

A close-up portrait of a young girl with dark, shoulder-length hair, looking directly at the camera with a neutral expression. She is wearing a red sweater with a white collar. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

Second edition

Global Hangover

alcohol as an obstacle to development

Pierre Andersson

GLOBAL HANGOVER

– on alcohol as an obstacle to development

Pierre Andersson

2nd revised edition (2021).
The first edition was published in 2008.

Layout: Pierre Andersson
Cover photo: Pierre Andersson

ISBN: 978-91-519-2143-3

“Global Hangover” is published by the IOGT-NTO movement and NBV. This document has been funded with the support of Sida through Forum Syd. Sida and Forum Syd do not necessarily share the views expressed herein. The author has sole responsibility for the content.

Contents

A hangover the world can't afford.....	7
The global goals are affected by alcohol.....	11
A global burden of disease.....	14
No ordinary commodity	23
Thirsting for new markets.....	29
Beer, sex and prostitution	39
The alcohol industry lobby.....	43
The alcohol giants.....	48
Power over your life.....	52
Alcohol, men and women	58
From pulque till global breweries	62
Does development aid have a drinking problem?	68
The road ahead	71
References.....	76



A hangover the world can't afford

Why should anyone interested in global development issues care about alcohol? Alcohol is an obstacle to development on many levels and is one of the main risk factors behind ill-health and premature death in the world.

Of course, this is also true in Sweden, but the problems are brought more clearly into focus in low- and middle-income countries. Nations with weak economies and new, unstable democracies are ill-equipped to deal with the problems caused by alcohol at all levels.

This book is about precisely that. About how alcohol helps to keep people in poverty and the adverse effect it has on social development and people's health. About how alcohol creates insecurity and violence and contributes to violations of people's rights and how the international alcohol industry searches for new markets and larger profits by expanding in poor countries.

Worldwide alcohol consumption increased by 70 per cent between 1990 and 2017.¹ Much of that increase occurred in low- and middle-income countries. Many of these countries still have no policy on alcohol to protect the country and the people from the alcohol industry's marketing and sales. People become caught up in addiction and destructive patterns and have no safety net whatsoever to fall back

on. The economic consequences are often disastrous – primarily for the families affected, but ultimately also for the country as a whole.

Alcohol also has political consequences. It is easier to go to the pub or the local beer shack and forget about everyday life for a while than it is to try and do something about your situation. Sweden and Swedish organisations are engaged in thousands of projects around the world aimed at reducing poverty. Unfortunately, the role of alcohol is often forgotten.

Three million deaths

People's drinking habits around the world are becoming more and more similar. Globalisation shortens distances and exposes us to more and more impressions from other countries and other cultures. However, there are still great differences and it is important to remember that most of the world's population is teetotal. In Bangladesh, 89 per cent of men and 96 per cent of women do not

"Swedish organisations are engaged in thousands of projects around the world aimed at reducing poverty. Unfortunately, the role of alcohol is often forgotten."

drink any alcohol at all.² At the other end of the scale, there are countries such as South Africa where in some population groups it is estimated that one in three people abuse alcohol.³

When researchers compiled the risk factors contributing to illness and premature death worldwide, alcohol came in seventh place overall.⁴ The WHO estimates that alcohol causes almost three million deaths a year throughout the world.

Non-communicable diseases such as cancer, diabetes and cardiovascular diseases account for an increasing proportion of ill-health around the world. Poor countries are the worst affected – as many as 82 per cent of premature deaths due to non-communicable diseases occur in low- and middle-income countries.⁵ Alcohol is one of the main risk factors behind non-communicable diseases and the WHO action plan to reduce the problems of non-communicable diseases advocates a range of initiatives to reduce alcohol consumption.⁶

Positive trends – but the industry still has a considerable impact

There are positive trends. In 2017, the WHO member states adopted an alcohol strategy which clearly identifies the most cost-effective measures for preventing problems caused by alcohol. It is mainly



PHOTO: CAMILLA ORJUELA

about broad, population-orientated measures relating to prices, availability and marketing.

More and more countries, including developing countries, are taking this on and are introducing regulations to prevent and reduce the problems. However, there is still a long way to go – more than half the countries in Africa still lacks national alcohol policy. Only 15 per cent of the world's low-income countries have a policy in place.²

This is partly due to the actions of the alcohol industry. On the hunt for new markets, they fight tooth and nail to avoid higher taxes and restrictions when it comes to marketing, sales outlets or opening hours. The companies' size gives them financial muscle and often political influence. Voices are now being raised more and more often to call for the industry to be more tightly regulated at global level in the same way as is done with tobacco.



4 **QUALITY
EDUCATION**



The global goals are affected by alcohol

Initiatives to prevent problems caused by alcohol contribute to the realization of 13 of the 17 global goals. Without preventive measures, alcohol can be an obstacle to positive development.

The UN General Assembly adopted the Agenda 2030 resolution in September 2015. It contains 17 goals and 169 targets which all UN member states have undertaken a commitment to work towards up to 2030.

Unlike the UN Millennium Development Goals, which focused on developing countries, the global goals apply to all countries. The intention is to achieve, through the 17 goals, a socially, environmentally and economically sustainable world by 2030.

Alcohol and its negative consequences are a significant obstacle to 13 of the 17 global goals and to 52 of the 169 targets.⁸

The goals in Agenda 2030 are integrated and indivisible. That means that no goal can be achieved at the expense of any other and that many of the goals depend on progress within the sphere of other goals. It is also possible to identify risk factors that could have an adverse effect on many of the goals – alcohol being one of them.

Poverty, hunger and economic development

In some areas of the world where the IOGT-NTO Movement's international work takes place, families spend a large proportion of their income on alcohol. On the tea plantation in Matale, Sri Lanka, the local organisation describes how three quarters of the men used to go to the bar after work every day. When they got home, they had drunk half their day's wages.

A study from Zimbabwe shows that, on average, families spend 7 per cent of their income on alcohol. The corresponding figure among families in Delhi, India with a family member who is a frequent drinker was 24 per cent.⁹

A study from Sri Lanka shows that the very poorest are also the ones who spend the highest proportion of their income on alcohol and tobacco. In the population studied, the poorest group spent over 40 per cent of their income on those products.¹⁰

In combination with the link between alcohol and various health problems, this can lead to a considerable worsening of family finances and make it even harder for them to get out of poverty. It often becomes a vicious circle. In relative terms, people who are poor are more likely to suffer the harmful effects of alcohol while, at the same time, those harmful effects mean that they risk sinking even deeper into poverty. This is a clear obstacle to the goal of greater economic and social equality.

Economic development is also adversely affected by alcohol at societal level. A global survey concluded that the costs range from 0.45 per cent to 5.44 per cent of GDP – which is sufficient to affect nations' economic development, particularly in low- and middle-income countries.¹¹

Health and well-being

According to the WHO, three million people a year die because of alcohol. Many more people suffer from varying degrees of ill-health. In the 15-49 age group – the period of our lives when we are expected to be at our most productive – alcohol is the main risk factor for ill-health at a global level.¹²

Alcohol can have an adverse effect on children's health in several ways. In Europe, it is estimated that 60,000 children are born underweight because of alcohol.¹³ Alcohol during pregnancy increases the risk of foetal alcohol syndrome.¹⁴

Non-communicable diseases are a rapidly growing problem, particularly in low- and middle-income countries. Alcohol is also one of the main risk factors in this area. In particular, there is a clear link between alcohol and cancer.¹⁵

Alcohol also affects infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis. An extensive study published in *The Lancet* shows that around 10 per cent of all deaths due to tuberculosis can be directly attributed to alcohol.¹⁶

Gender equality and violence against women

It is not uncommon for alcohol advertising to include images and messages that reinforce discrimination against women in various ways. The images objectify, link alcohol to sex and strengthen the image of the man as the one with power.¹⁷

There is a clear correlation between alcohol and the incidence of violence.¹⁸ Estimates of the proportion of alcohol-related violence towards partners vary between 48 and 87 per cent.¹⁹ Other studies show that the incidence of violence is significantly lower in households in which no-one drinks alcohol.²⁰

The clear link between alcohol and violence also makes it more difficult to realize objective 11 on sustainable cities and communities.

Water and environment

Over 40 per cent of people living in sub-Saharan Africa lack secure access to clean, safe water. According to FAO, the UN agricultural body, 70 per cent of the world's water resources are used for agriculture and irrigation.²¹ In some countries, a considerable proportion is used for production of alcohol: It takes 870 litres of water to produce a litre of wine²² and almost 300 litres of water to make a litre of beer.²³ Studies also show that alcohol production has a clear impact on the climate.²⁴

Facts – Alcohol and the Sustainable Development Goals:



- 13 of the 17 goals in Agenda 2030 are adversely affected by alcohol.
 - The link between alcohol and various forms of ill-health is well known. However, the effects of alcohol are much more widely felt than that: Poverty, economic development and gender equality are just a few examples.
 - The negative impact of alcohol on Agenda 2030 can be reduced with evidence-based alcohol policy, both locally and nationally.
-

A global burden of disease

Alcohol consumption is on the increase in poor countries with rapidly growing economies. In the wake of the increase, we can clearly see a higher mortality rate due to alcohol. In some parts of the world, alcohol is the risk factor that contributes most to the overall burden of disease.

Millions of people around the world suffer from diseases that are wholly or partly caused by alcohol. A many times greater number of people suffer from other types of problems in which alcohol is the cause or a strong contributory factor: Examples include accidents, violence and sexually-transmitted diseases.

According to the World Health Organisation, WHO, alcohol causes around three million deaths each year. In 2017, alcohol was estimated to cause 4.3 per cent of the total worldwide burden of disease estimated in terms of number of years lost due to illness, disability or premature death. This is a sharp increase compared to the figure that emerged from an equivalent study in 1990 (2.9 per cent).⁴

There is a big difference between men and women. For men, alcohol is responsible for 7 per cent of all deaths, whereas the corresponding figure for women is 1.3 per cent. There is a strong link to how men and women drink.

There are also considerable differences between one part of the world and another. In Russia, alcohol is responsible for over 20 per



cent of the total burden of disease among men. Similar figures can be found in parts of Central and South America. Studies show that 25 per cent of the differences in average life expectancy between Eastern and Western Europe can be explained by the amount of alcohol drunk.²⁵

According to the WHO, a country's economic development plays a major role in determining the extent of the damage – the weaker a country's economy, the higher the alcohol-related damage (mortality, burden of illness, violence and accidents) per litre of alcohol consumed.²

Harmful effects in economic and social terms are not included

Alcohol also cause other types of harm than strictly medical. These are not included at all in calculations of the global burden of disease in the example above. It is difficult to quantify the amount of social damage (addiction, children growing up with addicted parents, crime, etc.) in which alcohol plays a crucial role. Research in this area is not particularly extensive, but estimates have shown that the level of harm caused by alcohol is twice as high if social effects are also included.²⁶

The harmful effects caused by alcohol in economic terms are also not included in calculations of the burden of disease. The consequences are easy to see in a poor family where the man spends most

of his wages on alcohol.

However, when it comes to the effects on society, things become more complicated.

There are several estimates of how much alcohol costs society. Results vary greatly

depending on the calculation model used, but all of them indicate extremely high costs – up to five per cent of GDP in several countries.²⁷ In South Africa, the costs caused by alcohol have been estimated to be as high as 12 per cent of GDP.²⁸

The direct costs of the harmful effects of alcohol in the EU amount to around 125 billion Euro per year. If indirect costs such as psycho-social effects and suffering due to illness and crime are also included, the estimated figure ends up at 270 billion Euro a year.²⁹

“The number of deaths from cancer caused by alcohol is estimated at approximately 480,000 a year, or 5.8 per cent of all deaths from cancer worldwide.”

Non-communicable diseases – a ticking ill-health bomb

Non-communicable diseases are a rapidly growing problem and will be one of the real health challenges for the world in the coming years,

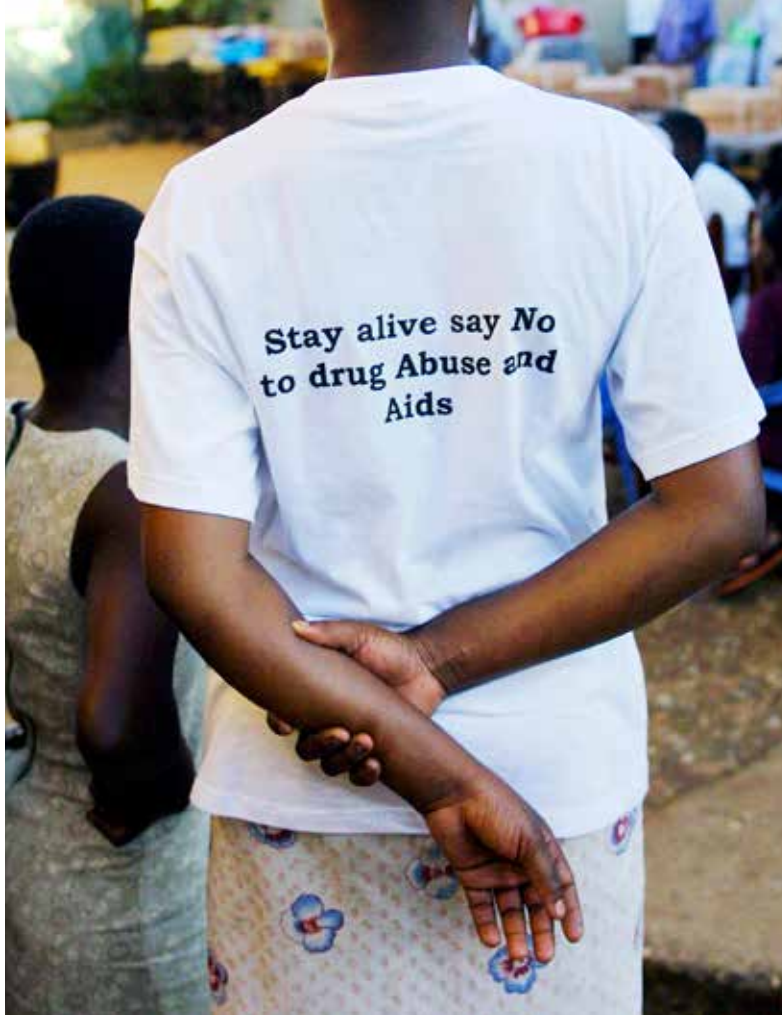


PHOTO: JOHAN KÄLLSTRÖM

particularly in low- and middle-income countries. The WHO expects mortality from these diseases to increase significantly over the next few years, mainly in Africa and South-East Asia, unless powerful measures are put in place.

Cardiovascular diseases, cancers, chronic respiratory diseases and diabetes cause 41 million deaths worldwide each year (71 per cent of all deaths in total).³⁰ A large proportion of these are preventable.

Alcohol is one of the four main risk factors in non-communicable diseases, along with tobacco, insufficient physical activity and an unhealthy diet.

The fact that alcohol causes cancer has been known to scientists for a long time, but it is only in recent years that research in the field has been more widely disseminated. Nevertheless, many people are unaware of this link. Surveys show that 67 per cent of Europeans are aware that alcohol causes cancer. Looking only at Sweden, the corresponding figure is 55 per cent.³¹



PHOTO: LASHA KILASONIA / ADOBE STOCK

The number of deaths from cancer caused by alcohol is estimated at approximately 480,000 a year, or 5.8 per cent of all cancer deaths worldwide.³²

As a result of this, researchers in the Amphora project³³ want to change the guidelines issued by many countries' health authorities with regard to what levels of consumption that are safe. According to the Amphora researchers, Sweden's recommendation of a maximum of 14 units of alcohol a week for men and 9 units of alcohol for women should be lowered considerably. One of them even goes so far as to say that the recommendation should be a maximum of one glass a year, because it is not possible to establish a level that is completely risk-free.³⁴

Alcohol and violence

Alcohol is a contributory factor in many cases of violence in the world, both in the home and in public places. Worldwide, it is estimated that one billion children (more than half of all children aged between 2 and 17) have experienced psychological, physical or sexual violence

in the last year.³⁵ According to the WHO, 35 per cent of all women in the world have experienced physical or sexual violence at some time in their lives. Most violence against women takes place in intimate relationships. Almost a third of all women have been in relationships in which they have been subjected to violence by their partners.³⁶

Alcohol is commonly a factor in various types of violence, including violence in intimate relationships, child abuse and sexual violence. Estimates of the proportion of partner violence that is alcohol-related vary among countries, from 48 to 87 per cent.³⁷ A similar estimate of sexual violence shows that alcohol is a factor in between a third and three quarters of the cases.³⁸

In a survey conducted in northern Tanzania, 40 per cent of women stated that they had been subjected to violence by a partner who did not drink alcohol, whereas the figure for those whose partner did drink alcohol was over 65 per cent.³⁹

Many factors, such as patriarchal structures and norms, contribute to violence. A number of studies using various methodologies (controlled environments and various types of epidemiological studies) indicate that there is a causal relationship between alcohol and violence: Higher doses of alcohol increase the likelihood of aggressive behaviour.⁴⁰

“Alcohol is commonly a factor in various types of violence, including violence in intimate relationships, child abuse and sexual violence.”

The WHO’s reports on the prevention of violence^{41,42,43} show that measures that reduce overall alcohol consumption in a population also reduce the amount of violence. Other studies show that measures that, on the contrary, increase consumption such as lower prices, extended opening hours and more sales outlets, are followed by an increase in the amount of violence.

Alcohol and HIV

HIV and AIDS cause great suffering and are one of the biggest obstacles to development today. Alcohol plays a significant role in the spread of the diseases.

Despite increasingly improved access to anti-retroviral drugs, almost one million people a year die of AIDS worldwide. The infection also spreads to a further 1.8 million people in a single year. 37 million people were living with HIV in 2017.⁴⁴

The developing countries are severely affected. A large proportion of those infected are in sub-Saharan Africa (which is also where more than 90 per cent of the world’s HIV-positive children are) and South and South-East Asia.

Nowadays, we know that alcohol plays an essential role in the spread of HIV and other sexually-transmitted diseases. Alcohol makes people more inclined to take risks and increases the incidence of rape and sexual violence.

Studies from Laos, Malawi, Botswana, Uganda and elsewhere confirm that alcohol consumption leads to people having more sexual contact and to more people having sex without using a condom. Surveys often show a direct correlation between how often and how much people drink and how often they have unprotected sex.

Several studies show a clear link between alcohol consumption and the prevalence of HIV. One study showed that the risk of being exposed to HIV infection is around 70 per cent higher for people who drink alcohol than for people who do not. The risk is twice as high

“The risk of HIV is twice as high among people who engage in binge drinking than among people who do not drink alcohol”

among people who engage in binge drinking than among people who do not drink alcohol.⁴⁵

We can also see a clear correlation between drinking and visits to prostitutes among men. A study from Botswana shows that visits to prostitutes

were three times as common among moderate drinkers than they were among those who did not drink at all. Among those who consume large amounts, paying for sex was five times more common.⁴⁶ However, researchers are not sure whether this is a causal relationship. It could be that a person’s personality – for example, a high inclination to put themselves at risk – leads to both higher alcohol consumption and sexual risk-taking.

Harder to treat properly

Several studies show that alcohol, particularly a high consumption of alcohol, makes HIV treatment more difficult. Patients who drink alcohol are found to be almost twice as likely to mismanage their treatment. Among people who habitually binge drink, the risk of mismanaging their treatment was 4.3 times higher than among teetotal patients.²⁶

There is also a clear connection with drinking occasions themselves. Mismanagement of medication is nine times greater on days when the patients drink alcohol.⁴⁷



PHOTO: RICCARDO NIELS MAYER / ADOBE STOCK

Facts: Alcohol and HIV

- There is a significantly higher proportion of high-volume alcohol consumers among HIV-positive people than among people who are not infected. The risk of being exposed to HIV infection is twice as high for people who sometimes binge drink than for people who do not drink at all.
 - Alcohol addiction often means that HIV testing takes place later and treatment is made more difficult. The risk of mismanaging their treatment is almost twice as high among alcohol consumers than among non-consumers.
 - Most researchers who have studied the connection between alcohol and HIV agree that alcohol-specific measures must be included in the design of programmes or projects to reduce the spread of HIV.
-



MWENGE
MUGANDA BAR



No ordinary commodity

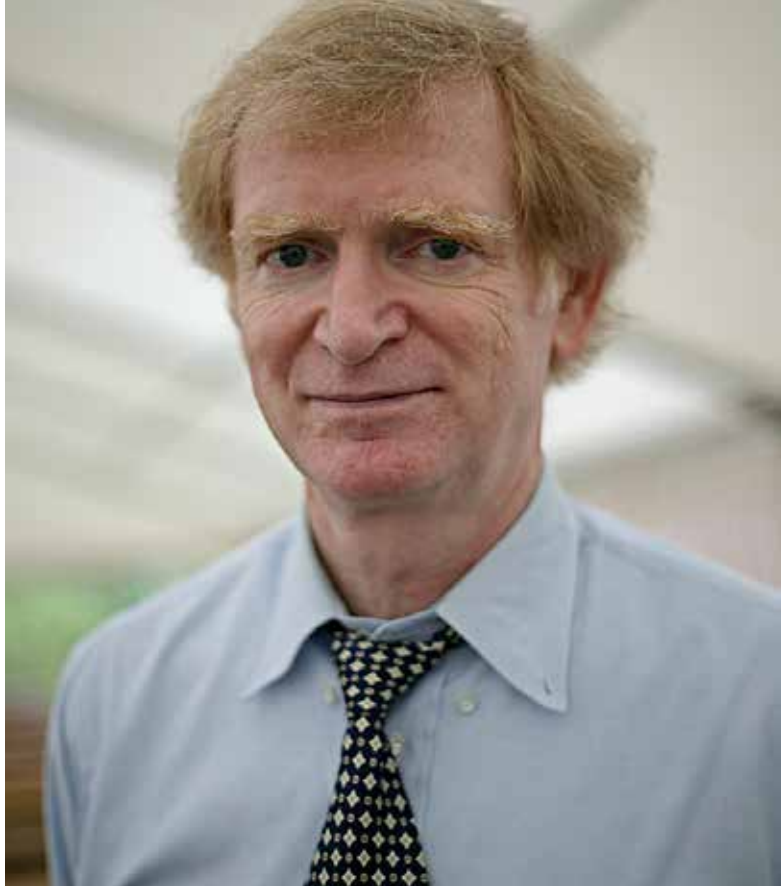
Alcohol is a far bigger problem globally than many people think, even though there are alcohol policy measures that are demonstrably working.

This is the view of Thomas Babor, Doctor of Psychology, Professor at the University of Connecticut and one of the world's foremost researchers on alcohol and alcohol policy.

In the ground-breaking report entitled "Alcohol: No ordinary commodity", Babor and his co-authors establish that alcohol is not just another product. The report, the most recent edition of which was published in 2010, was written by Thomas Babor along with a number of other alcohol researchers from all over the world. Together, they wanted to answer two questions: How big is the problem with alcohol really and what methods actually work to reduce the problems?

The researchers reviewed all relevant research in the field done in the last 10 years. In all, over 500 research studies were reviewed. One of their conclusions was that alcohol is an extremely big health problem in the world.

"The researchers reviewed all relevant research in the field done in the last 10 years. In all, over 500 research studies were reviewed."



Tomas Babor

“That’s one of the things that stands out”, says Thomas Babor. If we look at developing countries where there are no problems with starvation, malnutrition or high infant mortality, alcohol is at the top of the list of risk factors. Tobacco, which is normally considered more dangerous from a health point of view, only comes in third place.

Much of what emerges from the report confirms what was already known, but the fact that alcohol is so high up the list when it comes to risk factors for global ill-health surprised the researchers.

“The clarity of the results has probably contributed to the fact that the report has received a relatively large amount of attention and that, for the first time in a long time, alcohol is now actually fairly high on the WHO’s agenda.”

Restrictions are the most effective

The report is clear when it comes to which methods and strategies actually work to reduce the problems caused by alcohol. All available research shows that a range of restrictions are what works best. The most effective measures include restrictions on availability of alcohol

in the form of limited opening hours, monopolies or age limits, as well as high taxes on alcohol.

“There is very strong support for these strategies in the research we’ve reviewed and they demonstrably work”, says Thomas Babor.

When it comes to developing countries that do not yet have an active alcohol policy, Thomas Babor thinks that they should avoid reinventing the wheel and learn from countries that have found successful ways of limiting the harm caused by alcohol.

“Nowadays, we have very solid research in this area and we know what strategies are effective.”

“Nowadays, we have very solid research in this area and we know what strategies are effective.”

The title of the report: “Alcohol: no ordinary commodity” comes from one of the researchers’ main conclusions.

“Alcohol simply cannot be treated just like any other commodity”, says Thomas Babor. It is both toxic, intoxicating and addictive and must be treated accordingly. Unfortunately, the trend has gone in the opposite direction in recent years. If you value health as highly as freedom, you cannot treat alcohol just like any other commodity.

Facts: Which methods work?

The report entitled “Alcohol: no ordinary commodity” shows that restrictions of various types work best to prevent problems caused by alcohol.

According to the research, information initiatives – often portrayed by the alcohol industry as a preferable alternative to legislation – generally have very little or no effect when it comes to changing people’s behaviour. The most effective measures identified in the report were also the three main recommendations in the WHO’s Global Alcohol Strategy from 2010:⁴⁸

- High alcohol prices through excise duties
 - Limited availability, for example by regulating the number of sales outlets, opening hours and age limits.
 - Heavily regulated (or completely prohibited) marketing of alcohol.
-

“Alcohol taxes are win-win-win”

Tim Evans, director of the health, nutrition and population programmes at the World Bank, is one of the people advocating alcohol tax as a way of supporting countries' development:

“This isn't just a win-win situation, it's actually a win-win-win situation”, he explained at a health conference in Bangkok. He considers that higher excise duties on alcohol give rise to three main advantages:

- Higher prices mean that consumption decreases and the harm therefore also decreases.
- The taxes provide the state with revenues that can be used for various types of work to promote health. One example of this is Thailand, which allocates some of the revenue from tax on alcohol to a special fund.
- Alcohol taxes are progressive and thus serve as a way of reducing economic inequality in a country.

Higher alcohol taxes would also save lives. A global increase of 20 per cent in alcohol prices would save 9.4 million lives over the next 50 years. A 30 per cent increase would save 13.7 million lives. ⁴⁹



UTILITES

**DRESSED FOR
SUCCESS**

**CASTLE
LAGER**

AFRICA'S FINEST

NOT FOR SALE TO PERSONS UNDER THE AGE OF 18

CLEARCHANNEL

Thirsting for new markets

The alcohol industry has a problem: the large traditional markets in the northern hemisphere, western Europe and North America are saturated. The industry is now investing considerable resources in the search for new markets, particularly in low- and middle-income countries.

The alcohol industry's need for growth can no longer be satisfied in the USA and western Europe. It is simply not possible to sell so much more alcohol here. There are several explanations for this. Firstly, we already drink the most in the world and secondly, many people are beginning to realise that it leads to problems. Many countries in our part of the world now have legislation in place that is relatively restrictive and protective.

The alcohol industry's solution to this has been to find new, promising markets. Hopes of growth are placed in the developing countries, or what the industry itself calls "emerging markets". Alcohol consumption is still low in these countries (by western standards) and there are seldom any effective restrictions on the sale or marketing of alcohol.

"Alcohol consumption is still low in these countries and there are seldom any restrictions on the sale or marketing of alcohol."

Countries with strong growth and a growing middle class are of particular interest. The so-called BRICS countries, the emerging giant economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, are perfect for the alcohol industry's initiatives – but there are opportunities even in the world's poorest countries. The African continent is becoming of greater interest following its economic development.

Economies in sub-Saharan Africa have been growing very strongly since the beginning of the 21st century. The region's GDP has risen from 377 billion USD (2001) to 1.8 trillion USD (2014) in less than two decades.⁵⁰

Diageo, one of the world's largest alcohol producers, estimated that half its revenue came from "growing markets" in 2015. That is up from 22 per cent in 2006. Between 2007 and 2012, the company spent around 1.3 billion USD in Africa alone on investments in its own production facilities and buying up local alcohol producers.⁵¹

When the analysis company GlobalData compiles statistics on the development of the beer market between 1999 and 2017, it is noted that the growth mainly occurred in Africa and Asia. The market in western Europe shrank during the same period.⁵²

Global alcohol giants take over

Of course, there was alcohol in the developing countries before Absolut, Heineken, Tiger, Smirnoff and Carlsberg ended up on the shelves in the countries' bars and shops.

"The four largest breweries have a market share of over 50 per cent."

Previously, people mainly drank different local varieties of alcohol, often with fairly low alcohol content. Nowadays, local breweries are increasingly being taken over by international brewing giants. This is part of a deliberate strategy on the part of the alcohol industry to enable it to continue to grow and capture new markets. The ownership – and therefore much of the profits – ends up abroad and the small-scale systems that contributed to local economies to some extent have disappeared.

This trend has accelerated over the past two decades. The alcohol giants are now present all over the world. Companies are buying one another or merging and both the beer and spirits markets have been consolidated so there is now only a handful of giants left controlling almost all the brands.

In 1989, the five largest brewing groups accounted for 17 per cent of the world market. Just over 20 years later, the four largest have a market share of over 50 per cent.⁵³ In 2016, the largest brewery, AB-Inbev, alone had 28 per cent of the global beer market.⁵⁴

Corruption, tax evasion and genocide

In a book entitled "Heineken in Africa", journalist Olivier van Beemen reports on the results of several years spent looking into the



PHOTO: JONATHAN STUTZ / ADOBE STOCK

world's second-largest alcohol company.⁵⁵ The picture that emerges is one of a company that has close relations with dictators, collaborates with warlords and had a role in the genocide in Rwanda. In Nigeria, the company's CEO was close to being sentenced to prison in a corruption case, but escaped thanks to an out-of-court settlement.

In Burundi, Heineken seems to have played an active role when President Pierre Nkurunziza decided to run for a third term, even though the constitution only permitted two terms. The question ended up before the country's Constitutional Court.

In April 2015, the President of the Court, Charles Ndagijimana, was elected to the board of directors of Brarudi, a brewery in which Heineken held a majority ownership (the remainder being owned by the Burundian state). A month later, the Constitutional Court ruled that Nkurunziza could stand for re-election for a third term. Five months after the decision, the President of the Court, Ndagijimana, was promoted to the well-paid position of Chairperson of the Board of Directors of Brarudi.

The book also reveals how Heineken systematically avoids tax in the African countries in which it produces and sells beer. A wholly-owned Belgian subsidiary of Heineken purchases most of the raw materials used in beer production in Africa. Thanks to the large



PHOTO: TORKEL EDENBORG

volumes, the purchases can be made with considerable discounts. The prices rise significantly when the raw materials are then sold on to Heineken's breweries in Africa. The declared profits, and therefore the taxes, are smaller in those countries and Heineken collects the money through its subsidiary instead.

“Alcohol misery for export”

The Danish brewing giant Carlsberg has been making use of extremely aggressive marketing in developing countries around the world for many years.

There are plenty of examples of how companies selling alcohol in developing countries make use of lifestyle advertising. Alcohol is consistently linked to wealth, success, beauty and happiness.

A representative of Asian Pacific Brewers, a company owned by Heineken and which controls large parts of the beer market in South-east Asia, has stated that:

“It's all about the brand... A brand is like a person. How do you make this product so desirable? We don't sell beer, we sell an image.”⁵⁶

Luxury, success and wealth in Malawi

Carlsberg's website tells the story of the brewery's first investment in Africa. An official from the Danish Foreign Ministry visited Malawi in 1967 and had a terrible thirst for the light-coloured, clear beer he was used to at home. One thing led to another and the following year Carlsberg opened its first overseas factory precisely in Malawi. Today, that brewery has around 97 per cent of the domestic market for so-called clear beer.

One reason why it has such a high market share are the guarantees received from the government of Malawi before the brewery opened. No other operator would be allowed to brew light-coloured beer in Malawi for the next 45 years.

Malawi is one of the very poorest countries in the world. According to UNDP, 41 per cent of the country's population is below the poverty line of one dollar a day and every other child is suffering from malnourishment.

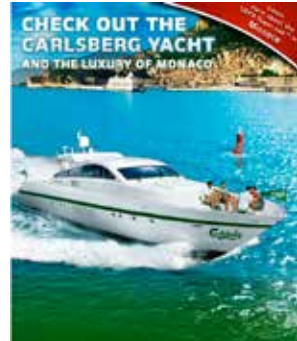
Alcohol advertising in Malawi is often about associating the brand with luxury, wealth and success. Over the years, Carlsberg has arranged competitions, offering among others, this prize: "Imagine having access to a private jet that can take you and seven of your friends on a seven-day, all-expenses-paid holiday anywhere in the world. Tokyo, Sidney, Rio – anywhere at all."

Anyone who wanted to take part in the lottery had to send in a small piece of plastic that was fixed inside the cap of the beer bottle. Every piece of plastic was a ticket in the gigantic lottery. The man who won this particular competition – a warehouse foreman at a vehicle repair shop – and his friends had sent in over a thousand lottery tickets.

Codes of ethics – that are not complied with

Carlsberg, like most alcohol companies, has a number of self-imposed codes of ethics that it must comply with when it comes to aspects such as marketing.

When the Swedish Radio programme Kaliber (the programme was called "Alcohol misery on export") looked into Carlsberg in Malawi, it found several obvious violations of the company's own codes.⁵⁷



Carlsbergs kampanj 2007. I en tidigare kampanj lottade man ut resor med privat-jet bland öldrickare i Malawi.



Carlsbergs uppförandekod för marknadsföring.

One example is when the code of conduct states: “Avoid making any connection between drinking and prosperity or professional success”. At the same time, the company was publishing full-page advertisements showing students in graduation clothing (in a country where barely half the population can even read), each with a beer in their hand. The text of the advertisement: “You deserve it! Drink Carlsberg Guld and have even more fun with your friends”.

The company’s own marketing rules also prohibit encouraging excessive or irresponsible drinking. At the same time, the company was introducing a cheaper beer on the market and naming it Kuche Kuche – which in Chichewa, the local language, means “drink till dawn”.

The most startling thing that emerged from the scrutiny was that Carlsberg in Malawi – contrary to the company’s own codes of ethics – was engaged in extensive marketing aimed at minors. The programme “Carlsberg – turning on the music” was broadcast every Friday evening on one of the country’s radio stations. The programme consisted of party music “where, for the frenetic disk jockey, the very concept of the programme seems to be to mention Carlsberg Guld, Green and Elephant as often as possible”.

Carlsberg admitted after the scrutiny that it had violated its own code of conduct and stated that it would “go through all the various processes to ensure that it wouldn’t happen again”.

SOS Children’s Villages: “Alcohol behind many problems”

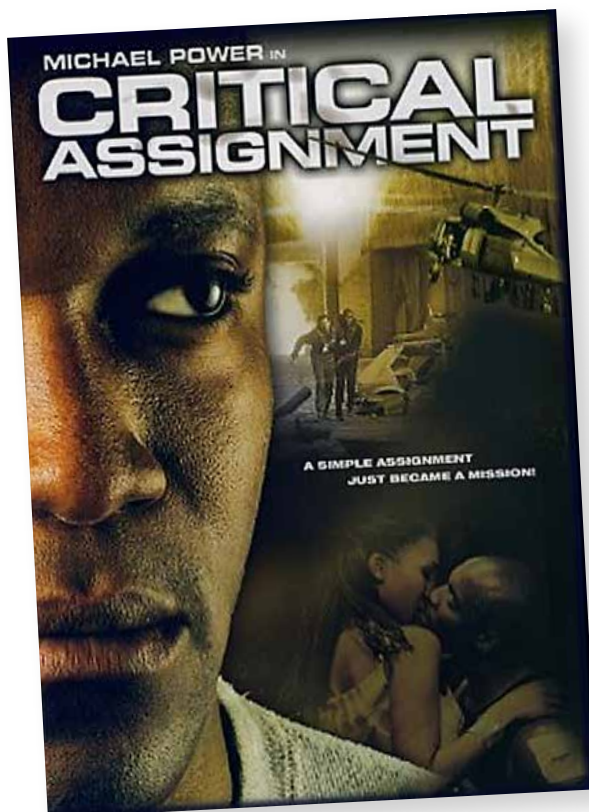
Jeremy Sandbrook is in charge of SOS Children’s Villages in Malawi. He tells the Norwegian writer Ingvar Midthun about the link between alcohol and poverty in the country:

“The children we care for come from such extreme poverty that it’s impossible to say that it’s alcohol that’s put them here. But there’s no doubt that alcohol is a contributory factor to the social problems that exist here. It’s often the women’s income that saves the families. A lot of the men spend

“It’s often the women’s income that saves the families. A lot of the men spend most of their income on alcohol.”

most of their income on alcohol.

“When they drink, they drink a lot. Temperance isn’t really the thing here”, explains Jeremy Sandbrook. “Drinking also leads to unsafe sex and we’re seeing more and more people becoming HIV-positive. And, as in many other countries, you can see a clear link between alcohol and violence in the family, but it’s not something that’s talked about and the problem doesn’t get much attention.”



Guinness and the legend of “Michael Power”

The Guinness beer brand is owned by Diageo, one of the world's largest alcohol producers. The beer is mostly sold in Ireland and the UK. The third largest market for Guinness is Nigeria – a result of aggressive marketing.

Nigeria is also one of the fastest growing markets for Guinness, with the brand showing 10 per cent growth during the year, whereas the overall beer market in Nigeria has only grown by two per cent.

According to David Armstrong, the Diageo Marketing Manager in Africa, this increase has been driven by successful advertising.⁵⁸ One of the campaigns, produced by the advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi, is based on Michael Power, a well-known character in Nigeria. Power is an fictional character played by the British actor Cleveland Mitchell who, under the name of “Michael Power”, has been presented by Diageo as a spokesman for Guinness on billboards, in newspapers and on radio and television.

The name didn't come about by chance. Diageo has been working for a long time to associate Guinness with strength, sexual virility and power. Using Michael Power as the front man, Diageo launched a campaign of a kind rarely seen. Instead of using traditional marketing with advertisements and sales messages, Power was made into a hero in drama series on both radio and television. The series contained plenty of opportunities for the company to reinforce the link between Guinness and what they want the drink to be associated with: strength, friendship and intelligence. The constantly repeated

“The six largest alcohol companies spent a total of 2.2 billion USD on marketing in 2010”

catchphrase was “Guinness brings out the power in you”.

After a few years, the company took the next step and launched a feature film entitled “Critical Assignment” starring Michael Power,

launched as an African James Bond. The film was distributed across much of Africa to cinemas as well as to assembly halls and mobile cinemas. For many, Critical Assignment became the first film they had ever seen on a big screen. Diageo offered both the drama series and the film free of charge as part of the company's efforts to build up the Guinness brand on the continent.

Diageo invests around 200 million USD a year in marketing in Africa.⁵⁹ At the beginning of the 2000s, the corresponding figure was less than 33 million USD. The six largest alcohol companies spent a total of 2.2 billion USD on marketing in 2010.⁶⁰

Facts: Self-regulation of alcohol advertising

The alcohol industry is doing its best to avoid mandatory legislation on marketing. One common strategy is to refer to the self-regulation they claim to apply. The industry organisations have established a number of rules that companies commit to obeying – but breaches of the rules seldom lead to any real consequences.

One study found that over a quarter (27.7 per cent) of alcohol advertisements in a number of African countries directly breached the self-imposed rules. The most common breach of the self-regulation concerned rules on what should be said about the effects of alcohol: It is common for alcohol to be linked to greater attractiveness or sexual success. The researchers concluded that self-regulation does not work.⁶¹



Beer, sex and prostitution

If you go for a walk in the early evening in Phnom Penh, Siam Reap or Sihanoukville, you can't miss them. In every bar and a lot of the restaurants there are beautiful young women dressed in tight-fitting, often short dresses clearly marked with the name of a beer brand.

There are Heineken girls, Tiger Girls and girls wearing the short Stella Artois skirt. They're there for one reason only: to sell beer to the male customers. They are often paid in the form of a commission. Three or four dollars for one box of beer – about eight litres – sold. The average salary for a beer girl is 55 dollars a month, a sum that must often stretch to keep her and to help her family at home in the village.

In order to sell a lot of beer, the young women must be nice to the customers regardless of how they are treated. Violence and harassment are common.

There are also cases of the girls agreeing to have sex with the customers in return for payment. There are around 20,000 beer girls in Cambodia. Studies show that over 20 per cent of them are HIV-positive.⁶²

This marketing method is also used in Nigeria and other African countries. Companies are aware of the link to sexual harassment and

the fact that prostitution is common, but they have chosen to carry on despite that. In Nigeria, Heineken went so far as to recruit a group of prostitutes and place them in 500 specially selected bars to promote a new type of beer.⁶³

"In Nigeria, Heineken went so far as to recruit a group of prostitutes and place them in 500 specially-selected bars to promote a new type of beer."

The breweries have been heavily criticised for the system of beer girls and have promised to improve. A couple of brands have switched to slightly longer skirts and a salary system that is only partly commission based. Otherwise, not much has changed, beer girls are still a common sight in Cambodia's restaurants and bars.

In 2018, Heineken's use of beer girls became the focus of debate. The company had signed a cooperation agreement with the Global Fund against HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria, which caused a reaction among many NGOs in the health sector. It is undeniably remarkable for an organisation working to combat HIV and tuberculosis to cooperate with an industry whose products increase the risk of these diseases. It was precisely the criticism of Heineken's beer girls in Africa that ultimately led the Global Fund to put the collaboration on hold.⁶⁴

No improvements

In response to the criticism, Heineken promised that the situation would improve. The rules would be clear, the training better, the dresses longer and the marketing women would no longer drink with customers. The wording was strikingly similar to a policy adopted by the company back in 2004, but assurances were given that this time it really would be different.

A few months later, the journalist Olivier van Beemen visited Kenya to see whether the situation had really changed: "I met six marketing women, and they all had the same story: Nothing had changed. They were still forced to accept sexual harassment as part of the job and the dresses were still so short that they felt like prostitutes. Some of them told me that they were forced to have sex with the bosses in order to keep the job."⁴²

Sharan Burrow, President of the ACTU, an Australian labour rights organisation, tells Australian ABC News that they launched a campaign for better working conditions for Cambodia's beer girls.⁶⁵

"I've talked to women who were forced at gunpoint to sit down and drink with men. This exploitation of young women must stop."



PHOTO: NILE SPRAGUE

The picture is posed. The people in the picture have no connection with the text.

She explains that the international beer companies avoid taking responsibility by not employing the beer girls directly. They are formally employed by marketing companies, so the breweries can refuse to accept any responsibility for employee relations and the working environment.

“The fact that large international beer companies making huge profits refuse to employ these women and allow them to be subjected to harassment, sexual exploitation and even rape – that’s shocking.”

Beer girls have been used to sell alcohol in Cambodia for over 20 years. From the point of view of the international brewing giants, it is such a successful sales method that they have chosen to use it in more countries.

“Well-known brands are engaged in aggressive expansion in China using similar strategies as in Cambodia”, says Sharan Burrow. “The price these young women have to pay to help big beer companies gain market share is far too high.”



A lobbyist from Brown Forman, the company behind Jack Daniels,
in conversation with earlier EU health commissioner Markos Kyprianou.

The alcohol industry lobby

The political arena is becoming increasingly important to the alcohol industry. They lobby extensively to stop laws and regulations that hinder or reduce their sales. One of their strategies is to appear to be taking social responsibility.

The global alcohol market is worth around 1,500 billion USD a year. There is no sign of this amount decreasing – on the contrary, analysts predict an increase to 18,200 billion USD over the next five years.⁶⁶

Beer giant AB Inbev sold alcohol to a value of 54.6 billion USD in 2018.⁶⁷ That kind of economic muscle also enables it to exert political influence, particularly in low-income countries where the big alcohol companies often are among the largest companies in the country.

Virtually all industries attempt to exert influence over politics, but for the alcohol industry it is to some extent a matter of destiny in many places. More and more people are becoming aware of the harmful effects of alcohol and are beginning to look at various types of restrictions to limit the harm. This is consistently opposed by the industry.

The 2016 annual report for the brewery SAB Miller publishes a risk analysis.⁶⁸ It lists the main risks that the management consider as a potential threat to the company's future profits. "Regulatory changes" is among the risks listed. It states, among other things, that "the alco-

hol industry is under increasing pressure from national and international regulatory authorities, NGOs and local authorities”.

The specific threats identified include more extensive regulation concerning availability and marketing as well as higher tax rates on alcohol. These are precisely the three measures that the World Health Organisation identifies as the most cost-effective for preventing harm caused by alcohol.⁶⁹

Lobbying by the alcohol industry takes many different forms. Extensive lobbying takes place both at national level and in international contexts, particularly through the industry’s large trade and lobbying organisations.

“Extensive lobbying takes place both at national level and in international contexts, particularly through the industry’s large trade and lobbying organisations.”

The appearance of taking responsibility has become increasingly important to the alcohol industry. Lessons have been learned from what happened to the tobacco industry

(and how tobacco policy became increasingly stronger over time) after major revelations concerning lies and abuses in the 1980s and 1990s.

Back to SAB Miller’s risk analysis. It also lists actions that the company takes to manage risks such as higher alcohol taxes and tougher rules on marketing. It contains the company’s CSR activities⁷⁰, including the “Prosper” programme which, according to the company, will “generate economic growth and less poverty in the world”.

It is written here – in black-and-white – that these activities are a response to the threat of more extensive regulation and are thus a lobbying tool more than anything else.

“Mainly a PR thing”

Another example is the Heineken Foundation, which was formed to “improve the health for those people that need it most”. Various health projects are supported via a fund. The budget is relatively small and a former manager says himself that “Community projects are more of a PR thing; they are undertaken to be able to say, ‘Look, we are good and beautiful’.”⁷¹

In Nigeria, Guinness and Diageo take part in anti-HIV campaigns and sponsor clinics where you can get tested. Diageo also implements the “Water of Life”⁷² project, which is said to have reached 10 million people since 2006. This is at the same time as it takes between 180 and 300 litres of water to produce one litre of beer.⁷³

Another constant feature throughout the industry are the continual



PHOTO: ATM2003 / ADOBE STOCK

campaigns promoting “responsible drinking” as an alternative to legislation. Research shows that campaigns of this kind have very little or no effect.

The alcohol industry’s organisations

The alcohol industry’s lobbying and pressure groups have emerged over the last 20 years. The organisations operate at international level (e.g. IARD, International Alliance for Responsible Drinking), at European level (EFRD, European Forum for Responsible Drinking or Brewers of Europe) and at national level (the Spirits and Wine Suppliers Association).

IARD is owned by companies such as AB Inbev, Heineken, Carlsberg and Diageo and presents itself on its website as “a non-profit organisation to reduce harmful drinking and increase understanding of responsible drinking”. It also states that it “works with and enters into partnerships with the public sector, civil society and private interests”.

The alcohol industry's companies and interest groups employ a number of different strategies to influence legislation and research into alcohol:⁷⁴

- Lobbying and other advocacy work to exert influence over alcohol policy at national and international level.
- Memberships of organisations, working groups and networks. (Not just groups working specifically with alcohol. For example, several of the largest alcohol companies are members of the UN “Global Compact”, a platform for business leaders around the world with the aim of “making the new global economy sustainable”). This improves their image and gives them a greater chance of exerting influence in the long run.
- Funding research, holding conferences and publishing reports.⁷⁵ Not infrequently, the money is channelled through other organisations. There are also research conferences sponsored by the alcohol industry. Sometimes the involvement is more direct: When the report entitled “Alcohol Policy and the Public Good” was published, the British Portman Group (part of the alcohol industry) offered 2,000 GBP to any researchers who were able to criticise the report and who would allow the Portman Group to publish their results.⁷⁶
- Drawing up codes of ethics on how companies should go about marketing. These normally state that marketing must not be aimed at young people or use sex as a selling point. However, research shows that breaches of the codes are common and that legislation is a more effective way to go.⁶¹

“The industry manipulates the legislation”

The alcohol industry is investing more and more resources in influencing the alcohol policies of poor countries. “Their actions are ineffective”, says expert.

Per-Åke Andersson, previously worked at the IOGT-NTO Movement and has extensive experience of working with problems caused by alcohol in developing countries. In recent years, an increasing amount of his time has been spent surveying and attempting to counter the alcohol industry's influence in that part of the world.

“They are mainly working to manipulate these countries’ legisla-



Per-Åke Andersson

tions in order to remove and restrain measures that are recognised as being effective in keeping down consumption and harm. Instead, they promote measures that are nowadays known to be much less effective”, says Per-Åke Andersson.

Many developing countries currently have few regulations on alcohol, a fact which is being exploited by the industry and its lobbying organisations. One common method is to offer the country help to write an alcohol policy via international organisations that are one hundred per cent funded by the alcohol industry.

A study of four national alcohol policy documents produced in this way shows that basically the same draft laws are being pushed through in every country. More than 75 per cent of the text was identical or contained only minor adjustments.⁷⁷

“These policy documents give the impression that you have an alcohol policy, but they are practically worthless as far as public health is concerned. In order for the policy to mean something, it must prevent harm. The alcohol industry is skilled at lobbying, but they also have a lot of money behind them.

“They are mainly working to manipulate these countries’ legislations in order to remove and restrain measures that are recognised as being effective in keeping down consumption and harm.”

Why are these countries of such great interest to the industry?

“The market is saturated in the western world, so you look for new markets. They see potential in countries such as Bangladesh, where 96 per cent of the population don’t drink. In those countries there is certainly an opposing force consisting of religion, but there is a long list of other countries with strong economic development and an increasingly large middle class with growing purchasing power.”

Are there any opposing forces?

“The opposing force is that there is so much evidence showing which measures are actually effective. The knowledge is there. These countries need an evidence-based alcohol policy. And it’s enough to look at the latest figures from the WHO – when alcohol is at the top of the list of risk factors for ill-health and premature death, it must be a call to action. Worldwide, there are now twice as many people dying from alcohol as from HIV.”

The alcohol giants

The global alcohol industry is characterised by a movement towards bigger and bigger corporate giants. Acquisitions and mergers have been a trend for a long time, the latest being when the largest brewery in the world, AB Inbev, purchased its competitor SAB Miller (which was then the second largest brewery in the world).

AB Inbev is now unthreatened at the top, with total sales that are more than twice as high as those of the number two company, Heineken.

The ten largest alcohol companies in 2018, based on total sales:⁷⁸

1. Anheuser-Busch InBev

Total sales: 56 billion USD

Based in: Belgium

Examples of brands: Budweiser, Corona, Stella Artois, Leffe, Becks, Skol

2. Heineken Holding

Total sales: 25 billion USD

Based in: The Netherlands

Examples of brands: Heineken, Amstel, Sol, Tiger, Desperados, Bira Moretti and many local brands in Africa (Primus, Legend, Be-dele, Star, etc.)

3. Asahi Group Holdings

Total sales: 19 billion USD

Based in: Japan

Examples of brands: Asahi, Black Nikka, Pilsner Urquell (under licence)

4. Kirin Holdings

Total sales: 17 billion USD

Based in: Japan

Examples of brands: Kirin Beer, Gold, Iron Jack

5. Diageo

Total sales: 16 billion USD

Based in: The UK

Examples of brands: Guinness, Baileys, Smirnoff, Johnnie Walker

6. Suntory Holdings

Total sales: 11 billion USD

Based in: Japan

Examples of brands: Yamazaki, Hakushu, Kakubin, The Premium Malt's

7. Molson Coors Brewing

Total sales: 11 billion USD

Based in: USA

Examples of brands: Coors Light, India Beer, Miller Lite, Molson Dry, Ožujsko, Ostravar

8. Pernod Ricard

Total sales: 10 billion USD

Based in: France

Examples of brands: Chivas Regal, Absolut Vodka, Jameson, Ricard, Beefeater, Jacob's Creek, Glenlivet

9. Carlsberg

Total sales: 9 billion USD

Based in: Denmark

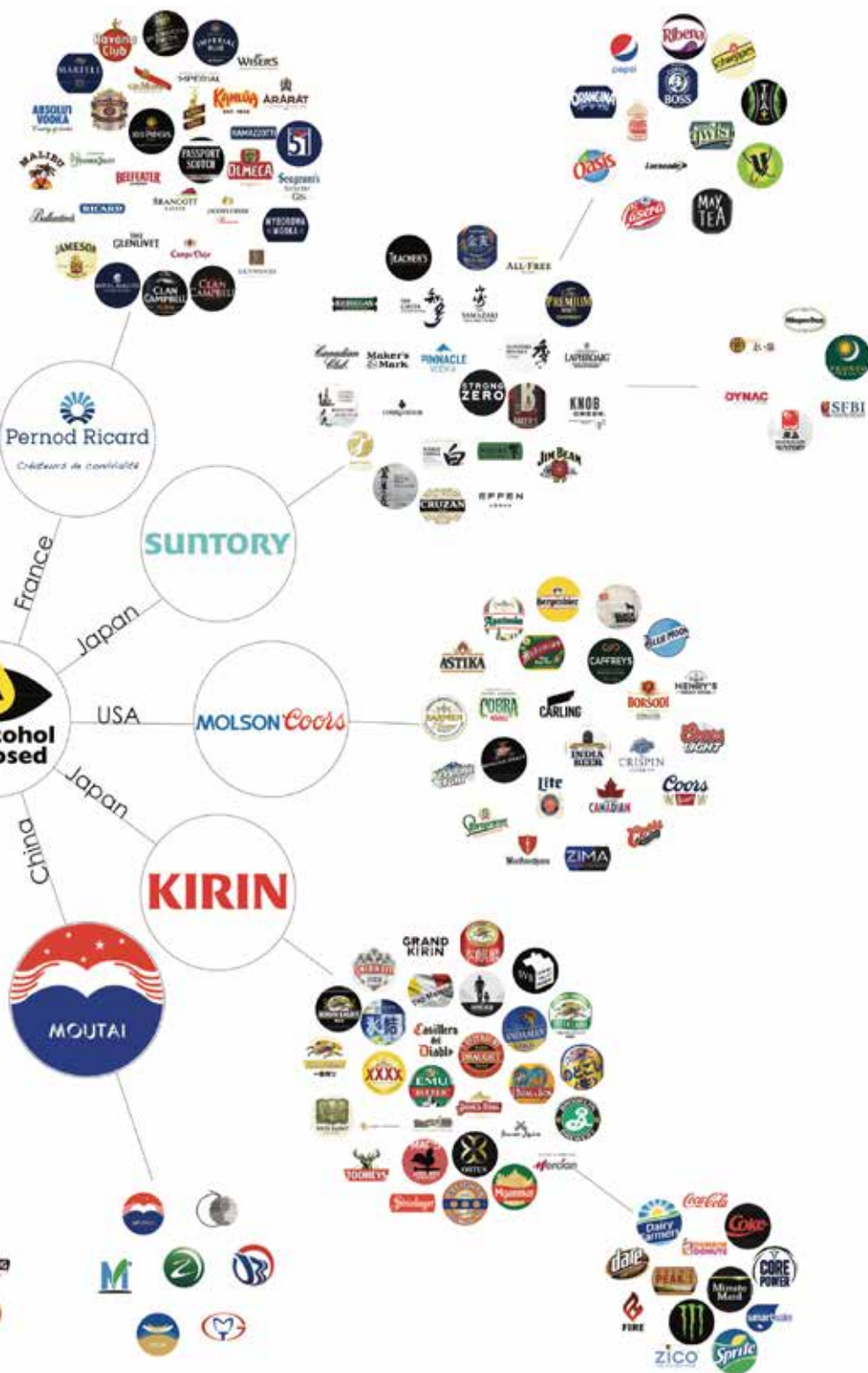
Examples of brands: Carlsberg, Baltika, Falcon, Karhu, Kronenbourg, Pripps, Rignes, Tuborg

10. Kweichow Moutai

Total sales: 8 billion USD

Based in: China

Examples of brands: Moutai. Has a license on a range of brands from other companies.





Power over your own life

Combating poverty is the primary goal of Swedish aid policy and of the world community. In many cases, alcohol contributes to making poverty worse and harder to get out of.

When we talk about poverty, we often mean a lack of resources. Not being able to make ends meet, not being able to feed your family or afford clothes and education for your children. But poverty has more dimensions than that. It can also be a lack of opportunity, power

or safety. If you ask how poor people themselves experience their situation, a picture of powerlessness, vulnerability, dependence and humiliation emerges.

The world is richer today than at any previous time. Combating poverty is the primary goal of Swedish aid policy and is included as the first of the 17 global goals in Agenda 2030. Examples of successes include: Over the last 30 years, average life expectancy in the world has increased by 20 years and child mortality has halved.

At the same time, we can see that some countries today have a lower income per capita than they had in 1990 and that around 10 per cent of the population of the world is still trying to survive on less than two dollars a day.⁷⁹

There are a number of different mechanisms that serve to reinforce poverty and make it difficult to fight against.

The distribution of the earth's material resources is fundamentally unfair and the political will to redistribute wealth is relatively weak. There are injustices in the world trade system that put poor countries at a disadvantage. Large burdens of debt weighing many countries down.

Corruption and conflict are phenomena that often reinforce poverty. We could also add increasing ill-health, destruction of environments, natural disasters, population growth. These are all external mechanisms that can contribute to poverty.

There are also mechanisms that emerge and grow within people. Ignorance and feelings of resignation, fear or humiliation often lead to greater powerlessness. Along with the external mechanisms, they lock people in poverty.

Alcohol is a drug that affects both the internal and the external poverty mechanisms in various ways. In pure financial terms, when people go to the beer halls and spend much of their wages or when they get so ill from drinking that they have to pay for care or can no longer work. Alcohol also contributes to people losing control of their lives. There are many examples of how those in power have used alcohol and other drugs to suppress and control poor people. For the poor, alcohol becomes a kind of escape from that oppression. An escape from reality, but also often an escape from your own family and society as a whole.

“For the poor, alcohol becomes a kind of escape from that oppression. An escape from reality, but also often an escape from participation, both in your own family and in society as a whole.”

The Norwegian aid worker

A frustrated Norwegian aid worker wrote an email to Forut, a Norwegian organisation whose activities include work with alcohol as an obstacle to development.

The aid worker was working on a project in Namibia, a country in a relatively positive state of development but where there are also major problems. Unemployment is high – almost 70 per cent in some parts of the country – and one fifth of the population is HIV-positive. But there was another reason for his frustration: the major problems caused by alcohol.

It went so far that the Norwegian aid worker and his colleagues were doubtful about paying local employees' salaries in cash. At the same time, he did not want to pay in the form of food or goods because that would be equivalent to declaring that the employees were unable to manage their own affairs:

“Work comes to a standstill around salary days because so many of them are drinking. Car accidents, fights, rapes and so on are

“I could go on and on. Alcohol abuse is one of the most significant factors in bringing development to a halt”

widespread –not surprisingly in combination with alcohol.

I could go on and on. Alcohol abuse is one of the most significant factors in bringing

development to a halt, in personal and social failures and in demoralising and increasing passivity in entire communities.”

They had access to social anthropologists and educators in the projects and many of the people working there had extensive experience of various aid projects. The focus was on the obvious elements – improving the education system, fighting corruption, ensuring that people had clean water. Although some progress was made, there was a great deal of frustration:

“Progress plays such a small role when the problem is that too many of the people managing the system have alcohol problems. ... It's about traditional use of alcohol (from the time when alcohol was weaker and not so available), about men's honour and status (a man doesn't drink soft drinks – a man drinks beer) and about desperation and escape from reality.”

Alcohol as part of a culture of poverty

Velu and Chaminda are sitting in a bar at the railway station in Pettah, Sri Lanka, and should really be on their way home to their families. But instead they stay there hour after hour, drink after drink.



PHOTO: SOLOVIOVA LUDMYLA / ADOBE STOCK

“It doesn’t matter whether we get home late. We already have such big financial problems that it’s impossible to solve them on our low wages”, they say. “We might as well spend what little we have and have fun today. Tomorrow will be awful anyway.”

Velu and Chaminda are not alone. Their example is taken from a report on alcohol and poverty in Sri Lanka which shows that almost one in ten poor people spend their entire salary or even more than their entire salary on alcohol.

Being able to escape at least temporarily from a seemingly hopeless situation is one of the reasons for drinking. The researchers producing the report state that alcohol has also become part of a culture of poverty. Even families who don’t really want to spend money on alcohol are under pressure to arrange enormous parties with large amounts of alcohol at weddings, funerals and coming-of-age celebrations for girls. The costs are high and it’s easy for people to end up in a debt trap that they can’t get out of.

Make others pay for your drinking

Jayantha operates a tricycle taxi in Colombo. His daughter has recently reached the age at which she is considered to have become a woman and everyone around him – neighbours, family, friends and work colleagues – expect him to throw a big party.

“If I said I’m not going to throw a party, the others will say that they can do it for me. My daughter and my family would be shamed. There is no way I can refuse.”

Alcohol has become part of a culture in which poor people control one another through envy. No-one is allowed to do better than the others and people who drink a lot of alcohol manage to get other families involved in paying for their drinking.

“I don’t know how they do it”, says another man who, like Jayantha, operates a tricycle taxi. “Somehow the others don’t allow me to save. They make sure I spend my money on the same things they waste their money on.”

When salaries is spent on spirits

At the tea plantation in Matale, Sri Lanka, three-quarters of the men used to go to the bar after work every day. When they got home, they had drunk half their day’s wages. Alcohol was included as an aspect of the work to combat poverty there and the situation has improved considerably.

Even though most alcohol is still drunk in the rich parts of the world, it is often the poorest who suffer the most. The cost of alcohol creates a huge hole in an already strained budget. Studies show that families in Romania spend an average of 11 per cent of their total income on alcohol. In Zimbabwe, the corresponding figure is 7 per cent.⁸⁰

However, those average figures conceal the effects of alcohol in families in which the man drinks a lot. Families in Delhi, India, in which the head of the family consumes a lot of alcohol spend 24 per cent of their income on alcohol. The average among other families in the same city is 2 per cent. In the poor suburbs of Colombo, Sri Lanka, as many as 30 per cent of families state that they spend a third of the family’s income on alcohol.

“Unacceptable not to offer alcohol”

Being poor often means living a “porous” life. The expression comes from Diyanath Samarasinghe, who has worked extensively with poor families in different parts of Sri Lanka and has studied their



Diyanath Samarasinghe

lives. “The poorest live on top of one another, private life is severely restricted and there is seldom any great freedom of choice.

“Poverty can be created and maintained socially”, he says. “Circumstances often mean that you have no choice – it’s impossible to stand out and be different in any way at all.”

He uses wedding celebrations as an example. Not offering large quantities of alcohol is completely socially unacceptable, even if it means that you have to borrow large sums to be able to pay for it. Sometimes this has dire consequences.

“Many families end up in debt traps that they never get out of. But you can’t come in from outside and blame them for being stupid for spending so much on alcohol. The whole culture and the collective needs to change if it is to work.”

It’s not easy to change a culture and the patterns of behaviour of a collective. It’s a process that often takes a long time.

“Often you need a little nudge from the outside to get this process started. Knowledge and understanding grows quickly in some and more slowly in others, but it’s always important to wait for the majority.”

Diyanath Samarasinghe is both concerned and shocked at the ravages of the alcohol industry in Sri Lanka.

“We still have quite large groups that do not drink any alcohol at all. The industry’s strategy is clearly to get them to start drinking at least something, so you get them over to the “drinkers’ side”. Women are definitely an important target group in the marketing.”

More recently, more and more light drinks – types of beer and sweet alcoholic drinks – have appeared on the market. Diyanath Samarasinghe is also seeing alcohol appearing more and more on the television screen.

“It’s not a coincidence”, he says. “Placement of alcohol in soap operas and other television programmes is simply a subtle form of marketing to reach new groups.”

“Not offering large quantities of alcohol is completely socially unacceptable, even if it means that you have to borrow large sums to be able to pay for it”

Alcohol, men and women

Alcohol has long been used as a way of reinforcing gender roles and increasing men's power at the expense of women. There is a clear link between alcohol and violence.

Alcohol often affects other people apart from the person who drinks. All over the world, it is men who drink the most, whereas women suffer a disproportionately large proportion of the harm.

We have already read about the fact that alcohol contributes to – or in some cases actually causes – violence in the chapter entitled “A global burden of disease”. The link also applies to a great extent in the case of men's violence against women.

When the World Health Organisation (WHO) interviewed 24,000 women about men's violence against women, the responses showed that this type of violence is also clearly linked to alcohol. Among the countries surveyed, the problems are greatest in countries such as Ethiopia, Tanzania, Peru and Bangladesh, where up to 70 per cent of women report being subjected to sexual or physical violence.⁸¹

The aid agency USAid has investigated the links and identifies alcohol as one of the main risk factors behind men's violence against



ផលិតករស្តង់ដារអន្តរជាតិ
មេដាលីយ៉ាពិភពលោក



ផលិតករស្តង់ដារអន្តរជាតិ
មេដាលីយ៉ាពិភពលោក



ផលិតករស្តង់ដារអន្តរជាតិ
មេដាលីយ៉ាពិភពលោក



រក្សាទុកជីវិតស្រស់ថ្លាជាតិ



ពិធីប្រកួតប្រជែងស្រាវ នាំមកនូវការពិភាក្សា
ស្រាវជ្រាវស្តីពី
និង សង្គមជាតិ





M-157



M-150

ពិភពលោកដ៏ធំធេងបំផុតរបស់យើង

តិចតួច!



★ M-150 ប្រាក់
100,000,000
ដុល្លារ/ឡាន



women and states that alcohol is always taken into account in prevention work. In Rwanda, 24 per cent of women whose partners do not drink at all stated that they had been subjected to domestic violence. Among women whose partners are often drunk, the corresponding figure is 72 per cent. Similar patterns could be observed in Cameroon, Kenya, Malawi, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

USAid also points out that the links are complex – the cause and effect is not always obvious. It's not always about a causal relationship. Alcohol is associated with violence for both perpetrators and victims, but sometimes perpetrators use alcohol as a kind of preparation for violence that has already been planned.⁸²

Why do men drink more than women?

Men drink more than women and men cause more alcohol-related problems than women. This is generally the case in all parts of the world and everything indicates that it has been the case throughout time.

The difference between women's and men's drinking vary quite a lot from one part of the world to another. Physical differences may explain some of the differences – women do not need to drink the

same amount to achieve the same effect – but culture also plays a part.

“Alcohol both symbolises and reinforces men's power in relation to women.”

Alcohol has long been used as a way of reinforcing gender roles. A WHO study which looked in more detail at the difference between

men's and women's drinking in eight countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America points to four different explanations for differences in drinking habits:⁸³

Power. Alcohol both symbolises and reinforces men's power in relation to women. The ability to drink a lot is a sign of masculinity all over the world. Alcohol often also becomes an excuse for violent behaviour and can thus give you more power over others. Men generally become more violent under the influence of alcohol than women do. The study states that the expected effect of alcohol probably plays a major role here.

Sex. The study puts forward the idea that both men and women are attracted by expectations that alcohol will increase sexual performance and enjoyment. Widespread fear of female sexual emancipation helps to limit women's drinking through different types of cultural and social controls.

Risk-taking behaviour. A third possible explanation for why

men drink more than women is that men are more inclined to take risks. Here, too, there are cultural explanations – risk-taking is seen as masculine.

Responsibility. It may also be the case that men and women are affected by the responsibility they are expected to take in different areas. Women are often considered to be primarily responsible for the home and children and may perhaps limit their alcohol consumption because of that. There is often a strong element of social control in this, whereas drinking for men can instead be a way of not taking any responsibility for the home.

The differences are evened out

In many parts of the world, the differences between how much men and women drink are decreasing. This is partly a result of greater gender equality, but is also because women are an attractive target group for the alcohol industry.

The Carlsberg CEO, Jørgen Bühl Rasmussen, points out in an interview that 80 per cent of their customers are men and states that

they have plans to do something about that: “We can and must bring out products that appeal to women more.”⁸⁴

“We can and must bring out products that appeal to women more.”

In India, 90 per cent of women drink very little alcohol or no alcohol at all. A change is under way, particularly in the young, urban middle classes. A person writing in to the Indian newspaper The Tribune talked about the situation:

“Over the last three or four years, alcohol abuse among women has increased. Alcohol advertising shows handsome young men and women living grandiose lives and the big spirits companies sponsor large-scale events and parties with free drinks. Alcohol has become a way of gaining access to the more sophisticated circles.”

From pulque to global breweries

Alcohol has existed for a long time in many cultures. Alcohol has often been part of ceremonies of various kinds, bound by more or less strict rules and cultural restrictions. In many cases, colonialism and economic development shattered traditional drinking patterns..

In the old Aztec Empire, roughly in the area where central Mexico is today, alcohol was linked to religion. The most common drink was pulque. The Aztecs made it from juice obtained from the maguey cactus and the resulting drink was regarded as a gift from the gods.

Pulque was drunk regularly, but only by priests and a small number of the society's elite. There were some exceptions, including women who had just given birth, the elderly and the sick. The rest of the population had to be satisfied with drinking on ceremonial occasions. Getting drunk was out of the question before you reached the age of 60.

Colonialism and a new drinking culture

When the Spanish colonial power made its entry in the 16th century, it also had consequences for the Aztecs' drinking habits. The local culture was splintered, many political and religious leaders were killed, and the colonialists began a ruthless exploitation of both human and natural resources.

When the elite disappeared, respect for the old customs also diminished. Pulque became a commodity for anyone to access, sell and buy and consumption increased.



There are old traditions concerning alcohol in sub-Saharan Africa. Previously in this region, drinking mostly involved local varieties of beer, normally brewed by the women of the village. The alcohol content was quite low and the shelf-life was short. Drinking was often linked to religion, folklore and tradition and was subject to relatively strict rules. Women and young men were not allowed to drink at all in many cultures. Alcohol was reserved for the elders and only at set times.

As a colonial power, Great Britain was divided by alcohol.⁸⁵ At the end of the 19th century, the argument was often heard that the indigenous peoples of the African colonies must be “protected from alcohol” in order not to become demoralised. A strong temperance movement pushed for alcohol bans in the colonies during the same period.

Alcohol generated revenue

At the same time, customs duties on imports of alcohol were an important source of income for many British colonies. In 1877, a British government official stated that import duties on alcohol were an ideal tool for generating revenue in a “population that is too ignorant to understand how it works”.

In Ghana (known as the Gold Coast when it was a colony), imports of gin alone contributed 36 percent to the colonial state’s income in 1929. Alcohol was the largest source of revenue, with tobacco and cocoa exports coming a fairly distant second and third.

“Alcohol was by far the largest source of revenue, with tobacco and cocoa exports coming a fairly distant second and third.”

The criticism of the colonies’ dependence on alcohol came not only from churches and temperance movements in the home country, the local population also raised their voices: *“If the government sees itself as a steward of the people of this country and has their best interests in mind... I respectfully consider that its task is to see that the consumption of gin... not only makes people poorer, but also affects their morale and physical health.”*⁸⁶

From the 1930s onwards, revenues from alcohol decreased in Ghana and many other British colonies. This was the result of political decisions (imports of gin were gradually reduced in Ghana following proposals from an investigation commission in 1930) and the global economic crisis of the 1930s, which made cheaper, domestically-produced alcohol more popular again.

After they became independent in 1957, Ghana and other states opened up to industrial production of alcohol, both spirits and beer. Foreign breweries were admitted in the hope that this would lead to higher

revenues for the state. In the 1990s, the four largest breweries accounted for around five per cent of Ghana's tax revenues.

However, critics argued that the costs caused by alcohol exceeded the revenues. In an article on the history of alcohol in Ghana, Emmanuel Akyeampong, Professor of History at Harvard, writes that "There is a growing consensus in African countries that, however profitable the alcohol industry may be, it should not form part of a development strategy with people at its heart".⁶⁴

Alcohol increases passivity

In colonial times, the authorities in Zimbabwe established beer halls, the first of them as far back as 1911, which served two purposes.⁸⁷ They became entertainment centres for the workers and they made money for the state. An editorial in Zimbabwe's Daily Gazette in 1994 summed up what the colonists had created:

"By offering easily accessible beer halls as the only places for recreation ... the colonists made sure that when the African worker was not slaving away in their factories, he was in the beer hall where he got so drunk that he did not care about his wretched status. Consequently, the average African worker learned to work and drink without anything else to take up his time."

Today, men in Zimbabwe are ranked among the largest alcohol consumers in the world. Many people start as early as primary school and, at university level, students drink a lot even by international standards. Compared to students in the UK, there are more than twice as many students in Zimbabwe who get drunk between three and seven times a week. A survey of industrial workers in Harare shows that 22 per cent of workers drink every day – in a culture where men's drinking almost always leads to drunkenness.

The western world still has an influence

The colonial times are gone, but when it comes to alcohol culture in the developing countries, the western world's influence is perhaps greater than ever. The global alcohol industry generates huge sums every year.

In Europe and the USA, the market is almost saturated, and the alcohol industry is seeking new countries and new markets.

The western world also affects drinking patterns in developing countries in other ways. Tourism is increasing and is reaching new destinations every year. Social media has made a breakthrough all over the world. Traditional media is becoming increasingly global and content on our television channels is increasingly uniform. Aid workers travel

to all corners of the globe and take their drinking habits with them.

Often, the situation in which aid workers find themselves – alone and outside normal social controls – means that their alcohol consumption is much higher than at home.

For many people in developing countries, the American or European lifestyle is a dream and a goal to strive towards. The west's high alcohol consumption is included as part of the bargain.

"Young people and women in Africa are drinking more and more"

Neo Morojele is a psychologist and a researcher in alcohol-related matters at the Medical Research Council in Pretoria. Her research projects are often concerned with young people, women and alcohol and cover large parts of southern Africa. She believes that much of the problem lies in the new patterns of drinking that have developed.

"Before colonial times, people more or less only drank at ceremonial events", she says. "The drinks were brewed by the women of the village and the alcohol content was low. Adolescents and pregnant women were not allowed to drink at all."

Today, the situation is completely different in many places in southern Africa. She puts forward Uganda as an example. There, people drink on average almost 20 litres of pure alcohol per person (over the age of 15) per year – twice as much as we drink in Sweden.

"In addition, the really risky drinking, where you get very drunk, has greatly increased. However, it is important to remember that there are big differences. In Mauritania, for example, most people drink almost nothing."

Binge drinking is the norm among young people in South Africa, according to Neo Morojele.

"It is becoming more and more common. If 40 per cent of young people drink, it is estimated that 37 per cent always drink enough to get very drunk."

Many young people drink so much that they have to get help to stop. 22 per cent of those treated for alcoholism in South Africa are under the age of 20. In Zambia, the corresponding figure is 27 per cent.

As far as women's drinking is concerned, it is still lower than men's. In some places, however, women are catching up and are getting drunk more and more often.

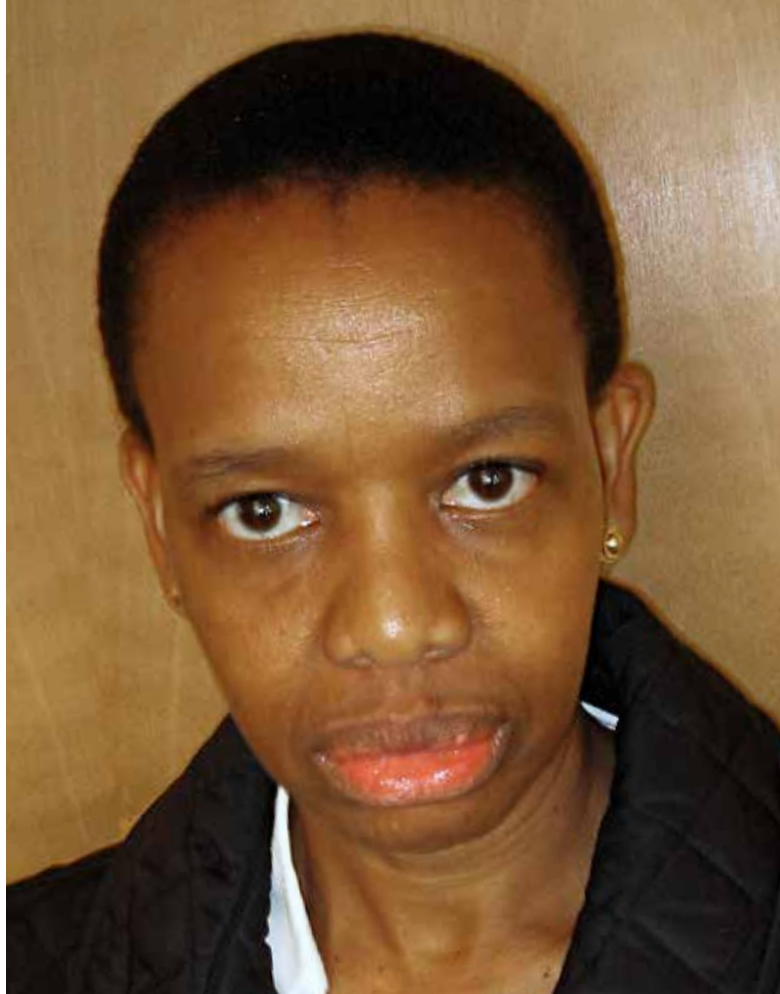


PHOTO: PIERRE ANDERSSON

Neo Morojele

“Studies from Namibia show that women there drink almost as much as men – the difference is very small. In other countries, the differences remain, but if we look at the proportion of people who consume a lot of alcohol, there is actually not a great deal of difference between men and women.”

Neo Morojele does not think there is any doubt that alcohol contributes to poverty and is an obstacle in other ways to development in southern Africa. She is calling on the authorities to come up with a more effective alcohol policy.

“But there are also other things that can be done. We need to improve people’s lives. The way people drink is a little bit desperate. We have areas where almost everyone is unemployed, but alcohol is always present and easily becomes an escape. And when people drink, their hopes for the future are suppressed even more. It’s important to remember that these problems go in both directions.”

Does development aid have a drinking problem?

Development can be made more difficult – or can go in the wrong direction – because of alcohol. There is a lot of evidence that many aid projects would produce better results if the alcohol aspect were included.

Awareness of alcohol as an obstacle to development is also growing among aid organisations. More and more of them are including alcohol prevention elements in their programmes and are seeing clear results from that.

In 2013, Forum Syd, an umbrella organisation for associations and popular movements carrying out aid activities, adopted a policy on alcohol as an obstacle to development. All organisations applying for programme support from Forum Syd must now answer questions about how they see the risk of alcohol affecting the results of the programmes and how they intend to deal with the issues.

In northern Uganda, the organisation IAS, International Aid Services, is working on a range of development projects, mainly in the areas of maintenance and humanitarian aid for refugees. Juliet Namukasa, the manager of the organisation in Uganda, describes how the organisation's projects ran into problems. "When we visited the



villages at nine o'clock in the morning, the women were working in the fields while many of the men were already drunk. It was a problem we had to deal with. Alcohol threatens sustainable development."

The IAS began by analysing the ways in which alcohol consumption affected the projects. A special programme to prevent problems caused by alcohol was introduced – and was so successful that the IAS is now planning to introduce similar programmes in Tanzania and Kenya.

Another example of an aid organisation that takes alcohol issues seriously is the Adoption Centre. Many of the children who end up in orphanages and are adopted

"When we visited the villages at nine o'clock in the morning, the women were working in the fields while many of the men were already drunk. It was a problem we had to deal with."

come from families with problems relating to substance abuse. The Adoption Centre wants its work to support the children's biological families to find a way out of the substance abuse so they can keep their children or get back children who have already been taken into care. This is how Inga

Näslund, Information Secretary at the Adoption Centre, describes her visits to orphanages in the former Soviet Union:

"I have not visited any orphanage where I have not seen the results of alcohol: small, elf-like children with old man's faces and tentative hands seeking contact. Children who can never be like other children, with damage that becomes even more obvious when they reach school age. These children were rarely considered for adoption, but of course they left behind an indelible impression. It is therefore no coincidence that the Adoption Centre's is engaged in aid projects working with children in abusive environments, particularly in Belarus."



PHOTO: KRIVINIS / ADOBE STOCK

The road ahead

Alcohol affects people's lives in many ways and on several different levels. The picture given here is relatively bleak. It is important to remember that there are also examples of things moving in the right direction.

The WHO Global Alcohol Strategy – the first ever strategy of its kind – was adopted in May 2010. It is a significant document in several ways, mainly because it shows a broad consensus among the governments of the world in support of the principles of a restrictive alcohol policy.⁸⁸

Why did it happen at that time? Several reports were published in the early 2000s that received a great deal of attention and had a tremendous impact. When the Global Burden of Disease study was

presented in 2002 (it is still updated regularly), it was clear that alcohol is responsible for a significant part of the global burden of disease and overall is one of the main risk factors in ill-health and premature death. In some age groups and in some regions (e.g. southern Africa), alcohol was even the main risk factor.

The following year, “Alcohol: No ordinary commodity” was published by Tomas Babor and his 14 research colleagues (released in a new edition in 2010). After going through virtually all available research since 1994, the group confirmed that alcohol is one of the major causes of ill-health in the world. Evidence for different types of measures to reduce the problem was also presented. It turned out that a very clear consensus had emerged among alcohol researchers as to what actually works.

The recommendations of the WHO alcohol strategy are based, among other things, on the work carried out by Babor and his colleagues. The measures identified by the WHO as being the most cost-effective in preventing harm from alcohol are:

Limited availability

- Introduce a system of licensed stores or a monopoly.
- Limit the number of sales outlets and opening hours.
- Introduce age limits and make sure that the sales outlets comply with them and put in place rules stating that people who are drunk must not be served.

Restrict the marketing of alcohol

- Particularly if there is a risk that children and young people will be exposed to it.
- The strategy clearly states that legislation is preferable to self-regulation, which is significantly less effective.

High prices

- An important instrument, achieved with a system of alcohol taxes that should be regularly adjusted for inflation and rising incomes.
- The strategy also mentions minimum prices as a recommended route.
- There should be no state subsidies for the alcohol industry.

The strategy also contains recommendations on aspects such as legislation against drink-driving, measures against “informal” and illegally manufactured alcohol and points to the importance of preventive work in health care.

Investments in prevention of this kind are economically profitable.

Calculations show that for every dollar invested, countries get nine dollars back in reduced costs.⁸⁹

The WHO alcohol strategy can be seen as a victory for the Nordic alcohol policy model. Maria Larsson, the then Minister of Public Health, who represented the EU as a whole during the negotiations in Geneva, said afterwards that the strategy was “a milestone”, adding that “Much of the Swedish restrictive alcohol policy and experience is included in an extensive collection of examples for countries to choose from in order to reduce the harm resulting from alcohol. Now it’s a question of making sure it’s used and not left lying on the shelf.”

Good examples are available

There are good examples of how the WHO recommendations are implemented around the world. Kenya has legislation in place, but also has some challenges with regard to implementation since responsibility for it was farmed out to regional authorities. However, there is a lot of evidence that the law is working as intended – consumption is lower than in many other African countries and both addiction and the amount of risk drinking have decreased since 2014.⁹⁰

Laos has become subject to an alcohol law with many good components. At the time of writing, the Vietnam parliament is debating draft legislation that looks as though it will be passed. In Cambodia, there is still no coherent law on alcohol, but the government of the country has assigned the authorities the task of developing an action plan on alcohol as part of work to prevent non-communicable diseases.

“...an extensive collection of examples for countries to choose from in order to reduce the harm resulting from alcohol. Now it’s a matter of making sure it’s used.”

A global framework convention on alcohol?

The development and introduction of an evidence-based, effective policy on alcohol has improved since the adoption of the WHO Global Alcohol Strategy in 2010, but much remains to be done before the world’s population is protected from alcohol-related harm in a reasonable way.

The WHO itself reports that most countries in the world still lack a coherent, evidence-based policy with regard to alcohol. The situation is particularly bad among low- and middle-income countries. Not a single low-income country has put more resources into develop-

ing a preventive alcohol policy since the Global Alcohol Strategy was adopted.⁹¹

The world has had a global tobacco convention (the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, FCTC) since 2005.⁹² It was a long way from the idea to the adopted convention, but the results have been good. 180 countries have ratified the Convention up to now, which means that it includes almost 90 per cent of the world's population.

The FCTC contains effective measures to reduce both demand and supply of tobacco and also includes mechanisms and rules concerning scientific collaboration and exchange of expertise. One of the most important parts of the Convention deals with how states should relate to the tobacco industry and is intended to guarantee that the industry exerts no influence over policy processes.

As a direct result of the Tobacco Convention, protective tobacco policy has been greatly strengthened on a global scale. Marketing of tobacco is prohibited. Use of the tax instrument has meant that

the price of tobacco has risen, which reduces demand and use. Pictorial warnings or so-called neutral packets have been introduced in many countries.

One indirect effect of the FCTC is that the opportunities for civil society to work on the tobacco issue at a global level have increased, both in terms of

“The main arguments in favour are that it would spread effective, evidence-based policies to more countries and also make them aware of the need to regulate the actions of the alcohol industry more clearly and more strongly.”

direct prevention and when it comes to political influence. Since the Convention was adopted, several major global funds, primarily the Bloomberg Foundation, have allocated considerable funds mainly to support work on tobacco in developing countries.

There are good arguments in favour of a similar convention on alcohol – a Framework Convention on Alcohol Control. The main arguments in favour are that it would spread effective, evidence-based policies to more countries and also make them aware of the need to regulate the actions of the alcohol industry more clearly and more strongly.

A third advantage of international solutions of this kind is that they enable problems to be solved that are difficult to do anything about at a national level. One example is the regulation of alcohol advertising, which often crosses national borders.

It is no easy matter to bring about an international convention of this kind. It is likely that the Tobacco Convention was successful due to several factors. The tobacco issue already had some important

things in its favour. A few years before the issue came up in the WHO, US courts had awarded huge damages in high-profile tobacco cases and the big tobacco companies were repeatedly caught lying and withholding information. There was also a great deal of commitment to the issue in the WHO senior management.

However, those attending international conferences and meetings on global health can hardly miss the fact that there is movement concerning this issue. The need for an alcohol convention is increasingly mentioned in these contexts – mainly because it is increasingly clear that marketing and lobbying by the alcohol industry harm people's health and the development of society. A global industry requires global regulation.

References

- 1 Manthey, J., Shield, K. D., Rylett, M., Hasan, O. S. M., Probst, C., & Rehm, J. (2019). Global alcohol exposure between 1990 and 2017 and forecasts until 2030: a modelling study. *Lancet* (London, England), 0(0). [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(18\)32744-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(18)32744-2)
- 2 Global Status Report on Alcohol and Health. 2018. WHO.
- 3 Meel B L. 2006. Alcohol-Related Traumatic Deaths in Transkei Region, South Africa. *Internet Journal of Medical Update*.
- 4 Global Burden of Disease Study 2017. <https://vizhub.healthdata.org/gbd-compare/> (Läst 2019-05-16)
- 5 WHO. <https://www.who.int/ncds/en/> (Läst 2019-04-23)
- 6 Global action plan for the prevention and control of noncommunicable diseases 2013-2020. (WHO 2013)
- 7 Global strategy to reduce the harmful use of alcohol. 2010. WHO.
- 8 Alcohol and the sustainable development goals – Major obstacle to development. 2017. IOGT International.
- 9 Världsbanken. Public Health at a Glance. <http://web.worldbank.org/archive/website01213/WEB/IMAGES/AAGALCOH.PDF> (Nedladdad 2017-12-13).
- 10 De Silva, V et al., "Association between concurrent alcohol and tobacco use and poverty", *Drug and Alcohol Review*, vol. 30, no. 1, 2011, s. 71-72.
- 11 Thavorncharoensap, M et al., "The economic impact of alcohol consumption: a systematic review", *Substance Abuse Treatment, Prevention, and Policy*, vol. 4, no. 20, 2009, s. 10.
- 12 WHO. Alcohol Fact Sheet. <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs349/en/> (Nedladdad 2017.12.13)
- 13 Anderson, P, Baumberg, B. "Alcohol in Europe – Public Health Perspective: Report summary", *Informa Healthcare*, 2006, s. 486.
- 14 Robinson, Monique, "How the First Nine Months Shape the Rest of Our Lives", *Australian Psychologist*, Vol. 48, 2013, p. 241.
- 15 Room R., Rehm J. Alcohol and non-communicable diseases— cancer, heart disease and more. *Addiction* 2011; 106: 1–2.
- 16 Kyu, H. H. et al (2017). The global burden of tuberculosis: results from the Global Burden of Disease Study 2015. *The Lancet Infectious Diseases*.

- 17 Woodruff, K.: Alcohol Advertising and Violence Against Women: A Media Advocacy Case Study, in: Health Education & Behavior, Vol 23, Issue 3, pp. 330 – 345, 2016
- 18 Andreasson, S. et al. (2017). Alkohol och våld, en översikt av internationell och svensk forskning. Rapportserien Alkoholen och samhället 2017/2018. Stockholm: Göteborgs Universitet, IOGT- NTO, Svenska Läkaresällskapet
- 19 WHO (2006). Intimate Partner Violence and Alcohol. WHO Factsheet. Geneva: World Health Organization
- 20 Saffitz (2010). Understanding Gender-based Violence: Evidence from Kilimanjaro. African Sociological Review 14(1) 2010.
- 21 Vision report: World Water Vision: Making Water Everybody's Business
- 22 Water Footprint Network: Gallery – wine: <http://waterfootprint.org/en/resources/interactive-tools/product-gallery/>
- 23 Water Footprint Network: Gallery – beer: <http://waterfootprint.org/en/resources/interactive-tools/product-gallery/>
- 24 Garnett, K.: The alcohol we drink and its contribution to the UK's greenhouse gas emissions: a discussion paper. Working paper produced as part of the work of the food climate research network, Centre for environmental strategy, University of Surrey, 2007
- 25 WHO. European Status Report on Alcohol and Health 2010.
- 26 Rehm et al. Disease Control Priorities in Developing Countries, kapitel 47.
- 27 Thavorncharoensap, M., et al., The economic impact of alcohol consumption: a systematic review. Substance Abuse Treatment, Prevention, and Policy, 2009. 4: p. 20.
- 28 Matzopoulos, R. G., Truen, S., Bowman, B., & Corrigall, J. (2014). The cost of harmful alcohol use in South Africa. South African Medical Journal = Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif Vir Geneeskunde, 104(2), 127–132. Retrieved from <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/24893544>
- 29 Alcohol in Europe. 2006. European Commission.
- 30 WHO. NCD Fact Sheet. <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/noncommunicable-diseases> (läst 2019-05-16)
- 31 Europeiska kommissionen. Special Eurobarometer 331. 2010
- 32 Praud, D., Rota, M., Rehm, J., Shield, K., Zatoński, W., Hashibe, M., . . . Boffetta, P. (2016). Cancer incidence and mortality attributable to alcohol consumption. Int J Cancer, 138(6), pp. 1380-7.

- 33 <http://www.amphoraproject.net>
- 34 <http://www.accentmagasin.se/forskning/forskare-rekommenderar-ett-glas-alkohol-per-ar/> (Läst 2019-05-16)
- 35 WHO (2016), Inspire: Seven strategies for ending violence against children. World Health Organization.
- 36 WHO (2013), Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- 37 WHO (2006). Intimate Partner Violence and Alcohol. WHO Factsheet. Geneva: World Health Organization
- 38 Boles, S.M. & Miotto, K. (2003). Substance abuse and violence: A review of the literature. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 8(2), 155-174
- 39 Saffitz (2010). Understanding Gender-based Violence: Evidence from Kili-manjaro. *African Sociological Review* 14(1) 2010.
- 40 Andreasson, S. et al. (2017). Alkohol och våld, en översikt av internationell och svensk forskning. Rapportserien Alkoholen och samhället 2017/2018. Stockholm: Göteborgs Universitet, IOGT- NTO, Svenska Läkaresällskapet
- 41 WHO. (2014). Global status report on violence prevention, 2014. Geneva: World health organization.
- 42 WHO. (2009). Preventing violence by reducing the availability and harmful use of alcohol. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- 43 WHO (2006). Interpersonal Violence and Alcohol. WHO Policy Briefing. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- 44 UNAIDS (2018). Global HIV & AIDS statistics — 2018 fact sheet. <https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/fact-sheet> (Läst 2019-05-16)
- 45 Schuper et al 2009. Causal Considerations on Alcohol and HIV/AIDS — A Systematic Review. *Alcohol and Alcoholism*.
- 46 Sheri D. Weiser et al. 2006. A Population-Based Study on Alcohol and High-Risk Sexual Behaviors in Botswana.
- 47 Parsons et al., 2008
- 48 WHO (2010). Global strategy to reduce harmful use of alcohol.
- 49 Task Force on Fiscal Policy for Health (2019). Health Taxes to Save Lives: Employing Effective Excise Taxes on Tobacco, Alcohol, and Sugary Beverages.
- 50 World Bank (2019). <https://data.worldbank.org> (data läst 2019-05-16)

- 51 Financial Times. 2012. Case study: Diageo's Africa finance chief discusses opportunities abroad
- 52 GlobalData (2018). Presentation. <http://www.arena-international.com/Journals/2018/05/18/k/w/w/3.-Kevin-Baker---GlobalData.pdf> (läst 2019-05-16)
- 53 Logic, Plato. 2011. World Beer Report.
- 54 Statista (2019). <https://www.statista.com> (läst 2019-05-16)
- 55 Olivier van Beemen (2019). Heineken in Africa, Hurst Publishers.
- 56 Jernigan, David H (1997). På jakt efter nya marknader.
- 57 Sveriges Radio, Kaliber, 3 maj 2009. Alkoholmisär på export.
- 58 Jernigan, David H och Obot, Isidore. 2006. Thirsting for the African market, African Journal of Drug & Alcohol Studies, 5/2006.
- 59 Stephen Lepitak, The Drum. 2012. Diageo reveals international marketing spend for 2012
- 60 Trouble Brewing – Making the case for alcohol policy. Vital Strategies, NCD Alliance, IOGT International, och Global Alcohol Policy Alliance (2018).
- 61 Babor et al (2017). Evaluating compliance with alcohol industry self-regulation in seven countries in Africa
- 62 Lubek, Ian. Confronting HIV/AIDS and alcohol in Cambodia.
- 63 Olivier van Beemen (2019). Heineken in Africa
- 64 Accent (2018). Globala fonden lägger avtal med Heineken på is. <http://www.accentmagasin.se/politik/globala-fonden-lagger-avtal-med-heineken-pa/> (läst 2019-05-16)
- 65 ACTU looks to help Asian beer sales girls, ABC News, 27 maj 2006.
- 66 Allied Market Research, pressmeddelande (2017). <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/alcoholic-beverages-market-expected-to-reach-1594-billion-globally-by-2022---allied-market-research-618354513.html> (läst 2019-05-17)
- 67 <https://www.brewbound.com/news/anheuser-busch-inbev-revenue-tops-54-6-billion-in-2018> (läst 2019-05-17)
- 68 SAB Miller Annual Report 2016 (sid 16-17)
- 69 WHO (2017). 'Best buys' and other recommended interventions for the prevention and control of noncommunicable diseases

- 70 CSR betyder Corporate Social Responsibility och är saker företag gör för att ta ett socialt ansvar i de marknader man verkar.
- 71 Olivier van Beemen (2019). Heineken in Africa
- 72 <https://www.diageo.com/en/in-society/programmes-and-partnerships/water-of-life/> (läst 2019-05-17)
- 73 The Guardian (2011-08-16). Breweries across the world strive to decrease beer's water footprint
- 74 Eurocare (2002). The beverage alcohol industry's social aspects organizations: A public health warning.
- 75 Babor, T. F. (2009). Alcohol research and the alcoholic beverage industry: Issues, concerns and conflicts of interest. *Addiction*, 104(SUPPL. 1), 34–47. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1360-0443.2008.02433.x>
- 76 Alcohol Alert (1995). Rows over drinks industry's attempt to rubbish alcohol report.
- 77 Bakke, Øystein & Endal, Dag. Vested Interests in Addiction Research and Policy. *Addiction* 2010
- 78 World's Top Exports (2019). <http://www.worldstopexports.com/major-export-companies-alcoholic-beverages/> (läst 2019-05-17)
- 79 World Bank, World Development Index (2018) <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.DDAY?end=2017&start=2009&view=chart> (läst 2019-05-17)
- 80 World Bank (2003). Public Health at a Glance
- 81 WHO (2005). Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women.
- 82 USAID (2008). Gender-Based Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa.
- 83 WHO (2005) Alcohol, gender and drinking problems – Perspectives from low and middle income countries.
- 84 Fast Company: Carlsberg Taps The Next Big Beer Market (Really): Women. december 2012
- 85 Akyeampong, E. (1994). The State and Alcohol Revenues - Promoting Economic-Development in Gold-Coast Ghana, 1919 to the Present. *Histoire Sociale-Social History*, 27(54), 393–411.
- 86 Uttalande av byhövdingen för Akyem Abuakwa, Nana Ofon Atta I under "Legislative Council Debates", 1mars 1928. (Citerat i Akyeampong, E. (1994). The State and Alcohol Revenues - Promoting Economic-Development in Gold-Coast Ghana, 1919 to the Present)

- 87 Jernigan, David H. 1997. På jakt efter nya marknader.
- 88 WHO (2010). Global strategy to reduce harmful use of alcohol.
- 89 Saving lives, spending less: a strategic response to noncommunicable diseases. Geneva, Switzerland. World Health Organization; 2018
- 90 Kenya Institute of Economic Affairs (2019). The unintended effects of Kenya's alcohol regulation policies.
- 91 Jernigan, David (2017). Global developments in alcohol policies: Progress in implementation of the WHO global strategy to reduce the harmful use of alcohol since 2010. Background paper developed for the WHO Forum on Alcohol, Drugs and Addictive Behaviours
- 92 WHO (2003). Framework Convention on Tobacco Control.

A GLOBAL HANGOVER

The role of alcohol in poverty, ill-health and oppression in the world is given a face through **Global Hangover**.

Although the WHO places alcohol high on the list of individual causes of premature death and illness that cause and can keep people locked in poverty, it has long been ignored in a development context by many aid stakeholders.

"Alcohol is no ordinary commodity," says Professor Thomas Babor in the book. For that reason, much of the book also deals with investment by the alcohol industry in developing countries' markets.

Global Hangover reveals, in an easily accessible way with clear examples, how alcohol is an obstacle to development.

(Second English edition 2021, based on the 2019 Swedish edition.)