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CULTURAL AND STRUCTURAL ACCOUNTS OF COUNTERFEIT ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA

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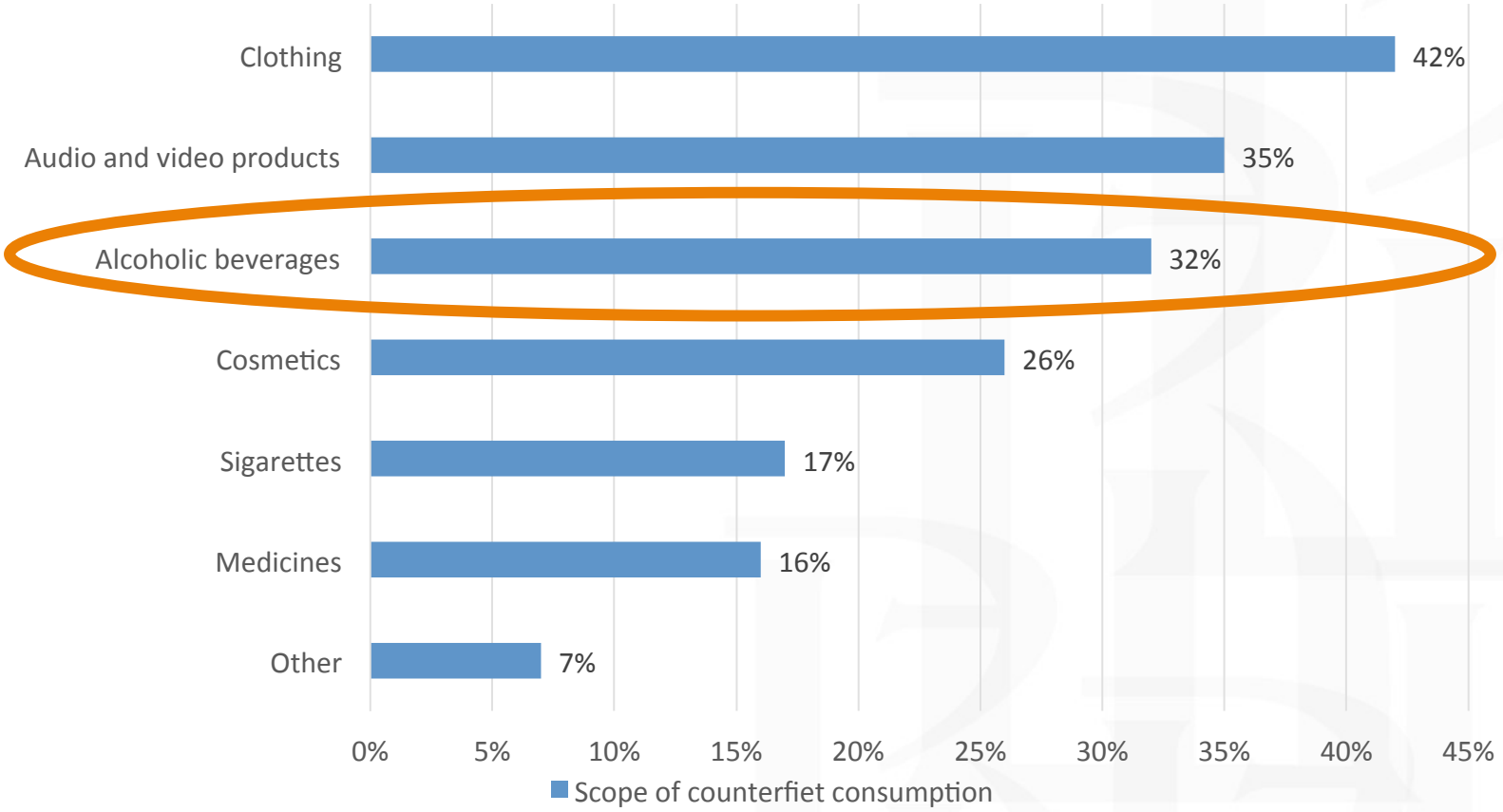
Research motivation

- Alcohol is a common target of counterfeiting — up to 40% of alcoholic beverages trade in Russia [Radaev et al. 2008]
- The majority of Russians (94%) believe that consumption of counterfeit alcohol may cause serious harm to health
- A large number of Russians consume counterfeit — 30% stated that they had bought counterfeits during the previous year [Khramova 2012]

Counterfeit alcohol is widespread



Sources: Khramova (2012); Note: N = 2222

Counterfeiting is …

"a range of illicit activities linked with the trademark infringement" [OECD 2007: 8]

Forms of counterfeiting in alcohol drinks

- "tipping" implying a practice whereby genuine containers are in some way supplemented with alcohol from a non-genuine source;
- collection of empties on a commercial basis for refilling, selling counterfeit labels and capsules;
- producing whole product: bottle, capsule and liquid [Counting counterfeits 2002: 85];
- imitations of the registered trademark including copies, which are similar but not identical to the original;
- grey goods "which are illegally sold as overruns produced by factories contracted by the brand manufactures" [Phau et al. 2000: 46–47].

Types of counterfeit consumption

Deceptive counterfeiting	consumers unknowingly buy forged branded goods [Grossman & Shapiro 1988]
Blur counterfeiting	"the scenario where consumers are not quite sure whether what they purchase is counterfeit or a genuine branded product" [Bian 2006: 4]
Non-deceptive counterfeiting	consumers purposely and consciously purchase fakes [Grossman & Shapiro 1988]

Research questions

1. How common is conscious consumption of counterfeit alcohol in Russia?

2. Do counterfeit consumers have specific patterns of alcohol consumption?

3. Do counterfeit consumers have different preferences in terms of price, brand, and quality, choosing alcohol?

4. What is a contribution of social networks?

5. Do consumers of counterfeit alcohol present specific social classes?

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

Given mass expansion and high physical risks, counterfeit alcohol consumption is not associated with a specific subculture [Rutter & Bryce 2008], namely counterfeit alcohol consumers do not follow distinctive patterns concerning frequency and volume of alcohol drinking, types of alcoholic beverages consumed, places of alcohol consumption, etc.

Hypothesis 2

Consumer's orientation to the affordable price is positively associated with drinking counterfeit alcohol [Bloch et al. 1993; Weidmann, Hennings & Klarmann 2011].

Hypothesis 3

Consumer's orientation to taste is negatively associated with drinking counterfeit alcohol.

Hypothesis 4

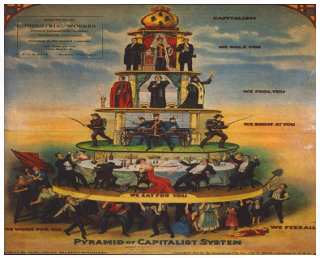
Consumer's orientation to a famous is positively associated with drinking counterfeit alcohol [Rutter & Bryce 2008; Bian & Moutinho 2009] .

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 5
Consumers who have acquaintances consuming surrogate alcohol and producing homemade alcohol tend to drink counterfeit alcohol [Albers-Miller 1999]

Hypothesis 6
Counterfeit alcohol consumers have no association with a specific social class position

Hypothesis 7
Counterfeit alcohol consumers tend to be younger [Chiou, Huang & Lee 2005]



Hypothesis 8
Counterfeit alcohol consumers tend to be male [Rutter & Bryce 2008]

RLMS-HSE

21 round

18,462 individuals

aged 15 and older

Special module

Data

It is based on the RLMS-HSE 21 round conducted in 2012. The 21 round presents a nationwide Russian survey of 8,440 households and 18,687 individuals aged 14 and older

The paper is relied upon calculations done on a basis of the merged dataset (18,462), including variables generated from surveys of individuals aged 15 and older and their households.

RLMS-HSE

The Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey of the Higher School of Economics (RLMS-HSE) presents a series of nationally representative panel surveys conducted since 1992 to monitor the effects of Russian reforms on the health and economic welfare of households and individuals in the Russian Federation. Nowadays, RLMS-HSE includes 22 rounds.

In the RLMS, a multi-stage probability sample was employed. The RLMS is a household-based survey. Although it aims to sample households, it uses the common practice of drawing a sample of dwelling units . The response rate for individuals within interviewed households exceeded 97% in each round. The distribution of household size in the sample, within both rural and urban localities, corresponded well to the figures from the 1989 census. The sample is designed to allow the analysis of household data as well as data on individuals residing in those households. On the basis of a multistage probability sample, it provides more than 3,000 variables. RLMS data are gathered with help of face-to-face interviews.

Data from the RLMS may be used in two types of analyses: 1) repeated cross-section analysis and 2) longitudinal or “panel" analysis.

Non-deceptive consumption is high

- 90% believe that counterfeit alcohol is widespread on national market
- 40% say that the scope of counterfeit alcohol has expanded in the Russian markets over the last 2–3 years
- 5.8% say that they consumed counterfeits and 9.2% cannot give a certain answer (among people who consumed alcohol during the last 30 days)
- 6.8% say that they bought counterfeit and 10.8% does not know (among people who purchased alcohol during the last 30 days)
- 31.5% were aware of purchasing counterfeit alcoholic beverages
- 12.6% stated that sometimes they bought counterfeit alcoholic beverages deliberately, sometimes they did it unknowingly

Dependent variable

Questions	Measurement
"Have you consumed alcoholic beverages during the last 30 days which, in your opinion, were counterfeit?"	Nominal
People who have not consumed counterfeit alcohol during the last 30 days	86.7%
People who are not sure whether the consumed alcoholic beverages were counterfeit	7.7.%
People who consumed counterfeit alcohol during the last 30 days	5.6.%
Total	100%
N	7,532

Independent variables

Dimension	Variable	Measurement
Clusters of alcohol consumers	Six clusters (1 = vodka lovers; 2 = light and expensive alcohol consumers; 3 = eclectic alcohol drinkers; 4 = occasional light drink lovers; 5 = hazardous drinkers; 6 = homemade alcohol consumers)	Nominal
Criteria taken when selecting alcohol		
Affordable price	5 grading scale for measurement how important is affordable price when selecting alcoholic beverages	Continuous
Taste	5 grading scale for measurement how important is taste when selecting alcoholic beverages	Continuous
Famous brand	5 grading scale for measurement how important is famous brand when selecting alcoholic beverages	Continuous
Social environment		
Producers of homemade alcohol	Do any of your neighbors, acquaintances or relatives make home-produced alcoholic beverages?	Dichotomous
Consumers of alcohol surrogates	Do any of your neighbors, acquaintances or relatives consume surrogate alcohol?	Dichotomous

Dimension	Variable	Measurement
Demographic and social characteristics		
Social class	Individual social class position (1 = upper-upper class; 2 = lower upper class; 3 = upper middle class; 4 = lower middle class; 5 = upper lower class; 6 = lower-lower class)	Categorical
Gender	Gender (1 = man, 0 = woman)	Dichotomous
Age	Number of years computed as 2012 minus year of birth	Continuous
Number of household members	Number of household members (1 = one, 2 = from two to four, 3 = more than five)	Categorical
Settlement type	Settlement type and size (1 = central city of a given region, 2 = city or town, 3 = township, 4 = rural area)	Categorical
Control variables		
Ln (Gross regional product per capita)	Natural log of gross regional product per capita in a given region	Continuous
Individual level of hesitation	A total number of “Difficult to answer” chosen by a given respondent during the survey (except questions related to alcohol consumption)	Continuous

Types of alcohol consumers

Clusters	%	Short description	
Vodka lovers	27,5	Consumers of vodka (and beer) who tend drink alcohol at home and visiting friends having meals from 2-3 times per month to 2-3 times per week. They tend to be heavy drinkers and report problems associated with drinking alcohol.	
Light and expensive alcohol consumers	39,8	Consumers of beer, wine and champagne, cognac and whiskey who tend to drink alcohol at restaurants and bars from 2-3 times per month to 2-3 times per week.	
Eclectic alcohol drinkers	7,2	Consumers of beer, homemade wine, vodka, and wine, who tend to drink alcohol at home from 2-3 times per month to once per week. They are high likely to belong to households producing homemade alcohol.	
Occasional alcohol lovers	12,7	Consumers of beer, vodka, wine and champagne, cognac and whiskey who tend to drink alcohol once per month in public places, visiting friends and at the workplace.	
Hazardous alcohol drinkers	10,0	Consumers of beer, vodka, fortified wine and samogon who tend to drink alcohol at home, in public places, at work, and visiting friends before mealtime and without meal from 2-3 times per week to every day. They tend to be heavy drinkers and report problems associated with drinking alcohol.	
Homemade alcohol consumers	2,8	Consumers of homemade wine and samogon who tend to drink alcohol at home 2-3 times per week. They tend to refer to heavy drinkers. They belong to households producing homemade alcohol.	
Total	100	N	8,778

Regression coefficients

Dependent variable - Have you consumed alcoholic beverages during the last 30 days which, in your opinion, were counterfeit?	Counterfeiting			Blur counterfeiting		
Reference – Original alcohol consumers	D	SE	Exp(B)	D	SE	Exp(B)
Clusters (base - Homemade alcohol drinkers)						
Vodka lovers	-,674**	,248	,510	1,403**	,467	4,066
Light and expensive alcohol consumers	-1,302***	,256	,272	,957*	,469	2,603
Eclectic alcohol drinkers	-1,013**	,307	,363	,921	,495	2,512
Occasional light drink lovers	-1,375****	,296	,253	,856	,484	2,353
Hazardous drinkers	,191	,255	1,211	1,912***	,473	6,764
Affordable price	-,059	,224	,943	,995***	,223	2,706
Likes taste	-,871***	,248	,418	-,552*	,237	,576
Famous brand	-,670**	,211	,512	-,283	,186	,754
Any of your neighbors, acquaintances or relatives make home-produced alcoholic beverages (base – yes)	-,315**	,131	,730	-,368**	,118	,692
Any of your neighbors, acquaintances or relatives consume alcohol surrogates (base – yes)	-,666***	,123	,514	-,392***	,113	,676
Male	,322**	,116	1,380	-,053	,098	,949
Age	-,013***	,004	,987	,003	,003	1,003
Number of household members (base – more than 5)						
One	,287	,231	1,332	-,311	,209	,733
From 2 to 4	-,074	,141	,929	-,414***	,111	,661
Type of residence (base – rural area)						
Regional center	-,040	,145	,960	-,654***	,125	,520
City	,169	,141	1,185	-,205	,119	,815
Township	-,966**	,320	,381	-,395	,206	,674
Social class (base - lower-lower)						
Upper-upper	-,845**	,318	,429	-,912**	,268	,402
Lower upper	-,610**	,210	,543	-,400*	,158	,670
Upper middle	-,126	,173	,882	-,198	,144	,820
Lower middle	-,019	,160	,981	-,547***	,150	,579
Upper lower	-,101	,143	,904	-,371**	,125	,690
Ln (Gross regional product per capita)	-,248*	,125	,780	,205	,106	1,227
Level of hesitation	-,034	,022	,967	,124***	,014	1,132
Constanta	3,894*	1,560		-5,144***	1,387	

Research findings. Counterfeit alcohol consumers

Types of alcohol drinkers

- heavy and hazardous drinkers
- homemade alcohol drinkers

Consumer preferences

- more indifferent to taste of alcoholic beverages
- more indifferent to famous brands

Social networks

- having acquaintances consuming surrogate alcohol
- having acquaintances producing homemade alcohol

Social class

- localized within lower social classes (less educated, unemployed, poor)

Gender

- males

Age

- younger

RGP per capita

- leaving in poorer regions

Research findings. Blur counterfeiting

Types of alcohol drinkers
- heavy and hazardous drinkers
- vodka lovers
- light and expensive alcohol drinkers

Consumer preferences
- more indifferent to taste of alcoholic beverages
- more price sensitive

Social networks
- having acquaintances consuming surrogate alcohol
- having acquaintances producing homemade alcohol

Social class
- upper middle class
- lower-lower class

Age
- older

Level of hesitation
- high level of hesitation

Discussion and conclusions

- Different forms of counterfeiting should be studied. Factors affecting distinct forms of counterfeiting are slightly different.
- Counterfeit alcohol consumption is localized culturally and structurally
  - more localized in lower social classes
  - associated with masculine culture
  - associated with hazardous drinking patterns and samogon drinkers
- Standard market signals do no work
  - less oriented to taste
  - indifferent to famous brands
- Social networks serve as a source for consumer trust and information on the quality of alcohol consumed

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Discussion and conclusions

Social networks appear to be one of the most important factors affecting counterfeit alcohol consumption.

- people who have acquaintances consuming surrogate alcohol
- people who have acquaintances producing homemade alcohol

Counterfeit alcohol consumers tend to be localized within lower social classes:

- less educated
- unemployed
- poorer

Counterfeit alcohol consumers tend to be male.

Conscious consumption of counterfeit alcohol is high

90% believe that counterfeit alcohol is widespread on national market

40% say that the scope of counterfeit alcohol has expanded in the Russian markets over the last 2–3 years

5.8% say that they **consumed counterfeits** and **9.2%** cannot give a certain answer (among people who consumed alcohol during the last 30 days)

6.8% say that they **bought counterfeit** and **10.8%** does not know (among people who purchased alcohol during the last 30 days)

31.5% were **aware of purchasing** counterfeit alcoholic beverages

12.6% stated that sometimes they bought counterfeit alcoholic beverages deliberately, sometimes they did it unknowingly.

Research findings

Counterfeiting

- Alcohol consumers clusters (H1±)
- Criteria for alcohol selection
  - Price (H2-)
  - Taste (H3+)
  - Brand (H4±)
- Social environment
  - Producers of homemade alcohol (H5+)
  - Consumers of surrogate alcohol (H5+)
- Social characteristics
  - Social class (H6±)
  - Gender (H8+)
  - Age (H7+)
  - N of household members (-)
  - Settlement type (+)
- Control variables
  - GRP by capita (+)
  - Level of hesitation (-)

Blur counterfeiting

- Alcohol consumers clusters (H1±)
- Criteria for alcohol selection
  - Price (H2+)
  - Taste (H3+)
  - Brand (H4-)
- Social environment
  - Producers of homemade alcohol (H5+)
  - Consumers of surrogate alcohol (H5+)
- Social characteristics
  - Social class (H6±)
  - Gender (H8-)
  - Age (H7-)
  - N of household members (+)
  - Settlement type (+)
- Control variables
  - GRP by capita (-)
  - Level of hesitation (+)

Research findings

Dependent variable - Have you consumed alcoholic beverages during the last 30 days which, in your opinion, were counterfeit?	Counterfeiting			Blur counterfeiting		
Reference – Original alcohol consumers	D	SE	Exp(B)	D	SE	Exp(B)
Social class (base - lower-lower)						
Upper-upper	-,845**	,318	,429	-,912**	,268	,402
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Control variables						
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Level of hesitation	-,034	,022	,967	,124***	,014	1,132
Constanta	3,894*	1,560		-5,144***	1,387	
Nagelkerke's R2	0.143					
Sign	0.000					
N	7,532					

Independent variables

Dimension	Variable	Measurement
Demographic and social characteristics		
Social class	Individual social class position (1 = upper-upper class; 2 = lower upper class; 3 = upper middle class; 4 = lower middle class; 5 = upper lower class; 6 = lower-lower class)	Categorical
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Individual level of hesitation	A total number of “Difficult to answer” chosen by a given respondent during the survey (except questions related to alcohol consumption)	Continuous

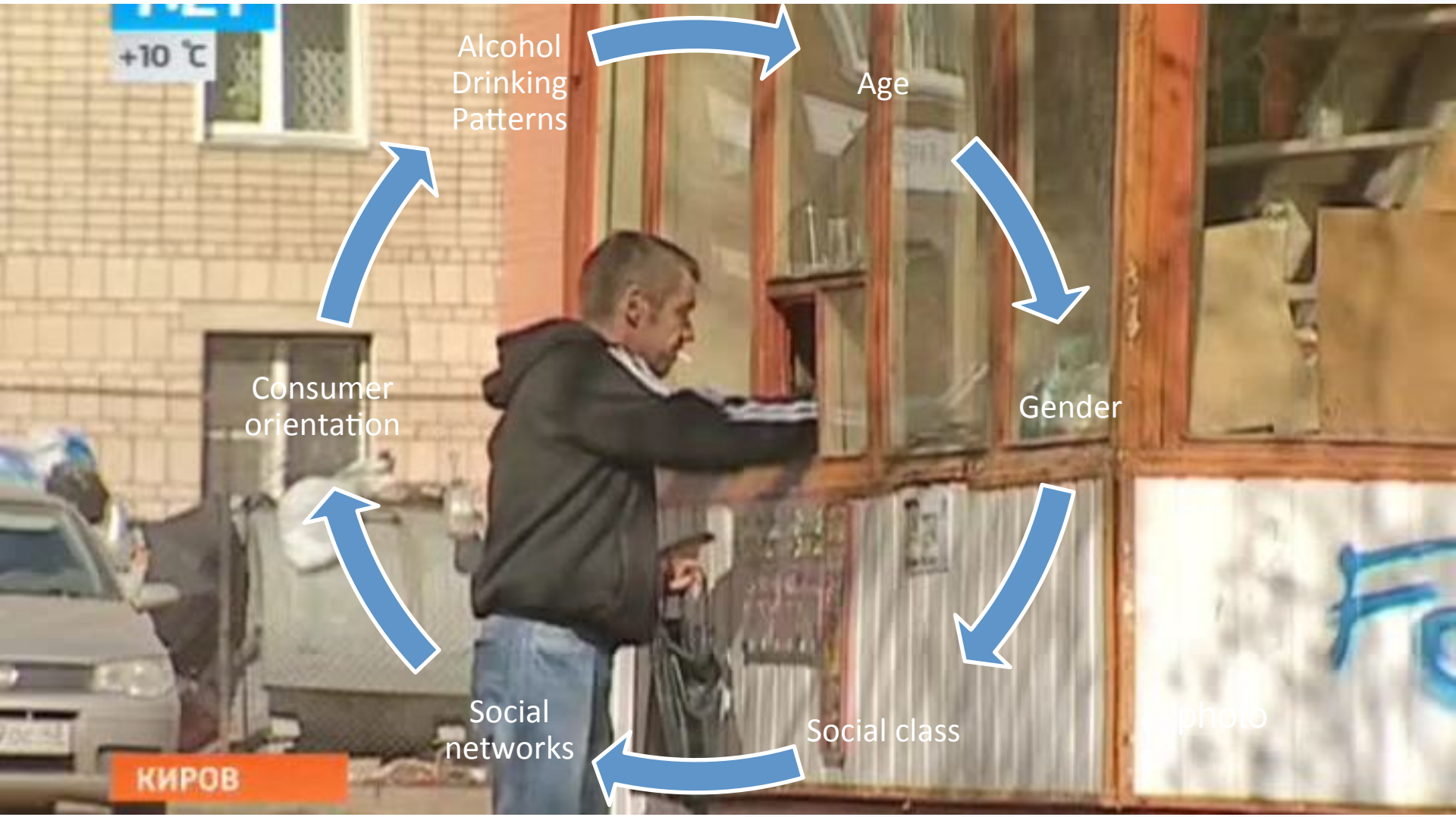
Research findings

Model 1 (N = 15,981)	Model 2 (N = 10,591)	Model 3 (N = 7,532)

• Social environment
  • Producers of homemade alcohol (+)
  • Consumers of surrogate alcohol (+)
• Social characteristics
  • Social class (+)
  • Gender (+)
  • Age (+)
  • N of household members (+)
  • Settlement type (+)
• Control variables
  • GRP by capita (+)
  • Level of hesitation (+)
	• Criteria for alcohol selection
	  • Price (+)
	  • Taste (+)
	  • Brand (+)
	• Social environment
	  • Producers of homemade alcohol (+)
	  • Consumers of surrogate alcohol (+)
	• Social characteristics
	  • Social class (+)
	  • Gender (+)
	  • Age (+)
	  • N of household members (+)
	  • Settlement type (+)
	• Control variables
	  • GRP by capita (+)
	  • Level of hesitation (+)
		• Alcohol consumers clusters (+)
		• Criteria for alcohol selection
		  • Price (+)
		  • Taste (+)
		  • Brand (+)
		• Social environment
		  • Producers of homemade alcohol (+)
		  • Consumers of surrogate alcohol (+)
		• Social characteristics
		  • Social class (+)
		  • Gender (+)
		  • Age (+)
		  • N of household members (+)
		  • Settlement type (+)
		• Control variables
		  • GRP by capita (+)
		  • Level of hesitation (+)

Russian Classic

Assumptions



Possible questions

1. Why counterfeit alcohol consumers tend to follow hazardous behavioral patterns. Is that resulted from compulsory consumption (alcoholism) or desire to experience adventures (gambling)?

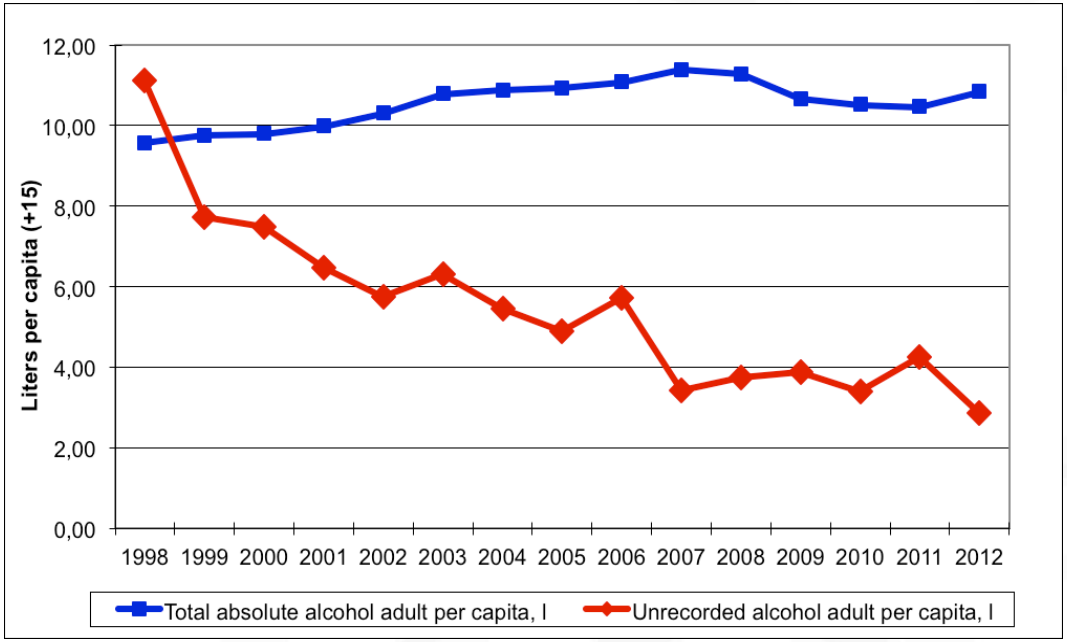
2. How do counterfeit alcohol consumers make the possible physical risks lower? How do they determine value and quality of counterfeit alcohol if they ignore price, taste and famous brands as traditional market signals?

3. How does the specific class culture creates a great demand not only for low-priced goods but also for low quality?

Main trends

- volumes of unrecorded alcohol, including samogon and illegal commercial spirits, on Russian markets have been decreasing gradually;
- from moonshining to consumption of low-quality manufactured alcohol;
- from consumption of hard drinks to consumption of light drinks, primarily beer;
- from importation toward local production of counterfeit alcohol;
- from open markets and peddling (kiosks, booths and so on) to small traditional shops located in remote city districts and the Internet.

Recorded consumption of alcoholic beverages in Russia totally in liters of absolute alcohol and unrecorded alcohol



Sources: Federal State Statistics Service; calculated by I. Kratko and Ya. Rochshina (2013)

Forms of counterfeiting and its predictors

Forms of counterfeiting

Deceptive counterfeiting

Blur counterfeiting

Non-deceptive counterfeiting

Predictors of counterfeiting

Risks (social, financial, physical, etc.)	Social networks	Consumer characteristics (knowledge, experience, awareness)
Consumer attitudes to counterfeiting	Product characteristics (price, quality, brand, etc.)	Consumer characteristics (age, sex, income, education, etc.)

Descriptive statistics (II)

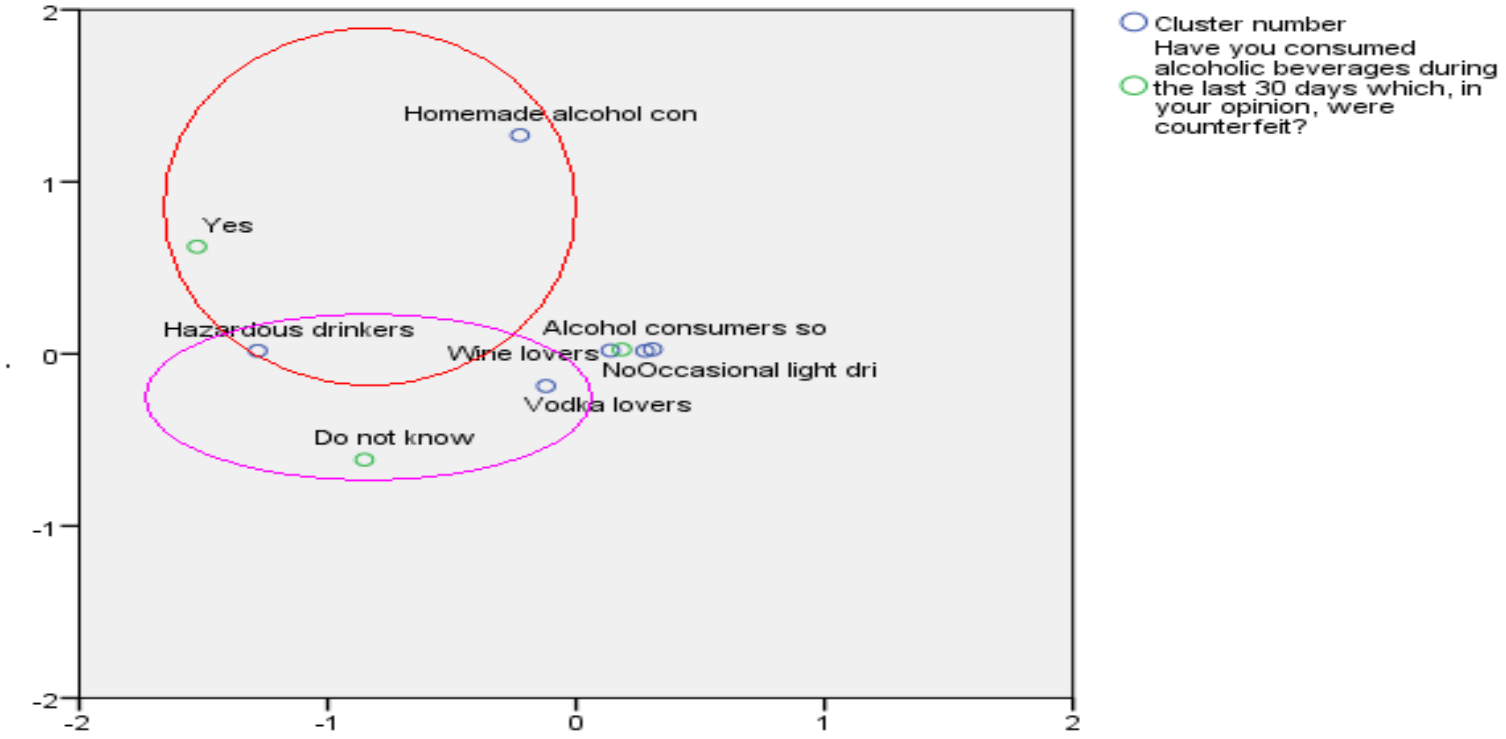
Dependent variable	Descriptive statistics
Dependent variable - Have you consumed alcoholic beverages during the last 30 days which, in your opinion, were counterfeit?	
No	86.7%
DK	7.7.%
Yes	5.6.%

Independent variables		Independent variables	
Clusters (base - Homemade alcohol drinkers)		Number of household members	
Vodka lovers	27.1%	Alone	6.8%
Socially oriented alcohol consumers	40.9%	From 2 to 4	76.0%
Wine lovers	7.1%	More than 5	17.2%
Occasional light drink lovers	12.5%	Social classes	
Hazardous drinkers	9.7%	Upper-upper	6.8%
Homemade alcohol drinkers	2.7%	Lower-upper	16.6%
Any of your neighbors, acquaintances or relatives make home-produced alcoholic beverages		Upper-middle	16.0%
Yes	16.3%	Lower-middle	15.9%
No	83.7%	Upper-lower	22.1%
Any of your neighbors, acquaintances or relatives consume alcohol surrogates		Lower-lower	22.5%
Yes	14.6%	Type of settlement	
No	85.4%	Regional center	47.0%
Gender		City	26.5%
Male	51.0%	Township	5.5%
Female	49.0%	Rural area	21.1%

Discussion and conclusions (II)

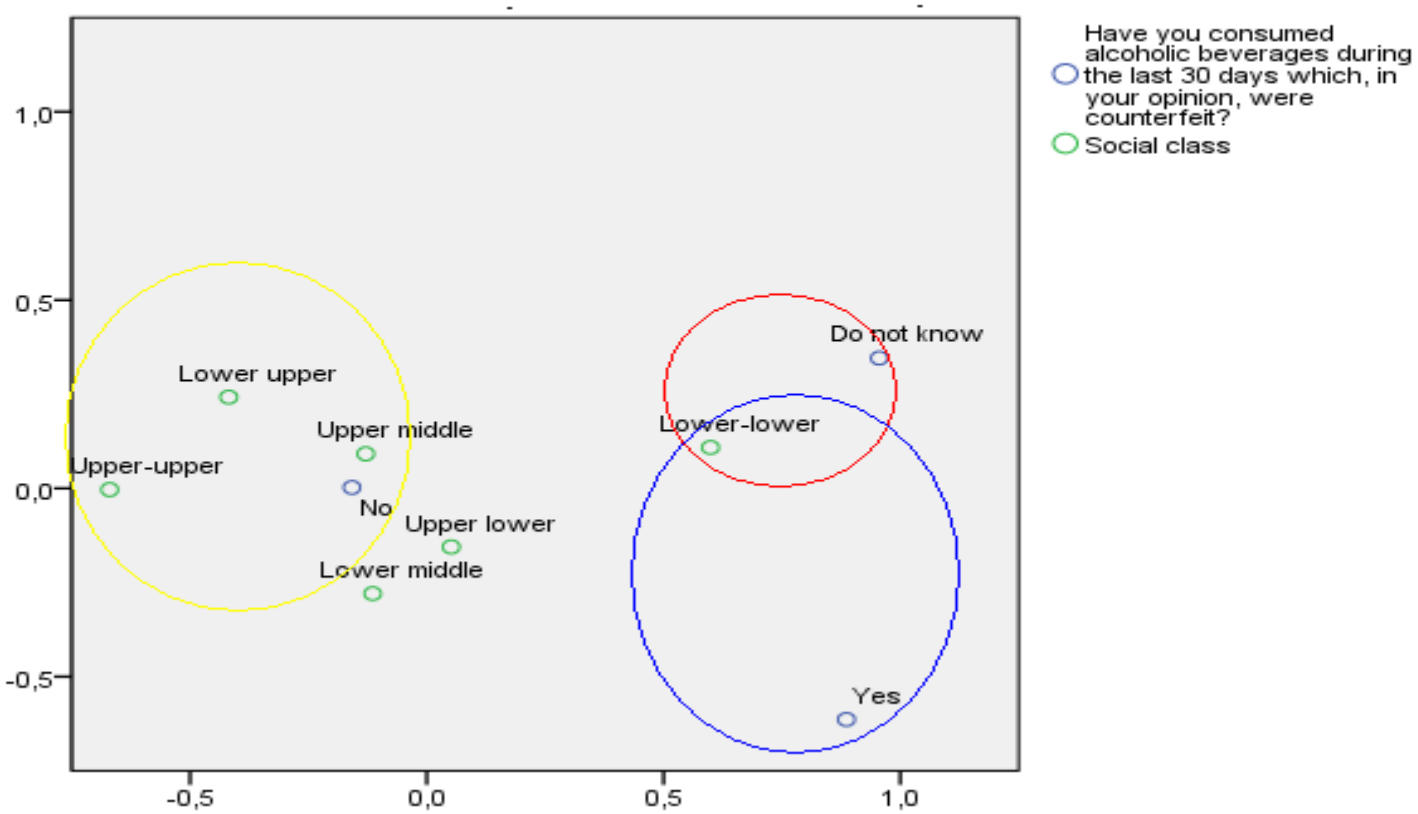
Alcohol consumption practices of the respondents who consumed counterfeit alcohol are significantly different from ones reported by consumers who did not consume counterfeit alcoholic beverages.

- counterfeit alcohol consumers are associated with hazardous alcohol drinkers and homemade alcohol drinkers;
- blur counterfeiting is associated with hazardous alcohol drinkers, and vodka lovers



Discussion and conclusions (III)

Counterfeit alcohol consumers tend to be localized within lower social classes.



Discussion and conclusions (I)

- **Attitudes to counterfeiting**
  Most Russians (94%) believe that counterfeit alcohol is widespread on national markets and point out to negative trends in its expansion during the last 2-3 years.
- Physical risks are the main argument against consumption of counterfeit alcohol. The absolute majority of Russians (94%) completely agree with that the counterfeit alcohol may cause death.
- The absolute majority of Russians (74.4%) affirms that counterfeit alcohol is less expensive than original one.
- A half of respondents (53.1%) confirm that there is more counterfeit alcohol on the market than the original one and claims that local alcohol is more frequent counterfeited than imported one.

A scope of counterfeiting and its forms

The observed counterfeit alcohol consumption was revealed to be lower than one could expect (5.4% state that they have drunk counterfeit alcohol and 9.1% cannot give a certain answer ("blur counterfeiting"; additionally 6.8% affirms that they bought counterfeits and 10.8% does not know a certain answer to this question).

The percentage of counterfeit alcohol buyers consumed and purchased it deliberately is higher than predicted.
Vodka is subject to counterfeiting more often than other types of alcoholic beverages.

Counterfeiting

means “a range of illicit activities linked with the trademark infringement” [OECD 2007: 8]

The concept shows a difficulty in offering a suitable definition because there are several similar types of activities commonly grouped together under one heading, including piracy, direct copies, imitations, introduction of original products with a registered trademark into the commercial turnover without a permission from the owner, etc. [Cheung, Prendergast 2004; Jennings 1989; Lay, Zaichkowsky 1999; Kotelnikova 2011]. It is important to stress that counterfeiting is primarily concerned with registered trademarks and the exclusive rights of owners to them rather than with product falsification, consumer deceptive information about product’s features, tax evasion, unlicensed production, usage of forged excise stamps, etc.

Forms of counterfeiting in alcohol drinks

1. “tipping” implying a practice whereby genuine containers are in some way supplemented with alcohol from a non-genuine source;
2. collection of empties on a commercial basis for refilling, selling counterfeit labels and capsules;
3. producing whole product: bottle, capsule and liquid [Counting counterfeits 2002: 85];
4. imitations of the registered trademark including copies, which are similar but not identical to the original;
5. grey goods “which are illegally sold as overruns produced by factories contracted by the brand manufactures” [Phau et al. 2000: 46–47].

Descriptive statistics

Dimension	Variable	Measurement
Demographic and social characteristics		
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Control variables		
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Individual level of hesitation	A total number of “Difficult to answer” chosen by a given respondent during the survey (except questions related to alcohol consumption)	Continuous

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Conclusions

- Data from the RLMS may be used in two types of analyses.
- **Repeated Cross-Section Analysis**

In the RLMS, a multi-stage probability sample was employed. The RLMS is a household-based survey. Although the target sample size was set at 4,000, the number of households drawn into the sample was inflated to 4,718 to allow for a

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