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**Tertiary Student Drinking Culture, Facebook
and Alcohol Advertising:
Collapsing Boundaries Between Social Life
and Commercialised Consumption**

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Abstract

Student life is often associated with a 'culture of intoxication' in Aotearoa/New Zealand and has been linked to socialising, the development of friendships and negotiating identities. Social interactions between young adults are also increasingly conducted online, particularly through social networking sites (SNSs). Previous research has not investigated alcohol advertising, particularly contemporary forms such as that found upon SNSs, and its potential interactions with tertiary student socialisation and drinking culture. This thesis addresses the dearth of research in this area. It investigated three student friendship groups' constructions of their drinking experiences, Facebook use and alcohol advertising. The 13 participants (10 women and 3 men) engaged in semi structured discussions designed to elicit talk surrounding the identified topics. An internet enabled laptop was employed during talks to allow participants to illustrate material discussed, as well as being the specific focus of those areas of the discussions concerning online content. The discussions were transcribed and analysed using a Foucauldian discourse analytic approach. Four discourses were identified. In the pleasurable consumption discourse, drinking alcohol, Facebook use and alcohol advertising were described as pleasurable fun and exciting. In the individual as savvy agent discourse, participants' constructed themselves as knowledgeable and wary consumers in these areas. A discourse of routine everyday socialisation describes the mundane nature of students' drinking, Facebook use and proliferation of alcohol advertising material for the purposes of socialisation amongst peers. Finally, participants drew on the story imperative discourse that constructed group stories as highly important to create and share. To examine the interaction of these discourses two case studies "Tui beer advertising" and "bars photographing patron's drinking and posting to Facebook" were explored and showed that the identified discourses serve to collapse the boundaries between commercial advertising and student drinking culture, which oftentimes can be demonstrated as synonymous with one another. This is accomplished through the commercial appropriation of student and youth culture, as is illustrated by the mundane, naturalised nature of commercial alcohol companies' activities on Facebook. SNSs such as Facebook exacerbate the problems associated with existing drinking cultures through the biased representations of student and youth culture that they encourage. Findings are discussed in terms of implications for policies around alcohol marketing and targeted alcohol advertising.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Student drinking and culture

“Most colleges and universities have a strong sense of history and tradition, and the drinking culture at these schools is no different. Students at many, if not most, universities are easily able to identify specific rituals or events on campus that are traditionally “drinking” events.” (Dietz, 2008)

Within Aotearoa/New Zealand Young people are consuming large amounts of alcohol, and one in six of those over 15 years old have been said to have a potentially dangerous drinking pattern (National Drug Policy New Zealand, 2010). Within the tertiary student population of Aotearoa/New Zealand this number is possibly greater (Kypri, Langley, McGee, Saunders, & Williams, 2002). This drinking, and the culture that surrounds it, is likely harmful to both individuals and wider society. Individuals entering a tertiary institute may be at increased risk of developing unhealthy attitudes and behaviours surrounding the consumption of alcohol as an effect of a heavy drinking culture and, through the associated individual or public damages of this drinking, there is a high cost to society (Huckle, Pledger, & Casswell, 2006; Kypri et al., 2009). It is also possible that this pattern of drinking within the student population is merely the tip of the iceberg and epitomises a widespread culture of heavy drinking within Aotearoa/New Zealand. This chapter will review literature surrounding student drinking within Aotearoa/New Zealand with the intent of illustrating a student culture of heavy drinking that has negative consequences for both students and the wider society of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Given the increase in social networking site usage, and particularly tertiary student's high uptake of these sites, how tertiary students use these sites and ways they may enable, encourage or reinforce a culture of heavy drinking will also be considered using Facebook.com. Finally, the commercial aspect of these sites and how alcohol companies operate within them will be examined.

What is heavy drinking?

ALAC (The Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand) uses a gendered definition of low risk drinking which outlines safe drinking behaviour as not exceeding 4-6 standard drinks per session or 14-21 standard drinks per week. A standard drink is defined as 10g of alcohol and the higher of each range are the recommendations for males, the lower for females (ALAC, 2011). However, there have been many concerns raised internationally about definitions of drinking guidelines. Confounding the utility of most definitions are issues such as: varying frequencies of what per session limits are

recommended; what constitutes an appropriate period of time for measuring both drinking sessions and longer drinking patterns; suitability of maximum and minimum measures of alcohol consumption based upon weight; and physiological differences due to gender such as size and body composition (Dawson, 2009; Paradis, Demers, Picard, & Graham, 2009; Wechsler, Dowdall, Davenport, & Rimm, 1995). Heavy drinking behaviour, as referred to in this study, would exceed ALAC's definition of low risk drinking; yet whilst the latter weekly measure may often be breached, it is the instances that tend toward individuals exceeding the former, per session, recommendation that are the focus of this research and will be referred to as heavy drinking.

This thesis will use the term 'heavy drinking' in preference to 'binge drinking' for describing a student culture, and related behaviours, based upon the consumption of large amounts of alcohol. The term binge drinking both draws upon patterns of drinking and outcomes that many student drinkers find do not parallel their own experiences or reasons for consuming large quantities of alcohol (Dietz, 2008; Guise & Gill, 2007). Binge drinking, largely through news media uptake and usage of the term, is often associated with extreme negative behaviours and outcomes that do not apply to a vast majority of heavy drinkers (Barclay, 2010). As such the less laden term of heavy drinking is a more appropriate fit for student drinking; it still draws upon the importance of consuming large amounts of alcohol to this population but avoids the previously described problems of extremity and seriousness that can distance the term from those that it is applied to. However, when considering how news media, advertising and various institutions' policies construct student drinking it is important to recognise the potential effects of the language used by each and so, when appropriate, original terminology will be used.

Defining and identifying a heavy drinking student culture

For the purposes of this study the term culture will be used to describe the laws, history, behaviours and ideals that are communicated and socially learned within a particular group or society; this definition draws upon those provided by Edward Tylor (1874, as cited in Bennett, Grossberg, Morris, & Williams, 2005) and Raymond Williams (1976, as cited in Bennett et al, 2005). As Hebdige (2006) describes, defining culture as such leads to the investigation of relationships between societies and the dominant views naturalised or normalised within that society; this is deemed to suit the purposes and goals of this study. A heavy drinking tertiary student culture will be considered a cultural microcosm situated within, and influenced by larger regional, social and political cultures whilst also being constantly negotiated in these contexts by the individuals and mechanisms involved in its

creation and propagation (Appadurai, 2006). It refers to the explicit and implicit learned behaviours, traditions, ideals and attitudes surrounding the conceptualisation and use of large amounts of alcohol that are present and communicated within the tertiary student population. In modern society the definition, identification and expression of culture is inextricably bound to the media (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2006; Watts, 2010). Often ideas, meanings and traditions are communicated to society through the media and it is here that culture is also expressed and contested.

Students, particularly those between the ages 18-20, are consistently found to be an at risk group for alcohol abuse and drinking problems (Brownfield, Fernando, & Halberstadt, 2003; Kypri, Langley, & Stephenson, 2005). A culture that normalises heavy drinking, viewing it as acceptable and even encouraging it, is often referred to as an important influence on contemporary tertiary student drinking problems. Problems arising from a student culture of heavy drinking have been shown to persist after tertiary study ceases, making it a long term issue with implications for societal cohesion and health (Casswell, Pledger, & Pratap, 2002; Kypri, Cronin, & Wright, 2005). This is supported further in academic literature, mainstream media coverage, and both private and government health reviews as discussed below.

Evidence suggests that students in Aotearoa/New Zealand drink more than their non student peers, with exposure to the tertiary education environment having been shown to increase negative drinking behaviours and surrounding attitudes over time, both locally and internationally (Johnsson, Leifman, & Berglund, 2008; Kypri, Cronin, et al., 2005; Kypri et al., 2002). Media representations of a binge drinking culture within Aotearoa/New Zealand often construct it specifically as a problem associated with a younger student population and one of ongoing concern to a larger society, often forming the argument in a style of 'us vs. them' (Harvey, 2009; Morris, 2009; NZPA, 2008). Private and government health agencies also reinforce a binge drinking culture as being associated with youth and as detrimental to student success and long term health (New Zealand Law Commission, 2010, chap. 3; NZMA, 2010). Research from Aotearoa/New Zealand associates heavy student drinking with immediate health issues such as vomiting, blackouts and hangovers; interpersonal problems including unprotected or regrettable sexual encounters, emotional arguments or outbursts and illegal activities such as vandalism, assault and drink driving (Kypri et al., 2009). Additionally, alcohol associated illnesses, including pancreatic and liver damage as well as cancer, can result in death and most health outcomes are worsened when alcohol dependency or addiction becomes a

factor (Connor, Broad, Rehm, Hoorn, & Jackson, 2005). In summary, popular and scholarly literature concurs that tertiary students, internationally and locally, are consuming alcohol excessively and it likely that this has both minor and dire negative consequences. Of note however, is that the majority of this literature primarily addresses Students in Western societies and cultures. The following section addresses research considering why these students may be drinking and the patterns of this drinking.

Why drink?

Individuals within a student culture of heavy drinking are potentially affected by many factors; however it is still relatively unknown as to why they continue to exhibit heavy drinking patterns. Demographically, Aotearoa/New Zealand follows international patterns in that low social economic status and other related issues such as early educational quality and achievement are associated with increased risk of developing alcohol related health problems and heavy drinking behaviour (Denny, Clark, & Watson, 2003; Grunbaum, Lowry, & Kann, 2001). Caswell, Pledger and Pratap's (2002) findings show that, within Aotearoa/New Zealand, social developmental variables such as same sex parental modelling, early exposure to alcohol and drinking on licensed premises at age 18 increase the chance of developing negative drinking behaviours. Internationally, racial and gender differences in drinking behaviour are present, with many international studies finding that within the college population white males are those most likely to acquire dangerous drinking patterns; younger age, smoking and illegal drug use also increases this probability (Brennan, Walfish, & AuBuchon, 1986; Johnsson et al., 2008; O'Malley & Johnston, 2002). Whilst findings in Aotearoa/New Zealand are more ambiguous in terms of any racial differences in heavy drinking students, they generally tend to parallel international findings when considering most other demographic attributes (Kypri, Bell, Hay, & Baxter, 2008; Kypri et al., 2002). These circumstances may affect the probability that an individual drinks heavily, however as described previously, individuals within a university environment universally drink more than that of their non student peers. As such it is worth examining factors and contexts present specifically within the setting of tertiary education that potentially instigate or affect heavy drinking within tertiary students.

The role of Aotearoa/New Zealand's media is worth considering here. Nairn et al (2006) argue that all media coverage, regardless of whether its purpose is to illustrate the drinking as an extreme or more moderate social issue, tends to reinforce and propagate the dominant discourse or narrative of heavy student drinking being the norm. This suggests that any coverage of a tertiary student culture

of heavy drinking normalises an already dominant narrative, that of students as heavy drinkers, which in turn makes alternative narratives less accessible for those entering, or already within, the tertiary environment. In this way media coverage can be seen as reinforcing a student culture of heavy drinking through both proliferation of the rhetoric and ideals associated with this culture, as well as denying or further marginalising those behaviours and aspects of tertiary culture that run counter to this dominant perspective and which might otherwise be accessed to instigate cultural change. Considering newspaper articles are written specifically about tertiary students' drinking, and have titles such as "Seminar looks at solving student binge drinking" (Harvey, 2009), "The Job Tour: Media blamed for Dunedin students' reputation" (Hughes & Wix, 2009) and "Backlash on binge drinking 'clear'" (Morris, 2009) it is clear there is no shortage of material framing heavy student drinking as what the news media considers the dominant norm in tertiary institutions.

In addition to this media backdrop tertiary students within Aotearoa/New Zealand are embedded within an interesting mix of context and development which is often construed as assisting the emergence and assimilation of a heavy drinking culture. The conjunction of arriving at the legal drinking age and undergoing tertiary study in Aotearoa/New Zealand creates the opportunity for many students to engage and experiment with both alcohol and the culture that surrounds its use in the environment of tertiary education (Dietz, 2008). For many students tertiary study coincides with living away from home for the first time and they are afforded the opportunity to explore a newfound autonomy (Dietz, 2008). Alcohol becomes easy to access, exciting and fun, therefore a part of this process of exploration for tertiary students. There is also the tendency to treat alcohol as a social lubricant as moving to tertiary institutes often requires the creation of friendship groups from pools of new classmates and hall residents (Szmigin et al., 2008). The shared experience of drinking together can be seen as a catalyst for creating these new friendship groups as well as helpful in maintaining them (Schulenberg & Maggs, 2002). The role and perceptions surrounding an individual's peers has also been implicated in the uptake of heavy drinking practices by tertiary students (Haines & Spear, 1996; Perkins, Haines, & Rice, 2005). For example, attributing normality to heavy student drinking and overestimating the amount that peers drink has been shown to increase the likelihood of heavy drinking behaviour being present in tertiary students (Dietz, 2008; Kypri & Langley, 2003; Nairn et al., 2006). This last issue illustrates that merely the perception of a culture of drinking may be enough to actualise and reproduce it.

While the reasons that students are drinking heavily are still not clear, what is clear is that issues such as friendship, camaraderie, fun and a sense of belonging are all enmeshed within a tertiary culture that seems to promote heavy drinking in students. This study arose from a need to gain further insight and understanding into these student drinking cultures, particularly in the context of rapidly developing new technologies. As such the relatively recent high uptake of social networking site usage amongst the youth, and therefore students, of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Smith et al., 2009) is important to consider. The following sections consider some of the research surrounding these sites, their usage, and ways in which they may potentially influence student drinking cultures.

Social networking sites and Facebook

“What makes social network sites unique is not that they allow individuals to meet strangers, but rather that they enable users to articulate and make visible their social networks.” (boyd & Ellison, 2007, p. 211)

Social networking and students

Before considering students' use of contemporary social networking sites (SNSs) it is necessary to describe them and how they differ from their predecessors, the likes of MUDs (Multiple user domains/dungeons), chat forums and internet dating sites, sites also based upon instigating and allowing socialisation over the internet. The advent of SNSs such as Facebook, Twitter and MySpace and their rapid, continuing, evolution has been examined often in both scholarly circles and contemporary news media. Prior to these sites issues such as the presence of a separate online culture, user anonymity and lack of protection for minors were most likely to capture both researchers' and reporters' attention when dealing with online interactions. Yet, whilst these issues still exist to be studied within the context of contemporary SNSs, there is growing evidence that factors such as the integration of these sites into users' offline lives, the differences in their construction from sites previously based on anonymity, and differences in their perceived purpose, warrant investigation and further research (Livingstone, 2008; Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008).

boyd and Ellison (2007) define social networking sites as places where users:

- (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system. (P. 211)

These sites as we know them today, of which Facebook.com is currently the largest, have been around for a relatively short period of time. Precursory sites such as Sixdegrees.com were founded over 10 years ago yet the integration of online social networking with offline activities and culture, as has happened through MySpace and Facebook, arguably occurred around 2004 (Barkhuus & Tashiro, 2010; boyd & Ellison, 2007). The articulation of offline relationships and connections allows for a greater integration of these online sites into users' everyday offline lives. SNSs can be used to organise events, catch up with friends that are out of town or on holiday, or just to broadcast the day's activities and interesting thoughts. Contemporary SNSs have become an amalgamation of calendar, email, phone and blog and their evolution in terms of content and features illustrates this clearly.

In 2009 an estimated 48% of internet users were members of a SNS in Aotearoa/New Zealand with about 75% of those owning a Facebook account; however in those aged 12-30 this extends to just over 80% membership on a SNS (Smith et al., 2009). These figures are likely to have increased (Rose, 2010). If Aotearoa/New Zealand tertiary students are similar to their overseas counterparts their uptake may be even higher than their age group average as college students are seen as a group that quickly adopts and incorporates new communication technologies into their lives and culture (Lewis, Kaufman, & Christakis, 2008). In recent international studies around 89% of all US college students are described as having a Facebook profile (Barkhuus & Tashiro, 2010) with instances such as one college recording a nearly 98% membership rate on Facebook for its students (Lewis, Kaufman, Gonzalez, Wimmer, & Christakis, 2008). The large scale turn to social networking by youth, and students in particular, highlight the importance of studying their use and conceptualisation of SNSs, as well as how these sites might affect a change in, or reinforcement of, the drinking cultures present in these tertiary settings. For example, McEwan, Campbell and Swain (2010) identify the rising numbers of tertiary students, increased use of SNSs and the emergence of a night time alcohol based hospitality industry as some of the key influences of Aotearoa/New Zealand's larger drinking culture. Facebook, in addition to the previous statistics, is ranked the 2nd most visited internet site under Google and is visited by 41% of global daily users online (Alexa.com, 2011). Having over 500 million users (Zuckerberg, 2010), Facebook will be examined further for its role in the lives of students and youth.

A brief history and outline of Facebook

“People have really gotten comfortable not only sharing more information and different kinds, but more openly and with more people. That social norm is just something that has evolved over time.”

Mark Zuckerberg (2010) Facebook founder, in an interview with Mike Arrington.

Facebook.com started in 2004 as a networking project useable only by Harvard students; in 2005 it branched out to high school networks and finally established itself for the use of the general populace in 2006. Founded by Mark Zuckerberg its login slogan is *“Facebook helps you connect and share with the people in your life”* (Facebook.com, 2011a) and the only current requisite for an account is that the user states they are at least 13 years old. Opposing the approach of other networking sites that allow flair and individuality to be expressed through customised colours and schemes, Facebook users share a standardised template and colour scheme. Facebook’s plain profile is considered to be more attractive to older teenagers and young adults partially due to the highlighting of individual networks resulting in the creation of a more mature approach to social networking and emphasising the authenticity of relationships represented (Livingstone, 2008). Users create a profile based upon this standardised template by entering basic demographic, as well as more personalised, information. They then initiate online connections with others by sending friend requests, usually termed ‘friending’ them, and generate content by posting status updates, photos, videos and linking to or liking pages both on and off the site. A ‘newsfeed’ supplies users with the similar activities of other Facebook connections they are part of, keeping them updated with friends, groups and products that they are interested in. Applications developed by third parties allow for users to fill out quizzes and play games, often competing or interacting with their online connections, for further recreational pursuit. Facebook has the largest amount of worldwide users amongst SNSs; however the nature of SNSs means that Facebook is not always the most utilised in some regions or countries. SNSs often target specific regions, or are taken up by a particular group of society, and once a certain threshold is passed it becomes difficult for others to encroach upon this digital territory (boyd & Ellison, 2007); if most of a user’s friends and contacts are already on a particular SNSs then there is likely little incentive for them to try a different site. For example, SNSs such as Orkut in Brazil and Qzone (or QQ) in China (Alexa.com, 2011) often take first place in their region’s social networking and this local dominance, among other factors, has proven hard to overcome.

Facebook, friendship, connections and representations

There is a wide range of relationships represented over SNSs. Sites varyingly use terms such as 'Friends' 'Fans' and 'Followers' and what is meant by these terms online is often quite different from their everyday application. A 'friend' on Facebook is an all encompassing term for when two users agree that each other is allowed some form of access to their profiles; this can apply to relative strangers, or those a user has known for most of their life. Relationships online have historically been questioned in terms of their authenticity and danger (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008) and in addition to these questions, relationships on Facebook bring further scrutiny. Livingstone (2008) describes how the explicit public nature of Facebook relationships has been condemned for fostering both a normalisation of individuals making publicly known intimate details of their lives and the lack of shame attached to the online activities of users, particularly those of youth. To further exacerbate matters, Livingstone describes media representations of these online relationships as often formed from either a nostalgic opinion or moral panic, dismaying over the differences in the youth culture of days gone by and today's online generation. Beer (2008) argues that with the move into the cultural mainstream Facebook friendship is becoming assimilated into, or even mutating, the everyday usage of the term friend and that this influence is attributable to the increasingly mundane and everyday nature of this online environment. However, it seems there are currently still sufficient differences between the two. For example Livingstone (2008) describes the coexistence of these terms and blended nature of online/offline relationships to be creating occasional social friction and confusion between peers, particularly noting the online binary of 'friend' or 'not friend' fails to convey or encompass the "graded" nature and complexity of offline relationships.

Commercial use of Facebook further differentiates the offline and online versions of friendship, rather than create a traditional online advertisement or even a product page, some commercial interests favour creating a user profile page for their products or companies. Subtle differences are created when users 'friend' a product rather than 'like' it as they would a product page. For example, access to individual's information differs, the perceived power differential and level of control changes as both parties must accept friend requests, product profiles can actively send these friend requests to people rather than waiting to be 'liked' and the range of communication modes available to products using a personal profile are greater. The practice is however frowned upon, and discouraged by Facebook through both limitations and sanctions. For example, these pages are allowed only the 5000 friends a personal user is allowed, and such profiles may be disabled or frozen when discovered or reported. Constructing a marketing relationship between user and product based upon an already existing framework of online friendship certainly both questions the

appropriateness of the term 'friend' in these instances, as well as highlights the different type of relationship between brand and consumer some companies consider beneficial or profitable.

Facebook actively encourages a commercial presence on its platform through the provision of product pages. Mirroring the desire of those commercial interests that use profile pages to market their product, Facebook expounds the value of brands as social entities, advertising their product pages with the words: *"Create a presence that looks and behaves like user Profiles to connect and engage with your customers and amplify your voice to their friends"* (Facebook.com, 2011b). These product pages allow users to become advocates for products to their friends by publishing their allegiance to their newsfeeds as well as allow users to engage with others in the context of a brand-centric community. Additionally, they encourage a two way relationship between brand and users that is hard to emulate in other forms of advertising media; with the ability to post regular updates as well as media such as photos, brands can engage regularly and socially with their user base.

How and why students are using Facebook

Barkhuus and Tashiro (2010) describe college students as a diverse and nomadic Facebook user group with wide ranging social spheres and connections, who use Facebook to maintain, manage and enhance offline relationships. They stress the importance of socialising as part of the desired lifestyle of students and how thoroughly Facebook is integrated into this process with *"casual interaction online, leading to casual interaction offline"* (P. 141). High Facebook use has also been correlated to a greater overall satisfaction with the college experience (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007) and while there are still relatively few findings involving students' use of Facebook, those studies that deal with the issue seem to support these findings. College students are using Facebook heavily, with some studies reporting Facebook usage estimates of around 30 minutes a day (Pempek, Yermolayeva, & Calvert, 2009). However measuring Facebook use is somewhat difficult as minutes spent engaging with the platform aren't necessarily the only time users are within the context of Facebook. For example, Barkhuus and Tashiro (2010) describe their average of 5.9 Facebook visits a day by college students as not fully taking into account the practice of Facebook being left open for extended periods of time in the background of other work. This background 'Facebooking' would allow audio and visual alerts from peers' instant messages to be noticed and compliments Joinson's (2008) finding that Facebook use in college students allowed friends to keep in continual contact with each other, as well as keep up to date with their groups' activities. This continual contact and knowledge allows for greater social opportunities to be available to individuals as well as participation in groups'

online interactions (Joinson, 2008), further explaining how Facebook might enhance an overall college experience. Ellison et al (2007) report that Facebook interactions seem to suit increasing the number of weak relationships able to be maintained by an individual due to it being cheap and easy to do so over the medium. This accumulation of new resources and information about local peers, including their perspectives and activities, was considered especially beneficial to those that would otherwise be too shy or uncomfortable to initiate such connections offline (Ellison et al., 2007).

Facebook is also being used to promote a desirable individual identity online, and this often coincides with the ideas surrounding Facebook itself, in that promotion often aims to infer a healthy and active social life offline. For example Pempek et al (2009) describe college student communication on Facebook as being primarily of a one-to-many style, directed at an audience rather than an individual. Even when communication was directed at an individual Pempek et al found the most common mode of delivery was a publicly visible posting of these social exchanges to a contact's profile page, further illustrating the posting individual as engaging in social exchanges to their audience. Zhao et al (2008) describe the medium of Facebook as creating a "show rather than tell" (P. 1826) convention for posting. They describe material that inferred an individual's group belonging, normality and commercial identity was posted in preference to explicit self statements or claims about an individual. Mendelson and Papacharissi (2010) reinforce this further by describing student's use of photos and tagging on Facebook:

Facebook tagged photographs present more than random moments in a person's life. They present a suspended take on college-life sociality, through a collage of scenes celebrating the self, group culture and membership that are played out over and over again. (P.31)

Zhao et al (2008) elaborate on the repeated scenes and themes of photographic material posted too, describing them as creating online discussions and comments within a small select group or circle of friends all of which infer or illustrate, rather than explicitly describe, the identities and cultures of these groups. These exchanges serve to strengthen and confirm a tight knit social identity within the friendship group as well as enhancing the value of shared experience (Zhao et al., 2008). Given this propensity to show, rather than tell, peers that they are socially active and engaging in the full college experience, in a tertiary environment where heavy drinking is normalised and encouraged it would be expected to find material posted by students to Facebook which illustrates individuals drinking in a social context, and this is often the case. The following discusses some of the findings surrounding Facebook and the depiction of alcohol use by tertiary students.

Facebook and drinking

Alcohol and its consumption are regularly depicted on Facebook by college students (Egan & Moreno, 2011a; Kolek & Saunders, 2008). The visible social acceptance of posting this type of material, whether it is in the form of online comments and discussion or offline reference and interactions, seems to have developed or encouraged a subculture upon Facebook that is identifiable as a student culture of heavy drinking. Griffiths and Casswell (2010) illustrate that the culture and normalisation of alcohol consumption is pervasive throughout the platform of Facebook. In addition to photos of drinking and posts that construct heavy drinking in a positive manner, they found that third party applications, including quizzes and games, further reinforced a positive construction of the consumption of alcohol for users.

Moreno et al (2010) found that 56% of 17-20 year olds' publicly accessible MySpace accounts illustrated their users as drinking or engaging with alcohol, whilst Myspace has not maintained its popularity amongst youth it still has an estimated 60 million users (Google.com, 2011) and therefore provides a relevant illustration of SNS culture. Moreno et al (2010) found alcohol messages, references, and related materials were easily accessible to peers and also suggested that white males made up the majority of this type of posting. This supports Kolek and Saunders' (2008) findings on Facebook that over half of their study's population posted positive drinking content including photos of drinking and textual references to planned and past drinking. However, contrary to the increased public and media awareness of the pitfalls surrounding online data and privacy, two recent studies illustrate that the proportion of publicly available images and references to alcohol consumption by college students has potentially increased rather than declined. Egan and Moreno (2011a) found that 73% of public profiles represented the consumption of alcohol through both profile pictures, profile information and status updates and in an extension of these findings they found male college students increased this to 85% with those students of legal drinking age posting 4.5 times the quantity of alcohol related material than younger participants (Egan & Moreno, 2011b). This material is also often placed in the context of the local peer group to illustrate group belonging and socialising, photos tend to include multiple individuals and text material referencing peer events where drinking has occurred (Kolek & Saunders, 2008; Mendelson & Papacharissi, 2010). College students' posting of drinking material seems to parallel, and potentially even be encouraged by, the social context and light hearted culture of Facebook. Finally, there are concerns that material depicting college drinking practices and other activities may have longer term consequences for students; past instances exist of employers declining job opportunities and students being suspended based upon activities and material on Facebook (Hearn, 2008; Peluchette & Karl, 2008). Whilst Bargh

and McKenna (2004) argue that these types of stories are likely exceptions or outliers, rather than everyday occurrences, there still appears to be a risk present for students who post these materials. Even if it is not the case at present, an increasing trend of these posts may also increase the occurrence of these problems in the future.

How students are using social networks is still relatively underrepresented in academic literature and while there seems to be preliminary evidence that interactions and material present on SNSs may play a role in the reinforcement of a heavy drinking student culture, there are few studies that directly address this area. This is particularly concerning as these sites are also heavily commercialised spaces. A culture of heavy drinking is beneficial to commercial interests (McEwan et al., 2010) and youth are actively pursuing the creation and representation of identity through the associations of commercial products or brands likely to be endorsed by local peer groups (Hearn, 2008). This shapes tertiary students as being susceptible or vulnerable to the uptake and incorporation of alcohol marketing strategies into their daily lives and culture. Alcohol companies and bars in Aotearoa/New Zealand have often viewed the tertiary student population as a worthwhile demographic to target in terms of advertising and specific products, including the likes of RTDs (Ready to drinks – premixed alcoholic beverages) and cheap, large volume, premixed cocktails (Cousins & Kypri, 2008; McEwan et al., 2010). SNSs represent yet another avenue through which this demographic may be engaged with, in efforts to increase the presence and weight of brands as well as potentially cordon off a market share (Casswell, 2004). The following section will consider some of the literature regarding alcohol advertising, the integration of commercial interests into student culture and drinking, and what roles Facebook, and SNSs in general, play in this area.

Advertising and alcohol

"The astronomical growth in the wealth and cultural influence of multinational corporations over the last fifteen years can arguably be traced back to a single, seemingly innocuous idea developed by management theorists in the mid-1980s: that successful corporations must primarily produce brands, as opposed to products." (Klein, 2000, p. 25)

The rise of branded consumer culture

Branded consumer culture describes the increased entwining of individual identity and local cultures with the interests and produce of commercial entities (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Regarding the rise in popularity for commercial advertising to surround a product with associations and narrative in order to differentiate it from competition, as well as engage and develop relationships with consumers, Hearn (2008) states:

The term 'brand' is most commonly understood to stand for a distinct form of marketing practice intended to link products and services with resonant cultural meanings through the use of narratives and images. (P.199)

Brand consumption is an important part of the formation and expression of youth identity and culture (Cherrington, 2006; Dietz, 2008) and the associations that accompany a product or brand create are, like personal identity, often constructed throughout a variety of mediums, contexts, events and interactions (Gee & Jackson, 2010). By drawing upon the implicit associations of already present cultures brands act as symbols, representing a countless number of readings and meanings that are in turn translated, utilised and conveyed by the consumer in the pursuit of identity creation and proclamation (Hearn, 2008). In considering this demand for cultural identification through consumption Horkheimer and Adorno (2006) argue that capitalism and commercialism drives companies to act as 'culture industries', mass producing 'cultural blueprints' designed to maximise profit and power and into which society and its culture is moulded, formed and replicated through the desire to construct identities from this mass produce. Alternatively, Holt (2002) illustrates a more consumer empowered account of branded culture, describing consumers as treating contemporary branding as a cultural resource and engaging with brands they consider useful in the representation of the self, here the consumer is considered a cultural bricoleur that picks, chooses and assembles identity from fragmented and repurposed materials created by commercial branding (Deuze, 2006). However, Holt (2002) goes on to regard the state of the issue as, in all likelihood, lying somewhere along a continuum of these two accounts of commercial determinism and consumer liberalism. The extent of the underlying power relationships between brand, identity, consumption and culture

aside, it is clear that companies have a vested interest in the promotion of this branded consumer culture as it allows the formation of an emotionally invested, loyal base of consumers (Hearn, 2008). Additionally it provides a vehicle for the appropriation of larger market shares and even the creation or definition of new cohorts within larger markets (Casswell, 2004; McEwan et al., 2010). The following section will consider alcohol advertising including research from Aotearoa/New Zealand and some of the implications it has for a tertiary student population.

Alcohol advertising

In research that involves a wide range of epistemological and methodological approaches, alcohol advertising has been consistently linked to drinking practices and integrated into consumer's attitudes towards drinking, and this is particularly true for youth populations (Committee on Communications, 2006; Connolly, Casswell, Zhang, & Silva, 1994; Cooke et al., 2004; Jernigan, Ostroff, & Ross, 2005). For example increased exposure and relevance of advertising often correlates to the onset of underage or early drinking and the development of risky drinking patterns in later adolescence (Anderson, De Bruijn, Angus, Gordon, & Hastings, 2009; Casswell et al., 2002; Smith & Foxcroft, 2009). Alcohol advertising has also been shown to be heavily incorporated into youth constructions of identity and culture within Aotearoa/New Zealand, a process that has been argued to encourage consumption as an expression of identity (McCreanor, Barnes, Gregory, Kaiwai, & Borell, 2005).

In 1992 alcohol companies in Aotearoa/New Zealand were granted the ability to advertise their brands on broadcast media, previously they were allowed only to advertise outlets and services or the presence of a larger corporate body (McEwan et al., 2010), leading to a fourfold increase of alcohol advertising on television (Huckle et al., 2006). The advertising practices of alcohol companies in Aotearoa/New Zealand are currently self regulated and companies abide by a voluntary code of conduct (Casswell, 2004). This is concerning when it is apparent that the interests of commercial advertisers do not always correspond with those of private or public health agencies seeking to promote and protect communities and youth populations from the malign effects of alcohol (New Zealand Law Commission, 2010). For example, Cooke et al (2004) came to the conclusion that "Ultimately responsibility will always lose out to commercial pressure." (Pg. 6); they found that self regulation often relied on public reporting of potential code breaches, which resulted in a low amounts of infractions reported, and also that these regulatory boards were often formed from parties with ties to the alcohol industries, leading to regulation that eschewed societal interests.

The marketing practices of alcohol companies within Aotearoa/New Zealand make use of previously described branded consumer culture; creating campaigns that are designed to illustrate the consumption of a product as encompassing, representative of, and contextualised within, dominant youth cultures and discourses allowing for the easy uptake of brand into the construction of personal identity (McCreanor, Barnes, Kaiwai, Borell, & Gregory, 2008). Illustrating this, McCreanor, Greenaway, Barnes, Borell, and Gregory (2005) found Tui beer's "yeah right" campaign references popular youth culture and contemporary social memes, employing scepticism and irony in the creation of a humorous campaign; all of which appeals to a youthful audience. To further illustrate the alcohol industry's interest in the student demographic, Cousins and Kypri (2008) note that alcohol advertising is pervasive among university student presses within Aotearoa/New Zealand and make the observation that advertising in student union run papers can actually bypass many university policies concerning alcohol advertising on campus, as these student unions are often subject to independent sets of operating policies.

Advertising for beer is particularly prominent within Aotearoa/New Zealand and while smaller independent breweries exist, currently beer brewing is dominated by two international companies, Lion Nathan and Dominion Breweries (McEwan et al., 2010). Nationally alcohol companies spent a combined \$50 Million on advertising and sponsorship in 2008 (McEwan et al., 2010). There are two simplistic theories for companies to increase their profits. Firstly companies can attempt to increase their market share; this places companies in competition with each other through the promotion of their brands over competitors. However, a second route to increased profit requires merely the increase of the overall market itself; in this aspect alcohol companies can cooperate to encourage non-drinking potential markets to drink or to increase the consumption in those already drinking. The previously described invested transnational interest when combined with large spending power from alcohol companies within Aotearoa/New Zealand is therefore concerning. These companies' advertisements have been shown to incorporate, as well as assimilate into, the culture and drinking practices of various segments of society and there is an interest for them to cooperate in the creation of additional markets as well as growing the consumption of those currently established.

Alcohol sponsorship of events, activities and particularly sports, has long been recognised as an additional form of marketing (Gee & Jackson, 2010). In return for the provision of resources to hold an event or fund a sports team, alcohol companies generally receive product placement at the event,

free advertising and perhaps most importantly the accumulation of cultural meaning and contextual association around their brand or product (Gee & Jackson, 2010; Hearn, 2008; Klein, 2000). An example of this in Aotearoa/New Zealand is the sponsorship of rugby teams by beer companies and bars which reinforces drinking traditions and ties both brand and drinking to cultural values and ideals such as masculinity and national pride (New Zealand Law Commission, 2010). Tertiary students have historically been cast as lacking in financial power and as such student run unions looking to promote tertiary life and encourage bonding for newly arriving students tend to rely on money from external sources to organise events. Alcohol companies, with their previously mentioned interest in establishing themselves into student culture, often provide money and resources for student unions on the understanding that their brands are allowed a presence around campus and events. Talking to local ex-student presidents provides examples of this interest including: Financial assistance for setting up an on campus student-run bar, branded apparel and item giveaways for students, and orientation event sponsorship with the expectation of advertising, official mention and often the right of sole product supply at specific events (M. Poucher and A. Maynard, personal communication, 13th March 2011).

Youth within Aotearoa/New Zealand have been discussed as being subject to a large amount of targeted alcohol advertising or sponsorship. The current state of branded consumerism and advertising works through a method of segmenting off a share of the market to allow the incorporation, and often shaping, of culture present for the purposes of more efficiently targeted advertising strategies and campaigns (Casswell, 2004). Whilst there have been far fewer studies considering tertiary students in Aotearoa/New Zealand than youth in general, students represent just such a segment of this youth market; with a unique culture to draw upon and a history that already incorporates drinking they are easily targeted. This constant presence of advertising and sponsorship enables alcohol companies to foster what McCreanor et al (2008) describe as intoxicogenic environments. As the result of a well financed, sophisticated and many faceted approach to brand promotion or portrayal, alcohol and consumption to intoxication are both naturalised and even endorsed by consumers within these environments (McCreanor et al., 2008). McCreanor et al also posit that the rise in advertising over new media technologies, including social networking, strengthens the effect and influence of these intoxicogenic environments. This is supported by Griffiths and Casswell's (2010) findings concerning Bebo use in Aotearoa/New Zealand youth. They describe the social networking site as allowing for the creation of an "intoxicogenic digital space" where alcohol advertising and material is passed amongst peers, encouraging the creation of "intoxicogenic social

identities” which serve to further normalise youth consumption of alcohol. Given the importance of these sites to contemporary students, their commercial aspects and implications of this commercialisation for their users will be considered below.

Facebook as a commercial space

“A brand on Facebook should be like a casual friend or neighbor and not try to suck people into heavy levels of interaction. What do you do with a friend? Comment on their photos, like their status, vote on their outfit. These types of interactions take seconds, not minutes, and definitely not hours.”

Peter Yared vice president and general manager of Webtrend Apps, (2010).

The internet is often heralded as a democratising and empowering force and is described as a new public sphere (Beer, 2009; Fuchs, 2010). For example, the term Web 2.0 is used to illustrate the participatory capacity of the internet where networks of users are both the creators and consumers of content (Beer, 2009). However, it is becoming increasingly obvious that much of this rhetoric surrounding the internet is as yet unjustified or at least misleading; commonly cited exemplars of Web 2.0 technologies such as YouTube and SNSs are run by large companies and worth billions of dollars. Facebook for example is currently worth around \$US 50 billion (Craig & Sorkin, 2011), and much of its value is derived from what may be described as free labour, or the exploitation of its users online activities and socialisation (Fuchs, 2010). Furthermore the medium is being used by advertisers in what Chester, Montgomery, and Dorfman (2010) describe as a 360 degree advertising strategy, where companies complement a wide range of offline advertising techniques with the exploitation of the constant connectivity new media technologies allow, such as smartphones, in an attempt to create an ever-present notion, or context, for their brands. Whilst the platform of Facebook may provide some social good or utility it would be remiss to ignore the commercial presence and influences upon it.

In addition to being a space for individuals to connect, interact and keep in touch, Facebook is also heavily commercialised, and currently this trend only seems to be growing. Estimates put revenue from Facebook advertising at around \$US 1.8 billion for the year 2010 and this is forecast to grow to around \$US 4 billion for 2011 and as much as \$US 6 billion for 2012 (Atkinson, 2011). Facebook has three main options for commercial interests to promote their products or companies. First, there is

an almost traditional augmented form of print media advertising. These advertisements are presented in an easily identifiable advertising area to the right of a user's profile. The move to a digital medium utilises user information and means a user views advertising that is dependent on the information and interests they have entered into their personal profile (Chester et al., 2010; Facebook.com, 2011c). Second, there is a more blended approach which requires that a company sets up an informational or promotional page for users to 'like'; with this version of advertising comes the possibility for interaction and friend-like activity but users must actively 'like' a page for this to be the case. These product pages can post updates to their followers' newsfeeds letting them know about special deals, upcoming events or activities, or merely instigate discussions and ask questions. An additional advantage of this form is that when a user 'likes' a product, Facebook publishes this to their friends' feeds announcing the fact, and allowing them to 'like' the page as well. Thirdly, a less traditional form of advertising upon Facebook, and the internet in general, has been recognised by companies. Individuals are more likely to have similar tastes to those comprising their close networks, and increased influence and trust; this creates social networking sites as the perfect ground for the instigation of viral campaigns (Freeman & Chapman, 2008). Creating consumer-producers of advertising material, companies can reach a large targeted audience at minimal cost and effort to themselves. The goal here becomes one of finding material consumers are likely to pass on through their personal networks and newsfeeds whilst at the same time still retaining brand identity for recognition or uptake (Chester et al., 2010). Finally looking to the future, Facebook has been trialling a more aggressive form of advertising recently that monitors chat conversations, exchanges and posts in real time, then offers advertisements based upon this material, again in real time (Slutsky, 2011). This last example illustrates the blurred nature of data privacy on these sites when considering corporate interest, as well as the incredible amount of leverage and data that Facebook can offer to companies.

Facebook offers much in the way of opportunities for alcohol marketers. Firstly, the turn towards internet advertising may be a reactionary response from alcohol marketers as their products become subject to stricter regulations upon the mediums of television and radio; mediums that are easier to enforce regulations upon (Freeman & Chapman, 2008). There is a lack of public debate surrounding the practices of advertisers on SNSs, or the internet in general, and this seems to have resulted in a shortage of regulation in the spaces of these new media technologies. For example Casswell (2004) describes the problem as one of legal and practical complexity, as even countries with rigorous broadcasting standards surrounding alcohol tend to have little applicable control over online

advertising and the subsequent exposure of vulnerable demographics such as youth. This complexity is compounded by international alcohol companies creating advertising that is available to anyone online, and the companies themselves being outside the jurisdiction of those countries that might want to regulate this material (Freeman & Chapman, 2008). Another related issue is the problem that viral campaigning actually removes the burden of responsibility or accountability from companies for material propagated, and places it upon the consumers that pass this material on; SNSs in particular encourage a consumer-to-many model of sharing that suits this type of advertising, as well as makes it much easier to instigate (Chester et al., 2010). For commercial purposes Facebook can be seen as a relatively lightly regulated environment where the desired advertising practices of companies may find few restrictions.

Secondly, Facebook offers a high degree of compatibility with the current commercial trend of branded consumerism. Users display profiles to each other, create material and have discussions with their peers on the site, but they do so in the context of a heavily commercialised space. They are provided easy access to branded pages for 'liking', offsite links to product images and videos for sharing, and to aid in the normalisation of usage, their peers' similar interactions with commercial materials are made visible to them. These sites are a perfect place for brands to be used in the construction of identities, and the importance of Facebook to student culture allows brands to develop the cultural association and meaning that is required for successful marketing (Griffiths & Casswell, 2010). The online medium also allows for a greater degree of interaction and immersion to be present in these marketing strategies; by creating virtual online worlds around alcohol brands such as "Heineken city" or games in which branded alcohol products are engaged and interacted with, consumers are more fully immersed in the context and the development of meaning that companies are attempting to associate with their brands (Chester et al., 2010; Hearn, 2008; Klein, 2000). Facebook therefore represents an excellent environment for alcohol companies to add extra value to their brands through the accrual of cultural capital and associated meaning.

Finally the power of information that these sites can potentially offer to alcohol advertisers is immense and the processes by which it is generated are often relatively invisible, concealing the underlying commercial power and potential of these sites (Beer, 2009). Fuchs (2010) describes SNSs as treating their user bases as commodities whose content and data exists to be sold to advertisers. He describes the idea that users produce a valuable swathe of information for free, and at the same

time also provide a large further definable consumer market, as leading to “the total commodification of human creativity” (P.192). The daily exchanges of information with peers about what they like and that illustrate their everyday life happenings, surrounding ideals, or cultures, can be coupled to demographic profile information resulting in an incredibly useful data cache. This data can be utilised to offer commercial interests very selective and defined portions of the online community for the purposes of targeted advertising. However, perhaps even more appealing to commercial interests is the opportunity to mine such data for insight and information into various demographics’ local cultures and practices. As described previously these sites are far more integrated into the offline lives and culture of users and may therefore provide relevant insights for alcohol companies to work from. Facebook’s wealth of information, resulting from their dominance of user base, offers alcohol advertisers both the ability to target current advertising campaigns more effectively and a resource from which they might investigate and assimilate user data into the development of future campaigns.

The current study

Cherrington et al (2006) note there is a lack of studies that address the social context of alcohol advertising, influence and meaning making, while McCreanor et al (2005) and Chester et al (2010) assert the need to consider the influences of new technologies such as mobile phones, the internet, and SNSs when addressing the mechanisms of advertising, individuals and local cultures. Whilst there has been increasing academic interest in the role of SNSs in the lives of youth in particular there are still relatively few studies that look at the interactions between these sites users’ culture and practices surrounding alcohol and alcohol companies interests. Furthermore those studies that address such areas often focus upon the larger demographic of youth, which current marketing strategies may consider too broad for effective hybridisation of the computational power of new communication technologies and branded consumerism theory (Beer, 2009; Hearn, 2008; Klein, 2000). By selecting a smaller defined segment of the youth demographic, students, which has traditionally been targeted by alcohol companies, it is possible that a more comprehensible illustration of marketing techniques and influences may be found. Also even in the increasing amount of comparable contemporary studies there are relatively few that attempt to investigate the interactions between the three major aspects of this study, namely alcohol consumption in students, SNSs and advertising.

The current study aims to further our understandings of how and why tertiary students continue to drink heavily within Aotearoa/New Zealand and to investigate their experiences with, and the related influences of, both Facebook and advertising in relation to this drinking. The study also considers the influence of advertising upon individual's consumption and culture by incorporating an approach that allows for the inclusion of social context. A thorough understanding of this area may be beneficial for many. For example local universities may find more effective ways of decreasing the issue of heavy student drinking, it could potentially offer government a clearer picture of the influence of, and need to regulate, advertising practices over new technologies such as SNSs, and it might inform health agencies as to more effective strategies and discourses for media campaigns against heavy drinking. This study seeks to address the following key research questions:

- 1) What are tertiary students' experiences surrounding their drinking? Why do they drink?
What do they gain from it?
- 2) Can tertiary students identify examples of alcohol advertising campaigns? Do the ways in which they discuss alcohol products and advertising relate to the ways in which the products themselves are marketed?
- 3) Is the use and culture of SNSs incorporated into drinking practices and ideals of students?
How might the socialisation on this platform relate to a culture of heavy student drinking?
Does it reinforce and encourage it?
- 4) Is alcohol advertising on SNSs treated differently to other forms of online advertising by tertiary students?

Chapter 2: Methodology

Research approach

Both parts of the current study used forms of discourse analysis, a methodology that draws upon the epistemological assumptions of social constructionism. Social constructionism posits that knowledge, and often by extension reality, is constructed through a person's interactions with other people (Crotty, 1998). How we understand the world and give meaning to it is therefore seen as entwined with our social processes. How we choose to describe our experiences and reality actively shapes and creates it, a result being that language often is considered of primary importance in the construction of knowledge, as language is how we create and exchange meaning (Misra, 1993). Universal knowledge, or pure objective fact, becomes impossible to attain as all observation and experience of an external world is seen as mediated and shaped by a person's unique combinations of precursory knowledge, experience and context. Instead of the pursuit of a unique and singular truth, as is often common in traditional psychological research, social constructionism leads researchers to acknowledge a multiplicity of truths surrounding a topic or phenomenon. The focus of research then becomes consideration and investigation of the processes in which people construct meaning and knowledge together (Lyons & Chamberlain, 2006; Tuffin, 2005). This subjective view of the nature of knowledge forms the basis for research data that acknowledges it is inextricably contextualised within factors such as the historical period and locality of the research (Lyons & Chamberlain, 2006) as well as being shaped by the researcher's enmeshment with the process of researching the phenomenon under study (Willig, 2001).

Acknowledging an approach to knowledge that focuses upon the importance of socially constructed knowledge, the current study was designed around the experiences and discussions of friendship groups. Groups of friends were gathered to discuss their groups' drinking experiences, use of Facebook and any alcohol advertising they had come into contact with, particularly in online environments. They used an internet enabled laptop to illustrate much of this, resulting in a hybridisation of guided informal discussions and show-and-tell sessions.

Recruitment

Recruitment for friendship groups was undertaken by putting flyers up around two university campuses (see Appendix A), Massey Wellington and Palmerston North, in various locations including

school notice boards, library workspaces and student association controlled areas. I also talked to 2 undergraduate psychology classes to recruit participants. Participants were required to be between 18 and 25 years of age, they needed to use social networking sites, drink alcohol together and to be fluent in spoken English. Respondents were recruited from flyers and word of mouth, in each instance a single person contacted me via text or Facebook and we organised when would be convenient for their group to come in for a discussion. Upon arriving for the discussions participants were given an information sheet (see Appendix B) to read through and the chance to ask questions or opt out of partaking in the study. To say thank you for giving up their time and being involved in the study, participants were given a \$20 Whitcoulls store gift voucher each.

Participants

Thirteen participants (10 female, 3 male) across three discussion groups took part in the study. Participants in the friendship groups were university students aged 19-23 and all attended the Palmerston North campus of Massey University (perhaps due to the fact that I live in the area and was able to be more active in the recruitment process on this campus). Twelve participants identified as New Zealand European and one as European/Maori and were studying a variety of courses including business, veterinary, psychology, engineering, and sociology. The groups were made up as follows:

Group 1: Geoffrey (M), Tanner (M), Ranga (F), Shaniqua (F), Table (F).

Group2: Extra strudel (F), Mary Magdalene (F), Bubbles (M), Mojojojo (F).

Group 3: Aquamarine (F), Daisy (F), Cherry (F), Fonzo (F).

Friendship group discussions

The use of friendship groups acknowledges the epistemological underpinning of the current research. How friends talk about their drinking, Facebook and their experiences with alcohol advertising as a group provides insight into their already existing relationships, shared knowledge and meanings. Furthermore, drinking and Facebook use are highly entwined with the processes and interactions of local friendship circles or peers, and how advertising is included and constructed within this social context is something identified by previous research as an area that requires further investigation (Chester et al., 2010; Freeman & Chapman, 2008; Griffiths & Casswell, 2010; McCreanor, Greenaway, et al., 2005).

The discussions each lasted approximately an hour and were recorded using both an audio and video recorder (Audio recorder: Olympus WS-400, Video recorder: Sony DCR-SR47E). The discussions took part in a room of the Massey University Psychology building. Participants introduced themselves conveying their name, age, current program of study, and their ethnicity. They were then asked to select their own pseudonyms and following this the discussion began. The discussions were conducted in an informal manner and based around guiding questions (see Appendix C) to elicit information regarding participants' opinions and behaviours around their drinking, social networking use, and knowledge of online advertising for alcohol. Snacks and non-alcoholic drinks were provided and consumed throughout the discussion, which aided in the creation of a friendly and informal atmosphere. Everyone seemed comfortable with the format of these discussions and groups were happy to share a range of thoughts and experiences, from fun social uses of both alcohol and SNSs to concerns they might have surrounding their drinking culture and online activities. In addition to the audio and visual recording devices, a laptop (a Hewlett-Packard tx2000) connected to the internet was present in the discussions. The laptop enabled participants to illustrate material they were talking about, to gain better insight as to how the groups interacted with online web pages and advertising, and to show examples of online alcohol advertisements. The laptop was placed in the middle of the group, visible to all participants, and its screen activity was captured to video using VLC media player's capture mode (capturing at 25 FPS, using the H.264 codec, no audio). Participants were all informed of the screen capture and assured that no other data (such as keystrokes and typed passwords) would be recorded.

Website identification

One of the aims of this research was to explore online alcohol advertising. Therefore, two websites were identified in advance, the Tui beer webpage and the Facebook product page of Jim Beam bourbon (see Figure 1), for instances when participants could not identify or recall their own examples to discuss. Participants were asked specifically about any online alcohol advertising that they had encountered, and what forms these took. Participants either showed examples of advertising they had come into contact with on the laptop or discussed the two prepared examples. Two groups identified a number of examples with relevant webpages, and generated good discussion around these. However, one group was uncertain that they could identify any advertising they had come across and so were presented with the prepared examples. They then alternated back and forth between the Tui and Jim Beam pages, whilst discussing them.



Fig 1. *www.Tui.co.nz* Homepage (left) and the Facebook wall of Jim Beam bourbon (right).

One of the prepared examples (The Tui beer site) was used and discussed by all groups as it was spontaneously mentioned by the two groups which showed their own examples. Much discussion took place regarding the advertising sites and intended targets of the various sites visited, and there was a certain amount of exploration of each site, particularly those that offered links to images and forwarded users onto sites such as Facebook.

Discourse analysis

As knowledge is seen as constructed and shaped through social interaction, then how people exchange, navigate and negotiate meaning to create this knowledge is important. Language, both spoken and written, is often viewed as a primary ground for this construction of knowledge and is the focus of methodologies, such as discourse analysis, that are based upon social constructionist theory. Discourses are groups or patterns of language and meaning which are created, drawn upon and perpetuated within societies through various social processes and modes of communication (Taylor, 2001; Willig, 2001). As such discourse analysis considers how people are using language to construct or convey meaning, envisaging language as always active in its use. This is in opposition to more traditional approaches that consider language a passive, descriptive, medium and often construct it as a tool used to describe an objective external reality. Identification of a particular discourse necessarily relies on familiarity with the area or topic it addresses. This leads to the desirability of the researcher being familiar with, or immersed within, the topic being researched and stands in opposition to a positivist approach that values an attempt to be removed, objective and unbiased in the collection of data.

Discourse analysis is often split into two broad categories of micro and macro analysis (Van Dijk, 2001). Micro analysis focuses on how language functions and is being used in the more immediate context, setting or interaction (Van Dijk, 2001). For example, micro analysis investigates how language may be used in talk to justify, rationalise or convince. Macro analysis, on the other hand, tends towards looking at the wider social implications of discourses (Van Dijk, 2001). Macro analysis considers factors such as what societal structures, ideologies or groups are empowered, marginalised, supported or exploited by the choice of language used and considers the wider implications of drawing upon certain discursive resources and constructing issues in a particular way (Lyons, Madden, Chamberlain, & Carr, 2010; Taylor, 2001). The current study attempted a blending of the two approaches; where appropriate micro level analysis was used to form the basis for considering the wider implications of discursive material present as in previous research (Bowskill, Lyons, & Coyle, 2007; Lyons et al., 2010).

Analysis

Transcription

Transcription of group discussions was taken from both audio and video recording, the latter proving to be the most useful for transcription purposes as it helped to identify speakers, and allowed for greater levels of detail regarding group interaction and body language. I transcribed one group and the remaining two groups were transcribed by Vanessa Green a research assistant to the larger Marsden project, in which this project was situated. I then read over the two transcripts I had not transcribed myself and areas of uncertainty, as well as passages that were inconsistent with my memory of the group's discussion, were reviewed using the original source audio and video material. Following this revisions to the transcripts were made. Transcription was undertaken using the software packages Express scribe and Transana. The notation used for transcriptions (see Appendix D) was relatively simple yet proved very flexible when dealing with the intricacies that arose from the group discussions. Transcription was not a straightforward process. Group discussions sometimes involved up to 5 people talking at once, resulting in a situation that no amount of watching the video or listening to the digital recorder could decipher. Added to this were situations and words that make perfect sense at the time but upon review become more ambiguous; or words that were spoken in response to others but which haven't been picked up by either of the recording devices and therefore lack meaningful context. It became obvious quickly that multiple readings or interpretations of the situation exist in the creation of a transcript, and this was particularly so when the transcriber was not present at the discussion. Although the transcript does not represent a

complete and all encompassing account of events, if we acknowledge it as one of many possible understandings of the discussions, as well as acknowledging the personal influences of the researcher when choosing what to pay attention to or what meanings to ascribe to situations and conversation, it retains validity for the extraction and study of discourse.

Discussion group analysis

Transcripts of friendship group discussions were read through multiple times to gain familiarity with them and interesting or relevant passages were highlighted and then extracted for future consideration. On later readings a variety of themes and related extracts were sorted into the three general categories of student drinking, Facebook and alcohol advertising to create a thematic tree (See Appendix E), the broad nature of the three categories meant that almost all the data was represented over the three categories. 6 themes relating to discussants' drinking, 8 relating to Facebook use and 9 to Advertising were identified. Each theme was then further examined for sub thematic construction (around 3-5 key aspects of the theme) and a written description of the theme was recorded including: its mechanisms; overlap and interaction with other themes; functions; and implications. There was much resulting overlap: both in terms of themes overlapping and referencing one another, as well as singular extracts or themes being placed and present in multiple categories. Again the bottom up approach to data extraction and coding meant that the original transcripts were almost able to be fully reconstituted from the process of extract categorisation into the thematic and sub thematic material. Whilst this process was incredibly time consuming it provided a very broad and richly detailed picture of the discussions to easily work from. The original research questions were then consulted in order to focus upon those themes and extracts that were relevant to the study and these were then read over to identify potential patterns in the language and constructions of the discussions. As Potter and Wetherell (2004) describe, this process involved continual rereading and grouping of data in an effort to identify both similarities and differences between accounts and this grouping and identification was decidedly circular in nature. For example, large similarities in function, format and language employed in discussion of drinking and Facebook lead to the rereading of text that dealt with advertising to determine whether a larger pattern or discourse could be tentatively postulated. Four discourses were identified and selected for further write up and summarisation using a blended approach that incorporated the micro functioning of language and interactions as described by Potter and Wetherell (2004) or Taylor (2001) with Willig's (2001) description of the wider implications of action orientated language and subject positions of discourses.

Ethical considerations

The nature of the Friendship groups meant that issues of confidentiality and privacy were more complex to deal with than with individual interviews. Group based discussions meant more than an individual and I had access to their potentially sensitive information, however this issue seems mostly countered by the groups already being friends and much of the information discussed would be already known to the people involved. There remained the possibility for discussion contents to be disclosed to outside parties by both participants and the research itself. Potentially, this could prove harmful or embarrassing were participants identifiable and so the group discussions used pseudonyms for reporting findings as well as any further identifying data, such as friends names and places being replaced or omitted. Additionally participants were required to sign a confidentiality form that stated they would not repeat material covered in the discussions elsewhere (although it is worth noting that groups almost certainly discussed most of the material that would be deemed potentially sensitive before the friendship group discussions). All consent forms, transcripts and other personal data were kept on password protected laptops and in locked storage at the Wellington campus of Massey University.

The nature of the discussions was also identified as potentially leading to harm and discomfort, as participants might worry about their levels of alcohol consumption. We identified local support organisations for alcohol related problems and provided each participant with a range of relevant support services (See Appendix F). Additionally, I was prepared for the possibility of this discomfort arising during the discussions and had reasonable courses of action to take should it occur; these included moving discussions on from particularly sensitive issues, pausing to remind discussants that they need not discuss anything potentially harmful or embarrassing and finally, if necessary, halting the groups.

Another issue considered was the ownership of the group discussions. If an individual within a group discussion decides they don't want their individual input recorded and used for the study, then proceeding may become complex as removing an individual's contribution from a larger discussion can result in the remaining text becoming incoherent and lacking much in terms of the defining context. For this study it was decided that a case by case look at the transcripts would be sufficient to determine whether the removal of an individual contribution, without excessive loss to the

discussion, would be possible. Fortunately, all individuals involved were happy to have their input included as part of their groups' discussions.

Finally the research needed to consider bicultural issues, whether the project was likely to affect Māori or Māori interests and whether it complied with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. The project did not unjustifiably exclude Māori and aimed to be considerate of any cultural differences that may have arisen from the structure of the research. Research must also consider any possible benefits or risks of research that is done with Māori participants. Whilst ethnicity was collected for my study it was not intended for the basis of any sort of analysis, it was instead collected to describe the sample. Associate Professor Helen Moewaka Barnes and Dr Tim McCreanor (Whariki Research Centre; SHORE & Whariki Research Centre), as part of a larger team investigating drinking cultures in New Zealand, provided input into those issues present that might intersect with Māori interests present in this study and that needed addressing, for example those of Māori participants, the use of their data, and the study's findings. During the collection of data, one participant identified as European/Māori and no issues or discomfort with the study were evident that would have warranted further input or cultural advice.

The study applied for ethics approval from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC). After providing for, and illuminating, a few minor areas of concern ethics was granted at the end of May 2010 (Southern B, application: 10/10).

Reflexivity

Research based upon social constructionist epistemology views the researcher as an active influence involved in, and intrinsically tied to, the research process. This is present in every facet of research; from choosing a topic, the formation of a research question, the collecting and interpreting of data, and even the way in which we choose to disseminate any resulting knowledge. As such it is necessary to understand and articulate the ways in which who I am shapes and changes my research. I am a 30 year old male Masters student of New Zealand European ethnicity, with undergraduate degrees in both psychology and media studies to accompany a fair amount of papers, accrued from interest, surrounding philosophy and the 'hard' sciences.

I chose to study student drinking, Facebook, and alcohol advertising as they were a relevant blend of my undergraduate studies. Finally having partaken in the student drinking culture and having found it fun but also surrounded by conformity to a widely acknowledged norm, I was interested in the entanglement of student culture and alcohol advertising discourse. Whilst I do not agree with the current media representations that student drinking is a particularly new problem or one that is accelerating at an alarming rate, I do agree that there is the need an informed public debate on the issue and the implementation of more effective strategies for changing the drinking culture within Aotearoa/New Zealand's student population.

At 30 I was older than any of the participants of the study, yet I am still a student; I live in similar circumstances to most of the participants, I face many of the same concerns and I believe that the discussions were reasonably naturalised and benefitted as a result. I was familiar with most of the material participants talked about which meant that I could investigate relevant areas without having to get them to stop the discussion to explain to me what they were talking about. This is important when considering that a lot of the details relayed were of personal experiences, and closer bonding or association with groups likely resulted in more material, or that of greater relevance, being discussed. The discussions were good natured, flowing, enthusiastic and fun most of the time and this seems important due to the nature of the topics, such as friendship and socialisation, under discussion.

Being male certainly would have played a role in shaping the discussions. While there was a majority of females in the groups and they did bring up the topics of such things as girls night out and concerns that were related to being female within the student drinking culture, these are things that I only have a shallow knowledge of and little insight around. This can have an effect when considering the kinds of questions I might ask to elicit discussion, but also when considering what the groups might think I am interested in hearing them talking about. Some interesting points were made regarding gender, but there may have been more (perhaps) if the facilitator was female. On the other hand, males were numerically underrepresented in the study and their input could have been subdued in the presence of a mostly female group and female interviewer. As it was, in the groups with both males and females present both genders contributed enthusiastically.

Finally, my previous experience and understanding with online technologies and the student drinking scene certainly shaped my study and the discussions, at points I would look back and try to decide if I had led the discussion to a particular point or whether we had got there as a result of a more organic progression of topics and discussion. I think this was exaggerated by the fact that a lot of the views or opinions expressed, surrounding online behaviour and drinking, were near parallel to my own. Upon reviewing the discussions and transcripts this fear was mostly unfounded, but there were occasions where it was important to note the context of how some material eventuated and this influenced the resulting analysis.

Chapter 3: Results

Pleasurable Consumption

“I try to, I try to drink not so much {laughs}, but it just doesn’t work out” – Daisy

“I, I like beer ads a lot more than I like beer” – Extra Strudel

All three groups constructed their use of Facebook and alcohol products similarly, particularly, in ways that promoted these two activities as enjoyable and fun. Drinking and a presence on Facebook were both considered activities that maintained friendships and were important parts of individual’s social lives. In addition, pleasure from drinking was seen as arising from the easier, more meaningful social interactions and the fun, entertaining events that occurred as a result of groups’ drinking. Pleasurable Facebook use was considered to arise from the ease of socialisation as well as the ability to convey and project identity within the context of peer groups. Individuals easily, and often forgoing any critical awareness, aligned themselves with products and commercial material in ways that expressed group norms including: Heavy drinking, entertainment and a lack of seriousness, ‘studentdom’ and national pride. As a result groups were seen as drawing upon a discourse of pleasurable consumption which often served to position them as having fun loving students and constructed their behaviour as necessary to illustrate this. I discuss this discourse further below.

Drinking was considered a fun and pleasurable thing to do for each of the groups due to it often constructed as synonymous with socialising. Groups invariably related stories of closer bonding and easier, more entertaining, socialising experiences that were attributed to their drinking alcohol. Alcohol was discussed in terms that created it as specifically part of the social group, affording it group roles that a peer might usually be considered to occupy as shown in the extract below:

Excerpt 1

Ranga: That’s actually probably why we are friends though, like because we were in a class last year but the only reason we actually became like a group of friends is because we were drinking together because of that class ay?

Tanner: Cause of {alcohol, {all laugh} bringing people together

Ranga: [it’s like

Shaniqua: It brought you together It’s the, [it’s the invisible thir.. ah fourth friend

Geoffrey: [It does ay?

Ranga: mmm

Table: yeah

Geoffrey: Ah and it’s like someone you’ve never met before, like you’ve seen them in the library you’ve like, you don’t even know them but then going into t.., you’ve bumped into them, like you know on the chop, and then you just, now whenever you see them at the library you go “hey how’s it going” {all laugh}

Ranga: yeah, shared experience (1) yeah, hard out.

(Group 1)

Here the group's friendship is explicitly created by the shared activity of drinking, constructed in such a way that it is seen as unlikely that just being in a class together would have been enough to consolidate a friendship. Drinking together is what allowed, or created, socialisation and the formation of their friendships. They go on to describe alcohol as the "*fourth friend*"; imbued with the ability to bring together friends as well as introduce strangers. Alcohol is given an active role in the creation of the group's socialising and discussed in terms of having its own agency. This embedding of alcohol into the social processes of the groups allows for pleasure to be attained through its consumption, as consumption serves to maintain friendships and create opportunities for socialisation. Additionally, binge drinking becomes a much more acceptable practice when the ability to socialise is attributed to alcohol rather than the individual. This serves to counter many of the prominent arguments, particularly news media representations of students, surrounding the detrimental effects of binge drinking, by drawing upon the notions of friendship and the need for intimate and meaningful socialisation. This is shown in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 2

Cherry: I think I've tried getting drunk on my own and it hasn't ended up very well {laughs} 'cause you tend to have

Daisy: More

Cherry: Just you [and the alcohol]

Daisy: [Yea so you don't talk to anyone]

Ross: Right

Daisy: And it's just drinking the whole time and it's just like you get smashed

Cherry: Like one [night]

Fonzo: [but you're not really having fun, it's just like you know {looking at Daisy}]

Cherry: these guys were in town, and I was kind of left alone, 'cause I didn't want to go out, and I was drinking and they came back and I was quite off my face and (1), I dunno

Aquamarine: I guess the thing about drinking like I guess your mood kind of improves, and then you kind of bounce off each other's excitement and you kind of gets you all amped up if you are going into town

Daisy: Yea, that's pretty much it, or just for fun

Fonzo: {nods} Just to have a better time.

(Group 3)

Here group 3 considers their ideas surrounding alcohol as a primary source of entertainment. Drinking by themselves has been attempted as substitute fun for the more sociable drinking practice of going to town. However, when Fonzo states "*But you're not really having fun ...*" it highlights the inadequacy of alcohol alone to create entertainment. Although alcohol is associated with fun, and therefore it would make sense to try drinking alone, the group settles upon interactions with people as necessary for a truly pleasurable and fun drinking experience. As Fonzo describes, alcohol is used "*Just to have a better time*"; it serves to improve the mood and fun had from socialising, and is pleasurable as an amplifier of socialisation rather than as an end unto itself, this idea was expressed

over each of the groups. Alcohol is used to amplify, and create, enjoyable social experiences which in turn serve to entrench alcohol deep within the groups' constructions of fun and pleasure.

The groups' use of Facebook drew upon a discourse of pleasurable consumption in ways very similar to drinking. Throughout the discussions laughter, joking, and friendly teasing surrounded interactions with Facebook. Group 1 made extensive use of the laptop provided and often the discussions with each of the groups would turn into show and tell styled presentations with them excitedly showing me their pages, events and photos on Facebook. Facebook use was constructed as amplifying the fun of socialising and drinking, with groups taking pleasure in a variety of social interactions made possible through Facebook, as well as gaining pleasure from the ability to illustrate their drinking behaviours to peers. This is illustrated in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 3

Geoffrey: {gesturing to Ranga} Go show the event that we just, we like as a group, [made before.

Ross: Oh really? You make like [drinking groups?

Tanner: [it failed though

Geoffrey: It failed we're actually changing the date on it but

Ranga: {reading from the screen} the best trip you will ever go on,

Geoffrey: (it'll be prime 'cause [we're actually going to drink)

Ranga: [I've had a few lately; this is one, the best trip you will ever go on. This is our trip to um.

Geoffrey: More information {Pointing at an option on the screen} {laughs} definitely more [information

Tanner: [Shocking.

Ranga: Drop a knee in awahuri {all start laughing at the event shown on the screen} yeah

Geoffrey: from Otaki pub {everyone laughing}

Ranga: Kiss a person if possible () classic

Geoffrey: Do a shotgun in Rotorua. Which is chuck a can, like chuck a key in a can pshhh {demonstrates a sculling action} hmmm yeah, responsible drinking {said jokingly, they're all smiling or laughing}

Tanner: Hardcore

(Group 1)

Group 1 enjoyed using Facebook to plan and create drinking based events as well as the socialisation that accompanied them. They exhibited their event to me with laughter explaining in great depth the various aspects they've thought to include, as well as enjoying discussing it amongst themselves. They showed some of their event pages to me and below, in the comments section, various people that had been invited were creating similar discussions to those the group had here. The accompanying discussions consisted of excited comments and affirmation of how good the event was going to be, as well as expressing the desire to drink at the event. Additionally, an event like this will usually be available for peers of creators to see, and once somebody clicks the "attending" button Facebook automatically publishes a mini-story to their feed that tells everyone that they're also attending this particular event. The creation of an event and notifying of attendance can be seen as drawing upon a discourse of pleasurable consumption through enabling the construction of an

individual as part of a heavy drinking culture, a culture they often explicitly describe in favourable terms. In each of the groups individuals enjoyed highlighting through Facebook the fact that they had been, or were going to be, drinking; examples of posts included status updates about “*feeling crap in the morning and saying oh that was so worth it*” (Mary Magdalene, Group 2) and “*Oh, so and so was trashed last night*” (Bubbles, Group 2) and “*man I had a good night, or looking forward to a good night*” (Aquamarine, Group 3). Individuals enjoyed posting updates, comments or photos that showed them as having fun and drinking. In this way a discourse of pleasurable consumption can be seen as being drawn upon in similar ways to how individuals drew upon it when engaging with advertising, described later in excerpts 6, 7 and 8, with pleasure being gained from the ability to promote identity online.

Pleasure was also gained from Facebook’s ease of use, multiple modes of communication and availability of information about peers. Facebook stalking, in particular, was mentioned by each of the groups as something they enjoyed about Facebook. Facebook stalking allowed individuals to peruse and collect peer’s information as well as just check up on friends without having to engage with them. The use of the word stalking implies pleasure may be being derived from the individual’s presence going unnoticed, and groups described the anonymity of this information collecting as enjoyable. Information about peer’s activities was prized and knowledge about events and happenings was constructed as highly pleasurable and desirable. The two excerpts below illustrate this. The first considers a more general ability to stalk anyone, whereas the second focuses on the stalking of closer peers as being enjoyable:

Excerpt 4

Daisy: I pretty much do it just to stalk people

Fonzo: Yea, stalking people’s fun

Daisy: or just, talking to, yea

Cherry: It is fun stalking people ‘cause you’re like, ooh so and so, and you don’t know who it is, so you just type their name in and bam

Fonzo: It’s pretty freaky

Aquamarine: It’s kind of like, um a lot of, of the ah social networking sites have got like a little MSN point thing to it now, so it’s kind of in between like your normal social networking site and MSN

Daisy: Yea, yea

Aquamarine: So it’s like an easier way to talk to people rather than texting

Daisy: As well as stalking=

Aquamarine: =Than just commenting on someone’s page and waiting for like {Fonzo and Daisy laugh}

Fonzo: She really wants to emphasize the stalking

(Group 3)

Two things are constructed as pleasurable in the first excerpt above: The ability to talk to people and the act of finding information out about people. Firstly, a certain amount of pleasure was expressed

surrounding the ability to find people online to chat to. Individuals in groups considered Facebook pleasurable to use because it's where everyone is. Part of the pleasure in using Facebook is tied to its popularity, not just because it is seen as the current "in" trend but because it serves as a digital town hall giving an easy location for friends to meet, chat and catch up. Secondly, Fonzo states "*stalking people's fun*" and each discussion group raised a similar point. Fonzo enjoys looking at the information of peers; each group relayed the idea that looking through photos, mutual friends and interests was fun and aided in socialising offline. A discourse of pleasurable consumption as drawn upon here relates to the pleasure of being in the know. The second excerpt below more explicitly deals with the idea that knowledge about what's going on or what has happened during a night is viewed as fun to know. Geoffrey draws upon the status of unknown peer relationships and language such as "geeze" and "scandal" to frame Facebook stalking as more akin to gossiping: A pleasurable light conversation and exchange of information amongst peers.

Excerpt 5

Geoffrey: Or such and such is in a relationship with such and such, ooh

Table & Ranga: Yeah

Geoffrey: see what they're like, let's have a look

Ross: The Facebook stalking? {following up to a term mentioned in pre-discussion chat}

Geoffrey, Ranga & Table: Yeah

Table: definitely

Geoffrey: It's key, it's key. Specially with like photos and stuff, have a geez through all the photos what happened that night, find out all the scandal.

(Group 1)

Groups consistently started the discussions surrounding commercial material with the opinion of not having seen much alcohol advertising and not paying it much attention. However, upon further discussion their experience and knowledge surrounding advertising campaigns was discovered to be quite vast. Drawing upon the pleasurable consumption discourse, group interactions with commercial material were positioned as engaging in entertainment, socialisation and constructing identity rather than engaging directly with advertising. This was increasingly so for non-traditional, online forms of advertising. Groups considered friend's posts of product links to their Facebook page as one of the previously mentioned undertakings of entertainment, socialisation or identity construction; at most such posts were considered incidentally advertising. This has to do with the type of material that was considered to be appropriate to post, material needs to be pleasurable to consume to justify sharing. Once material is shared in this context it becomes harder to identify as advertising. Below the groups discuss some of their ideas around alcohol advertising:

Excerpt 6

Shaniqua: well they're aimed, heaps of the beers are all aimed at just middle aged men like all the ads on TV for like Heineken or um Steinlager or whatever they're all, like 'cause that's the people in the ad so you assume that's their target demographic.

Geoffrey: And then you see like Tui and stuff and they're, they're just like taking the piss ay?

Shaniqua: Yeah, I just like the Tui ads, they're just funny like, like they're so like [you see them.
Ranga: [Tui's like a culture.
Shaniqua: yeah it's like you see them and you're like ha that's funny but it doesn't want you to go out, doesn't make you want to go out and buy Tui.
 [...]
Geoffrey: I reckon 'cause they're selling [what they're selling is the laugh I reckon so they're like if you if you buy Tui then you will get [a product that makes you get up to mischief and
Shaniqua: [you'll have fun.
Table: And the cool little quizzes underneath the, lids.
Shaniqua: Yeah the little what? T Zone?
Geoffrey: Oh yeah yeah [T Zone.
Ranga: [that's good times.
Geoffrey: That's actually quite fun, yeah that's definitely a culture ay? Like when you open it read the question if someone gets the question you have to skull down to the T.
Ranga: and then you know it's going to happen you know if you buy a box of Tui that game's going to happen. You don't buy Tui to not play the game
Shaniqua: Yeah no that's like, yeah, mates flat last week they played, they were like right we're going to have a Tui night and they actually played the T Zone the whole night. Got waaasted.

(Group 1)

Tui, a brand of beer, is discussed in terms of it being more of a culture rather than a product. The group sees Tui advertising as funny and mocking of all the serious beer advertisements, describing Tui as not trying to sell them beer. Rather, as Geoffrey states "*what they're selling is the laugh*". At the same time they believe the brand draws upon, and feeds into, their own culture of fun and mischievous drinking experiences. By consuming brand culture, rather than just the product, they can enjoy the associations that are characteristic of Tui and at the same time not consider it a result of advertising. This consumption of culture still leads back to actual product consumption though. When Shaniqua describes a flat's night being based upon their Tui branded drinking game and when Ranga asserts "*that's good times*" and that "*you don't buy Tui to not play the game*" it illustrates the discourse of pleasurable consumption entwined with the cultural capital of the brand. A branded drinking game is described as a pleasurable drinking experience. This aspect of pleasurable consumption is further illustrated below with two of the groups discussing the use of Kiwi iconography in advertising:

Excerpt 7

Cherry: I think Tui [seems like a real
Daisy: [it's more exciting
Cherry: New Zealand brand, like you feel it's New Zealand like it's always about good kiwi blokes and they've got like the Tui pie and the Tui sauce, now that's like
Ross: Oh true, yea Tui tomato sauce
Fonzo: It's quite nice
Cherry: Tuimato or something
Aquamarine: Tuimato
Daisy: That's quite a younger thing
Aquamarine: Mmm, it's like brotown
Cherry: See look, pie plus beer plus sauce {indicating advertising material on screen}

(Group 3)

Excerpt 8

Mary Magdalene: But you know like, a lot of them aren't, like you know invasive, you know like there's like the Speights, like southern man ad, it's like them walking in the MacKenzie country, you know, like it's not like Drink Beer! Get Drunk! {throws arms up in the air}

Bubbles: Yea, I, I don't know if that's part of the advertising standards or something, if they're not allowed to show people getting intoxicated as a good thing but all of the, all of the ones I've seen have been really sort of

Extra Strudel: they're generally restrained

Bubbles: Have a beer after work, have a yeah, which seems, which seems not that bad

(Group 2)

Each of these excerpts serves to illustrate further that the groups' pleasure of consumption was tied to the cultural capital of the beer brands. The groups enjoy the use of stereotypical New Zealand culture and iconography the likes of pies and sauce, the southern man, and the MacKenzie country. The advertising is considered more concerned with expressing a New Zealand cultural identity and expelling national pride than selling beer, something the groups both endorse and enjoy. By creating a pleasant experience, through both entertainment and drawing upon New Zealand culture or identity, these advertisements become far more difficult for the groups engage with as only advertising. Drawing upon a discourse of pleasurable consumption allows the groups to describe themselves as having not seen much of what they consider advertising for alcohol, as they use the commercial material in ways they don't associate with traditional advertising techniques. By providing entertaining and identity affirming advertising, which also serves in some cases as socialisation, brands blur the line between what is and isn't advertising for the groups whilst maintaining good recall of the product's advertising campaign from the group members.

Individual as Savvy Agent

"Like I know it's not a good thing to drink a dozen beers, it's just bad, and like I know I'm not gonna do, go off and pick fights with someone in town and stuff, but there're people that are." – Geoffrey.

Facebook, alcohol and advertising were all constructed as having risks, in addition to rewards, associated with their use. By drawing upon a discourse of the individual as a savvy agent the groups' members often managed to divert or counter these inherent risks. Members of the groups considered themselves as proficient users of Facebook, alcohol and advertising, often juxtaposing their experiences and use with examples of people and groups they felt were less proficient and therefore at risk. The discourse of individuals as savvy agents allowed groups to construct knowledge and experience as an immunising or negating effect and illustrate that they had the requisite knowledge and skills to freely use Facebook, alcohol and advertising to their advantage, whilst also acknowledging that the risks attached aren't able to be overcome by everyone.

When considering their own use of Facebook participants talked about themselves as skilled users and gave examples to demonstrate this. A discourse of the individual as a savvy agent was drawn upon to illustrate that participants were aware of the risks present online often constructing this awareness as being enough to remain unaffected by them. The following excerpt provides an example of the inherent risks participants considered present in the use of Facebook and their negotiation of these risks:

Excerpt 11

Geoffrey: Like my little sister went to Nepal and she's got these photos from her Nepal trip and there's um cause like, like weed and stuff just grows everywhere and then cause it's like I dunno she's only 17 and so she's kinda got a photo there she's going "ahahaha" like um cause it's funny, cause it's just everywhere and it's just lying in this huge, cause it just grows on the side of the track and then she's got a picture of that on facebook and it's just kind of like hmmm.

Ranga: It's sad that you have to.

Geoffrey: Like it could be used like it's it's like in a way like it's she's not doing really doing anything wrong it's just there and it's not like she's doing it or anything like that but then it, put in that context and take it, I dunno, if someone takes it from somewhere else and be like "oh here's this girl with all these illegal drugs" and you try and get a job [(1) and goodbye.

Ranga: [And it's sad that you have to try and consider that though, like that you have the restraints on you to have to consider.

Geoffrey: and someone could like fully blackmail you or something like that and be like "oh no that's New Zealand" and like crop the photo so you can just see the plants or something like that, and you'd be like "oooh", how do you explain that? So it's kind of hmmm, and she wants to do medicine and stuff next year so that's just kinda like oooh (1) even though it's like she's going on a Nepal trip and she's working at an orphanage so it's kind of like, that's the context of it.

Ranga: Yeah

Geoffrey: And then if you take that photo, that's on Facebook. I guess that'd be like a prime example. Or just even with a funnel, that just looks bad. Real professional, if someone wants to get a job over you and just sends it anonymously.

(Group 1)

Geoffrey and Ranga consider the nature of Facebook and the idea that information on the medium is available or accessible to many more than just those they allow access. The example provided creates the act of putting up a photo on Facebook, which can then be removed from its context and used against his sister, as risky. Geoffrey and Ranga both construct Geoffrey's sister as unaware of this risk and therefore an unsavvy user. They consider scenarios removed from them that may create risk but then, through another scenario more relatable to their behaviour, add that their own drinking photos could also be risky. The group was happy to show me their Facebook accounts on the laptop provided to them, and it was evident that they still decide to post those photos they consider risky. For example, they showed me photos of themselves comatose on couches with miniature blow up mannequins as well as photos of them looking heavily intoxicated. However, they discussed their own risky behaviour as being offset through their proficient use of Facebook's privacy settings. As savvy agents in their use of Facebook they are both able to identify risks as well as determine appropriate actions that might lessen those risks. The manipulations and dangers of online socialising

however are constructed as being too much risk for Geoffrey's younger sister, potentially because of her younger age and her career aspirations. Age was related to Facebook proficiency by each of the groups. Younger users were constructed as too naive of the risks of Facebook and technology, whereas older users were often constructed as not understanding the medium itself. In this way groups' participants constructed their own age groups as being most adept and prepared to use Facebook safely and properly.

Participant's interactions with advertising often drew upon constructions of the savvy agent to highlight self empowerment within interactions. Facebook profile page styled advertising requires the individual to actively seek out and "friend" or "like" the product, depending on how the product has been set up. In this way the technology constructs the individual as being in control of whether or not the interaction will occur and the extent of the interaction. Participants often considered that they wouldn't initiate such online relationships without there being something of value in it for them, constructing their interactions as calculated and beneficial. Additionally, Facebook's allows users to manage and influence the advertising they are exposed to. The participants knowledge of, and skill in negotiating, the technology through which advertising is presented on Facebook was seen as allowing them to make the most out of advertising, harnessing it into something they considered personally useful. This is shown in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 12

Ross: Do you think it's noticeable, like the commercial interests like advertising and stuff?

Bubbles: Sometimes.

Mojojojo: Yea well there's always the ads. {moves finger up and down in the air}

Mary Magdalene: Yea, [it's always down the side {moves hand up and down in the air}]

Extra Strudel: [There's all these ads, but they are not frequently obtrusive.

Bubbles: They're not as creepy as Google ads.

Ross: Do you ever click on them?

Extra Strudel: And um well you can like them to ah signify that you're okay with this kind of ad or you can dislike them and give a reason for why you don't want to see that ad anymore. And that helps customise it to what you don't mind looking at.

Mary Magdalene: Yea, and then they follow it up with this annoying question which is like why? It's just like, I am not going to fill that comment box.

Extra Strudel: I just say uninteresting.

Mary Magdalene: Yea.

Extra Strudel: [I just uninteresting. {shakes head} Uninteresting, uninteresting, uninteresting.

(Group 2)

The group talks about advertising as being generally irrelevant and pointless to look at. The activity of training and teaching advertising is constructed as a savvy activity for the groups because it means they see increasingly relevant advertising for their interests. The time spent teaching Facebook's advertising algorithms, by essentially providing their specific tastes and interests, is justified through

the end result being something advantageous to the individuals. Extra Strudel talks of customising advertising which serves to illustrate that she has control over the advertising but also that she is capable of making it something that is personally useful to her. Finally their talk of the amount of effort they put into this activity is in terms that minimise it: “*I just say uninteresting*” is their default answer that they repeat for each ad they dislike. A savvy interaction with advertising seems to require that they not give too much, and in return receive something of value. This also positions the participant as the ultimate ‘neoliberal subject’: an individual with control over all this material and technology, capable of shaping and using it to meet individual desires and tastes.

Groups considered their knowledge of advertising techniques as savvy. Using their awareness that alcohol advertising campaigns were targeted towards them specifically, they often constructed themselves as uninfluenced by advertising. Advertising they considered as more blatantly attempting to create desirable associations and that were less in line with their own experiences were looked at with a certain amount of scorn and critique with one group even performing a mini analysis of a product’s advertising website, as shown below:

Excerpt 13

Ranga: See look at how cool that is, cool ay?, [I’ve only seen this today

Geoffrey: [It’s amaz..., it cracks me how they like they make, try to make it look so classy so it’s like if you drink this you’ll be classy [but then like often it’s definitely not classy.

Ranga: But that’s what they, that’s what that brand is though.

Geoffrey: spewing behind the house isn’t classy. {They start flicking through absolute site’s picture album}

Ranga: Put it on there with an iPhone, that makes it look classy. {shaniqua laughs}

(...)

Tanner: Yeah the one “give your mum a Woody”

Shaniqua: Yeah is it ok [to give your mum a woody?

Geoffrey: [Give your mum a woody? {they start laughing} what?

Tanner: Is it ok to give your mates mum a woody?

Geoffrey: Yeah there we go, it’s a bit better. The first was a little bit suspect. (1) I don’t reckon they should advertise it at all really.

Ross: Right.

Geoffrey: Because they’re gonna, people are gonna buy it anyway but it’s just kind of (1) like especially the Tui ads like it’s not really a good thing. Like I know it’s not a good thing to drink a dozen beers, it’s just bad, and like I know I’m not gonna do, go off and pick fights with someone in town and stuff but there’re people that are. So yeah it’s just kind of, it’s like enticing people to get in amongst getting boozed and it’s kind of adding to the drinking culture, I guess.

(Group 1)

In the excerpt group 1 recognises the associative nature of the advertising and even starts to consider the branded culture conveyed by the website. They construct themselves as savvy agents through the identification and subsequent deconstruction of the themes in the media presented to them. Geoffrey expresses scorn at the blatant mismatch between their experiences with alcohol and the advertising, suggesting that as a savvy agent he is able to identify advertising techniques and

motives but he also expresses this in a way that illustrates that he drinks heavily too. Where the website is considered to be attempting to project an image of classiness through associations with music and technology, they provide what they consider a more realistic contrast of “*spewing behind the house isn’t classy*”. This could be considered a token resistance given that the discussants valorise such material through their posting and encouragement of such material. The page itself is actually considered cool, and through the group’s construction of themselves as savvy agents they are able to consider themselves as capable of interacting with it for their own purposes without ‘falling for’ the advertising. The group describes advertising as aimed at getting as much of the product consumed as possible and not being concerned too much with the effects that this has on the people consuming it. Advertising is positioned as being able to affect large amounts of drinking in those that are susceptible to the detrimental effects of such drinking. The susceptibility of various individuals to this marketing, as well as their lack of skill or proficiency in managing their inebriated states, is voiced as a good reason for the banning of alcohol advertising. Geoffrey positions himself as being in a more proficient role when engaging in both advertising and drinking. He knows that it’s not good to drink lots, contrary to advertising messages, and he suggests that when he gets drunk he maintains a modicum of control where he won’t act violently. Through this construction of himself as a savvy agent the advertising, and beer, may again be engaged with for entertainment, without him being susceptible to the advertising messages.

Proficiency in drinking was often linked to the need to get to a particular point of inebriation, one that allowed socialisation but didn’t overshoot and ruin the night. This aspect of the individual as a savvy agent parallels and supports a discourse of controlled intoxication previously proposed in literature (Guise & Gill, 2007; Measham, 2006; Szmigin et al., 2008). Brands of drinks were discussed in terms of percentage alcohol volume, with the numbers for various brands being easily recalled and the amounts consumed on a particular night were calculated to the design or purpose of a night, as shown in the extract below:

Excerpt 14

Geoffrey: The beer, 10 dollar, 10 dollars for a doz, and then like there was a cask wine that me and um, Tanner,

Ranga: [it’s a classic story=

Geoffrey: =Tanner’s bloody um flatmate we got, we went down to pack and save to just get whatever was cheapest and we found dated cask wine that expired a week ago for like \$4.70 for 21 standard drinks {table laughs} It was pretty much like, pretty much what we were saying all night was you could pretty much add olive oil to it and you’d have a salad dressing {they all laugh} that was how horrible it was ohh. Worst thing I’ve ever tasted but then you have a {motions drinking} you know kill off the taste buds and then you’re fine you’re away laughing.

Ross: {laughing} So why do you drink it? And what do you like about? {They all start laughing}

Geoffrey: I like the challenge ay {still laughing}

Table: And how cheap it is and you're like "we're getting a good deal ohhhhh {screws up face}, it's a good deal though ohhhhh {screws up face}"

Geoffrey: That's pretty much cause of, you can't really, cause alcohol kind of is expensive. So you have to have whatever's cheaper cause pretty much have no money

(Group 1)

Participants of Group 1 describe their purchasing of alcohol in terms of standard drinks, making particular note of the fact that it doesn't matter what form the alcohol comes in. They know exactly what they want in a drink and that is the cheapest source of the most drinkable alcohol, with taste seen as a peripheral consideration. By considering the task at hand being getting to a particular state of inebriation as cheaply as possible, they frame themselves within the discourse of a savvy agent. They know where to go to get really cheap alcohol, and their purchase of expired alcohol is therefore one of both serendipity and skill, its cost to benefit ratio outweighs any downside in terms of taste. Group 3's excerpt below illustrates more clearly the idea of expertise and knowledge surrounding various forms of alcohol being associated with the purpose of the night. "*Goon bags*" (2 or 3 litre casks of wine or premixed cocktails) serve the purpose of providing for a heavier drinking night whereas lesser amounts of similar alcohol per volume drinks are bought when the night is meant to be "*a bit classier*". As savvy agents the group knows how much alcohol is required to get them to various points of inebriation and purchases of alcohol for the night are made accordingly. Although a dichotomous choice of "*messy*" or "*a bit classier*" are presented here, groups moderated their drinking based on other factors such as: working or visiting family the next day, whether the event was a regular night or something like a 21st birthday party (which would increase the amount they expected to consume), mood and finally their requirement for the expression of irresponsibility. Whilst individuals constructed themselves as savvy through exerting this agency and control over their intoxication, these were all choices that assumed intoxication would result from their drinking, illustrating it as a non-choice.

Excerpt 15

Cherry: Voting, oh what should I drink this weekend?

Daisy: Yea, it's pretty much focussed around everyone, like if everyone's going to have a goon bag and [they want a really messy night everyone will sort of do that.

Cherry: Yea. {nods}

Daisy: If they want a bit classier night they'll, you know do something different.

Cherry: four pack or a bottle of wine or something.

(Group 3)

The individual as a savvy agent was also drawn upon to question the group's heavy drinking. The possibility that individuals might have a lack of control over their drinking was raised and considered as something to be actually worried about, as shown below:

Excerpt 16

Geoffrey: I don't like, yeah I just don't like how much I drink, but like it's kind of when you get, ah just, the way I've been drinking since I was like college it's kind of is just binge drinking. But when I go to when I'm home and stuff like that, with my parents, stuff like that, I can go have a casual beer or something like that, but when I'm with I'm round with my friends, since everyone else it's kind of just, you just keep drinking keep drinking
[keep drinking.]

Table: [Just down it.]

Ranga: [It's just what you do ay? You know you won't do it forever but it's just what you do.]

Geoffrey: I dunno I kind of like worry sometimes {everyone laughs} like I dunno maybe that's like kind of just a habit of drinking now cause I just yeah I just got a real since...

(Group 1)

Geoffrey raises the idea that their drinking is excessive and challenges his own savvy agency, and by extension the group's, considering his binge drinking as dependant on external influences such as friends and the college culture. Where Geoffrey worries that his binge drinking is now habitual rather than controlled by himself, Ranga instead moves to restore agency through constructing it as a passing phase, something they can stop doing when it becomes no longer appropriate or necessary. Ranga begins with "you know you won't do forever..." which creates their binge drinking as controlled and something that will stop when they want it to and she follows with "... but it's just what you do" which serves to lessen any seriousness associated with the drinking itself. Retaining the idea of being savvy agents is important to participants as it can be considered part of drinking proficiency.

Discussion in group 2 illustrates the idea that whilst participants consider their use of alcohol as savvy, using it with minimal risk, other individuals exist with inadequate proficiency in drinking that need to be both protected, and isolated from the group. Being savvy about alcohol and drinking is a necessary part of the groups functioning as a whole, as an in depth knowledge of alcohol and drinking is related to having the right kind of night out, this is demonstrated below:

Excerpt 17

Mary Magdalene: [Or someone that goes particularly spastic or angry or

Bubbles: One of the drama guys has been banned from attending the parties because {lifts right hand} drinks too much, throws up a lot, everywhere.

Extra Strudel: On the roof. No shit.

Mojojojo: Really?

Mary Magdalene: Yea, it was on the roof {nods}

Mojojojo: That's impressive.

Bubbles: Like he'll go into the bathroom but then he will just like, just projectile {brings both hands up in the air}, and so we're like you can't, you can't, you can't control your drinking in terms of not drinking so much that you projectile vomit in the bathroom. We, we aren't so cool with that. [We're in people's houses.]

Ross: [not, not funtimes.]

Bubbles: In a bar that would be hilarious. {laughter}

Extra Strudel: Yes.

Bubbles: But in someone's house that's a lot of cleaning up to do.

Extra Strudel: Yea.

Ross: In a bar someone else cleans it up.

Bubbles: And that person isn't us, so. {Shrugs and laughs}

(Group 2)

Here an acquaintance of the group is used as an example of the risks surrounding drinking. By describing him as not pacing himself, turning up and drinking too much too quickly, the group shows they know where he's going wrong, whilst also positioning their own drinking in contrastingly proficient terms. The group is able to drink beneficially whereas the acquaintance is incapable of doing so. As it is the group removes him from the context of the drinking because he is considered an unsavvy user of alcohol. Especially of note is the contextualised behaviour. Although they think he'd be hilarious in the context of a bar this changes in the context of someone's house. Therefore the person is again portrayed as being at fault, due to not knowing enough about drinking and appropriate behaviour for particular contexts.

A discourse of savvy agency was drawn upon in construction of drinking, Facebook use and interactions with advertising by each of the groups. This discourse was often contextual in that what was deemed savvy behaviour changed with aspects of the interactions; the age of Facebook users and location of drinking are two examples provided. Importantly too, savvy agency worked to bridge contradictions as individuals related their own potentially unsavvy behaviour. This was done by creating knowledge of the risks as savvy and thereby instilling individuals with the confidence and rationalisation to engage in these interactions. For example, by allowing choice and agency that was limited to only desirable outcomes (clicking on them or training them by providing a reason why the ad is unappealing), online advertising allowed users to construct themselves as savvy and potentially encouraged, or lessened resistance to, interaction with this material. This acknowledgement of risks was also a part of savvy agency through the implicit cost to benefit analysis that individuals seemed to engage in, particularly when posting material to Facebook. Though this too may need to be somewhat tempered, as the immediate benefit of peer approval and response, coupled with the invisibility of inappropriate audiences and perceived unlikelihood of repercussions, may cloud the weightings of such an equation.

Routine Everyday Socialising

"everyone has different friends from each flat, maybe they just all come together, and then by the end of the night everyone's friends" – Geoffrey

Participants' talk surrounding the use of Facebook and drinking often constructed each as completely ingrained into their lives, both were described in terms that created them as part of participants' routine everyday socialisation. Participants used terms pertaining to drinking and socialising interchangeably, as well as explicitly describing what they gained from drinking as being social contact, intimacy and bonding. By constructing heavy drinking as routine socialising it was constructed as a less questionable behaviour. Additionally, norms and rules were instigated and reinforced through these constructions of heavy drinking as routine. Participants used language that constructed their drinking as mundane and ordinary, and at the same time often had rules that made sure each partook in routine social drinking.

Facebook was constructed in a similar way to drinking, with participants drawing upon routine everyday socialising to justify their high amounts of Facebook use. Facebook was described as taking over a portion of everyday face to face contact with friends and peers, by virtue of being more convenient than offline socialising. Participants described the convenience of the medium as overcoming those times where they lacked the motivation and might otherwise have been unable to socialise. The friendship groups kept in close contact with each other; meeting daily at venues such as the University library, drinking together or chatting online daily. As students the participants constructed themselves as needing to be socialising on a regular basis, a role that both heavy drinking and Facebook allowed them to fulfil. Finally, the role of technology in amplifying this routine, everyday socialising was discussed by some individuals. Participants constructed advances in technology as allowing an increased immediacy of, and access to, Facebook which in turn furthered its integration into the routines and lives of participants.

Participants' drinking nights were constructed as routine socialisation, with language describing it in terms of it being a time of bonding and socialising, as well downplaying their amount of drinking. They used terms that suggested such occasions incorporated heavy drinking into their socialisation and that these events were fairly standardised and routine. This is illustrated in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 18

Geoffrey: It's the same night every night, (cause that's it) {Geoffrey Table and Shaniqua laugh}

Ranga: But it never gets boring, it's always fun (1) so

Shaniqua: it's always some drama

Table: crazy antics.

Geoffrey: Pretty much it's, it's just everyone sitting round and just listening to music do drinking games and just talk about just [general whatever.

Shaniqua: [Chilling.

Ranga: That sounds so boring [when you say it.
Geoffrey: [it does but.
Ranga: but it's really not [it's so much fun.
Table: [when you add alcohol it gets that much better.
Geoffrey: and yeah, and then just hit town, after town go home. [that's my life.
Ranga: [yeah to sleep.
Table: [coma.

(Group 1)

The group uses language like “*just everyone sitting around*” and “*chilling*” which when coupled with “*it's the same night every night*” emphasises the laid back, routine nature of the socialisation, it's constructed as nothing special and as just what they do. In addition to this routine socialisation they make use of language that implies heavy drinking is a part of the night. Contrasting with the casual nature of the evening, they describe “*drinking games*”, “*crazy antics*” and becoming comatose; suggesting heavy levels of alcohol consumption are engaged in regularly and considered part of this routine. Ranga's defence of their nights that sound “*so boring*” with “*but it's really not it's so much fun*” illustrate her worry that their drinking sounds too routine and ordinary an activity. Geoffrey confirms the routine nature of this drinking and socialising with “*that's my life*” which alludes to it being a large part of his identity. Finally, both groups 1 and 3 described their nightly routine as culminating or building towards going out to town and seeing everyone else that had been drinking and socialising. By meeting up with other peers in town, the participants can illustrate themselves as having been engaged in this routine socialising, drinking and fun.

Participants illustrated group bonds and cohesion as being tied to routine everyday socialising and drinking. For example the routine use of drinking rules whilst socialising allowed these rules to become ingrained within the group's socialisation, even without the presence of alcohol. These drinking rules were part of the group's functioning and cohesion illustrating the importance to the group of routine drinking and socialising. The excerpt below illustrates how the participants adhered to the rules that surround their routine social drinking even when not in the context they originated from, as well as their realisation of the habit forming nature of their routine social drinking:

Excerpt 19

Table: I love how you point with your elbow.
Ranga: Yeah.
Table: Drinking rules {they all start laughing}.
Ranga: [And I drink like this, I drink like this as well {illustrates drinking with pinky off}.
Geoffrey: [Oh so that's awkward. Wow that is awkward. Man I am sad.
Tanner: You laugh at it though.
Geoffrey: Drinking with the left hand always, I dunno.
Ranga: I do that heaps, drink with my left hand like that. It's a bit bad ay?
Geoffrey: It's cause you get like punished for. Whenever you're drinking you get punished for pointing so you just.

Tanner: Elbows.

Geoffrey: Elbows, I dunno. You're supposed to only drink with your left hand otherwise you have to drink rarara.

(Group 1)

The participants, when first realising that they use international drinking rules in casual non alcohol based conversation, use language such as *"it's a bit bad ay?"* and *"awkward"* or *"sad"* illustrating that they are aware that others would see their drinking culture as being too ingrained with their routine socialisation. However they do so laughing and are quite quick to describe each of their habits which are tied to drinking, listing and illustrating their knowledge of the rituals and rules involved in their group's social drinking. In this way, the participants position themselves as a group which enjoys this enmeshment of their social drinking behaviours into everyday routine. By drawing upon their drinking based socialising in their non drinking socialising, the group identity is illustrated as that of the routine social drinking culture even when not in the presence of alcohol.

Facebook use as socialisation was constructed as routine and everyday by participants. When asked what they posted on Facebook participants responded with a wide variety of responses *"Your whole day"* (Daisy, Group 3) *"Interesting things"* (Fonzo, Group 3) *"A hilarious video"* and *"Pictures I link to all the time"* (Mary Magdalene, Group 2) *"if you find something that's kinda cool"* (Mojojo, Group 2). This daily posting coupled with chatting and organising a range of events from quieter drinking sessions, parties and novelty drinking events, constructed participant's use of Facebook as a daily routine. The integration of both Facebook and drinking into everyday routine socialisation is demonstrated in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 20

Bubbles: If you Facebook me, within an hour I can, I'll probably respond.

Ross: Right, so that's quite often a day.

Bubbles: Pretty much.

Mary Magdalene: That's pretty sick.

Bubbles: I, cause I'll generally will be working on the computer and I'll just have the window open on Facebook.

Mojojojo: Yea, yea, it's not that hard to do.

(...)

Mojojojo: If you're writing assignments all day, then it's it's not that hard to just keep it open.

(Group 2)

Excerpt 21

Ross: Pretty much any drinking?

Geoffrey: Pretty much and like if it's like 7:00 and there's like 80 people online and you can just, everyone you need to talk to, so it's just easy to organise everything cause you can just click everyone's name, all have their names at the bottom of your screen, copy paste the same thing {laughs}

Table: Yeah

Geoffrey: Done, night sorted.

(Group 1)

Bubbles, in the first excerpt, describes the high amount of Facebook usage his day includes. To be able to see a Facebook communication within an hour of it being sent, he illustrates that he routinely checks into his account during the day and that one of the purposes for checking in is to respond and socialise with those that are sending him messages. This high degree of routine, associated with socialising through Facebook, was illustrated by other participants as well and sometimes not in such a positive light. Geoffrey (group 1) described the constant checking in and socialising as getting “... *to the stage where you need to actually just give someone you trust your password to change it, so you can't go on there*”. This was only a problem when other work such as study needed to be done, but the desire to routinely log in was often constructed as hard to overcome by participants. Bubbles and Mojojojo also illustrate the routine nature of their Facebook use when they describe Facebook as always running in the background, this allows it to be constantly checked and them to be always available for chat whilst they carry out other tasks on their computer. Mary Magdalene questions the extent to which Facebook has become integrated into the routine of Bubbles, but Mojojojo affirms and agrees with the position that this usage isn't something extraordinary or noteworthy. Even when it was questioned, the highly integrated nature of Facebook communication into the day to day routines of participants was rarely considered unusual. Another interesting point of this discussion is the use of Facebook as a verb rather than an object. Facebooking was a common term for communication and socialisation through Facebook in each of the groups. Shaniqua (group 1) illustrates this by stating “*instead of going like 'oh I'll go round to so and so's house' you'd be just like 'oh I'll just Facebook them' ”*” when describing how a portion of her face to face socialisation is replaced by the convenience of Facebook. The everyday use of Facebook as a verb and the commonplace manner in which participants described this communication constructs it as highly integrated into their routine social practices. In the second excerpt Geoffrey illustrates how routine socialisation, Facebook and drinking combine. Facebook allows him to organise each night quickly and formulaically by chatting to anyone online that he wants to invite and copy pasting details. This is described as the routine process through which a night of drinking becomes “*sorted*” and again both the ease of the socialisation through the medium is highlighted as well as the commonplace nature of such social exchanges. Facebook is integrated seamlessly into the organisation of offline socialisation as well as being central to socialisation online.

When participants discussed posting material online, they also drew on everyday, routine terminology to describe this behaviour by both themselves and their friends. Participants constructed routine online socialisation as having skewed their perceptions of, or at least clouded

the presence of, online audiences. Participants described Facebook as their space, and socialised on this online medium in a similar manner to how they might socialise offline when amongst an audience of their peers. Often such exchanges weren't considered inappropriate at first as they were offered up without thought to the greater audience actually present. This was most evident when the routine socialisation of participants coincided with other age groups, particularly parents and other older adults. Routine socialisation served to mask any of these potential problems until they were explicitly pointed out; an example of this is described below:

Excerpt 22

Bubbles: There's, there's a bit of conflict with other people posting like stuff that my parents would like. Like I remember, I remember, um, I, the, the mayoral campaign on Facebook for me.

Extra Strudel & Mojojojo: {laughs}

Bubbles: Which was, which was funny but not so funny.

(...)

Extra Strudel: well it was amusing.

Bubbles: It got up to like 40 members, and Zelda, a friend of mine basically wrote on my wall, oh you've got up to 40 members, if you don't know what that's like you should ask your mum. {group laughter} Which was a really awesome burn, like it was the best burn I'd heard in ages but I was like hey bro just a heads up, you can leave it there if you want but, but my mum is on my Facebook page. {group laughter} Ah, and he was like "oh shit", and deleted it straight away, 'cause he was like I didn't want to put it on the mayoral site, 'cause I didn't know who would read it and it might get back to like your mum, I didn't realise she was on your Facebook.

(Group 2)

Group 2 illustrated an in group culture of teasing and friendly shaming as part of their social processes. Previously they had mentioned instances of posting silly videos of Mojojojo to YouTube and throughout the discussion they happily made fun of each other. Bubbles' friends have made a Facebook interest page proclaiming that he is running for mayor. Accompanying it is a picture of him stretched suggestively over a bed in boxers and a robe. Bubbles describes a friend of his as burning, making fun of, him by insulting his mother. This is something that in routine face to face socialising would not be out of place and the group dynamic of such teasing allows for its legitimate transition into the environment of Facebook. There is the implicit assumption that only the group, or those that will understand the context and lack of actual insult inherent in the comment, are going to see it. The regular socialising of the group through Facebook creates a false perception of the audience for the participant's posted comments. It is an audience that is exposed as being much wider than originally conceived when the socialisation refers to that audience inappropriately. The friend's post and additional comments such as *"They don't go on Facebook, 'cause they're all like over 40"* (Mary Magdalene, Group 2) serve to illustrate the exclusion of older people from the environment of Facebook by participants. The discourse of routine everyday socialisation allows this exclusion through their lack of presence and visibility which also, as Boyd (2007) describes, conceals the near public nature of what are assumed to be private social exchanges.

Participants described instances of Facebook use that highlighted the role of technology in allowing, or encouraging, its integration into their everyday, routine socialising. Facebook has actively evolved towards being integrated further into the everyday routine socialising of users, adding features such as: chat functions, for immediate communication between peers; recent photo banners to profiles, to serve as a visual illustration of users' recent activities; Facebook places, allowing people to tag both themselves and peers when they travel to and arrive at destinations; and groups, which provides a platform for peers to have discussions between multiple members sharing a particular interest or commonality. In addition to these technological advances within the structure of Facebook, which participants used to varying degrees, on a more macro level technology has aided the integration of Facebook into the everyday routine socialising of the individual. Laptops and smartphones with the ability to access user's Facebook pages from a greater range of locations have been becoming increasingly prevalent and participant's discussion often revolved around the use of these devices. The ability to be continuously logged in and available to socialise with peers is utilised in changing contexts which in turn allows for a further normalising of Facebook and its socialisation to those contexts. Again, this can be seen as strengthening the presence of Facebook in the everyday routine socialising of participants. In the two excerpts below participants describe accessing Facebook in two instances: one where it is considered natural to be logged in and one where another member of the group questions the individual's use as anomalous:

Excerpt 23

Tanner: That was like me at the library, I had it so I went to do work I was there from 7 to 11 and then I just end up in Facebook, and then my flat mates, this one {points at Table}, and my other flatmate were just Facebook chatting me the whole time and I got nothing done. {they laugh}

Table: Yeah like think about it like you're watching TV at night, you watch a couple of hours of TV and you're like logged onto Facebook it's on your lap you're sorta like checking it every so often in the ads yeah.

Ranga: And then you make comments like "oh my god Facebook's boring", but you don't (close) it. {everyone else laughs}

Table: "Facebook sucks at the moment."

Tanner: oh someone did that.

Geoffrey: It's 'cause you find out everything ay. It's kind of just mmm.

Table: In the know.

Geoffrey: If I was motivated enough to go around to other peoples' houses, but I'm not so I'll just go on Facebook.

Tanner: Mmm so much easier, just chat with them on Facebook.

(Group 1)

Table begins by describing what she considers a typical night, sitting watching TV on the couch with Facebook open on her laptop and logged in. Table describes this Facebook use as "*Checking it every so often in the ads*" and both her and Ranga create their routine use as being based upon a need to be constantly up to date and in the know of what's going on in their social circles. Geoffrey too illustrates further the idea that Facebook's convenience allows it to be integrated into routine through it supplanting of a certain amount of face to face socialisation. However, not only does the

group consider this use of Facebook completely normal and routine to them, illustrated by Ranga's ability to continue the story started by Table, but it also constructs Facebook as being integrated into other routines. The act of sitting down at night and watching television is a stereotypical routine for many and through advances in technology Facebook's presence is considered to be complementary rather than mutually exclusive. This level of Facebook integration is possible due to the presence of Table's laptop, without it Table would have to choose either Facebook or television but with it she does both and a routine of socialising and checking in on Facebook is strengthened. Facebook, through the laptop, can also be seen as constructing the routine of watching television as a social activity even without friend's physical presence. However these technologies can also create tensions between a discourse of routine, everyday socialisation and contexts in which Facebook has previously been inaccessible, as illustrated below:

Excerpt 24

Cherry: Mmm, I think the whole Facebook now that you can do it on your phone, that's just deadly having Facebook on your phone. [It's like.

Daisy: [Yea, that's weird.

Cherry: [When I first discovered Facebook on your phone I found myself=

Fonzo: [It's too much.

Cherry: =in the middle of the dance floor trying to get on Facebook on my phone while I was drunk and that's dang.

Daisy: are you taking the piss?

Cherry: No I'm not. It's just, it's just I found out I could have Facebook on my phone that day and I was just addicted to it.

(Group 3)

Cherry describes an attempt to access and use Facebook in a fairly new context, that of being out on the town after drinking. Considering the importance of Facebook and drinking in the previously described discourse of routine, everyday socialising the premise of her story makes perfect sense. Daisy however finds it to be questionable, and Fonzo believes the level of access is "*too much*". A routine of socialisation through Facebook becomes questionable when it is always available, perhaps because it highlights the complementary nature of Facebook to socialisation rather than its ability to replace. In this context Cherry is already physically engaged in socialising without Facebook and using it fits less in the discourse of routine socialisation and more into one of addiction as she mentions later. However this does not preclude the possibility that with time, and perhaps further technological implementations such as integrated video chat, it may become perfectly normal to access Facebook and its socialisation in such contexts.

In their descriptions of drinking and using Facebook, participants drew upon a routine, everyday socialisation discourse. This discourse functioned in various ways. It served to downplay and

normalise participant's excessive use of alcohol and Facebook as well as being drawn on to enhance group identity and cohesion, as participants kept in regular contact with each other through both drinking together and Facebook. High daily use of Facebook constructed it as complementary to many occasions and instances, embedding it into already present routines, and this was aided by advances in technology and the medium of Facebook itself. The routine use of Facebook for socialisation created a perceived audience that differed from the actual audience of participants' online interactions. This illusion was illustrated when participants constructed Facebook as a space of their own. For the participants, older users, particularly parents, lacked a visible presence on Facebook. Coupled with participants' own regular use and the extent that Facebook socialisation with peers was embedded into their lives, this meant the presence of these older age groups on Facebook was often either ignored or forgotten, occasionally to the detriment of participants. Finally, the discourse also served to assimilate a culture of social heavy drinking into the identities of the group. Through using language and behaviour associated with heavy social drinking in everyday contexts, groups constructed their routine socialisation as enmeshed with a culture of heavy drinking.

The Story Imperative

"Yea, if anyone goes out spewing in the garden you've got the whole paparazi there" - Mary Magdalene

"It's a classic story" - Ranga

Participants drew upon a discourse of the story imperative when discussing their drinking and use of Facebook. Positive outcomes such as localised fame and prestige amongst peers as well as contributing to the greater good of the group by providing material worth recording were used to balance out any potentially embarrassing occurrences and material that came about from individuals' use of alcohol. Participants considered drinking as a reliable source for stories to originate from and Facebook was bound to a discourse of the story imperative as it served as the nexus for individuals to record and reconstruct material alongside their peers. Photographs were considered of primary importance to the creation of stories by many of the participants, as they elicited considerable post event discussion and provided proof of instances that occurred the night before. As such, a photographer was both expected at gatherings and surrounded with assumptions or rules that occasionally bordered on creating it as a formal role. Finally, both bars and alcohol advertising drew upon the highly valued nature of photos and other material that students used to

formulate stories of their nights out drinking. These aspects of the story imperative discourse are discussed in further detail below.

In discussing their drinking, participants frequently told stories about particular events or nights out; these stories were retold both verbally and via Facebook. Alcohol was described by participants as removing inhibitions and creating events leading to stories worth discussing. These shared stories knitted participants together as well as creating a sense of 'you-had-to-be-there' that served to both encourage participation as well as exclude those that did not attend these events. For example, Extra Strudel asked Mary Magdalene in group two about a recent party by enquiring "*Were you there for the duration? No you can't have been!*" and Mary Magdalene replies "*Wait, wait, what part of this? Is this Nala?*". The two then proceeded to describe a friend's embarrassing behaviour at the event. Here, Mary Magdalene confirms witnessing the storied event and her ability to join in the reminiscing. Presence at the night, for the witnessing of stories, was constructed as desirable and allowed for important bonding over stories both verbally and on Facebook. The importance of alcohol and drinking to the story imperative of the groups is further illustrated and discussed in the excerpt below:

Extract 25

Ross: What do you enjoy about drinking together?

Bubbles: The stories, the stories afterwards are awesome.

Mary Magdalene: [Yes.

Extra Strudel: [Yea.

Bubbles: Including the pictures on Facebook the next day.

Mary Magdalene: The stories and the hilarious company, like.

Extra Strudel: The, the um conversations get so interesting. {laughs}

Bubbles: People, people being retarded. {laughter}

(Group 2)

In this excerpt group two discusses the importance of the stories that occur as a result of their drinking. The participants illustrate that drinking creates an event that includes "*hilarious company*", interesting conversations and "*people being retarded*" all of which make for good stories afterwards. Bubbles clearly illustrates that post event construction of the event itself is a major part of the appeal of drinking with quotes such as "*the stories afterwards are awesome*" and describing the appeal of perusing Facebook photos online the day afterwards. Shaniqua (group 1) mirrored Bubbles' sentiments concerning the post event stories with her consideration that "*the next morning's always the best because everyone sits round all hungover just to say oh what did you do last night? Oh I blah blah blah*", illustrating that one of the key outcomes of drinking for her was the retelling of stories and regaling of peers the following day. Some potentially negative behaviours (e.g. "*people*

being retarded") are reconstructed as positive through a discourse of the story imperative; this behaviour is more likely to be recalled and become a part of the stories of the night. Whilst the individual may be embarrassed, their actions can be construed as serving a greater good to the group through the creation of stories that are worth telling.

Other groups reiterated this appeal of embarrassing or negative behaviour as being good in terms of creating worthy material for shared group stories. Geoffrey (group 1) downplayed some of the effects of his drinking behaviour with *"You just make a fool of yourself but it's fine, makes some good stories"*. Similarly in group 3 within the context of Aquamarine describing an instance of Fonza being recorded getting *"a bit violent"* towards a hall resident whilst *"on the piss"*, Daisy states: *"If there's something really hilarious like videos that you've got of your mates it has to be on Facebook"*. These participants subsequently offered to send me a link to the video (but I declined), again illustrating the imperative of the story overcoming the individual's discomfort or image. By creating spectacle and noteworthy happenings, regardless of the cost to the individuals involved, alcohol is constructed as being an integral part of creating the groups' stories. These stories and photos construct a shared group history, and the appeal of drinking is constructed as being, in part, due to the story imperative and the spectacle that makes up this history.

Facebook was described by participants as the place where they recorded their drinking experiences and events. The practice of logging on the day after an event to discuss their experiences of the previous night was discussed by each of the groups. By creating a virtual meeting place for peers to discuss and describe their nights out, Facebook was often constructed as the keeper of each group's stories. Accessible (and therefore modifiable) by all, Facebook served as evidence that participants attended and engaged in the variety of events which created these online stories.

Extract 26

Ross: I can understand that. Okay, so any other alcohol related posts that you do?

Extra Strudel: I don't generally go *"oh I am sooo..."* Sometimes I will post about like a hangover {looks upward}

Mary Magdalene: Yep, feeling crap in the morning and saying oh that was so worth it.

Extra Strudel: Yea, or had a great party.

Mary Magdalene: Or ah, particularly remember this hilarious moment, ha ha ha, and the other person would be like what, I didn't do that.

Bubbles: Oh, so and so was trashed last night, ha ha sort of stuff.

Mojojojo: mostly posting to go with photos, yes {nods head}.

Bubbles: Oh yea, discussions. Discussions on photos the next day there can be like, like a chain, there can be a pretty substantive chain, after like a photo, a particularly good photo from the night. Like the next day we'll all jump on and be like, ah ha ha. Vimes in a dress.

Extra Strudel: Yea, um, photo comments.

(Group 2)

This group constructs the next day as a critical part of the story imperative. Facebook is intrinsically involved, in that it allows them all a space to publish and create their stories together. By reconstructing the events, such as Mary Magdalene posting moments she particularly remembers, it elicits discussion and further recreation of the event on the more permanent medium of Facebook. This excerpt also illustrates the point that potentially negative occurrences are deemed worthy of Facebook discussion and therefore spun in a positive light, as illustrated by Bubbles' quote *"Oh, so and so was trashed last night, ha ha sort of stuff"*. Bubbles also describes how the best posts and photos elicit a substantive chain of discussion rather than being isolated comments. The most successful posts are seen as ones that end up being more participatory, with peers collaborating in the co-construction of the stories. The group seems to essentially vote on what stories are worthy by creating extensive discussions on the posts and photos they consider good. Additionally, with everyone adding comments all the most noteworthy details are included, fleshed out and built up, aiding in the legendary nature of later retellings. It's worthwhile to note that posting on Facebook serves to consolidate the presence of participants at the events, allowing them to construct the story but also to be seen as a part of it. Of particular importance to each of the groups is the role of photographs. Above, photos are constructed as being focal points for discussions about the night. Photos serve as both a reminder of the previous night's noteworthy events or as springboards into discussions concerning these events. The following considers the importance of photographs further.

As detailed in the previous excerpt, photos were described as being of central importance to the creation of the participants stories. The importance of photos to an event and to the construction of stories was illustrated through the participants' treatment of photographs and also those who took the photos. Photographers at events were constructed in a separate and almost formalised role from the event goers themselves. Geoffrey (group 1) also explicitly states that the role of using the camera is stereotypically gendered, remarking: *"I've never seen a guy, yeah it's always girls"*, to which the rest of the group agrees. Cherry (group 3) constructs the role of photographer as one of responsibility when after deciding that she takes most of the photos, adds that the role is undertaken by *"probably the soberest"*. Aiding this construction of imbued responsibility, the role of photographer was constructed as distanced from the fun and action provided from the event. Additionally participants described the need to have photos taken of events; in the absence of the usual person that undertook the role of photographer, somebody was required to adopt the role, or

low quality devices such as camera phones were implemented. This is illustrated in the excerpts below:

Extract 27

Geoffrey: Ah I occasionally use my camera phone just in hilarious instances {they start laughing}

Ross: Has to be pretty special huh?

Table: Yeah like have to capture something.

Tanner: Ay Ranga?

Geoffrey: Ranga. {they start laughing at her, obviously thinking of an instance involving her}

Table: The time the camera persons not around.

(...)

Table: Or like sometimes, sometimes if you're having a little get together and the token camera person isn't there you kind of feel pressured you're like oh does someone have a camera? And you probably end up taking three photos. And then you forget about it.

Tanner: Or if it's a real good event, like when you do like trolled in a trolley or something like that for the first time you really want photos.

(Group 1)

Geoffrey describes the occasions that his phone camera is used as being reserved for those instances that just must be photographed. The idea that some instances have to be photographed overrides his reluctance to use the low quality but usually on hand camera on his phone. Novel drinking events such as doing *"trolled in a trolley or something like that for the first time"* meet the requirements for an event that must be photographed; as a novel, achievement styled drinking event it needs to be recorded for the purposes of encouraging group retelling and to provide backing evidence for the stories that will be told. Such novel events and instances were present in many of the participants' discussions: Group one had red card events (compulsory drinking event nights for a flat), classy cocktails, and the aforementioned getting trolled in trolleys; group two had a 40oz day (each member purchases a 40oz bottle of liquor and consumes it over the course of a day); and group three were looking forward to playing margarita hands (Taping 750ml bottles of premixed margarita drinks to their hands which must be consumed before removal). The groups' stories were encompassed with heroic rhetoric which drew upon terms of both achievement and entertainment value upon the retelling of these stories. These events seemed to encourage feat styled drinking through the increased probability that participants and their activity would be part of the following days' recapping and retelling of stories. Photographs were necessary for such deeds, potentially to provide proof of accomplishment. When turning up to a party there was an expectation that participants would be photographed, illustrating a reward for attendance. For example, in group 2 Bubbles states *"there is always someone at every party I've been to with a digital camera"* and Mary Magdalene describes attending parties with *"you know you're going to be in photos"*. The constant presence of a camera allows for any stories to occur to be permanently recorded.

Returning to the excerpt above, an event that needs to be photographed overrides Geoffrey's stereotypes of who takes the photos at events. The participants discuss the role of their usual photo taker as the *"token camera person"* and Extra strudel (group 2) states *"if I am, am in a photo phase I'll bring my camera along and take photos, I find that I am not really involved in the action if I am taking photos"*, both of which construct the photographer as a necessary presence but one that does not partake fully in the event, present for the purpose of taking photos. Group 1 goes on to describe the need to take photos in terms that create it as almost an unspoken rule, one that creates pressure for someone to take up the role of photographer when there isn't one present. The role of photographer is important enough that they will risk exclusion from the fun and events for the opportunity to capture the photos that serve to instigate and create the groups' stories online. By drawing upon a discourse of the story imperative participants constructed worth and importance around the role of photographer and the photos they took. The role of photographer being inherently undertaken by women in the groups could also be drawing upon a traditional role of women as the housekeepers of relationships. The groups' stories were central to a lot of their interactions and cohesion online and photographing events may be a chore that was afforded a particular type of social status; an acknowledgment that whilst the photographer was not fully a part of the event and activities, they provided the group a necessary service.

The participants also drew upon a discourse of the story imperative, particularly the importance of photographs, when considering both alcohol advertising and the bars they frequented. Locally, Thursday and Saturday are big drinking nights, where many students make a particular point to head out to the bars to continue to drink, socialise and dance after drinking at home with friends. A few of the local bars now photograph their patrons on these particular drinking nights, and post the photos to the bars' Facebook profiles. Participants were often Facebook friends with the local bars they visited during their nights of drinking, but this seemed to be limited to those bars that took photographs of these favoured 'drinking nights'. This illustrates bars as assimilating knowledge of both the drinking culture and Facebook culture to appeal to students. The importance of photo albums and visual accounts of the night's stories was also present in participants' interactions with online advertising sites. Participants enjoyed, and spent the most amount of time with, user uploaded photos of people in the context of a brand of alcohol. For example, Group 1, when asked to show some examples of online advertising to me, produced: the Absolut vodka website, the Canadian Club website and the Tui beer website. These sites each had image galleries and photo albums and these were perused and discussed amongst the group. Particular time and discussion

was spent upon the Tui site's user uploaded content that featured users and novel contexts of the brand and beer itself, such as people with Tui branded tattoos and hand crafted clothing made from bottle caps. The appeal of these types of photo albums to the participants seems to arise from these brands employing a similar discourse as the groups create themselves in their use of photos and Facebook: one of creating stories and novel alcohol-based achievement, but focussed around the brand and its patrons rather than friendship groups and relationships. The interaction between marketing strategies and a discourse of the story imperative is further illustrated and discussed below:

Extract 28

Cherry: You friends with Beer barrel?

Aquamarine: Yea. {screws face up} {laughter} I joined [that the other day.

Daisy: [so gonna add them when I get home {more laughter}

Aquamarine: No I wanted, I wanted to see what photos they've got up, 'cause on EV they like take photos of like Thursday and Saturday nights, and I like to see whether I've been like caught in any of them, or if any of these guys have so I can tag them.

(Group 3)

Aquamarine has just become Facebook friends with The Beer Barrel, a local pub, and describes her reasoning as being that she wants to see the photos that they have up. She is also friends with The Empty Vessel, or "EV", as they are already known for their taking photos of the Thursday and Saturday drinking nights. Drawing upon a discourse of creating stories she justifies her friending of the bar as enabling her to tag herself and any of her friends in the photos. This illustrates the importance of being photographed and recorded for the purposes of the stories the next day as well as constructs the bar as being a part of the creation of these stories. The participants react to the awareness of a bar as photographer the same as they might any of their friends that were regularly taking photos of their drinking: they friend the bar and then tag themselves in its photos. That students are generally unwilling to take a camera out to town creates a niche for bars to occupy, themselves becoming part of the process of creating group stories. Finally, Daisy illustrates the potential virality of this local, targeted, marketing strategy by declaring that she's "*so gonna add them when I get home*". Engaging with marketing strategies of local pubs appealed to participants as they incorporated the importance of creating stories. The participants constructed these interactions as more likely to occur if pubs engaged in creating shared group stories through the publication of photos of participants drinking. This will be considered in further detail as a case study in the following section.

A discourse of the story imperative functioned to illustrate the participants' desire to create material that will be recorded and retold amongst peers. Participants' drinking was constructed as being an important part of creating these stories and the importance of this creation served to remove some responsibility and negative impact from embarrassing or inappropriate behaviour. These occurrences were described as providing worthy material for stories and therefore constructed as desirable and almost part of an individual's duty. Similarly, novel and interesting drinking behaviour or activities were encouraged and practiced. It may be that these types of instances assist in the ability of the resulting stories to withstand numerous retellings. This might explain their desirability for friendship groups, whether they were enjoyable experiences for the individuals involved or not. Through a discourse of the story imperative participants constructed actual instances of drinking as only part of events. Stories surrounding both the planning and lead up to the event were important; however, even more so, individuals' bonding over post event stories was often described as the best part of these drinking events. Whilst stories were recounted and propagated amongst individuals through face to face retellings, the online environment of Facebook was described as especially important by each group for these purposes. One outcome of this is that the groups, through creating numerous stories of events, end up with a shared group history on Facebook. The presence of this history may provide several benefits for groups. It can serve to re-bond individuals' friendships and relationships through, for example, activities such as reminiscing or commenting upon photo's and past discussions of events. This history may also serve to define friendship groups or individuals' association to these groups through their presence in shared photographs, as well as their regular interactions online surrounding this material. Furthermore, this online group history provides a permanent record or proof of identity, both for groups of friends and individuals. Through the material that is posted and shared they are illustrated as fun loving, social, pleasure seeking students to their audience of peers. The commercial uptake of advertising and promotional strategies that incorporate aspects of this discourse, such as uploading drinking photos of patrons, was constructed as appealing by those participants that considered it. A discourse of the story imperative perhaps obscured the immense commercial advantages of individuals engaging with brands and bars over the medium of Facebook in this way. However it is also possible the importance of creating stories to students provided them enough compensation from these strategies to overcome their being used as cheap advertising on Facebook.

Chapter 4: Case Studies

Two case studies will be used to demonstrate the ways in which the four discourses (savvy agent, pleasurable consumption, routine socialising and the story imperative) intersected. This provides greater insight into how the discourses are flexibly employed to create meanings and understandings within a specific context. The first of the two case studies will consider the four discourses in the context of Tui beer's advertising campaigns. The second case study will consider them in the instance of local bars photographing patrons and then posting these photos to their Facebook pages.

Case study I: Tui beer advertising

Tui beer advertising is an example of successful, targeted, brand based advertising. The friendship groups were each familiar with the brand and its related marketing campaigns; it was discussed in the context of drinking behaviour and culture, as well discussion around advertising or marketing. Additionally, many of the ideas and associations with the brand were similar across groups 1 and 3 (Examples including that Tui was a beer for young males, students particularly; and its association with a fun loving, humorous culture) suggesting the company's attempt to attach specific cultural capital to its brand was successful. By attaching meaning and associations that have high value within a student drinking culture, consumption of the Tui brand becomes prestigious and worthy within these cultures. Within this context the four discourses are apparent and encourage certain readings, behaviour and associations, to occur as discussed below. I also discuss how participants drew upon the discourses to negotiate a variety of meanings, understandings and circumstances surrounding the consumption of the product, brand, and advertising of Tui beer.

Background introduction and culture of Tui advertising campaigns

The online and offline advertising strategies of Tui are each part of an overall marketing of the brand and culture of Tui beer. For example, Tui's online strategies reference the material and associations of the offline campaigns, presumably adding to their efficacy. This is an example of the 360 degree advertising strategy that Chester et al (2010) describe. Tui's advertising campaigns are constantly presented as a coherent message, unified over a variety of mediums, creating an almost inescapable advertising campaign.

Televised Tui advertising makes the most of a non interactive medium, in that it is designed to be highly entertaining whilst attempting to attach as much cultural capital to the brand as possible. The advertising is high budget, often humorous and the brand itself is highly visible. The television advertising of Tui often centres on light hearted, humorous shenanigans occurring in the context of Tui beer and undertaken by male protagonists. In one advert three males dressed in camouflage versions of student based clothing (Jandals, long shorts, t-shirt under dress shirt, beanies, backpacks and satchels) break into the Tui brewery which is guarded by ultra-feminine 'Tui babe guards', (shown in a previous advert as necessary due to the problem of male workers drinking Tui directly off the factory line whilst on the job), they use a mixture of silly ingenious humour (Painting themselves to blend into a brick wall, escaping down the river under the cover of rubber ducks) and gendered humour (They distract one guard with a pair of high heeled shoes) to attempt to sneak past guards in order to steal the beer from the brewery fortress and escape. Another advert starts with a group of males partaking in a casual looking round of golf (They're carrying Tui on the course potentially creating the association with the drinking game "can-a-hole-golf", in which participants consume a can of beer at each hole they arrive at, a game familiar to many students). Inspired by a glance at a bottle of Tui and seeing the brewery off in the distance, the game turns into a cross country epic that utilises popular kiwi iconography of country farming, all terrain ride-on lawnmowers and electric fence humour. Along the way it takes a mocking stab at the tame, slow, refined approach of sports such as bowls. The final hole is the Tui brewery and the ad finishes with the slogan "*Brewing legends since 1889*" displayed next to two bottles of chilled Tui. Finally, Tui has previously televised a series of short adverts that showed humorous cultural or societal references that were followed by the slogan "Yeah right". Examples include an eager-to-sell real estate agent telling a viewing couple that he has a lot of interested buyers - yeah right, and a male browsing the sizes of condoms and settling on the extra large - yeah right. This campaign has branched into a plethora of popular, customised billboards across the country with an easily identifiable format of: societal or pop culture reference (on black background box) next to "yeah right" (yellow lettering, in a red box) and the Tui logo (See figure 2).



Figure 2. An example of the Tui billboard campaign. (Tui, 2011)

Tui's online campaigns employ a more participatory approach to advertising and interaction with their consumers, illustrating a medium specific advertising strategy, yet one that ultimately reinforces the role of offline advertising. A Facebook product page allows people to "like" Tui and then provides Tui updates to user newsfeeds regarding competitions, events and product updates. These prompt user discussions and comments that create an online community around the brand. The official website (Tui.co.nz) is coloured in the black, red and yellow Tui theme and provides branded downloads such as screensavers as well as product information, a space to upload band based user photographs and extensive competition or giveaway material. Traditional advertising is still present online and is often centred on the well known yeah right billboard format, but it is modified to be a user competition where users can win a product prize pack by creating the best Tui "yeah right" billboards which are then used to advertise Tui. The Tui site states billboards must be: *"Within the boys world. Must be topical, beer related or just bloody funny. Must not be overtly sexual, racist, sexist or rude"* (Tui.co.nz, 2011) as well as providing a word length to adhere to. The hypertextuality and flexibility of the internet is also utilised in Tui's online advertising. The various platforms and strategies are interconnected such that the main webpage links to the Facebook page and Twitter feeds, whilst each of those links back to the main webpage. Additionally, if a user is already logged into Facebook when they visit the site, the box of offsite links is replaced by one that displays the user's friends (a profile picture and name) that have "liked" Tui on Facebook, and provides a button to "like" Tui without leaving the site.

Interaction, cooperation and opposition of discourses in Tui advertising

Tui advertising draws upon multiple discourses at once in its campaigns and it does so in the context of both the target demographic (Male, student, youth) and a highly visible brand presence; a brand presence that is nonetheless naturalised to many student drinking experiences. This is discussed in further detail below along with the implications of such an approach to advertising.

The content of the offline advertisements

Pleasurable consumption and the story imperative are both drawn upon in the Tui golfing advertisement. The consumption of Tui is shown to make an activity even more fun, paralleling the discussion groups' talk of pleasurable consumption and the amplifying effects of alcohol. The friends start off playing golf and, upon the production of a bottle of Tui, are lead on an epic adventure that would undoubtedly instigate discussion and storytelling both on Facebook and in face to face interactions with peers. To make sure the narrative quality, or worthwhile story aspect, of the

drinking adventure does not go unnoticed the ad finishes with the phrase “*Brewing legends since 1889*” (*The Tui Back Nine*, 2010). This directly addresses the creation of noteworthy stories in a similar aspect to how the discussion groups talked of the importance of the stories arising from their own drinking sessions. Equally, breaking into a beer fortress using humour and entertaining scenarios blend the two discourses of pleasurable consumption and the story imperative, again within the context of a “legendary mission” that would withstand or encourage many retellings.

The golfing ad also draws upon drinking as a naturalised part of routine socialisation. To start with the players are just carrying out an everyday, fairly mundane, game of golf with beer; in itself a relatively accessible situation for students: a relaxed, casual, drinking activity. It is possible to read this text as even more explicitly referencing students’ drinking as routine socialisation by considering the beer laden golf scenario as alluding to the drinking game “can-a-hole-golf” (Generally a group of friends visit a local golf course and consume a can of beer whenever they arrive at, or sink their balls in, a hole), the game itself incorporates the feat based drinking of the story imperative and that of drinking as routine socialisation. This discourse of routine socialisation is entwined with pleasurable consumption when the group of friends, the protagonists, embark on Tui centric exciting, carefree, off the wall and spur-of-the-moment fun.

The advertising tends to portray those aspects of the discourses that are easily integrated into student drinking practices and are consonant with the consumption of Tui. For example, routine socialisation is portrayed as synonymous with consuming Tui; the story imperative as having Tui as the basis or requisite for story creation, or as the quest or objective to be recorded; the savvy individual as knowledgeable of student culture, or at least the more marketable aspects of it (drinking and a fun, light hearted approach to pop culture and society); and pleasurable consumption as enjoyment of the beer, but also the pleasurable consumption of the advertising material and culture as entertainment instead of advertising. This integration serves to blur the distinction between student and commercial culture and allows students to demonstrate their savvy through the consumption of Tui.

By representing much of the culture and practices surrounding students, their drinking and Facebook use, the discourses work together to create Tui beer as a student beer. This is important for the consumption of the product; drinking Tui allows identification as a student and to be constructed as

synonymous with the desirable aspects associated with the brand. However, it is also important for the interaction with online advertising strategies. By building cultural capital around the brand, interacting online with the advertising strategies can be constructed as socialising, expressing identity, entertainment or pleasure. This piggybacking of Tui advertising onto other social processes may also serve to further acculturate and normalise the brand into student drinking as well as serve to normalise drinking as an essential part of the 'student' experience.

Creating Tui billboards online

The online billboard campaign incorporates an approach that encourages user generated billboards and the display of these to other users by making it a weekly competition with branded product as prizes. This incorporates the discourse of pleasurable consumption with the savvy individual and participatory web 2.0 theory (as discussed in the introduction). Due to the established convention and nature of the advertising campaign offline, online consumers create ads drawing upon their own relevant cultural material and societal opinions. Consumers are competing with one another in an entertaining context communicating and replicating their culture, while creating advertising for the company. One of the costs to the company of this process is the production of branded product prizes, the giving away of which creates further advertising and contextualisation of the brand into student's lives. Fuchs' (2010) description of user interaction being exploited by commercial interest online is easily identifiable in this instance and it is likely aided by various aspects of the identified discourses. Engagement can be described through the advertising drawing upon pleasurable consumption, the savvy individual and the story imperative. It is a fun activity to make 'taking the piss' billboards and if a user's material is chosen it provides published evidence of involvement with a fun and pleasurable brand. Additionally, the billboards created likely reference material that is relevant to, or drawn from, group or even individual experiences, allowing a permanent publication of group culture that has been shown as important through the story imperative. This is especially pertinent when these billboards are published and displayed on Facebook by both the Tui product page (their front page photo banner displays the previous competition winners) as well as competition winners as part of their routine socialisation with friends.

In this way the integration of routine socialisation, pleasurable consumption and the story imperative discourses may serve to override the 'savvy' individual's knowledge that advertising strategies are purposefully constructed to engage individuals as *consumers* in an economic relationship. Therefore, the economic aspects of the relationship between Tui and students become obscured. Where they

are conscious of them, any costs associated with engagement may in any case be deemed to be worth it. Similarly, providing this creation of advertising as a fun and entertaining competition, which draws upon pleasurable consumption, rather than as interaction with advertising or brand, likely conceals aspects of the interaction that might change what is considered savvy behaviour in the first place. Individuals drawing upon a discourse of savvy consumption in these circumstances may result in overconfidence of knowledge and ability to identify the commercial appropriation of student culture, the inherent risks of engagement (making individual or group information part of a public advertising campaign), and the exploitation present (the use of consumers to create free advertising). By providing this free labour and cultural information users are not acting in savvy ways, but the opt in nature of the exchange, which provides a sense of control over the exchange, as well as the ability to be heard via being published to a wider audience of Tui beer loving peers, which draws upon all three discourses of pleasurable consumption routine socialisation and the story imperative, can be seen as both lessening the savvy individual's weightings of the costs in comparison to the benefits, blinding users to associated risks. Sharing this material with friends as part of routine socialisation may also downplay the commercial aspect and interest present in the process, and consequently downplay the level of caution required to be savvy in interactions. Finally, the creation of the Tui billboards can allow the individual to occupy a position of savvy. Expertise, knowledge and ability is required to know the generic form of the offline advertising campaign and then be able to incorporate aspects of their own student culture humorously into "*the boys world*" (Tui.co.nz, 2011). Consuming advertising, by both making billboards and liking it on Facebook, as pleasure and routine socialising, instead of persuasive commercial interactions, allows for some appropriation of the "savvy agent" discourse. In other words framing this behaviour in terms of pleasure and fun for the viewing of social peers allows for the individual to construct themselves as a certain type of savvy, encouraging students to view the creation of free advertising as a part of 'their' culture.

Uploading user photos with the brand to an informational commons

As described previously, the Tui site has a photo gallery of user uploaded photos. Users are portrayed in the context of the Tui brand for public viewing, often this involves a large amount of Tui bottles or bottle caps or personal attachment to the brand (examples include Tui tattoos and wall designs crafted solely from Tui bottle caps). The photos regularly allude to heavy drinking behaviour with photos of comatose consumers and Tui has previously run competitions based on this uploading of material that actively demonstrates loyalty and consumption of the brand. From the discursive space of the savvy individual users should be aware of the risks inherent with sharing these dubious, and

often personal, photos. But sharing of the story that was created through their drinking, as well as uploading drinking photo's as part of the story imperative coupled with discussion and publication of this drinking as routine socialisation adds a mundane normalisation to the regular uploading of such photos. This may all combine to conceal the fact that participants don't even have the limited control that would be present if they were interacting with Tui on the medium of Facebook. With a website that mimics many aspects of Facebook users engage with familiar processes in an unfamiliar environment. There is also a need to be seen as fun loving, relaxed and carefree which is part of the cultural capital of the brand they're engaging with as well as those aspects the advertising campaigns associate with being a student. A cycle of the brand accruing this cultural capital through the adoption and reference of relevant student culture, which in turn leads students to engage with, and consume, the brand to illustrate identity, may create a distilled, Tui centric, student culture. The brand then can run a competition that is potentially risky to play (for example, one based on uploading material that depicts consumers in instances that could compromise professional aspirations or that creates social friction in relationships the material was not intended for). Offsetting this risk is the brand's culture that openly mocks this safety and lack of impulsive social fun, making it akin to issuing a challenge for 'authentic' Tui drinkers; those that would upload these risky photos. In the process the brand accrues more cultural capital as all the uploaded photos have to be in the context of, or reference, the brand to be published. Group 1 Illustrated the fine balance of savvy versus participation in such an activity; whilst perusing and enjoying the gallery they decided they would never upload their own photos to the website, but Ranga added *"if it was a competition or something I might"* indicating that it was more a matter of being worth something to her.

Liking Tui on Facebook

Within the friendship groups various people had previously 'liked' Tui on Facebook, although often they had forgotten having done so and it was only after much discussion of the Tui page displaying friends that had already 'liked' the product that it became noticed. 'Liking' Tui provides an advertisement of the fact to all an individual's friends via their newsfeeds and as such encouraging people to do so is a cheap advertising strategy for Tui. Similar to the advertising discussed, 'Liking' Tui draws upon the pleasurable consumption discourse through the pleasure of proclamation of identity through the brand. However, being constantly logged into Facebook, with it open in the background to allow continuous socialisation, interacts again with pleasurable consumption. Friends that have already 'liked' Tui on Facebook are displayed on the Tui website, and the pleasure of identity construction can thus be taken from both branded association as well as the proclamation of mutual interests amongst friends. Being constantly logged into Facebook reduces the effort of creating this

advertising to a single unobtrusive click that doesn't even redirect the individual away from the page they are browsing. In group 1 Ranga illustrated the offhand automatic nature of this interaction of the discourses. After some perusing of the Tui site she found herself inexplicably at the Tui Facebook page. Wondering how she got to the site she logged in and automatically clicked the 'like' button then proceeded back to the Tui webpage. There was little reflection of the potential orchestration of this slightly confusing redirection towards the Facebook page and no comment was made on the 'liking' of the product. The mundane process of advertising Tui went relatively unnoticed except for her Facebook friend list (nearly 800 people), illustrating the rewards of an interconnected advertising strategy and the specific potential or power of SNS advertising.

Drinking it even though it's not the cheapest or best for price

Constructing themselves as savvy individuals the friendship groups often engaged in discussion of their knowledge surrounding the best value drinks for their limited funds. Each of the groups varied as to what they considered in this appraisal of value changing the nature of what they considered savvy. For example, Group 1 tended to talk about skilfully finding the cheapest volume of alcohol per dollar whereas group 2 and 3 described not buying the absolute cheapest but balancing a good mix of alcohol volume and taste for their dollar. Tui was actually often derided when talking about the quality to price ratio of the actual beer product. Geoffrey (group 1) stated if he had the money he would buy export gold (a similarly priced beer). However, they still described contradictory instances of purchasing and consuming Tui. When talking, group 1 utilised aspects of the four discourses to describe why they still drank a beer that wasn't the cheapest (in contrast to their cheapest alcohol savvy) and wasn't even their first choice in the price range. The group described Tui nights (nights of exclusively drinking Tui) that were almost formalised in terms of expected activity for the night, which constructed them as more esteemed and appealing when considering their value for the creation of stories; a step up from a generic night of drinking. Tui nights provide a calendar event to be planned and recorded as well as one that references and adds to group history and traditions. Additionally, such events are recognisable as drinking events when considering the build up before hand and notifications on Facebook that draw upon the story imperative. Ritual drinking practices and games were formed around the brand and the recurrence of these Tui nights made them part of the group's routine socialising, allowing normalisation and unquestionably, but contradictorily, mundane. You can't have a Tui night or play the 'T-zone' game (Tui provides trivia on their bottle caps. The opener of a bottle asks the question and if answered correctly the drink must be consumed to the 'T' of the Tui logo, if this is missed the entire bottle must be consumed and the process repeats) without Tui so they bought Tui. Finally, pleasurable consumption is drawn upon and

associated with the brand as the Tui nights provide enjoyable entertainment and fun for the group. Consuming Tui even though it was not the cheapest or considered the best buy at its price range may be a result of the brand surrounding itself with meanings and associations that group 1 found encouraged routine socialisation, fun and entertainment, creating stories worth retelling and aligning with the group's history. This process seemed to negate or reconstruct what was initially constructed as savvy behaviour.

Case study II: Bars photographing patron's drinking and posting to

Facebook

Individuals in the discussions described 'friending' or 'adding' local bars on Facebook, primarily because the bars photographed those nights that students identified as drinking nights (for example, Friday and Saturday nights where customarily a lot of people went to town after drinking at their houses). This provides an excellent example of an effective contemporary advertising technique that integrates the offline culture and practices of students with their online SNS culture. This second short case study considers some of the four discourses' interactions in this context, and how these may encourage students' engagement with this strategy.

Bars' photographing patrons

By taking photos of their patrons, focussing on the later portions of the nights where students move from drinking at flats and houses to the larger social context of town and pubs, these venues draw upon the discourses of pleasurable consumption, the story imperative, and routine socialisation. The pleasure derived from visiting town after drinking at home in smaller groups or as part of a party was described as coming from further opportunities for socialisation and often the large, social, group dancing that accompanied visiting pubs at these latter stages of a drinking night. The ability to construct identity and personal behaviour as being associated with this type of socialising adds value to those bars that record, and then publish, students' presence and activities on drinking nights. Finally the routine nature of these drinking nights that move into town (they recur weekly) is highlighted by the fact that both students and bars can easily identify them. This allows the bars to formulate and implement such a strategy, as it becomes predictable that enough of the 'right' sort of drinkers will be in town (students). Similar to the previous case study, there is likely a weighing up of the risks and rewards of partaking in this sort of strategy. The public nature of these pages and the increased chance of local recognition, which in turn increases the likelihood of relevant people viewing material and incurring repercussions, must be weighed against the pleasure and rewards

that participation generates. The public nature of this material is both the risk *and* the reward. Groups described part of the fun being looking through bars' photos in an effort to identify themselves, and people they knew, participating in the heavy drinking culture.

Drawing upon these discourses by undertaking this photography should also be considered explicitly for the advertising and marketing strategy that it is. Similar to the previous case study the discourses worked to collapse the boundaries of socialisation and commercialisation or advertising. Discussants language rarely differentiated these bars from other friends on Facebook and described the photography as a service provided, akin to the descriptions of the groups' own photographers. However, by drawing on a combination of discourses that are heavily entwined with the student drinking culture through their photography, bars became a part of the night and that drinking culture. Thus they may be constructed as a venue that must be visited so that the pleasure of consumption and socialisation can be recorded and displayed the next day, becoming part of the drinking routine. The strategy serves to attract custom as well as provide a unique, but highly relevant experience for student drinkers. Below the online marketing implications and discursive interactions of this strategy are considered.

'Liking' and 'friending' on Facebook: Local, targeted, viral campaigns

Of the two bars mentioned in discussions, one had elected to use Facebook's 'product page' service; this requires a simple 'like' click from users to gain access to the photos, discussions and bar related happenings. This bar provided the least amount of material (few photos, and a very limited amount of posts) and from that material displayed, as well as the friendship groups' discussions, seemed to target an, older, "*upmarket*" (Fonza, group 3), and more relaxed, drinking clientele. However, the other bar had set up a page using Facebook's 'user profile' service. Reserved for personal individual profiles, this service requires both parties (in this case the bar and the individual) to acknowledge and accept a relationship connection that is depicted as a 'friend' (as opposed to 'like'); a practice that is against the terms of service for Facebook. Upon further investigation another local bar that practised photographing patrons was discovered that also required profile 'friending' instead of 'liking' before a relationship was established. This serves as a sort of deterrent, making it more difficult for users to acknowledge or identify themselves as associated with the bar, as they can add the bar to their Facebook friends but must then wait for the confirmatory 'add' from the bar before access and association is allowed. It also removes some of their control over the interaction as the bar has influence over whether or not the online relationship occurs at all. As a result of these

aspects the marketing strategy of bars actually emulates the routine socialisation users perform daily on Facebook, effectively mimicking a user profile. This method of using a user profile may be seen as serving to increase the value of bars' Facebook friendship. Discussants described their online friend lists as needing to be representative of their offline connections, often defending particularly large counts. When using a personal profile this idea of legitimate connections may aid bars marketing strategies. Users may consider themselves more likely to have their friendship requests accepted by the bar if they are legitimate 'friends' of the bar. Given the page holds material valuable for story creation as well as for its ability to promote socialisation and identity, students could become proactive in this pursuit; going out of their way to frequent the bars and establish the legitimacy of their Facebook friendship claim. The restricted access to bars' pages, when coupled with the value of the material restricted, may heighten the perceived prestige and cultural capital of these bars for students. Furthermore it could serve to create an 'in-group' within the drinking population; rather than just being able to 'like' the page it may attach cultural capital to membership or collection of the page as a friend. Whilst many businesses might be limited by the use of a profile page, and its 5000 friend limit, rather than a product page it seems unlikely that this will deter bars who need only accommodate the local population. It seems to work in a smaller city like Palmerston North and if the limit is reached then it may allow even further value, vetting and vying for these bars' Facebook friendship.

Given that students are less in control of these online interactions, that the pages are heavily entwined in the creation of the nights' stories, and that pages are actually set up as personal profiles, it is little wonder that two of the friendship groups' talk described the bars as they did other Facebook friends. By acting in this way, bars bypass much of the commercial savvy discourse as users are not actually engaging with them as a commercial enterprise. The bars are treated the same as other online friends and are therefore privy to similar levels of trust, and self agency in managing their own online interactions. This is illustrated on their Facebook walls as patrons post messages to the bars, thanking them for a good night or sharing an alcohol related story; a side effect of which is that bars may pick up quickly on, and incorporate, new trends and likes conveyed in this posting.

Similar to the first case study but within a different context, bars can be constructed as accruing status and identity themselves from this process. By drawing upon meanings and ideas that students identify as desirable and part of their own culture, those discourses of routine socialisation,

pleasurable consumption, and the story imperative, bars become similar to a brand. However, instead of a product accruing cultural capital it is a venue that accrues this capital, and as a result may become more desirable for students to visit. This accrual of worth illustrates the potential for this strategy to create local viral campaigns, where users are encouraged to pass commercial material amongst them using personal channels of communication; this has the added benefit of a sense of trust and worth being attached to such material as it comes from personal sources. The cultural associations that build up (student identity, drinking culture and socialising), coupled with the actual material the bars' pages hold, provide incentive for 'friending' the page on Facebook. This advertises the interaction to friends' newsfeeds allowing a similar opportunity, but users may also more actively encourage friends to visit and friend the page to view their instances of photographs. Furthermore, this viral advertising will likely occur in both on and offline socialisation as drinking experiences were part of discussants' routine socialisation and Facebook photos of these experiences were also part of individuals' social interactions in both environments.

An implication of this photography is that it aids in the over representation of a student culture of heavy drinking on Facebook. By choosing only to photograph those days, and even parts of the night, that are typically associated with more inebriated behaviour it is probable that a majority of the material is going to reference a heavy drinking culture. Importantly, the bars must also manage the legal issues involved such that material shown only references or suggests heavy drinking rather than explicitly shows the bar providing already inebriated customers with alcohol. The four discourses identified in this study are well suited to such a task. The story imperative, and the pleasure that students got from laughing at novel, unique, drinking occurrences that they and their friends' undertook, further encourages these sorts of photographs to be taken and selected for uploading to Facebook. As such, the practice might be seen as encouraging student heavy drinking in the venue (more likely to be photograph worthy if inebriated) and assisting the perception of a heavy drinking student culture on the medium of Facebook (through a biased representation of student drinkers). Bars benefit economically from heavy drinking whereas students do not; However, the economic relationship between bar and patron is elided by the discourses and through positioning the bar as a friend profile rather than a product page.

Through taking photos of students drinking nights, the bars create themselves as part of the larger student drinking experience. They are integrated at the level of immediate story creation and the

enabling of pleasurable consumption, and then again as part of the post drinking solidification and recording of stories. This illustrates them as appealing directly to many aspects of students' ideas and meanings surrounding both drinking and Facebook use; serving to differentiate them from other drinking establishments through the appeal to a student, and young adult, drinking culture.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This study sought to investigate the discourses students drew upon when describing their drinking experiences, their use of Facebook and their interactions with alcohol advertising. Four discourses were identified from friendship groups' discussions. The first, pleasurable consumption, encompassed the fun and entertainment that was identified with use and interaction with these three areas. The second was entitled the individual as a savvy agent, which encompassed the knowledge and expertise with the areas that individuals described themselves as having, and the confidence that ensued from this in undertaking interactions with alcohol, Facebook and advertising. Thirdly, routine everyday socialisation described the regular and habitual nature of these interactions as well as their use as socialisation amongst peers. Finally, the story imperative highlighted the importance of drinking and Facebook, for creating the good stories that served to instil and reinforce group microcultures and affiliation. These stories also provided an avenue for localised claims to fame for individuals and their accomplishments as groups bonded over and discussed this material. The results add to our knowledge of the socially constructed and negotiated aspects of student drinking, Facebook use and interactions with advertising, both reinforcing and extending previous findings. The commercial interest in student drinking manifests in the booming social commons of contemporary SNSs, and the current results provide useful and unique perspectives of the interactions between these three areas; areas that are becoming increasingly relevant in tertiary students' lives and arguably wider society in general.

In the discussion below I examine how the results answer the study's research questions. The first was about tertiary students' experiences surrounding their drinking, why they drink and what they gain from it. Results demonstrate that friendship groups drank socially and heavily. Groups described instances of routine social drinking sessions between smaller close knit groups of friends as well as larger but more infrequent parties. These drinking sessions included descriptions of many heavy drinking indicators, for example individuals being comatose, losing memory, vomiting, experiencing loss of inhibition and engaging in behaviour that was deemed regrettable post event. Participants constructed this consumption as savvy and controlled through their knowledge of what an appropriate level of inebriation for a particular context was, as well as in their knowledge of how much it took them personally to get them to various states of inebriation. These findings are consistent with a discourse of controlled intoxication that previous studies have postulated (Guise & Gill, 2007; Measham, 2006; Szmigin et al., 2008). Friendship groups constructed this drinking as being

undertaken for the pleasure gained from both the socialisation and the experience associated with the type of events that drinking encouraged. Drinking allowed discussants the opportunity for creating, witnessing and partaking in the stories associated with the consumption of alcohol. These were important to friendship groups, particularly for the bonding through discussion or publication of accompanying material to Facebook that was encouraged. This mirrors international findings regarding college students' reasons for drinking (Colby, Colby, & Raymond, 2009). These stories served to also allow the expression of what discussants constructed as an appropriate student identity; that is, an identity that incorporated the fun, sociable and carefree aspects of drinking; as opposed to those more tedious, or boring, work and study related aspects of the student culture. Finally, two of the groups constructed their drinking as routine or mundane and just what they did when they were together. Drinking could be seen as habitualised to the point that it was one of the default activities the groups undertook when together; in this, the study supports findings such as Abel and Plumridge's (2004) that describe alcohol as an almost mandatory and unquestioned part of many younger peoples' socialisation processes. There was often a blurring of distinction between socialisation and drinking alcohol, perhaps due to the level of importance some discussants placed upon it for their social functioning, and alcohol was often constructed and personified as a member of the friendship group that instigated many of their pleasurable experiences.

The study also sought to explore whether tertiary students could identify examples of alcohol advertising campaigns, and whether the ways in which they discuss alcohol products and advertising relate to the ways the products themselves are marketed. Each of the groups could identify examples of both offline and online alcohol advertising, with prominent examples being the Tui beer and Woodstock bourbon and cola campaigns. The four discourses identified were heavily drawn upon for rationalising groups' heavy drinking and these discourses were also easily identifiable amongst both offline and online advertising strategies. Thus the cultural capital of brands was mirrored by participants' descriptions of their drinking culture, naturalising the assimilation of brands such as Tui into the student drinking culture. The findings suggest advertising may draw upon carefully selected discursive material with the express purpose of it being assimilated into students' drinking practices and culture, the overall desire being that of increasing market share and encouraging a student drinking culture that raises overall product consumption. The appropriation of culture for advertising purposes might be considered as actively manipulating or emphasising those aspects of a student drinking culture that assist the marketability of the product and work to further augment a heavy drinking culture. This would be consistent with previous research (e.g. Taylor (2009), Kjeldgaard and

Askegaard (2006), and Gidley (2004)) that demonstrates the insidious nature of the advertising, and the marketing industries' active influence on segments of youth culture such as students. Friendship groups constructed themselves as savvy in their awareness of advertising and its mechanisms, and they considered alcohol advertising relatively ineffective. Yet, this was often contradicted by their in depth knowledge of campaigns, their allegiance to brands such as Tui, and the presence of advertising material in personal spaces such as their Facebook pages. Activities that drew upon and engaged other discourses identified in this study could be seen as bypassing or altering the construction of savvy agency when regarding interactions with advertising. For example, the routine nature of 'liking' pages on Facebook for both pleasure and socialisation created instances of automatically 'liking' alcohol product pages on Facebook that individuals happened across. Maness (2004) describes the idea of 'blind spots' in even those students with a high degree of media savvy. It is possible that the contradictions between advertising savvy and online behaviour that this study describes represent such blind spots; therefore, identifying an area of media literacy and critique that needs to be integrated into contemporary media education. The study supports McCreanor et al's (2008) previous findings that describe alcohol companies and their branded advertising as creating intoxicogenic environments targeted at normalising and accepting youth inebriation. Griffiths and Caswell's (2010) findings that extend this finding into the online environment of SNSs, suggesting commercial alcohol interests create 'intoxicogenic digital spaces', are also supported. Furthermore bridging these two findings this study suggests that both offline and online marketing of products draw upon similar discursive material, and in doing so create effective, cohesive campaigns over a variety of mediums.

The study also explicitly examined whether the use and culture of SNSs was incorporated into the drinking practices and ideals of students, and how socialisation on this platform relates to a student culture of heavy drinking. Results suggest that Facebook is heavily ingrained into the drinking practices of students. Material depicting the consumption of alcohol allowed participants to express identities based upon pleasurable consumption and routine socialisation, and as such was prolific on participants Facebook pages. These findings support previous findings that highlight the prevalence of this material on tertiary student SNS profiles (Egan & Moreno, 2011b; Kolek & Saunders, 2008). These posts will be the most responded to by other peers also wishing to affiliate themselves to, and to bond over, the events depicted. Discussion on Facebook was important as it provided a permanent record of groups' stories and the individuals involved. Discussants' descriptions paralleled Mendelson and Papacharissi's (2010) study which describes Facebook as performing the function of

photograph albums for students; simultaneously providing material for discussion and serving to collate groups' histories. The construction of a student culture of heavy drinking was aided by the norms and culture of Facebook use. Often individuals described the only circumstances they'd consider untagging photos as being when it wasn't a particularly entertaining photo, for the group as a whole rather than for the individual involved, or when a photo depicted an occurrence they deemed actually undesirable. Otherwise instances of heavy drinking were posted for the good of the groups' collated stories. Individuals drew upon both a discourse of routine socialisation and pleasurable consumption to justify the illustration of those photos that might otherwise be considered unflattering. Ridout, Campbell and Ellis (2011) describe the implicit encouragement, and approval, of alcohol consumption and a heavy drinking culture which accompanies the refusal to untag photos and material depicting individuals in these circumstances. This study furthers this finding suggesting that students both implicitly and explicitly endorse such material potentially as a result of the valorisation of a heavy drinking culture.

The extent that this study shows Facebook was integrated into offline activities, interactions and socialisation, as well as being routine, everyday and mundane, allows the possibility that a bias of posted material that exaggerates the extent of a heavy drinking culture online can have an effect on offline drinking culture. Previous research (e.g. Dietz (2008), Kypri and Langley (2003), and Nairn et al (2006)) suggests the perception of heavy peer drinking can lead to increased drinking in individuals. This study posits that participants' construction of a heavy drinking student culture as routine everyday socialisation, pleasurable, and an important part of identity construction, serves to create a similar effect through material depicting this heavy drinking culture being highly visible to peers on Facebook. Facebook was important for its involvement in many areas of students' lives but it was also constructed as important in and of itself. This was illustrated in the bars photographing patrons case study, where patrons may visit based purely on the chance of attaining further Facebook presence. Discourses such as routine socialisation and the story imperative often positioned Facebook as the end result, rather than merely a medium for interaction. The study suggests the possibility that some activities may be undertaken, such as attending a party or drinking heavily, not because of the experience themselves but because of the pleasure of illustrating users' identities online and creating those stories important for the social Facebook experience. Finally revisiting Holt (2002) and Deuze's (2006) accounts of the cultural bricoleur, whilst online environments represent a wealth of material to potentially be repurposed in the formation and illustration of identity and culture, the heavily commercialised and branded space of Facebook makes it more likely that such

bricolage is likely to include and propagate advertising material. While Facebook has not created the student culture of heavy drinking, it is embedded within this culture, potentially encouraging and exacerbating it.

Finally, the study sought to identify whether alcohol advertising on SNSs was treated differently to other forms of online advertising by tertiary students. Alcohol advertising was often repurposed for use as part of socialisation as well as being used for its association to a student culture and identity on the medium of Facebook. This complicates the comparisons of Facebook advertising with advertising based offsite. For example, while the advertising sidebar of Facebook was treated with similar disdain and dismissal to other similar forms of online advertising, it was also constructed as better because access to basic user and friend information made it more likely to be relevant. Potentially, the length of time spent on Facebook as well as the conceptualisation of SNS space as 'their space' may make users more inclined to interact with even those traditional forms of advertising present, if only to optimise their appearance. Also blurring the ability to compare off and onsite advertising is the occurrence of offsite alcohol and brand content, such as product websites, sponsored events and competitions being posted to Facebook for the purposes of socialisation, identity associations, entertainment and pleasure. For example, the Tui advertising case study shows that the beer's home web page was full of material and interactions that mimic those present on Facebook, encouraging users to share and post this material with peers. In this way offsite advertising was treated very similarly to the practice of 'Liking' alcohol brands and services' Facebook pages; users passed alcohol information and advertising in a viral manner through their personal channels, an effect Mart, Mergendoller and Simon (2009) attribute partially to the design and structure of Facebook itself. The routine nature of these practices coupled with the recontextualising and repurposing of this material helps explain why groups claimed they had never seen any alcohol advertising on Facebook initially; an effect that was quickly contradicted as discussions progressed. Additionally, strategies such as local bars photographing their patrons were further disregarded as advertising strategies due to drawing heavily on social peer practices and a discourse of the story imperative. By providing evidence of patrons drinking in the context of Facebook, as well as their regular posting of interesting updates, these bars were treated more like a user than a product or service. The perceived nature of Facebook as a social space whose primary purpose for students is routine everyday socialisation serves to collapse the boundaries between the social lives and culture of users and commercial advertising material and practices. This effect is intensified by the lack of distinction between online relationships that Livingstone (2008) describes. In a social context where

the relationships represented by 'friends' are indistinguishable from each other, alcohol brands and products can mimic personal user contacts, engaging with users as peers rather than product. Students, therefore, may interact with online commercial material whilst maintaining a perception of savvy agency; as what is savvy in terms of information shared, and free labour provided, is likely different for interactions with peers than it is for interactions with commercial alcohol companies. As Fuchs (2010) describes, users' SNS interactions and data represent a wealth of information, and Facebook's design is such that providing this to interested commercial parties is mundane and naturalised. This study showed that students create and pass on material relating to their drinking culture as part of their regular interactions and social processes. Through the collapsing boundaries of student drinking culture and commercial advertising, oftentimes alcohol advertising may find itself a part of the in-group process of creating and shaping student drinking cultures, as shown in the Tui advertising case study. Facebook was not treated similarly to offsite advertising; many of the strategies employed were unique to a SNS environment and even when the content of such advertising was the same as offsite material, the differing context changed the perception and interactions of the participants with it.

Limitations and reflections on the research process

Amongst the limitations of this study that need to be acknowledged are the diversity and makeup of the groups. The group solely consisting of all females described variations of the material, and discourses identified, that highlighted the possibility of gender specificity. For example, preference of those drinks targeted towards women was more obvious and unquestioned by the group and there was a notable, or recurring, emphasis on dancing as a pleasurable outcome of drinking. This raises the possibility that an all men group could have offered unique contributions, material and reworking of the discourses. A greater number of discussion groups that incorporated combinations of mixed, all female, and all male groups may have been more representative of the wide variety of student drinking experiences, as well as acknowledging any gender specific issues more fully. Similarly, the spread of ethnicity over the groups was also fairly homogenous with 12 of the 13 participants describing themselves as European/Pākehā. Māori, and the other ethnicities that make up the population of Aotearoa/New Zealand, may hold differing cultural values from their Western counterparts. It is plausible that such differences would result in notable changes in the drinking, Facebook and advertising experiences such students relate. Incorporating a wider ethnic diversity into the study would be potentially beneficial for Māori as the Māori population has a large young

adult proportion (Kypri, 2003), and it is this demographic that this study suggests is targeted and influenced by contemporary advertising strategies.

Additionally the age range of groups may have been too large, and it may have been useful to look at the variations of student age groups. One of the groups consisted of slightly older students. Their resulting discussion, whilst aligning in many respects to those of the other two groups, had aspects that seemed to suggest some differences to the other two. For example, although the group played drinking games and consumed large quantities of alcohol still, there was less emphasis on adhering to the unwritten laws of their peer groups than was seen in younger groups. Additionally their drinking was described in terms that depicted it as less obliterative in their pursuit of inebriation. These potential effects adhere to Casswell et al's (2002) suggestion that there may be changing effects of drinking culture and practices over various student age groups.

The incorporation of a laptop into group discussions was successful in eliciting data that merely discussing may not have covered fully, encouraging rich data about the groups' online activities to be shared with me. Material shown on the laptop often served as the basis or springboard for many of the ideas and views discussants presented. However, incorporating it effectively and naturally into the discussions was complex. Occasionally its presence served to exclude discussion members from talks, through there not being enough room around the screen or a participant getting engrossed in their Facebook page. A larger visual space with access to the internet and that could be used, or accessed, by multiple users at once would potentially solve many of these issues. Naturalising the presence of technologies such as the internet into discussions was an important part of the results of this study. Interest and meaning was derived from discussants' online activities that were displayed, as well as those they described; and some of the most illustrative findings, such as the nonchalant and automated 'liking' of alcohol products on Facebook, resulted from the easy and unimpeded integration of the laptop into discussions. It is therefore possible that being able to make this technology less obtrusive would be beneficial in future research.

Use of friendship groups that drank together made for discussions that were both entertaining and self sustaining in terms of requiring little prompting by me. Individuals seemed comfortable and inapprehensive demonstrating less withholding than may have accompanied an interviewer/participant format. This may be due to the strength of numbers and relationships

present casting me as the outsider to their groups and putting the onus of integration on me, which occurred fairly smoothly. This process of integration and my familiarity with the topics and contexts discussed influenced the data produced. It is important to acknowledge my contribution to the co-construction of the discussion and the subtle nuances in the context of some of this data. For example, occasionally there was almost a tone of one-upmanship to a discussion; I might draw from a personal example of a drinking ritual and the friendship group would try and 'better' it with one of their own. Data from such an exchange should be treated carefully, with regards to its context, as it is possible its intention and function is different to instances where similar material is disclosed from interactions solely amongst discussants. Additionally much of the terminology surrounding both drinking and online activities was familiar to me and this likely aided in discussion cohesion as well as analysis of the data ensuing.

Future directions

Future research, in addition to addressing the limitations of this study, could address some of the concerns raised by the findings. One such example would be to investigate the overconfidence in the interactions with commercial advertising that was identified. This was described as arising from discussants drawing upon a discourse of savvy agency. Future research might address whether an individual's confidence and perceived knowledge of the mediums and formats of campaigns changes their likelihood, or level of, engagement. There is the possibility that unfamiliarity with environments such as Facebook, and the related online advertising, could result in more cautious and critically reflexive behaviour in such interactions. Alternately, Calvert (2008) suggests that student aged youth are ideal recipients for the effects of short advertising and media literacy programs, and future studies might incorporate the 'blind spots' identified by this study into such a program and investigate the efficacy of such an approach.

It would be interesting to compare nonstudents and students again to determine whether the advent of Facebook has potentially lessened previous studies' findings concerning students drinking more than their nonstudent peers. These findings are typically from a pre-Facebook era and as such may no longer be an accurate portrayal of drinking cultures in society. That the student population represents an easy demographic to target and identify advertising processes in (through possessing the vulnerability of limited resources and a unique, recognisable culture) might be offset somewhat by the widespread popularity of Facebook, and its propagation of a heavy drinking culture; thus

lessening any differences between the groups. Additionally it would be valuable to identify the similarities, and differences, in drinking experiences, Facebook use and alcohol advertising of nonstudents. Facebook has been shown to appeal to a young demographic and it is likely that aspects of the identified discourses that are heavily reinforced by, or entwined with, Facebook use would still be present in nonstudents. How these relate to a nonstudent drinking culture, and corresponding advertising practices, would further add to the field of knowledge this study is situated within.

Additionally, alternative or marginalised youth and student cultures in the settings of this study would be interesting to investigate. Whilst a large percentage of students and youth in general are on Facebook and drink alcohol, it would be relevant to consider the discursive resources that youth and students who eschew Facebook or both Facebook and alcohol draw upon. Previous studies, the likes of Wood (2003) and Nairn et al (2006), have considered such findings with regards to alcohol and other nonmainstream lifestyles, such as vegetarianism. However, considering the mainstream success of Facebook it is likely that similar 'straightedge' youth cultures exist that define themselves by not having an SNS presence or identity; such cultures would provide valuable insight into alternative discourses that might be beneficial for informing public health policies and campaigns.

Finally, the focus of this study was upon students' drinking, Facebook and advertising experiences. Whilst this led to some analysis of the commercial aspects of these interactions future research might consider this area of the interactions more carefully, and in greater depth. The influence that commercial alcohol entities have, or at least possess in potential, over the development of youth and student culture in society seems to be extended with the increased audience new media technologies provide for them. Further understanding of the role they play and the mechanisms they work through is an important avenue of investigation for the benefit of public health strategies and political, or regulatory, bodies. Future research might consider multimodal discourse analysis as suited to the investigation of online alcohol advertising material in that it can more fully account for the readings and discursive material present in an environment where text, video, image, audio and format are combined to form association and meaning (Luke, 2003; Misra, 1993; Scollon & Levine, 2004).

Implications

The study identifies potential problems that arise from Aotearoa/New Zealand's self-regulated environment of alcohol advertising, an environment which could be described as almost unregulated in the case of online alcohol advertising. Firstly, there is considerable interest in the youth and student culture from commercial alcohol companies. Commercial alcohol advertising has been shown to draw upon very relevant discursive material, drawn from student and youth culture, which highlights and propagates those aspects of the culture that encourage or promote the heavy consumption of alcohol among this demographic. In such a regulation light environment, continuance of the status quo remains purely at the discretion of commercial interests. This is problematic, as clearly the interests of commercial prosperity and those of public health do not always coincide, oftentimes falling in direct competition with one another. A move to a more neutrally interested regulatory body, proactive in its protection as opposed to waiting for public complaints to act upon, would be worth consideration for Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Students' heavy drinking is a pleasurable and social experience and as such it was described as acculturated: an experience that was routine and everyday in nature. Alcohol advertising strategies have identified and incorporated this beneficially, but it is possible that counter strategies might fare better were they to incorporate a similar strategy of providing entertaining, culturally contextualised messages. In this they would not be seen as trying to combat a hostile environment of commercial advertising which has been identified as one of the barriers many public health campaigns fail to overcome (Wakefield, Loken, & Hornik, 2010; Wallack, 1983). Neither would they be preaching policy that constructs drinking as a negative experience, thereby alienating much of the student audience that might benefit from such messages. When describing the morning hangovers and clean ups of their drinking experiences, discussants constructed these events as a good price to pay for what they gained, sometimes even taking pleasure in the shared pain and bonding: Hangovers last a day, the photos and discussion on Facebook will last until the servers fail. The possibility exists to produce material that offers a counter narrative to a heavy drinking culture. Previously counter alcohol strategies have been shown to require large funding, focus, and a concerted approach to public health campaigning (Noar, 2006; Room, Babor, & Rehm, 2005; Wakefield et al., 2010; Wallack, 1983) to be effective. By producing material that is similarly engaged with and incorporated into youth culture, public health messages may be more effective. Of course the challenge is the same, only perhaps more difficult, as that of attaching cultural capital to a brand: how to accomplish it whilst still maintaining a clear enough message? Perhaps public health campaigns might take a leaf from

The Daily Show with Jon Stewart which manages to appeal to student and youth culture in its entertainment and ideas, whilst at the same time also providing legitimate critique of political and news media organisations' behaviour. Similarly, and closer to the material of this study, Bob McCannon's media and commercial advertising programmes (McCannon, 2011) blend humour, youth culture and a critical analysis of commercial advertising processes to purported success. When comparing the infotainment of alcohol commercials with the dreary, often morbid, preaching of many current public health campaigns it seems unsurprising that students choose to identify with or construct identity from material provided by alcohol advertising; it is embedded into their lives, both drawing upon and illustrating their cultures while public health campaigns remain removed and distanced in their influence.

As of writing, the government of Aotearoa/New Zealand is considering an alcohol reform bill and is set to make changes to many aspects of the sale and consumption of alcohol, particularly those that affect youth and underage drinking (Parliamentary Library Law & Government, 2010). However, this reform seems to deal mostly with the negative aspects of heavy drinking, such as violence, crime and death, rather than those this study suggests interact with the heavy drinking experiences and culture of the majority of students. Given the fairly unique nature of these changes that are aimed at the larger societal level of Aotearoa/New Zealand some of the relevant implications for students, with regards to the findings of this study, will be considered below.

The government intends to make RTDs no more than 5% alcohol per volume and individual vessels no more than 1.5 standard drinks worth. The informed and efficient manner with which the discussants in this study talked about what they required (with regards to a large variety of percentages and container sizes) to get them to the appropriate level of inebriation seems to suggest this change would be, at best, underwhelming in terms of efficacy. As Sellman, Connor and Robinson (2011) remark, this change restricts RTD alcohol percentage to that of full strength beer and does nothing to restrict the pleasure of consumption that is enabled through high sugar content and artificial flavouring; likely these drinks will remain attractive to youth, students and continue to be marketed towards females in particular.

A proposed change that may play a part in the development of a different drinking experience and culture is that of a graduated drinking age in which those of 18 years and older are allowed to drink

on licensed premises, while only those 20 years and older may purchase alcohol from vendors to take home. Increasing the drinking age has been shown to be effective in curbing alcohol related harm in youth (Kypri, Maclennan, Langley, & Connor, 2011), and the proposed graduated drinking age blends this finding with a change in the context in which students' developing drinking and related culture occurs. This change aims to encourage early drinking experiences in a public space, as opposed to private drinking at flats and houses, and could potentially change the culture surrounding this drinking through placing it in this new, publicly visible, context. Under this change younger students would still have a legitimate place to experiment with, and consume, alcohol as part of pleasurable bonding experience and routine socialisation, something described as a factor in the development of binge drinking by previous studies (Dietz, 2008; Guise & Gill, 2007; McEwan et al., 2010). Additionally, this change would limit the amount consumed due to the increased cost of alcoholic beverages at bars. The discussants of this study considered a part of where and why they drank as being associated with the cost, it being cheaper and therefore savvy to buy alcohol to drink at home. Raising the price of alcoholic beverages has also previously been supported as an effective strategy in limiting heavy drinking (Kypri et al., 2011; Room et al., 2005) and thus this change can be seen as potentially effective over a variety of levels. Whilst there is the possibility of younger students flouting the law and drinking in private, or engaging in their current drinking cultures en masse in public spaces, the curtailed yet legitimised drinking experience this change offers represents an intriguing change; the effects of which could be monitored as part of further research in this area.

One of the more glaring oversights of the government's proposed changes is the lack of change in the management and regulation of alcohol advertising. The government is looking to maintain the current self-regulation of the alcohol advertising industry due to the idea that other measures and restrictions put in place will provide sufficient protection of vulnerable demographics, generally restricted to being defined solely as underage drinkers. However, the current changes do not restrict the advertising or promotion of brands to those of legal drinking age, something this study parallels reform suggestions (New Zealand Law Commission, 2010; Parliamentary Library Law & Government, 2010) and previous research (Chester et al., 2010; Kypri, Langley, & Connor, 2010; Kypri et al., 2011; Room et al., 2005) in advocating as a reasonable course of action for attempting to change a heavy drinking culture, particularly in the student population. It is near impossible for any public or private health agency to compete with the resources and funding of commercial alcohol companies. Those contemporary strategies that do so, such as televised anti-binge drinking and drunk driving campaigns, have been shown to be of limited success, rarely thriving unless they are focussed to the

point of being directly confrontational to alcohol marketing strategies (Room et al., 2005). As such legislation that restricts or forbids brand based advertising of alcohol seems to be an easier, and better suited, change for encouraging a healthy drinking environment in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Finally, implications of the study suggest that the negligence of any sort of policy and restriction regarding online advertising of alcohol products is a potentially detrimental omission. Areas such as SNSs are full of offsite links and references to product homepages and advertising material, and themselves are commercial spaces that alcohol companies have already established a presence and dialogue with customer bases within. Whilst online regulation is coupled with far more complexity in terms of establishment of restriction and jurisdiction of actions, this is a poor reason for the reform bill to ignore it completely. In short whilst the reform has some intriguing and potentially effective strategies that may curb the heavy drinking of students it neglects the commercial drive and influence alcohol companies represent in our society.

The role of technology is important to consider in the context of these findings. Alcohol advertising has been shown as being highly integrated into the drinking culture of students through online SNSs such as Facebook. These sites are a part of the mundane daily routines of users, fulfilling a desire for socialisation. Whilst laptops have increased the amount of access users have to these sites access is still relatively restricted; requiring an internet enabled computer or a smartphone. However, this is changing; smartphones, as laptops did before them, are becoming increasingly common and their functioning is evolving rapidly. As technology increasingly allows continual access to Facebook, blurring the distinction of offline and online interactions further and integrating Facebook further into the lives of its users, its influence on student drinking cultures may increase. Additionally, likely driving such changes is the appeal to commercial interests for a constantly connected market/audience; the implications of such an ever present, commercially laden space may also be widespread in terms of its influence on student and youth drinking cultures. The more underlying commercial interest there is in these sites and the more practices such as 'data mining' and 'smart' advertising occur, the greater our need to understand the exact mechanics and technology these sites run upon. As Beer (2009) describes, our mundane, routine social interactions on sites such as Facebook may be increasingly determined and developed by complex, flexible algorithms designed to maximise commercial profit from users' interactions and data.

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Appendix A: Recruitment Flyer



Use social networking sites like Facebook or Bebo?

Enjoy a drink with your friends?

If so, can you help researchers at Massey University who are looking at friendship groups' drinking and interactions with social networking sites and online advertising?

Who is wanted?

To assist us in this research we need a group of friends (4-6 people) to take part in informal discussions that will be recorded to both audio and video. Are you:

- An undergraduate student from Massey University?
- Aged 18-25 years old?
- A user of social networking sites (e.g. Facebook and Bebo)?
- Part of a friendship group that drinks alcohol socially together on occasion?
- Fluent in spoken English?

When and where?

Discussion groups will take place at a time and place convenient to participants and will last between 60 and 90 minutes. Snacks and non alcoholic beverages will be provided and a \$20 CD/Book/or itunes voucher will also be given to say thank you. Participation is anonymous and all information discussed will be kept confidential.

If you and your friends are interested please contact us:

Researcher

Ross Hebden
Landline and cell:
Email:

06 3540709 or 027 3085163 (Txt is fine)
Ross@netmail.co.nz or feel free to find me on Facebook ☺

Research supervisor

Antonia Lyons
Massey contact:
Email:

(04) 8015799 ext. 62164
a.lyons@massey.ac.nz

THANK YOU!

Appendix B: Information sheet



Undergraduates, drinking cultures and online alcohol advertising.

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher Introduction

Hi, my name is Ross Hebden and I'm a Masters student in Psychology at Massey University. As part of this I'm conducting a research project investigating how undergraduates talk about alcohol, social networking and online advertising. Dr Antonia Lyons and Dr Ian Goodwin are supervising the research project.

Project Description and Invitation

Online interactions, in particular social networking sites, have been increasingly incorporated into everyday lives and routines. This project aims to investigate both how social networking is integrated into friendship groups' drinking practices and cultures, as well as what kind of interactions occur between these groups and online alcohol advertising. From these discussions we will also be looking to identify a few examples of online advertising that we can analyse and compare with the group discussions.

Participant Identification and Recruitment

You have been selected from your response to flyers presented around either Wellington or Palmerston North Massey campus and because you fit the following criteria:

- You are undergraduate students from Massey University.
- You are aged between 18 and 25
- You use social networking sites.
- You drink alcohol socially with friends.
- You are fluent in spoken English.

We are looking to hold a total of four discussion groups with each group of friends consisting of approximately 4-6 people. This number was chosen to both allow comparison over groups and between groups and online advertising as well as for the sake of creating a manageable amount of data.

To say thanks for your time in this study you will receive a \$20 CD, itunes or book voucher.

Project Procedures

The discussions will take place on campus at a time convenient, and agreed upon, by all participants. Discussions will last approximately 60-90 minutes and will be both videotaped and audio recorded.

Data Management

Audio and video data will be analysed to determine the ways in which participants describe and understand the topics under investigation. Data will be transcribed into written form before an analysis by the researcher. In addition to this study, your data may be shared with another, larger, funded study that is investigating drinking cultures and online behaviour. All digital data will be stored on the password protected computers of the researcher and supervisors and upon the password protected shared Massey drives of the supervisors. Data will be stored for at least 5 years and destroyed by Dr. Antonia Lyons (research supervisor). Raw video and audio data will not be used for the purposes of

dissemination, they will only be used to assist in analysis of the discussions. The anonymous data will later be added to a larger research data archive from a Marsden-funded project on drinking cultures in New Zealand, and will be available to the 7 investigators on this research team (all are academic staff in University positions).

To preserve all participants' confidentiality at the beginning of interviews a confidentiality form will be completed. Each participant will also choose a pseudonym so data is anonymous.

At the completion of this research you will have the chance to access a summary of the project findings if desired. The researcher will provide a sheet for you to register your interest in receiving this summary of findings.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- *decline to answer any particular question;*
- *withdraw from the study provided you notify the researcher within 1 week from the group discussion. This will remove your individual data from the group discussion.*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;*
- *provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;*
- *be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded. You may choose whether to receive these via email or postal mail, the researcher will hand around a sheet for you to register your interest and to supply either type of address, this will occur both before and after the discussions.*
- *ask for the audio or video recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.*

Project Contacts

Ross Hebden (Researcher)
Phone or Txt: 0273085163
Email: Ross@netmail.co.nz

Dr Antonia Lyons (Research supervisor)
Email: A.Lyons@massey.ac.nz

Dr Ian Goodwin (Research supervisor)
Email: I.Goodwin@massey.ac.nz

Please contact us if you have any questions or concerns about the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 10/10. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Karl Pajo, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 04 801 5799 x 6929, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix C: Friendship group discussion questions

Undergraduates' drinking cultures and online alcohol advertising

Questions and prompts for discussion groups

Each participant introduces, starting with researcher, give names, what they do/study, ages, which ethnic group they identify with, where they come from.

Give reminders about confidentiality, and that participants can ask for either video or audio recorder to be switched off at any time. Also remind about using pseudonyms, ask each participant to choose a pseudonym they would like for the transcripts. Please remember not to say anything you do not want reported in the study, and that you can ask for the video or audio recorder to be switched off at any time.

Introduce the discussion: about your views, your socialising, experiences and opinions surrounding drinking alcohol, new technologies, such as social networking sites, and alcohol advertising.

Socialising

How often do you meet?
What sorts of things do you do together?
How do you organise your socialising?

Follow-up probing alcohol use for info that hasn't already come out in discussion:

How often do you drink together?
Where do you drink together?
Who else might you go out drinking with?
How much alcohol do you typically drink? What changes that amount?
How do you organise your drinking?
What do you tend to do when you're drinking together? Can you think of a typical example?
Why do you drink together?
What do you enjoy about drinking together?
Is there anything you don't enjoy about it?

New technologies and Social Networking Sites (SNS)

Intro

How do you keep in contact? (e.g. face-to-face, phone, SNSs?)
What social networking sites do you use?
How often do you go on SNSs? Which ones most often?
Why do you use them?
Who do you interact with online? Are they any different from those you know offline?
How many 'friends' do you have on your SNS?
What does a 'friend' mean on SNSs?
What do you post online? (general content: personal details, random quotes, cool stuff found online etc; as well as format: text, video, audio, image.)
In what ways does your use of SNS and your socialising overlap?
In what ways do you use these technologies to coordinate your social activities?

SNSs, socialising, posting alcohol-related content

Do you post photos? How do you decide what photos to post?
Who takes these photos, and what with?
What sorts of things are you thinking about when you choose these photos?
Probe: Do you post photos of yours or others' drinking? Who to? What's an example of such a post?
What other alcohol related posts do you do?

Commercial interests in SNSs

Do you think SNS make money? If so how?

Do you think that the business interest and commercial side of SNS is very noticeable?

Aside from what we've discussed is there anything else you like about SNS?

Anything you dislike or worry about?

Advertising

What brands and types of alcohol do you drink?

Why do you drink it? What do you like about it?

What kinds of advertisements have you seen for the drinks you drink?

Do you recall any kind of alcoholic advertising you've encountered online? What was it?

Have you seen any specific online campaigns for alcohol?

Do you think it's different from other types of advertising for example papers or television? How so?

Do you see any whilst using your SNS? Examples?

Do you ever click on any of the ads present on SNS? What about links to products/pages that friends share with you?

What do you think about how alcohol is advertised in New Zealand?

Can you show me some of the websites where alcohol is advertised or marketed?

Websites: If participants have no experience or examples to draw upon in terms of contact with online advertising then discussion will turn towards two examples: the Tui beer homepage and the Jim Beam Facebook page.

Do you know these brands?

Who do you think are these sites' target audience?

Which of the two would you think you were more likely to come into contact with over time? How so?

Would you ever actively search out either of these pages? Which and why?

What makes these ads effective (or not?)

Is there anything you particularly like about either of the sites?

Anything you don't?

Is there anything else about either of these brands' method of advertising that you'd like to mention?

Appendix D: Transcription Notation

[C2: quite a [while Mo: [yea	Left brackets indicate the point at which a current speakers talk is overlapped by another's talk
=	W: that I'm aware of = C: = Yes. Would you confirm that?	Equal signs, one at the end of a line and one at the beginning, indicate no gap between the two lines.
(4)	Yes (2) yeah	Numbers in parentheses indicate elapsed time in silence in seconds
_____	What's <u>up</u> ?	Underscoring indicates some form of stress, via pitch and/or amplitude.
WORD	I've got ENOUGH TO WORRY ABOUT	Capitals, except at the beginnings of lines, indicate especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk.
{laughter}	{laughter}	Any other significant behaviour – laughter, sighing, intake of breath, etc.
()	Future risks and () and life ()	Empty parentheses indicate the transcribers inability to hear what was said.
(word)	Would you see (there) anything positive	Parenthesized words are possible hearings.

Appendix E: Extracted themes

Extracted Themes

Drinking and students:

- Gender, girls take the photos guys have the fun
- Alcohol as a gateway/catalyst to fun, alcohol creates the experiences/friendships. Basically alcohol as an active force. Drinking is socialising
- You had to be there. The night is about the stories
- Controlled intoxication, binge drinking as achievement
- Normalisation, it's what students do, we only do it when we're around students. The need to be irresponsible
- Responsibility, public perspective vs their in group perspective, we won't do it forever.

Facebook:

- Facebook is for young people. Ageism
- Corporate FB, not friend FB
- Addiction
- Online culture, authenticity and FB
- The appeal of lack of intimacy and immediacy. Control.
- "Facey the day after". Group history keeper and photos. Consolidation of experience.
- Everything through Facebook. Integration and routinisation. Maintenance of social life.
- Facebook as coolness. Image and presence on it shows the audience we're cool/normal.

Advertising:

- Alcohol advertising doesn't work, not effective.
- Advertising is insidious/sneaky/evil
- Targeted advertising (gender, students), filters and norms.
- User as advertiser. Prosumer. Virality and word of mouth.
- We haven't seen any alcohol advertising. It's not just advertising. We use it in ways that aren't advertising.
- NZ alcohol advertising is discreet/well controlled/hardly visible/non invasive (uses kiwiana?)
- We like alcohol advertising it can be good/cool/entertaining.
- Brand as culture, product loyalty and bonding, product ideals and norms
- Savvy users/consumers. "the crafty mouse"

Appendix F: Alcohol help and information sheet

Alcohol help and information sheet.

Thank you for partaking in this project, your time, effort and input are really appreciated. On completion of the study and analysis of the data you will have the opportunity to view a summary of the findings.

If, for any reason, you would like some general information about alcohol, or would like to know more about services that can help with alcohol related issues, the following has been provided for your assistance:

INFORMATION

ALAC National Office and Central Region
Level 13, ABN Amro House
36 Customhouse Quay,
PO Box 5023,
Wellington 6145.
Phone: (04) 917 0060
Email central@alac.org.nz
Website <http://www.alcohol.org.nz/>

SERVICES

Alcohol Helpline:
Phone 0800 787 797

Youthline:
National Helpline: 0800 37 66 33
Palmerston North information: (06) 357 3067
Wellington information: (04) 801 6924
Free TXT 234
Email/MSN talk@youthline.co.nz

Al-Anon
Palmerston north phone: 06 355 2693
Wellington phone: 04 389 2103

Massey counselling services
Palmerston North information: (06) 350 5533
Email: s.counselling@massey.ac.nz
Wellington information: (04) 801-2542 or ext 62211