

1. Young people's awareness and appreciation of, and engagement with, different food brands.
2. The role of brand preferences in young people's food choices.
3. Young people's perceptions of nutritional and health issues and how these relate, if at all, to their engagement with brands and their food choices.
4. How branding compares with other influences on young people's food choices (for example, parents/families, peers and other influences).
5. Whether there were any gender and socioeconomic differences in the above.

Design and Methods

A three-stage study was undertaken comprising:

- Twelve focus groups
- Questionnaire development and piloting
- A survey conducted in schools with 1768 young people.

The study was conducted in the North East of England, and the sample for both the focus groups and the survey was 13-15 yr olds (English school years 9 to 11) of both genders and different socio-economic backgrounds. Multivariate analysis techniques were used to detect differences in the survey data by gender, school year and ACORN classification, while controlling for a range of other socio-economic and lifestyle variables.

Main Findings

The importance of brands

Young people rely on brands as markers of product quality and consistency, and use brands, particularly clothing brands, to construct a desired external image of themselves to their peers. In particular, their visible brand choices help them to secure peer acceptance, and, perhaps more importantly, to avoid peer disapproval, ridicule and teasing. They are particularly sensitive to the social risks and stigma of being seen with 'cheap' brands.

Overall, boys, younger pupils and young people from more disadvantaged backgrounds appeared to attach more importance to brands. Brands were more important to those entitled to free school meals and those having been excluded from school.

When the importance attached to brands in two different product categories, trainers and crisps, was examined in the survey, pupils generally attributed high importance to branding for trainers. This was particularly the case for pupils in more disadvantaged ACORN categories, those entitled to free school meals, and those who had been excluded or truanted. Branding had some importance in relation to choice of crisps but did not appear to be as important as for trainers. However, the tendency to choose well-known crisp brands, despite the acknowledgement that many brands are the same and that own-label are not necessarily inferior, provided an indication of the power of branding.

Awareness and opinions of food brands

Young people had high awareness of many food and drink brands, both for products high in fat, salt and sugar (HFSS) and for 'healthier' non-HFSS products. The high levels of awareness of non-HFSS brands are encouraging given the generally far greater spend, visibility, and longevity of premium HFSS brands such as McDonalds, Cadburys and Walkers.

Young people attach importance to having well-known food brands, particularly in a social context such as bringing a packed lunch into school, and associate these with positive concepts such as popularity and trendiness. The stigma attached to being seen with cheap clothing brands is also felt in relation to economy and value food brands.

The brands which particularly appeal to young people and engage their emotions tend to be for fast food restaurants, crisps, fizzy drinks and confectionery. However, they can also be ambivalent and sceptical about premium brands, such as McDonalds in its recent attempts to reposition itself as a provider of healthier menus.

Young people are generally less engaged by non-HFSS food brands, and associate them sometimes with negative attributes such as dullness, 'geekiness' and pretentiousness. Encouragingly, however, some non-HFSS food brands, such as those for water, yoghurt and snack products, appear to have some appeal for young people. Engaging advertising seems to play a role in this appeal.

We explored brand opinions for three products in detail: Coca Cola, own label cola, and Volvic bottled water. The aim of the comparison was to assess the relative appeal of premium HFSS brand, a low status HFSS brand, and a non-HFSS brand in the same product category. Most pupils held a positive opinion of Coke, regarding it as a popular, trusted and good quality product. It was a safe drink to be seen with, attracting very little risk of stigma or ridicule. Characteristics associated with strong brand opinions of Coke include being from hard pressed backgrounds (as opposed to comfortably off), having truanted or been excluded, and being male. Own-label cola had a much poorer rating than Coca Cola and also carried a greater risk of stigma or ridicule. In contrast, brand opinions of Volvic were comparable on many measures to those of Coke, indicating that a healthy drink has the potential to perform well against a heavily marketed fizzy drink.

Factors influencing food choices

The focus group research suggested that a wide range of factors appeared to influence young people's food choices, several of them bound up with branding. Young people assert that taste is the most important criterion, and they are also somewhat swayed by value for money concerns when buying food for themselves. Advertising and visual appeal are important, as is the ability to buy and consume food conveniently when socialising with friends. Friends' opinions have an indirect influence, in that young people seek to avoid food choices which might expose them to ridicule; parents' influence is generally weak in the context of food consumed outside the home. Concerns about body image are important to some young people, but do not necessarily lead to healthier eating patterns.

The changes to school food provision appear to have various implications for young people's food choices; their experiences suggest that the healthy eating 'brand' as it is presented to them at school does not deliver on aspects that are important such as taste, quality, value for money and choice. These mixed feelings about healthier eating are also evident in the image young people have of the wider healthy eating concept, which they find both aspirational and off-putting.

The survey findings indicated that functional aspects of the food – taste and filling – were the most important criteria when young people were asked to rate the strength of different influences on their food choices. Encouragingly, many considered healthiness an important criterion, although a minority said they deliberately looked for unhealthy foods. It was important to some that foods would fit in with their lifestyle by being quick to eat and possible to consume when on the move, and visual appeal was also a factor. Girls were more likely than boys to indicate that they looked for healthy foods while boys were more likely than girls to want foods that fit into their lifestyle and can be consumed on the move.

In the survey findings, marketing and social influences did not appear to be strong, at a conscious level at least, with few stating that they choose well-known make/brand or foods popular with friends.

Healthy eating, food appeal and reported food consumption

The survey suggested there were differences in the importance attached to healthy eating, with more positive attitudes being associated with being female and lifestyle characteristics such as playing sport or reading. Watching TV and having truanted were associated with more negative views about healthy eating.

A range of healthy and unhealthy foods appealed to the pupils. Encouragingly, young people found fruit particularly appealing, but they also like less healthy and unhealthy foods. Girls were more likely than boys to find healthy foods appealing and less likely than boys to find unhealthy foods appealing. Certain lifestyle characteristics such as reading and playing musical instruments were associated with finding healthy foods appealing, while characteristics such as truancy and watching television were associated with finding them less appealing.

Appeal did not differ by ACORN category, suggesting that there was no difference in the perceived appeal of healthy foods by level of affluence or disadvantage. However, there were differences in reported consumption, with healthier reported consumption being associated with being female, coming from a 'comfortably off' area, and lifestyle characteristics such as playing a musical instrument, sport, and reading. Less healthy reported consumption was associated with being more disadvantaged or coming from a 'wealthy achievers/urban prosperity' area, watching television and having truanted or been excluded from school.

Conclusions

Our study suggests that food brands play a modest but important role in shaping young people's preferences and consumption. Well-known brands help address their concerns and needs in relation to image, reputation, and avoiding peer disapproval. The influence of branding on food choices is concerning because the most heavily marketed brands tend to be for products high in fat, salt and sugar: fast food restaurants, fizzy drinks, salty snacks, confectionery and sugared breakfast cereals. Branding can be seen therefore as one of the key factors in the obesogenic environment.

Our study highlights the importance of emotion in consumption behaviours generally and in food choice in particular. Interventions and policy responses need to acknowledge that there are good – even rational – reasons why consumers look for emotional and symbolic benefits from their food choice decisions.

There are important nutritional and inequalities implications if the stigma attached to economy brands translates into pressure in low income households to buy costlier premium brands in preference to equally good (from a nutritional point of view) value alternatives. This merits further research.

There are both problems and potential in the wider 'healthy eating brand'. Young people's interpretations of and engagement with the concept of 'healthy eating' are mixed and somewhat ambivalent: in some respects they find the concept appealing and aspirational, but in others they regard it as dull and socially risky, a preoccupation of 'geeks' and people not like them.

Similarly, the healthy eating 'brand' as experienced by young people in the shape of school food fails sometimes to deliver on the aspects that are important to them – taste, quality, value for money and choice. In other words, the healthy eating brand promises more than it delivers, and this potentially undermines the school food brand and the wider concept of health. There is a clear challenge for public health experts to position healthy eating as an unequivocally positive, desirable and appealing notion, and to ensure that the product behind the brand delivers meaningful benefits.

Our findings point to the importance of harnessing marketing in support of healthier eating. Although non-HFSS brands do not appear to engage young people to the same extent as HFSS brands, it is encouraging that some non-HFSS brands do appeal to them. Marketers and retailers should be encouraged to direct their skills at communicating with and engaging young people towards the promotion of healthier brands.

Branding encompasses more than simply the visual identity of a product; as this study shows, brand values and meanings are constructed at least in part by consumers themselves. This makes branding a very powerful form of marketing, and also one that is particularly difficult to control and regulate. Future research in this area could explore whether policy responses which have been advocated in relation to tobacco and alcohol, such as ‘disrupting’ brands by placing prominent warnings on packaging, are feasible or appropriate in the context of food.

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Marketing and Obesity

Obesity among children and young people in the UK is rising. The Chief Medical Officer's Report for 2002 confirms that the proportion of overweight children aged between 6 and 15 years increased by 7% between 1996 and 2001 (Department of Health 2003). Levels of obesity among children of the same ages increased by 3.5% during the same period. More recent figures indicate that 16% of children aged 2 to 15 were classed as obese in 2006, an overall increase from 11% in 1995 (NHS Information Centre 2008). Obesity and overweight are of grave concern given the significant risks they pose for the long-term physical and mental health of young people. In terms of physical health, obesity is associated with a range of chronic diseases such as coronary heart disease, Type II diabetes and cancer (National Audit Office 2001). Obesity is also associated with harm to children’s emotional and psychological wellbeing (Griffiths & Page 2008).

Several factors are believed to contribute to the rise in obesity by combining to create an obesogenic environment (Lobstein 2008). One is the way food and drinks are marketed to children. A recent report published by the World Health Organisation and the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations concluded that marketing of energy-dense foods and fast food outlets is a “probable” cause of increasing overweight and obesity among the world’s children (Joint WHO/FAO 2003). A similar conclusion was reached in the UK by the 2005 Health Committee Report on Obesity (House of Commons Health Committee 2005). Marketing involves many different activities, and the relationship of several of these with diet and obesity has been investigated. For example, in 2003, a systematic review commissioned by the UK Food Standards Agency demonstrated that commercial food promotions – particularly television advertising - had a mostly deleterious effect on children and young teens, particularly in the areas of food preferences, purchase behaviour and consumption (Hastings et al 2003). Subsequent systematic reviews for the WHO have confirmed the nature and consistency of these effects, both in developed and developing countries (Hastings et al 2003, Hastings et al 2006).

The relationship between marketing and diet is an important area of research. Public health experts and nutritionists need to understand the nature and impact of commercial marketing if they are to develop appropriate policy responses such as restrictions and regulation of promotional activities. The 2006 ban on television advertising on television advertising to children under 16 of products high in fat, salt and sugar (based on nutrient profiling) was based on research into the effects of such advertising. Public health experts also need a more sophisticated understanding of how marketing ‘works’ with consumers if they are to borrow learning from this field and apply it positively to efforts to promote healthier eating.

One powerful marketing tool which has been less thoroughly examined in this context is branding. Marketing uses branding to encourage children to recognize and differentiate particular products and logos. Research has shown that children as young as two can recognise familiar packages, logos and characters on products such as toys and clothing (Derscheid et al 1996), and between two and six years old they can recognize familiar brand names, packaging, logos, and characters and associate them with products (Fischer et al 1991, Macklin 1996). A UK study by Pine & Nash (2003) reported preference for branded over non-branded products among children aged 4-5 years. Even among very young children, awareness and recognition can translate into product requests, begging and nagging for specific product names and brands (Hastings et al 2003).

Branding is of particular significance in light of the growing dominance of youth-oriented premium brands such as Coca Cola, McDonalds, and Pepsi. Some research has examined young people's awareness of food brands and has shown that children are able to recognise brands for foods, just as for other products, from a young age (eg. Dammler & Middelmann-Motz 2002). The potential effect of food brands is suggeted by an experimental study by Robinson and colleagues (2007). In this, preschool children were asked to taste identical foods in packaging from McDonald's and in matched but unbranded packaging, and to indicate if they tasted the same or if one tasted better. The foods were a McDonalds hamburger, Chicken McNugget, french fries, milk and carrots. By the early age of 3 to 5 years, low-income preschool children preferred the tastes of foods and drinks if they thought they were from McDonald's, demonstrating that brand identity can influence young children's taste perceptions. This was true even for carrots, a food that was not marketed by or available from McDonald's.

However, little is known about the ways in which children, particularly older children, engage with food brands in real world contexts, and how this might relate to their food choices. There is a need to understand how branding for food products 'works' with young people: in other words, to explore what importance young consumers attach to having a particular brand when buying and consuming food, what benefits food brands are perceived to deliver, how food brands are interpreted and used, and how these interpretations and uses relate to young people's food choices.

1.2 What is Branding?

Brands can be considered as complex offerings that are conceived by marketers in brand plans and delivered through a mix of packaging, logos, symbols and other marketing activities (de Chernatony 2001). However, brands are not simply constructions of the marketing company, but also, and perhaps most significantly, 'reside in consumers' minds'. For marketers, the value or equity of a brand is based on everything it evokes in minds of consumers including experiences, images and associations (Nairn & Fine 2008). Linking brands to enjoyable experiences, valued personalities, and positive feelings is central to contemporary marketing.

In other words, consumers are active participants in the creation of brands and their meanings. Consumers' decisions about, for example, the type of car, clothing or drink they buy are rarely driven only by functional and rational considerations but also by emotional and symbolic considerations (Levy 1999): does the brand represent values which the consumer considers to be important (such as safety, luxury, fashion, popularity)? Does the brand choice help the consumer to project a desired image of themselves to their peers? When choosing between particular brands, consumers assess the fit between the perceived personalities of competing brands and the personality they wish to project (the 'aspirational self') (de Chernatony 2001). Similarly, impressions of others are in part shaped by perceptions of the sort of person who would buy particular brands.

Brands can act to reduce uncertainty and risk: faced with a proliferation of different choices, consumers use brands as a shortcut in their decision-making to reduce the different kinds of risk associated with purchasing and consumption decisions. These may include, for example functional risks (will the product work?), social risks (will this be an embarrassing or socially acceptable choice?), psychological risks (will this choice accord with the consumer's desired self-image?). Consumer behaviour and marketing research suggests that brands have 'personalities' or emotional values, which are inferred not only from attributes such as design, packaging, pricing and the type of outlet in which they are sold but also through less tangible aspects such as reputation and perceptions of the sort of person who would consume a particular brand. For these reasons, brands are particularly important to adolescent consumers who are in a crucial stage of identity formation and are particularly susceptible to perceived peer group influences (Hankinson & Cowking 1993). By late childhood (Chaplin & John 2007, Achenreiner 1997), young people have a keenly developed sense of the social meaning and prestige associated with certain products and brands (John 1999). For adolescents in particular, brands are viewed as being connected to one's self-concept, having personalities and symbolising group membership (Chaplin & John 2005).

Branding is a powerful marketing tool because it is nebulous and all-pervasive. While specific marketing activities such as television advertising and price promotions can be both measured and potentially regulated, it is harder to scrutinise the power of branding because brand meanings to a large extent are co-created by consumers. This makes research into its nature and effects particularly challenging.

1.3 Branding and Other Health Behaviours

Tobacco and alcohol research has investigated the importance of brands to young people. It has shown that young people are very familiar with well-known tobacco and alcohol brands, and that these brands are seen as delivering powerful emotional benefits such as feelings of belonging and 'coolness'. In a longitudinal UK study with cross-sectional sample of 11 to 16 year olds examining the impact of the Tobacco Advertising & Promotions Act on young people, when other risk factors were controlled for, never smokers' susceptibility to smoke increased with greater brand awareness and with greater awareness of tobacco marketing (CTCR 2008). Using structural equation modelling with data from the 2004 wave of the same UK study, Grant and colleagues (2007) demonstrate that perceptions of and familiarity with cigarette brands are powerful predictors of adolescents' intention to smoke.

In Henriksen et al's (2008) longitudinal survey to investigate the influence of alcohol advertising and promotions on the initiation of alcohol use, brand recognition, brand recall, and high receptivity to alcohol marketing significantly predicted initiation. McClure et al (in press) found there was a reciprocal relationship between susceptibility to alcohol use (three survey items that assessed response to peer offers, intentions and positive expectancies) and ownership of alcohol brand merchandise.

What has been much less studied is whether young people engage with food brands in the same way. As noted above, research has examined food brand awareness and preferences (for example, of one brand over another). However, relatively little attention has been paid to the potential role of brands in the formation of food choice and purchase decisions. This study sought to fill this gap.

1.4 Food Branding and Health Inequalities

There are two important health inequalities dimensions to this study.

Firstly, there are important socio-economic differentials in diet and obesity (eg. Jebb et al 2003, Inchley et al 2001). For example, less healthy eating and unhealthy snacking have been found to be associated with greater deprivation, fewer maternal qualifications and being male (Sweeting & West 2005). Secondly, some consumer behaviour and marketing research suggest that branding may be more important to disadvantaged young people than to the more affluent (eg. Schiffman & Kanuk 2000, Croghan et al 2006). In other words, the less money the consumer has, the more important it seems to be conspicuously to consume the ‘right’ brand of trainers or jeans in order to avoid the stigma of looking poor and cheap (Archer et al 2007). This in turn may increase pressures on already struggling households. There is also research to suggest that materialistic aspirations – attaching particular importance to having desirable possessions – may be associated with poorer mental and emotional wellbeing in young people (eg. Banerjee & Dittmar 2008, Goldberg et al 2003). If a similar process happens with food brands – that poorer young people attach more importance to having premium brands – then there are important policy implications.

1.5 The Policy Context

Concern in recent years over the nature and effects of food marketing to children have led to policy action. From September 2006, foods high in fat, salt or sugar were banned from meals and vending machines in English schools. In addition, Ofcom, the independent regulator and competition authority for the communications industries in the UK, recently announced a ban on television advertising of products high in fat, salt and sugar (based on nutrient profiling) to children under the age of 16.

Restrictions on food and drink advertising to under-16-year-olds were widened to cover non-broadcast media from 1st July 2007 under Committee for Advertising Practice (CAP) rules. These covered all food and drink products except fresh fruit and vegetables and extended to advertising restrictions to media such as magazines, paid-for ad space on the internet, newspapers and billboards and cinema. The CAP advertising restrictions state that products should not "condone or encourage poor nutritional habits or an unhealthy lifestyle in children".

The findings from this study will be extremely relevant to these and future policy developments in the regulation of food marketing to young people. Insights into how young people engage with branding of foods high in fat, sugar and salt can potentially illustrate how food choices can be influenced, both positively and negatively, through food marketing, and can help refine future policy and regulatory responses.

2.0 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The study aimed to explore how young people engage with food brands, whether they engaged with food brands in the same way as they did with other products, and the potential contribution of branding concerns to their food choice and purchase decisions. We also sought to explore the salience of concerns about health and healthy eating, and how these might relate to their involvement with food brands. Because this is a relatively under-researched area, we wanted to explore these issues both qualitatively and quantitatively.

The specific objectives of the study were to explore:

1. Young people's awareness and appreciation of, and engagement with, different food brands.
2. The role of brand preferences in young people's food choices.
3. Young people's perceptions of nutritional and health issues and how these relate, if at all, to their engagement with brands and their food choices.
4. How branding compares with other influences on young people's food choices (for example, parents/families, peers and other influences).
5. Whether there were any gender and socioeconomic differences in the above.

3.0 DESIGN AND METHODS

3.1 Overall Design

A three-stage study was undertaken comprising:

- Exploratory focus group research.
- Questionnaire development and piloting.
- A survey conducted in schools.

The study was conducted in the North East of England. The sample for all stages of the research comprised 13-15 yr olds (English school years 9 to 11), a critical age-group for brand consumption and more independent purchasing (Lindstrom 2003).

Exploratory focus groups were used to gain insights into how young people interpreted and used food brands, and also to inform the development of the survey questionnaire. A cross-sectional survey of school pupils, selected from a random sample of comprehensive schools within a selection of LEAs in North East England, was then conducted to examine these interpretations and uses quantitatively, and to assess any gender, age and socioeconomic patterning in response. Since the study started, a second PHRC study was funded in the same LEA, examining the implementation and impact of recent school food policy. The two studies can be seen as complementary in their exploration of how young people feel about the food they purchase at school during the school day, and the role that branding concerns play in this.

The purpose and methods of each of the three stages are discussed in more detail below.

3.2 Focus Group Research

3.2.1 Purpose

The purpose of the focus groups was to explore in detail what food brands meant to young people and whether they engaged with and used them in the same ways as with brands in other consumption contexts, such as clothing.

An additional objective of the focus groups was to allow the broad themes of the survey questionnaire to be established, and to inform the questionnaire development and piloting stage (below).

3.2.2 Method

Twelve focus groups were conducted with young people. Focus groups are an appropriate method for discerning and exploring prevailing group/community norms around a given phenomenon. As this was a previously little-researched area, the approach was largely inductive, although an initial conceptual framework for the work was provided by the research questions and also by key concepts and theories in the branding literature, such as the notion that brands are used to project an image and protect against risk. An initial discussion guide was developed based on this conceptual framework, and was reviewed and adapted as the research progressed, to reflect emerging priorities and themes. The order of introducing key themes was varied across the groups, such that some began with a general discussion of food and food shopping before moving to an exploration of branding, some began with a discussion of branding in different contexts before moving on to food, and others began with exploring young people's lifestyles and leisure activities before moving to the two key themes of food and brand consumption. The issues covered across the groups included the following:

Brand involvement

- Understanding and definitions of brands, opinions of their importance, uses of and engagement with brands in non-food contexts (eg. clothing and mobile phones);
- Awareness and familiarity of food brands, including spontaneous recall of brand names, recognition of associated brand features or imagery including adverts, logos and characters;
- Attitudes towards food brands (eg. liking, perceptions of quality, perceptions of brand personality, values and attributes associated with brands, perceptions of the stereotypical user, perceptions of quality).

Food choices

- Food likes and dislikes.
- The contexts in which young people choose and purchase food for themselves.
- Perceptions of health and healthy eating.
- Perceptions of the healthiness of different food products and brands.

Influences on food choices

- The role of parents and the family and the extent to which young people are involved in family food decision-making.
- The role of peer groups (eg. percieved consumption and acceptability of different brands and products among friends, reasons for acceptance/rejection, relative importance of friends' opinions).
- The role of other factors such as taste, price, convenience, advertising and appeal.

We were aware that it is difficult to ask people directly about the potential influence of marketing on their decision making, and also of the particular nebulousness of branding as a concept. Direct questioning would be unlikely to elicit the symbolic meanings and emotions associated with food brands. This suggested to us a need to approach the key themes subtly and obliquely rather than through conventional questioning. A variety of questioning techniques was therefore used (not all techniques were used in all groups):

(i) Ranking of influences on food choices

To explore young people's perceptions of the influences on their food choices, we asked them to rank a range of factors listed on showcards from 'Most Important' to 'Least Important' and to discuss the reasons for their choices.

SHOWCARDS:
Price
Convenience

Availability
Branding
Packaging
Advertising
Celebrities
Healthfulness
That my parents would approve
That my friends would approve
Product features

To explore differences in influencing factors across different product categories, we also asked young people to conduct the task for two other products (mobile phones and jeans). The order of doing the task for different products was varied across groups.

(ii) Exploring definitions and understanding of brands

We used showcards listing various concepts that may be associated with brands to explore young people's perceptions of what a brand actually is. In the groups, young people were asked which of the following they associated with a brand and why. We also invited them to share definitions and opinions of 'good' and 'bad' brands.

SHOWCARDS:
A make
A company
A name
Logo
Image
Symbol
Taste
Price
Availability
Advertising
Good quality

(iii) Lunchbox personification

This activity was designed to explore in more depth the kinds of symbolic and emotional associations that young people made with particular food product categories and brands. They were invited to assemble ingredients for different hypothetical lunchboxes from a range of different food items which the moderator took in to the group discussions. The range of items varied in terms of branding (they included both premium brands such as Coca Cola, Walkers, Cadbury's, Muller and Volvic water, and supermarket economy brands such as Asda Smart Price) and healthfulness (fruit, water, sugary drinks, crisps, confectionery). Respondents were asked to imagine that each lunchbox contained a sandwich, and then to assemble from the rest of the products an appropriate lunchbox for the following kinds of people:

A Trendy Person

An Untrendy Person
A Popular Person
An Unpopular Person
A Geeky Person
A Healthy Person
An Unhealthy Person
Someone with a lot of money
Someone who doesn't have a lot of money
A celebrity (such as David Beckham, Jade Goody, Kate Moss)

They were also asked to assemble a lunchbox which their parents would approve of, which their friends would approve of, and which they themselves would like.

The focus group discussions lasted around one and a quarter hours and were conducted in informal venues (community centres and hotels). Each group was moderated by an experienced researcher from the Institute for Social Marketing (LMcD). With respondents' consent, the discussions were recorded using a digital audio recorded, and transcribed in full for analysis.

3.2.3 Sample and Recruitment

The sample comprised young people in the North East of England in English school years 9-11 (aged 13-15). The North East of England was chosen because it contains postcode areas with different levels of affluence and deprivation (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2003).

We chose the 13-15 age group firstly because it falls within John's 'reflective' stage of consumer development, when young people's understanding of brands becomes fairly advanced and they begin to express strong brand preferences (John 1999). In other words, this is likely to be a key age for gaining insights into the process of branding and how it works. Secondly, we also wanted to explore how young people use brands, or not, within the context of independent purchasing – choosing and buying food for themselves. At age 13-15, young people are likely to buy food for themselves both during the school day and while socializing with friends at the weekend. Thirdly, young people of this age are likely to have a relatively good understanding of the healthfulness of different foods. This allowed us to explore any tension between brand influence and knowledge about what is acceptable/not acceptable to eat.

Figure 1 provides an overview of the sample for the focus groups. Each focus group comprised between six and eight respondents (total n=80).

Figure 1: Focus Group Sample Breakdown

Group No	Gender	Year Group at School	Socio-economic Group
1	Male	9	ABC1
2	Female	9	ABC1
3	Male	10	ABC1
4	Female	10	ABC1
5	Male	11	ABC1
6	Female	11	ABC1
7	Male	9	C2DE
8	Female	9	C2DE
9	Male	10	C2DE
10	Female	10	C2DE
11	Male	11	C2DE
12	Female	11	C2DE

Respondents were recruited door-to-door by ISM research consultants using a short recruitment questionnaire to ensure that each individual met the appropriate sample criteria (age, gender and socioeconomic status). To avoid sensitising respondents to the subsequent survey, respondents were recruited who attended schools which were *not* participating in the survey. However, the qualitative sample was drawn, as far as possible, from similar schools (eg. from within the same neighbourhoods and with similar characteristics in terms of school meal entitlement and academic performance).

Parental (opt-in) consent was sought for all respondents. As a token of appreciation, and as a way of encouraging young people to participate in the interviews, respondents were offered a CD or book token for taking part in a group discussion. For those willing to participate, both parents and respondents were given an information sheet outlining the study and what was required from the respondent.

3.2.4 Analysis

The focus group discussions were digitally recorded with respondents' permission and then transcribed in full for thematic analysis. The transcripts were coded and analysed using grounded theory techniques in which the themes emerge from the participants' perspectives. Conceptual maps were drawn up of key relationships, such as the relationship between brands and experiences and perceptions of healthy eating. Three researchers (LMcD, MS, TA) independently read and coded the transcripts, following which key themes and concepts were agreed through discussion and further re-reading of the transcripts.

3.3 Questionnaire Development and Piloting

3.3.1 Objectives

The objectives of this element of the study were:

- To generate further ideas for the questionnaire design.
- To explore the language respondents themselves use to discuss brands and food choices.
- To test out reactions to potential statements and items.
- To test and refine the questionnaire.

3.3.2 Method

For the first part of this stage, four mini-groups were used to generate further ideas for the questionnaire design, test out reactions to statements and explore the language that the respondents use.

Analysis of these mini-groups fed into the development of a draft of the questionnaire. Drafts of the questionnaire were then tested using 'cognitive interviewing' techniques (Willis GB, 1999) The process was iterative, with piloting phased across a number of weeks, thus allowing time for questionnaire revisions to be undertaken, in response to feedback within the interviews, and then to be further tested. A total of 12 individual cognitive interviews were conducted in community centres with respondents who met the different age, gender and social grade characteristics of this study.

Cognitive interviews are qualitative in nature and, making use of techniques drawn from cognitive psychology, can highlight where respondents misunderstand survey questions or key concepts, do not know or cannot recall the necessary information from memory, use an inappropriate strategy for making a judgment, or prefer to hide certain information or provide a socially desirable answer. Participants began by completing the draft self-completion questionnaire in the presence of the interviewer. The interviewer then used verbal probing to explore any specific problems that there might be with the understanding and completion of the questionnaire. Each cognitive interview lasted approximately 40 minutes. During this time the interviewer took the respondent back through the questionnaire, question by question, probing for their understanding of each question and their ability to recall the required information to answer each question. For example, respondents were asked to explain how they answered the question, assess the ease or difficulty of arriving at their answer or explain in their own words what the question was asking. These probes opened up a dialogue which then made it possible to identify aspects where there might be ambiguity, misunderstanding or discomfort in answering questions.

The piloting process did not extend to repeat interviews to enable reliability of questions to be tested. However, the cognitive piloting was sufficiently extensive to ensure that all questions in the survey were understood and appropriate for collecting the intended measures and that the survey questionnaire was relevant to and suitable for completion by the 13-15 year olds.

3.3.3 Sample and Recruitment

Again, respondents were recruited door-to-door by ISM research consultants using a short recruitment questionnaire. The sample was recruited from areas around Glasgow which were similar in terms of socio-demographic characteristics to the study areas in the North East of England. A mix of relevant age and SES groups were recruited.

3.4 Cross-sectional Survey

3.4.1 Objectives

The aims of the survey were to examine young people's awareness, attitudes and involvement with food brands and any influence this may be having on food knowledge, attitudes and reported behaviour. The objectives were to investigate:

- Young people's awareness and appreciation of different food brands.
- The role of brand preferences in young people's food choices.
- Young people's perceptions of nutritional and health issues and how these relate, if at all, to their engagement with brands and their food choices.
- How branding compares with other influences on young people's food choices (for example, parents/families, peers and other influences).
- Gender and socioeconomic differences in the above.

3.4.2 Method

A self-completion questionnaire was administered by trained interviewers in a classroom setting under 'examination conditions'. The interviewer gave a short explanation of the main (or difficult) questions to all pupils before they began completing the questionnaire. During the session the interviewer was available to answer queries, help any pupils having problems, and check that questionnaires were being correctly completed.

The survey covered the following topics:
- Appreciation of marketing.
- Perceived brand importance for food and non-food items.
- Awareness of food and drink brands.
- Brand opinion of a premium fizzy drink, an own-label cola and a bottled water.
- Decision criteria when choosing lunch foods on a school day.
- Appeal of different foods.
- Views on healthy eating.
- Perceptions of healthiness of their diet.
- Eating habits.
- Food and drink brands consumed on a school day.
- Demographic and lifestyle details – eg. age, gender, postcode, family car ownership, spare time activities.

The questionnaire comprised mainly closed questions to facilitate ease of completion and coding. The exception was the inclusion of a food/brand diary to collect illustrative data on food consumption on a previous school day. This took the form of mainly open questions. Given the wide variation in type and quality of responses given by pupils on the food/brand diary, we have not covered this data within the report.

Where possible, questions were based on previous questionnaires used by the research team to explore young people's response to marketing in other product categories (eg, MacFadyen et al, 2001). A copy of the questionnaire is included in Appendix A.

3.4.3 Sample and Recruitment

The achieved sample was 1768 pupils in school years 9 to 11.

Respondents were drawn from classes selected randomly from a sample of comprehensive schools in the North East of England. An intended sample size of 1200 young people was proposed. Originally it was anticipated that 20 schools within the LEAs would be required, with three participating classes in each school (one class from each of the three year groups) giving a total sample around 1800 pupils, assuming an average of 30 pupils per class.

A total of 118 schools from eleven LEAs in the North East of England were contacted by letter outlining the nature and aims of the study and inviting them to participate. Letters were followed up with a minimum of three telephone calls to non-responders. After three to four weeks of following up the invitation letters, consent to participate in the study had been secured from 18 schools across seven LEAs. Thirty one schools refused, and in the remaining 69, despite a number of phone calls and emails, a firm yes or no response in terms of participation was not secured. The resulting sample is therefore a self-selecting sample and results will, therefore, not necessarily be generalisable to the wider population. Despite the slightly lower number of schools (the original requirement was for 20 schools), the sample size requirements were met from the 18 consenting schools by increasing the sample from each school. This was achieved by requesting that two classes from each year group participate in the survey rather than one. Once the participation of the 18 schools had been confirmed, the remaining unconfirmed schools were informed that their involvement in the study was no longer required.

Of the 18 schools which originally agreed to participate in the study, 15 subsequently did so, and three dropped out for the following reasons:

(i) school would not allow ISM to undertake random selection of pupils for the survey.
(ii) school agreed to take part in another survey and then could not commit to ours
(iii) school merged with another school and was reluctant to participate during such an unsettled period.

A final useable sample of 1768 pupils was achieved. The detailed sample profile is given in the tables at the end of this section. Breakdowns of the sample profile by school are included in Appendix B.

For each of the schools, data on absences and academic achievement was sought, from the Department for Children, Schools and Families (www.dcsf.gov.uk). The schools participating in the survey varied in their levels of absence and in academic achievement but, on average, broadly reflected the average for schools across England (Table B2). In the achieved sample, total absence ranged from 6.1% of half days missed to a maximum of 11.3% and averaged 8.43% while the national average was 8.24. Similarly unauthorized absence ranged from a low of 0.2% (half days missed) to a maximum of 4.7% with an average of 1.44 while the national average was 1.42%.

The fifteen participating schools were from seven different LEAs. Within the sample 15% of pupils indicated entitlement to free school meals. This is slightly higher than the 13.3% entitlement among pupils at secondary schools across England (DCSF 2008), suggesting that the sample were slightly more disadvantaged than average.

3.4.4 Analysis

Throughout the report descriptive data are presented, crosstabulated by gender, school year and ACORN classification (a geodemographic classification system categorising neighbourhoods http://www.caci.co.uk/acorn/whatis.asp). ACORN classification was based on the postcode information provided by pupils and, using a website (www.upmystreet.com) each postcode was entered to search for it's corresponding ACORN classification. ACORN data is categorised into 57 groups which can then be collapsed into 5 or 18 groups (as per Figure 2 (over page)). Data for this survey were reduced to the 5 category ACORN banding which are labelled within ACORN as Wealthy Achievers, Urban Prosperity, Comfortably Off, Moderate Means and Hard-Pressed.

Figure 2: The ACORN Consumer Classification

Category		% UK Pop	Group	% UK Pop	Type		% UK Pop
1	**WEALTHY ACHIEVERS**	**25.1**	A Wealthy executives	8.6	1	Wealthy mature professionals, large houses	1.7
					2	Wealthy working families with mortgages	1.5
					3	Villages with wealthy commuters	2.7
					4	Well-off managers, larger houses	2.6
			B Affluent greys	7.7	5	Older affluent professionals	1.8
					6	Farming communities	2.0
					7	Old people, detached homes	1.9
					8	Mature couples, smaller detached homes	2.0
			C Flourishing families	8.8	9	Older families, prosperous suburbs	2.1
					10	Well-off working families with mortgages	2.3
					11	Well-off managers, detached houses	3.7
					12	Large families and houses in rural areas	0.6
2	**URBAN PROSPERITY**	**10.7**	D Prosperous professionals	2.2	13	Well-off professionals, larger houses and converted flats	0.9
					14	Older professionals in suburban houses and apartments	1.4
			E Educated urbanites	4.6	15	Affluent urban professionals, flats	1.1
					16	Prosperous young professionals, flats	0.9
					17	Young educated workers, flats	0.6
					18	Multi-ethnic young, converted flats	1.1
					19	Suburban privately renting professionals	0.9
			F Aspiring singles	3.9	20	Student flats and cosmopolitan sharers	0.6
					21	Singles and sharers, multi-ethnic areas	1.6
					22	Low income singles, small rented flats	1.2
					23	Student terraces	0.4
3	**COMFORTABLY OFF**	**26.6**	G Starting out	2.5	24	Young couples, flats and terraces	1.0
					25	White-collar singles/sharers, terraces	1.4
			H Secure families	15.5	26	Younger white-collar couples with mortgages	1.9
					27	Middle income, home owning areas	2.9
					28	Working families with mortgages	2.6
					29	Mature families in suburban semis	3.3
					30	Established home owning workers	3.6
					31	Home owning Asian family areas	1.1

Category		% UK Pop	Group	% UK Pop	Type		% UK Pop
3 cont'd	Comfortably off	**26.6**	I Settled suburbia	6	32	Retired home owners	0.9
					33	Middle income, older couples	3.0
					34	Lower incomes, older people, semis	2.1
			J Prudent pensioners	2.6	35	Elderly singles, purpose built flats	0.7
					36	Older people, flats	1.9
4	**MODERATE MEANS**	**14.5**	K Asian communities	2.5	37	Crowded Asian terraces	0.5
					38	Low income Asian families	1.1
			L Post-industrial families	15.5	39	Skilled older families, terraces	2.8
					40	Young working families	2.1
			M Blue-collar roots	6	41	Skilled workers, semis and terraces	3.3
					42	Home owning families, terraces	2.8
					43	Older people, rented terraces	1.8
5	**HARD-PRESSED**	**22.4**	N Struggling families	14.1	44	Low income larger families, semis	3.3
					45	Low income, older people, smaller semis	3.0
					46	Low income, routine jobs, terraces and flats	1.4
					47	Low income families, terraced estates	2.6
					48	Families and single parents, semis and terraces	2.1
					49	Large families and single parents, many children	1.7
			O Burdened singles	4.5	50	Single elderly people, council flats	1.8
					51	Single parents and pensioners, council terraces	1.9
					52	Families and single parents, council flats	0.8
			P High-rise hardship	1.6	53	Old people, many high-rise flats	0.8
					54	Singles and single parents, high-rise estates	0.9
			Q Inner city adversity	2.1	55	Multi-ethnic purpose built estates	1.1
					56	Multi-ethnic, crowded flats	1.1
			U Unclassified	0.3	57	Mainly communal population	0.3

CACI (2004). ACORN: The Smarter Consumer Classification. London: CACI Information Solutions.

Multivariate analysis techniques have been used to detect differences by gender, school year and ACORN classification while controlling for a range of other socio-economic and lifestyle variables. For binary variables, or those which were suited to being recoded into binary variables (eg. Yes v no, agree strongly/agree v not etc) logistic regression has been used. This enables us to examine the likelihood of pupils giving a particular response while controlling for a range of independent variables. The variables controlled for in the logistic regressions were:

- Gender
- School year (reference category is Y9)
- ACORN classification (reference category is ‘comfortably off’)
- Ethnicity (white v other)
- Like to meet friends in spare time (1 = yes, 0=not)
- Like to watch TV/videos/DVD’s in spare time (1 = yes, 0=not)
- Like to email in spare time (1 = yes, 0=not)
- Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1 = yes, 0=not)
- Like to play sports in spare time (1 = yes, 0=not)
- Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1 = yes, 0=not)
- Average daily hours of TV viewing
- Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)
- Whether have own bedroom for self (1 = yes, 0=not)
- Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1 = yes, 0=not)
- Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1 = yes, 0=not)
- Whether ever been excluded from school (1 = yes, 0=not)

Throughout the tables within this report, significant differences by gender, school year and ACORN are noted. These differences have been detected with the above variables controlled for.

Where variables are the result of scores being combined from response to a number of items, on a four or five point scale, their mean scores have been produced and multiple regression analysis has been used to examine differences by gender and school year, while controlling for the above range of demographic and lifestyle variables.

Tables

Table 3.1

Sample profile, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9 %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclass ified %
Gender											
Boy	44	100	-	44	43	44	41	48	40	35	56
Girl	56	-	100	56	57	56	59	52	60	65	44
School Year											
Year 9	36	36	36	100	-	-	35	35	31	37	40
Year 10	33	33	34	-	100	-	35	36	32	34	29
Year 11	31	32	30	-	-	100	30	29	38	29	31
Age											
13 years old	28	27	29	78	0	-	28	27	23	31	31
14 years old	33	33	34	22	76	-	35	35	32	33	31
15 years old	31	32	30	-	24	75	28	31	36	29	31
16 years old	8	9	7	-	-	25	9	6	9	8	8
Bases											
Total	*1758*	*767*	*983*	*630*	*584*	*540*	*291*	*403*	*282*	*449*	*333*

Table 3.2

Sample profile, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
	Total	Boy	Girl	Year 9	Year 10	Year 11	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity	Comfortably Off	Moderate Means	Hard Pressed	Unclassified
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Ethnicity											
White	94	93	95	94	93	96	94	94	95	96	91
Mixed	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	-	1	3
Asian or Asian British	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	1	4
Black or Black British	1	1	0	1	1	0	-	-	0	1	2
Chinese	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
Other	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	-
Bases											
Total	*1768*	*771*	*989*	*633*	*586*	*545*	*291*	*403*	*282*	*449*	*343*

Table 3.3

What pupils like to do in their spare time by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9 %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
% who like to:											
Listen to music	72	64	79	64	71	84	75	74	76	70	68
Meet friends	80	70	88	77	78	86	82	83	80	82	73
Watch TV or videos/DVDs	62	60	64	55	60	72	65	67	62	60	56
Surf the web (internet/www)	61	57	64	55	59	71	63	67	61	60	54
Email	31	25	36	29	31	35	31	34	29	34	27
Play music/musical instruments	16	18	14	15	13	20	19	19	14	13	15
Play sports	47	70	29	47	48	47	51	56	43	41	45
Go shopping	51	18	77	47	48	59	55	52	52	55	41
Read books, magazines and comics	31	19	41	28	25	41	31	35	34	33	21
Play computer games	41	67	21	40	38	44	39	45	40	36	44
Bases											
Total	*1758*	*767*	*983*	*630*	*584*	*540*	*291*	*403*	*282*	*449*	*333*

Table 3.4

Whether family owns a car, van or truck by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9 %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
None	10	10	9	12	10	8	6	4	13	13	12
One	40	37	43	42	39	40	33	36	44	45	43
Two or more	50	53	48	47	52	52	62	60	44	42	45
Bases											
Total	*1768*	*771*	*989*	*633*	*586*	*545*	*291*	*403*	*282*	*449*	*343*

Table 3.5

Whether have own bedroom by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
	Total	Boy	Girl	Year 9	Year 10	Year 11	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity	Comfortably Off	Moderate Means	Hard Pressed	Unclassified
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
No	13	12	14	12	14	12	12	9	14	16	12
Yes	87	88	86	88	86	88	88	91	86	84	88
Bases											
Total	*1768*	*771*	*989*	*633*	*586*	*545*	*291*	*403*	*282*	*449*	*343*

Table 3.6

Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9 %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
Not	85	86	85	83	86	88	92	88	83	83	81
Yes	15	14	15	17	14	12	8	12	17	17	19
Bases											
Total	*1768*	*771*	*989*	*633*	*586*	*545*	*291*	*403*	*282*	*449*	*343*

Table 3.7

Whether ever truanted by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	**Gender**		**School Year**			**ACORN Classification**				
	Total	Boy	Girl	Year 9	Year 10	Year 11	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity	Comfortably Off	Moderate Means	Hard Pressed	Unclassified
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Not	76	74	77	84	75	68	83	78	74	76	69
Yes	24	26	23	16	25	32	17	22	26	24	31
Bases											
Total	*1768*	*771*	*989*	*633*	*586*	*545*	*291*	*403*	*282*	*449*	*343*

Table 3.8

Whether ever been excluded from school by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
	Total	Boy	Girl	Year 9	Year 10	Year 11	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity	Comfortably Off	Moderate Means	Hard Pressed	Unclassified
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Not	86	82	90	88	84	86	92	89	85	84	82
Yes	14	18	10	12	16	14	8	11	15	16	18
Bases											
Total	*1768*	*771*	*989*	*633*	*586*	*545*	*291*	*403*	282	449	343

4.0 THE IMPORTANCE OF BRANDS TO YOUNG PEOPLE

Both the qualitative research and the survey examined young people's understanding of and involvement with brands in general. We were interested in two broad issues:

- How branding 'worked' with young people: the extent to which they relied on brands in their decision making about purchase and consumption, the contexts in which brands were particularly important (and less so), and the types of benefits they derived from brands.
- Whether young people related to and relied on food brands in the same ways as they did for products such as clothing and mobile phones – products for which branding is particularly important.

The focus group findings are reported in Section 4.1, and the survey findings in Section 4.2.

4.1 Focus Group Findings

4.1.1 Understanding of Branding

Young people were familiar with and able to talk knowledgeably and confidently about brands. In all focus groups, respondents spontaneously referred not only to several brands of clothing, perfume, toiletries and electronic goods – goods in which they might be expected to take a particular interest – but also brands which are not particularly youth-oriented, such as household cleaning products, bread and coffee. This high level of recall reflected their generally high levels of engagement with advertising – reflected in the ability to recite and parody dialogue and slogans from various ads – as well as experiences accompanying parents shopping. Some also referred to having learnt about promotional techniques in lessons at school.

Respondents defined the brand as the 'make' of a product, as encapsulated in its logo and use of particular design elements such as the colour red for Coca Cola, the Nike swoosh, and the yellow circle for Walkers crisps. However, they also recognised that the concept of a brand was broader than simply a product's visual identity: that a brand had a symbolic role and communicated something about the product's prestige and meaning.

> *WHAT KIND OF THINGS DO YOU ASSOCIATE WITH A BRAND? WHAT DOES A BRAND HAVE?*
> *"A logo."*
> *"A good name."*
> *BY A GOOD NAME DO YOU MEAN A CATCHY NAME OR REPUTATION?*
> *"Both."*
> (Girls, Year 9, ABC1)

> *"A logo is a symbol of a brand."*
> (Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

This was reflected in the notion that brands implied certain attributes such as quality, reputation and longevity:

> *WHAT WOULD YOU SAY A BRAND ACTUALLY IS?*
> *"Quality."*
> *"You usually assume that a brand is going to be better than a non-brand."*
> (Boys, Year 11, ABC1)
>
> *SO THERE ARE DIFFERENT PARTS TO THE BRAND, THE NAME AND THE LOGO - ANYTHING ELSE YOU CAN THINK OF?*
> *"Smart."*
> *"They're always smart."*
> *DO YOU MEAN STYLISH?*
> *"Sometimes."*
> *"It's fashionable."*
> *"Smart."*
> *"Like no matter how old, it will always be known just because it's that brand."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

This awareness of the symbolic attributes of brands was consistent with consumer behaviour literature, which suggests that, as they enter early adolescence, children move from thinking about brands largely in terms of their visual attributes to thinking about brands on a conceptual or symbolic level and making brand-related judgements of others and themselves (Achenreiner & John 2003).

4.1.2 Interpretations and Uses of Brands

Research into consumption suggests that consumers are active participants in the creation of brands and their meanings. Purchase decisions are rarely driven solely by functional and rational considerations but also by emotional and symbolic concerns such as whether the brand represents values which the consumer considers to be important or helps the consumer to project a desired image of themselves to their peers. Similarly, impressions of others are in part shaped by perceptions of the sort of person who would buy particular brands.

Brands can act to reduce uncertainty: faced with a proliferation of different choices, consumers use brands as a shortcut in their decision-making to reduce the different kinds of risk associated with purchasing and consumption decisions. These may include, for example functional risks (will the product work?), social risks (will this be an embarrassing or socially acceptable choice?) and psychological risks (will this choice accord with the consumer's desired self-image?).

Several of these uses were evident in the ways young people spoke about brands in the context of purchase and consumption decisions. Three key ways in which young people used brands emerged from the discussions:

- As a mark of quality.
- To help project an image.
- To avoid reference group disapproval and stigma.

Each of these is now discussed in more detail.

(i) Brands as a mark of quality

One of the key ways in which brands 'work' is by signalling to the consumer that a product is of a certain quality. Products with an inferior brand or 'no brand' were generally regarded by young people as lower quality: they were perceived to perform less well and to offer fewer benefits. This was particularly important with products which were continually being updated and 'improved', such as mobile phones.

> *ARE ALL BRANDS EXPENSIVE?*
> *"Most are."*
> *"Most."*
> *"Most are."*
> *…*
> *"Because it's really good quality and so you're buying for good quality basically."*
> *"I think they last longer."*
> *"Yes and they last longer."*
> (Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

Brands served as a shortcut in decision making "*because you know what they're best at, and which ones aren't as good as others*" (Boys, Year 11, ABC1).

> *WHY ARE BRANDS IMPORTANT WHEN YOU'RE BUYING A MOBILE PHONE?*
> *"Because you wouldn't want to get like a rubbishy phone."*
> *"Like if it didn't have a camera or."*
> *"Yes, or like a colour screen."*
> (Boys, Year 9, ABC1)

Well-known brands 'work' by providing reassurance to the consumer that the product will perform consistently. A familiar brand reassures the consumer that it is a safe choice: *"You don't want to get a phone that no one's heard of."* (Girl, Year 11, ABC1). Buying a perceived lower quality brand was risky in that the product might perform less well and not deliver satisfaction. However, perhaps just as important as performance was the social or psychological risk involved in being seen with a brand which could reflect badly on the user. It was a source of amusement to the respondents that some people – such as parents – seemed oblivious to the social shame of being seen with poor quality brands:

> *WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO BE SEEN WITH THE RIGHT BRAND [OF PHONE]?*
> *"It's embarrassing."*
> *"Yes, to have like a brick!"*
> *"My Dad's still got one of those."*
> *"And Vodafone Quick because it's still got a monophonic ring tone."*
> (Girls, Year 11, ABC1)

In several groups young people made a distinction between "good brands" and "bad brands". They explained that 'good' meant high profile premium brands which were popular and heavily advertised, while 'bad' brands included those which were no longer fashionable, ones which were too small or local to be credible "proper brands", and low price economy brands. Considerable stigma surrounded economy brands in particular, and this is discussed further under (iii) below. Scorn was also directed at copycat brands. These evoked derision not just because they tended to be cheap and poor quality but because they were inauthentic: they were an insult to the consumer's intelligence. Mocking such brands was a way of asserting one's superior discernment and taste (as well as of displaying the ability to pay for the 'real thing'):

> *"[There are things like] Snidey McDonalds, we would prefer to go to a proper McDonalds."*
> …
> *"...like say there's some companies, like, it's called McDoodals where like, they just think they could call it McDoodals or something [all laughing], like trying to make it something different."*
> (Boys, Year 9, ABC1)

As in many of their attitudes to brands, young people's views on the relationship between branding and quality displayed tensions and contradictions. Although comments such as the above suggested that they did regard premium brands as better quality, at other times they argued that actual differences between products were sometimes minimal or illusory. This suggested that they understood, at a rational level, that brand reputation may be unconnected to the intrinsic qualities of the product – that consumers were in essence often 'paying for the brand name' rather than for objectively superior performance, design or taste. Despite recognising this, they acknowledged that irrational preferences and prejudices came into play:

> *WHY WOULD SOMEBODY GO FOR ONE BRAND OVER ANOTHER BRAND?*
> *"Because they think it's a better brand than the other one."*
> *BETTER IN WHAT WAY?*
> *"I don't know."*
> *"Well maybe it's their opinion."*
> (Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

(ii) Brands and image

According to consumer behaviour research, consumers identify products and brands which are congruent with their self-image and use them to project an image of a 'desired self' – the sort of person they would like others to perceive them as. For this reason, brands are particularly important to teenagers and young adults who use them to construct a desired image of themselves to others. Brands which are *visibly* consumed or consumed on or next to the body – such as clothing and personal electronic goods - are particularly useful for expressing one's 'self-concept' (Chaplin & John 2005).

The young people in our groups had strong views on which brands were acceptable and fashionable and which were not, within their own reference group and wider social networks.

> *"Nike is the top, Nike is the top make."*
> *"Then Adidas probably."*
> *"And then I would have said McKenzie after Adidas, isn't it?"*
> *"Yes."*
> *"Then it would be Rockport and Timberland."*
> *"Number six will have to be Umbro."*
> *"Then Berghaus."*
> *"Yes."*
> *"Lacoste."*
> *"Eight, probably Peter Storm."*
> (Boys, Year 10, C2DE)

Preferences and fashions in brands were shaped partly by availability – whether there was a particular store in the local town – and partly by local youth subcultures, whereby particular looks or brands became associated with particular tribes such as Goths, Boggers or Emos: *"Charvers, they wear Fred Perry. And tracksuit pants tucked in the socks"* (Girl, Year 9, C2DE).

Loyalty to a brand which had stopped being fashionable could result in ridicule, as could being slow to transfer loyalty to a newly popular brand (*"Gap, that's a bit nineties, isn't it?"*; *"Reebok jackets, they're horrible. It's something you used to wear when you were about 10"* [Girl, Year 10, C2DE]). Fashion could change quickly, and could also vary between different communities, as these two sets of contrasting views of Adidas illustrate:

> *IS THERE ANY BRAND YOU WOULD SAY 'THIS IS NOT FOR ME'?*
> *"Reebok maybe because I think it's a bit dated."*
> *"Yes."*
> *"It was really fashionable but now Adidas is."*
> *"Adidas and what's the other one?"*
> *"Fred Perry."*
> *"Yes."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

> *"People say don't buy Adidas because all the tramps have got them and that."*
> *DO YOU THINK THAT WOULD PUT PEOPLE OFF WEARING IT?*
> *"Yes."*
> *"Yes."*
> (Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

The boys in our focus groups seemed sometimes more concerned than girls with having the right clothing brands, appearing to stick to a relatively narrow range of brands which were currently fashionable. Girls in contrast were perceived to be more eclectic, to take more risks and to be influenced less by labels than by the look of clothes:

> *"You wear them [particular brands] because other people wear them really."*
> *"Just to fit in the crowd."*
> *"Because the top boys wear them, so."*
> (Boys, Year 10, C2DE)

"Girls spend less time on things like brands. Girls like designer things [better] than branded things."
"What they wear is stylish, not branded"
"Just whatever looks good"
(Boys, Year 11, ABC1)

This was confirmed to some extent by the girls themselves. In the girls' groups it appeared that respondents drew from a wide repertoire of brands, and were often unembarrassed to admit to buying low price brands such as Matalan, Primark and George at Asda. They explained that the cheapness of these brands was a great advantage as it enabled them to *"buy a whole outfit for a tenner"* (Girls, Year 10, C2DE), and to make quick last minute purchases to complete an outfit. One or two girls also admitted to buying fake versions of more expensive brands, such as Bench. This may reflect a confidence to experiment and to mix and match from different sources. It may also suggest a tendency to attach less importance generally to brands, and a resistance to the notion that certain brands and 'looks' were desirable just because they were currently in fashion:

"Top Shop, it's all them big dresses with prints on, it's all what's in the fashion but we wouldn't wear it."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

"You tend to buy the brand name don't you?"
"Yes."
"But again occasionally we don't, because we go to Primark and buy the same tops [as are available at better brand stores]."
….
"You want to look for a bargain instead of going…."
"You think, oh that was only £2, then you've got a bargain."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

The survey results confirm this apparent trend, indicating that boys attached more importance to branding in several different contexts (see Section 4.2 below).

(iii) Brands and reference group approval/disapproval

Brand choices are often shaped by the perceived expectations of the consumer's peers. Use of particular brands can confer or confirm social standing within a respected reference group, and conversely can protect consumers from embarrassment or rejection by reference group members (Chaplin & John 2007, John 1999).

For the young people in our groups, the notion that they might select particular brands partly to secure their peers' approval was initially rejected. Young people were keen to assert their own autonomy in decision making, and to claim that they chose items primarily on the basis of personal taste - *"because I like it"* - or because of 'objective' attributes such as quality, design or appearance. However, when pushed why 'looking good' was important, young people admitted that one of the main audiences whom it was important to impress was friends:

WHY IS BRANDING IMPORTANT?
"Because, like, if you want a top design, it would make you look good with a top design."
MAKE YOU LOOK GOOD TO WHOM?
"Your friends and that."
"Friends."
…
WHY ARE DESIGNER JEANS BETTER?
"They look better, you know, if your mates see you out."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

"Because there's a trend with your clothes."
"Because your friends all wear the same stuff as you."
"Just gives you a bit more confidence, I reckon like."
(Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

It was particularly important to avoid being seen with the *wrong* brands – brands which could expose them to ridicule. The consequence of having the wrong brand was having others "take the mick" or "take the mickey out of them".

"They [your friends] would bully you if you had like a brick [phone]!"
"They wouldn't bully you, but they would take the mick out of you."
(Girls, Year 11, ABC1)

"[If you're buying jeans] Branding is important."
WHY IS THAT?
"Because if they're cheap you would get the mickey taken out of you."
"Yes."
"People at school."
"Like, George at Asda, I won't get any clothes from there."
WHY NOT?
"It's just plain nasty."
(Girls, Year 9, ABC1)

Here, again, there were some tensions and contradictions. Even though young people acknowledged that their friends' brand opinions mattered and that they themselves judged others partly on the basis of their clothing and other possessions, they experienced some unease with this notion. There was a feeling that while others may be subject to judgement on the basis of their brand choices, they themselves could rise safely above such risks.

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF SOMEONE IN YOUR CLASS BROUGHT IN A 'BRICK' PHONE?
"Oh, yes, like D-, we take the Mick out of him because he thought he had a really good phone that played monophonic ring tones."
"But someone solid like me, if I took a brick phone out, nobody would say anything."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

Sometimes, the notion that peer disapproval might be linked to brand choices was implicit rather than stated. The exchange below hints at the social embarrassment which would be incurred by being seen with the wrong kind of brand carrier bag in school:

> *"Yes, some people if they brought a Tesco bag in for school, and some people had a designer bag would be that nasty…."*
> *"But it's just a bag isn't it?"*
> *"But you wouldn't take a Morrison's bag with your PE kit in now. You wouldn't."*
> *WHY WOULD YOU NOT TAKE YOUR PE KIT IN A MORRISON'S BAG?*
> *"I just wouldn't."*
> *"I wouldn't."*
> (Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

Young people's concerns about having the 'wrong' brands seemed to be particularly driven by fear of looking poor and cheap: in their own words, "*nardy*", "*cheap*" "*raggy*" or "*like a tramp*". Many young people were sensitive to the risk of being seen with a low price brand, such as supermarket economy brands or "*not proper*" brands which might be found in local markets. This sensitivity seemed particularly acute among the C2DE respondents, suggesting that they attached particular importance to visibly consuming premium, "*proper*" brands.

> *"You wouldn't go to George."*
> *"Because it's raggy, cheap, nasty."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

> *"Like, Rebel Active, it's a nardy make."*
> *"It's just this make no one ever wears."*
> *"Someone would come and put a bag over your head if you wore it."*
> *"Because it's raggy, cheap, nasty."*
> (Boys, Year 10, C2DE)

The psycho-social risks of being seen with a cheap brand included not just embarrassment and low self-image but also potentially actual teasing, ridicule and bullying.

> *"If you don't get jeans with a make [ie. a brand] you get called a tramp and stuff."*
> *REALLY?*
> *"Yes."*
> *WHO WOULD CALL YOU THAT?*
> *"Just people that walk past really."*
> *"Bullies."*
> *FRIENDS?*
> *"Well not exactly your friends, no."*
> *SO THEY'D TEASE YOU IF YOU DIDN'T HAVE A GOOD MAKE?*
> *"Yes."*
> *OR A MAKE AT ALL?*
> *"Yes."*
> (Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

"Yes. Everyone will go, oh my God, she's got.."
"It'll get spread around the school and that."
IT'LL GET SPREAD AROUND THE SCHOOL?
"Yes."
"Yes."
"And you get the Mickey taken out of you."
IF YOU DON'T HAVE THE RIGHT CLOTHES?
"Yes."
(Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

4.1.3 Interpretations and Uses of Food Brands

The previous section has provided useful context by exploring the importance young people attached to brands, in the context of clothing and mobile phones, to assist in purchase decision making. Our main interest was in whether they interpreted and used brands in similar ways in the context of food. We therefore explored the extent to which the benefits young people derived from brands in the context of clothes and mobile phones – quality and reassurance, image, and avoiding disapproval and stigma – might apply, or not, in the context of food.

On the one hand, it might be expected that brands are less important for food than for products such as clothing and phones, because the products are purchased and consumed very differently. Clothing and phones are more expensive, decision-making is likely to be more involved, and the products are consumed conspicuously and retained for a relatively long time. In contrast, food purchase decisions are generally quicker, routine and less involving.

On the other hand, food and drink are products which young people regularly buy for themselves, thereby affording them plenty of opportunities for asserting their own independent preferences. Furthermore, food and drink are often consumed socially – at school and while out socialising with friends – so issues such as image and reference group approval might have a bearing on their brand choices.

These different two perspectives were reflected in young people's own opinions on whether branding was an important consideration when choosing food. At a rational level, they argued that the brand was relatively unimportant compared with other factors such as taste, and was particularly unimportant in the context of everyday staple products. However, the exchange below, in which respondents begin by asserting that the brand is irrelevant but end up acknowledging the reassurance that a well-known brand can provide, suggests that they nonetheless did rely on brands, even when thinking about food.

IS BRANDING IMPORTANT WHEN YOU'RE BUYING FOOD FOR YOURSELF?
"I don't think – it's what the package looks like, not who makes it."
"Exactly, yes, branding isn't important."
"I wouldn't buy Heinz beans just because it says Heinz."
SO THE BRAND DOESN'T HAVE ANY IMPORTANCE?
"Not really."
"It's just beans isn't it?"
"Yes, beans is beans."
SO IF THERE WAS ASDA BEANS AND HEINX, WHICH WOULD YOU BUY?
"Heinz."
"Well, I'd rather have Heinz than smart price, myself."
WHY WOULD YOU RATHER HAVE HEINZ?
"It's like a big name's, like they are proper beans."
"Yes, it's better."
(Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

(i) Food brands and quality

Well-known food brands served as a reassurance of quality. As with clothing and phones, young people tended to assume that premium food brands would taste better than "no make" or supermarket own brand products.

[Discussing Coca Cola and Tesco cola]:
"Tesco would be cheaper."
"Yes."
"But it would taste horrible."
WHY?
"Because it's like with the clothes you sell isn't it. Because you could buy a Top Shop top and say you paid £40 for that or something and you could go to Primark and it would be £3 or something."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

"It's just like all, if you get the Roller Cola or you get Pepsi, well obviously Pepsi is better."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

As with other types of product, quality and price were perceived as linked, with a higher price being seen as both justified by and indicative of a better quality product ('it must be good because it costs more', 'it costs more because it's good').

"It goes up if it's a good brand. Like Asda Isotonic or Lucozade, there's obviously a bigger price for the branded."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

At the same time, respondents recognised that the perceived higher quality of premium brand food products was not always borne out by reality. Several were able to offer examples of premium brands which they felt did not justify their higher price – where consumers were in essence paying for the brand name.

> *SO YOU'VE GOT THESE ASDA CRISPS AND WALKERS CRISPS, WHICH WOULD YOU EXPECT TO TASTE BETTER?*
> *"Walkers."*
> *"Walkers."*
> *"You expect that."*
> *"You expect it but you don't know."*
> *"I don't know."*
> *"Sometimes Walkers have like half-filled with air and you get like four crisps in it."*
> (Boys, Year 9, ABC1)

They understood that the power of branding encouraged consumers to stick to familiar premium brands, even though value alternatives might actually perform better on attributes such as taste:

> *"The Aldi version of Blue Riband are a much better taste than the actual Blue Riband."*
> *"Yes, and the Snyde Red Bulls are better now."*
> *"Yes."*
> *"Well, it's just the same; you're paying for the make of Red Bull. You're paying for the name."*
> (Boys, Year 11, ABC1)

A key function of branding for foods was to provide reassurance that a project would taste the same every time. This was particularly important for foods which were consumed regularly. Young people's frequent mentions of household brands such as Birds' Eye, Hovis, Warburtons, McVities, Heinz and Kellogg's suggested that they developed loyalty to certain food brands. Although these brands did not inspire the same sort of emotions as the likes of Cadbury's or Coca Cola (see Section 5.0), their familiarity was comforting, and a part of young people's routines:

> *"I'd say they [Kellogg's] were quite high up [in terms of what is 'cool' among this group]."*
> *"Yes."*
> *"It's not like a popular thing because you usually eat cereals for something quick in the morning."*
> *"But still every single cereal I buy is Kellogg's."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

The consistency offered by a familiar brand was also important in a context where some young people were picky about food and had strong dislikes of particular foods (including ones they had never tried before):

WHAT ABOUT BRANDING? WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?
"So you know what you're eating."
WHAT BENEFITS DO YOU GET FROM BUYING BRANDED FOODS?
"Well you've had it before so you know what you're getting."
(Boys, Year 11, ABC1)

Some young people argued that they might be encouraged to try a new product if they were already familiar with its brand:

"I say if I liked the orange Lucozade and then they brought out a raspberry one, I'd try it."
…
WHY WOULD YOU TRY IT?
"Because I like the other one, so I would see how I like that one."
"Because Lucozade's the name."
"Or you like that particular Lucozade so why not like the other one, so you would give it a try."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

(ii) Food brands and image

Section 4.1.2 above has shown how young people were conscious that clothing brand choices could affect how they and other people were perceived. However, when asked whether the same considerations came into play with regard to their food brand choices, they initially tended to argue that consuming food products was not primarily about image and therefore the same concerns did not apply.

SO YOU'RE SAYING THAT BRANDING WOULDN'T INFLUENCE YOU FOR FOOD BUT FOR JEANS IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT?
"You <u>wear</u> the jeans."
"Yes, because you wear the jeans!"
"You want to look good."
"No one takes notice of what food you eat."
(Girls, Year 11, ABC1)

At a rational level, young people derided the notion that anyone's image could be either bolstered or harmed by the food brands which they chose to consume. However, at an emotional level, it was clear that concerns about image did to some extent influence food brand choices as well. This was particularly evident in relation to value and supermarket own brands. Being seen with low budget brands which marked one's family out as poor and "*cheap*" was potentially socially embarrassing and could attract ridicule and teasing. This is discussed in more detail in Section (iii) below.

The potential for food brands to enhance or weaken someone's image also emerged indirectly. For example, when asked to select what a 'trendy person' might put in their lunchbox, groups tended immediately to pick out the premium brand products – Cadbury's Dairy Milk, Walkers, Dairylea cheese strings, Coca Cola (Boys, Year 9, ABC1). These products would be chosen by a trendy person, they argued, because the names were "*big*" and because such a person would want to have the best snack foods and confectionery products.

The clear implication was that it was more "*cool*" and "*hot*" to be seen with premium brand products than with unbranded or own label products such as Asda Cola *"because people know where you're shopping"*; in other words, you choose a premium brand to show that you know what is the best and most popular, and can afford it. The corollary of this was that choosing generic brands was a sign of social marginalisation and unpopularity:

WHAT WOULD AN UNPOPULAR PERSON HAVE?
"Probably have all the nerdy stuff."
"Probably have that."
WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY NERDY STUFF?
"Asda's chocolate and Asda's yoghurt and Asda's crisps."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

Many of the brands which young people associated with a trendy or popular person were for premium brand products high in fat, salt or sugar (HFSS), while some of the products chosen to indicate a person who was untrendy or unpopular were value or own brands, or were for healthier products. However, there were interesting exceptions to this, suggesting that young people's perceptions of and relationship with food brands are more complex. This is examined in more detail in Section 5.1 below.

(iii) Food brands and avoiding disapproval/stigma

We have already shown how young people were sometimes sensitive to the embarrassment and potential stigma of being seen with inferior brands of clothing or phones. A similar kind of sensitivity appeared to exist in relation to economy food brands. Young people frequently ridiculed budget brands such as Asda Smart Price, Aldi and Netto, claiming that the products were "*rubbishy*", "*dodgy*" and poor quality. These negative perceptions appeared to apply largely to economy and value ranges, rather than to retailer own brands per se (such as Sainsbury's, Tesco or Marks and Spencers), which were often perceived as *"nearly the same"* as proper premium brands in many respects.

IF I CAME INTO SCHOOL WITH A NETTO LUNCH, LIKE CRISPS AND A NETTO DRINK, WOULD ANYONE MAKE A COMMENT ABOUT IT?
"Yes."
"Yes, probably."
"They sing a little song and..."
SAY THAT AGAIN.
"N-E-T-T-O, Netto is the place to go..."
"N-E-T-T-O, Netto is the place to go."
"Shop all day, shop all night, fill your basket full of..."
"Shop all day, shop all night, fill your basket with Netto."
"...S-H-I-T." (all laughing)
(Boys, Year 9, ABC1)

"You don't go to Netto."
"It's a cheap and nasty shop."
"It's raggy, you can get a can of beans for about three pence or something."
"And then when you open it the beans are supposed to be orange but they're green. My Nana goes there, my Nana's raggy."
"It's a brand for raggy old people, yes."
(Boys, Year 10, C2DE)

Behind these sorts of comments seemed to lie a more fundamental anxiety, not so much about the cheapness and quality of the products but about the threat to one's own image of looking cheap oneself – of seeming poor.

WHAT KIND OF THINGS WOULD PEOPLE SAY IF YOU HAD SMART PRICE STUFF IN YOUR LUNCH BOX?
"Probably take the mickey out of you. Think you were poor or something."
(Girls, Year 9, ABC1)

SAY I WAS YOUR AGE, IN YOUR CLASS AND CAME TO SCHOOL WITH A LUNCHBOX CONTAINING ASDA COLA, SMART PRICE STUFF, DO YOU THINK THAT ANYONE WOULD TAKE THE MICKEY OUT OF ME FOR THAT LUNCH?
"They probably wouldn't say anything to you but the look."
"But they'd give you dirty looks and talk about you to your friends."
"They'll look at you, look and then whisper. Like oh my God, what she's got!"
WHAT WOULD THEY BE SAYING TO EACH OTHER THEN BEHIND MY BACK?
"They'd be sniggering and giggling and stuff."
"They'd be like, oh my God."
"She must be poor or something. Not exactly poor but not a lot of money."
(Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

The social stigma of looking cheap and poor was confirmed by the way that reliance on cheap brands was associated with undesirable attributes such as unpopularity. When one group was asked to assemble a hypothetical lunchbox for an 'unpopular person', they chose economy brands on the assumption that it was more likely to be poorer people who were unpopular at school.

WHAT WOULD YOU PICK OUT FOR AN UNPOPULAR PERSON?
"Asda cola, Asda milk chocolate."
"Asda crisps."
"The eight pence yoghurt."
"Because they're usually poor, the unpopular ones"
"It's cheap"
"Because they already get the mick took out them too much. They don't care".
(Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

In all the groups where these kinds of attitudes were expressed, young people also argued against them (sometimes contradicting themselves as well as other respondents), asserting that there was *"nothing wrong"* with buying value brands or shopping at discount stores, that the shops and the products were *"alright"*, and that people who used such stores were *"normal really"*. Some claimed that they themselves would be immune from any disapproval or ridicule if they were seen with economy brands, or that someone would not be teased for having economy brands *"if they was just normal and not a geek or a charver"* (Girls, Year 9, ABC1). This suggested that, at a rational level, respondents rejected the notion that buying cheap food brands should incur any stigma, even though emotionally they were sensitive to the risk and potential embarrassment. The exchange below illustrates the tension between these two perspectives.

> *"I wouldn't get an Aldi sandwich, like!"*
> *"What's wrong with an Aldi sandwich?."*
> *"Don't know, it still tastes the same"*
> *"What's right with them?"*
> *"People say that Aldi's cheap and that"*
> *"Apparently it's like the trampiest store going"*
> *SO YOU COULDN'T BRING AN ALDI LUNCH TO SCHOOL?*
> *"You don't want to be a victim like."*
> *"You'd be bullied that much you'd want to kill yourself"*
> *"There's nothing wrong with it, but – it's got a reputation of, like of being really cheap and nasty".*
> (Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

4.1.4 Summary

Brands are important to young people. They rely on them as markers of product quality and consistency, and use brands, particularly clothing brands, to construct a desired external image of themselves to their peers. In particular, brand choices help to secure peer acceptance, and, perhaps more importantly, to avoid peer disapproval, ridicule and teasing. Boys appear to attach particular importance to brands.

Despite claiming that brands are less relevant in the context of food choice than when shopping for clothes or phones, young people do rely on food branding in a number of ways. They attach importance to having well-known premium brands. At a more emotional level, food brands help subtly to inform perceptions of their own and other people's image and 'coolness', and have the potential to expose one to, or protect one from, reference group disapproval. There is particular stigma attached to economy food brands, and this stigma appears to be particularly keenly felt by young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

4.2 Survey Findings

The survey looked at appreciation of marketing techniques and pupils' perceptions of brand importance. Brand importance was assessed in relation to trainers and crisps, enabling the comparison of a food product with an item of clothing, visibly worn and likely to be important in image and branding terms. In addition, perceptions of the importance of having 'a well-known make or brand' was examined for a range of food and non-food products in an attempt to position brand importance of food relative to other products.

Pupils' appreciation of marketing techniques is given below (4.2.1), initially looking at their responses to several individual statements. Differences by gender, school year and ACORN classification are noted where they occur and have been identified using logistic regression which also controlled for lifestyle characteristics. An overall score for appreciation of marketing has been calculated and, using multiple regression, any variations by demographic or lifestyle characteristics have been identified and noted.

Perceived brand importance is presented in Section 4.2.2 and again responses to several individual statements are initially presented with differences by demographic variables identified, using logistic regression which also controlled for lifestyle characteristics. Three overall scores for brand importance (trainers, crisps and general brand importance) have been calculated and, using multiple regression, variations by demographic and lifestyle characteristics have been identified and noted.

4.2.1 Appreciation of Marketing Techniques

Pupils were given a list of five forms of marketing and were asked to rate, on a five point scale, their liking or disliking of each - like a lot (1), like a little (2), neither like nor dislike (3), dislike a little (4), dislike a lot (5).

Pupils displayed an appreciation of most of the marketing forms. In particular they indicated high appreciation of marketing which offered lower prices or something for free. The majority liked ('a lot' or 'a little') to receive free gifts with their purchase (87%), free gifts bearing a brand logo (79%), or special price offers (85%). Almost two-thirds liked to receive free samples of products (63%). There was little appreciation of direct mail, with only 16% indicating that they liked receiving letters from companies, telling you about their products.

(Table 4.1, Figure 4.1)

Figure 4.1
Proportion who like marketing 'a lot' or 'a little'
Base: All pupils

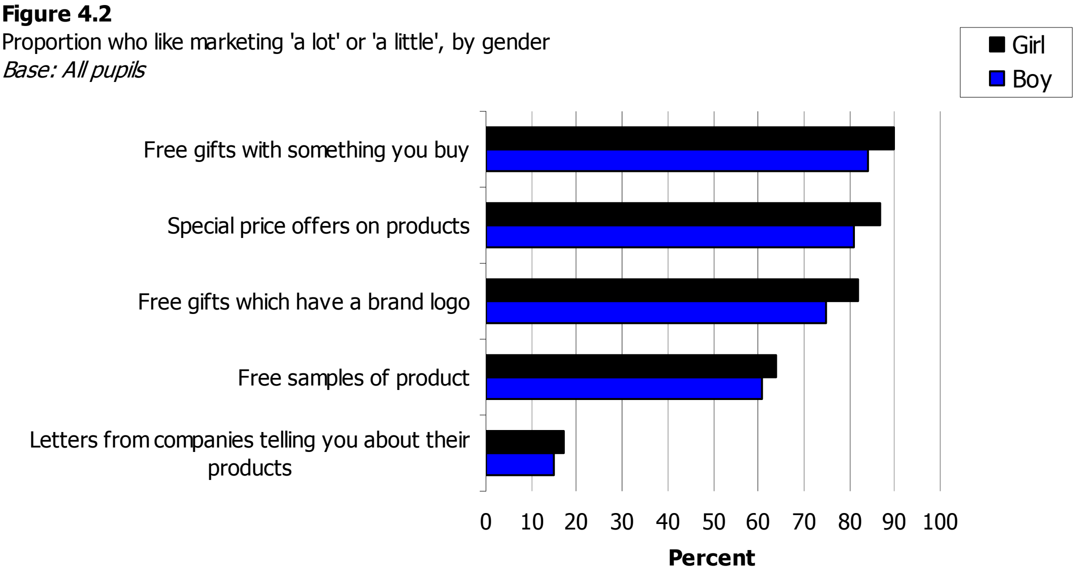
Appreciation of marketing by demographic and lifestyle characteristics

Logistic regression was used to examine any association between demographic characteristics and the likelihood of appreciating each form of marketing. The analyses controlled for lifestyle characteristics also.

On three of the five items – free gift with purchase, free gifts with brand logo and special price – girls were more likely than boys to appreciate these.

(Table 4.1, Figure 4.2)

Figure 4.2
Proportion who like marketing 'a lot' or 'a little', by gender
Base: All pupils



For free samples and special price, Year 11 pupils were more likely than Year 9 to indicate an appreciation of these (free samples: 60% Y9, 68% Y11, special price: 82% Y9, 88% Y11).

(Table 4.1)

For most of the items there was no difference among pupils from different ACORN classifications. However, those with an ACORN classification of 'hard pressed' were less likely than the 'comfortably off' pupils to appreciate special price (80% 'hard–pressed', 88% 'comfortably off') whereas the 'comfortably off' were less likely than all other ACORN categories to appreciate direct mail (eg. 16% hard pressed v 11% comfortably off).

Scores from four of the items – free samples, free gifts with purchase, free gifts bearing a brand logo and special price offers – were combined together to form a score representing overall appreciation of marketing. The four items had a Cronbach's Alpha = 0.735. The fifth item 'direct mail' was excluded as it reduced the Cronbach's Alpha. Multiple regression analysis showed that overall appreciation of marketing techniques was associated with being a girl, being in a higher school year, spare time activities of watching TV/videos/DVDs, emailing, reading, playing sports, more time spent watching TV, having their own bedroom and having more vehicles in the household.

(Figure 4.3)

Figure 4.3
Multiple regression of appreciation of marketing score

Dependent Variable: Overall appreciation of marketing score - (low score = better appreciation)

Adj R^2	=	0.071
$F_{13,1642}$	=	10.755
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	-0.125	<0.001
School Year	-0.064	<0.01
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	-	ns
ACORN classification		
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.087	<0.01
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.075	<0.01
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.055	<0.05
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.075	<0.01
Average daily hours of TV viewing	-0.067	<0.01
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-0.065	<0.01
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.060	<0.05
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-	ns
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns

The regression was a poor fit, describing only 7% of the variance in appreciation of marketing, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

4.2.2 Brand Importance for Various Product Types

Brand importance was assessed using three questions. Firstly, pupils who indicated that they ever wear trainers were given 5 statements relating to brand importance and asked for their level of agreement/disagreement with each. The same statements were applied to crisps for those who ever ate crisps. The third question, asked of all pupils, listed a variety of 11 food and non-food products and pupils were asked to indicate, on a four-point scale (very important (1), fairly important (2), not very important (3) or not at all important (4)), the importance of choosing a well-known make/brand for each.

Scores from three of the items – I usually choose a well-known make/brand of trainers, I know what makes/brands of trainers to buy and I know a lot about different makes/brands of trainers – were combined together to form a scale representing overall brand importance for trainers. The three items formed a scale with a Cronbach's Alpha = 0.741.

Scores from the same three items relating to crisps were combined to form a scale representing brand importance for crisps. The three items formed a scale with a Cronbach's Alpha = 0.611.

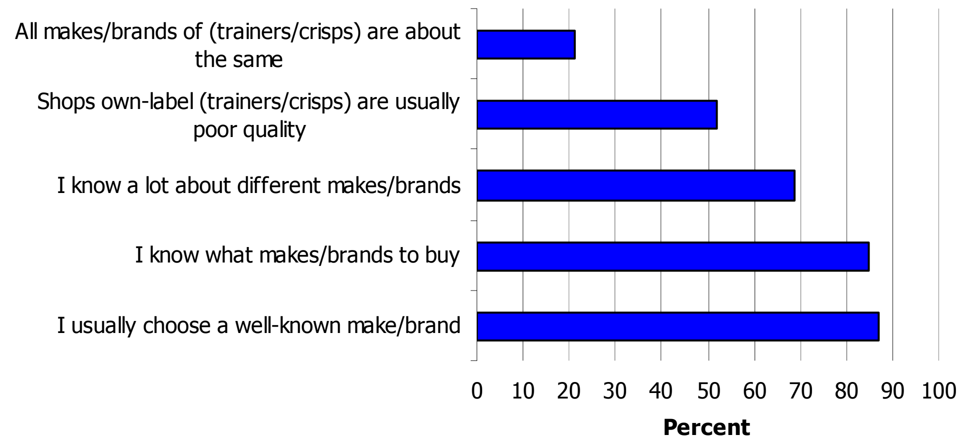
Scores from perceived importance of brand for all eleven food and non-food products were combined to form a score representing general brand importance. The eleven items had a Cronbach's Alpha = 0.873.

Perceived brand importance: Trainers

Almost all pupils (96%) indicated that they wear trainers and the vast majority of these pupils indicated that they 'usually choose a well-known make or brand' (87%) and 'know what makes or brands of trainers to buy' (85%). Many also indicated knowing 'a lot about different makes/brands of trainers' (69%). There were mixed responses concerning perceived quality of own-label trainers with 52% considering these to be inferior. Pupils clearly perceived distinction between brands of trainers, with only 21% agreeing that 'all makes/brands of trainers are about the same.

(Table 4.2, Figure 4.4)

Figure 4.4
Perceived brand importance of trainers
Base: All who wear trainers



Brand importance (trainers) by demographic and lifestyle characteristics

Logistic regression was used to examine any association between demographic characteristics and the likelihood of agreeing with each of the brand importance statements. The analyses controlled for lifestyle characteristics also.

Girls were less likely than boys to consider own-label trainers to be poor quality (57% boys, 47% girls). There were no differences by gender on the other four items.

(Table 4.2)

There were differences, by school year, on two of the items with Year 9 pupils more likely than Y10 and Y11 pupils to agree that ‘all makes/brands of trainers are about the same’ (25% Y9, 19% Y10, 18% Y11) and that ‘I know a lot about different makes/brands of trainers’ (73% Y9, 69% Y10, 65% Y11).

(Table 4.2)

For most items, agreement did not vary by ACORN. However, pupils from areas categorised ‘moderate means’ were more likely than those from ‘comfortably off’ to agree that ‘all makes/brands of trainers are about the same’ (29% moderate means, 21% comfortably off). Similarly, those from ‘moderate means’ and ‘hard pressed’ areas were more likely than those from ‘comfortably off’ to agree that ‘I know a lot about different makes/brands of trainers’ (72% moderate means, 73% hard pressed, 64% comfortably off). There were no differences by ACORN category on the other items.

(Table 4.2)

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine any association between pupils’ demographic and lifestyle characteristics and their overall brand importance score for trainers.

(Table 4.2, Figure 4.5)

The following characteristics were associated with attributing higher importance to brand of trainers:

- ‘Moderate means’ v ‘Comfortably off’
- ‘Hard pressed’ v ‘Comfortably off’
- Meet friends in spare time
- Play sports in spare time
- Ever excluded from school
- Ever truanted from school
- Entitlement to free school meals

While the following were associated with attributing lower importance to brand of trainers:

- Read in spare time
- Play music/musical instrument in spare time

(Figure 4.5)

Figure 4.5
Multiple regression of brand importance for trainers score

Dependent Variable: Overall brand importance for trainers score - (low score = more importance)

Adj R^2	=	0.11
$F_{12,1539}$	=	17.006
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	-	ns
School Year	-	ns
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	-	ns
ACORN classification	-	ns
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-0.075	<0.01
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	-0.105	<0.01
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.112	<0.001
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	0.140	<0.001
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.134	<0.001
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	0.163	<0.001
Average daily hours of TV viewing	-	ns
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-	ns
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-0.055	<0.05
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.095	<0.001
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.096	<0.001

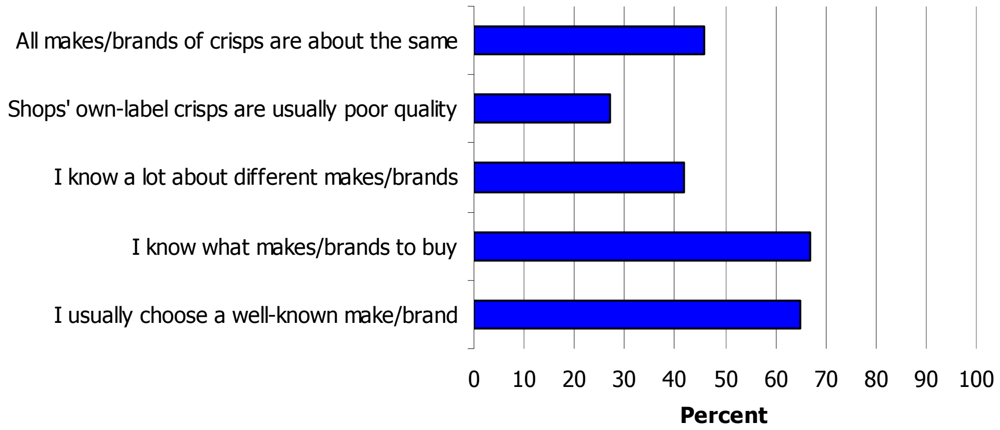
The regression was a poor fit, describing only 11% of the variance in brand importance, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

Perceived brand importance: Crisps

Almost all pupils (94%) indicated that they ate crisps. Of those who ate crisps around two-thirds indicated that they 'usually choose a well-known make or brand' (65%), and that they 'know what makes or brands of crisps to buy' (67%). Around two-fifths indicated knowing 'a lot about different makes/brands of crisps' (42%) and almost half held the view that 'all makes/brands of crisps are about the same (46%).

(Table 4.3, Figure 4.6)

Figure 4.6
Perceived brand importance of crisps
Base: All who eat crisps



Overall pupils did not consider own-label crisps to be inferior quality, with only 27% agreeing 'own-label crisps are usually poor quality'.

Brand importance (crisps) by demographic and lifestyle characteristics

Logistic regression was used to examine any association between demographic characteristics and the likelihood of agreeing with each of the brand importance statements. The analyses controlled for lifestyle characteristics also.

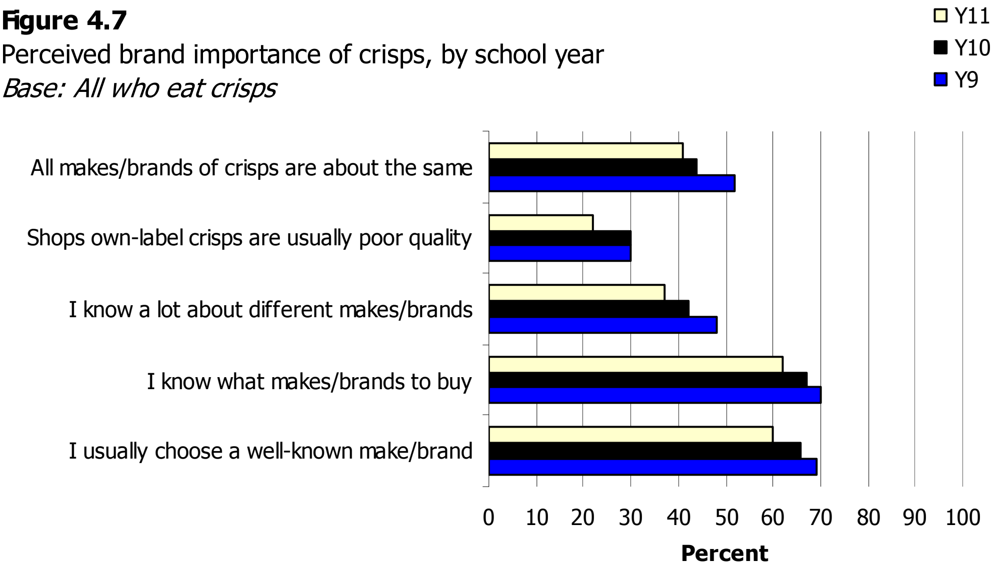
Girls were less likely than boys to consider own-label crisps to be poor quality (30% boys, 25% girls), to 'usually choose a well-known make/brand' (70% boys, 61% girls) or to 'know a lot about different makes/brands of crisps' (48% boys, 38% girls). There were no differences by gender on the other two items.

(Table 4.3)

There were differences, by school year, on each of the items with Year 9 pupils more likely than Y10 and Y11 pupils to agree that 'all makes/brands of crisps are about the same' (52% Y9, 44% Y10, 41% Y11) and more likely than Y11 to agree that 'I usually choose a well-known make/brand of crisps' (69% Y9, 60% Y11), ' I know what makes/brands of crisps to buy' (70% Y9, 62% Y11), 'I know a lot about different makes/brands of crisps' (48% Y9, 37% Y11) and 'Shop's own-label crisps are usually poor quality' (30% Y9, 22% Y11).

(Table 4.3, Figure 4.7)

Figure 4.7
Perceived brand importance of crisps, by school year
Base: All who eat crisps



For most items, agreement did not vary by ACORN. However, pupils from areas categorised 'moderate means' were more likely than those from 'comfortably off' to agree that they 'usually choose a well-known make/brand of crisps' (48% moderate means, 41% comfortably off).

(Table 4.3)

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine any association between pupils' demographic and lifestyle characteristics and their overall brand importance score for crisps.

(Table 4.3, Figure 4.8)

The following characteristics were associated with attributing high importance to brand of crisps:

- Have own bedroom
- Number of hours of TV viewing
- Email in spare time
- Ever truanted from school

While the following were associated with attributing low importance to brand of crisps:

- Girl
- Older school year
- Play music/musical instrument in spare time

Figure 4.8
Multiple regression of brand importance for crisps score

Dependent Variable: Overall brand importance for crisps score - (low score = more importance)

Adj R^2	=	0.041
$F_{11,1511}$	=	6.852
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	0.104	<0.001
School Year	0.107	<0.001
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	-	ns
ACORN classification		
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.061	<0.05
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	0.058	<0.05
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Average daily hours of TV viewing	-0.101	<0.001
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-	ns
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.058	<0.05
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-	ns
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.075	<0.01
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns

The regression was a poor fit, describing only 4% of the variance in brand importance, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

Brand importance: Trainers v Crisps

Paired t-tests were used to examine whether pupils attributed the same or different levels of brand importance to crisps and trainers. On every measure they attributed higher brand importance to trainers compared with crisps. On the overall brand importance score, trainers also had a significantly higher brand importance score compared with crisps.

(Figure 4.9 - 4.10)

Figure 4.9
Perceived brand importance of trainers & crisps, by product
Base: All who wear trainers/eat crisps

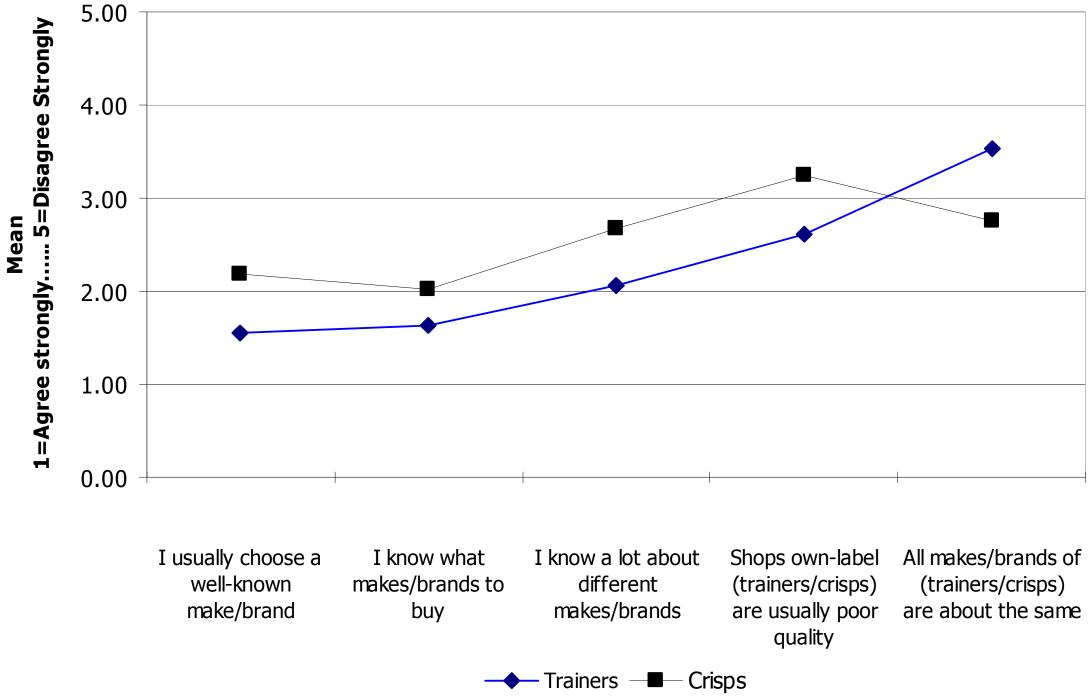


Figure 4.10
Paired t-test results for difference in brand importance scores of Trainers - Crisps

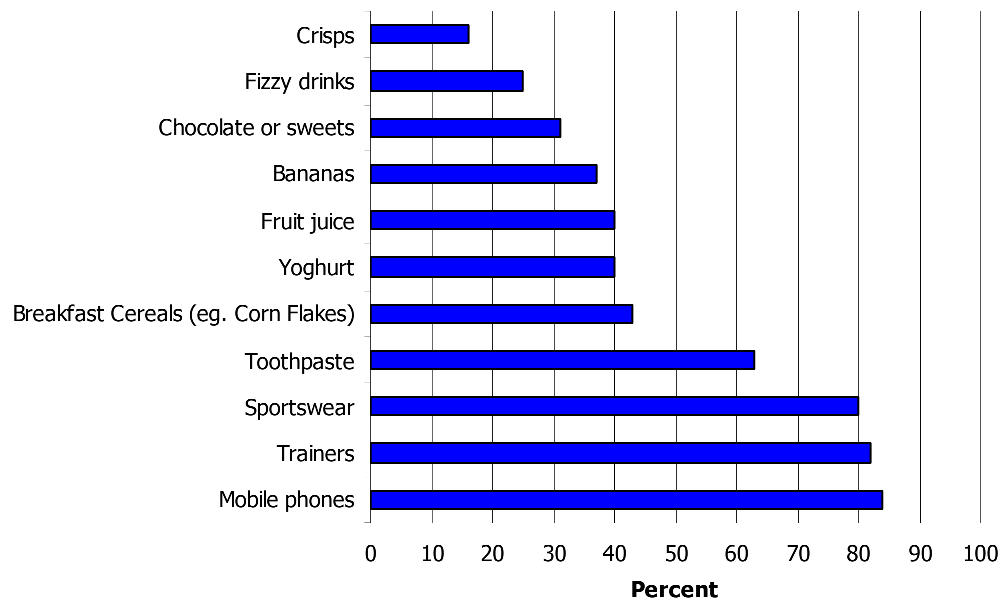
	Paired Differences (Trainers' score - Crisps' score)			
Trainers - Crisps - 1=Agree; 5=Disagree	Mean	Std. Dev	Std. Error Mean	Sig. (2-tailed)
I usually choose a well-known make/brand of trainers (-crisps)	-0.65	1.22	0.03	P<0.001
Shop's own-label trainers (-crisps) (eg. Asda's, Tesco's) are usually poor quality	-0.66	1.72	0.04	P<0.001
All makes/brands of trainers (-crisps) are about the same	0.79	1.41	0.04	P<0.001
I know what makes/brands of trainers (-crisps) to buy	-0.41	1.06	0.03	P<0.001
I know a lot about different makes/brands of trainers (-crisps)	-0.59	1.21	0.03	P<0.001
Overall brand importance score trainers (-crisps) (high score = less importance)	-0.55	0.88	0.02	P<0.001

Brand importance various products

Highest brand importance was most likely to be reported for trainers, sportswear and mobile phones, all image based products that are visibly worn, carried or used. Brand importance was relatively high for toothpaste albeit more of a non-visibly used product. All food products had lower brand importance. Breakfast cereals had the highest brand importance among the food items, with 43% considering brand to be important for these. However, its importance was still low relative to the non-food products.

(Table 4.4, Figure 4.11)

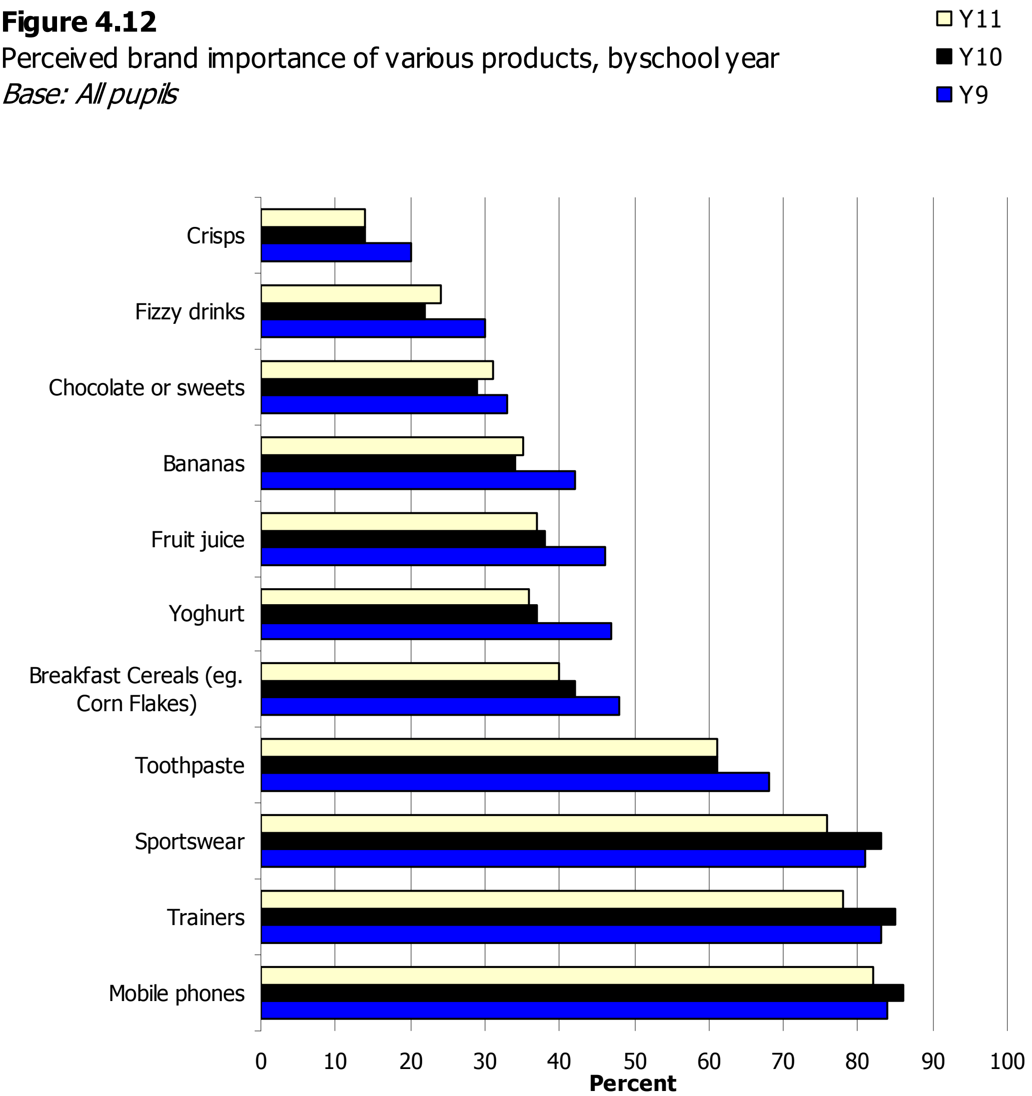
Figure 4.11
Perceived brand importance of various products
Base: All pupils



Boys attributed greater brand importance than girls did for trainers (85% boys, 80% girls), breakfast cereals (48% boys, 40% girls), confectionery (35% boys, 28% girls), fizzy drinks (33% boys, 19% girls) and crisps (20% boys, 14% girls). Brand importance also varied by school year with Y9 pupils attributing greatest importance for trainers, sportswear, toothpaste, breakfast cereals, fruit juice, bananas, fizzy drinks and crisps.

(Table 4.4, Figure 4.12)

Figure 4.12
Perceived brand importance of various products, by school year
Base: All pupils



There was no association between brand importance of individual items and ACORN classification.

(Table 4.4)

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine any association between pupils' demographic and lifestyle characteristics and their overall brand importance score (from the combined score on the 11 products). Attributing greater brand importance to products was associated with having ever been excluded from school and entitlement to free school meals while lesser brand importance was associated with being older, being a girl, being white (v other ethnic background), reading in spare time and playing music/musical instrument in spare time.

(Table 4.4, Figure 4.13)

Figure 4.13
Multiple regression of overall brand importance score (based on 11 products)

Dependent Variable: Overall brand importance score - (low score = more importance)

Adj R^2	=	0.077
$F_{11,1463}$	=	12.124
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	0.080	<0.01
School Year	0.122	<0.001
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	0.052	<0.05
ACORN classification		
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	0.069	<0.01
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	0.076	<0.01
Average daily hours of TV viewing	-	ns
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-	ns
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-0.096	<0.001
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.135	<0.001

The regression was a poor fit, describing only 8% of the variance in brand importance, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

4.2.3 Summary

Pupils displayed an appreciation of most of the forms of marketing, particularly those that offered lower prices or something for free. There was little appreciation of direct mail, which may reflect a lack of experience of direct mail rather than a lack of appreciation.

Appreciation of marketing was higher among girls and older pupils. There was no apparent association between appreciation of marketing and disadvantage.

Pupils attributed high brand importance to trainers with pupils reporting that they were knowledgeable about the brands and that they usually chose a well-known make or brand. They clearly perceived a distinction between brands of trainers, with only 21% considering all makes/brands of trainers to be ‘about the same’. However, there seemed to be some recognition, at a rational level at least, that own-label trainers are not necessarily inferior quality. While 52% considered own-label trainers to be inferior, a sizeable proportion didn’t. Boys place greater importance, than girls do, on brands of trainers. There was indication of a link between disadvantage and higher importance of brands of trainers. Pupils in more disadvantaged ACORN categories, those entitled to free school meals, and those who had been excluded or truanted placed higher importance on brands of trainers.

Crisps did not hold the same level of brand importance as trainers. Overall, pupils were knowledgeable about and aware of different brands of crisps, with a tendency to choose a well-known brand. However, it was not exclusively important to choose a well-known brand and many did not perceive a distinction between crisp brands and only a minority perceived own-label crisps to be inferior. Branding clearly has some importance in relation to choice of crisps but does not appear to be crucial. The tendency to choose well-known brands, despite the acknowledgement that many brands are the same and that own-label varieties are not necessarily inferior, provides an indication of the power of branding. In comparison with trainers they do seem more adaptable to consuming different brands and seem to attribute less importance to the brand.

Overall, brands seemed to hold greater importance to boys, younger pupils and young people from more disadvantaged backgrounds. Brands were more important to those entitled to free school meals and those having been excluded from school.

Tables

Table 4.1

Appreciation of marketing, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
Percentage who like the following 'a lot' or 'a little'	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9[1] %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off[2] %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
Free gifts with something you buy	87	84	90*	88	86	87	87	91	89	85	84
Free gifts which have a brand logo	79	75	82**	79	78	80	81	80	82	78	76
Special price offers on products	85	81	87***	82	84	88*	90	88	85	80***	81
Free samples of product	63	61	64	60	61	68*	65	67	61	60	61
Letters from companies telling you about their products	16	15	17	18	14	16	17*	11	19**	16*	22***
Overall Appreciation of Marketing Score (low score = better liking) #											
Mean	1.80	1.88	1.73***	1.84**	1.84	1.70	1.72	1.75	1.77	1.85	1.87
(Std Dev)	(.65)	(.67)	(.62)	(.64)	(.64)	(.64)	(.60)	(.59)	(.62)	(.65)	(.74)
Bases											
Total	*1764*	*768*	*988*	*629*	*586*	*545*	*291*	*402*	*281*	*447*	*343*

* P<0.05
** p<0.01
*** P<0.001
Significant differences identified from
Logistic regressions controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: Y10 and Y11 compared against Y9. ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'
1 Reference category for school year comparisons
2 Reference category for ACORN comparisons

Multiple regression controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'

Table 4.2

Perceptions of brand importance for trainers, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All who ever wear trainers

	Total	**Gender**		**School Year**			**ACORN Classification**				
Agreement with statements: % who 'agree strongly' or 'agree a little'	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9[1] %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off[2] %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
I usually choose a well-known make/brand of trainers	87	88	87	88	88	86	87	84	89	89	90
I know what makes/brands of trainers to buy	85	85	86	86	86	84	85	85	85	87	84
I know a lot about different makes/brands of trainers	69	74	66	73	69*	65**	69	64	72**	73**	70
Shop's own-label trainers (eg. Asda's, Tesco's) are usually poor quality	52	57	47***	54	51	49	48	53	51	52	54
All makes/brands of trainers are about the same	21	19	22	25	19*	18**	20	21	29*	18	18
Overall Brand Importance Score - Trainers (high score = less importance) #											
Mean	1.67	1.69	1.79	1.72	1.74	1.79	1.80	1.84	1.70**	1.67**	1.73
(Std Dev)	(.50)	(.77)	(.72)	(.74)	(.73)	(.76)	(.75)	(.75)	(.71)	(.72)	(.78)
Bases											
Total	*1648*	*728*	*912*	*606*	*550*	*488*	*272*	*377*	*258*	*426*	*315*

* P<0.05
** p<0.01
*** P<0.001
Significant differences identified from
Logistic regressions controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: Y10 and Y11 compared against Y9. ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'
1 Reference category for school year comparisons
2 Reference category for ACORN comparisons

Multiple regression controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'

Table 4.3

Perceptions of brand importance for crisps, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All who ever eat crisps

Agreement with statements: % who 'agree strongly' or 'agree a little'	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9[1] %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off[2] %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
I usually choose a well-known make/brand of crisps	65	70	61**	69	66	60**	64	64	73**	60	68
I know what makes/brands of crisps to buy	67	69	65	70	67	62**	66	69	66	66	67
I know a lot about different makes/brands of crisps	42	48	38**	48	42	37**	45	41	42	39	46
Shop's own-label crisps (eg. Asda's, Tesco's) are usually poor quality	27	30	25*	30	30	22**	25	26	23	31	30
All makes/brands of crisps are about the same	46	44	48	52	44**	41***	47	41	48	50	45
Overall Brand Importance Score - Crisps (high score = less importance) #											
Mean	2.30	2.20	2.37***	2.20***	2.31	2.39	2.31	2.33	2.24	2.34	2.23
(Std Dev)	(.79)	(.79)	(.79)	(.79)	(.78)	(.80)	(.85)	(.78)	(.76)	(.77)	(.80)
Bases											
Total	*1621*	*698*	*915*	*591*	*534*	*492*	*261*	*370*	*267*	*420*	*303*

* P<0.05
** p<0.01
*** P<0.001
Significant differences identified from
Logistic regressions controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: Y10 and Y11 compared against Y9. ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'
1 Reference category for school year comparisons
2 Reference category for ACORN comparisons

Multiple regression controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'

Table 4.4

Perceptions of brand importance for various products, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
% who think brand is 'very' or 'fairly important' for:	Total	Boy	Girl	Year 9[1]	Year 10	Year 11	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity	Comfortably Off[2]	Moderate Means	Hard Pressed	Unclassified
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mobile phones	84	83	85	84	86	82	83	86	83	84	83
Trainers	82	85	80*	83	85	78*	83	81	82	81	85
Sportswear	80	83	78	81	83	76*	83	79	79	80	80
Toothpaste	63	64	63	68	61*	61**	60	62	67	63	66
Breakfast Cereals (eg. Corn Flakes)	43	48	40**	48	42	40*	42	43	49	43	42
Yoghurt	40	44	37	47	37	36	39	37	46	38	43
Fruit juice	40	44	37	46	38***	37**	38	40	41	38	44
Bananas	37	42	34	42	34***	35*	33	36	41	36	41
Chocolate or sweets	31	35	28*	33	29	31	27	33	34	28	34
Fizzy drinks	25	33	19***	30	22*	24	22	28	24	23	30
Crisps	16	20	14**	20	14**	14**	16	14	19	15	19
Overall Brand Importance Score #											
Mean	2.45	2.38	2.51**	2.36***	2.47	2.54	2.50	2.46	2.42	2.48	2.38
(Std Dev)	(.60)	(.62)	(.57)	(.61)	(.56)	(.61)	(.59)	(.59)	(.58)	(.60)	(.62)
Bases											
Total	*1760*	*767*	*985*	*631*	*584*	*541*	*291*	*399*	*282*	*446*	*342*

* P<0.05
** p<0.01
*** P<0.001
Significant differences identified from
Logistic regressions controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: Y10 and Y11 compared against Y9. ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'
1 Reference category for school year comparisons
2 Reference category for ACORN comparisons

Multiple regression controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'

5.0 OPINIONS OF, AND ENGAGEMENT WITH, FOOD AND DRINK BRANDS

This section explores in more detail young people's opinions of and engagement with food and drinks brands, again drawing on both qualitative and survey data. We were interested particularly in whether young people had similar levels of awareness, opinions and type of engagement with 'less healthy' and 'more healthy' brands.

The focus group findings are reported in Section 5.1, and the survey findings in Section 5.2.

5.1 Focus Group Findings

In this section we report focus group findings on young people's awareness and opinions firstly of food brands in general and secondly of 'less healthy' and 'more healthy' food brands. We use the terms 'HFSS' (high in fat, salt or sugar) and 'non-HFSS' (not high in fat, salt or sugar) as shorthand in the report to describe these two categories, although we recognise that the distinction is not necessarily as clear-cut as our terms imply (for example, some yoghurts and cereal bars, which we have described as non-HFSS in the report, may actually be quite high in sugar).

5.1.1 General Food Brand Awareness and Opinions

In the focus groups, young people displayed a high awareness of a wide range of food brands. This included not just major global brands with obvious youth appeal, such as Coca Cola and McDonalds, but also less obviously appealing household brands such as Hovis, Heinz, McVities and so on. This awareness suggested a general attentiveness to brands, and reflected the wider interest in advertising and marketing in general indicated in Section 4.2.1 above.

As might be expected given the high visibility and longevity of many such brands, young people tended to have particularly high awareness of premium brands for products high in fat, salt and sugar (HFSS) such as Coca Cola, McDonalds and Cadburys. These brands were frequently described as "*lush*", "*cool*", "*hot*" and "*gorgeous*".

Interestingly, however, not all of the brands which young people rated as "cool" or "hot" were for fast food, snacks, fizzy drinks and confectionery. Brands such as Heinz, for example, were regarded as *"good"* and "*cool*" because *"Heinz make everything"* (Girls, Year 11, C2DE). Young people also thought highly of takeaway sandwich shops such as Hungry Jacks, Greggs and Subway, appreciating in particular their value for money, choice and the control which customers were able to exercise over their selections:

> *"Greggs is good, isn't it?"*
> *"A sandwich for a pound."*
> (Boys, Year 10, C2DE)

The strong attachment to these brands reflected and was reinforced by young people's familiarity with them at school lunch times, when these were seen to offer a tastier and cheaper alternative to school meals (see Section 6.1). Similarly, some healthier brands such as Volvic, Robinson, Tropicana, Danone and Muller were also well regarded by young people, even though they did not evoke the same strong feelings as HFSS brands. This is discussed in more detail below, in Section 5.1.2.

5.1.2 High Fat, Salt and Sugar Brands

Young people's opinions of premium HFSS brands were often positive and enthusiastic. They spoke animatedly about such products in language which was indicative of pleasure and loyalty: *"Oh I love Doritos"* (Girls, Year 10, C2DE), *"Cadbury's is gorgeous"* (Girls, Year 11, C2DE), *"I love Galaxy"* (Girls, Year 11, ABC1). This was particularly the case with 'addictive' snack foods such as crisps and confectionery:

> *"[Pringles] They're gorgeous."*
> *"Salt & Vinegar."*
> *"'Once you've popped you can't stop'."*
> (Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

These types of premium HFSS brands clearly had strong appeal for the respondents. They appreciated and engaged with their advertising – to the extent that they would often repeat their slogans or sing advertising jingles in the groups –, could instantly associate logos and colours with the correct brand, and appreciated their "*colourful*", "*smart*" packaging. One respondent said, on simply being shown the colours of Coca Cola and M&M packaging in the focus groups, "*that's making me hungry now*" (Boy, Year 10, C2DE).

The appeal of these brands to young people was vividly illustrated when participants in one focus group were asked to rank a variety of food brands in terms of their "coolness" ("*hotness"* was the group's favoured term). All of the brands at the 'hottest' end of the continuum were for fast food restaurants, confectionery, fizzy drinks, and salty snacks: McDonalds. Cadbury's, Coca Cola, Pepsi, Pizza Hut, Walkers and Pringles.

> *COCA COLA?*
> *"That's high up. Yes."*
> *COKE IS HOT?*
> *"Yes, where Walkers are and Cadbury's."*
> *"Yes."*
> *WOULD YOU PUT PEPSI UP THERE TOO?*
> *"Yes, that's the same as Coke."*
> *"No, Coke is better."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

> *"Walkers is probably the top one.."*
> *"Cadbury's."*
> *"Cadbury's should be the top one, definitely."*
> (Boys, Year 10, C2DE)

Young people identified with these brands and felt that they were aimed at "*people like me*". This was in contrast to food brands which they perceived were aimed at "*adults*" or were "*something my mam would like*": Marks and Spencers, non-sugary cereals such as Alpen, brands associated with dieting such as WeightWatchers.

Section 4.1.3 above has shown that young people perceived an association between 'trendiness' and consuming premium brand products. When asked to select what a 'trendy person' and a 'popular person' might put in their lunchbox, groups tended immediately to pick out well-known brand products, particularly HFSS brands such as Dairy Milk, Walkers and Coca Cola. One group of girls asked to make suggestions for a lunchbox brought into school by a popular person had no hesitation in filling it with high fat premium brand products:

> *WHAT ABOUT A 'POPULAR PERSON'?*
> *"The Coca Cola and the Pepsi."*
> *"Yes. All the fat foods basically."*
> *"Crisps."*
> (Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

The implication was that a trendy person would want to show that they were in touch with, and could afford to buy, popular "big" food brands – nearly all of which were perceived to be for fizzy drinks, confectionery, snacks and fast food. The same associations were made between these sorts of brands and attractive celebrities such as David Beckham, when young people were asked to select a lunchbox for different celebrities. There was much more uncertainty and less agreement over whether any healthier brands had similar desirable connotations. This is discussed further in the next section.

Although, overall, premium brand HFSS products tended to be well-regarded and well liked, young people did discriminate between brands for similar products, and often expressed a strong preference for one brand over its main competitor in the same category, such as Coca Cola over Pepsi, or McDonalds over Burger King.

> *"[Burger King] It's not as nice as McDonalds though. They put them little things on top of the burgers."*
> *"If you're going to eat junk food on Saturday you might as well do it properly and eat a McDonalds."*
> …
> *"It is cheaper but it tastes horrible."*
> *"Their cheese tastes like cardboard. Much nicer in MaccieDees."*
> (Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

Furthermore, loyalty could shift over time, just as it did in relation to clothing and mobile phones. This exchange about Pot Noodle – a brand which was generally regarded as "naff" and no longer "hot" – is interesting in that it suggests that some snack food brands may be subject to the same whims of fashion as clothing and other product brands.

> *"They're nice, but they're not nice any more."*
> *"They're a bit dated."*
> *"They've taken all the bad stuff out of it and they don't taste nice any more. It's only got two calories in it now, it doesn't taste of anything any more."*
> *"Yes it was a big thing a while ago but it's moved on."*
> *YOU MEAN THE PRODUCT'S CHANGED, OR OTHER THINGS ARE MORE POPULAR?*
> *"Other things."*
> *"They're [Pot Noodle] not fashionable."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

Despite liking many premium brand HFSS products, young people perceived that such brands were not always honest or trustworthy. They were aware, for example, that advertising and product labelling were sometimes confusing and misleading, particularly in terms of fat content:

> *"But on the [Walkers crisps] adverts they're trying to say there is only 5%."*
> *"30% less saturated fat or something."*
> *"Yes."*
> *"Yes, but there would still be like proper fat in. Like they're saying oh there's less fat."*
> *"They tell you what's not in it, but they don't tell you what is actually in it."*
> *SO IT CAN BE A BIT MISLEADING?*
> *"Yes."*
> *"So they are like, no saturated fat, but they won't tell you that it's got 100 calories in it."*
> (Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

> *"The [McDonalds] advert makes the burger look that big [indicating large size] but you buy it and it's that big [indicating small size]."*
> (Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

This leads into an important aspect of young people's response to and engagement with fast food and snack brands: they could often be ambivalent. Part of this ambivalence stemmed from the awareness that such products were "rubbish" and "bad for you"- a 'guilty pleasure'.

> *WHAT DO YOU THINK OF WALKERS?*
> *"Yes they're nice."*
> *"Did you know that they also contain one bottle of oil in one packet?"*
> *"Yes but they're still nice."*
> (Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

McDonalds provided a particularly vivid illustration of contrary and dissonant attitudes surrounding a brand. Although on the one hand, McDonalds was a loved and popular brand, there was a vocal minority in several of the focus groups who declared that they "*hated*" it and that the food was "*horrible*" (Boys, Year 11, C2DE). Furthermore, even among young people who frequented and liked McDonalds, there were aspects of the brand which provoked scepticism and cynicism. There seemed to be among some young people a feeling that actually being seen inside a McDonalds restaurant was a little shameful: *"If you see someone sitting in McDonalds you think 'oh what a fatty'." [Laughter]* (Girls, Year 10, C2DE). This negative image of McDonalds' restaurants was reinforced by the perception that the staff were low paid and low skilled:

> *"They're all tramps. They're all scrubbers."*
> *"They are not the cleverest people in the world"*
> *"They could be spitting on your food"*
> *"It's like 'Cheeseburger? Do you want cheese on that?'" [sarcastic]*
> *"Proper scruffs. Can't work anywhere else."*
> (Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

One of the key factors in young people's ambivalence and scepticism about McDonalds was the company's recent attempts to position itself as a responsible provider of healthier options. Across all the groups, there was a view that this attempt was at best window-dressing, and at worst, cynical. Young people regarded the notion of a fast food burger restaurant offering healthy salads as both unconvincing – in that the salads were not perceived to be really healthy – and tokenistic, in that no one bought them anyway.

> *"They sell salads and that though."*
> *"But the salad is probably like done in chip fat oil." [Laughing]*
> *"There's always a choice there."*
> *"Like the kids' Happy Meals, you can get like bags of fruit in them."*
> *"Right, but no one goes for it." (All laughing)*
> (Boys, Year 9, ABC1)

> *"They advertise all the salads and that, that they do now, but they don't do it when the kids are at school, they'll wait until the kids come back from school so they'll ask their parents to take them."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

Far from improving McDonalds' image, the company's recent attempts at 'reform' seemed to have tarnished its reputation among this group of consumers. The motivation was viewed almost entirely as attempting to ward off criticism and complaints, rather than as a credible attempt to contribute towards improving health.

> *WHY ARE McDONALDS DOING THAT?*
> *"Just to prove that like they're healthy."*
> *"They try and get healthy, like…"*
> *"The reputation."*
> *"I think they're just doing it to like keep the government happy like, they don't really care about it."*
> *DO THEY CARE ABOUT YOUR HEALTH?*
> *"No, they just care about the money."*
> (Boys, Year 9, ABC1)

> *WHY ARE THEY DOING THAT [OFFERING HEALTHIER ITEMS]?*
> *"Because people took them to court for being fat."*
> *"Because they were complaining."*
> (Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

WHY ARE MCDONALDS SELLING HEALTHY FOODS NOW?
"Just to keep their image up to date, because it's the sort of food that makes you have heart attacks, it's not good for them."
THEY'RE WORRIED ABOUT PEOPLE'S HEALTH?
"They're just worried about themselves."
"Yes, about how much they're going to sell."
(Boys, Year 11, ABC1)

It was interesting that McDonalds seemed to be criticised more by young people for the inauthenticity of its 'healthier' offerings than for its continued provision of fatty burgers and fries. Other brands which only offered foods which were "bad for you" – confectionery brands, for example – did not arouse criticism, perhaps because in young people's eyes they were acting legitimately, and not trying to manipulate the customer or to cash in cynically on a trend for healthier eating (it was notable that crisp brands seemed to be criticised more for making "misleading" claims about fat content than for the actual fattiness of the products). The exchange below suggests that young people were similarly sceptical about celebrities jumping on the healthy eating bandwagon, and associated the two phenomena:

WHY HAVE McDONALDS STARTED INTRODUCING SALADS AND THINGS IN THEIR MAIN MEALS?
"They are trying to con people."
"Yes."
CON PEOPLE?
"Yes. It is like the celebrity thing again you see in the magazines you will see they've all got their bottle and they've got a salad thinking they are being healthy, but they are not."
"No."
YOU THINK BECAUSE PEOPLE ARE A BIT MORE CONSCIOUS ABOUT THEIR WEIGHT AND EATING HEALTHILY, McDonalds HAVE TRIED TO MAKE THE MOST OF THAT?
"Yes."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

One potentially significant aspect of these reactions towards McDonalds is that they suggest young people are quick to discredit healthy eating initiatives which they perceive as tokenistic, inconsistent or lacking in credibility. This may affect their perceptions of more legitimate and substantial initiatives, such as the reforms to school food. This is explored further in Section 6.0 below.

5.1.3 Non-HFSS Brands

As well as exploring young people's relationship with HFSS brands such as Coca Cola and McDonalds, the focus groups attempted to explore whether they had similar opinions of and involvement with non-HFSS brands.

This is a difficult question to explore, because generally the comparison is an unequal one: few non-HFSS food brands have the same visibility, power and longevity as the likes of Coca Cola, McDonalds and so on. According to the 2007 Superbrands report, an annual ranking of "the most powerful brands" based on expert opinion and UK consumer survey data, the highest ranking food and non-alcoholic drink brands in 2007 were Coca Cola (2nd place out of 500), Cadbury (10th), Kellogg's (18th), Heinz (22nd), Pepsi (33rd), and McDonalds (45th) (http://www.superbrands.uk.com/corporate.php). There are also fewer non-HFSS brands in many food categories, and some healthier foods, such as fruit and vegetables, are in any case largely unbranded. It would be surprising, therefore, if young people paid the same level of attention to non-HFSS food brands or engaged with them in the same way.

Given this disparity between non-HFSS and HFSS brands, it was notable that respondents were able spontaneously to name several non-HFSS brands. There was awareness of the general increasing availability and range of 'healthy' foods overall, and specific brands were often mentioned:

> *"There's that new Weight Watchers brand that's come out, everything's gone Weight Watchers."*
> *(All talking)*
> *"It's a healthy choice as well in Asda where they've made the whole section of the store called Healthy Choice, every single bit of food is Healthy Choice."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

Young people's opinions of some non-HFSS brands were negative. There was a perception that such products were adult-oriented – the sort of things parents would like - and of little relevance to young people their age who were not overly interested in health or watching their weight:

> *"Weight Watchers at the bottom [in terms of 'coolness']."*
> *"Yes."*
> *"And then just above that the Asda healthy range."*
> *"Yes."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

> *"I'd expect my mam to eat that [Alpen]."*
> *"It would appeal more to a parent than a kid."*
> (Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

The view that some non-HFSS brands were dull was reinforced by perceptions that the packaging was often "*boring*", less attractive than the "*cool*" packaging used for products such as Pringles and Coca Cola.

Some non-HFSS products were seen as dull, lacking the fun and pleasure associated with snack foods, confectionery and sugary cereals. This was partly because of their associations with dieting, and, in one or two cases, with their perceived quasi-medicinal purposes; one group of girls, for example, spoke of a classmate who had been *"prescribed those [Innocent smoothies] drinks to give her all the vitamins"* she needed (Girls, Year 11, C2DE). This contributed to a view of non-HFSS products are somewhat "*geeky*" and "*weird*". Sometimes, these perceptions were based not on actual experience of the products in question, but simply on the basis of their image.

ALPEN?
“I don’t like it.”
“No.”
“I've not tried it.”
“I've never tried it.”
“It’s just boring, I'd rather have something like Rice Krispies in the morning.”
…
“I wouldn’t get up and be excited to have Alpen.”
(Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

“Oh that’s the weird one [Actimel].”
“Is that the good bacteria?”
“I’ve noticed it but I don’t [like it]”
“It’s expensive for like 6 bottles it’s about £3 isn’t it?”
“It’s like milk isn’t it. Yogurt isn’t it?”
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

However, these perceptions did not apply to all non-HFSS brands. Young people generally approved of and liked bottled water brands such as Volvic and Highland Spring, saying that they “liked” bottled water and bought it frequently. When two groups of girls were asked to rank a range of products in terms of their “*coolness*”, several non-HFSS food brands - Volvic, Robinson, Tropicana, Danone and Muller - were placed relatively high up (albeit below brands such as McDonalds, Pepsi, Coke and Cadbury’s.

“I'd say [put Danone] just above Bird’s Eye.”
“I’d say just below Bird’s Eye.”
“I’d say a little bit higher.”
“Higher.”
“In between Bird’s Eye and Subway.”
(Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

TROPICANA. SO IT’S JUICE.
“Oh a holiday Tropical.”
“Yes it’s nice.”
“I’ve got it at home.”
“We bought some.”
“But hasn’t it got bits in? I don’t like the bits.”
“No you can get it without the bits.”
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

The fact that the more popular non-HFSS brands tended to be for snack products, drinks and yoghurts, may suggest that where non-HFSS products and brands offer the same kind of taste and convenience benefits as HFSS snack foods or fizzy drinks, young people are more likely to be favourably disposed to them. For example, one respondent was enthusiastic about Nutrigrain cereal bars, and another described Alpen bars as “*gorgeous*”.

Young people’s positive opinions of brands such as Danone, Highland Spring and Volvic water tended to be based on first hand experience, either through having them at home or in school. This suggested that positive consumption experiences can help overcome perceptions of non-HFSS products as uncool or dull.

> *"Danone Active."*
> *"They're quite good, all the healthy things are coming out."*
> *IS THAT SOMETHING YOU'D EAT OR DRINK?*
> *"Yes, if it was in the house I'd have it."*
> *"Yes."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

> *"Yakult's nice."*
> *"You have to drink two a day and you feel like, yes!"*
> (Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

The popularity of branded bottled water was particularly interesting, in that it seemed to appeal across most young people, not just those who were interested in sport or health. For example, one boy, when asked to select a hypothetical lunchbox for himself, chose *"the two bags of crisps, the two bars of chocolate, the two cans of coke and the bottle of water, because they're the ones I like the most"* (Boys, Year 11, ABC1). New school food policy introducing healthier options appeared to be one of the key factors explaining the popularity of bottled waters.

> *"I'd have the [Volvic] water, I'm used to water now."*
> (Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

> *VOLVIC*
> *"I drink water."*
> *"I like the strawberry one."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

> *"That [Highland Spring] water, I like that."*
> *"Yes."*
> *"We buy Highland Spring."*
> *"A big one."*
> (Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

Another factor in the appeal of some non-HFSS brands seemed to be advertising. The perception that certain well-advertised non-HFSS brands were 'proper' brands – one boy, for example, described Highland Spring as *"a big brand"* and another described it as a "*main brand"* (Boys, Year 9, ABC1) - seemed to reassure young people that these were not obscure "*geeky*" products – the implication being that it was therefore 'safe' to be seen with them.

Young people particularly appreciated brands with advertising which was "*funny*" or "*clever*", and, just as they did with advertising for fast food and snack foods, could relay snippets from adverts and slogans for healthier products.

"Yakult."
"Oh is that the drink?"
"That's that milky drink."
"Oh, I love that advert. Have you seen that advert?"
WHAT IS IT?
"Where his mum starts drinking it and she goes all loopy."
"That's Actimel."
"Oh, she acts like a little kid."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

"The [Volvic] ads are good, the cave men and the pole dancing thing, that's quite funny."
DO YOU BUY BOTTLED WATER?
"Yes, I buy the flavoured ones."
"Yes."
(Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

WOULD YOU PUT THE YAKULT IN YOUR LUNCHBOX?
"Yes."
"I love that now."
"I don't even know what it is."
"It's 'healthy bacteria'."
"It tells you."
"Where?"
"In the advert."
" 'A healthy start to every day'."
(Boys, Year 9, ABC1)

Young people could even appreciate advertising for a non-HFSS brand without necessarily liking or having tried the product, and even when they were unsure exactly what the product was.

YAKULT, DO YOU RECOGNISE THAT?
"I don't like them."
"I like their advert, where it says the bottle has changed over the years but it's still the same what's inside it, it's good, quite funky."
"Yes."
IS IT HOT OR NOT HOT?
"Not hot but the advert's good."
(Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

"Smoothie. Innocent Smoothies."
"I don't know what they are."
"You know that advert where they just put all the fruit in and it just jumps into the thing."
"Oh yes, jumps into the bottle."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

The finding that advertising for some non-HFSS brands captures young people's attention is encouraging. Research has shown that exposure to food and drink advertising tends often to be associated with increased liking for and consumption of a product (Hastings et al 2003, Hastings et al 2006). The association has been found both when the advertised product is less healthy and when it is more healthy. Having advertising which young people find interesting and funny may be an important first step in encouraging them to try and develop relationships with non-HFSS brands.

The image of non-HFSS brands

In previous sections we have shown how premium brand products tended to be associated with positive concepts such as trendiness: visible consumption of brands such as Coca Cola, McDonalds, Walkers and Cadbury's was interpreted as a sign that a person was popular and fashionable. We were interested, then, whether non-HFSS brands evoked similar or different connotations among the young people in our focus groups.

Certain non-HFSS brands such as bottled water brands tended to be associated with popularity and trendiness. Most of the hypothetical lunchboxes which young people selected for a 'trendy person' or a 'popular person' included the bottle of Volvic water and sometimes a yoghurt or yoghurt drink, even if the other products in the lunchbox were not particularly healthy. One group, for example, assembled a 'trendy person's' lunchbox containing Dairylea cheese strings, Coke, Walkers Crisps, Cadbury's milk chocolate, Yakult, and the bottled water, while another put a Twirl, Dairylea, Pepsi, a Yakult drink, a Muller yoghurt and Volvic water in the box. This suggests that the primary dimension of trendiness may simply be having expensive 'proper brands', rather than a particular orientation towards or away from health; as one respondent explained, *"trendy people would have those because they would like named brands*" (Boy, Year 10, C2DE).

However, in other respects the associations which young people made with non-HFSS brands were ambivalent. This group of girls were undecided whether non-HFSS brands such as Yakult were trendy or not, reflecting a belief that it might be more important to a trendy person to have premium HFSS brands, as well as a wider uncertainty over whether aspiring to be healthy was itself trendy.

> *SO WHAT KIND OF LUNCH ITEMS MIGHT YOU ASSOCIATE WITH A TRENDY PERSON?*
> *"They probably wouldn't have any; they'll probably be skinny."*
> *"Walkers crisps."*
> *"They're probably skinny if they're trendy."*
> *"Yes, water."*
> *"Yakult."*
> *WHY DO YOU THINK THEY WOULD GO FOR YAKULT?*
> *"It's healthy."*
> *SO, YOU THINK THAT A TRENDY PERSON WOULD BE SKINNY BECAUSE…*
> *"Yes."*
> *…THEY WOULD BE WATCHING THEIR WEIGHT?*
> *"Yes."*
> *"I don't know, because some might want the makes of crisps of stuff and the chocolate so they will look trendy in front of all of their friends."*
> *"I think they would eat branded food, but <u>healthy</u> branded food."*
> (Girls, Year 11, ABC1)

Perceptions of some non-HFSS food brands as dull, adult-oriented and somewhat obscure contributed to a perception among some young people that brands such as Yakult or Alpen were associated with "*geeks*", people with particular health problems and people obsessed with their health or weight. Certain non-HFSS food brands also carried connotations of pretentiousness, as in these suggestions for a 'snobbish person's' lunchbox.

> *"Yakult."*
> *"Yes, Yakult."*
> *"Yakult and the Alpen bar."*
> *"I think the Volvic as well."*
> *"Because you hardly ever see anyone having a Yakult in the morning, you couldn't be bothered."*
> *"Volvic because it's just posh water."*
> *"You can just get it out of the tap."*
> *WHY THE ALPEN?*
> *"Because it's got yoghurt in it. Who eats a bar with yoghurt in it?"*
> (Boys, Year 10, C2DE)

This reflected a perception that healthy eating was a preoccupation of the affluent middle classes or celebrities, not a habit of 'normal' people like us. These associations were closely bound up with how young people perceived and engaged with health concerns generally. This theme is explored in more detail in Section 6.1 below.

5.1.4 Summary

Young people are aware of and interested in a wide range of food brands. Brands which appeal particularly and which engage their emotions and loyalty tend to be for fast food restaurants, crisps, fizzy drinks and confectionery. It is considered a sign of popularity and trendiness to be seen consuming such brands. However, they can also be ambivalent and sceptical about premium HFSS brands, such as McDonalds in its recent attempts to reposition itself as a provider of healthier menus. Young people are generally less engaged by non-HFSS food brands tend to excite less strong feelings, and associate them sometimes with negative attributes such as dullness, 'geekiness' and pretentiousness. Encouragingly, however, some non-HFSS food brands, such as those for water, yoghurt and snack products, appear to have some appeal for young people. Engaging advertising seems to play a role in this appeal.

5.2 Survey Findings

This section looks at awareness of a range of non-HFSS and HFSS food and drink brands (5.2.1) and brand opinion in relation to three drinks including a heavily branded fizzy drink, an own-label fizzy drink and a healthy branded drink in the form of a branded bottled water (5.2.2).

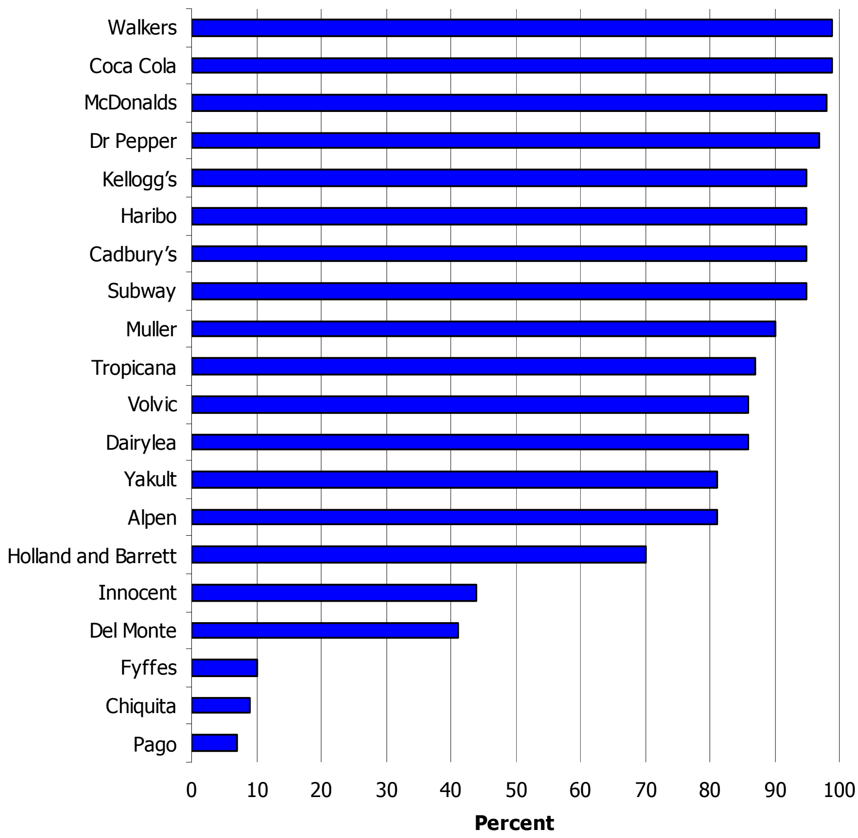
Differences by gender, school year and ACORN classification are noted where they occur and have been identified using logistic regression which also controlled for lifestyle characteristics. Overall scores for brand opinion of three drinks have been calculated and, using multiple regression, any variations by demographic or lifestyle characteristics have been identified and noted.

5.2.1 Awareness of Food and Drink Brands

Pupils were given a list of 20 brands covering a range of products including fizzy drinks, fast food outlets, confectionery, breakfast cereals, fruit and fruit juice. They displayed very high awareness of many food and drink brands. Practically all pupils (95% or more) were aware of Coca Cola, Walkers, McDonalds, Dr Pepper, Subway, Cadbury's, Haribo and Kellogg's. There was also high awareness of some of the non-HFSS brands. Awareness of Volvic (bottled water) was 86%, Alpen (muesli breakfast cereals) (81%) and Yakult (marketed as a healthy probiotic drink) (81%). Awareness of the health food/supplement chain Holland and Barrett was slightly lower at 70%.

(Table 5.1, Figure 5.1)

Figure 5.1
Brand Awareness
Base: All pupils



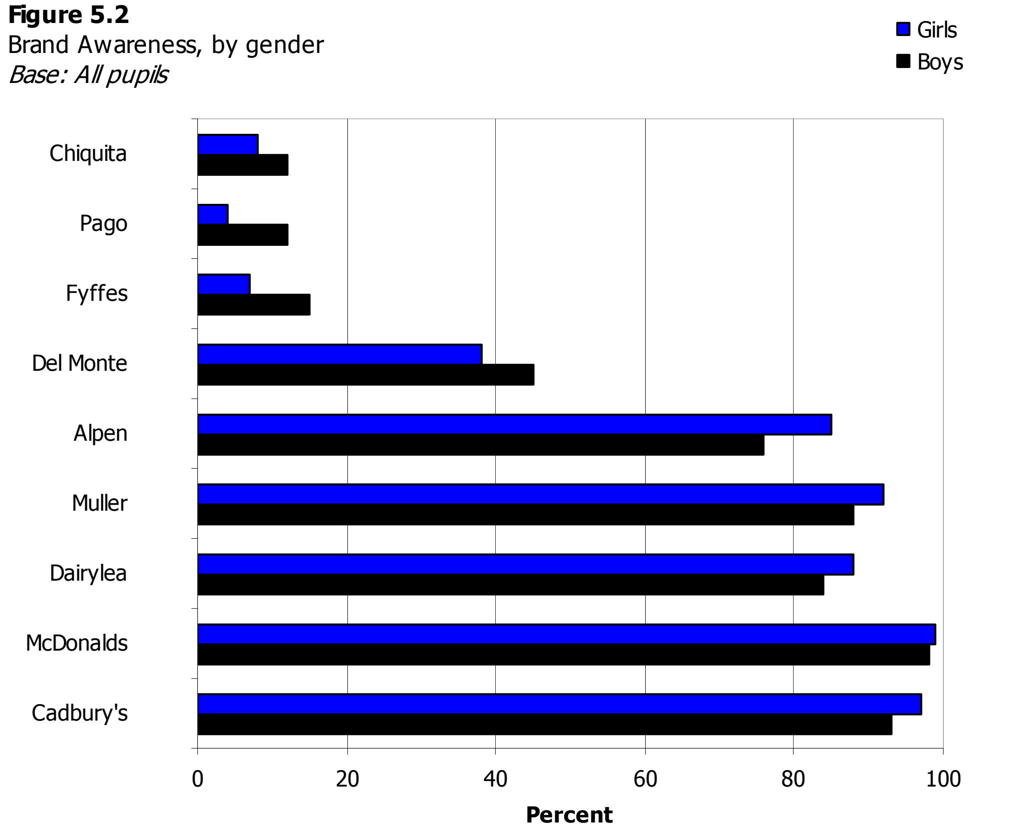
Fewer than half were aware of Innocent (a brand of fruit smoothies) (44%) and Del Monte (41%). Awareness of fruit brands Fyffes and Chiquita were very low at 10% and 9% respectively. Lowest awareness was reported for Pago – a foreign brand of fruit juice.

Awareness by demographic and lifestyle characteristics

There were some differences by gender with girls having higher awareness of some brands (Cadbury's, McDonalds, Alpen, Dairylea and Muller) and boys having higher awareness of others (Fyffes, Del Monte, Pago, and Chiquita).

(Table 5.1, Figure 5.2)

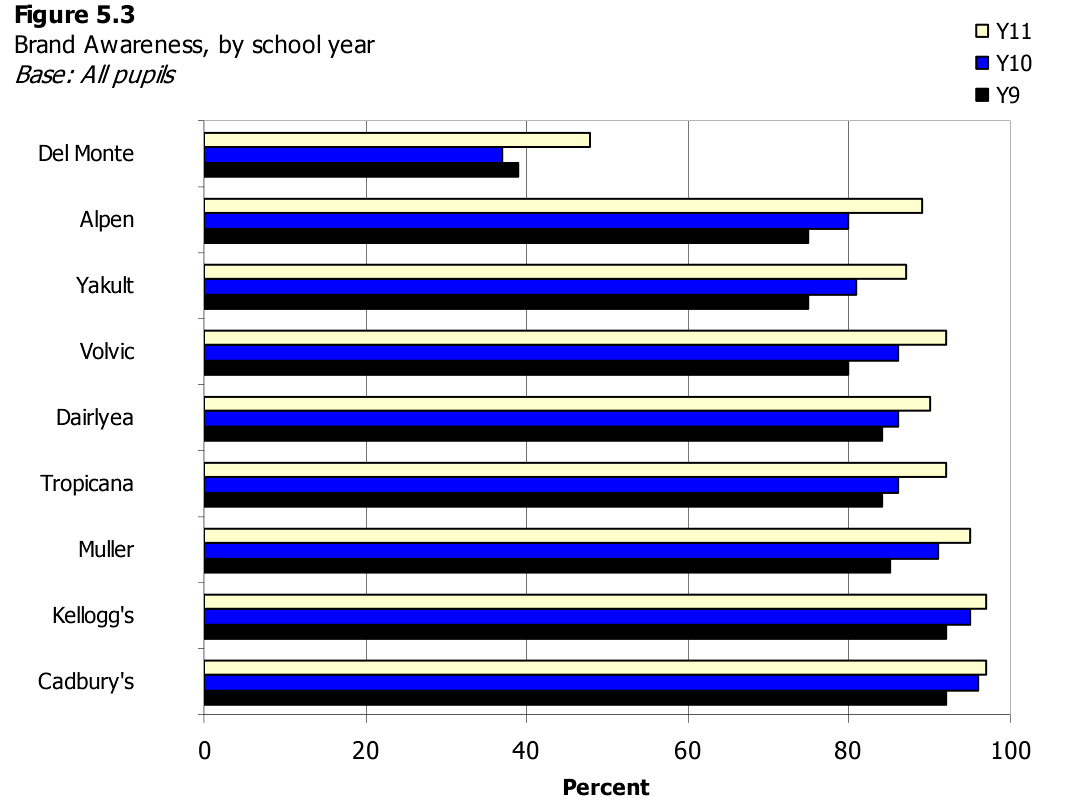
Figure 5.2
Brand Awareness, by gender
Base: All pupils



Awareness tended to increase with age. Y9 pupils had the lowest awareness of Cadbury's, Yakult, Muller and Volvic. Y11 pupils, in comparison with Y9 pupils, had higher awareness of Alpen, Kellogg's, Del Monte, Tropicana and Dairylea.

(Table 5.1, Figure 5.3)

Figure 5.3
Brand Awareness, by school year
Base: All pupils



For some brands, including *HFSS* and *non-HFSS* brands, there was a tendency for lower awareness among more deprived groups. Those from areas categorised 'moderate means' and 'hard pressed' had lower awareness of Innocent, Alpen and Tropicana than those from 'comfortably off' areas. In addition the 'moderate means' had lower awareness of Yakult, Cadbury's and Kellogg's than the 'comfortably off'.

(Table 5.1)

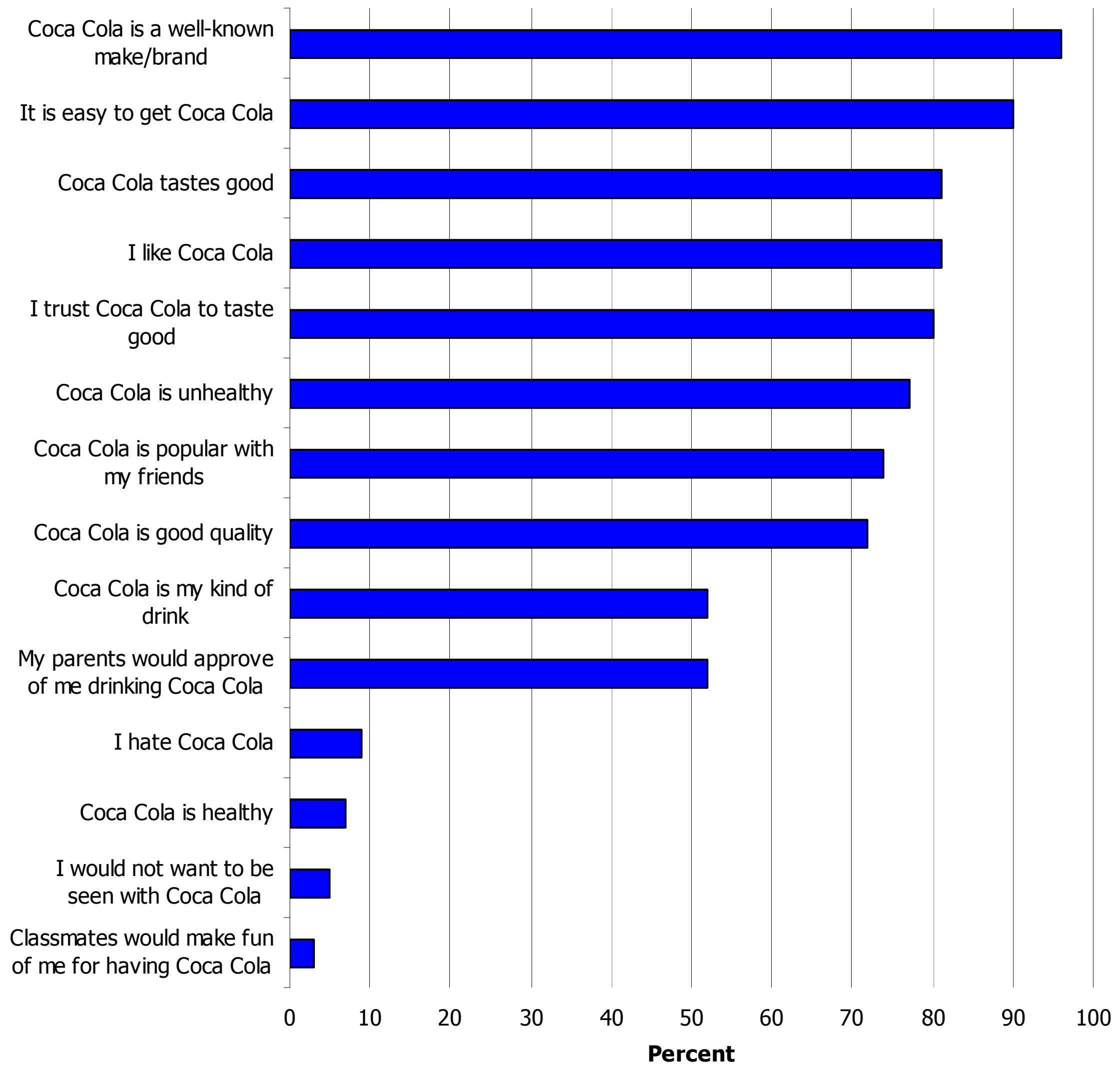
5.2.2 Brand Opinion for Various Drink Brands

Opinion of various brands of drinks was assessed by giving pupils a list of statements and asking them to rate their level of agreement or disagreement with each in relation to three brands of drinks – Coca Cola, Own-label Cola and Volvic. In this way, the brand opinion of a heavily branded fizzy drink could be compared with that of an own-label fizzy drink and with a branded water (Volvic water).

Coca Cola was perceived to be a 'well-known brand' (96%) and 'easy to get' (90%). The vast majority held a positive view of Coke, considering it to 'taste good' (81%), trusting it to 'taste good' (80%) and liking it (81%). Most also considered it to be 'popular with friends' (74%) and to be 'good quality' (72%). Around half perceived it to be their 'kind of drink' (52%) and thought their 'parents would approve of them drinking Coca Cola' (52%). Most also acknowledged that Coca Cola is 'unhealthy' (77%). However, a small minority considered it to be 'healthy' (7%). It was a safe drink to be seen with and did not carry a risk of ridicule, with only a very small minority not wanting to be seen with it (5%) or thinking that 'classmates would make fun of them for having it' (3%). In general, pupils held a positive view of Coca Cola, with it being an acceptable and well liked drink.

(Table 5.2, Figure 5.4)

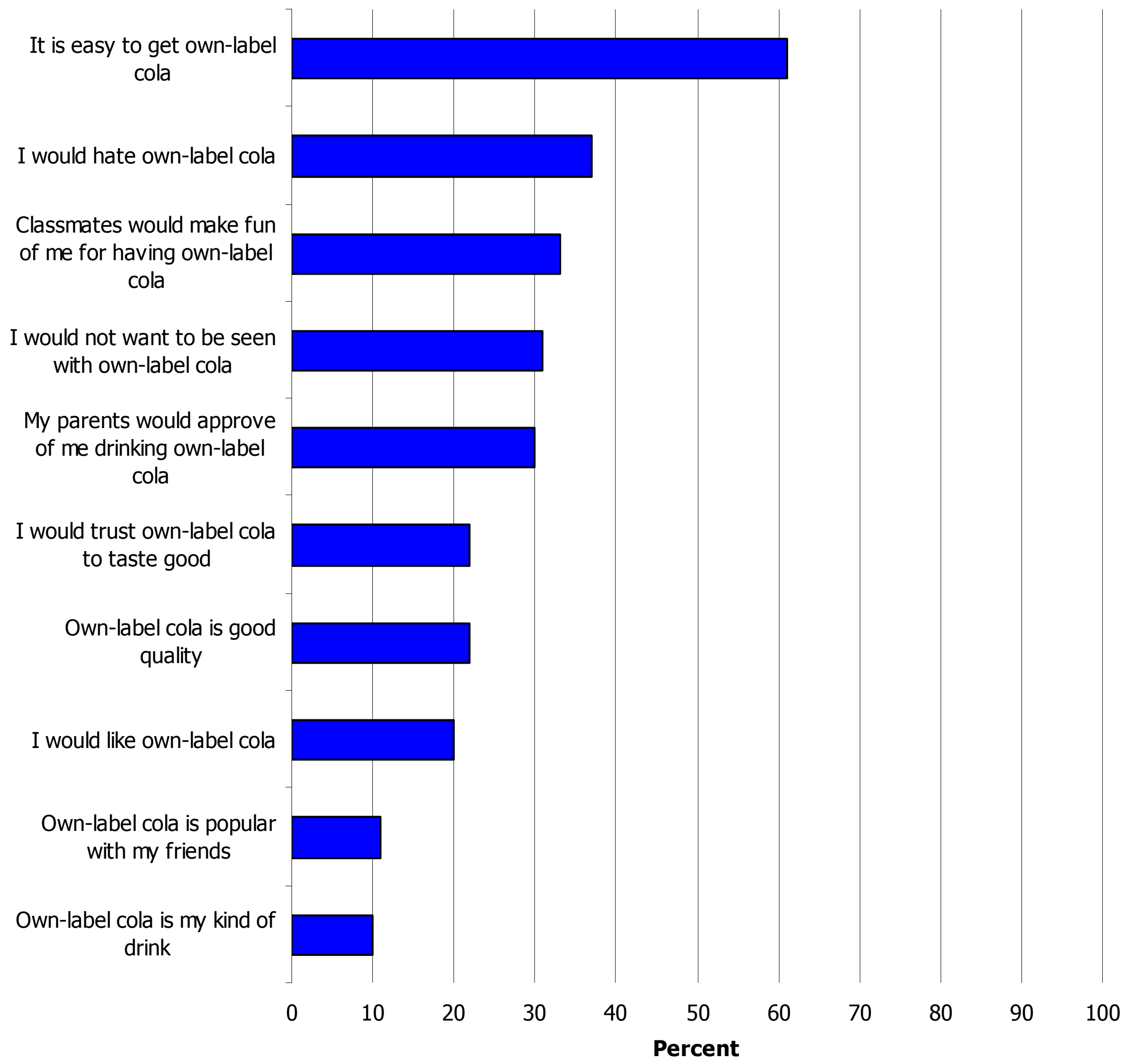
Figure 5.4
Brand Opinion: Coca Cola
Base: All pupils



Pupils held a poor opinion of own-label cola. While most considered own-label cola to be ‘easy to get hold of’ (61%), beyond this, the highest agreement was with negative statements. For many, the image of own-label cola did not seem acceptable, with a third agreeing that ‘classmates would make fun of me for having own-label cola’ (33%) and a similar proportion agreeing that they ‘would not want to be seen with own-label cola’ (31%). Perceptions of quality and taste were also poor, with only around a fifth trusting it to taste good (22%), considering it to be good quality (22%) and thinking that they ‘would like it’ (20%). It also seemed to have poor acceptance among the peer group, with only a minority perceiving it to be ‘popular with my friends’ (11%). Similarly only a minority identified with own-label cola as ‘my kind of drink’ (10%).

(Table 5.3, Figure 5.5)

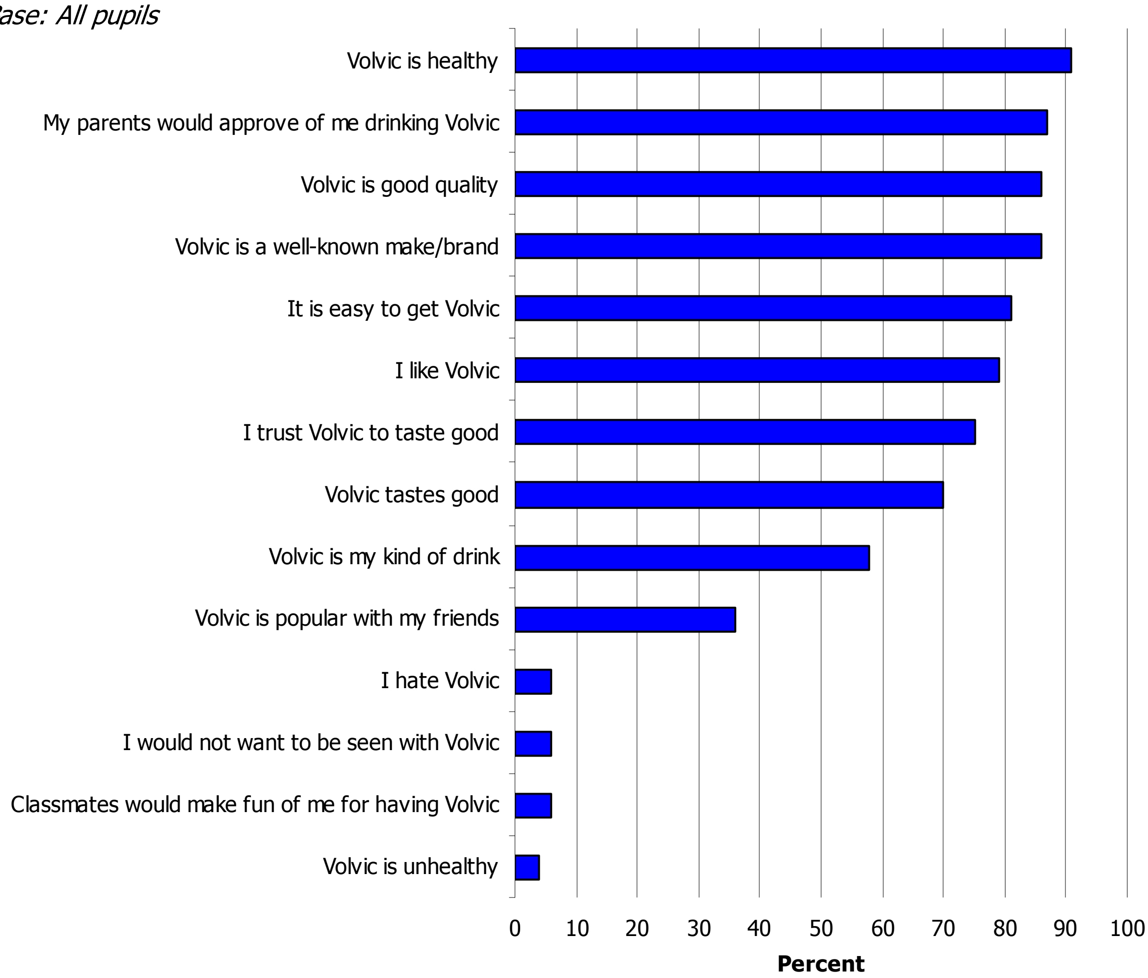
Figure 5.5
Brand Opinion: Own-label Cola
Base: All pupils



Opinion of Volvic was good. The vast majority considered Volvic to 'be healthy' (91%), good quality' (86%), a 'well-known make/brand' (86%), 'easy to get' (81%) and a drink that 'parents would approve of' (87%). It was also a drink that they liked (79%), 'trusted to taste good' (75%) and thought 'tastes good' (70%). More than half identified with Volvic as being 'my kind of drink' (58%) and more than a third perceived it to be 'popular with friends' (36%). It was an acceptable drink with no risk of ridicule. Only a small minority 'would not want to be seen with it (6%) and perceived that 'classmates would make fun of me for having Volvic' (6%). Overall, Volvic was considered to be an acceptable drink carrying little or no risk of ridicule or sense of stigma. In addition, pupils perceived it to be a quality drink which they trusted and identified with.

(Table 5.4, Figure 5.6)

Figure 5.6
Brand Opinion: Volvic
Base: All pupils



For each of the three drinks, scores from six of the items (popular with my friends, parents would approve, good quality, trust to taste good, not want to be seen with, my kind of drink) were combined to form a score representing overall brand opinion for each drink. One item 'not want to be seen with' was reverse coded to ensure all items contributing to the score were coded in the same direction. Using these six items the Cronbach Alpha values were above 0.7 for each brand (Coca Cola, Cronbach's Alpha = 0.797, Own-label cola Cronbach's Alpha = 0.795, Volvic Cronbach's Alpha = 0.828).

Brand opinion of Coca Cola by demographic and lifestyle characteristics

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine any association between pupils' demographic and lifestyle characteristics and their overall opinion of Coca Cola.

The following characteristics were associated with holding a better overall opinion of Coke:
- 'Hard Pressed' v 'Comfortably Off'
- Increased TV hours
- Meet friends in spare time
- Ever truanted
- Ever excluded from school

While the following were associated with holding a poorer opinion of Coke:
- Girl
- Older
- Play music/instrument in spare time

(Table 5.2, Figure 5.7)

Figure 5.7
Multiple regression of brand opinion of Coca Cola

Dependent Variable: Overall brand importance score Coca Cola- (low score = better opinion)

Adj R^2	=	0.080
$F_{12, 1623}$	=	12.914
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	0.128	<0.001
School Year	0.105	<0.001
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	-	ns
ACORN classification		
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	-0.069	<0.05
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.059	<0.05
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	0.086	<0.001
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Average daily hours of TV viewing	-0.136	<0.001
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-	ns
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-	ns
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.097	<0.001
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.092	<0.001

The regression was a poor fit, describing only 8% of the variance in brand opinion, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

Brand opinion of own-label Cola by demographic and lifestyle characteristics

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine any association between pupils' demographic and lifestyle characteristics and their overall opinion of own-label cola.

The following characteristics were associated with holding a better overall opinion of own-label cola:

- Read in spare time

While own-label has poorer overall opinion if:

- Ever been excluded from school

(Table 5.3, Figure 5.8)

Figure 5.8
Multiple regression of brand opinion of Own-label Cola

Dependent Variable: Overall brand importance score Own-label Cola- (low score = better opinion)

Adj R^2	=	0.005
$F_{6, 1602}$	=	2.471
P	<	0.05

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	-	ns
School Year	-	ns
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	-	ns
ACORN classification		
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.066	<0.01
Average daily hours of TV viewing	-	ns
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-	ns
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-	ns
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	0.052	<0.05

The regression was a very poor fit, describing less than 1% of the variance in brand opinion, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

Brand opinion of Volvic by demographic and lifestyle characteristics

The following characteristics were associated with holding a better overall opinion of Volvic:

- Girl
- Play sports in spare time
- 'Hard Pressed' v 'Comfortably Off'

(Table 5.4, Figure 5.9)

Figure 5.9
Multiple regression of brand opinion of Volvic

Dependent Variable: Overall brand importance score Volvic- (low score = better opinion)

Adj R^2	=	0.023
$F_{7,\ 1622}$	=	6.471
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	-0.090	<0.01
School Year	-	ns
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	-	ns
ACORN classification		
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	-0.074	<0.05
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.109	<0.001
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Average daily hours of TV viewing	-	ns
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-	ns
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-	ns
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns

The regression was a poor fit, describing only 2% of the variance in brand opinion, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

Brand opinion: Coke v Volvic

Pupils' scores on the individual items for Coca Cola were compared with their scores on the same items for Volvic. Comparisons were made using paired t-tests.

Volvic compared well against Coke. Volvic was perceived to be better quality and healthier. Pupils identified more with Volvic than with Coke and seemed to like Coke and Volvic equally. In addition, their parents were more likely to approve of Volvic. The image of Volvic was a little poorer than that of Coke. Pupils considered it to be more likely that they would be 'made fun of with Volvic' and were more likely to 'not want to be seen' with Volvic. However, only a small minority seemed concerned about these aspects of Volvic (6%

on each measure). In comparison with Coke, Volvic was less popular among friends and less well known.

(Figure 5.10)

Figure 5.10
Paired t-test results for difference in brand opinion scores of Coca Cola – Volvic

1=Agree; 5=Disagree (negative score = poorer rating of Volvic) (positive score = better rating of Volvic)	Paired Differences (Coca Cola score - Volvic score) Mean	Std. Dev	Std. Error Mean	Sig. (2-tailed)
Classmates would make fun of me for having Coca Cola (-Volvic)	0.385	1.052	0.025	P<0.001
Coca Cola (- Volvic) is popular with my friends	-0.847	1.266	0.031	P<0.001
Coca Cola (- Volvic) is a well-known make/brand	-0.407	0.833	0.020	P<0.001
My parents would approve of me drinking Coca Cola (- Volvic)	0.907	1.306	0.032	P<0.001
Coca Cola (- Volvic) is good quality	0.456	1.266	0.031	P<0.001
I trust Coca Cola (- Volvic) to taste good	-0.013	1.344	0.033	ns
Coca Cola (- Volvic) is unhealthy	-2.714	1.503	0.037	P<0.001
I would not want to be seen with Coca Cola (-Volvic)	0.158	1.318	0.032	P<0.001
It is easy to get Coca Cola (- Volvic)	-0.290	0.985	0.024	P<0.001
Coca Cola (- Volvic) is healthy	2.771	1.371	0.033	P<0.001
Coca Cola (- Volvic) is my kind of drink	0.267	1.762	0.043	P<0.001
I like Coca Cola (- Volvic)	0.031	1.469	0.036	ns
Coca Cola (- Volvic) tastes good	-0.155	1.492	0.036	P<0.001
I hate Coca Cola (- Volvic)	0.008	1.483	0.036	ns

Brand opinion: Coke v own label cola

Pupils' scores on the individual items for Coke were also compared, using paired t-tests, with their scores on the same items for own-label Cola. On every measure, own-label cola scored poorly against Coke. Perceptions of quality and taste were poorer for own-label cola but so were perceptions of image and popularity with own-label carrying a risk of stigma or ridicule which doesn't accompany Coca Cola.

(Figure 5.11)

Figure 5.11
Paired t-test results for difference in brand opinion scores of Coca Cola – own-label cola

1=Agree; 5=Disagree (negative score = poorer rating of own-label) (positive score = better rating of own-label)	Paired Differences (Coca Cola score – own-label cola score) Mean	Std. Dev	Std. Error Mean	Sig. (2-tailed)
Classmates would make fun of me for having Coca Cola (-Own-label cola)	1.552	1.507	0.037	P<0.001
Coca Cola (- Own-label cola) is popular with my friends	-1.797	1.445	0.035	P<0.001
My parents would approve of me drinking Coca Cola (- Own-label cola)	-0.540	1.266	0.031	P<0.001
Coca Cola (- Own-label cola) is good quality	-1.386	1.577	0.038	P<0.001
I trust Coca Cola (- Own-label cola) to taste good	-1.572	1.534	0.037	P<0.001
I would not want to be seen with Coca Cola (- Own-label cola)	1.329	1.617	0.039	P<0.001
It is easy to get Coca Cola (- Own-label cola)	-0.828	1.272	0.031	P<0.001
Coca Cola (- Own-label cola) is my kind of drink	-1.265	1.636	0.040	P<0.001
I like Coca Cola (- I would like Own-label cola)	-1.699	1.537	0.037	P<0.001
I hate Coca Cola (- I would Own-label cola)	1.507	1.660	0.041	P<0.001

5.2.3 Summary

Pupils displayed high awareness of many food and drink brands including HFSS and non-HFSS brands. However, awareness of fruit brands such as Fyffes and Chiquita were very low, at 10% and 9% respectively.

Brand opinions for three products were examined in detail: Coca Cola, own label cola, and Volvic bottled water. Most pupils held a positive opinion of Coke. It was acknowledged to be a well-known brand and easy to get hold of. It was a drink that was liked by most, trusted to taste good and considered to taste good. It was perceived to be popular with friends and to be good quality. It was a safe drink to be seen with, with very little risk of stigma or ridicule. Characteristics associated with strong brand opinions of Coke include being from hard pressed backgrounds (as opposed to comfortably off), having truanted or been excluded, and being male.

Own-label cola had a much poorer rating and, in comparison to Coke, carries a greater risk of stigma or ridicule. Perceiving as poorer quality, pupils were less inclined to like it and considered it to be less popular.

Pupils had a high opinion of Volvic. Overall it was considered to be an acceptable drink, carrying little or no risk of ridicule or sense of stigma. Pupils perceived it as a quality drink which they trusted and identified with. Brand opinions of Volvic were comparable on many measures to those of Coke, indicating that a healthy drink has the potential to perform well against a heavily marketed fizzy drink.

Tables

Table 5.1

Brand awareness of foods and drinks, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
% aware of:	Total	Boy	Girl	Year 9[1]	Year 10	Year 11	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity	Comfortably Off[2]	Moderate Means	Hard Pressed	Unclassified
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Coca Cola	99	98	99	98	98	99	99	99	99	99	97*
Walkers	99	98	99	98	98	99	100	99	99	99	96*
McDonalds	98	98	99*	98	98	99	99	100	99	99	96*
Dr Pepper	97	97	98	97	97	99	98	99	98	98	94**
Subway	95	94	96	94	95	97	97	97	95	97	92*
Cadbury's	95	93	97**	92	96*	97**	97	97	93*	96	92*
Haribo	95	94	95	94	93	96	96	97	95	95	90
Kellogg's	95	94	95	92	95	97**	95	98	94*	95	89***
Muller	90	88	92*	85	91*	95***	92	93	90	91	84**
Tropicana	87	87	88	84	86	92***	91	94	84**	87*	80***
Dairylea	86	84	88*	84	86	90*	88	89	84	88	82
Volvic	86	84	87	80	86*	92**	89	90	85	85	79**
Alpen	81	76	85***	75	80	89***	86	88	76***	80**	75**
Yakult	81	81	81	75	81*	87***	84	87	79**	82	72***
Holland and Barrett	70	68	71	66	70	74	70	74	69	71	64
Innocent	44	42	45	42	41	47	56	55	39	33	37
Del Monte	41	45	38**	39	37	48***	46	47	39	38*	38
Fyffes	10	15	7	10	10	12	10	13	8	9	12
Chiquita	9	12	8**	9	9	10	9	11	9	7	11
Pago	7	12	4***	7	8	8	7	9	6	5	10
Bases											
Total	*1746*	*756*	*982*	*624*	*579*	*539*	*291*	*401*	*280*	*445*	*329*

* P<0.05
** p<0.01
*** P<0.001
Significant differences identified from
Logistic regressions controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: Y10 and Y11 compared against Y9. ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'
1 Reference category for school year comparisons
2 Reference category for ACORN comparisons

Table 5.2

Brand opinion of Coca Cola, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
Agreement with statements: % who 'agree strongly' or 'agree a little'	Total	Boy	Girl	Year 9[1]	Year 10	Year 11	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity	Comfortably Off[2]	Moderate Means	Hard Pressed	Unclassified
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Classmates would make fun of me for having Coca Cola	3	5	2	5	2	2	2	2	4	3	6
Coca Cola is popular with my friends	74	80	69	77	74	70	70	73	76	78	70
Coca Cola is a well-known make/brand	96	97	96	96	96	96	97	98	96	96	94
My parents would approve of me drinking Coca Cola	52	55	50	56	51	49	47	52	54	53	55
Coca Cola is good quality	72	77	69	74	73	69	68	69	76	77	70
I trust Coca Cola to taste good	80	85	77	83	79	78	81	78	81	83	78
Coca Cola is unhealthy	77	77	76	76	76	79	75	79	75	79	74
I would not want to be seen with Coca Cola	5	5	5	7	4	3	2	5	3	6	7
It is easy to get Coca Cola	90	91	90	90	90	90	89	91	91	90	89
Coca Cola is healthy	7	9	5	8	6	5	4	3	4	10	11
Coca Cola is my kind of drink	52	59	46	60	51	43	47	44	52	55	60
I like Coca Cola	81	83	79	83	82	77	81	81	79	83	80
Coca Cola tastes good	81	86	78	83	82	78	82	79	81	83	81
I hate Coca Cola	9	8	9	9	9	8	7	9	10	9	8
Overall Opinion of Coke (low score = better opinion) #											
Mean	12.12	11.39	12.69***	11.71***	12.04	12.69	12.51	12.45	11.97	11.72*	12.03
(Std Dev)	(4.54)	(4.41)	(4.56)	(4.51)	(4.46)	(4.61)	(4.25)	(4.59)	(4.44)	(4.41)	(4.91)
Bases											
Total	*1735*	*753*	*975*	*619*	*577*	*535*	*287*	*399*	*278*	*443*	*328*

* P<0.05
** p<0.01
*** P<0.001
Significant differences identified from
Logistic regressions controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: Y10 and Y11 compared against Y9. ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'
1 Reference category for school year comparisons
2 Reference category for ACORN comparisons
Multiple regression controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'

Table 5.3

Brand opinion of Own Label Cola, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	**Gender**		**School Year**			**ACORN Classification**				
Agreement with statements: % who 'agree strongly' or 'agree a little'	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9[1] %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off[2] %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
Classmates would make fun of me for having own-label cola	33	39	29	37	32	30	29	34	31	34	37
Own-label cola is popular with my friends	11	12	9	11	10	11	9	6	10	13	15
My parents would approve of me drinking own-label cola	30	31	29	35	28	27	26	31	30	30	34
Own-label cola is good quality	22	22	22	24	19	21	24	24	17	23	20
I would trust own-label cola to taste good	22	21	23	26	19	21	23	24	21	24	19
I would not want to be seen with own-label cola	31	33	29	36	30	26	28	33	30	32	30
It is easy to get own-label cola	61	61	60	63	59	60	60	63	54	64	61
Own-label cola is my kind of drink	10	13	9	13	9	9	11	11	10	9	12
I would like own-label cola	20	22	18	23	17	19	21	20	17	21	19
I would hate own-label cola	37	39	35	42	37	30	30	42	35	36	39
Overall Opinion of Own Label Cola (low score = better opinion) #											
Mean	19.99	20.07	19.92	20.11	20.12	19.73	19.70	20.15	20.16	19.88	20.05
(Std Dev)	(4.91)	(5.13)	(4.74)	(5.39)	(4.60)	(4.66)	(4.81)	(4.76)	(4.67)	(4.99)	(5.29)
Bases											
Total	*1687*	*735*	*945*	*600*	*564*	*519*	*278*	*387*	*273*	*433*	*316*

* P<0.05
** p<0.01
*** P<0.001
Significant differences identified from
Logistic regressions controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: Y10 and Y11 compared against Y9. ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'
1 Reference category for school year comparisons
2 Reference category for ACORN comparisons
Multiple regression controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'

Table 5.4

Brand opinion of Volvic, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
Agreement with statements: % who 'agree strongly' or 'agree a little'	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9[1] %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off[2] %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
Classmates would make fun of me for having Volvic	6	9	4	8	5	4	5	4	5	7	10
Volvic is popular with my friends	36	35	38	33	35	42	35	33	32	44	36
Volvic is a well-known make/brand	86	86	87	84	85	90	88	86	86	89	80
My parents would approve of me drinking Volvic	87	86	87	86	87	86	88	88	84	89	81
Volvic is good quality	86	86	87	86	86	86	86	85	87	89	80
I trust Volvic to taste good	75	74	75	77	73	74	74	75	75	78	67
Volvic is unhealthy	4	5	3	6	3	3	4	2	4	4	7
I would not want to be seen with Volvic	6	7	5	8	5	4	6	4	6	6	10
It is easy to get Volvic	81	79	83	80	83	80	76	83	82	84	76
Volvic is healthy	91	89	92	91	90	91	91	92	89	93	83
Volvic is my kind of drink	58	56	60	60	57	58	50	59	59	65	53
I like Volvic	79	76	81	78	80	78	74	81	79	85	69
Volvic tastes good	70	67	72	72	68	69	65	72	70	77	62
I hate Volvic	6	6	5	9	4	4	3	4	4	6	11
Overall Opinion of Volvic (low score = better opinion) #											
Mean	11.49	11.77	11.29**	11.51	11.55	11.43	11.88	11.42	11.63	10.81*	12.06
(Std Dev)	(4.05)	(4.18)	(3.94)	(4.09)	(3.93)	(4.16)	(3.87)	(3.90)	(4.50)	(3.72)	(4.29)
Bases											
Total	*1705*	*727*	*970*	*607*	*564*	*530*	*287*	*393*	*279*	*439*	*323*

* P<0.05
** p<0.01
*** P<0.001
Significant differences identified from
Logistic regressions controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: Y10 and Y11 compared against Y9. ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'
1 Reference category for school year comparisons
2 Reference category for ACORN comparisons

Multiple regression controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'

6.0 HEALTH CONCERNS AND OTHER INFLUENCES ON YOUNG PEOPLE'S FOOD CHOICES

We were interested in how branding related to concerns about healthiness and other factors in influencing young people's food choices. This section identifies and explores the relative importance which young people attached to health and other factors, such as taste, parental approval, peers and convenience, when making decisions about the food they purchased and consumed. Again, qualitative data are presented first, in Section 6.1, followed by survey data in Section 6.2. In Section 6.1 we explore factors in addition to branding which emerged as potentially influential in the focus groups, while in Section 6.2 we compare young people's perceptions of the relative importance of different factors, including branding and concerns about health, in the context of choosing food at lunchtime.

It is important to emphasise that several of the factors are interlinked, and cannot be directly compared. It is particularly difficult to make an assessment of the importance of 'branding' compared with other product-related factors because several of these attributes are, arguably, attributes *of* the brand. For example, 'taste' and 'price' can both be seen as brand attributes as well as product attributes, in that consumers make quality and other assessments about brands on the basis of factors such as their perceived taste and price. Similarly, factors such as the opportunity to socialise and to make independent choices – important criteria influencing young people's decisions regarding food in social contexts – can also be seen as brand attributes which contribute to the appeal of fast food restaurants.

6.1 Focus Group Findings

We explored the potential influence on young people's food choices of a number of factors. Some of these, such as price, friends and parents, were suggested by the moderator, while others such as sociability, choice and control emerged from the respondents themselves. The factors were: taste, price, advertising, visual appeal, parents, friends, socialising and convenience, recent changes to school food provision, body image and weight, and the image and importance of healthy eating.

6.1.1 Taste

Young people claimed that taste was often the most important factor in their food choices, overriding the influence of concerns such as image or advertising.

> *"If it tastes crap you won't buy it, so."*
> (Boys, Year 11, C2DE)
>
> *"I just drink Pepsi because I like it, not because of what other people think, or what celebrities do for it."*
> (Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

As we have shown earlier, taste is a key brand attribute, in that perceptions of a brand's quality and appeal are linked to perceptions of how tasty the food is. However, sometimes liking for a product's taste could conflict with and override concerns about its healthiness or, as in the case of McDonalds, ambivalence about the brand's reputation. Young people were aware often that products which tasted good were not necessarily good for them, and indeed were often very bad for them.

"They [Pringles] are nice but they're fattening. The fatteningest crisps you can get."
"Yes but they're nice."
"That's why they're nice."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

"Mine [favourite foods] are ones that are bad for you, mostly, like reheated pizza and things like that."
"Yes, and just things from the freezer that you just peel open and chuck it in."
"McDonalds"
(Boys, Year 11, ABC1)

Largely young people in the focus groups listed fatty, salty and sugary products among their favourites - chips, pizza, McDonalds, Indian and Chinese takeaway, crisps and chocolate – although some also described liking fruit, salad and raw vegetables. Young people who were keen on sport stressed the importance also of eating food which was *"high protein"* and *"filling"* (Boys, Year 11, C2DE). The survey results, reported in Section 6.2, suggest that healthier foods did have quite wide appeal among the survey respondents.

Taste was a key criterion, alongside price and convenience, when young people were choosing their own food during the school day. One source of resentment of the recent changes to school food provision (see (viii) below) was that the new healthier variants were perceived by some young people to be less tasty. In this context, alternative outlets to the school which offered tasty cheap products were appreciated. The bakery chain Greggs was particularly popular, because it offered a wide range of affordable and "*nice*" products.

"You can get cookies and stuff from Greggs as well."
IS GREGGS QUITE A GOOD PLACE TO GO THEN?
"Yes."
HOW OFTEN DO YOU GO THERE?
"Every day."
DO YOU GET DIFFERENT THINGS?
"Yes. Different things every day."
"Yes."
"Baguettes."
"Sandwiches as well."
"Sandwiches."
"Yes."
"Healthy sandwiches."
(Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

6.1.2 Price

Price influenced young people's opinions and preferences in two ways. Firstly, price was perceived to be bound up with taste and quality, such that better brands were perceived to cost more than inferior ones. A low price was seen to be indicative of poor quality and taste, and young people argued that it was sometimes better to pay more because "*the cheaper things just don't taste nice*" (Boy, Year 11, ABC1). Section 4.1 above has shown that they were often particularly dismissive of economy brands, claiming that such products were "*rubbish*". Part of this reaction seemed to be a fear of the embarrassment and stigma which might be incurred by being seen with an economy brand.

> *"Like Smart Price tastes like crap compared to Heinz beans."*
> *"Same as like everything, because I won't eat Asda's own anything."*
> *SAY THAT AGAIN SORRY, YOU WON'T?*
> *"You know Asda's own brand stuff, I won't eat any of that."*
> *"I would, I do."*
> *YOU WOULDN'T EAT THAT, WHY WOULD YOU NOT EAT IT?*
> *"I don't like it, it like tastes horrible and all that. Like their Coke and the lemonade."*
> (Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

However, it seemed that this sensitivity to cheap products was more persuasive when parents, rather than young people themselves, were paying for the food; when young people were spending their own money, there appeared to be more willingness to sacrifice image for value. Price was an important consideration when young people were buying their own snack foods, choosing their school lunchtime food, and when out socialising with friends. In this context, several argued that they would buy cheaper brands, or to shop at cheaper stores, if they felt they could get more product – a bigger chocolate bar or bag of crisps – for their money.

> *"I'd be like, oh my God, I got a bar of [Asda] chocolate for 25p, how good is that, and it's a big bar!"*
> (Girls, Year 11, ABC1)

> *"If I was going to get chocolate in the morning, I'd get that [Asda] chocolate instead of that [Cadbury's] because there's more of it."*
> *"Yes, it's 25 pence for that."*
> *"And that one's like 40 pence for like God knows, 30 grams."*
> *"45 pence."*
> (Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

Price was a particularly important concern for those young people who were not entitled to free school meals and who had a daily allowance their school lunchtime food. These young people were very conscious of the price of items such as sandwiches, drinks and pies at school and elsewhere, and sometimes cited price as a reason for choosing one particular shop or takeaway outlet over another.

The perceived high price of school lunch was given by several as a reason for their dissatisfaction with school food and as a reason for going out of school (where this was permitted) at lunch time. The prices charged by sandwich chains such as Greggs compared very favourably with the prices charged at school, where young people perceived they would not be able to buy as much for their daily allowance.

IS GREGGS EXPENSIVE?
"No."
"Pretty good."
"A pasty is 60 odd pence."
"67."
"67 pence."
"It's not bad. And a sausage roll is 42 pence or something, really good."
(Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

"In Gregg's you can get a sandwich for 59p and a drink as well."
"Yes and it is really nice."
"And it costs way under £2, just over £1, but you can't do that at school."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

6.1.3 Advertising

Advertising was an important influence on young people's food choices in a number of ways. Young people acknowledged that advertising could raise their awareness of a product and trigger interest:

"I reckon it's important because if it's not advertised good, then no one knows about it."
"You might see it in a shop and say 'I want to try it'."
"Yes, I wouldn't look at the telly and say, I want to eat that, but if I'd seen it in the shop and it looked nice then I would get it."
(Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

DO YOU EVER THINK YOU'RE INFLUENCED BY ADVERTISING FOR FOOD?
"Yes." [several]
"Cos it looks nice."
(Girls, Year 9, ABC1)

They were also aware that advertising could trigger desire for a particular product by acting as a simple reminder or prompt that they liked it:

"Definitely [advertising has an influence]."
"Like when the McDonalds [ad] comes on the television, when that comes up, it just makes you hungry and want one."
(Boys, Year 11, ABC1)

More indirectly, advertising reinforced the brand's image and the perception that it was good quality ('it's better because it's advertised more'). For example, one reason given for McDonalds being better than KFC, according to one respondent, was because "*they've got more adverts"* (Boy, Year 9, ABC1).

We have already shown how young people enjoyed advertising which was "*clever*" and "*funny*". They could recall storylines, dialogue and slogans from television adverts, and used them as part of their discourse about food products – for example, humming the McDonalds

'I'm lovin' it' refrain, or parodying the language of Marks and Spencers 'this is not just….food' adverts. This kind of engagement with advertising helps shape brand perceptions and reinforces positive experiences of the products. It was notable that several of the healthier brands which young people claimed to like – as opposed to the healthier brands they found dull – had advertising which appealed to them, such as Danone, Actimel and Highland Spring (see Section 5.1 above).

Young people's interpretations of and reactions to the use of celebrities in advertising were mixed. In some contexts, they interpreted celebrity endorsement as appropriate and convincing. Advertising and sponsorship which associated particular brands with athleticism and sporting prowess were taken as evidence that the products were good:

> *"Because with the Lucozade ones, you know it's good because it's been on the telly and like it's used by professional athletes so it's got to be good."*
> (Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

> *"Just like footballers drinking Lucozade and that. It must have been tested to know how much energy is in it and that's why they're using it, so you'll use it for your sport."*
> *"And athletes."*
> *"It works on Craig."*
> *OK. SO ATHLETES AND SPORTS STARS.*
> *"Well it's obviously going to benefit them, because they wouldn't just go on with a bottle of Coke they have to drink something that would help them."*
> *"Be beneficial."*
> (Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

However, they were cynical where they perceived there to be a mismatch between the brand and the type of celebrity, such as when sportspeople were associated with products which young people knew not to be healthy.

> *"It's the same as Gary Lineker with the Walkers crisps. Crisps are unhealthy but he's a sports person."*
> (Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

They were also sceptical where they suspected the celebrity not to be genuine in his or her brand endorsement. This was particularly the case with very high profile celebrities such as David Beckham, whom they suspected of not even using the products to which he lent his name. This made them resent the assumption that consumers would be influenced by a celebrity name.

> *SO DOES THAT HAVE ANY INFLUENCE DO YOU THINK? IF YOU SEE A CELEBRITY ADVERTISING SOMETHING.?*
> *"No, they think its going to give us an influence but it doesn't."*
> *"I don't like it just because David Beckham's drinking it. It doesn't mean now you're going to start."*
> *"If you don't like it and there's some celebrity advertising it you're still not going to like it are you?"*
> (Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

6.1.4 Visual Appeal

The visual appeal of foods was important to young people, particularly in the context of product categories with lots of competition, such as fizzy drinks, yoghurts, snacks and confectionery. Premium brand products tended to be preferred, on the grounds that their packaging was more attractive and eye-catching, and the quality of the packaging reinforced positive perceptions of the brand. The colourful appearance of premium brand products contrasted with the "*dull*", drab appearance of own brands and economy brands.

> *"I don't like that Asda stuff because it's plain."*
> *"Plain and boring."*
> *"That's plain, that's probably why it's cheap. It's cheap because of the packaging really."*
> (Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

> *"If you notice, that [Smart Price range] looks all dull, and that [pile of premium brands] looks all bright coloured and everything."*
> *"Because that's [Smart Price] white and green, but those are all different colours and it looks more, I want to have that, and plus the brand, with Cadbury, you are really going to get an Asda chocolate bar, if you know what I mean? People are more familiar with Cadbury."*
> (Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

Young people were enthusiastic even about healthier brands where they were perceived to have attractive, high quality packaging:

> *"The strawberry looks dead nice on it [Muller yoghurt]."*
> *THE MULLER YOGHURT IS NICE PACKAGING?*
> *"Yes."*
> *"Yes."*
> *"Yes."*
> (Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

Visual appeal was also important with unbranded and pre-prepared food, such as school meals. Some described being put off by dishes which looked "*watery*" or "*boring*", or by fresh fruit which looked "*battered*" and "*mouldy*".

6.1.5 Parents

The potential influence of parents on young people's food choices was a question raised by the moderator, rather than by respondents themselves, suggesting that young people saw parental influence as relatively small. Many responded to the question by asserting that they *"ate what they liked"*. Several claimed that, far from being influenced *by* their parents, they themselves had influence over what their parents bought in the family weekly shopping trip. Young people described how they would request certain foods when their parents went to the supermarket, or would battle with their parents over what went in the trolley.

"If I go to the supermarket with my mam, I'll pick up stuff I want and then she'll complain at the end."
"I'll end up pushing the trolley so I pick things up and she'll end up paying like £20 more at the end."
(Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

However, there was possibly an element of boastfulness and wishful thinking in these claims, and it appeared that in reality young people's influence was sometimes less than they liked to assert. They admitted that they did not always get their own way in battles over what should go in the trolley, and several acknowledged that what they ate at home was mostly dependent on what their mother or father had bought.

"They do really if they're buying it."
"They do because it's in the house and you can eat what's in the house. If it's for tea and they say you're having it."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

Several young people admitted that their parents disapproved of and discouraged too much consumption of fatty, unhealthy foods, although these efforts were perceived largely as mild and tokenistic:

"Your parents would say that it might be bad for you or good for you, but they wouldn't call you stuff."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

"My Dad, like my Mam and Dad stop us from eating crisps and that."
"Nag you about food."
"They'll be like 'have some fruit after' instead of something else."
"But then there's never any fruit in the bowl!"
(Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

While parents did still exert some control over the food bought for the family home, and while young people carried around in their minds an awareness of what their parents would prefer them to eat, parents appeared to have little influence over the food young people bought during the school day and when young people were socialising with friends. For those respondents given a daily allowance to buy their lunch either in or out of school, parents' preferences seemed to have little or no bearing on what they bought.

6.1.6 Friends

Again, the potential influence of friends was a question raised by the moderator rather than by respondents. Young people were keen to assert that their friends had little influence on the food they chose, either positively (in the sense of wanting to buy the same things as one's friends) or negatively (in the sense of not wanting to buy something of which friends would disapprove).

"No, I would never eat tuna because I don't like fish, but I wouldn't jib someone for eating tuna."
(Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

> *"You can be friends but you don't have to like everything the same, do you?"*
> (Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

At a rational level young people argued that friends *"wouldn't care"* what each other ate and that it was in any case *"none of their business"*. They appeared unwilling to acknowledge the possibility that their food brand choices might be influenced by the desire for reference group approval, claiming that they were motivated primarily by functional considerations – *"it tastes nice", "you get more for your money"*. However, as the exchanges below show, it was clear that young people were sensitive to the risk of being teased and judged by their peers on the basis of unusual or unacceptable food choices:

> *"They [friends] just wouldn't care at all."*
> *"Yes."*
> *"They wouldn't care at all."*
> *"They'd care about it if you pulled out a Smart Price or Aldi or something."*
> *"Aldi beans."*
> *THEY WOULD CARE ABOUT THAT?*
> *"Yes, they'd laugh at you if you had that."*
> *"They'd laugh at the banana too."*
> (Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

> *IS THERE ANY KIND OF FOOD THAT YOUR FRIENDS WOULD LAUGH IT IF YOU BROUGHT IT INTO SCHOOL?*
> *"Some people might."*
> *"Like at school, sometimes, I've got like pasta and pie, and someone laughed at me for that."*
> *"I should think so! Pasta and pie? You don't eat pasta and pie!"*
> (Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

In other words, friends and the wider peer group did exert an indirect influence on the brands and foods which young people chose to consume in public. This influence appeared to work primarily through teasing and ridicule, or, perhaps more importantly, through the fear of provoking these. It was evident, for example, in the way that some young people spoke mockingly of others who made food choices which marked them out as extreme in some way - as "*fat*" or "*skinny*" or "*geeky*". Even food choices and consumption behaviours which did not seem particularly odd or extreme could arouse anxiety over what friends might think. In one group of girls, for example, the notion that someone might bring a pot of yoghurt from home to school provoked laughter, and the comments revealed an implied view that this was both embarrassing and socially unacceptable:

"You wouldn't have a yoghurt I don't think because then you'd have to have a spoon!"
"Yes."
"That is not cool."
SPOONS ARE NOT COOL?
"Not."
REALLY?
(All laughing)
WHAT DO YOU MEAN?
"You look stupid getting a big metal spoon out of your bag."
"It's just not good."
I HAVE A YOGHURT AT WORK EVERYDAY, WHAT MUST EVERYONE THINK!
(All laughing)
"It's an embarrassment to get a spoon out!"
(Girls, Year 11, ABC1)

Concern over friends' and peers' opinions was particularly evident in the embarrassment and anxiety which surrounded economy brands. As Section 4.1.3 shows, young people were sensitive to the risk that they might be perceived as "cheap" and "poor" if they consumed value brands such as Netto, Aldi or Asda Smart Price. For some, a similar embarrassment seemed to exist in relation to being seen by friends with healthier products. This is explored further under (xi) below.

"They'd [friends] laugh at you if you had that Aldi yoghurt."
"They'd laugh at the banana as well."
"No, mine wouldn't."
"They would if you bought those little fruit box things."
(Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

6.1.7 Socialising and Convenience

Socialising and convenience were important concerns when young people bought food during the school day or when out with friends on a Saturday.

One important consideration was that food purchase and consumption should be able to be fitted easily into group activities such as shopping and hanging around the town centre. Young people wanted food that was easy to buy and consume, either while sitting inside or while walking around the town or back to school; it had to be affordable; and it had to be quickly accessed or prepared, so as not to take time away from the main task of hanging around together. Fast food outlets, sandwich shops and other outlets which offered convenient food were therefore particularly popular:

"You just want fast food when you're in town at the weekend."
"[McDonalds] It's easy."
"Nice food."
"Got a big variety."
(Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

"I get a Pot Noodle [for lunch on school days], they've got a microwave and like a bottle machine."
IS THAT IN A GROCERY SHOP?
"It's like a small supermarket."
DO YOU EAT THE POT NOODLE WHILE YOU'RE WALKING ALONG?
"Well we'll have it standing."
"Stand in the shop."
"Every day."
"Well, Monday to Wednesday. I'm at college Thursday and Friday, so -"
(Boys, Year 11, C2DE)

One of the main motivating factors for going out of school at lunchtime (where this was permitted) was that it allowed young people the freedom to socialise with their peers in non-school settings. This meant that considerations such as feeling comfortable and welcome were important. A key part of the appeal of fast food restaurants was that they allowed young people to interact with one another in a relatively welcoming atmosphere.

"McDonalds."
"Usually."
"Because you can sit inside."
"Sociable."
"Like Gregg's, you can't just go in and sit down, you have to walk round with it."
"Like McDonalds, you can guarantee if you walk in you'll know half the people in there."
(Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

In this context, a particularly appealing aspect of the bakery chain Greggs was that it seemed to value its school-age customers, by offering quick service (unlike school dinner queues) and, according to this one group of girls, making schoolchildren a priority.

"The queue goes really fast -- -- -- isn't it? [unlike school canteen]."
"Yes, because they don't let the other customers push in. Greggs is the only one that puts the school children first."
(Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

Some outlets were felt to be less conducive to this kind of quick, on the hoof consumption. One group of girls noted that it was hard to find healthier food outlets which offered them the same ability to graze quickly while in the middle of socialising and shopping. This led them, in their view, to rely more often than they might like on fast food outlets such as McDonalds.

ARE THERE THINGS THAT MAKE IT DIFFICULT THESE DAYS FOR PEOPLE TO EAT HEALTHILY WOULD YOU SAY?
"McDonalds."
"Yes."
…
"You know I think it is harder because when you go out on a Saturday and you're in town shopping or with your friends you don't want to have to go somewhere and sit down and have like a salad or whatever, you want to quickly grab something, and they do healthy sandwiches and do have salads at other places like the Deli Bar in Newcastle, but then again it depends on prices as well and how far you are willing to go to get something."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

6.1.8 School Food Policy

A key influence on young people's food choices, and also on their feelings about and experiences of healthy eating in general, was the change to school food provision which several of their schools had recently implemented at the time of the research. In October 2005, the School Meal Review Panel made recommendations for minimum nutritional standards for school meals in England. The process of implementation began in the school year starting September 2006, and secondary schools were required to be fully compliant with these requirements by September 2009. The effects of these changes, in schools which had implemented them, were varied, reflecting the different stages of implementation. In some schools it seemed that less healthy options were no longer available at all, while in others the main change appeared to have been to make healthier options available alongside current provision.

Young people's reactions to the changes were partly informed by their understanding of the reasons behind them. Generally they were aware that the changes were driven by rising societal concern, spearheaded by Jamie Oliver, about children's eating.

"It all started with that Jamie Oliver didn't it?"
"Yes."
"They watched that and then the school changed."
WHAT WAS IT HE DID?
"He was going through all the school foods and saying what was like in them and what was bad for you; stuff like that, and then it all changed."
SO WHO CHANGED IT, WAS IT THE GOVERNMENT?
"I don't know."
IS IT JUST YOUR SCHOOL OR OTHER SCHOOLS AS WELL?
"I think the government's made every school do it."
(Girls, Year 11, ABC1)

"It's like a campaign thing, because children are eating too much rubbish."
"Just some statistics from the government, because of the crippling child obesity statistics that are apparently coming through."
"Apparently you shouldn't have unhealthy things, they make you hyperactive."
"It's on the news and so on, because they were saying in Britain, this county's the fattest now, and this county's got the highest heart attack rate."
(Boys, Year 11, ABC1)

However, many were unconvinced that the problem merited such stringent action. Some felt the changes were primarily intended to address the rise in childhood obesity, rather than as a wider effort to improve health and other aspects of wellbeing among the school population as a whole. The failure to make this connection contributed to many perceiving the school meal changes as extreme and unnecessary for the majority of 'normal-sized' people.

WHY DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO BE HAVING A BIG PUSH ON HEALTHY EATING?
"Because there are too many fat kids."
"But there's not as much fat people as they say."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

"I think they exaggerate it because no everybody's huge; all of us aren't fat. It's stupid."
SO YOU DON'T KNOW THAT MANY OVER WEIGHT PEOPLE?
"There are only fat kids because it's their parents that are fat."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

The perception that the school food changes were primarily a response to what was perceived as a small minority of 'problem' children led to some resentment of the way the changes were affecting the whole school population. Some young people felt that healthiness was not being offered as a choice but imposed paternalistically upon them. This conflicted with notions of independence and choice.

"I think it should be discouraged, but not forced on them."
(Boys, Year 11, ABC1)

School lunchtime afforded an important opportunity for young people to make independent decisions over their food purchases. Partly for this reason, there was considerable resentment in some groups over the perceived narrowing of school food options since the introduction of healthy eating guidelines.

"They do squares of cakes but they're supposed to be healthy."
"They've stopped snacks and everything."
"Chocolate and crisps."
"That don't do that anymore."
THEY'VE STOPPED THEM?
"It's meant to be healthy eating."
"It's meant to be a healthy school!"
WHAT DO YOU MEAN?
"There's no chocolate."
"They took the chocolate off, yes."
"Apparently the cake has no sugar in it."
SO, YOU CAN'T BUY CHOCOLATE AT SCHOOL?
"No."
"You can't buy crisps anymore or fizzy pop."
"You can only buy bottles of water."
(Girls, Year 11, ABC1)

A large part of the appeal of going out of school at lunchtime, where this was permitted (it was not permitted in at least one of the schools which focus group respondents attended), was that it afforded them the opportunity to escape from the school environment, and to exercise independence and autonomy in choosing where to buy their lunch. Many took the opportunity, frequenting a wide range of outlets including fish and chip shops, sandwich shops such as Greggs and Subway, cafes, grocery stores, and newsagents. The popularity of these out-of-school outlets seemed to have increased for some following the changes to school meals.

"Hungry Jacks is like a sandwich for £1 and you get what you want in it."
"It's a bit like Subway."
"It's good because you get to choose everything that goes in the sandwich as well."
(Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

Others were more enthusiastic about the new food provision in schools. They liked the fact that temptation had been removed, and welcomed some of the new options which had been introduced on the menu.

"And then they've stopped taking chips on every day and they take them only on one day."
"You're only allowed chips every Friday or something."
HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT?
"Good, glad."
YOU THINK IT'S A GOOD IDEA?
"Yes."
"And they've started doing these wrap things which is really cool."
"Oh yes, wraps, chicken wraps."
ARE THEY TASTY?
"Yes."
(Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

Even where a school was still offering less healthy products alongside healthier variants, some young people perceived that the changes were encouraging a shift towards healthier products:

YOU SAY THE SCHOOL STILL SELLS MARS BARS AND CRISPS?
"But they [pupils] don't normally buy them."
REALLY.
"There's like mostly a full basket left."
DO PEOPLE GO FOR THE HEALTHY THINGS INSTEAD?
"People tend to buy more Nutrigrains and that."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

However, several were disappointed in the new healthier offerings. Two main problems were identified: that the food was, in some young people's opinion, poor quality, and that it was too expensive.

"The basket of apples it looks like it has been there for about a thousand years and it tastes like it as well."
"And they are all bruised."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

"I'll bring a packed lunch because the dinner tastes minging."
WHY DON'T YOU LIKE IT?
"It's not very nice."
"It's just not nice."
"It's rubbish."
IS THERE NOT A VERY GOOD CHOICE?
"There's loads of stuff."
"A good choice, but it's just not nice."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

Young people were particularly resentful of what they perceived as unreasonably high prices. It seemed morally unfair to them that products such as fresh fruit and bottled water were as or more expensive than the less healthy variants they had replaced. This seemed to undermine or at least conflict with the apparent concern for young people's health, and fostered resentment and cynicism about the genuineness of the initiative.

"You pay 40p for a banana."
"And the water costs exactly the same as Pepsi used to."
SO IT'S QUITE EXPENSIVE?
"Yes."
"It's all gone up. Everything's gone up. The drinks were 55p, all of them. The normal water is still 55p, but the fruit flavoured water is 65p."
"Yes, and the sandwiches have gone up to £1.10."
(Boys, Year 11, ABC1)

"I bring in money, so I notice because I've got my change, and it is like 'oh it is £2.00' and I'm like, I only bought a sandwich and a bottle of water and it was like £2.00 something for a sandwich and a bottle of water, I'm like I'm trying to be healthy."
I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE CHEAPER AT SCHOOL.
"It is not at all."
"It's not."
"It is outrageous they are all out for making a profit. It is 90p for a bottle of Malvern that big."
REALLY?
"Yes it's a joke."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

Overall, it appeared that while young people understood the reasons for the reform of school food, they felt the change had been imposed upon them. Their experiences suggested that the healthy eating 'brand' as it was presented to them at school did not deliver on the aspects that were important to them – taste, quality, value for money and choice. In other words, the healthy eating brand promises more than it delivers, and this potentially undermines the school food 'brand' and the wider concept of health.

6.1.9 Body Image and Weight

Concerns about body image and weight did not tend to emerge spontaneously in the group discussions, suggesting that they were not a major influence on young people's food choice decisions. Often, they were only discussed after prompting from the moderator as to whether they were important, or in the context of discussing school lunches and the perceived government drive to address childhood obesity.

Overall, the extent to which concerns about body image and weight influenced young people's food choices seemed to be mixed. For some young people, they had a moderate influence, while for others they seemed to have very little bearing.

For two of the groups of boys who were quite involved in sport, controlling their weight through physical activity and diet was an important way to carry on "*looking good*" and being fit enough to participate.

SO FOR BOYS IT'S MORE ABOUT SPORT AND BEING FIT, RATHER THAN BEING THIN?
"Yes, fitness."
"And being healthy and being fit."
"Being fit is more important."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS FROM EATING HEALTHILY?
"Keep fit."
"You can do more stuff."
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

Girls were similarly concerned about their body image and weight, but often this anxiety seemed to translate not into efforts to eat more healthily but into unhealthy eating patterns such as skipping meals and snacking on junk food.

> *DO GIRLS YOUR AGE WORRY ABOUT THEIR WEIGHT?*
> *"Yes, loads."*
> *"Yes."*
> *"They try and not eat anything sometimes."*
> *"They miss their dinner."*
> *"Most girls in Year 9 miss their breakfast."*
> (Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

> *"I don't think that it looks nice but I think, for girls especially, if they want to end up like that they copy it."*
> *"Yes."*
> *SO GIRLS WANT TO?*
> *"I used to be like that; I used to be a bit of a health freak."*
> *REALLY?*
> *"Yes."*
> *YOU MEAN FROM A WEIGHT POINT OF VIEW; THINKING YOU WANT TO GET REALLY SKINNY OR…*
> *"I just like stopped eating altogether."*
> (Girls, Year 11, ABC1)

The motivating force for girls' concern about their weight tended not to be fitness or feeling good, but anxiety about their image and the need to impress boys.

> *"My ex-boyfriend when he saw people who were fat he would be horrible about them but then that made me feel bad because that was like, but she is no bigger than me. It is like if she is no bigger than me then is why is he seeing me?"*
> (Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

6.1.10 The Image and Importance of Healthy Eating

We paid particular attention in the focus group discussions to exploring what health meant to young people and how it related to their food choices.

The extent to which concerns about healthiness influenced young people's food choices appeared mixed. Young people certainly displayed an awareness of what was healthy (and what was not) in their diet, but for some, this appeared to have little bearing on what they chose to eat:

> *"[I eat] Anything I'm not supposed to eat. Everything unhealthy. I hardly eat anything that's healthy for you."*
> *"I eat fruit, and I've started eating veg lately, but I don't like it"*
> *YOU DON'T LIKE THE TASTE OF IT?*
> *"I'd rather have Yorkshire pudding and egg on it"*
> (Girls, Year 9, ABC1)

As the section above has shown, young people who were interested in sport tended to pay attention to their diet. One group of boys who played rugby and football deliberately chose foods which they perceived would help them to keep fit and in shape, such as pasta, milk, bananas, carrots, nuts and raisins. This contrasted with other young people who claimed to have little interest in health, and whose social and peer norms appeared largely unconcerned with healthy eating.

> *"Nobody cares about their weight in Darlington."*
> (Girls, Year 11, C2DE)

> *HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK IT IS TO EAT HEALTHILY?*
> *"Not important."*
> *"A little bit important"*
> *"Because you don't want to get obese"*
> *"You don't want to be fat, but you don't want to be geek skinny"*
> (Girls, Year 9, ABC1)

In between these two perspectives were young people who had some concerns about their diet and aspired some of the time to eat more healthily, but recognised that they often fell short and succumbed to the temptation of unhealthy foods.

The differing levels of importance attached to healthy eating partly reflected differences in how young people defined health and healthy eating. For many, it appeared to be defined negatively – in terms of what it was not – rather than positively. So, healthy meant not being obese or fat, and the benefits of healthy eating were primarily seen as avoidance of becoming fat.

> *IS THAT IMPORTANT, GETTING EVERYONE TO EAT HEALTHY?*
> *"Well, it stops you from getting fat, don't it?"*
> (Boys, Year 9, ABC1)

> *WHAT BENEFITS DOES IT [healthy eating] HAVE?*
> *(All talking)*
> *"So as not to be fat."*
> *TO STOP YOU BECOMING FAT?*
> *"Yes."*
> *THAT'S ONE BENEFIT; ANYTHING ELSE?*
> *(No reply)*
> (Girls, Year 11, ABC1)

Other benefits, such as 'feeling fitter', tended only to be identified after a lot of prompting, or by those respondents who were interested in sport and fitness. Longer term benefits such as avoidance of illness and the wider protective effects of healthy eating were rarely mentioned or only in very general terms, such as healthy eating being seen as providing *"essential stuff that you need for your body and stuff"* (Boys, Year 9, ABC1). For a few of the older respondents, there was an anticipation of the future impact of a healthy diet, and an awareness of the gulf between intentions and practice:

"You know that you should [care about what you eat], but you occasionally just don't. Because when you were younger you would just eat and you wouldn't care, but now you still eat but you do care."
DO YOU IMAGINE YOU'LL BE MORE CONSCIOUS ABOUT YOUR DIET WHEN YOU'RE OLDER?
"Yes"
"Because we'll be regretting it from not being more conscious now"
"Probably have heart disease"
(Boys, Year 11, ABC1)

Interestingly, for some, the main risks of being obese were not defined in terms of poor physical health but in terms of social risk – the stigma of being teased or bullied. In nearly all groups, discussion of obesity led quickly to the identification of particular children in the school who were 'fat', and generated humorous and disparaging comments. In this context, the main benefit to eating healthily was that it could protect against ridicule.

SO IT'S IMPORTANT TO YOU TO EAT HEALTHILY SO YOU DON'T GET FAT?
"Yes."
ANY OTHER REASONS?
"People will take the Mickey out of you."
"Yes."
DO THEY?
"Yes, if you're fat in school they call you 'fatty' and stuff like that."
(Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

"But being healthy also stops bullying because then if you eat healthy then you are not obese and people don't make fun of you because you are bigger."
(Girls, Year 10, C2DE)

"Some fat people don't even more, they just sit there."
"Can't even get off the settee!"
(Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

Although respondents perceived that healthy eating was held up as an ideal, for some, their perceptions of people who embraced healthy eating were largely negative: people who went in for ascetic self-denial, had "*geeky*" interests, and were otherwise not 'normal'.

This ambivalence about the pursuit of healthy eating was vividly illustrated by discussions about the sort of products and brands which 'popular', 'trendy', 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' people might select for their lunch box. What was particularly interesting here was the way that healthy eating was sometimes associated with desirable characteristics such as 'trendiness' and 'popularity', and sometimes with quite the reverse.

For some respondents, healthy eating was seen as trendy in the sense that they perceived a social norm tending towards healthier eating. Others perceived the reverse: a social trend of rising obesity and fast food consumption.

"It's getting more healthy, because now, it's the 'in' thing to be healthy."
(Boys, Year 11, ABC1)

> *"It's not so normal to have a healthy lunch."*
> *"I think Britain is getting more big, if you know what I mean – fat."*
> (Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

> *IS IT TRENDY TO BE HEALTHY THESE DAYS OR TO BE UNHEALTHY?*
> *"Trendy to be unhealthy but..."*
> *"I don't know."*
> *"It depends what they're like."*
> *"... obese people are trendy, are they? (Laughing)."*
> *"I think it's to be healthy. I think it's to be healthy."*
> *"Proud of it."*
> (Boys, Year 9, ABC1)

These different perceptions were reflected in where young people placed the healthier products when assembling hypothetical lunchboxes. One group of boys selected largely healthy products for a 'trendy person's' lunchbox – *"apples, water, fruit"* (Boys, Year 9, C2DE) – because such a person would be interested in "*looking good"*, dressing well and *"fitting into skinny jeans"*. Two groups included the bottled water, Yakult and a piece of fruit in a trendy person's lunchbox, albeit alongside products such as Walker's crisps and Coke, reflecting a perception that the trendy person would want fashionable premium brand snack products as well as making an effort towards healthier eating.

Conversely, one group assembled for an 'unpopular person's' lunchbox the Cadbury's chocolate, the Twirl, Pepsi and the Dairylea cheese strings, because they felt that the unpopular person would indulge in comfort eating to cheer themselves up, and would also try to "*blend in*" (Girls, Year 9, ABC1) by avoiding products which looked too healthy.

However, healthier products could also be associated with a *non*-trendy person, as these spontaneous suggestions by a group of boys revealed:

> *WHAT WOULD A NON-TRENDY PERSON HAVE IN THEIR LUNCHBOX?*
> *"Yakult." (all laughing)*
> *"An apple."*
> *"Highland water."*
> (Boys, Year 9, ABC1)

These sorts of associations seemed to reflect a feeling that too overt an interest in healthy eating was a sign of being out of step with the popular mainstream. The perceived marginality and abnormality of taking a keen interest in health was reflected in the way that, for some young people, healthy eating was associated with "*geeks*" and "*nerds*".

> *[AN UNPOPULAR PERSON'S LUNCH BOX?]*
> *"Nerdy stuff"*
> *"Have all the healthy stuff, like there's these kids up at the table with new plates for the vegetables."*
> *"The Star Wars fans"*
> *THE WHAT?*
> *"Like the Star Wars fans."*
> (Boys, Year 9, C2DE)

The same association between geekiness and healthy eating was made also by a group of girls. Here, the implication seemed to be that making a show of one's cleverness (the group's implicit definition of a geek) was associated with a keen interest in healthy food:

A GEEKY LUNCHBOX, THEN?
"Think of all the healthy stuff."
"Everything healthy."
"Water, banana, yoghurt, cheese strings."
WHY WOULD A GEEKY PERSON PICK A HEALTHY LUNCH?
"Because they would want you to think they were smart and that"
"They know everything, so they would know what was healthy for them."
(Girls, Year 9, ABC1)

These contradictory perceptions reveal tensions and ambivalence around the desirability or otherwise of eating healthily. The following extracts from one group discussion illustrate this particularly well. When asked to select a lunchbox for an 'unhealthy person' and an 'unpopular person', this group of C2DE girls automatically gave the HFSS products which they themselves liked to the 'unhealthy person': Coca Cola, Pepsi, Walker's crisps, Cadbury's and Asda chocolate bars. When then asked to select a lunchbox for an 'unpopular person', this group of girls selected almost the reverse of the products they had selected for an unhealthy person, and the products they themselves liked. Although these girls struggled to explain why they had instantly associated unpopularity with the healthy products and brands, the implication was that healthy eating was a non-mainstream, slightly freakish activity associated with people with a poor image and low social status.

WHAT DOES 'UNPOPULAR' MEAN?
"Not very popular."
"You're not known well. In school."
"Because if you're popular everyone knows you."
HAS LIKING GOT SOMETHING TO DO WITH IT?
"Yes." [all agree]
"A lot of friends as well."
SO AN UNPOPULAR PERSON IS SOMEONE THAT DOESN'T HAVE A LOT OF FRIENDS AND NOT WELL LIKED? WHAT WOULD YOU PICK OUT FOR LUNCH FOR OUR UNPOPULAR PERSON?
"I would say healthy foods. I don't know why but I'd say healthy foods, such as the water, the banana and the yoghurt."
"The yoghurt."
"The raisins."
"The raisins and the cheese strings."
WHY WOULD YOU SAY THAT?
"Most unpopular [people] normally eat healthier."
DO THEY?
"I don't know." [laughing].
WHY WOULD THEY?
"I don't know. They just tend to eat healthier.""
IT'S LESS NORMAL TO HAVE A HEALTHY LUNCH?
"Yes."
"Yes."
(Girls, Year 9, C2DE)

Overall, these perceptions illustrate both potential and problems with the wider concept of healthy eating – the healthy eating 'brand'. Just as with the specific healthier brands explored in Section 5.1, there are both positives and negatives in how young people engage with healthy eating itself; in some respects they find it appealing and aspirational, but in others they regard it as dull and socially risky.

6.1.11 Summary

A wide range of factors influence young people's food choices, several of them bound up with branding. Young people assert that taste is the most important criterion, and they are also somewhat swayed by value for money concerns when buying food for themselves. Advertising and visual appeal are important, as is the ability to buy and consume food conveniently when socialising with friends. Friends' opinions have an indirect influence, in that young people seek to avoid food choices which might expose them to ridicule; parents' influence is generally weak in the context of food consumed outside the home. Concerns about body image are important to some young people, but do not necessarily lead to healthier eating patterns.

The changes to school food provision appear to have various implications for young people's food choices; their experiences suggest that the healthy eating 'brand' as it is presented to them at school does not deliver on aspects that are important such as taste, quality, value for money and choice. These mixed feelings about healthier eating are also evident in the image young people have of the wider healthy eating concept, which they find both aspirational and off-putting.

6.2 Survey Findings

This section looks at the attributes that pupils look for when deciding which foods to have for lunch (6.2.1), appeal of different foods (6.2.2), frequency of consuming various foods (6.2.3) and views on healthy eating and perceptions on the healthiness of their own diet (6.2.4).

Differences by gender, school year and ACORN classification are noted where they occur and have been identified using logistic regression which also controlled for lifestyle characteristics

6.2.1 Decision Criteria for Lunch Foods

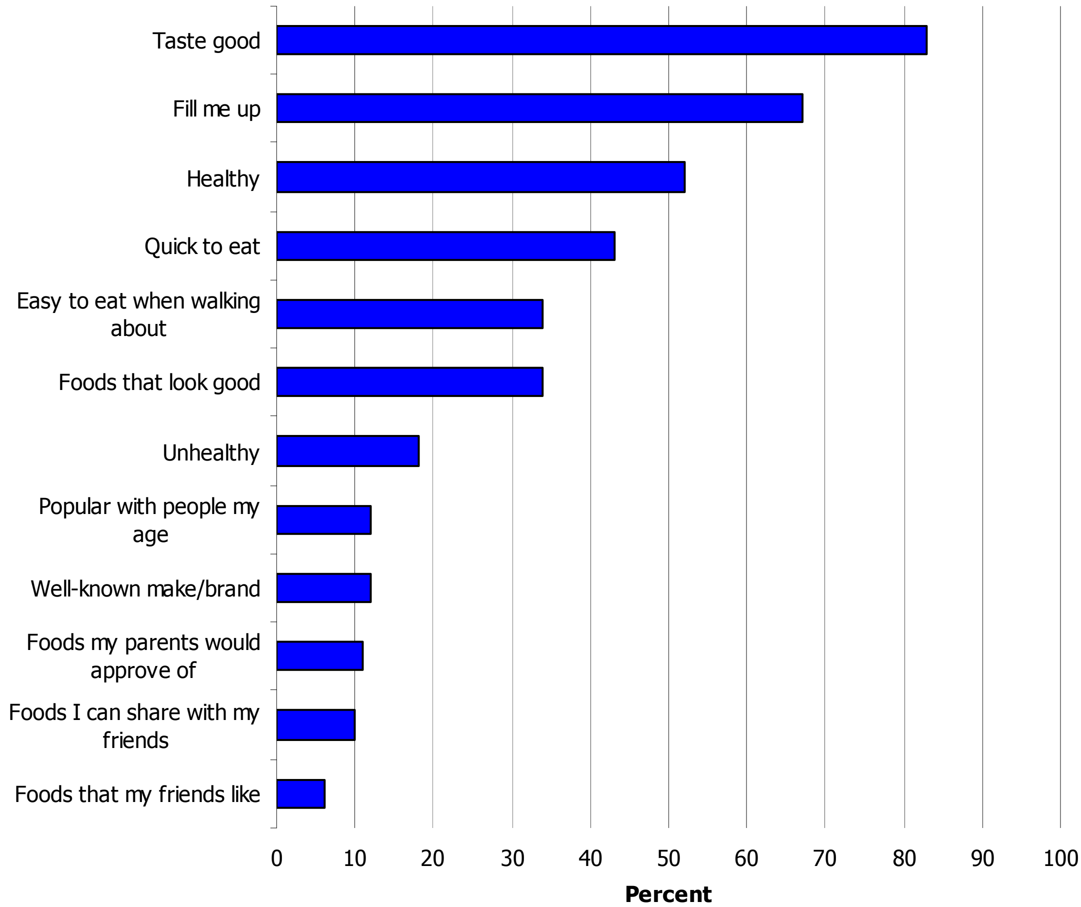
In an attempt to assess the decision criteria used in their choice of foods, pupils were asked about the things they look for and want most when choosing what to have for their lunch on school days. They were given a list of 12 possible criteria and allowed to tick as many as applied. 'Having a well-known make or brand' was one of the criteria. However, it is important to note that it is difficult to draw inferences from the findings regarding the relative influence of branding because many of the other criteria (such as taste, popularity and looking good) can also be seen as brand attributes.

The most commonly cited criteria were looking for foods that 'taste good' (83%) followed by foods that 'fill me up' (67%). Around half reported that they like to choose 'healthy' foods

(52%) while a minority wanted foods that are 'unhealthy' (18%). Speed of consumption and being able to eat on the move were also important with 43% indicating that they want foods that are 'quick to eat' and 34% looking for foods that are 'easy to eat when walking about'. Appearance and presentation are also important with a third seeking 'foods that look good' (34%). To a much lesser extent pupils sought foods having a 'well-known make/brand' (12%), 'popular with people my age (12%), foods 'parents would approve of' (11%), 'foods can share with friends' (10%) or foods that 'friends like' (6%).

(Table 6.1, Figure 6.1)

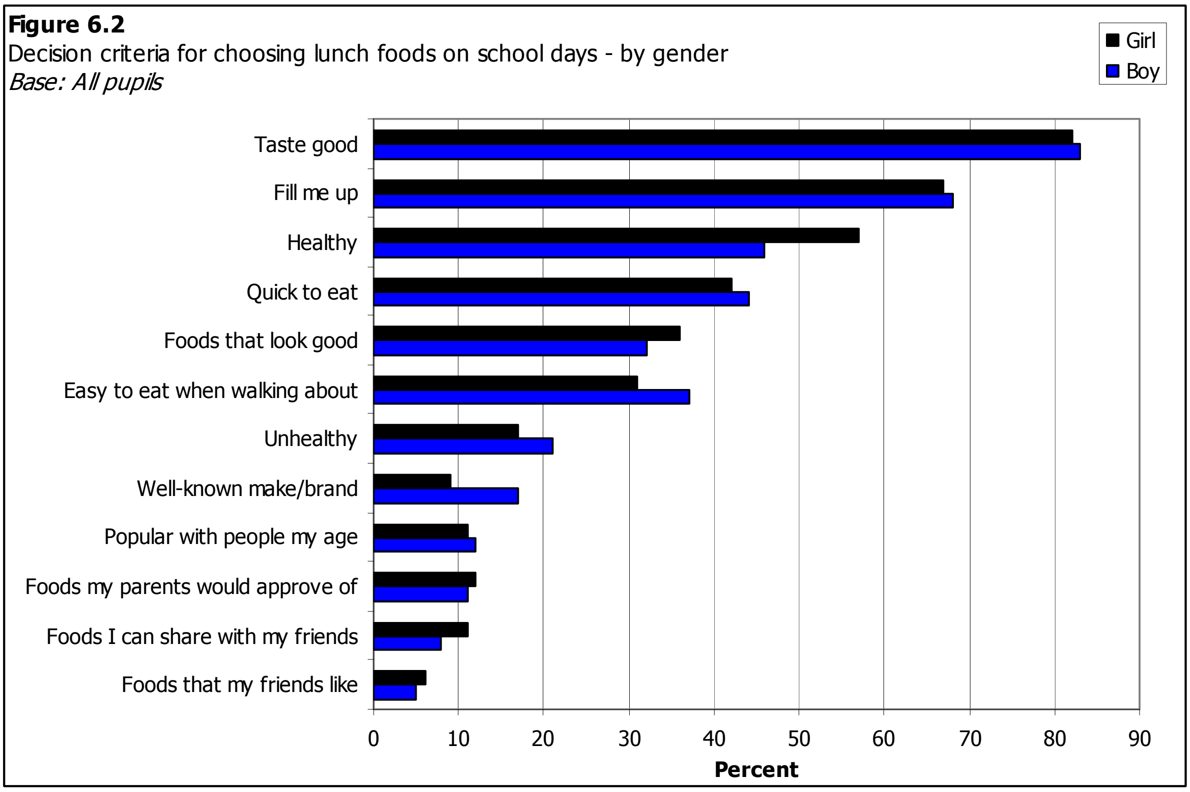
Figure 6.1
Decision criteria for choosing lunch foods on school days
Base: All pupils



Decision criteria for lunch foods by demographic and lifestyle characteristics

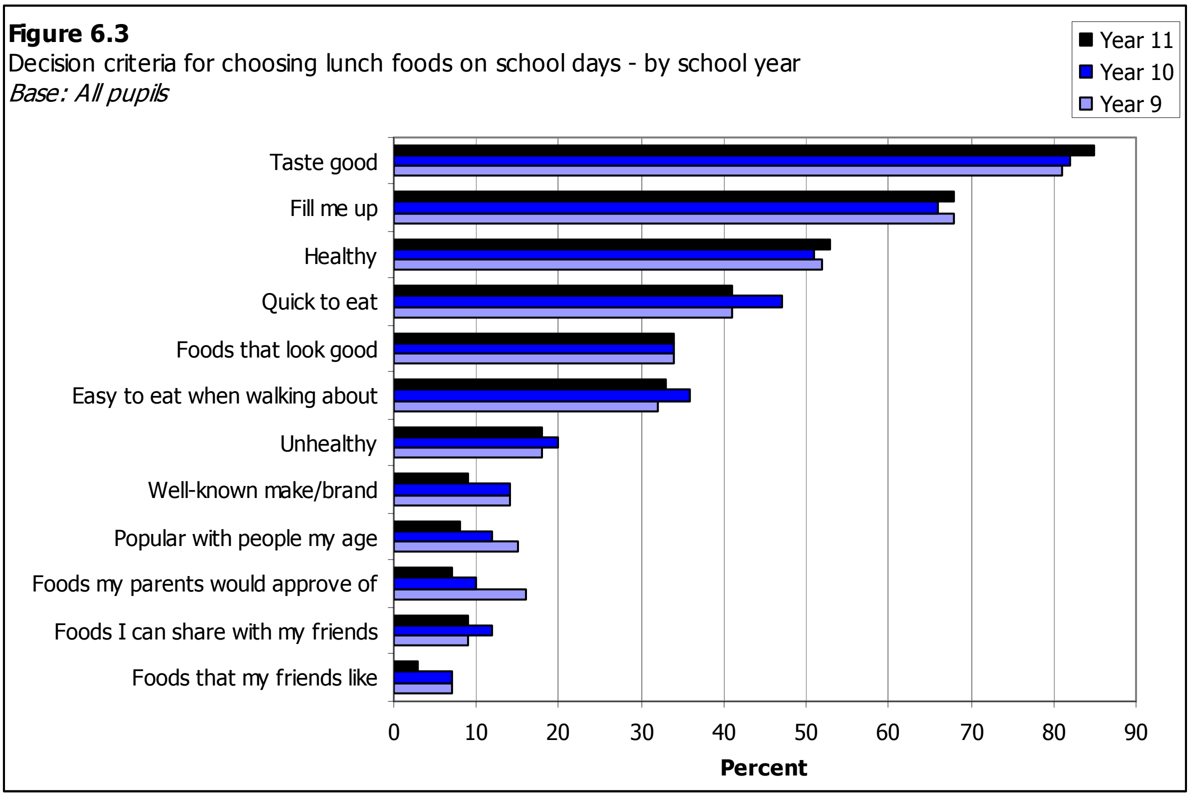
Girls were more likely than boys to want foods that are healthy (46% boys, 57% girls) and foods that look good (32% boys, 36% girls), while boys were more likely than girls to want a well-known make/brand (17% boys, 9% girls) and foods that are easy to eat when walking about (37% boys, 31% girls).

(Table 6.1, Figure 6.2)



Y9 pupils were more likely than Y10 and Y11 to want foods that their parents approve of. Similarly, Y9 pupils were more likely than Y11 pupils to want foods popular with their age group, foods their friends like and well-known make/brand.

(Table 6.1, Figure 6.3)



Decision criteria for lunch foods did not differ by ACORN classification.

(Table 6.1)

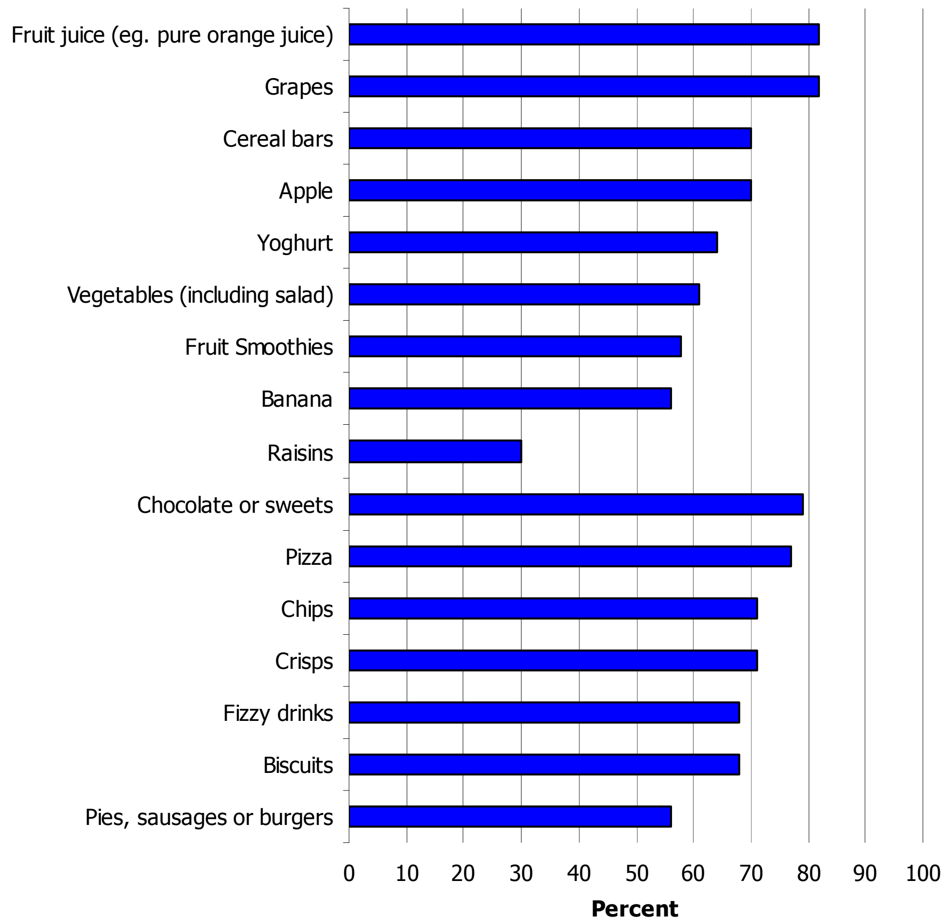
6.2.2 Appeal of Different Foods

Appeal of different foods was assessed by giving pupils a list of 16 foods, including non-HFSS and HFSS foods and asking them to rate the appeal of each, on a five point scale (very appealing (1), quite appealing (2), neither appealing nor unappealing (3), quite unappealing (4), very unappealing (5)).

Pupils indicated that a range of both HFSS and non-HFSS foods/drinks appeal to them. Encouragingly, the two most appealing were fruit juice (82%) and grapes (82%), while a smaller proportion indicated that fizzy drinks appeal (68%). Of the other fruits listed, apples were the most appealing (70%) while bananas appealed to just over half (56%) and raisins were less popular (30%). More than half (61%) indicated that vegetables were appealing.

(Table 6.2, Figure 6.4)

Figure 6.4
Appeal of different foods
Base: All pupils



Most, ranging from 58% to 70% found fruit smoothies, vegetables, yoghurt and cereal bars appealing. However, while many found these non-HFSS foods/drinks appealing, many also found the HFSS foods appealing too, with between 68% and 79% finding confectionery, pizza, crisps, chips, biscuits and fizzy drinks appealing. Pies, sausages and burgers appealed to just over half (56%).

(Table 6.2, Figure 6.4)

Appeal by demographic and lifestyle characteristics

Girls were more likely than boys to find many of the non-HFSS foods appealing including apples (67% boys, 73% girls), grapes (77% boys, 86% girls), fruit smoothies (54% boys, 61% girls) and vegetables (54% boys, 68% girls). Girls were also less likely than boys to find many of the HFSS foods appealing including fizzy drinks (77% boys, 61% girls) chips (73% boys, 68% girls), biscuits (73% boys, 65% girls), pizza (79% boys, 74% girls) and pies/sausages/burgers (70% boys, 46% girls).

(Table 6.2)

There was little difference in appeal of foods by school year or ACORN. Y11 pupils were less likely than Y9 pupils to find fizzy drinks appealing (70% Y9, 64% Y11). In comparison with pupils from areas categorised as ‘comfortably off’ those from ‘hard pressed’ areas were less likely to find fruit smoothies appealing (65% comfortably off, 51% hard pressed) and less likely to find confectionery appealing (83% comfortably off, 77% hard pressed).

(Table 6.2)

A composite score for appeal of non-HFSS items was derived from the average score for nine non-HFSS items (apple, banana, fruit juice, grapes, fruit smoothies, raisins, yoghurt, vegetables and cereal bars). These nine items formed a scale with a Cronbach’s Alpha = 0.759. The scores for each of the items were added together and the total was divided by nine (the number of items) to provide an overall average score for appeal of non-HFSS products.

In the same way a composite score for appeal of HFSS items was derived from the average score for seven HFSS items (fizzy drinks, crisps, confectionery, chips, biscuits, pizza and pies/sausages or burgers). The Cronbach’s Alpha for these items was 0.839. The scores for each of these items were added together and the total was divided by seven (the number of items) to provide an overall average score for appeal of unhealthy/less healthy.

A further variable was then computed to classify pupils into those for whom non-HFSS foods had a stronger appeal. Their average score for HFSS was deducted from their average score for non-HFSS. A negative score represented non-HFSS foods being more appealing and scores were recoded into a binary with code ‘1’ representing non-HFSS foods being more appealing.

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine any association between pupils’ demographic and lifestyle characteristics and their overall score for appeal of non-HFSS foods. Appeal of non-HFSS foods was stronger/more likely among girls, those who read in spare time, play sports or play music/musical instrument and was weaker/less likely among those who watched more television, meet friends in spare time or who had ever truanted.

(Table 6.2, Figure 6.5)

Figure 6.5
Multiple regression of appeal of non-HFSS foods

Dependent Variable: Overall appeal of *non-HFSS* ***foods score - (low score = more appealing)***

Adj R^2	=	0.035
$F_{11,1625}$	=	6.376
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	-0.095	<0.01
School Year	-	ns
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	-	ns
ACORN classification		
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	0.067	<0.01
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.057	<0.05
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.088	<0.01
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.079	<0.01
Average daily hours of TV viewing	0.102	<0.001
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-	ns
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-	ns
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	0.063	<0.05
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns

The regression was a poor fit, describing less than 4% of the variance in appeal of non-HFSS foods, but the overall relationship was statistically significant an the above table provides and indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

Appeal of HFSS foods was stronger/more likely among those who watch more television, who watch TV/videos/DVD's or email in spare time and was weaker/less likely among girls, those who play sports or play music/musical instrument in their spare time.

(Table 6.2, Figure 6.6)

Figure 6.6
Multiple regression of appeal of HFSS foods

Dependent Variable: Overall appeal of** HFSS **foods score - (low score = more appealing)

Adj R^2	=	0.063
$F_{10,1637}$	=	12.057
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	0.180	<0.001
School Year	-	ns
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	-	ns
ACORN classification	-	ns
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.095	<0.001
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.076	<0.01
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	0.064	<0.01
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	0.080	<0.01
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Average daily hours of TV viewing	-0.139	<0.001
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-	ns
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-	ns
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns

The regression was a poor fit, describing only 6% of the variance in appeal of HFSS foods, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

Pupils whose score for appeal of non-HFSS foods was stronger than their score for appeal of HFSS foods were categorised as having a stronger appeal for non-HFSS foods. Logistic regression analysis was run with the dependent variable being the dichotomised variable on having stronger appeal for healthy foods versus not.

Appeal of non-HFSS foods was stronger/more likely among girls, those who read in spare time, play sports or play music/musical instrument and was weaker/less likely among those who watched more television, meet friends in spare time or who had ever truanted.

Appeal by brand importance

Appeal of non-HFSS foods was greater among those who rated brands less important ($F_{14,1423} = 7.527$, $p<0.001$, Std $\boldsymbol{\beta} = 0.132$). Appeal of HFSS foods was also greater among those who rated brands less important ($F_{9,1438} = 13.630$, $p<0.001$, Std $\boldsymbol{\beta} = 0.132$). The likelihood of pupils considering non-HFSS foods to be more appealing than HFSS ones did not vary by overall brand importance.

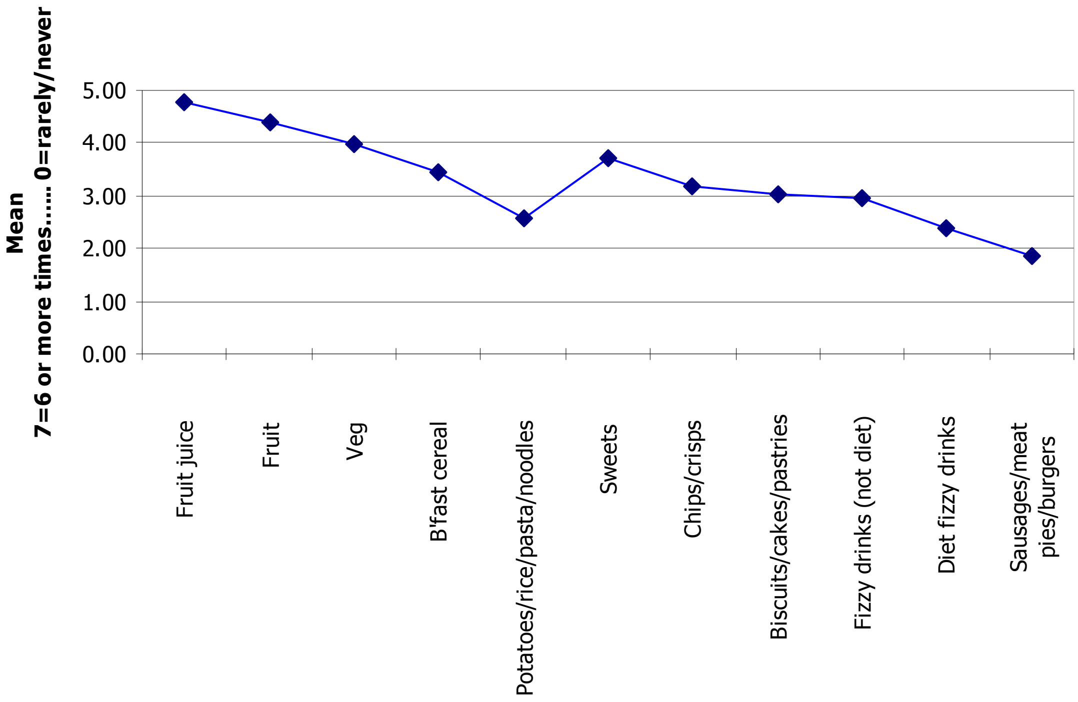
6.2.3 Frequency of Consuming Various Foods

Pupils were given a list of 11 different foods/drinks, including non-HFSS and HFSS ones and were asked to indicate how often, if at all, they consumed each. Responses were given on a four point scale and scored in a manner which would facilitate the calculation of the approximate average number of times per week that each food was consumed – rarely or never (0), once or twice a week (1.5), 3 to 5 times a week (4) and 6 or more times a week (7). A composite score was calculated separately for consumption of non-HFSS and HFSS foods. The score for non-HFSS consumption was calculated by adding the scores of four individual items (fruit juice, fruit, vegetables and potatoes/rice/pasta/noodles) and then dividing by four. The Cronbach's Alpha for these four items was 0.650. Similarly the overall score for HFSS consumption was computed by adding the scores of the five individual items (chips/crisps, sausages/meat pies/burgers, biscuits/cakes/pastries, confectionery, fizzy drinks (not diet)) and dividing by five. The Cronbach's Alpha for these five items was 0.803. Finally, a variable was computed to rate whether they ate healthily/healthier or less healthily/unhealthily. If their score for non-HFSS was greater than that for HFSS they were coded as 'healthier'. Logistic regression analysis was used to examine which demographic and lifestyle characteristics were associated with healthier consumption.

On average, fruit juice, fruit and vegetables were the most frequently consumed foods with pupils indicating an average frequency of four to five times per week. They indicated consuming breakfast cereals an average of three to four times per week and potatoes/rice/pasta/noodles two to three times per week. Among the HFSS foods/drinks, sweets were the most frequently consumed, on average three to four times a week. Chips/crisps, biscuit/cakes/pastries and non-diet fizzy drinks were consumed on average around three times per week, while diet fizzy drinks were consumed on average twice a week. Sausages/pies/burgers were the least frequently consumed, with an average of twice per week.

(Table 6.3, Figure 6.7)

Figure 6.7
Frequency consume different foods
Base: All pupils



Multiple regression analysis was used to examine any association between pupils' demographic and lifestyle characteristics and their score for frequency of consuming non-HFSS foods/drinks.

More frequent consumption of non-HFSS foods/drinks was associated with being a girl, playing music/musical instrument, playing sports, reading and having more vehicles in the household. Less frequent consumption of non-HFSS foods was associated with being from a 'hard pressed' area rather than a 'comfortably off' area, watching more television and having ever truanted.

(Table 6.3, Figure 6.8)

Figure 6.8
Multiple regression of frequency consume non-HFSS foods

Dependent Variable: Overall consumption score of *non-HFSS* ***foods - (low score = more frequent consumption of healthy/healthier foods)***

Adj R^2	=	0.084
$F_{11,1543}$	=	14.010
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	-0.088	<0.01
School Year	-	ns
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	-	ns
ACORN classification		
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	0.106	<0.05
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.099	<0.001
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.125	<0.001
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.118	<0.001
Average daily hours of TV viewing	0.125	<0.001
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-0.057	<0.05
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-	ns
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	0.082	<0.01
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns

The regression was a poor fit, describing only 8% of the variance in consumption of non-HFSS foods, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine any association between pupils' demographic and lifestyle characteristics and their score for frequency of consuming HFSS foods/drinks.

More frequent consumption of HFSS food was associated with watching more hours of television, emailing in spare time and having ever truanted or been excluded from school. Less frequent consumption of HFSS foods was linked with being a girl, playing music/musical instrument and having more vehicles in the household and living in a comfortably off area. Those in 'wealthy achievers/urban prosperity', 'moderate means' and 'hard pressed' areas had higher frequency of unhealthy/less healthy consumption compared with those from 'comfortably off' areas.

(Table 6.3, Figure 6.9)

Figure 6.9
Multiple regression of frequency consume HFSS foods

Dependent Variable: Overall consumption score of** HFSS **foods score - (low score = more frequent unhealthy/less healthy)

Adj R^2	=	0.147
$F_{12,1544}$	=	23.411
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	0.226	<0.001
School Year	-	ns
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	-	ns
ACORN classification		
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-0.068	<0.05
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-0.074	<0.01
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	-0.126	<0.001
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-0.124	<0.001
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.070	<0.01
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	0.067	<0.01
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Average daily hours of TV viewing	-0.219	<0.001
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	0.055	<0.05
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-	ns
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.087	<0.01
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	-0.090	<0.001

The regression was a poor fit, describing only 15% of the variance in consumption of HFSS foods, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

Frequency of consuming** non-HFSS **and** HFSS **foods/drinks by brand importance

The frequency of consuming HFSS foods was lower among those who attributed less importance to brands ($F_{10,1371} = 7.527$, $p<0.001$, Std **β** = 0.150). The frequency of consuming non-HFSS foods did not vary by brand importance score. Logistic regression analysis found no association between brand importance score and those classed as healthier consumption.

6.2.4 Views on Healthy Eating and the Healthiness of Their Own Diet

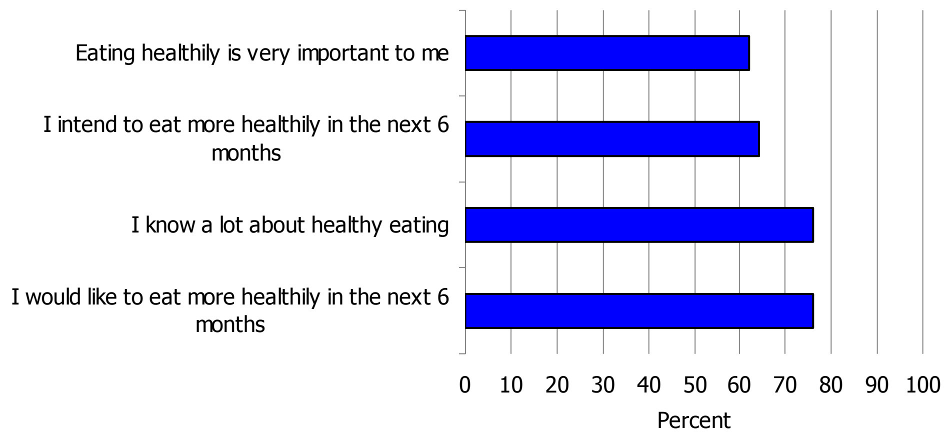
Views on healthy eating

Pupils' views on healthy eating were assessed using four statements to which they were asked to respond on a five point scale (agree strongly (1), agree (2), neither agree nor disagree (3), disagree (4), disagree strongly (5)).

Most pupils indicated being knowledgeable about healthy eating (76%) and having a desire to eat more healthily in the next six months (76%). However, intention to eat more healthily in the next six months was slightly lower, at 64%. Most agreed that healthy eating is very important to them (62%).

(Table 6.4, Figure 6.10)

Figure 6.10
Views on healthy eating
Base: All pupils



Views on healthy eating by demographic and lifestyle characteristics

A composite score for views on healthy eating was derived from the average score of the four items. These four items had a Cronbach's Alpha = 0.812. The scores for each of these items were added together and the total was divided by four (the number of items) to provide an overall average score for views on healthy eating.

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine any association between pupils' demographic and lifestyle characteristics and their views on healthy eating.

Girls, those who played sports, or read in their spare time and those having their own bedroom were more positive about healthy eating, while watching more television and having truanted were associated with more negative views about healthy eating.

(Table 6.4, Figure 6.11)

Figure 6.11
Multiple regression of overall views on healthy eating score

Dependent Variable: Overall score on views of healthy eating - (low score = +ve about healthy eating)

Adj R^2	=	0.061
$F_{11,1656}$	=	10.863
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	-0.143	<0.001
School Year	-	ns
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	-	ns
ACORN classification		
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-.123	<0.001
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-.083	<0.01
Average daily hours of TV viewing	-.130	<0.001
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-	ns
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-.051	<0.05
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-	ns
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	.078	<0.01
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns

The regression was a poor fit, describing only 6% of the variance in views on healthy eating, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

Views on healthy eating by brand importance

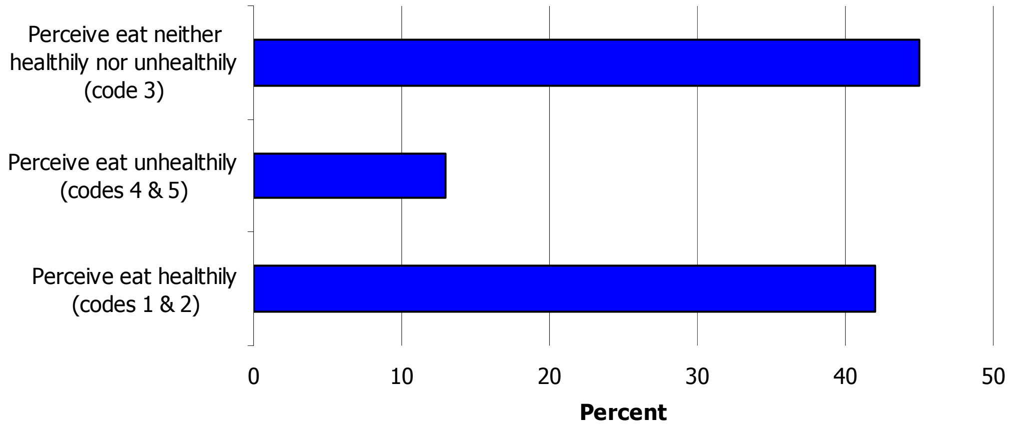
Multiple regression analysis was again used to examine any association between pupils' overall views on healthy eating score and their rating of brand importance while controlling for the demographic and lifestyle characteristics previously controlled for. There was no association between pupils' rating of brand importance and their views on healthy eating.

Perceptions of the healthiness of their diet

Pupils were asked to describe, using a five point scale whether they 'eat healthily (1)' or 'eat unhealthily (5)'. The most frequent response given was code 3, indicating that pupils perceived that they neither eat healthily nor unhealthily (45%). Almost as many indicated that they 'eat healthily' (42%) while a minority perceived that they 'eat unhealthily' (13%).

(Table 6.5, Figure 6.12)

Figure 6.12
Perceptions of healthiness of diet
Base: All pupils



Perceptions of the healthiness of their diet by demographic and lifestyle characteristics

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine any association between pupils' demographic and lifestyle characteristics and their perceptions of the healthiness of their diet.

Perceptions of a healthier diet were associated with playing sport, playing music/musical instrument and having more vehicles in the household, whilst perceptions of a less healthy/unhealthy diet were associated with being white (v other ethnic background) increased television viewing, ever truanted, ever excluded, and being from a 'moderate means' or 'hard pressed' area as opposed to 'comfortably off' area. There were no gender differences in perceptions of the healthiness of their diet.

(Table 6.5, Figure 6.13)

Figure 6.13
Multiple regression of overall views perception of healthiness of diet

Dependent Variable: Overall score on perceived healthiness of diet - (low score = perceive diet to be healthier)

Adj R^2	=	0.084
$F_{11,1651}$	=	14.847
P	<	0.001

Independent Variables:	**Standardised β**	**P**
(Constant)		<0.001
Gender (Boy=1, Girl=2)	-	ns
School Year	-	ns
Ethnicity (White=1, Other=0)	.054	<0.05
ACORN classification		
Wealthy Achievers/Urban Prosperity v Comfortably Off	-	ns
Moderate Means v Comfortably Off	.058	<0.05
Hard Pressed v Comfortably Off	.063	<0.05
Acorn missing or not classified v Comfortably Off	.069	<0.05
Like to meet friends in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to watch TV or videos/DVD's in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to Email in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Like to play music/musical instrument/make music in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-.050	<0.05
Like to play sports in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-.124	<0.001
Like to read books, magazines and comics in spare time (1=yes, 0=not)	-.083	<0.01
Average daily hours of TV viewing	.192	<0.001
Number of vehicles that family own (0, 1, 2 or more)	-.050	<0.05
Whether have own bedroom for self (1=yes, 0=not)	-	ns
Whether get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals (1=yes, 0 = not)	-	ns
Whether ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted) (1=yes, 0=not)	.071	<0.01
Whether ever been excluded from school (1=yes, 0=not)	.065	<0.01

The regression was a poor fit, describing only 8% of the variance in perceived healthiness of their diet, but the overall relationship was statistically significant and the above table provides an indication of differences by demographic and lifestyle variables.

Perceptions of the healthiness of their diet by brand importance

Multiple regression analysis was again used to examine any association between pupils' perception of the healthiness of their diet and their rating of brand importance, while controlling for the demographic and lifestyle characteristics previously controlled for. There was no association between pupils' rating of brand importance and their perceptions of the healthiness of their diet.

6.2.5 Summary

Overall, pupils seemed to indicate that they look for functional aspects of the food – taste and filling being the priority properties. Encouragingly, many saw themselves wanting foods that are healthy, though a minority looked for unhealthy foods. A substantial minority (43%) looked for foods that would fit in with their lifestyle and other activities by being quick to eat and possible to consume when on the move. Around a third perceived aesthetic qualities to be important. Marketing and social influences did not appear to be strong, at a conscious level at least, with few stating that they choose well-known make/brand (12%) or foods popular with friends (12%). Girls were more likely than boys to indicate that they look for healthy foods while boys are more likely than girls to want foods that fit into their lifestyle and can be consumed on the move.

A range of non-HFSS and HFSS foods appealed to the pupils and, encouragingly, the two most appealing foods on the list were fruit juice (82%) and grapes (82%). However, the HFSS foods also hold appeal. Girls were more likely than boys to find non-HFSS foods appealing and similarly less likely than boys to find HFSS foods appealing. Lifestyle characteristics that were associated with appeal of non-HFSS foods included reading, playing sport or playing music/musical instrument, while watching television, meeting friends in spare time and having truanted were associated with less likelihood of non-HFSS foods appealing. Appeal did not differ by ACORN category suggesting that there is no difference in appeal by affluence/deprivation.

Healthier consumption was associated with being a girl, playing music/musical instrument, playing sport, reading and coming from a ‘comfortably off’ area.

Less healthy consumption was associated with being a boy, being more deprived or coming from a ‘wealthy achievers/urban prosperity’ area, watching television and having truanted or been excluded from school.

Most pupils displayed an interest in and acknowledgement of the importance of healthy eating. Girls, those who play sport or read in their spare time, and have their own bedroom were more positive in their views about healthy eating. Watching TV and having truanted were associated with more negative views about healthy eating. Views about healthy eating did not differ by ACORN.

Overall, in terms of appeal, consumption and views about non-HFSS foods/eating these tended to be positively associated with being a girl, reading, playing sport and playing music/musical instrument while they were negatively associated with watching television, meeting friends in spare time and having truanted.

Lower brand importance was associated with less frequent consumption of HFSS foods and greater appeal of non-HFSS foods but also greater appeal of HFSS foods.

Tables

Table 6.1

Decision criteria for lunch foods on school days, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

Pupils look for and want most foods that:	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
	Total	Boy	Girl	Year 9[1]	Year 10	Year 11	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity	Comfortably Off[2]	Moderate Means	Hard Pressed	Unclassified
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Taste good	83	83	82	81	82	85	87	85	84	81	78
Fill me up	67	68	67	68	66	68	71	68	65	69	63
Healthy	52	46	57***	52	51	53	54	54	55	51	47
Quick to eat	43	44	42	41	47	41	43	44	41	42	45
Foods that look good	34	32	36*	34	34	34	30	35	35	37	32
Easy to eat when walking about	34	37	31***	32	36	33	34	38	33	30	33
Unhealthy	18	21	17	18	20	18	20	15	19	19	21
Well-known make/brand	12	17	9***	14	14	9*	11	14	12	12	13
Popular with people my age	12	12	11	15	12	8***	9	10	13	11	15
Foods my parents would approve of	11	11	12	16	10*	7***	9	14	12	12	9
Foods I can share with my friends	10	8	11	9	12	9	10	9	12	10	10
Foods that my friends like	6	5	6	7	7	3***	5	4	6	5	9
None of these	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	2
Don't know	3	2	3	3	3	1	2	3	1	2	4
Bases											
Total	*1755*	*761*	*986*	*624*	*583*	*544*	*290*	*399*	*282*	*446*	*338*

* P<0.05
** p<0.01
*** P<0.001
Significant differences identified from
Logistic regressions controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: Y10 and Y11 compared against Y9. ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'
1 Reference category for school year comparisons
2 Reference category for ACORN comparisons

Table 6.2

Appeal of various foods, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
% considering 'very' or 'quite appealing'	Total	Boy	Girl	Year 9[1]	Year 10	Year 11	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity	Comfortably Off[2]	Moderate Means	Hard Pressed	Unclassified
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Grapes	82	77	86***	81	84	81	83	83	83	82	79
Fruit juice (eg. pure orange juice)	82	80	83	83	80	82	83	84	82	81	80
Apple	70	67	73**	69	71	72	69	72	70	72	68
Cereal bars	70	67	72	72	69	67	72	67	68	74	66
Yoghurt	64	63	64	67	61	62	66	65	61	64	61
Vegetables (including salad)	61	54	68***	62	62	60	58	66	59	64	58
Fruit Smoothies	58	54	61***	61	55	59	60	65	60	51***	57
Banana	56	58	55	56	55	57	54	59	56	58	51
Raisins	30	31	29	32	29	28	31	29	25	31	32
Chocolate or sweets	79	78	80	77	79	81	83	83	79	77*	74**
Pizza	77	79	74***	76	76	78	76	81	75	74	76
Crisps	71	73	69	70	73	70	69	73	72	73	68
Chips	71	73	68***	70	70	72	72	72	70	69	71
Biscuits	68	73	65**	68	68	68	72	71	64	66	68
Fizzy drinks	68	77	61***	70	69	64***	68	68	66	69	68
Pies, sausages or burgers	56	70	46***	58	56	55	55	56	53	58	61
Appeal Non-HFSS foods Score (low score = appealing) #											
Mean	2.32	2.37	2.28**	2.29	2.35	2.32	2.32	2.29	2.35	2.32	2.36
(Std Dev)	(.67)	(.70)	(.65)	(.72)	(.65)	(.64)	(.59)	(.59)	(.72)	(.69)	(.76)
Appeal HFSS foods Score (low score = appealing) #											
Mean	2.11	1.98	2.20***	2.08	2.11	2.13	2.12	2.10	2.14	2.11	2.07
(Std Dev)	(.74)	(.73)	(.74)	(.76)	(.77)	(.70)	(.75)	(.72)	(.70)	(.78)	(.75)
Bases											
Total	*1748*	*758*	*982*	*621*	*581*	*542*	*290*	*399*	*282*	*443*	*334*

* P<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** P<0.001
Significant differences identified from Logistic regressions controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: Y10 and Y11 compared against Y9. ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'
1 Reference category for school year comparisons
2 Reference category for ACORN comparisons
Multiple regression controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'

Table 6.3

Frequency of consuming various foods, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
How often eat:	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9[1] %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off[2] %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
Breakfast cereal											
Rarely or never (0)	25	19	30	22	27	28	22	23	27	26	28
Once or twice a week (1.5)	19	16	21	18	18	21	21	17	17	22	18
3 to 5 times a week (4)	25	25	26	28	25	23	27	26	25	25	23
6 or more times a week (7)	31	40	23	33	30	29	30	34	30	27	31
Boiled or baked potatoes, rice, pasta or noodles											
Rarely or never (0)	15	17	14	20	14	11	11	10	16	20	19
Once or twice a week (1.5)	43	42	43	43	44	41	42	45	39	46	39
3 to 5 times a week (4)	33	32	35	29	34	37	37	36	35	28	32
6 or more times a week (7)	8	9	8	8	8	10	10	9	10	5	9
Chips or crisps											
Rarely or never (0)	14	12	16	15	13	13	16	19	11	11	13
Once or twice a week (1.5)	33	31	35	34	31	35	37	37	30	33	29
3 to 5 times a week (4)	34	34	33	31	36	34	29	29	39	36	35
6 or more times a week (7)	19	24	16	20	20	18	17	16	19	21	23

Table 6.3 Continued

Frequency of consuming various foods, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

How often eat:	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
	Total	Boy	Girl	Year 9[1]	Year 10	Year 11	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity	Comfortably Off[2]	Moderate Means	Hard Pressed	Unclassified
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sausages, meat pies or burgers											
Rarely or never (0)	35	22	45	33	36	36	37	41	35	33	28
Once or twice a week (1.5)	40	44	37	41	41	39	41	41	41	39	40
3 to 5 times a week (4)	17	20	14	18	16	17	16	12	17	19	20
6 or more times a week (7)	8	14	4	9	8	9	6	6	7	9	12
Biscuits, cakes or pastries											
Rarely or never (0)	17	12	20	17	18	15	18	18	17	17	13
Once or twice a week (1.5)	34	32	35	37	31	33	35	35	33	34	31
3 to 5 times a week (4)	32	32	31	29	33	33	28	33	31	32	34
6 or more times a week (7)	18	24	13	17	17	19	19	14	19	17	22
Sweets (candy or chocolate)											
Rarely or never (0)	10	9	11	9	11	10	12	12	9	9	8
Once or twice a week (1.5)	28	28	29	29	26	30	28	31	26	28	29
3 to 5 times a week (4)	35	33	36	36	34	33	33	36	35	35	32
6 or more times a week (7)	27	31	24	27	28	26	26	21	29	28	31

Table 6.3 Continued

Frequency of consuming various foods, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
How often eat:	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9[1] %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off[2] %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
Vegetables											
Rarely or never (0)	11	12	10	11	11	10	9	8	12	13	12
Once or twice a week (1.5)	20	18	22	19	21	21	20	17	20	23	21
3 to 5 times a week (4)	38	42	36	38	40	36	37	39	35	41	38
6 or more times a week (7)	31	28	33	32	28	33	34	36	32	24	29
Fruit											
Rarely or never (0)	7	9	6	7	7	9	7	5	8	7	10
Once or twice a week (1.5)	20	19	20	17	21	21	19	17	20	20	23
3 to 5 times a week (4)	34	38	32	35	37	31	32	35	32	39	31
6 or more times a week (7)	39	34	42	41	36	39	42	43	39	34	37
Fizzy drinks (not diet)											
Rarely or never (0)	28	18	36	27	26	31	30	35	29	24	22
Once or twice a week (1.5)	25	24	25	24	25	25	28	27	23	21	25
3 to 5 times a week (4)	24	26	22	26	25	20	25	22	20	26	24
6 or more times a week (7)	24	32	17	24	23	24	17	16	27	29	29

Table 6.3 Continued

Frequency of consuming various foods, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
How often eat:	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9[1] %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off[2] %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
Diet fizzy drinks											
Rarely or never (0)	36	34	37	33	35	39	38	39	34	34	33
Once or twice a week (1.5)	26	25	27	24	25	29	31	25	28	24	23
3 to 5 times a week (4)	24	23	24	24	27	20	21	24	23	25	24
6 or more times a week (7)	15	18	13	18	14	12	10	12	14	17	21
Fruit juice (eg. orange juice)											
Rarely or never (0)	8	8	8	9	8	6	6	5	9	10	8
Once or twice a week (1.5)	15	16	14	12	18	15	13	16	15	16	14
3 to 5 times a week (4)	29	30	29	26	33	30	31	28	28	32	29
6 or more times a week (7)	48	47	49	53	42	48	51	51	48	43	49
Overall Consume non-HFSS **Foods Score (low score = more frequent** non-HFSS **foods) #**											
Mean	2.12	2.17	2.09**	2.12	2.16	2.09	2.07	2.02	2.12	2.23*	2.15
(Std Dev)	(.64)	(.64)	(.63)	(.65)	(.62)	(.66)	(.63)	(.59)	(.67)	(.63)	(.67)
Overall Consume HFSS **Foods Score (low score = more frequent** HFSS **foods) #**											
Mean	2.54	2.36	2.68***	2.53	2.53	2.56	2.62*	2.09	2.52**	2.47***	2.40***
(Std Dev)	(.73)	(.74)	(.69)	(.74)	(.73)	(.73)	(.71)	(.71)	(.73)	(.71)	(.76)
Bases											
Total	*1743*	*755*	*980*	*622*	*576*	*541*	*290*	*398*	*282*	*446*	*327*

* P<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** P<0.001, Significant differences identified from multiple regression controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'

Table 6.4

Views on healthy eating, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

	Total	**Gender**		**School Year**			**ACORN Classification**				
% Agree/Agree Strongly	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9[1] %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off[2] %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
I would like to eat more healthily in the next 6 months	76	69	82	76	77	76	73	80	78	79	70
I know a lot about healthy eating	76	75	76	77	77	73	78	82	72	75	70
I intend to eat more healthily in the next 6 months	64	58	68	67	63	60	64	67	59	65	61
Eating healthily is very important to me	62	59	64	65	60	61	64	64	61	62	61
Overall Views on Healthy Eating Score (low score = positive about healthy eating) #											
Mean	2.10	2.20	2.03***	2.05	2.14	2.13	2.10	2.02	2.13	2.09	2.20
(Std Dev)	(.76)	(.81)	(.70)	(.75)	(.73)	(.78)	(.72)	(.70)	(.84)	(.68)	(.85)
Bases											
Total	*1727*	*741*	*978*	*613*	*573*	*537*	*289*	*397*	*280*	*441*	*320*

* P<0.05
** p<0.01
*** P<0.001
Significant differences identified from
Logistic regressions controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: Y10 and Y11 compared against Y9. ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'
1 Reference category for school year comparisons
2 Reference category for ACORN comparisons

Multiple regression controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'

Table 6.5

Perceptions of the healthiness of their diet, by gender, school year and ACORN classification

All pupils

Perceived healthiness of diet	Total	Gender		School Year			ACORN Classification				
	Total %	Boy %	Girl %	Year 9[1] %	Year 10 %	Year 11 %	Wealthy Achievers/ Urban Prosperity %	Comfortably Off[2] %	Moderate Means %	Hard Pressed %	Unclassified %
Perceive eat healthily (codes 1 & 2)	42	42	41	43	40	42	54	50	36	35	35
Perceive eat unhealthily (codes 4 & 5)	13	15	12	12	12	17	11	10	16	15	16
Perceive eat neither healthily nor unhealthily (code 3)	45	43	46	45	47	42	36	40	48	50	49
Mean	2.69	2.68	2.69	2.64	2.69	2.73	2.54	2.56	2.78*	2.76*	2.79
(Std Dev)	(.85)	(.90)	(.82)	(.85)	(.82)	(.89)	(.81)	(.82)	(.88)	(.84)	(.89)
Bases											
Total	*1717*	*736*	*973*	*608*	*571*	*534*	*289*	*395*	*280*	*438*	*315*

* P<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** P<0.001, Significant differences identified from multiple regression controlling for gender, school year, ACORN and lifestyle characteristics. School year: ACORN: each category compared against 'comfortably off'

7.0 CONTRIBUTION TO CONSORTIUM THEMES

This study addresses two of the consortium's themes in its first phase of work, obesity and health inequalities. It has also addressed a key theme raised in the Choosing Health white paper: food marketing and its contribution to the obesogenic environment. We have explored the multi-faceted ways in which young people engage with food brands, and the influence of food brand attributes in their food purchase and consumption decisions. We have also examined differences in brand engagement by various socio-demographic and lifestyle characteristics including gender, lifestyle activities, ACORN classification, and truancy and exclusion from school.

Since the study started, a second PHRC study was funded in the same area, the North East of England, examining the implementation and impact of recent school food policy. The two studies can be seen as complementary in their exploration of how young people feel about the food they purchase at school during the school day, and the role that branding concerns play in this. There is potential for both studies to complement each other.

8.0 CONCLUSIONS / CONSIDERATIONS

The appeal of food brands

Our study suggests that food brands play a modest but important role in shaping young people's preferences and consumption. Their food selection is informed partly by concerns about reputation and image – both the brand's image and their own – and by the need to avoid peer disapproval. Well-known brands – particularly premium brands such as Coca Cola, McDonalds, Cadbury and Walkers – help address these concerns and needs.

The influence of branding on food choices is concerning because the most heavily marketed brands tend to be for products high in fat, salt and sugar: fast food restaurants, fizzy drinks, salty snacks, confectionery and sugared breakfast cereals (Hastings et al 2003). Although our study suggests, encouragingly, that some non-HFSS brands do appeal to young people, such brands generally do not have the prominence and ubiquity of HFSS brands. Branding can be seen therefore as one of the key factors in the obesogenic environment.

The role of emotions in food choices

Our study highlights the importance of emotion in consumption behaviours generally and in food choice in particular. It illustrates how consumers rarely make consumption decisions solely on what public health experts might consider rational grounds – such as knowledge of whether a particular product is good for them – but are instead motivated by 'irrational' factors such as whether a particular brand will be good for their image or protect against social embarrassment (eg. Dammler et al 2005). The temptation may be to regard such concerns as irrational, but in the context of young people's lives, protecting one's image and social standing is of crucial importance (eg. Croghan et al 2006). Making consumption decisions partly on this basis can, in some ways, be seen as a rational response to the commercial and social pressures which shape young people's lives.

There is potential learning here for public health efforts to influence behaviour. Interventions and policy responses need to understand the important role that emotion plays in health decision making, and to acknowledge that there are good – even rational – reasons why consumers look for emotional and symbolic benefits from the decisions they make. Reaching this understanding means challenging the 'expert knows best' mindset which assumes that people will act appropriately if simply given enough knowledge and skills.

The stigma of economy brands

Our study shows that considerable stigma attaches to having cheap economy brands, not only for products such as clothing but also for food and drink. Furthermore, the stigma appears to be more acutely felt by young people from disadvantaged backgrounds. The notion that poorer young people attach importance to branded goods as a way of avoiding disparagement for their poverty has been supported by other research (eg. Croghan et al 2006). For example, Archer et al (2007) suggest that, for urban working class young people, consumption of particular brands is a way of generating value and worth, and of drawing hierarchical boundaries between one group and another, such that wearing the wrong brand items represents a denigrated 'poor' identity. Young people's ability to distance themselves from a disparaged poor image relies on being able to distance themselves from others below them, often on the basis of small differences (such as brand choices). Our study found a similar phenomenon in relation to the consumption of economy food brands, which were associated with ridicule and stigma.

This finding potentially has important implications for health inequalities in diet. We need to understand more about the stigma attached to value food brands: for example, is this felt by adults to the same extent as by children? What form does it take in low income household? There are important nutritional and inequalities implications if the stigma attached to economy brands translates into pressure to buy costlier premium brands in preference to equally good (from a nutritional point of view) value alternatives.

Improving the 'healthy eating brand'

Our study shows that there are both problems and potential in the wider 'healthy eating brand'. Young people's interpretations of and engagement with the concept of 'healthy eating' are mixed and somewhat ambivalent: in some respects they find the concept appealing and aspirational, but in others they regard it as dull and socially risky, a preoccupation of 'geeks' and people not like them. There is a clear challenge for public health experts to position healthy eating as an unequivocally positive, desirable and appealing notion.

There are similar problems in the healthy eating brand as presented in the context of school meals. Overall, it appeared that while young people understood the reasons for the reform of school food, they felt the change had been imposed upon them. Their experiences suggested that the healthy eating 'brand' as it was presented to them at school did not deliver on the aspects that were important to them – taste, quality, value for money and choice. In other words, the healthy eating brand promises more than it delivers, and this potentially undermines the school food brand and the wider concept of health.

Harnessing the potential of marketing

Overall, our study shows that non-HFSS brands tend to evoke less animated responses than do HFSS brands. Generally, they do not interest and engage with young people to the same extent as brands such as Coca Cola, Cadbury, McDonalds and Walkers.

However, there are exceptions to this. Some non-HFSS brands in our study did seem to have strong appeal to young people. These were notably snack and drinks brands, such as yoghurts, cereal bars and bottled waters. Part of the appeal of these products may derive from their snacklike attributes – convenience, portability, attractive packaging. It seems that increased exposure to and experience of products such as bottled water as a result of changes to school food may have contributed to their popularity.

Another part of their appeal seems to be their advertising. The fact that advertising for some non-HFSS brands captures young people's attention is encouraging. Food advertising has been shown generally to have an influence on preferences and consumption – the more advertising to which young people are exposed, the more likely they are to choose advertised products (Hastings et al 2003). This effect has been found not only for advertising of HFSS products and brands but also for non-HFSS brands, suggesting that advertising can also influence food choices in a positive direction. Having advertising which young people find interesting, funny and engaging may be an important first step in encouraging them to develop relationships with non-HFSS food brands.

All of these findings point strongly to the importance of harnessing marketing in support of healthier eating. This potential has been vividly illustrated by Robinson et al's (2007) experimental study which found that children preferred the taste of carrots and milk if they thought they were from McDonald's. Robinson conclude that there is clear potential in “marketing in general, and branding in particular, as strategies to promote more healthful taste preferences and food and beverage choices in young children. This is an opportunity for heavily marketed brands to respond to rising rates of childhood obesity by changing their product offerings”. Our study similarly shows that marketers and retailers should be encouraged to direct their skills at communicating with and engaging young people towards the promotion of healthy brands.

Regulation of food marketing

The marketing of food to children has been subject to increasing control in recent years in response to concern about children’s diet and rising levels of obesity. From September 2006, foods high in fat, salt or sugar were banned from meals and vending machines in English schools. In addition, Ofcom, the independent regulator and competition authority for the communications industries in the UK, announced a ban on television advertising of products high in fat, salt and sugar (based on nutrient profiling) to children under the age of 16. This move was partly in response to evidence showing that food promotion does have an effect, mostly deleterious, on children’s diet (Hastings et al 2003).

Restrictions on food and drink advertising to under-16-year-olds were widened to cover non-broadcast media from 1st July 2007 under Committee for Advertising Practice (CAP) rules. These covered all food and drink products except fresh fruit and vegetables and extended to advertising restrictions to media such as magazines, paid-for ad space on the internet, newspapers and billboards and cinema. The CAP advertising restrictions state that products should not "condone or encourage poor nutritional habits or an unhealthy lifestyle in children".

Branding is a particularly difficult element of marketing to control and regulate, because it encompasses more than simply the visual identity of a product; as this study and other research shows, brands are partly created by and ‘reside in consumer’s minds’ (de Chernatony 2001). In tobacco control, part of the rationale for making prominent health warnings mandatory on cigarette packaging is to disrupt the iconic appeal of the brand as manifested in the packet. Even then, however, cigarette brands continue to convey powerful meanings to consumers. It is not clear whether any similar measure would be appropriate or feasible in relation to ‘problem’ foods. There are many issues and challenges, including the far wider diversity of products and packaging types compared with tobacco. Future research could potentially investigate the feasibility and likely impact of measures to ‘disrupt’ food branding, such as prominent health warnings on high fat or salt products.

9.0 DISSEMINATION / OUTPUTS

Results will be disseminated through various networks including those of marketing and health promotion. The Institute for Social Marketing has national and international links and is involved in health and policy issues at local, regional, national and international levels. The results will be disseminated at international level through networks including the World Health Organization and at national level through academic channels and networks including Sustain. Three main audiences will be targeted for dissemination: academics, policymakers, and the lay community. A written report will be produced providing details of the project background and methodology, together with findings from all stages of the research. Electronic summaries of the findings, and their policy and practice relevance, can be made available through consortium-level communication channels including both the PHRC website and dissemination to policy and practice communities led by CRD and YHPHO. The research team will also seek to produce peer-reviewed journal articles and conference papers in both public health and marketing outlets. In addition, a report will be prepared for the schools involved, specifically aimed at enhancing the schools health knowledge and providing them with ideas for possible healthy school initiatives.

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APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

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Food Choices Survey: 2007

What it's about

This study is looking at the foods that young people eat and why they choose them. We would like to learn about the types of foods that you eat on school days and about the things that help you decide which foods you have. Please read the questions carefully and do your best to answer each one. There are no right or wrong answers. It is your views that we are interested in.

How to answer

A. Most of the questions can be answered by putting a tick in the box next to the answer that applies to you. You are sometimes told to skip over some questions in this survey. When this happens, you will see an arrow with a note that tells you what question to answer next, like this:

<u>Example</u>

Q3 Did you travel by bus this morning?

Yes ☑ 1 ➔ **Q4**

No ☐ 2 ➔ **Q5**

B. Or sometimes you have to tick a box, to show which of two statements is closest to what you think. The closer the box is to a statement the more strongly you agree with it.

<u>Example</u>

I like travelling by bus ☐ ☑ ☐ ☐ ☐ I don't like travelling by bus

SECTION 1 – Background

Q1 Are you a boy or a girl?
(Tick one box only)

1013

Boy ☐ 1
Girl ☐ 2

Q2 What year are you in now?
(Tick one box only)

1014

Year 7 ☐ 1
Year 8 ☐ 2
Year 9 ☐ 3
Year 10 ☐ 4
Year 11 ☐ 5

Q3 How old are you now?
(Tick one box only)

1015

10 years old ☐ 1
11 years old ☐ 2
12 years old ☐ 3
13 years old ☐ 4
14 years old ☐ 5
15 years old ☐ 6
16 years old ☐ 7

Q4 To which of these groups do you belong?
(Tick one box only)

1016

White ☐ 1
Mixed ☐ 2
Asian or Asian British ☐ 3
Black or Black British ☐ 4
Chinese ☐ 5
Other ☐ 6

Q5 Which of the following do you like to do in your spare time?

(Tick all that apply) 1017

Listen to music ☐ 1 1021
Meet friends ☐ 2
Watch TV or videos/DVDs ☐ 3
Surf the web (internet/www) ☐ 4
Email ☐ 5
Play music/musical instrument/make music ☐ 6
Play sports ☐ 7 1021
Go shopping ☐ 8
Read books, magazines and comics ☐ 9
Play computer games ☐ 0

Q6 On **weekdays**, how many hours a day do you usually spend watching TV?

(Tick one box only) 1018

None ☐ 1 1021
Less than an hour ☐ 2
1-3 hours ☐ 3
4-6 hours ☐ 4
7 hours or more ☐ 5

Q7 At **weekends**, how many **hours a day** do you usually spend watching TV?

(Tick one box only) 1019

None ☐ 1 1021
Less than an hour ☐ 2
1-3 hours ☐ 3
4-6 hours ☐ 4
7 hours or more ☐ 5

SECTION 2 – Products and Brands

Q8 Thinking about products in general, not just foods, how much do you like or dislike each of these?

(Please tick one box on each row)

	1 **Like a lot**	2 **Like a little**	3 **Neither Like nor Dislike**	4 **Dislike a little**	5 **Dislike a lot**	
Getting free samples of products	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1025
Getting free gifts along with something you buy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1026
Being given free gifts which have a brand logo on them	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1027
Special price offers on products	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1028
Getting letters from companies telling you about their products	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1029

Q9 When people are buying products they sometimes have a choice of different makes or brands. To give you an example, here is a list of different makes/brands of toothpaste. Which, if any, of these have you heard of before?

(Please tick all that apply)

1031

- Aquafresh ☐ 1
- Colgate ☐ 2
- Crest ☐ 3
- Macleans ☐ 4
- Sensodyne ☐ 5
- Signal ☐ 6
- None of these ☐ 7
- Don’t Know ☐ 8

Q10 Do you ever wear trainers?

(Tick one box only)

1035

Yes ☐ 1 ➔ **Q11**

No ☐ 2 ➔ **Q12**

Q11 How much do you agree or disagree that……..?

(Please tick one box on each row)

	1 **Agree strongly**	2 **Agree a little**	3 **Neither Agree nor Disagree**	4 **Disagree a little**	5 **Disagree strongly**	
I usually choose a well-known make/brand of trainers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1036
Shop's own-label trainers (eg. Asda's, Tesco's) are usually poor quality	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1037
All makes/brands of trainers are about the same	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1038
I know what makes/brands of trainers to buy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1039
I know a lot about different makes/brands of trainers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1040

Q12 Do you ever eat crisps?

(Tick one box only)

1041

Yes	☐	1	➔ **Q13**
No	☐	2	➔ **Q14**

Q13 How much do you agree or disagree that……..?

(Please tick one box on each row)

	1 **Agree strongly**	2 **Agree a little**	3 **Neither Agree nor Disagree**	4 **Disagree a little**	5 **Disagree strongly**	
I usually choose a well-known make/brand of crisps	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1042
Shops' own-label crisps (eg. Asda's or Tesco's own make) are usually poor quality	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1043
All makes/brands of crisps are about the same	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1044
I know what makes/brands of crisps to buy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1045
I know a lot about different makes/brands of crisps	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1046

Q14 How important, if at all, do you think it is for people to choose a well-known make/brand of …..?

(Please tick one box on each row)

	1 **Very Important**	2 **Fairly Important**	3 **Not Very Important**	4 **Not at all Important**	5 **Don't know**	
Crisps	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1047
Sportswear	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1048
Trainers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1049
Fizzy drinks	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1050
Chocolate or sweets	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1051
Breakfast Cereals (eg. Corn Flakes)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1052
Toothpaste	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1053
Fruit juice	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1054
Bananas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1055
Yoghurt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1056
Mobile phones	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	1057

SECTION 3 – Foods that you eat

Q15 Before you left the house this morning, did you have anything to eat or drink?

(Tick one box only)

1060

Yes ☐ 1 ➔ **Q16**

No ☐ 2 ➔ **Q17**

Don't know ☐ 3 ➔ **Q17**

Q16 For each item that you ate or drank, **before you left the house this morning**, please give details in the table below, including the make/brand if you know it. If you're not sure of the spelling just have a go and do the best you can.

(Please write in)

Full description of the food/drink	**Make/Brand** *(if you know it)*

Q17 How did you get to school today?

(Please tick all that apply)

1061

- Walked ☐ 1
- Bicycle ☐ 2
- Car ☐ 3
- School bus ☐ 4
- Other bus ☐ 5
- Train ☐ 6
- Tram ☐ 7
- Taxi ☐ 8
- Other (please write in) .... ☐ 9

Q18 Did you eat or drink anything when you were **on your way to school this morning**?

(Tick one box only)

1062

Yes	☐	1	➔ **Q19**
No	☐	2	➔ **Q20**
Don't know	☐	3	➔ **Q20**

Q19 For each item that you ate or drank, **on your way to school**, please give details in the table below, including the make/brand if you know it.

(Please write in)

Full description of the food/drink	**Make/Brand** *(if you know it)*	**Where were you when you ate/drank it?** *(eg. in the street, on the bus)*	**Where did you get it?** *Please give the type of shop or say if you brought it from home or were given it by a friend.*

Q20 Around what time did you get to school today?

(Tick one box only)

		1063
Before 8.00 am	☐ 1	
Between 8.00 am and 8.30 am	☐ 2	
Between 8.31 am and 8.45 am	☐ 3	
Between 8.46 am and 9.00 am	☐ 4	
After 9.00 am	☐ 5	
Don't Know	☐ 6	

Q21 When you got to school did you….?

(Tick one box on each row)

	Yes 1	**No** 2	
Go to a Breakfast Club	☐	☐	1064
Spend time in the playground	☐	☐	1065

Q22 Did you eat or drink anything when you **first got to school this morning**?

(Tick one box only)

1066

Yes ☐ 1 ➔ **Q23**

No ☐ 2 ➔ **Section 3A at top of next page (Page 12)**

Don't know ☐ 3 ➔ **Section 3A at top of next page (Page 12)**

Q23 For each item that you ate or drank, **when you first got to school this morning**, please give details in the table below, including the make/brand if you know it.

(Please write in)

Full description of the food/drink	**Make/Brand** *(if you know it)*	**Where were you when you ate/drank it?** *(eg. in the playground, in the breakfast club)*	**Where did you get it?** *Please give the type of shop or say if you brought it from home or were given it by a friend.*

Section 3A Morning break

In the next few questions we want you to think about your morning break today. If you haven't had a morning break yet today please think back to the last day you were at school and tell us about that morning break.

Q24 Did you eat or drink anything during the **morning break today** (*or on the last day you were at school*)?
(Tick one box only)

1067

Yes ☐ 1 ➔ **Q25**

No ☐ 2 ➔ **Section 3B at top of next page (Page 13)**

Don't know ☐ 3 ➔ **Section 3B at top of next page (Page 13)**

Q25 For each item that you ate or drank, **during the morning break**, please give details in the table below, including the make/brand if you know it.

(Please write in)

Full description of the food/drink	**Make/Brand** *(if you know it)*	**Where were you when you ate/drank it?** *(eg. in the playground)*	**Where did you get it?** *Please give the type of shop or say if you brought it from home or were given it by a friend.*

Section 3B
Lunch break

Now we'd like you to think about your **lunch break**. If you haven't had a lunch break yet today please think back to the last day you were at school and tell us about that lunch break.

Q26 Did you eat or drink anything at **lunchtime today** (*or on the last day you were at school*)?

(Tick one box only)

1068

Yes	☐	1	➔ **Q27**
No	☐	2	➔ **Q29**
Don't know	☐	3	➔ **Q29**

Q27 For each item that you ate or drank, **during lunch break**, please give details in the table below, including the make/brand if you know it.

(Please write in)

Full description of the food/drink	**Make/Brand** *(if you know it)*	**Where were you when you ate/drank it?** *(eg. in the dinner hall, in the playground)*	**Where did you get it?** *Please give the type of shop or say if you brought it from home or were given it by a friend.*

Q28 What did you do for **lunch today** (*or on the last day you were at school*)?

(Please tick all that apply)

1069

- School dinner ☐ 1
- Packed lunch ☐ 2
- Bought something from shops/van ☐ 3
- Went home for lunch ☐ 4
- Something else (please write in) .... ☐ 5
- Don't know ☐ 6

Q29 When I am deciding what to eat for lunch on school days, the foods I usually look for and want most are……..?

(Please tick all that apply)

Healthy	☐	1	1070
Unhealthy	☐	2	
Foods I can share with my friends	☐	3	
Popular with people my age	☐	4	
Quick to eat	☐	5	
Taste good	☐	6	
Fill me up	☐	7	
Foods that my friends like	☐	8	
Foods my parents would approve of	☐	9	
Easy to eat when walking about	☐	0	
Well-known make/brand	☐	1	1071
Foods that look good	☐	2	
None of these	☐	3	
Don't know	☐	4	

Q30 How appealing or <u>un</u>appealing do you find each of these foods and drinks?

(Please tick one box on each row)

	1 **Very Appealing**	2 **Quite Appealing**	3 **Neither Appealing nor Unappealing**	4 **Quite <u>Un</u>appealing**	5 **Very <u>Un</u>appealing**	
Apple	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2013
Fizzy drinks	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2014
Banana	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2015
Fruit juice (eg. pure orange juice)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2016
Grapes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2017
Fruit Smoothies	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2018
Crisps	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2019
Raisins	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2020
Yoghurt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2021
Chocolate or sweets	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2022
Chips	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2023
Biscuits	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2024
Vegetables (including salad)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2025
Pizza	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2026
Pies, sausages or burgers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2027
Cereal bars	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2028

Q31 Which, if any, of these makes/brands have you heard of before? 2030

(Tick all that apply)

Walkers ☐ 1
Coca Cola ☐ 2
Holland and Barrett ☐ 3
Cadbury's ☐ 4
Haribo ☐ 5
Innocent ☐ 6
McDonalds ☐ 7
Subway ☐ 8
Yakult ☐ 9 2031
Alpen ☐ 1
Fyffes ☐ 2
Kellogg's ☐ 3
Del Monte ☐ 4
Tropicana ☐ 5
Dairylea ☐ 6
Muller ☐ 7
Volvic ☐ 8
Pago ☐ 9 2032
Dr Pepper ☐ 1
Chiquita ☐ 2
None of these ☐ 3

Q32 Do you ever drink Coca Cola?

(Tick one box only)

Yes ☐ 1 2035
No ☐ 2

Q33 Thinking just about **Coca Cola**, how much do you agree or disagree with the following?

(Please tick one box on each row)

	1 **Agree strongly**	2 **Agree a little**	3 **Neither Agree nor Disagree**	4 **Disagree a little**	5 **Disagree strongly**	
Classmates would make fun of me for having Coca Cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2040
Coca Cola is popular with my friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2041
Coca Cola is a well-known make/brand	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2042
My parents would approve of me drinking Coca Cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2043
Coca Cola is good quality	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2044
I trust Coca Cola to taste good	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2045
Coca Cola is <u>un</u>healthy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2046
I would <u>not</u> want to be seen with Coca Cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2047
It is easy to get Coca Cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2048
Coca Cola is healthy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2049
Coca Cola is my kind of drink	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2050
I like Coca Cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2051
Coca Cola tastes good	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2052
I hate Coca Cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2053

Q34 Do you ever drink own label cola (eg. A shop's own make of cola like Asda's or Tesco's own make)?

(Tick one box only)

2054

Yes	☐	1
No	☐	2

Q35 And thinking now about a shop's own make of cola (eg. Asda's or Tesco's own make of cola), how much do you agree or disagree with the following?

(Please tick one box on each row)

	1 **Agree strongly**	2 **Agree a little**	3 **Neither Agree nor Disagree**	4 **Disagree a little**	5 **Disagree strongly**	
Classmates would make fun of me for having own-label cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2055
Own-label cola is popular with my friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2056
My parents would approve of me drinking own-label cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2057
Own-label cola is good quality	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2058
I would trust own-label cola to taste good	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2059
I would <u>not</u> want to be seen with own-label cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2060
It is easy to get own-label cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2061
Own-label cola is my kind of drink	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2062
I would like own-label cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2063
I would hate own-label cola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2064

Q36 Have you ever drunk Volvic (a bottled mineral water)?

(Tick one box only)

Yes ☐	1	3013
No ☐	2	

Q37 Thinking about **Volvic (a bottled mineral water),** how much do you agree or disagree with the following?

(Please tick one box on each row)

	1 **Agree strongly**	2 **Agree a little**	3 **Neither Agree nor Disagree**	4 **Disagree a little**	5 **Disagree strongly**	
Classmates would make fun of me for having Volvic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3014
Volvic is popular with my friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3015
Volvic is a well-known make/brand	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3016
My parents would approve of me drinking Volvic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3017
Volvic is good quality	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3018
I trust Volvic to taste good	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3019
Volvic is unhealthy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3020
I would not want to be seen with Volvic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3021
It is easy to get Volvic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3022
Volvic is healthy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3023
Volvic is my kind of drink	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3024
I like Volvic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3025
Volvic tastes good	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3026
I hate Volvic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3027

Q38 In a typical week, how often, if at all, do you usually have these foods and drinks?

(Please tick one box on each row)

	1 **6 or more times a week**	2 **3 to 5 times a week**	3 **Once or twice a week**	4 **Rarely or never**	5 **Don't know**	
Breakfast cereal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3028
Boiled or baked potatoes, rice, pasta or noodles	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3029
Chips or crisps	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3030
Sausages, meat pies or burgers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3031
Biscuits, cakes or pastries	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3032
Sweets (candy or chocolate)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3033
Vegetables	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3034
Fruit	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3035
Fizzy drinks (<u>not</u> diet)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3036
Diet fizzy drinks	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3037
Fruit juice (eg. orange juice)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3038

Q39 Which of these describes your eating?

(Please tick one box to show what you think. The closer the box is to a statement, the more strongly you agree with it)

	1	2	3	4	5		
I eat healthily	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	I eat unhealthily	3039

Q40 How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following?

(Please tick one box on each row)

	1 Agree Strongly	2 Agree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Disagree	5 Disagree Strongly	
I intend to eat more healthily in the next 6 months	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3040
I know a lot about healthy eating	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3041
I would like to eat more healthily in the next 6 months	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3042
Eating healthily is very important to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3043

The next questions are more general questions. Remember that no-one who knows you will find out your answers.

Q41 How much money of your own do you have most weeks to spend as you like?

(Tick one box only)

3044

- Nothing ☐ 1
- Less than £1 a week ☐ 2
- £1 or more but less than £5 a week ☐ 3
- £5 or more but less than £10 a week ☐ 4
- £10 or more but less than £20 a week ☐ 5
- £20 or more a week ☐ 6

Q42 Does your family own a car, van or truck?

(Tick one box only)

3045

- No ☐ 1
- Yes, one ☐ 2
- Yes, two or more ☐ 3

Q43 Do you have your own bedroom for yourself?

(Tick one box only)

3046

- No ☐ 1
- Yes ☐ 2

Q44 Do you get free school meals or vouchers for free school meals?

(Tick one box only)

- Yes ☐ 1 3047
- No ☐ 2

Q45 Have you ever stayed away from school without permission (truanted)?

(Tick one box only)

- Yes ☐ 1 3048
- No ☐ 2

Q46 Have you ever been excluded from school?

(Tick one box only)

Yes ☐ 1 3049

No ☐ 2

Q47 Do you know your postcode? Please read the EXAMPLE and write your postcode in the blank boxes below. You do not need to tell us the last two letters of your postcode.

(*Please write in*)

EXAMPLE - if your postcode was FK9 4LA you would write:

-	F	K	9		4	■	■

What is your postcode?

(*Please write in*)

(3050)	(3051)	(3052)	(3053)	(3054)	Do not write the last two letters	
					■	■

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

What to do now

Please check you have answered all the questions. Are there any you meant to go back to?

If you are finished early you may wish to do the puzzles while you wait for your questionnaire to be collected.

APPENDIX B

Sample Profile by School

Sample Profile by School

Table B.1

Number of respondents in each school

All pupils

School	Local Authority	Number of respondents	Total %
1	C	134	8
2	F	112	6
3	B	105	6
4	F	111	6
5	A	118	7
6	E	138	8
8	A	148	8
10	C	54	3
11	G	109	6
12	F	126	7
13	E	127	7
14	G	172	10
16	D	111	6
17	G	110	6
18	E	93	5
Base		*1768*	*100*

Table B.2					

Absence and Academic Achievement of Sampled Schools and Schools in England

		% half days missed due to		Academic Achievement	Academic Achievement
School	LEA	Total absence %	Unauthorised absence %	5+ A*-C and equivalent in 2007 %	5+ A*-C and equivalent in 2007 %
5	A	7.40	0.60	63.00	
8	A	7.60	1.20	61.00	
	LEA Average				53.00
3	B	8.20	0.90	62.00	
	LEA Average				62.00
1	C	8.90	1.20	61.00	
10	C	10.40	4.70	58.00	
	LEA Average				54.00
16	D	9.70	1.30	45.00	
	LEA Average				61.00
13	E	9.50	3.30	44.00	
18	E	6.10	0.70	77.00	
6	E	7.10	2.10	77.00	
	LEA Average				63.00
12	F	7.00	0.30	70.00	
2	F	8.00	0.60	52.00	
4	F	8.80	1.50	45.00	
	LEA Average				62.00
11	G	11.30	1.40	40.00	
14	G	6.80	0.20	61.00	
17	G	9.70	1.60	62.00	
	LEA Average				59.00
Surveyed Schools					
Min		6.10	0.20	40.00	
Max		11.30	4.70	77.00	
Mean		**8.43**	**1.44**	**58.53**	
Std dev		1.46	1.19	11.46	
All England		**8.24**	**1.42**	**61.0**	

Table B.3

Sample profile by school

All pupils

Sample profile	School 1	2	3	4	5	6	8	10	11	12	13	14	16	17	18
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Gender															
Boy	54	57	54	49	43	48	48	48	36	50	46	-	45	47	53
Girl	46	43	46	51	57	52	52	52	64	50	54	100	55	53	47
School Year															
Year 9	34	36	34	27	37	33	37	30	40	35	39	36	48	32	37
Year 10	34	34	37	33	38	33	30	28	36	35	28	33	27	38	33
Year 11	32	30	29	40	25	33	33	42	24	30	32	31	25	30	30
Ethnicity															
White	81	100	99	97	89	96	99	96	99	87	98	92	92	99	95
Mixed	4	-	1	-	6	1	-	-	-	3	1	1	2	-	3
Asian or Asian British	15	-	-	2	1	1	-	2	-	7	1	5	1	1	-
Black or Black British	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	5	-	-
Chinese	1	-	-	1	3	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	2
Other	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
Base	*134*	*112*	*105*	*111*	*118*	*138*	*148*	*54*	*109*	*126*	*127*	*172*	*111*	*110*	*93*

Table B.4

Sample profile cont'd by school

All pupils

Sample profile	School 1	2	3	4	5	6	8	10	11	12	13	14	16	17	18
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Receive free school meals	17	18	20	14	15	10	10	19	28	6	17	9	25	15	3
Have own bedroom	90	85	89	78	89	88	91	87	80	92	86	89	86	81	96
Whether family owns a car, van or truck?															
No	5	8	11	8	4	11	6	13	27	2	7	8	26	13	2
Yes, one	42	36	45	37	31	48	32	46	41	26	48	43	48	49	38
Yes, two or more	53	56	44	55	65	41	63	41	32	71	45	49	26	39	60
Ever truanted	27	33	37	18	20	25	20	30	31	9	29	20	14	35	20
Ever been excluded	8	16	21	7	14	22	8	23	33	13	11	8	13	13	5
Base	*134*	*112*	*105*	*111*	*118*	*138*	*148*	*54*	*109*	*126*	*127*	*172*	*111*	*110*	*93*

Table B.5

ACORN grouping by school

All pupils

ACORN grouping	**School** 1	2	3	4	5	6	8	10	11	12	13	14	16	17	18
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Wealthy achievers/urban prosperity	34	7	1	30	2	15	16	28	1	56	22	15	1	1	16
Comfortably Off	23	14	4	-	74	21	58	15	1	18	30	9	2	15	49
Moderate Means	10	21	51	53	2	4	5	26	9	2	-	23	23	17	9
Hard Pressed	-	31	30	1	1	37	3	11	74	10	35	39	60	40	3
Unclassified	32	27	14	16	22	22	18	20	15	14	13	15	14	27	23
Base	*134*	*112*	*105*	*111*	*118*	*138*	*148*	*54*	*109*	*126*	*127*	*172*	*111*	*110*	*93*

Table B.6

What pupils like to do in their spare time by school

All pupils

% who like to:	**School** 1	2	3	4	5	6	8	10	11	12	13	14	16	17	18
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Listen to music	72	73	77	77	80	60	67	72	59	79	67	85	62	75	76
Meet friends	74	84	74	82	82	87	76	76	72	82	77	90	75	80	86
Watch TV or videos/DVDs	60	65	64	70	70	53	60	63	47	72	60	73	45	61	63
Surf the web (internet/www)	57	63	58	72	74	53	57	61	46	67	53	74	45	66	73
Email	27	42	26	29	30	30	34	35	24	21	33	40	32	35	29
Play music/musical instrument/make music	11	16	6	22	25	9	16	11	12	25	15	16	14	16	23
Play sports	57	42	53	45	46	46	47	46	31	63	44	37	49	49	55
Go shopping	43	50	42	50	60	39	49	57	40	53	48	79	51	47	51
Read books, magazines and comics	23	32	19	28	32	27	31	31	24	33	31	56	22	29	35
Play computer games	48	53	48	48	47	32	45	44	35	40	39	25	36	38	45
Base	*133*	*112*	*105*	*110*	*114*	*138*	*148*	*54*	*109*	*126*	*126*	*171*	*110*	*110*	*92*