



Challenges and Opportunities for Change in Food Marketing to Children and Youth: Workshop Summary

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Heather Breiner, Lynn Parker, and Steve Olson, Rapporteurs; Standing Committee on Childhood Obesity Prevention; Food and Nutrition Board; Institute of Medicine

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Challenges and Opportunities

FOR CHANGE IN FOOD MARKETING TO CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Workshop Summary

Heather Breiner, Lynn Parker, and Steve Olson, *Rapporteurs*

Standing Committee on Childhood Obesity Prevention

Food and Nutrition Board

INSTITUTE OF MEDICINE

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The serpent has been a symbol of long life, healing, and knowledge among almost all cultures and religions since the beginning of recorded history. The serpent adopted as a logotype by the Institute of Medicine is a relief carving from ancient Greece, now held by the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.

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*“Knowing is not enough; we must apply.
Willing is not enough; we must do.”*

—Goethe



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¹Institute of Medicine planning committees are solely responsible for organizing the workshop, identifying topics, and choosing speakers. The responsibility for the published workshop summary rests with the workshop rapporteurs and the institution.

Reviewers

This workshop summary has been reviewed in draft form by individuals chosen for their diverse perspectives and technical expertise in accordance with procedures approved by the National Research Council's Report Review Committee. The purpose of this independent review is to provide candid and critical comments that will assist the institution in making its published workshop summary as sound as possible and to ensure that the workshop summary meets institutional standards for objectivity, evidence, and responsiveness to the study charge. The review comments and draft manuscript remain confidential to protect the integrity of the process. We wish to thank the following individuals for their review of this workshop summary:

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ELAINE D. KOLISH, Children's Food and Beverage Advertising
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ROBIN MCKINNON, National Cancer Institute

Although the reviewers listed above provided many constructive comments and suggestions, they did not see the final draft of the workshop summary before its release. The review of this workshop summary was overseen by **HUGH H. TILSON**, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Appointed by the Institute of Medicine, he was responsible for making

certain that an independent examination of this workshop summary was carried out in accordance with institutional procedures and that all review comments were carefully considered. Responsibility for the final content of this workshop summary rests entirely with the workshop rapporteurs and the institution.

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1

Introduction and Themes of the Workshop¹

The childhood obesity epidemic is an urgent public health problem. The most recent data available show that nearly 19 percent of boys and about 15 percent of girls aged 2-19 are obese, and almost a third of U.S. children and adolescents are overweight or obese (Ogden et al., 2012). The obesity epidemic will continue to take a substantial toll on the health of Americans.

In the midst of this epidemic, children are exposed to an enormous amount of commercial advertising and marketing for food. In 2009, children aged 2-11 saw an average of more than 10 television food ads per day (Powell et al., 2011). Children see and hear advertising and marketing messages for food through many other channels as well, including radio, movies, billboards, and print media. Most notably, many new digital media venues and vehicles for food marketing have emerged in recent years, including Internet-based advergames, couponing on cell phones, and marketing on social networks, and much of this advertising is invisible to parents.

The marketing of high-calorie, low-nutrient foods and beverages is linked to overweight and obesity. A major 2006 report from the Institute of Medicine (IOM) documents evidence that television advertising influences

¹The planning committee's role was limited to planning the workshop, and this summary was prepared by the rapporteurs as a factual summary of what occurred at the workshop. Statements, recommendations, and opinions expressed are those of individual presenters and participants, and are not necessarily endorsed or verified by the Institute of Medicine (IOM), and they should not be construed as reflecting any group consensus.

the food and beverage preferences, requests, and short-term consumption of children aged 2-11 (IOM, 2006). The report also documents a body of evidence showing an association of television advertising with the adiposity of children and adolescents aged 2-18. The report notes the prevailing pattern that food and beverage products marketed to children and youth are often high in calories, fat, sugar, and sodium; are of low nutritional value; and tend to be from food groups Americans are already overconsuming. Furthermore, marketing messages that promote nutrition, healthful foods, or physical activity are scarce (IOM, 2006).

PURPOSE OF THE WORKSHOP

To review progress and explore opportunities for action on food and beverage marketing that targets children and youth, the IOM's Standing Committee on Childhood Obesity Prevention held a workshop in Washington, DC, on November 5, 2012, titled "New Challenges and Opportunities in Food Marketing to Children and Youth." The workshop was funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation,² which has a major commitment to reversing the epidemic of childhood obesity by 2015. The workshop featured invited presentations and discussions on contemporary trends in marketing of foods and beverages to children and youth and the implications of those trends for obesity prevention. Workshop presentations and discussions involving researchers, policy makers, advocates, and other stakeholders explored current efforts in the private, nonprofit, and government sectors to change the current marketing environment, and addressed such topics as

- emerging marketing and communication strategies for the promotion of unhealthy foods and beverages to children and youth and their impact, as well as legal, policy, and consumer- and community-based approaches for curbing their use;
- international approaches to food and beverage marketing to children and youth;
- emerging research on the effects of digital marketing, targeted marketing, and other marketing and communication strategies;
- initiatives and opportunities to leverage emerging marketing strategies or inspire youth-led activities to promote healthy foods and beverages and/or counteract marketing of unhealthy foods and beverages; and
- lessons learned from other public health initiatives that have employed regulatory and/or countermarketing tactics to curb marketing of unhealthy products.

²For more information about the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, see <http://www.rwjf.org>.

The workshop agenda and brief biographies of the speakers and moderators are presented in Appendixes A and D, respectively.

The Standing Committee on Childhood Obesity Prevention was established in 2008 to serve as a focal point for national and state-level policy discussions by governmental and other experts and leaders in the field and related disciplines; to provide the National Academies with strategic guidance on comprehensive work in this area by keeping abreast of emerging issues, research, and existing activities, both in the United States and internationally; and to guide the selection of focused, policy-relevant topics in childhood obesity prevention to be examined through workshops, studies, public briefings, and publications.

THEMES OF THE WORKSHOP

During the course of the 1-day workshop, themes emerged from the individual presentations that structured the subsequent discussions. Those themes are presented here as an introduction to this workshop summary. A compilation of comments made during the discussions appears in Chapter 6.

Progress Since Food Marketing to Children and Youth: Threat or Opportunity? (Chapter 2)

- Limited to moderate progress has been made in achieving the recommendations of the IOM's 2006 report on food marketing and its relationship to children's diets. (Ellen Wartella, Northwestern University)

Emerging Issues in Food Marketing (Chapter 3)

- The emergence of integrated marketing communications, which uses a variety of vehicles and venues to deliver reinforcing messages, has created a marketing environment in which advertising is pervasive; powerful; and often disguised as entertainment, social networking, or viral marketing. (Minette Drumwright, The University of Texas at Austin)
- Children and adolescents are particularly heavy users of social media, mobile phones, Internet videos, and advergimes, all of which are being used to market foods and beverages in increasingly individualized and comprehensive ways. (Kathryn Montgomery, American University)
- Certain types of marketing to low-income and minority communities can be pernicious, yet attempts to limit such marketing can appear to be paternalistic in that they may be seen as singling

out low-income and minority populations for special protection. (Jerome D. Williams, Rutgers Business School–Newark and New Brunswick)

Innovations and Future Works in Industry Practices (Chapter 4)

- Food and beverage retailers are placing increased emphasis on health and wellness to meet the demands of their customers for healthier products and information about healthier diets. (Cathy Polley, Food Marketing Institute)
- The Children’s Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative has made substantial progress in limiting food advertising directed at children to healthier products. (Elaine Kolish, Children’s Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative)
- Companies such as The Walt Disney Company can both offer and market healthier foods to children and youth through self-regulation of the products they sell and advertise. (Heather Rubin, The Walt Disney Company)
- Despite the actions industry has taken, children still are inundated by ads for unhealthy foods. (Jennifer Harris, Yale University)

Emerging Policy Initiatives and Communication Strategies (Chapter 5)

- Public campaigns led by concerned mothers, taking full advantage of social media and other new communication vehicles, can mobilize policy makers as well as parents. (Monifa Bandele, MomsRising.org)
- Campaigns directed specifically at involving minority youth in content creation and leadership can empower families to make healthy choices and create an environment that is conducive to healthy lifestyles. (Terry Huang, University of Nebraska Medical Center)
- Campaigns against tobacco advertising offer valuable lessons for campaigns against the marketing of unhealthy foods. (Cheryl Heaton, Legacy)
- The U.S. constitutional system is designed to balance competing interests and adapt to new technological developments, scientific discoveries, and social norms; however, the current legal and political climates make government efforts to address the pervasive marketing of obesogenic foods and beverages to youth more challenging (Samantha Graff, ChangeLab Solutions)
- Efforts to limit the marketing of unhealthy foods in other countries can inform similar efforts in the United States. (Tim Lobstein, International Association for the Study of Obesity)

2

Progress Since *Food Marketing to Children and Youth: Threat or Opportunity?*

Ellen Wartella, Al-Thani Professor of Communication and director of the Center on Media and Human Development in the School of Communication at Northwestern University, reviewed progress made since the Institute of Medicine (IOM) released its landmark report on food marketing and its relationship to children's diets (IOM, 2006). The charge to the expert committee that produced the report was to review the evidence for the influence of food and beverage marketing practices on the diets of children and adolescents and to recommend strategies for promoting healthful diets among this population. The 16 committee members were drawn from industry, government, academia, nutrition science, psychology, and other disciplines.

The committee conducted a systematic review of the relevant published scientific, peer-reviewed literature available at the time on the relationship between food marketing and children's food preferences, purchase requests, and diets. Of the approximately 200 articles examined, 123 met the committee's standards of evidence review. Almost all were on television advertising.

The committee found strong evidence for the effects of advertising on food and beverage preferences, purchase requests, and short-term consumption among children aged 2-11, and moderate evidence for effects on food and beverage beliefs and dietary intake among those aged 2-5. The committee found insufficient evidence to establish a causal relationship between television advertising and adiposity, especially for teens. It did find correlational data between exposure to television advertising and adiposity

in children and teens, but observed that more studies would be needed to draw a stronger relationship.

The committee concluded that food and beverage marketing influences the diets and health of children and adolescents and that current marketing practices are out of balance with healthful diets. It also concluded that companies and marketers have underutilized the potential to devote creativity and resources to developing and promoting foods, beverages, and meals that support healthful diets. According to the report, achieving healthful diets will require sustained multisectoral and integrated efforts that include industry leadership and initiative. The report also notes that public policy programs and incentives lack the support and authority to address many of the current and emerging marketing practices that influence the diets of children and youth.

PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE IOM REPORT

The IOM report includes recommendations in nine broad areas related to food marketing and children's diets. Drawing on two recent articles reviewing progress since the report was released (Kraak et al., 2011, 2012), Wartella reviewed these recommendations and assessed the changes they have inspired.

Products and Promotion

The IOM report recommends that food and beverage companies use creativity, resources, and marketing practices to promote and support more healthful diets and meals for children and youth. This recommendation has led to some product reformulations and new product development, Wartella said. Television advertising for unhealthy products also has been reduced in some areas. Wartella pointed out that questions have been raised, however, about whether product reformulations have led to changes in what is marketed to children and youth.

In addition, restaurants have made limited progress in expanding and promoting healthier meals and providing nutrition information at the point of choice and consumption. A study examining the meal choices of children and adolescents at the 12 largest restaurants in terms of sales and marketing to youth found that only 12 and 15, respectively, of 3,039 possible meal combinations met established nutrition standards for preschoolers and older children (Harris et al., 2010). Meals purchased by adolescents provided an average of 800 to 1,200 calories, 30 percent or more of which came from sugar and saturated fat, and healthy side dishes rarely were offered as a default choice (Harris et al., 2010).

Industry Trade Associations

The IOM report recommends that food, beverage, restaurant, retail, and marketing industry trade associations assume leadership roles in harnessing industry creativity, resources, and marketing on behalf of healthful diets for children and youth. This recommendation, too, has led to some progress, Wartella said. In 2011, for example, the Grocery Manufacturers Association announced the new Facts Up Front program for front-of-package nutrition information to help consumers identify healthy products. This approach has not been widely adopted, however, and an associated education campaign has not yet started. Wartella also cited the involvement of some trade associations in a separate campaign, the Healthy Weight Commitment Foundation. The Healthy Weight Commitment Foundation is an obesity reduction coalition that targets retailers, food and beverage manufacturers, restaurants, sporting goods and insurance companies, trade associations and nongovernmental organizations, and professional sports organizations. Coalition members have pledged to “reduce 1.5 trillion calories annually by the end of 2015 through new lower-calorie options, reduced calorie content of current products and reduced portion sizes of existing single-serving products.”¹

Marketing Practice Standards

The IOM report recommends that the food, beverage, restaurant, and marketing industries establish and enforce the highest standards for the marketing of foods, beverages, and meals to children and youth. It recommends that these industries use licensed characters only to promote foods and beverages that support healthful diets for children and youth; work through the Children’s Advertising Review Unit (CARU) to revise, expand, apply, enforce, and evaluate explicit industry self-regulatory guidelines beyond traditional advertising; and help CARU and the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) evaluate and enforce the expanded self-regulatory guidelines.

The most important response to this recommendation was the establishment, a few months after the report’s release, of the Children’s Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI), a self-regulatory body designed to promote food and beverage marketing to children that supports healthier dietary choices and lifestyles (see the detailed discussion of the initiative in Chapter 4). When CFBAI was established, food and beverage marketing guidelines were inconsistent from one company to the next. Today CFBAI includes 16 companies, covers about 80 percent of foods marketed to children and youth, and has helped achieve much more consistent standards.

¹See <http://www.healthyweightcommit.org>.

CFBAI announced that as of 2011, four companies—Cadbury Adams, Coca-Cola, the Hershey Company, and Mars—had committed to directing no advertising to children under 12. Thirteen companies pledged to advertise only foods that meet the Dietary Guidelines for Americans and Food and Drug Administration (FDA) standards for healthy foods. The pledges cover all media platforms, including radio, print, the Internet, advertising on video and computer games, and push advertising to cell phones.

The Media and Entertainment Industry

The IOM report recommends that the media and entertainment industry leverage its extensive power to promote healthful foods and beverages for children and youth by incorporating into multiple media platforms foods, beverages, and storylines that promote healthful diets and by serving as accurate interpreters and reporters of findings, claims, and practices related to the diets of children and youth. Limited progress had been made on this recommendation by 2011, Wartella said. Nutrition information is being provided in some television programs and online, and media coverage of the issue has been trending upward. A 2010 report found, however, that only about a quarter of entertainment companies had a clear policy on food marketing to children, and marketing policies that were in place covered fewer types of marketing approaches (CSPI, 2010). Existing policies most likely addressed the use of licensed characters, and they were weaker or did not exist for broadcast, print, company websites, and digital media. For example, the Cartoon Network developed policies on nutrition standards for its licensed characters but not for its television advertising or website. Only a few companies, such as Walt Disney and Sesame Workshop, reported limiting children's marketing to products meeting specific nutrition standards.

The School Environment

The IOM report recommends that state and local education authorities educate about and promote healthful diets for children and youth in all aspects of the school environment. It recommends that they develop and implement nutrition standards for competitive foods and beverages² sold or served in the school environment and adopt policies and best practices promoting the availability and marketing of foods and beverages that sup-

²Competitive foods are foods and beverages offered at schools other than meals and snacks served through the federally reimbursed school lunch, breakfast, and after-school snack programs. Competitive foods include food and beverages items sold through à la carte lines, snack bars, student stores, vending machines, and school fundraisers.

port healthful diets. In addition, public and civic leaders at all levels should provide visible leadership on this issue. Education leaders, school districts, and local schools have been seeking to create healthier eating environments for students, said Wartella. In general, moderate progress has occurred in this area to date.

A Government–Private Sector Partnership

The IOM report recommends that a government–private sector partnership create a long-term social marketing program that supports parents, caregivers, and families in promoting healthful diets for children and youth. This program should be directed at parents of young children through marketing and widespread educational and community-based efforts, it should provide reliable and sustained support for these efforts through publicly appropriated funds and cooperative support, and it should have a mechanism for making proprietary marketing data available to inform the social marketing program. According to Wartella, this has been one of the most disappointing areas for progress on the report’s recommendations. In particular, the social marketing program to encourage the parents of young children to launch them on a lifelong healthy diet and exercise routine has not materialized.

Public Policy

The IOM report recommends that federal and local governments marshal the full range of public policy levers to foster the development and promotion of healthful diets for children and youth. Specifically, governments should consider implementing industry incentives to this end, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) should develop and test new strategies for promoting healthier and more appealing school meals, and governments should draft legislation for broadcast and cable television if voluntary efforts are unsuccessful in shifting the emphasis of advertising to healthier products.

Limited progress has been made in this area, Wartella reported. First Lady Michelle Obama’s Let’s Move campaign and the Partnership for a Healthier America have been successful public-private partnerships, but the government has not taken action in a number of other areas. For example, the federal Interagency Working Group on Food Marketed to Children recommended voluntary nutrition and marketing standards to guide industry self-regulatory efforts to improve the nutritional profile of foods marketed to children, but those standards have not been finalized, even though they were to be voluntary.

Research

The IOM report recommends that research capacity be better directed to review how marketing influences the food and beverage choices of children and youth. Research should illuminate ways in which marketing influences children's attitudes and behaviors; study newer promotion techniques and venues, healthier foods and beverages, portion sizes, and product availability; and examine the impact of television advertising on diet and diet-related health. Limited progress has occurred in this area to date, said Wartella. The National Institutes of Health (NIH) and USDA have supported some of this research, but the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation remains the largest funder of research on food and beverage marketing to children and adolescents.

Monitoring

The IOM report recommends that the secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) designate an agency responsible for formally monitoring and making regular reports on progress on the recommendations included in the report. The secretary should consult with other relevant cabinet officers and agency heads to develop and implement required monitoring and reporting and report to Congress within 2 years on progress made and any necessary additional actions. A report to Congress was made in fall 2008. However, no progress has been made in identifying a responsible agency to monitor the IOM report's recommendations (FTC, 2008).

OVERALL PROGRESS

Overall, concluded Wartella, progress on the recommendations of the IOM report has varied from limited to moderate. A more recent IOM report on accelerating progress on obesity prevention, which includes marketing goals, contains recommendations similar to those of the 2006 report, including the following (IOM, 2012):

- Reduce overconsumption of sugar-sweetened beverages.
- Increase the availability of lower-calorie and healthier food and beverage options for children in restaurants.
- Implement common nutrition standards for marketing of foods and beverages to children and adolescents.
- Ensure consistent nutrition labeling for front-of-pack, store shelves, and menus.

Another recent IOM report, *Front-of-Package Nutrition Rating Systems and Symbols: Promoting Healthier Choices*, suggests a front-of-pack nutrition labeling and symbol system, but no action has been taken in response (IOM, 2011). In addition, some movement has occurred at the local level, such as New York City's proposed limit on the size of sugary drinks.

Given the many new marketing techniques being used to reach children and youth, much remains to be learned, and much remains to be done, concluded Wartella.

“Since 2006 . . . there has been a proliferation of new venues and vehicles, particularly the rise of digital media.” —Ellen Wartella

3

Emerging Issues in Food Marketing

The food and beverage industries are continually devising new ways of marketing their products. During the first workshop panel, three speakers examined several of the most prominent new vehicles and venues for food marketing. Minette Drumwright, associate professor in the Department of Advertising and Public Relations at The University of Texas at Austin, examined integrated marketing communications—the use of a wide range of traditional and new digital media to deliver multiple marketing messages that reinforce and augment each other. Kathryn Montgomery, professor in the School of Communication at American University, looked at marketing directed at adolescents, who are not covered by industry self-regulation initiatives but are exposed to food and beverage marketing in individualized and widespread ways. And Jerome D. Williams, Prudential chair in business and interim director and research director of the Center for Urban Entrepreneurship & Economic Development in the Department of Management and Global Business at Rutgers Business School–Newark and New Brunswick, discussed marketing targeting low-income and minority communities, which have been particularly hard hit by the obesity epidemic. Together these three speakers painted a picture of a media environment in which marketing is pervasive and powerful, yet often unnoticed.

INTEGRATED MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS

Summary of presentation by Minette (Meme) Drumwright

Drumwright noted that, over the past half-century, marketing has undergone several paradigm shifts:

- In the 1950s and 1960s, the emphasis was on selling products.
- As markets became more competitive in the 1970s and 1980s, the emphasis shifted to consumers and understanding and meeting their needs.
- Since the 1990s, marketing has sought to build relationships with customers and stimulate engagement between consumers and brands.

The focus on consumers and on relationship marketing has paved the way for the emergence of integrated marketing communications. Drumwright opined that the floodgates for targeting children with integrated marketing communications were opened in 1981 when Congress eliminated the Federal Trade Commission's (FTC's) ability to regulate advertising based on fairness. According to Drumwright, integrated marketing communications is a comprehensive approach to marketing that combines various communication disciplines to bring about added value or synergy and maximize communication impact. This approach uses any relevant contact or touch point¹ to reach the customer and seeks to speak with a single voice to build relationships and affect behavior.

Integrated marketing communications is based on segmentation, targeting, and positioning:

- Segmentation is the process of subdividing a market into distinct subsets of customers who behave in a similar way or have similar needs.
- Targeting is the use of a distinct marketing strategy for each subset of potential customers chosen as a market target.
- Positioning is the way a consumer thinks of a product relative to its competition—how a product is differentiated in the mind of the consumer.

¹Touch points, which may be on- or offline, are encounters in which marketing activities “touch” customers.

Flamin' Hot Cheetos as an Example

Drumwright illustrated these concepts using the example of Flamin' Hot Cheetos, which are made by Frito-Lay, a subsidiary of PepsiCo. PepsiCo has signed the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI) pledge not to target anyone under 12 with its marketing. However, the integrated marketing campaign for this product demonstrates both the power of integrated marketing communications and its potential to influence children. The campaign combines traditional mass media advertising, such as television commercials and outdoor advertising, with a host of persuasive approaches using digital media:

- The Flamin' Hot Cheetos packaging, part of the integrated marketing campaign, features a cartoon spokesperson, Chester Cheetah, who plays a key role throughout the campaign. He is portrayed as mischievous, playful, silly, and high-energy. In a television ad for the product, Chester gives a fireman a Flamin' Hot Cheeto, after which the fireman's head emits flames and smoke until it is doused by water.
- The home page of the Cheetos website, headlined Chester's Feed, features dozens of videos, games, and other dynamic content. Such digital marketing is popular with companies because it is cheap, it targets youth, it is action oriented, and it enables two-way communication, all of which build engagement.
- The website features video games, such as the Legend of Cheetocorn, in which an avatar must eat Cheetos to score health points in order to advance through the game. In adver gaming, the product typically is integral to the game play, the length of exposure to the game is usually 10 to 15 minutes or longer, and players often are asked to pass the game along to their online friends.
- In a recent promotion called the Cheetos "Just Dance" Twitter Giveaway, consumers submitted videos to win prizes. One video, submitted by a Minneapolis YMCA after-school program and featuring both Flamin' Hot Cheetos and Takis, a chili pepper snack manufactured in Mexico, had more than 3 million views in 2 months.
- A Google search for "Flamin' Hot Cheetos challenge" brings up many other user-created videos that have been watched tens of thousands of times. The videos illustrate a key theme of integrated marketing communications—that of prompting consumers to create persuasive advertising messages themselves. Such viral marketing seeks to create "buzz" when people talk about a product with one another either in real or in virtual conversations.

- In a Cheetos tie-in with a popular video game called *Just Dance 4*, putting the number from the front of a Cheetos package into a link given on the back of the package allows consumers to access a free song. A related Facebook page features a cross-product promotion of Chester's Puffcorn, whereby the purchase of both products provides access to two music tracks for video games.
- Although some schools have banned Flamin' Hot Cheetos, others feature the product as part of meals and offer it in school vending machines; some parents have defended their children's preference for Cheetos on blog postings.

Integrated Marketing Communications for Healthy Foods

Integrated marketing communications has been demonstrated to work for healthy foods. For example, a promotion by Bolthouse Farms, a maker of baby carrots, featured packaging, video games, shelf signs, vending machines in schools, and television commercials, including commercial parodies that were part of an "Eat 'Em Like Junk Food" campaign. In pilot test markets, there was an approximately 11 percent median rise in baby carrot sales where the junk food packaging was available (McGray, 2011). The pilot test of the promotion was so successful that the program was rolled out nationally.

Research Findings and Questions

Research on advergaming, or "gamification," has shown that they influence brand awareness, brand attitudes, and brand choice (Hernandez and Chapa, 2010; Mallinckrodt and Mizerski, 2007). Research also has shown that children have difficulty distinguishing or disentangling entertainment from persuasion on websites, in advergaming, and in viral marketing, and that adolescents tend to equate the quality of information with its quantity (Agosto, 2002; Eastin et al., 2006; Staiano and Calvert, 2012).

Most troubling, the emotions evoked by activities such as advergaming tend to have a positive impact on perceptions and beliefs about nutritional value. Even though children and adolescents know they are being targeted by marketing, the enjoyment they experience neutralizes that realization and makes them think the product has positive nutritional value (Staiano and Calvert, 2012).

Drumwright explained that it is difficult for traditional research methods to capture all the impacts of integrated marketing communications. Research on advertising is typically based on social psychology and focuses on short-term, micro-level responses to a single advertising stimulus (e.g., an individual's reaction to seeing a television advertisement). But

integrated marketing communications encompasses the long-term, aggregate effects of many different types of repeated advertising stimuli, and traditional advertising research is ill equipped to capture the magnitude of these effects.

Policy Issues

The advent of integrated marketing communications has given rise to several important public policy issues. Most prominently, should children and teens be protected from such marketing both online and in school? For example, the total advertising exposures created by integrated marketing communications could be limited, as could stealth marketing techniques that capitalize on emotions and tacit persuasion or on direct inducements to purchase through promotions. As another example, “ad breaks” that force children to take breaks from advergames and other forms of online promotions could be instituted.

“Games are evidence of what some people call stealth marketing, where consumers are immersed in branded environments frequently not knowing that they are being exposed to these very sophisticated marketing techniques.” —Meme Drumwright

MARKETING TO ADOLESCENTS

Summary of presentation by Kathryn Montgomery

Adolescents have been largely overlooked in the academic literature on food marketing, in policy discussions, and in self-regulatory initiatives, noted Montgomery. Yet one of every three teens is overweight or obese, and the teen years are a critical development period when lifelong eating behaviors are established. Moreover, teens are particularly vulnerable to advertising, and no policies or self-regulatory safeguards are in place for this age group.

Montgomery discussed three contemporary trends in marketing to adolescents, as well as their research and policy implications:

1. the growth of social media,
2. advances in data collection and measurement, and
3. the emergence of mobile technologies.

The Growth of Social Media

The use of social media has become a core strategy for reaching and engaging teenagers. Facebook now has more than a billion monthly active users worldwide (Facebook, 2012), and as of June 2012, more than 85 percent of online teens in the United States used social media (Common Sense Media, 2012). For a teenager, having a Facebook profile is a required entry card into a social life that is increasingly played out in the virtual realm.

Research has shown that social media are a key arena for teens' personal and social development. The use of social media taps into their developmental needs for identity, autonomy, and relationships with peers. Social media provide a networked public culture in which teens can express themselves and build self-identity.

As a vehicle for marketing, social media are woven into daily interactions and social relationships. They orchestrate influence, foster fans, create "brand advocates," and encourage young people to influence each other. Facebook has created the notion of social advertisements, which turn user behaviors such as "fanning" a product into opportunities that can be orchestrated to go viral.

Some of the largest food and beverage companies are clearly targeting adolescents through social media. To celebrate the 100th-year anniversary of Oreo cookies, for example, Kraft created a social media campaign that encouraged people—with a focus on teenagers—to send photos, videos, and stories featuring Oreo cookies so they could be "shared with the world." A hundred-day campaign offered whimsical and eye-catching ads each day to the approximately 30 million people who "like" Oreo on Facebook. Between June and August, likes, comments, and shares increased by 110 percent for the brand.²

Montgomery also showed a video ad for Doritos that features websites, Facebook pages, tweets, markers on bags of Doritos that provide access to special web features, webcams, and other forms of social media, all in the context of a mock horror movie. The advertising campaign includes gamification, peer-to-peer interaction, and automated capture of personal data.

Advances in Data Collection and Measurement

Data collection, measurement, and targeting are woven together in the content and functionality of digital media. In an era of big data, actions can be measured in real time. The consumer's "path to purchase" can be monitored, and levels of precision are unprecedented. Facebook, for example,

²More examples of campaigns by major food and beverage brands are available at www.digitalads.org.

is working with many companies that do analytic work to identify, track, monetize, and trigger behaviors both on- and offline.

Using such an approach, marketing is increasingly targeted not at demographic groups but at individuals. Micro-targeting and personalized messages can be based on detailed profiles, online and offline behaviors, and psychographic³ characteristics. People can be retargeted in microseconds depending on where they may be or what they are doing. Montgomery argued that this growing infrastructure needs to be understood to gauge the effects of marketing on behavior.

The Emergence of Mobile Devices

Use of mobile devices is soaring among children as well as teens. Children and teens are using their mobile phones to interact with social media and with each other. Montgomery noted that African American and Hispanic teens show particularly high use of and engagement with mobile phones relative to other teens. (See the discussion of marketing targeting low-income and minority communities later in this chapter.) The fact that these devices are available at any time of day or night allows mobile marketing to access users through such techniques as geolocation⁴ and geofencing.⁵ Through mobile devices, marketers are able to link the point where teens are influenced with the point of purchase. And the increasing use of “mobile wallets” allows a mobile device to be used for purchasing products in stores and restaurants.

Today, marketing is fully integrated into teens’ personal and social lives. Each marketing experience can be individualized, and the loop between marketing, persuasion, and purchase is being closed.

Research and Policy Implications

Many questions need to be answered to understand marketing targeted at teens. Adolescent behavior, social relationships, individualized marketing and targeting processes, and brand identification all influence adolescent behavior. Montgomery believes research on brain development needs to look at the development of emotional regulation and decision making, risk taking, and impulsivity. Food-related behaviors need to be understood as forms of risk taking, along with sexual, driving, and alcohol and

³Psychographic characteristics include variables or trends of personality, values, attitudes, fears, interests, and lifestyles.

⁴Geolocation is the identification of the real-world geographic location of an object (such as a restaurant).

⁵A geofence uses the Global Positioning System to define geographic boundaries.

drug consumption behaviors, and incorporated into that research agenda. Qualitative research methods could be used, including ethnography and “netnography.”⁶

The metrics and concepts used by the online industry to measure the impact of advertising campaigns need to be adapted for use in the analysis of health consequences, suggested Montgomery. Industry uses a variety of metrics, both quantitative and qualitative, and measures are built in to monitor and analyze behaviors so information can be generated automatically. For example, companies can target advertising in video games to an individual’s food preferences, and as marketing moves to mobile phones, purchases, locations, and preferences will increasingly be linked. These developments also create opportunities for research aimed at understanding behaviors involving food.

The policy implications are as complex as the research questions, Montgomery added. There is a growing debate in many countries about online privacy and digital marketing. Teens are on the agenda, as when the FTC’s privacy framework identified them as “sensitive users.” Complaints about problematic practices have influenced industry self-regulatory regimes. Changes in the FTC’s rules on children’s privacy will limit the digital tracking of those under age 13. Montgomery emphasized the need to establish comparable safeguards for adolescents, and to develop a broad framework of fair marketing principles to ensure that teens growing up in this digital commercial culture will be able to make effective and conscious choices and understand their rights as consumers.

“Teens are digital natives. They are online all the time. They are using their technologies on a daily 24/7 basis.” —Kathryn Montgomery

MARKETING TARGETING LOW-INCOME AND MINORITY COMMUNITIES

Summary of presentation by Jerome D. Williams

From a public health perspective, marketing targeting low-income and minority communities can be pernicious because of its negative effects on health, Williams suggested. Furthermore, research on the effects of targeted

⁶Netnography is the branch of ethnography that analyzes the free behavior of individuals on the Internet, using online market research techniques to provide useful insights.

marketing is particularly complicated because of the multiplicity of avenues taken by modern marketing to reach its targets.

Marketers target low-income and minority communities because of the amount of money to be made. The African American community in the United States has an estimated buying power for goods and services of approximately \$1 trillion, as does the Hispanic community (Selig Center for Economic Growth, 2012). Moreover, targeting of these communities is long-standing. Reviewing an annual online survey of brand “likability” conducted by the firm Smartypants,⁷ Williams and colleagues documented children’s brand affinity scores for particular products and found that in 2009 and 2010, the top food and beverage brands among U.S. families with children aged 6 to 12 included Oreo, McDonald’s, M&Ms, Doritos, Kraft Macaroni and Cheese, and Reese’s. Their research revealed that advertising of several of these products targeted African Americans and Hispanics (HER, 2011; Williams et al., 2012).

Factors Affecting Food Preferences

Many factors affect food preferences. For example, preferences for regular as opposed to diet sodas vary by brand. Neighborhoods also have an effect. One study, for example, found that living in an upper-income neighborhood, regardless of predominant ethnicity, generally is protective against exposure to most types of outdoor advertising for unhealthy products, such as alcoholic beverages, tobacco products, sugary beverages, and fast food (Hillier et al., 2009). African American and Hispanic areas have the highest densities of such advertising, while white areas have the lowest.

Researchers have been comparing the locations of different food outlets with ethnic concentrations, food preferences, and obesity rates. For example, a study in Austin (Texas), New York City, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles found that alcoholic beverages were the most advertised item in all four locations; fast food was the second most advertised item; and the largest number of ads for alcoholic beverages and fast food was in an African American and Hispanic, low-income zip code in Austin (Yancey et al., 2009).

A major question is which comes first—the development of an infrastructure for healthy living or the development of a population demand for healthy living. And are multicultural food and beverage brand preferences driven by marketing, or are marketing strategies designed to capitalize on food and beverage brand preferences? The available research indicates that causation occurs in both directions.

⁷Available online at <http://www.asksmartypants.com>.

The Ethics of Targeted Marketing

People from different stakeholder communities, whether public health, industry, or academia, have different perspectives on the ethics of targeted marketing of foods and beverages. Williams explained that one argument used by many businesses to justify targeting is that it directs resources to communities that historically have been neglected. In addition, arguments against targeting, such as the idea of prohibiting fast-food restaurants in particular neighborhoods, can appear paternalistic. People need to feel that their rights to vote in the marketplace are not being denied. However, major changes in marketing practices have taken place. Marketing occurs in more venues; using more techniques; and through more media vehicles, including the Internet, videogames, and cell phones. Marketing of specific products has given way to marketing of corporate brands.

On the positive side, legal advocacy and community engagement have the potential to counter marketing targeted to ethnic minority youth. And an emphasis on business ethics could move companies toward a triple bottom line—measuring themselves based on social, economic, and environmental goals—thus offering opportunities for companies concerned with negative effects of targeted marketing.

“This [the buying power of African American and Hispanic communities] is really where [marketers] want to spend and target their money. They are not as much concerned about the health consequences.” —Jerome D. Williams

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Innovations and Future Work in Industry Practices

The second workshop panel focused on the actions of industry. Cathy Polley, vice president of health and wellness for the Food Marketing Institute (FMI) and executive director of the FMI Foundation, provided an overview of the work of food retailers with children and their parents regarding healthy food choices. Elaine Kolish, vice president and director of the Children’s Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI), reported on progress to date and future directions for a major self-regulation initiative undertaken by industry. Heather Rubin, senior manager of The Walt Disney Company’s corporate citizen and nutrition and well-being initiatives, described the company’s efforts to market and provide healthier foods to children and adolescents who watch Disney shows and visit Disney parks. Finally, Jennifer Harris, director of marketing initiatives at the Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity at Yale University and research scientist in the Department of Psychology, detailed some of the center’s efforts to monitor and evaluate food marketing to children and adolescents. In emphasizing the progress that has been made, all four speakers also pointed to many steps that remain to be taken.

HEALTHY FOOD MARKETING INITIATIVES IN RETAIL CHAINS

Summary of presentation by Cathy Polley

FMI conducts programs in public affairs, food safety, research, education, and industry relations on behalf of its 1,250 member companies—food retailers and wholesalers—in the United States and around the world.

FMI's U.S. members operate approximately 25,000 retail food stores and 22,000 pharmacies, with a combined annual sales volume of \$650 billion.

Differentiation from the competition is the key to success in the food retail market, said Polley. Fully 80 percent of food retailers report using an emphasis on consumer health and wellness to this end (FMI, 2011). Their strategies include

- exploration of in-store service offerings, including an expansion of fresh, pre-prepared foods and specialty meat, cheese, and seafood products;
- nutrition labeling guidance programs to assist shoppers in making healthier choices;
- an increased variety of private brand offerings, which may include innovative products with healthy attributes; and
- increasing availability of specialty foods, such as low-sodium, heart-healthy, gluten-free, and lactose-free foods.

Retailer Actions Related to Health and Wellness

Polley cited several examples of retailer actions related to health and wellness, based on the results of an FMI survey of its members:

- Seventy-nine percent of members are offering (physical) store tours, including those for children, school groups, shoppers with dietary restrictions, or shoppers interested in weight management. Such tours might describe, for example, how to pack a healthy lunch or how to incorporate vegetables into the dinner menu.
- Fifty-nine percent of members reported providing nutrition counseling, whether at a store, regionally, or at the corporate level.
- Fifty percent of members reported having front-of-pack labeling for their private brands, and more than half display healthy items in or at the ends of aisles.
- Almost 90 percent are providing healthy recipes to shoppers, either through recipe cards at in-store kiosks, through a website, or on recipe cards throughout the store. Almost all—98 percent—have some type of health and wellness website.
- Companies are starting to use coupons and other promotions to encourage healthier shopping and eating, which helps emphasize the point that it does not necessarily cost more to eat healthy foods.
- More retailers are starting to share best practices as an industry rather than holding on to information as a competitive advantage, although more needs to be done in this regard.

- Smartphone applications are growing rapidly, including help with diet and with choosing healthier items while shopping.

Actions of Specific Retailers

Polley also provided several specific examples of member retailers' actions related to health and wellness:

- H-E-B in Texas has a healthy eating program that specifically targets young families with information about not only food but also exercise and health in general.
- HyVee in West Des Moines, Iowa, employs a dietitian in all its stores. The in-store dietitians offer healthy kids cooking classes and work with education programs in schools. Programmers in stores help shoppers meet the U.S. Department of Agriculture's MyPlate criteria. Children are involved in growing fresh fruits and vegetables in gardens at their homes, in the stores, or in schools, and stores offer a story and a snack class for toddlers.
- Wegman's in the northeast and mid-Atlantic regions offers stories on its website about healthy foods. Dietitians blog and reach out to schools and teachers. Wegman's also offers cooking classes in stores and offers store tours to help children identify healthy choices.
- Giant Eagle stores in Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia offer dietitian services, weight-loss and diabetes classes, and nutrition life coaching. Dietitians conduct field trips in stores, run wellness weekends to educate children on good nutrition and what is available in stores, and lead events in the community.

Finally, the FMI Foundation supports a variety of programs. For example, almost 1,000 schools have applied for grants from the Fuel Up to Play 60 program, which features in-store classes and tours and other means of providing information about healthy eating.

“[What] we hear in a lot of our reports is [don't] tell me what to take out of my diet . . . tell me what I can put into my diet. . . . Give me some good ideas.” —Cathy Polley

PROGRESS TO DATE AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR THE CHILDREN'S FOOD AND BEVERAGE ADVERTISING INITIATIVE

Summary of presentation by Elaine Kolish

In 2006 the Better Business Bureau and leading food companies, following calls from the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and the Institute of Medicine (IOM) for more self-regulation of food advertising to children, joined forces to create CFBAI. The goals of the initiative were to focus on what foods are advertised to children, with an eye to changing the mix toward healthier options, and to bring transparency and accountability to company commitments. CFBAI currently has 16 participants and tries to recruit new participants on an ongoing basis.

CFBAI's requirements have evolved since its 2006 launch. Since January 2010, it has required that its participants include only healthier foods (ones that meet specified nutrition criteria) in child-directed advertising or not engage in advertising targeting children. In September 2010, CFBAI harmonized the definition of child-directed advertising so that it covers ads in programs with 35 percent or more child viewers (participants using a 50 percent definition moved to 35 percent). Starting in 2014, participants will implement CFBAI-developed uniform nutrition criteria to replace their company-specific criteria. The initiative also has expanded its covered venues from television, print, radio, and the Internet to include newer and emerging media, such as child-directed ads on mobile phones and ads on videogames for children.

CFBAI considers "child-directed" ads those that are directed primarily to children under age 12. Children may also see ads on prime time dramas, reality shows, or Internet sites that are directed primarily to families, adults, or teens. Kolish noted that an analysis of ads appearing in a sample of Nickelodeon programming for children showed that food ads were only a modest percentage of all the ads aired (23 percent); ads for sedentary entertainment, such as movies and video games, were far more common.

While the percentage of children in a television audience works well as a means of identifying child-directed programming, it is insufficient for determining what is child-directed in the dynamic online world, Kolish said. CFBAI or individual companies may view websites as child-directed even if fewer than 35 percent or an unknown percentage of visitors are children. CFBAI conducts a multifaceted analysis of content, impression, intent, and other factors to determine whether a site is child-directed and provides lists of such sites in its reports.

Monitoring and Reporting Provisions

CFBAI monitors and reports on companies' compliance with its commitments in several ways:

- It requires companies to submit self-assessments, which provides an opportunity to detect and correct problems.
- It performs independent monitoring of media, including children's programming and many websites.
- It conducts inquiries into complaints.
- It publishes its findings in annual reports¹ to provide transparency.

Accomplishments

Kolish cited a number of accomplishments of CFBAI participants that have resulted from the initiative's efforts:

- The use of nutrition standards to limit what foods are included in child-directed advertising has shifted attention to healthier foods. More than 100 foods have been changed or created to meet nutrition standards.
- Other foods are no longer advertised or have been discontinued, and the reformulation of foods and development of new, healthier products are ongoing.
- More advertised foods have fewer calories and less sodium, sugar, or fat and more calcium, vitamin D, potassium, and fiber. For example, 71 percent of ads are for foods with at least a half-serving of fruit or whole grains, which represents a 40 percent increase from 2010.
- All meals, including small meals, now include fruit and/or a vegetable as a side dish.
- More products now contain whole grain or a larger amount of whole grain than they did in the past. For example, 71 percent of cereals covered by the program, up from 60 percent in 2011, contain at least 8 grams of whole grain per serving.
- Both McDonald's and Burger King recently dropped the caramel dipping sauces that were advertised and included with apples in children's meals.
- The sugar content of most cereal has steadily declined, from 15 grams of sugar per serving to less than or equal to 10 grams,

¹Annual reports are available at <http://www.bbb.org/us/childrens-food-and-beverage-advertising-initiative/info/#key%20program> (accessed February 5, 2013).

while the content of whole grains, fiber, and nutrients such as vitamin D has increased.

- Sodium has been reduced in many products, and the fat content of foods advertised to children has dropped. For example, ConAgra Foods reduced the sodium in the Kid Cuisine meals advertised to children by an average of 15 percent from 2011 to 2012.
- Point-of-sale practices of the two quick-serve restaurant chains participating in the program have changed. In 2011, Burger King instructed its servers to ask customers what side dish and beverage they wanted along with their entree and not to automatically provide fries and soda. And in 2012, McDonald's completed the implementation of automatically including apples and a small serving of fries in every Happy Meal. Consumers also can opt to forego the fries and get two bags of apples instead. McDonald's has estimated that this practice will put 100 million cups of apples in children's hands annually.

Next Steps

Kolish briefly looked at CFBAI's next steps. Its biggest action item is implementing the new uniform nutrition criteria that go into effect on December 31, 2013. These new criteria are far more comprehensive and stronger overall than the current company-specific criteria. The new criteria also will lead to more improvements. Many recipes will need to change if foods advertised in July 2011 (when the criteria were adopted) are to be advertised in 2014. Also, the criteria provide a strong but reasonable road-map for new product development.

“In far less time than it generally takes the government to propose and promulgate a rule, the Better Business Bureau not only created and implemented a comprehensive meaningful program but significantly expanded it several times. As a result, we have a robust voluntary program that has improved and continues to improve food advertising to children. This does not mean there isn't room for improvement. There is always room for improvement. But I think it is important to have this perspective.” —Elaine Kolish

CHANGING COMPANY-WIDE MARKETING PRACTICES AT THE WALT DISNEY COMPANY

Summary of presentation by Heather Rubin

A basic premise of The Walt Disney Company is that it wants to create stories and experiences that bring parents and children together, said Rubin. The opportunity is to create experiences that are both fun and good for children, rather than framing choices as a tug of war between things that are fun and those that are healthy. According to Rubin, children and families are at the heart of Disney's brand identity. Disney therefore decided it was in a unique position to be part of the solution to an obesity epidemic that was threatening the health of children, disseminating a commitment from top leadership to business managers across the company.

Disney was the first major media company to establish nutrition guidelines that would associate its brands and characters with more nutritious portfolio products. The guidelines were developed with the help of health experts and aligned with federal dietary recommendations. Not only was this the right thing to do for families, Rubin said, but it was the right thing to do for the company. Disney next sought to implement these guidelines throughout the company:

- Parks and resorts initiated healthier default beverages and side options in all prebundled children's meals (e.g., milk and carrots rather than soda and fries).
- Parks and resorts also featured healthier choices, such as fruit carts, low-fat foods, vegetarian options, and no-sugar beverages.
- In the studio, some deals with fast-food companies were terminated, and new ways of promoting films were found.
- Disney Studios developed new public service announcements about healthy habits with the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Ad Council.
- In the licensing of brands and characters, the food portfolio was rebalanced toward foods with less sugar. The company adopted an 85/15 balance rule, which specified that 85 percent of licensed foods would be everyday foods that meet nutrition guidelines, while 15 percent would be foods reserved for special-occasion treats (e.g., holidays, birthday celebrations).
- In its media networks, Disney sought to model healthier lifestyles and behaviors. For example, it launched a new educational series called "Pass the Plate" focused on healthier foods and cooking for children.

These efforts have accelerated since 2009, when several key goals were achieved. In that year, the nutrition guidelines were rolled out internationally. In 2010, the company announced a consumer initiative, Magic of Healthy Living, focused on making healthy living simple and fun. As part of that initiative, the TRYit campaign featured content, contests, websites, and live events. One of these programs, the TRYathon special, ranked among the top 10 telecasts for the Disney XD network since its launch.

Disney's research suggests that its efforts are making a difference, said Rubin:

- According to a survey of 450 mothers and their children, 82 percent of children who had participated in the Magic of Healthy Living campaign said that it had made them more physically active, 78 percent ate more fruits and vegetables, and 71 percent drank more low-fat milk.
- Working with KaBOOM!, Disney has built more than 30 playgrounds and learning gardens in communities across the United States.
- Working with Feeding America, Disney has created a pilot program that has provided 25 million servings of produce to children and families nationwide.
- Disney's nutrition guidelines now encompass all child-oriented food business activities, including promotions, sponsorships, advertising, licensing, and specific initiatives in parks and resorts. The nutrition criteria focus even more on fruits and vegetables, low-fat dairy products, whole grains, and additional limits on sugar and sodium.
- A program called Mickey Check provides a new tool for identifying more nutritious choices in stores, online, and while on vacation.
- The Magic of Healthy Living campaign is being expanded, as is the company's philanthropic commitment in this area, and results of all these efforts are included in the annually updated Corporate Citizenship Report.

Reaching all employees with a commitment requires time, coordination, and dedication. Disney has steering committees at multiple levels of the organization, has produced summaries of goals and strategies for employees, and provides its employees with training to support company objectives. It also is seeking to involve employees in its Magic of Healthy Living campaign in addition to its overall health and wellness efforts.

Disney believes it has been successful because it has been able to do something that works for both its business and its consumers.

“When you meet kids where they are, when they are responsive to new ideas, we really do have the ability to make behavior change fun.” —Heather Rubin

MONITORING AND EVALUATING INDUSTRY INNOVATIONS

Summary of presentation by Jennifer Harris

As an independent academic organization, the Yale Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity can apply transparent and rigorous methods to examining industry innovations. The Rudd Center has a number of objectives, including identifying marketing practices, monitoring progress over time, and encouraging changes to improve the diets of children and adolescents. The center’s monitoring can be used to clarify industry claims, and has sometimes led to conclusions at odds with those of industry. For example, Coca-Cola stated in 2011 that two-thirds of its media spending was for light or low-calorie products. Using Nielsen data on spending, however, the Rudd Center found that the company spent about \$150 million advertising its seven regular sodas and about \$200 million on 27 other products—although when spending on the Coke brand, not broken down by specific products, was added to the latter number, the company’s spending on all products other than the seven regular sodas was about 63 percent, close to the amount the company was claiming.

Mixed Progress

One of the Rudd Center’s major goals is to encourage changes designed to improve the diets of children and adolescents. Such changes would entail reduced exposure to marketing for calorie-dense, nutrient-poor foods in all media, in all forms of marketing, and for all youth. The Rudd Center is not against all food marketing, but believes marketing targeting children and adolescents should promote healthful foods.

The Rudd Center monitors not just traditional media such as television and radio ads and television product placements but also digital media and other forms of marketing, such as in-store promotions and menu boards in restaurants. As an example, Harris cited the center’s monitoring of cereal marketing. In 2009 the center issued its Cereal F.A.C.T.s (for food advertising to children and teens), which it updated in 2012 (Harris et al., 2012). The biggest change over that period, according to Harris, was that

General Mills and Post foods, respectively, dismantled their Millsberry and Postopia advergame sites, which were among the most visited such sites on the Internet. Companies have devoted more effort to their single-brand sites since then, but the numbers for these sites are not comparable to those for Millsberry and Postopia, which were drawing hundreds of thousands of users and generating millions of banner ad impressions.

Continuing Needs

A commitment to the CFBAI policies does not mean that a company necessarily fosters healthy eating, said Harris. For example, Coca-Cola has a strong commitment to not placing any brand marketing in television, radio, or print that is directed primarily to children under age 12. But the company is quite open about its desire to target teens. As a senior vice president said in 2011, “We can’t afford not to talk to teens. You can’t think, ‘Teens already know us,’ and skip a couple of years. Every six years there’s a new population of teens in the world” (Zmuda, 2011). The Rudd Center has found that Coca-Cola, along with many other manufacturers of sugary drinks, markets in the full range of media, including television ads, product placements, radio, company websites, banner ads, social media, and mobile marketing. Children and teens see more product placements than television ads for Coca-Cola. My Coke Rewards, in which consumers collect bottle caps in return for various products, is the company’s biggest website and produces almost 500 million banner ad impressions per month. And as of June 15, 2011, Coca-Cola had more than 30 million Facebook fans (making it the number one brand on Facebook), 300,000 Twitter followers, and just under 23 million YouTube upload views (Harris et al., 2010). When all of these different kinds of ads are combined, children aged 2-11 see more ads for Coke than for Kool-Aid or Capri Sun, products that directly target them (Harris et al., 2010).

Harris concluded with a 2010 quotation from the White House: “Key actors—from food and beverage companies, to restaurants, food retailers, trade associations, the media, government and others—all have an important role to play in creating a food marketing environment that supports, rather than undermines, the efforts of parents and other caregivers to encourage healthy eating among children and prevent obesity” (White House Task Force on Childhood Obesity, 2010).

“When you start naming names, companies pay attention and start changing their practices.” —Jennifer Harris

5

Emerging Policy Initiatives and Communication Strategies

In the final panel of the workshop, five speakers discussed several promising innovative approaches to reducing or countering the marketing of unhealthy foods to children. Monifa Bandele, campaign director of MomsRising, described the power of advocacy spurred by online communications to change policy. Terry Huang, professor and chair of the Department of Health Promotion in the College of Public Health, University of Nebraska Medical Center, talked about one of the few antiobesity efforts aimed directly at Hispanics. Cheryl Heaton, founding president and chief executive officer of Legacy, drew parallels between the food and tobacco industries, which suggest that similar confrontational approaches may prove useful to counter the marketing of unhealthy foods. Samantha Graff, research director at ChangeLab Solutions, reviewed the legal issues involved in food marketing and opportunities to take advantage of previous legal decisions. Finally, Tim Lobstein, director of policy and programmes at the International Association for the Study of Obesity (IASO), described international efforts to limit food marketing, which could inform such initiatives in the United States.

PARENT-LED COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

Summary of presentation by Monifa Bandele

MomsRising is, according to its website (<http://www.momsrising.org>), “a transformative online and on-the-ground multicultural organization of more than a million members and over a hundred aligned organizations

working to increase family economic security, to end discrimination against women and mothers, and to build a nation where both businesses and families can thrive.” With more than 1,000 bloggers, MomsRising is one of the most popular websites for women in the United States. It has collected thousands of stories from its members about health, economic security, and other issues, and these stories are having a powerful influence on industry, legislators, and administrators, according to Bandele.

Research has demonstrated that a single story told by a woman can be more powerful than a wealth of data in drawing the interest of leaders and the media, and Bandele argued that decision makers can ignore data, but they cannot ignore real stories from women. Furthermore, the stories energize other members of MomsRising to tell their own stories and become more active. The resulting dialogue changes the nature of how information is perceived, with the messenger becoming important as well as the message.

Major Achievements

MomsRising has produced a long list of achievements, said Bandele, including the following:

- It mobilized its members to prevent the loss of unemployment insurance in February 2011, which would have cost more than 2 million families their benefits.
- It helped pass paid-sick-day legislation in Connecticut, Philadelphia, and Seattle.
- It played a major role in pressuring the Internal Revenue Service to reverse its previous decision and keep the cost of breast pumps tax deductible.
- Its food team targeted four major supermarket chains to remove meat made of “pink slime”¹ from their shelves.
- Its toxics team successfully pressed the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to prohibit bisphenol A in products for babies.
- Its members’ strong support for the Breastfeeding Promotion Act helped ensure that one of the act’s key provisions, the right to pump breast milk at work, passed as part of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act.

¹“Pink slime” is the term used for a mixture of mechanically separated and disinfected beef products approved for human consumption in the United States in 2001.

Key Principles

MomsRising has an integrated model that rests on four key principles:

1. Stay nimble and responsive.
2. Constantly test.
3. Maintain the dialogue.
4. Open as many engagement avenues as possible.

Working closely with policy partners, MomsRising makes sure it has access to a trusted expert on an issue who can provide advice on the right course of action. The organization also tries to identify the one thing that will make a difference to a busy mother. For example, it offers one-click advocacy whereby someone can sign a letter or contribute to a quick poll. It mobilizes members who have the time available to compile the input from other members and convey that information to legislators, businesses, and other decision makers. It uses the full range of media, from social media to traditional newspapers. And it provides on-the-ground engagement by convening members in key regions to demonstrate the presence of mothers and their concerns.

Lessons Learned

Bandeled listed several lessons she has learned from her experience with MomsRising:

- Provide multiple ways to engage and dialogue.
- Be creative and experiment.
- Be ready to act fast, and learn quickly from experience and failure.
- Use the voices of real people to change what policy makers think is possible.
- Use metrics to keep the organization on track with goals.
- Keep it fun.

“Being able to provide these levels of engagement has been hugely popular with people who want to make a better world for themselves and for their families.” —Monifa Bandede

YOUTH-LED COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

Summary of presentation by Terry Huang

Public health interventions that are adopted for minority or low-resource communities often fail because they are not responsive to the level of community readiness. For example, Huang's research showed that one-quarter of Latinos in Douglas County in South Omaha, Nebraska, do not see childhood obesity as a big problem, compared with just 6 percent of whites (personal communication, T. Huang, University of Nebraska Medical Center, January 31, 2013). In addition to the lack of awareness, low levels of perceived leadership, a poor community climate, and low resource levels in South Omaha contribute to limited community readiness to address the problem (Frerichs et al., 2012).

SaludableOmaha is a program in South Omaha aimed at combining youth advocacy with social marketing and partnerships to create a Latino health movement. Its core goals are empowering families to make healthy choices and creating an environment that is conducive to healthy lifestyles. The program is youth driven and depends on the participation of the community to provide community ownership and sustainability. SaludableOmaha sees the "ABLE" part of Saludable as referring to Attitude, Balance, Leadership, and Energy.

Strategies

SaludableOmaha has a multipronged strategy:

- Facebook pages and an interactive, multimedia-driven website provide an online presence. As part of this effort, SaludableOmaha is adding a youth blog to its online presence, as well as an expert blog where parents can ask questions and access information.
- The program has a school project addressing health and nutrition issues. For example, a student-led Green Is Go campaign has worked with school leadership to educate food service staff on what they should be telling students to eat, as well as to create traffic-light labels for the foods offered in the cafeteria. This campaign now is being expanded into other sources of food for students, such as concession stands and convenience stores. Students also are planning to extend the campaign to elementary and middle schools.
- A neighborhood campaign is extending the project into school-based health centers, education centers, and local businesses. The goal is to reach 25 local restaurants or grocery stores and pro-

vide them with a short menu of strategies. With one change, they become *Saludable* activists. With the implementation of two or more changes, they become super-activists and receive a certificate they can post in their place of business.

- As with *MomsRising*, digital technologies are central to the project. *SaludableOmaha* combines art, media, and science to catalyze a social movement in Omaha’s Latino community. Students design projects, create logos, engage in branding, and otherwise develop strategies to capitalize on their unique talents.
- To make the program sustainable, *SaludableOmaha* worked with Omaha South High School to incorporate the program into its established service learning curriculum. Students have the option of working with *SaludableOmaha* to develop strategies and initiatives throughout the academic year. In this way, the program has been seeking to embed itself into the school environment without asking the school board to create a new curriculum.
- *SaludableOmaha* also has established links with local wellness organizations such as *Live Well Omaha*, the primary umbrella organization in the county that, along with the county health department, serves as a leader in public health initiatives. Becoming part of the existing infrastructure and institutional climate will be key to the program’s long-term viability.

Challenges

Huang listed several challenges faced by *SaludableOmaha*:

- Thus far the program has been conducted on a shoestring. It needs to become part of a larger network to be financially sustainable, because this kind of project is difficult to support through existing funding mechanisms.
- The program is resource intensive. Managing social marketing and social media requires considerable effort on a daily basis.
- For a host of reasons, it can be difficult to capture the attention and time of minority youth.

“There is a dearth of interventions that focus specifically on Latino youth and Latino families in the realm of obesity prevention.”
—Terry Huang

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE TRUTH® ANTITOBACCO CAMPAIGN

Summary of presentation by Cheryl Healton

Comparisons Between the Tobacco and Food Industries

Camel cigarettes, once smoked mainly by men, have more recently been marketed as a “light and luscious” brand to attract female smokers. This campaign has produced a 10 percent increase in brand affinity for young girls and no change in brand affinity for boys, said Healton. In a Tysons Chicken Nuggets ad, a succession of cute and very young children say

- “I don’t like tuna salad, lima beans, or casserole.”
- “Mushrooms look like aliens.”
- “Spinach? Not a big fan.”
- “They just look like dirty socks.”
- “I don’t like any of those stuff.”

Both ads appear to be targeted to attract a young audience to a product brand. The chicken nugget ad not only sells its own product but unsells vegetables. Extensive formative research is used to develop products and ad campaigns like these that appeal to targeted audiences, said Healton. Advertising and sponsorship by the food industry are prevalent and largely unchallenged by the public. Furthermore, the number of unhealthy food products still being marketed points to a problem that voluntary efforts alone will not fix in the foreseeable future.

In general, brands are a means of self-expression for youth. Young people are particularly sensitive to the message they convey to peers through brand choices. Furthermore, the locking in of brand identity happens largely between ages 12 and 17, which is just above the cutoff age for restrictions on food marketing to children. The desire for self-expression heightens the need for personal choice. The tobacco industry frames smoking as a personal choice, and according to Healton, the food industry is following this lead (the food industry does not face issues such as second-hand smoke, which can harm other people). Framing the consumption of foods and beverages that contribute to poor diet and obesity as a personal choice dampens the public will to enact policies that would reduce the development, marketing, and consumption of these products.

Food industry executives are involved with shaping relevant policy, such as nutrition guidelines. Industry language often is adopted verbatim, argued Healton, and for a variety of reasons, government officials may value business interests over the public health. In addition, research has

shown that the results of studies sponsored by the food industry tend to favor the industry (Vartanian et al., 2007). Here again there are parallels with the tobacco industry, which has sought to influence science and perceptions of science. Tobacco companies notoriously bought a great deal of biased science for the purpose of creating a debate about the health effects of tobacco (Hirschhorn et al., 2001).

Finally, selling tobacco is profitable to the tobacco industry, just as selling food is profitable to the food industry, said Healton. The tobacco industry realizes it needs to create young adult smokers if it is to survive. Similarly, as Brownell and Warner (2009) have written, "If consumers' demand for food were to reflect what they needed to maintain a healthy weight, the market would contract."

A Countermarketing Campaign

Healton advocated for a large national food countermarketing campaign that would be funded by a variety of mechanisms and be independent of the food industry. As an example, she cited the truth[®] campaign, a branded national smoking prevention campaign designed to reach at-risk youth aged 12-17, primarily through edgy television ads with an anti-tobacco industry theme. For example, the first ad piled 1,200 body bags around Philip Morris's downtown headquarters in New York City. A similar ad would be legitimate if it piled 500 body bags around a multinational food company, representing the number of people who die in the United States alone every day from obesity, said Healton.

The truth[®] campaign was financed through the master settlement agreement between the state attorneys general and the tobacco industry. As part of the settlement, a foundation was created to undertake a public education campaign. In its first 4 years, that campaign cost more than \$500 million. However, such a campaign might be less expensive today because of the Internet, which costs less than television to reach young people.

The truth[®] campaign created a brand that competed head to head with industry brands. It spoke to teens in their own voices and did not talk down to them. It highlighted the actions of the tobacco industry in marketing cigarettes, including the failure to be truthful about cigarettes' addictiveness and health effects. It capitalized on the natural rebelliousness of teens to encourage them to define themselves in opposition to the tobacco industry.

The campaign engaged in strong and ongoing evaluation. According to a 2002 article in the *American Journal of Public Health* (Farrelly et al., 2002), 75 percent of all U.S. youth aged 12-17 could accurately describe a truth[®] ad, and awareness was linked to attitude and belief change. Farrelly and colleagues (2005) also found that 22 percent of the U.S. decline in youth smoking from 1999 to 2002 could be attributed to the campaign,

resulting in 300,000 fewer smokers in the United States. A later study found an even more substantial effect and documented a particularly strong effect in African American and Hispanic youth (Farrelly et al., 2009).

Hard-hitting campaigns should expect to be sued, said Healton. The truth[®] campaign was in litigation for more than 5 years at a cost of more than \$17 million, and won unanimously in the Delaware Supreme Court.

The same kind of campaign directed at healthy eating could have similar effects, Healton said. She listed several essential elements of such a campaign:

- Effective media campaigns need to be based on scientific evidence.
- The target audience needs to be narrowly defined.
- Campaigns need to conduct formative research with the target audience and pretest messages.
- Campaigns should consider using new media channels, including online, mobile, and gaming media.

Efforts to prevent smoking have obvious differences from efforts to prevent obesity; most obviously, people need to eat but do not need to smoke. Nevertheless, the antitobacco movement offers important lessons for obesity prevention, Healton concluded.

“Right now the tactics that are being utilized in relation to the communication between us, as a nation, and big food . . . have been constrained and polite. . . . But there are other directions that theoretically they could go.” —Cheryl Healton

LEGAL AND POLICY CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Summary of presentation by Samantha Graff

Americans have long taken for granted that the government can regulate commercial activity to protect children’s welfare, individual privacy, principles of fair play, food and product safety, public health, and other important elements of common well-being. Recently, however, industry advocates have successfully advanced a novel interpretation of the First Amendment in the courts against government policies addressing the pervasive marketing of products that lead to lifelong illness and early death. This troubling trend in constitutional law has occurred during the same

period that obesity and other chronic diseases have emerged as a public health crisis, observed Graff.

Historically, the First Amendment has been construed as a way of protecting unpopular voices from government retribution, not as a way for corporations to flood the airwaves with their promotions and points of view. But in the 1970s the Supreme Court extended First Amendment protection to advertising, or in legal terms, “commercial speech.” The rationale was that advertising conveys important information to consumers and is necessary to the smooth functioning of a free market economy. Over the past two decades, the commercial speech doctrine has evolved to afford nearly the same level of First Amendment protection to corporate commercial speech as it does to individual political and artistic expression. Graff discussed five challenges that the commercial speech doctrine poses for public health, along with some opportunities to address them.

The Concept of the Rational Consumer

The first challenge involves the Supreme Court’s justification for extending strong First Amendment protection to advertising. This justification holds that truthful advertising is essential to the smooth operation of the free enterprise system because it relays concrete information that consumers use to make “intelligent and well-informed” purchasing decisions. In other words, the commercial speech doctrine is built on a rational choice theory of human behavior. This view led the majority of Supreme Court justices to reject what they characterized as “paternalistic” government efforts to protect the public welfare. The premise is that the government should not meddle in what commercial speakers have to say to consumers because adults are perfectly capable of digesting all of this information to make logical economic decisions.

False and “inherently misleading” advertising is not protected because—in the words of the Supreme Court—“the public and private benefits from commercial speech derive from confidence in its accuracy and reliability.” However, suggested Graff, the legal construction of what counts as “inherently misleading” advertising is markedly narrow, given that most advertising is practically synonymous with emotional manipulation.

The fallacy in this approach is becoming clearer, said Graff, as research on how humans actually make decisions converges from fields including neuroscience, behavioral economics, developmental psychology, and addiction studies. If scientists strategically translated and disseminated findings from this research, they might eventually force courts to question the validity of the theory buttressing the commercial speech doctrine.

Protecting Children and Adolescents

The second challenge centers on the question of how the commercial speech doctrine treats regulations aimed at protecting children. Although there is little to no First Amendment case law addressing restrictions on child-targeted advertising, the Supreme Court has indicated in other settings that government paternalism is appropriate when it comes to commercial regulations aimed at protecting children. Studies on children's cognitive development show that any advertising targeting children under 12 should be unprotected because it is by definition inherently misleading, Graff said. By this reasoning, government can ban harmful commercial advertising—or for that matter any commercial advertising—directed to younger children.

The conundrum is that the Supreme Court has made clear that regulations designed to protect children cannot place excessive limits on advertising to adults. In the 2001 Supreme Court case *Lorillard v. Reilly*, for example, a ban on tobacco advertising near schools and playgrounds was struck down as too broad because it unduly restricted the ability of tobacco companies to convey their messages to adults.

Within certain child-oriented domains, the First Amendment does permit policy makers to limit child-targeted advertising. School authorities have considerable leeway to set policies establishing what commercial messages, if any, should be allowed on school property. If school districts resort to advertising revenues, they can at least exclude ads for unhealthy foods and beverages. Graff also noted that it is politics, not the First Amendment, that stands in the way of well-tailored restrictions on advergames aimed at children, ads and product placements on children's television, and the use of cartoon characters to promote obesogenic foods.

The ability of advertisers to have unimpeded access to teens remains an open question. On the one hand, in a recent case involving age restrictions on extremely violent video games, the Supreme Court said that minors have free speech rights to be exposed to offensive digital images and ideas. The Court could apply the same approach to the right of adolescents to be exposed to commercial advertising. On the other hand, Graff explained that a growing body of research has led to recognition that adolescents merit special protection from digital marketing tactics that exploit their cognitive vulnerabilities. Graff concluded that this is another area in which a burgeoning body of scientific research may be on the verge of shaping new legal principles.

Evidence and Regulation

The third challenge involves the type and amount of scientific data the government must be able to muster to justify a commercial speech

regulation. An example can be found in a recent federal appeals court case regarding the new tobacco control law requiring cigarette packs to include large graphic health warnings issued by the FDA. In selecting nine images that would effectively convey the negative health effects of smoking, the FDA relied on evidence, including international studies, showing that graphic warnings cause people to think more about quitting, as well as an FDA consumer study focused on the salience measures reported for a set of 36 proposed images. The appeals court struck down the FDA's chosen images, interpreting Supreme Court precedent as requiring that the FDA quantify "with statistical precision" how much the graphic warnings would reduce smoking rates.

Even under such stringent standards, policy makers might succeed if they considered their stated goals, Graff said. If the government cannot show that a particular regulation will reduce childhood obesity rates, for example, it may be able to show that the regulation will protect children's privacy or some aspect of their psychological well-being. Scientists studying the impact of contemporary food marketing on children could make a major contribution by identifying and explaining the types of "upstream" harms caused by this marketing. Researchers also could try to influence courts' perspective on evidence by publicizing the need to take a risk factors approach to complex, multicausal problems such as childhood obesity.

Nonexpressive Business Activities Versus Protected Speech

The fourth challenge involves determining what types of commercial products and activities fall under the protective umbrella of the First Amendment. In recent decades, industry advocates have endeavored to characterize nonexpressive business practices as protected speech. For example, the new federal tobacco control law limits where tobacco samples can be distributed so as to ensure that an addictive, deadly product does not end up in the hands of children. One court viewed this as a simple restriction on where a product may be circulated in commerce, but another found that a tobacco sampling regulation must be treated with greater suspicion as a government limitation on protected commercial speech.

The Supreme Court has recently indicated a shift toward applying stringent First Amendment review to what would appear to be ordinary business regulations. Still, the question of which commercial practices count as protected speech remains far from settled, and Graff urged that policy makers not be dissuaded from addressing food marketing simply because companies may raise First Amendment objections. In addition, corporate free speech rights probably will not be implicated in zoning restrictions on the location of chain restaurants, in laws requiring different sizes of a beverage product to have the same per ounce price, in laws setting minimum

nutrition standards for children's restaurant meals, in laws prohibiting children from buying highly caffeinated energy drinks, or in a portion-size restriction on sugar-sweetened beverages.

Public Health Messages

Finally, at the same time that corporate speakers have been securing the First Amendment right to amplify their messages, they have been working to stifle government messages regarding public health. Graff described three cases in which the affected industries painted simple informational messages coming from the government as coercive violations of corporate free speech rights: the first involved draft recommendations on food marketed to children from a federal Interagency Working Group on Food Marketed to Children, the second pertained to the FDA's graphic tobacco warnings depicting the hazards of smoking, and the third was in regard to a local law requiring that campaign flyers disclose major funding from out-of-city contributors.

Graff posed the question of what is to keep the government's messages from being drowned out. She noted that there is growing momentum in the public health field to pursue taxes on sugar-sweetened beverages, with revenues earmarked in part for countermarketing campaigns. These revenues will not match industry marketing budgets, but strategic, hard-hitting countermarketing campaigns can be extremely effective, Graff said. Government agencies also can use their enforcement powers to shine a light on dubious food marketing practices. Often even the prospect of an investigation will inspire reform.

Finally, government can lead by example. The First Amendment leaves policy makers leeway to determine what types of promotional activities are allowed on government property—if not through their regulatory power then through their procurement power. By setting nutrition and marketing standards for products served or sold in places such as schools, parks, and hospitals, the government can carve out safe spaces for children to experience what a healthy environment looks and feels like.

Achieving a Healthy Balance

In conclusion, Graff noted that the current legal and political climates pose formidable challenges for government efforts to address the pervasive marketing of obesogenic foods and beverages to youth. Nonetheless, she suggested, the U.S. constitutional system is designed to balance competing interests and adapt to new technological developments, scientific discoveries, and social norms.

“In the same two decades that obesity and other chronic diseases were emerging as a public health crisis, government efforts to mitigate the crisis have confronted a troubling trend in constitutional law.” —Samantha Graff

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Summary of presentation by Tim Lobstein

The marketing of foods and beverages to children is a prominent issue in many countries other than the United States. Many international organizations have developed policy statements and reports in this area, while a number of countries and industry organizations have taken action to limit such marketing.

Policy Statements and Reports

International organizations have developed the following policy statements and reports regarding the marketing of foods and beverages to children.

- For the World Health Organization (WHO) consultation on a global strategy for diet and health, the International Association of Consumer Food Organizations developed a statement titled *Broadcasting Bad Health: Why Food Marketing to Children Needs to Be Controlled* (IACFO, 2003).
- Consumers International (2004) produced a report titled *The Junk Food Generation* that includes a multicountry survey of the influence of television advertising on children.
- According to a WHO (2004) report titled *Marketing Food to Children: The Global Regulatory Environment*, “some experts have suggested that the marketing of such [high-fat, -sugar, and -salt] foods contributes to an ‘obesogenic’ environment that makes healthy food choices more difficult, especially for children.”
- The International Obesity Task Force released a set of principles in 2006 regarding the rights and protection of children and restraints that should be placed on targeted marketing (Swinburn et al., 2008).
- According to the report of a WHO Forum and Technical Meeting held in 2006 titled *Marketing of Food and Non-Alcoholic Bever-*

ages to Children, “action is essential” to control advertising to children (WHO, 2006).

- In 2008 the International Food and Beverage Association issued a set of international pledges stating that companies adhering to the pledges would not market certain products to children under 12 (IFBA, 2008).
- The International Association for the Study of Obesity (IASO) and Consumers International released a report in 2008 titled *Recommendations for an International Code on Marketing of Foods and Non-Alcoholic Beverages to Children* (IASO-CI, 2008).
- Following up on those recommendations, WHO (2012) issued the report *A Framework for Implementing the Set of Recommendations on the Marketing of Food and Non-Alcoholic Beverages to Children*.
- A United Nations high-level meeting on noncommunicable diseases held in 2011 cited the WHO recommendations on food and drink marketing to children (WHO, 2006) in its Political Declaration, which was followed up in 2012 by an advisory document on how to implement the recommendations (WHO, 2012).
- In 2011 the Pan American Health Organization issued the report *Recommendations from a Pan American Health Organization Expert Consultation on the Marketing of Food and Non-Alcoholic Beverages to Children in the Americas* (PAHO, 2011).

Country Actions

Actions by particular countries have been less dramatic than the above policy statements and reports, according to Lobstein, but some actions have been notable:

- Since the 1990s, Sweden and the province of Quebec in Canada have had a ban on all promotions of any products to young children, although cross-border marketing has been a problem.
- In 2006 the United Kingdom formulated a ban on high-fat, -sugar, and -salt foods advertised on children’s television programming. The ban included a definition of such foods that acts, in effect, as a statutory definition of junk food. More recently, this ban has been extended to other media, including websites.
- Ireland has introduced proposals similar to those in the United Kingdom, with the exception that the advertising of cheese would still be permitted.
- France has banned vending machines in all state schools and has required statements such as “eat more fruits and vegetables” in food ads in all media.

- South Korea has banned energy-dense, nutrient-poor foods on television ads aimed at children.
- Chile has introduced a ban on junk food ads, although the ban is currently being challenged in court.
- Singapore has promised to introduce guidelines regarding junk food ads, although the guidelines may be voluntary.
- Norway has proposed a ban on ads for high-fat, -sugar, and -salt foods directed to anyone under 18.

IASO issues a regular roundup of obesity-related news, including marketing news, on its website at <http://www.iaso.org/resources/obesity-news>.

Industry Actions

Like the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI), the International Food and Beverage Alliance has issued pledges to limit marketing to children. This policy has improved over time, although it still has uncertain definitions and other limitations. It is not clear whether the policy covers all advertising, including integrated marketing techniques (discussed in Chapter 4). Also, the policy defines "advertising to children under 12 years" as advertising in child-directed media for which 35 percent or more of the audience is under age 12, which, Lobstein asserted, occurs only occasionally during peak periods of children's television viewing.

An IASO (2012) report on changes in Europe showed a decline of 29 percent in children's exposure to television ads for noncompliant foods from the first quarter of 2005 to the first quarter of 2011. But this is not enough, said Lobstein, especially given the weak definitions of what foods can and cannot be advertised to children.

In a comparison of 34 children's products that industry still allows itself to advertise, IASO found that the UK and Irish restrictions would ban all but 6, the Norwegian proposals would ban all but 3, the proposals from the interagency working group in the United States would ban all but 2, and an industry-supported forum in Denmark would ban all 34. The Danish forum is a coregulatory body involving both government and industry, which could serve as a model for such bodies elsewhere.

Recent studies of the voluntary pledge initiatives found no significant improvements in food and beverage advertising to children in Australia (King et al., 2012), Canada (Potvin Kent et al., 2011), Germany (Effertz and Wilcke, 2012), or Spain (Romero-Fernández et al., 2010). By contrast, improvements have been identified in South Korea and the United Kingdom, both of which introduced statutory regulations rather than voluntary pledges. In addition, red, amber, or green lights on products in the United Kingdom according to various levels of fat, sugar, and salt

have changed purchasing behaviors and companies' attitudes toward reformulation.

Reflections

Lobstein offered several reflections based on his work in this area:

- Countries are moving toward consensus on the definition of junk food, as demonstrated by the legally established definition in the United Kingdom.
- Consensus also is building on what leads to behavior change, with the recognition that much decision making is noncognitive and not rational.
- No method exists to “immunize” children against the impact of advertising, given its subconscious effects on behavior. Media literacy is not a defense against exposure.
- Discussion of the rights of children could be extended to the protection of children from commercialization, which is an approach that could attract support from church and community groups.

“Things have moved quite a lot outside of the United States, both in policies and regulatory practices.” —Tim Lobstein

6

Discussions

Discussions throughout the workshop elaborated on and extended issues raised by the presenters. This final chapter compiles comments made by workshop participants to revisit several major topics discussed during the workshop and to point toward future developments.

MULTIPLE LEVELS OF INTERVENTION

Many workshop participants observed that change needs to occur on multiple levels to counter an influence as pervasive as the marketing of foods and beverages to children and youth. For example, Samantha Graff, ChangeLab Solutions, stated that a prominent message from the antitobacco movement has been that multiple levels of intervention are needed to change people's environment so as to make healthier choices easier. These changes can include education in schools, conversations with physicians, media campaigns, institutional changes involving employers and workplaces, and changes in laws or policies such as taxes or retail licensing ordinances. Graff explained that countermarketing must be part of a much larger environmental and social strategy to change social norms.

Several workshop participants pointed to interventions in addition to those identified by the presenters. William Dietz, formerly of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), observed that standard criteria for what constitutes healthier products are starting to emerge, which is driving the reformulation of food. As an example of such a change, a procurement policy initiated at CDC and now extending across the rest of

the federal government is improving the nutrition criteria for foods sold in government cafeterias and vending machines.

Dietz also observed that, according to a recent survey conducted by the Rudd Center, almost as many people mistrusted government as mistrusted industry. An honest broker providing information about food and the media, supported by both industry and government, is needed, he said. Bipartisan language and framing will be essential given the divisiveness of current political discourse.

Finally, Dietz said that champions are needed to move the issue forward. Such champions, who could lead a grassroots initiative focused on children's exposure to media, need to be found and motivated to act, he suggested.

Several observers pointed out that community mobilization is an essential part of a change movement. Initiatives such as MomsRising and Saludable work because they create platforms and the necessary infrastructure to connect people and empower communities, said Terry Huang, University of Nebraska Medical Center. Huang suggested that community mobilization requires integrated social marketing, not just a particular health message. According to Cheryl Heaton, American Legacy Foundation, another step might be for foundations to counter the money that food companies give to community organizations for various purposes.

Elaine Kolish, Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI), called attention to the continuing need for a large social marketing campaign that would help educate parents about healthy eating. She pointed out that yearly research shows that most consumers still do not know what calories are, much less how few or how many to eat. Filling an information gap will not solve the obesity crisis, but other efforts will be hampered unless this gap is addressed, Kolish noted.

Opinions differed on whether it is necessary to demonize companies, their products, or the tactics they use to sell those products. Heaton, for example, argued that getting people emotionally involved can be an important motivator. She also said that in a social movement, people are pushing back against the status quo and forging a new path. Dietz added that the aggressive responses by the food and beverage industry to the recommendations of the federal Interagency Working Group on Food Marketed to Children increased polarization around this issue, even though the recommendations were voluntary.

THE AGE CUTOFF

The question of the age at which children and youth no longer need to be protected from food marketing arose repeatedly during the workshop discussions. Today, industry self-regulation applies to children through

age 11, which means that children and youth aged 12 and older receive no special protection from food marketing. But Monifa Bandele of MomsRising said the need to include older children in self-regulation initiatives is raised repeatedly in feedback from the organization's members. Feedback from members on middle school children, in particular, indicated that they are more vulnerable to marketing than their younger and older counterparts.

Jennifer Harris of the Rudd Center pointed out that younger children often watch programming aimed at older groups, which exposes them to ads for unhealthy foods that are not subject to self-regulation. Children may not be more than 35 percent of the audience for this programming, but they still can gain considerable exposure to food marketing by watching it.

Children aged 12-14 are exposed to more food ads than any other group of children and youth, observed Harris. They also have their own money and can go to stores or fast-food restaurants to buy unhealthy products. A major policy change Harris advocates is including 12- to 14-year-olds in the CFBAI pledges.

As an example of a campaign that crosses the 11-12 age boundary, Dietz mentioned the CDC-sponsored VERB™ campaign, which focused on 9- to 13-year-olds. This is a segment of the population that still has the capacity to change its behavior in response to positive messages, he noted. Public health campaigns need to consider developmental stages, he said, not just chronological age.

Kolish did not foresee including 12- to 14-year-olds in self-regulation initiatives in the immediate future. As children grow older, they have rights and responsibilities that younger children do not. Also, efforts directed at children younger than 11 have an effect on older children who are not among the audiences covered by self-regulation. Kolish does not think food companies would support an extension above age 11 at present.

Heather Rubin of The Walt Disney Company said the company seeks to motivate everyone it reaches to make healthier choices. Disney does make an effort to limit exposure to food ads among children older than 12, although change is inevitably an iterative process. Continued dialogue will help the company better understand the issues affecting the audiences it reaches.

Finally, Cathy Polley, Food Marketing Institute (FMI), observed that much of what happens in supermarkets applies to a wide range of ages. For example, 12-14 is an ideal age group for cooking classes because that is when many children start to get involved in the kitchen.

MEDIA LITERACY

Several workshop participants spoke about the need for educational campaigns to build the media literacy of parents and children regarding food marketing. Awareness of the vast efforts of the media to market

to children and shape discourse is needed to develop allies, said Dietz. Children are subject to forces they do not understand and about which they have not been taught to think critically. In addition, the focus of an educational campaign needs to extend beyond food. Young children can name more beers than American presidents. MomsRising and Saludable are good examples of how to link awareness with strategies for change, Dietz said.

Kelly Brownell, James Rowland Angell professor of psychology, professor of epidemiology and public health, and director of the Rudd Center at Yale University, questioned how media literacy efforts can be carried out well enough to counteract what industry is doing. Furthermore, media literacy initiatives can have the effect of letting industry off the hook by suggesting that both sides are being heard. Safeguarding the public health does not mean exposing people to a toxic substance and then giving them the skills to counteract it. The better approach would be to eliminate the toxic influence in the first place, Brownell suggested.

Kolish, who worked at the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) before coming to CFBAI, said self-regulation works better than outside regulation in the food arena. She pointed out that the FTC is not eager to issue regulations in such a complex area. Rather, it supports good self-regulation, which it defines as actions that are independent, accountable, and transparent. Kolish noted that companies have different capacities to change, which makes a one-size-fits-all regulation unwieldy. Also, she believes, when companies participate in setting expectations, compliance is better than is the case with government regulation.

LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE

The marketing environment will continue to change, said Joseph Thompson, surgeon general, State of Arkansas, and director of the Arkansas Center for Health Improvement at the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences. In particular, the way in which children get information will be different in the future. Mass marketing is giving way to multilevel, individually tailored, electronically immediate messaging. Thompson suggested that research, evaluation, and surveillance will be necessary to keep pace with this transformation.

Brownell noted that research has produced impressive documentation of the amount of food advertising seen by children and adolescents, even though the technologies being used by the industry remain ahead of the research. When all means of marketing are combined, however, unhealthy foods are being marketed to children even more intensively, and the least healthy foods are being marketed the most aggressively. Self-regulation has not produced enough progress, Brownell continued. Industry takes self-

regulation more seriously when the threat of outside regulation increases, but it moves slowly, which does not yield the rapid progress that is needed.

Two possibilities beyond self-regulation are legislation and regulation. But legislative initiatives are not currently active, and the efforts of the Interagency Working Group on Food Marketed to Children to advance regulation were squelched, said Brownell. A remaining option is public pressure on companies to change their marketing practices. The question Brownell posed is how the public can be mobilized.

Despite the lip service paid to children, actions do not match words, Dietz observed in wrapping up the workshop. Children are society's most vulnerable population, and those who care the most about them need to be mobilized. Parents will need to be on the front lines of such a mobilization, especially mothers, for whom trust is a significant issue and mistrust is a powerful motivator. Perhaps the issues could be related to various kinds of freedom, including freedom from disease, freedom to be active, or freedom to have access to healthful foods, Dietz said.

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A

Workshop Agenda

New Challenges and Opportunities in Food Marketing to Children and Youth: A Workshop

Hosted by the IOM Standing Committee on Childhood Obesity Prevention

November 5, 2012

Keck Center of the National Academies, Room 100
500 Fifth Street, NW, Washington DC

WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS

- 9:30 AM** **Welcome and Overview of the Food Marketing Landscape**
**Shiriki Kumanyika, University of Pennsylvania*
- 9:40** **Ellen Wartella, Northwestern University*

*Member of the IOM Standing Committee on Childhood Obesity Prevention.

**EMERGING ISSUES IN UNDERSTANDING THE
CURRENT FOOD MARKETING ENVIRONMENT**

Moderator: **Ellen Wartella, Northwestern University*

10:00 **Integrated Marketing Communications**
Meme Drumwright, The University of Texas at Austin

Marketing to Adolescents
Kathryn Montgomery, American University

Targeted Marketing: Low-Income and Minority Communities
Jerome D. Williams, Rutgers University

10:45 **Moderated Intrapanel Discussion**

11:05 **Q&A/Discussion with Audience**

11:30 **LUNCH (on your own)**

INNOVATIONS IN INDUSTRY PRACTICES

Moderator: *David Britt, Retired, Sesame Workshop*

12:30 PM **Healthy Food Marketing Initiatives in Retail Chains**
Cathy Polley, Food Marketing Institute

**Update on the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising
Initiative (CFBAI): Progress to Date and Future Directions**
Elaine Kolish, CFBAI

**Changing Company-Wide Marketing Practices: Example of
The Walt Disney Company**
Heather Rubin, The Walt Disney Company

Monitoring and Evaluating Industry Innovations
*Jennifer Harris, Yale University Rudd Center for Food Policy
and Obesity*

1:30 **Moderated Intrapanel Discussion**

1:50 **Q&A/Discussion with Audience**

2:15 **BREAK**

**EMERGING POLICY INITIATIVES AND
COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES**

Moderator: **Kelly Brownell, Yale University Rudd Center for
Food Policy and Obesity*

2:30 **Parent-Led Communication Strategies**
Monifa Bandele, MomsRising

Youth-Led Communication Strategies
Terry Huang, University of Nebraska Medical Center

**Countermarketing: Applying Lessons Learned from the truth[®]
Antitobacco Campaign**
Cheryl Heaton, American Legacy Foundation

Legal and Policy Challenges and Opportunities
Samantha Graff, ChangeLab Solutions

International Innovations
*Tim Lobstein, International Association for the Study of
Obesity (via videoconference)*

3:45 **Moderated Intrapanel Discussion**

4:05 **Q&A/Discussion with Audience**

CLOSING REMARKS

4:30 **Moving Forward: Where Do We Go From Here?**
**Bill Dietz, Retired, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*

4:50 **Q&A/Discussion with Audience**

5:00 **ADJOURN**

B

Workshop Participants

AyeNay Abye, The Praxis Project
Barbara Adams, District of Columbia Office of the State Superintendent
of Education
Alen Agaronov, City University of New York School of Public Health at
Hunter College
Kristy Anderson, American Heart Association
Susan Backus, American Meat Institute
Jan Barrett, U.S. Department of Agriculture
Maureen Beach, American Beverage Association
Elizabeth Ben-Ishai, Public Citizen
Jandel Benjamin, Washington, DC, Government
Daphne Bianco, Kings County Hospital Center
Jill Birnbaum, American Heart Association
Jeanie Bochenek, Wright State University, College of Nursing
Alison Bodor, National Confectioners Association
Michelle Boyd, Office of Rep. Pete Stark/Ways and Means Health
Subcommittee
Angela Campbell, Georgetown Law School
Andrea Carrothers, Porter Novelli Public Services
Mary Christ-Erwin, Porter Novelli Public Services
Christine Corcoran, Kellogg Company
Sara Deon, Corporate Accountability International
Stefania Di Mauro-Nava, U.S. Department of State
Leimomi Dierks, Hawaii State Department of Health
Sondra Dietz, American Public Health Association

Jordan Dominic, Kimberly-Clark
Christi Dorsey, Office of the State Superintendent of Education
Jennifer Eder, Center for Science in the Public Interest
Lauren Fasig, American Psychological Association
Clara Filice, American Academy of Pediatrics
Molly Fogarty, Nestlé USA
Andi Fristedt, Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions
Thomas Fungwe, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Center for Nutrition
 Policy and Promotion
Luiz Galvao, Pan American Health Organization
Constance Geiger, Geiger & Associates, LLC
Lucy Gibney, Dr. Lucy's LLC
Carolyn Graybeal, National Academy of Sciences, Koshland Science Museum
Teresa Green, National Consumers League
Michael Gruber, Grocery Manufacturers Association
Gregg Haifley, American Cancer Society Cancer Action Network
Daniel Hatcher, Alliance for a Healthier Generation
B. Denise Hawkins, Orchard Hill Communications
Paulette Helman, American University
Janis Herzig, Pepsico, Inc.
Art Jaeger, Watson/Mulhern
Dawanna James-Holly, Office of the State Superintendent of Education,
 Washington, DC
Scott Kahan, George Washington University
Jeffrey Kaplan, American University
Zara Khaleeli, National Confectioners Association
Chor San Khoo, International Life Sciences Institute North America
Kate Klimczak, Center for Science in the Public Interest
Rana Koll-Mandel, We Are 1 Communications
Sandra Lafky, Silverton Health
Dan Lee, Breakpoint Health
Jessica Leighton, Food and Drug Administration
Rebecca Lemmons, Central District Health Department
Judith Levin, Sesame Workshop
Sarah Levy, Grocery Manufacturers Association
Alexandra Lewin-Zwerdling, Powell Tate
Jacinda Li, Pennsylvania State University
Patricia MacNeil, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Center for Nutrition
 Policy and Promotion
Melissa Maitin-Shepard, American Cancer Society Cancer Action Network
Meghan Malka, Advocates for Better Children's Diets
Jerold Mande, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food, Nutrition, and
 Consumer Services

Lorna Marchand, Bernalillo County Office of Environmental Health
Mary Carol Mazza, Harvard Business School
Susan Mort, Time Warner Inc.
Craig Moscetti, Pan American Health Organization
Laura Moy, Institute for Public Representation at Georgetown Law School
Michelle Muldoon, Winrock International
Melissa Musiker, APCO Worldwide
Nicole Nice, Mars, Incorporated
Jill Nicholls, National Dairy Council
Julie Obbagy, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion
Susan Pitman, FoodMinds, LLC
Robert Post, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion
Jack Rayburn, Trust for America's Health
Jane Reid, TSD, Inc.
Sara Reinoso, George Washington University
Sara Robbins, Dairy Max
Dana Roberts, Alliance for a Healthier Generation
Noni Robinson, Office of the State Superintendent of Education, Washington, DC
Bob Roehr, *British Medical Journal*
Kety Rosario, KetyProSalud
Lori Roth-Yousey, LRY & Associates
B. J. Davis Rowe, Georgia Department of Revenue Alcohol and Tobacco Division
Sylvia Rowe, SR Strategy
Carla Sanchez, Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments
Sally Squires, Powell Tate/Weber Shandwick
Lakshmi Sridaran, The Praxis Project
Azadeh Stark, Geisinger Health System
Eve Essery Stoody, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion
Kristy Suhr, Department of Veterans Affairs
Brooke Sweeney, University of Louisville
William Tatum, Grocery Manufacturers Association
Jeanne Troy, National Academy of Sciences, Koshland Science Museum
Dawn Undurraga, Environmental Working Group
Lindsay Vickroy, Center for Science in the Public Interest
Julie Wagner, Mondelez International
Erin Wallace, American Academy of Pediatrics
Jennifer Weber, Nemours
Kate Weigle, Edelman

Sandra Cushner Weinstein, Brainy Camps Association

Margo Wootan, Center for Science in the Public Interest

Matthew Wright, Voices for America's Children

Renee Wyrick, Bryan County Health Department

Laura Zatz, Bipartisan Policy Center

Mallory Zuckerman, Edelman

Deena Zytnick, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

C

Acronyms and Abbreviations

CARU	Children’s Advertising Review Unit
CDC	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CFBAI	Children’s Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative
CSPI	Center for Science in the Public Interest
FDA	Food and Drug Administration
FMI	Food Marketing Institute
FTC	Federal Trade Commission
HHS	Department of Health and Human Services
IASO	International Association for the Study of Obesity
IOM	Institute of Medicine
NIH	National Institutes of Health
USDA	U.S. Department of Agriculture
WHO	World Health Organization

D

Speaker Biographical Sketches

Deb Atwood joined Meridian Institute in January 2011 and serves as executive director of Meridian's AGree: Transforming Food and Ag Policy. She has more than 30 years of experience in policy and legislative matters regarding food, agriculture, the environment, research, and risk management, including extensive experience working with executives in the private sector, the federal government, and nonprofit organizations. Prior to joining Meridian, Ms. Atwood was an associate for corporate affairs and public policy at Mars, Incorporated. In this role, she worked closely with lawmakers in Congress and senior officials in the White House and federal agencies. Previously, she was a senior policy advisor with Crowell & Moring on behalf of clients in the agricultural, food, environmental, mining, and chemical industries. She served from 2001 to 2003 as a special assistant to U.S. Deputy Secretary of Agriculture Jim Moseley. From 1995 until 1999 she was assistant vice president of legislative and regulatory affairs for the National Pork Producers Council, and from 1992 until 1995 she served as vice president for legislative and regulatory affairs at the American Meat Institute. Ms. Atwood served from 1989 to 1992 as deputy associate administrator for congressional and legislative affairs at the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). She served as head of the Congressional Affairs Office at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration prior to taking the EPA position. Ms. Atwood also has U.S. Capitol experience: from 1981 to 1984 she was professional staff for the U.S. House of Representatives' Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, and from 1984 to 1987 she was professional staff for U.S. Senator Slade Gorton (Wash.). She serves on the board of ACDI-VOCA, an agriculture

development nonprofit organization with many years of experience working in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Ms. Atwood is a marine resource scientist by training.

Monifa Bandele is campaign director for MomsRising.org. She has more than a decade of experience in policy analysis, communications, advocacy, organizing, development, and project management, working with groups such as the Brennan Center for Justice, the Peoples Hurricane Relief Fund, and the National Coalition on Black Civic Participation. Established in May 2006, MomsRising.org is an on-the-ground and online organization with more than 1 million members, more than 550 contributing bloggers, and more than a hundred aligned national organizations, working together to increase family economic security, to end discrimination against women and mothers, and to help ensure that all children can thrive. For 3 years in a row, Forbes.com has named MomsRising.org's website one of the Top 100 Websites for Women.

David V. B. Britt, M.P.A., is past president and chief executive officer of Sesame Workshop. His professional experience includes executive positions with the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. Since his retirement, Mr. Britt has been engaged in consulting and leadership development for nonprofit organizations. He was also a member of the Keystone Center Roundtable on Food and Nutrition, a group that convened public-, private-, and civic-sector leaders to develop consensus solutions to challenging problems in the labeling and marketing of foods and beverages. He is currently chair of the board of directors of The Education Trust. Mr. Britt is a member of the Advisory Board on Social Enterprise at the Harvard Business School, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Board of INMED Partnerships for Children. He is a former member of the Institute of Medicine (IOM)/National Research Council (NRC) Board on Children, Youth, and Families. He is currently serving as a member of the IOM Committee on Obesity Prevention Policies for Young Children and previously served on the IOM Committee on Food Marketing and the Diets of Children and Youth. Mr. Britt received a B.A. from Wesleyan University and an M.P.A. from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Minette (Meme) Drumwright, Ph.D., is associate professor, Department of Advertising and Public Relations, at The University of Texas at Austin. Her current research involves studies of social responsibility in business, particularly in marketing and advertising. Her research interests also include services marketing, marketing strategy, and business ethics. Dr. Drumwright

has written articles and cases for various books and journals, including the *Journal of Marketing* and *Marketing Letters*. She has won two school-wide teaching awards at The University of Texas for her M.B.A. course on services marketing. Outside the university, she has taught in corporate executive education programs in Asia, Europe, and Mexico, as well as in the United States. In between her undergraduate and graduate degrees, Dr. Drumwright worked in advertising and public relations for 7 years. She previously was an assistant professor at the Harvard Business School and a senior lecturer in The University of Texas Marketing Department.

Samantha Graff, J.D., is research director at ChangeLab Solutions, where she leads the organization's initiative to combat unfair and misleading marketing of products that threaten the health of children. She has authored amicus briefs, comments for federal agency proceedings, peer-reviewed articles, and fact sheets on legal strategies aimed at reducing junk food and tobacco marketing. She frequently presents at national conferences on the First Amendment and other doctrinal issues affecting policy efforts to address harmful commercial marketing practices. Prior to joining ChangeLab Solutions, Ms. Graff worked as a fellow with the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation; an associate at Wilson, Sonsini, Goodrich & Rosati; and a federal law clerk for Chief Judge Marilyn Hall Patel of the Northern District of California. She is a graduate of Harvard University and Yale Law School.

Jennifer Harris, Ph.D., is director of marketing initiatives at the Rudd Center for Food Policy and Obesity at Yale University, where she is also a research scientist in the Department of Psychology. She is responsible for identifying and coordinating research initiatives aimed at understanding the extent and impact of children's exposure to food marketing and communicating that information to the health community, parents, and legislators. Dr. Harris's research interests include applying social psychological theory and experimental methods to examine the socialization influences of media, with a focus on unconscious effects of advertising on public health. She has written on the psychological effects of advertising to children and adolescents, and conducted research to quantify the amount and types of food marketing seen by young people and its impact on their health and diet. Previously, she worked for 18 years as a business executive. At American Express, she gained experience in all consumer marketing functions, including advertising, direct marketing, new product development, and customer relationship management. She then launched her own marketing consulting firm specializing in marketing strategy and new product and market development. Dr. Harris received her B.A. in political science from Northwestern University and her M.B.A. in marketing from The Wharton School at the

University of Pennsylvania. She completed her Ph.D. in social psychology at Yale University, where she studied the automatic effects of food advertising on snacking behaviors and food preferences among elementary school children and young adults.

Cheryl G. Healton, Dr.P.H., is founding president and chief executive officer of Legacy, where she has worked to further the foundation's mission of building a world where young people reject tobacco and anyone can quit. During her tenure with the foundation, she has guided the national youth tobacco prevention countermarketing campaign *truth*[®], which has been credited in part with reducing youth smoking prevalence to near record lows. Under her leadership, Legacy, which is dedicated to evidence-based public health strategies that work, has undertaken numerous other public education campaigns, research, technical assistance, and a broad program of grantmaking. Dr. Healton joined the American Legacy Foundation from Columbia University's Joseph L. Mailman School of Public Health in New York, where she served as chair of the Division of Socio-medical Sciences and associate dean for program development. She has led grant-funded projects for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) to study the effects of marketing and countermarketing on youth tobacco use; developed a series of prevention partnerships linking public health researchers with New York State tobacco-health policy makers; evaluated intervention programs for the state's largest youth tobacco prevention program; and worked at Columbia to bring an interdisciplinary approach to tobacco control and prevention, developing innovative grants that link academic researchers to public health practitioners. She has served on a vast array of national, state, and local conferences, committees, boards, and task forces for public health and policy issues, including HIV/AIDS, violence, and alcoholism. Active in grant support, she has been the principal investigator/program director for more than two dozen grants and has published numerous articles on public health topics. Dr. Healton is a frequent commentator on national and local broadcasts and in print news, appearing on ABC's *Good Morning America*, CNN's *Larry King Live*, NBC's *Today*, MSNBC's *Hardball with Chris Matthews*, National Public Radio, and more. She holds a doctorate from Columbia University's School of Public Health (with distinction) and a master's degree in public administration from New York University for health policy and planning.

Terry Huang, Ph.D., is professor and chair of the Department of Health Promotion, College of Public Health at the University of Nebraska Medical Center and senior advisor for the National Collaborative on Childhood Obesity Research (NCCOR), which coordinates activities across the National Institutes of Health (NIH), CDC, the U.S. Department of Agri-

culture, and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. Prior to returning to academia, Dr. Huang was director of the Obesity Research Strategic Core at the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, where he played a leading role in developing new national research directions and funding priorities. He is currently one of the leading proponents of the integration of systems science and chronic disease prevention. He leads a national and global agenda on systems science education and research in public health, with a particular focus on childhood obesity, systems-oriented prevention strategies, and the translation of science to policy. Dr. Huang has published and lectured extensively on these topics. For his work with NCCOR, he received the Secretary of Health and Human Services' Innovation Award in 2010 and the NIH Director's Award in 2011. Dr. Huang recently received the third prize of the National Childhood Obesity Challenge for his innovative collaboration with architects on building health-promoting schools. He is also an alumnus of the American Swiss Foundation Young Leaders Program. He holds a Ph.D. in preventive medicine and an M.P.H. in applied epidemiology and biostatistics from the University of Southern California, and a bachelor's degree in psychology from McGill University.

Elaine D. Kolish, J.D., is vice president and director, Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative, Council of Better Business Bureaus (BBB) and is a nationally recognized expert on advertising and consumer-protection issues. Prior to joining BBB in 2006, she was a partner at the national law firm now called SNR Denton, where she specialized in counseling national advertisers on compliance with advertising law. From 1980 until 2005, Ms. Kolish was an attorney at the Federal Trade Commission. There she was a member of the Senior Executive Service and head of the Division of Enforcement in the Bureau of Consumer Protection. She led numerous national advertising cases and rulemaking proceedings. She also oversaw the Bureau's regulatory review efforts, as well as a number of other key policy initiatives, including the Class Action Fairness Monitoring Project and the Hispanic consumer protection program. Ms. Kolish was an editor of the American Bar Association's Antitrust Section treatise on consumer protection law. She currently serves as a member of the Board of United Community Ministries, a secular nonprofit that provides services to needy families in Northern Virginia. She is a graduate of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and Western New England College School of Law.

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Kathryn C. Montgomery, Ph.D., is a professor in the School of Communication at American University and director of a new Ph.D. program focused on the intersections of media, technology, and democracy. During the 1990s, as president and cofounder of the nonprofit Center for Media Education, she spearheaded the campaign that led to passage of the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act. With funding from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, she is engaged in several research and policy development efforts on digital marketing practices and adolescents. Some of her current research can be found at digitalads.org. In addition to numerous articles and reports, Dr. Montgomery has written two books: *Target: Prime Time—Advocacy Groups and the Struggle over Entertainment Television* and *Generation Digital: Politics, Commerce, and Childhood in the Age of the Internet*. She holds a Ph.D. in film and television studies from the University of California, Los Angeles.

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