Price Dynamics in the Bourbon and Scotch Markets: 2006-2023 Has the Wave Peaked?

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Disclaimer

- "Researcher(s)' own analyses calculated (or derived) based in part on data from Nielsen Consumer LLC and marketing databases provided through the NielsenIQ Datasets at the Kilts Center for Marketing Data Center at The University of Chicago Booth School of Business."
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Motivation

Short term—The past two decades have seen dramatic changes in the price and supply of bourbon. What factors account for the changes? Will it last?

- Compare changes in bourbon and scotch—are changes specific to bourbon or more general?
- Look at changes at various points in the price distribution
- How has the price distribution changed over time? What about the impact of attributes on price? How has the price, cross-price and income elasticities changed?
- Have prices started to fall? Why?

Long term—What do we think the future holds

Data

- NielsenIQ scanner data from 2006-2023
- Three main type of files:
- 1. Movement files
 - One file for each year
 - Record is average weighted price and unit sales volume for 1 UPC code from 1 store during 1 specific week
 - Have data for all weeks in a year
 - Unit size can be 750ML, 1.5L, other sizes
- 2. Store file

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- One file for each year. Each record contains information for each year
 - Location--state, county, DMA, 3-digit zip
 - Store type—convenience, grocery, drug, mass merchandiser
- 3. Product file
 - One master file updated yearly. Each record contains product information for each unique UPC code
 - Product module—identify specific product—bourbon whisky, other American whisky (Jack Daniels), scotch, gin, tequila.
 - Information about the product. For bourbon we know—age if indicated, proof, single barrel, small batch, barrel strength, reserve. For scotch we know-- age, proof, single barrel, barrel strength. Have obtained information of type of scotch (blend vs single-malt) and location (region distilled) from other sources.
 - No time series variation by UPC code. If "product" changes it generates a new UPC code.

Data

➢ My sample

- For bourbon:
 - Focus on products defined as bourbon, not whiskey (drop Jack Daniels).
 - Non-flavored products, 750ml bottles, sold as a single unit
- For scotch
 - Focus on products defined as domestic or imported. Drop the few observations of scotch produced in countries other than Scotland or the U.S.
 - Attributes added shows region in Scotland where the product was distilled, or for blended products, whether the is was blended in Scotland or U.S. Single-malt scotches are ones distilled identified with a region
- All dollars converted to 2020 dollars.
- Convenience sample, retailers chose to participate, sample size changes over time

What is Straight Bourbon Whisky?

According to Code of Federal Regulations (CFR), 27 § 5.142:

- Fermented mash not less than 51% corn
- Distilled to less than 160 proof
- Distilled in the United States
- Stored in new charred oak barrels at 125 proof or less for two years
- No neutral spirits or coloring, flavoring or blending materials can be added

What is Scotch whisky?

According to Code of Federal Regulations (CFR), 27 § 5.142:

- Whisky which is a distinctive product of Scotland, manufactured in Scotland in compliance with the laws of the United Kingdom regulating the manufacture of Scotch whisky for consumption in the United Kingdom: *Provided*, that if such product is a mixture of whiskies, such mixture is "blended Scotch whisky" or "Scotch whisky—a blend".
- Domestic scotch was grandfather in when CFR was passed

Market Structure for Distilled Spirits

- Since prohibition distilled spirits industry has been heavily regulated
- One regulation is the three tier distribution system—distillers, distributors and retailers must be separate legal companies
 - Prior to 2022 in KY if a distiller wanted to sell their product in a gift shop a wholesaler had to take possession of the product when it came out of the bonded warehouse, complete paperwork, pay taxes then sell it back to the distiller
 - Since Jan. 2022 distiller can process complete the process themselves to be able to sell their own product in their gift shop

Market Structure for Distilled Spirits

- Regulations and taxes also vary by state making it difficult for supply to quickly adjust to changes in demand. This is important for some of the analyses.
- Two types of retailers, on premises, and off-premises. All my data are off-premises sales.

Sales Statistics for Bourbon and Scotch

	Total Sale	es (2020\$)	Number	of Stores	Sales pe	r Store
Year	Bourbon	Scotch	Bourbon	Scotch	Bourbon	Scotch
2006	\$114,827,784	\$142,220,512	4,409	4,297	\$26,044	\$33,098
2007	\$145,681,520	\$184,674,464	4,967	4,850	\$29,330	\$38,077
2008	\$146,752,800	\$178,367,024	5,041	4,926	\$29,112	\$36,209
2009	\$149,366,048	\$177,540,912	5,133	5,048	\$29,099	\$35,171
2010	\$155,605,216	\$181,565,232	5,348	5,168	\$29,096	\$35,133
2011	\$167,899,200	\$184,841,648	6,143	5,280	\$27,332	\$35,008
2012	\$186,653,680	\$185,747,584	7,229	6,699	\$25,820	\$27,728
2013	\$205,986,336	\$190,607,312	7,407	7,103	\$27,810	\$26,835
2014	\$222,786,928	\$189,371,184	7,314	7,016	\$30,460	\$26,991
2015	\$261,794,480	\$200,170,480	7,336	7,106	\$35,686	\$28,169
2016	\$296,478,688	\$205,648,512	7,386	7,139	\$40,141	\$28,806
2017	\$295,976,224	\$182,423,216	7,189	6,929	\$41,171	\$26,327
2018	\$459,450,080	\$274,403,360	10,113	9,340	\$45,432	\$29,379
2019	\$508,502,848	\$269,738,240	10,161	9,400	\$50,045	\$28,696
2020	\$653,715,456	\$296,576,448	10,194	9,460	\$64,127	\$31,351
2021	\$602,573,212	\$246,354,216	12,206	11,008	\$49,367	\$22,380
2022	\$591,361,175	\$211,258,884	12,828	11,089	\$46,099	\$19,051
2023	\$578,810,188	\$178,805,072	12,202	10,625	\$47,436	\$16,829

- Yearly sales of bourbon grows from \$114M to \$653M, then falls to \$579M; scotch grows from \$142M to \$296M then falls to \$178M
 - Prior to 2012, scotch sales exceeded bourbon sales, by 2020 scotch sales half of bourbon sales
- Almost 150% growth in per-store bourbon sales through 2020. Since then, per-store sales fell by 26%. Overall decline in per-store sales of scotch of 46%
- 2017 Economic Census shows that NielsenIQ data capture about 14% of distilled spirits sales

Sales by Store Type for Bourbon and Scotch

	Food S	Stores	Drug	Store	Mass Mee	chandiser	Gas Station	/Convenience	Liqu	lor
Year	Bourbon	Scotch	Bourbon	Scotch	Bourbon	Scotch	Bourbon	Scotch	Bourbon	Scotch
2006	0.60	0.65	0.39	0.34	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2007	0.53	0.53	0.31	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2008	0.53	0.53	0.30	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2009	0.57	0.54	0.27	0.25	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2010	0.59	0.55	0.25	0.23	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2011	0.61	0.56	0.23	0.22	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2012	0.61	0.58	0.24	0.20	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2013	0.62	0.60	0.24	0.19	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2014	0.63	0.59	0.23	0.20	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2015	0.66	0.61	0.21	0.18	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2016	0.68	0.61	0.19	0.18	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2017	0.67	0.59	0.19	0.18	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2018	0.62	0.55	0.12	0.12	0.02	0.01	0.12	0.10	0.12	0.10
2019	0.64	0.57	0.10	0.11	0.02	0.01	0.11	0.09	0.11	0.09
2020	0.66	0.58	0.10	0.10	0.02	0.02	0.10	0.09	0.10	0.09
2021	0.66	0.56	0.09	0.07	0.13	0.15	0.01	0.00	0.12	0.22
2022	0.68	0.58	0.08	0.07	0.13	0.15	0.01	0.00	0.11	0.21
2023	0.69	0.58	0.07	0.06	0.14	0.15	0.01	0.00	0.10	0.21

Change in the Median Price of a Fifth of Bourbon and Scotch Sold



Price in 2020 dollars. Only 750ML bottles

Change in the Distribution of Bourbon Prices



Price in 2020 dollars. Only 750ML bottles

- Through 2020 prices increase across the distribution, but larger changes at the top of the distribution
- Since 2020 declines have mainly occurred at the low end of the distribution. Price pf ultra-premium bourbon continues to increase

Change in the Distribution of Scotch Prices



Price in 2020 dollars. Only 750ML bottles

- Through 2020 prices increase across the distribution, but largest changes occur at the very top of the distribution—switch to better scotch?
- Since 2020 prices have fallen across the distribution, but mainly at the lower parts of the distribution

Price Regression

 $lnP_{u,s,w} = \alpha + \beta_0 ST_{s,w} + \beta_1 RUCC_{s,w} + \beta_2 \mathbf{SC}_{s,w} + \beta_3 \mathbf{A}_u + \delta_y + \gamma_i + \varepsilon_s$

- *P*—price of product *u* sold in store *s* in week *w*; *ST*—store type; *RUCC*—Rural, Urban Continuum Code, **SC**—vector of state/county controls, **A**_u—vector of attributes of product *u*; δ_Y--year dummies, γ_i--state dummies, ε_s--error clustered at store level
- Observations weighted by number of units of product *u* sold in store *s* in week *w*
- Initially just include year dummies, then add other controls
- Pool data across all years

Summary Statistics for Variables in Bourbon Regression

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	
Age	1.05	2.76	
Presence of Age	0.14	0.34	
Age Less than or equal to 3 years	0.88	0.32	Only 14% of bottles
Age greater than 3 but less than 9 years	0.07	0.25	sold have an age
Age 9 years or older bu less than 13 years	0.05	0.22	statement
Age 13 years or older	0.001	0.03	
Proof	87.49	7.54	Typical bottle sold
Less than or equal to 80 proof	0.37	0.48	is about 90 proof,
Greater than 80 but less than or equal to 90 proof	0.48	0.50	around 1% is over
Greater than 90 but less than or equal to 101 proof	0.14	0.35	101 proof
Greater than 101 proof	0.01	0.12	
Bonded	0.01	0.12	Typical bottle does
Small Batch	0.03	0.17	not list any attributes
Single Barrel	0.01	0.12	,
Barrel Strength	0.002	0.04	
Reserve	0.004	0.06	

Summary Statistics for Variables in Bourbon Regression

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.
Control State	0.18	0.39
Real County Per-Capita Income (2020\$)	55,046.29	16,034.53
Log Real County Per-Capita Income (2020\$)	10.88	0.25
Real State Spirit Exceise Tax (per-gallon, 2020\$)	7.94	7.82
Log Real State Spirit Exceise Tax (per-gallon, 2020\$)	1.77	0.71
State Sales Tax	0.06	0.01
Miles to Nelson County, KY	714.66	712.07
Log Miles to Nelson County	6.46	1.10

Summary Statistics for Variables in Scotch Regression

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.
Age	6.30	6.21
Presence of Age	0.52	0.50
Age Less than or equal to 3 years	0.49	0.50 scotch sold
Age greater than 3 but less than 9 years	0.00	0.03 has an age
Age 9 years or older bu less than 13 years	0.45	0.50
Age 13 years or older	0.06	0.25
Proof	81.69	8.27 Typical
Less than or equal to 80 proof	0.66	0.47 is about 80
Greater than 80 but less than or equal to 90 proof	0.32	0.47 proof, less
Greater than 90 but less than or equal to 101 proof	0.02	0.13 over 101
Greater than 101 proof	0.002	0.05 ^{proof}

Summary Statistics for Variables in Scotch Regression

Variable		Mean	Std. Dev.
Region/Type			
	Missing	0.03	0.17
	Domestic Blend	0.63	0.48
	Scotland Blend	0.02	0.13
	Cambeltown	0.00	0.01
	Highland	0.05	0.21
	Island	0.02	0.14
	Islay	0.02	0.15
	Lowland	0.00	0.03
	Speyside	0.23	0.42
Single Barrel		0.0002	0.01
Barrel Strength		0.0002	0.01

Estimated Change in Log Price: Just Year and Full Model



Price in 2020 dollars. Only 750ML bottles

Once we control for attributes see very small year effects

Association of Age & Proof with Price





Proof Premium

Premium for Other Bourbon Attributes



Premium by Region for Scotch



Percent Change in Revenue From Aging Longer than 2 Years (3% Evaporation Rate)



14% of bourbon sold lists an age; 52% of scotch sold lists an age

Age of Bourbon

- According the reports from the Kentucky Distillers Association (KDA) prepared by Paul Coomes
 - The most common age for bottling bourbon is four years
 - In 2012 10% of inventory was older than 6 years
 - By 2023 6% of inventory was older than 6 years
- Return to producing old bourbon seems to be smaller than return to producing old scotch. Why?

Other Coefficients from Price Regression including Attributes

	Bourt	on	Scotch		
Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	Coefficient	Std. Error	
State Sales Tax	2.22	0.177	1.13	0.165	
Log Real State Spirit ExciseTax	0.02	0.005	0.05	0.004	
Log Real County Per Capita Income	0.12	0.005	0.03	0.005	
Log Miles to Nelson County	0.01	0.004			
Control State	0.09	0.005	-0.01	0.004	
Gas Station/Convenience					
Drug Store	-0.04	0.008	-0.02	0.016	
Food Store	0.03	0.007	0.00	0.016	
Liquor Store	0.09	0.009	0.06	0.016	
Mass Merchandise	0.15	0.008	0.08	0.017	
Constant	1.26	0.066	2.42	0.065	
Observations	96,655,250		47,570,330		
Adjusted R-squared	0.39		0.53		

Estimation of Elasticity

$$\begin{split} lnQ_{u,c,yq} &= \alpha + \beta_0 lnP_{u,c,yq} + \beta_1 lnY_{u,c,yq} + \beta_2 lnPS_{v,c,yq} + \beta_4 RUCC_{c,yq} + \beta_5 \mathbf{SC}_{s,w} + \\ &+ \eta_u + \delta_{yq} + \gamma_i + \varepsilon_s \end{split}$$

- Q—per-capita quantity of product *u* sold in county *c*, in year/quarter *yq*; *P*—price of product *u* sold in county *c*, in year/quarter *yq*; *Y*—*real* per-capita income in county *c*, in year/quarter *yq*; *PS*—mean price of substitute *v* (scotch or bourbon) sold in county *c*, in year/quarter *yq*; *RUCC*—Rural, Urban Continuum Code; **SC**—vector of state/county controls, η_u--product *u* fixed effect, δ_{Yq}--year/quarter dummies, γ_i--state dummies, ε_u--error clustered at product level
- Again, pooling data across all years
- Using cross-county variation to identify coefficients
- Similar to methodology used by Diaz, et al. (2024) which uses NielsenIQ data to estimate demand for e-cigarettes

Estimate of Price, Income and Cross-Price Elasticity for Bourbon and Scotch

	Bourbon				Scotch			
Log price	-1.13	-1.69	-1.68	-1.73	-0.89	-1.65	-1.65	-1.73
	(0.018)	(0.117)	(0.116)	(0.117)	(0.020)	(0.124)	(0.123)	(0.127)
Log mean price of substitute				1.14				1.37
				(0.083)				(0.081)
Log real per-capita income				0.40				0.42
				(0.061)				(0.049)
Other state and county controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
UPC fixed effect	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,316,170	1,316,170	1,316,170	1,309,198	1,233,870	1,233,870	1,233,870	1,233,457
Adjusted R-squared	0.34	0.29	0.29	0.31	0.35	0.21	0.21	0.23

Estimate of Price, Income and Cross-Price Elasticity for Bourbon and Scotch, Separately by Price of Bottle

	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-75	75th-90th	90th-100th		
Percentiles	percentile	percentile	percentile	percentile	percentile	percentile		
			Bourbon					
Log price	-0.20	-1.94	-2.49	-2.95	-2.00	-0.68		
	(0.219)	(0.237)	(0.152)	(0.274)	(0.265)	(0.174)		
Log mean price of substitute	-0.02	0.76	1.22	1.57	1.87	1.79		
	(0.126)	(0.075)	(0.077)	(0.076)	(0.087)	(0.144)		
Log real per-capita income	0.05	0.10	0.49	0.59	0.50	0.05		
	(0.125)	(0.081)	(0.075)	(0.089)	(0.075)	(0.059)		
Observations	90,426	222,650	450,260	349,838	161,706	34,318		
Adjusted R-squared	0.26	0.28	0.29	0.34	0.39	0.45		
		Scotch						
Log price	-0.45	-2.10	-3.16	-2.53	-1.77	-1.64		
	(0.188)	(0.253)	(0.174)	(0.118)	(0.162)	(0.323)		
Log mean price of substitute	0.71	1.20	1.62	1.42	1.24	1.06		
	(0.241)	(0.160)	(0.117)	(0.075)	(0.084)	(0.084)		
Log real per-capita income	0.42	0.58	0.46	0.41	0.25	0.30		
	(0.105)	(0.088)	(0.072)	(0.077)	(0.071)	(0.071)		
Observations	97,452	241,491	446,316	302,603	101,444	44,151		
Adjusted R-squared	0.22	0.26	0.24	0.30	0.35	0.37		

Estimate of Price, Income and Cross-Price Elasticity for Bourbon and Scotch, Separately by Years

		Bourbon			Scotch	
Years	2006-2010	2011-2015	2016-2020	2006-2010	2011-2015	2016-2020
Log price	-2.24	-2.43	-1.61	-2.05	-1.93	-1.79
	(0.191)	(0.153)	(0.103)	(0.185)	(0.261)	(0.103)
Log mean price of substitute	0.65	0.96	1.25	1.01	1.64	1.63
	(0.102)	(0.085)	(0.075)	(0.099)	(0.090)	(0.094)
Log real per-capita income	0.46	0.51	0.39	0.76	0.54	0.24
	(0.107)	(0.088)	(0.054)	(0.058)	(0.059)	(0.047)
Other state and county controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
UPC fixed effect	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	207,511	350,603	751,084	262,820	356,323	614,314
Adjusted R-squared	0.35	0.32	0.31	0.25	0.25	0.25

Summarizing

Large increases in the median price of a bottle of both bourbon and scotch from 2006-2020.

- Bourbon saw price increase across all parts of the distribution, but larger increases at the upper end of the distribution.
- For scotch all of the action occurred at the top of the distribution.
- Both experienced large increases in price dispersion.

Declines in the median price of a bottle of both bourbon and scotch from 2020-2023.

 For both bourbon and scotch, the declines primarily occurred in the below the 75th percentile of the distribution. Price of premium whiskeys continues to rise, or at least not fall

Summarizing

Controls for location, store type, taxes and attributes accounts for much of the changes in price over time.

- Age and proof are associated with higher prices for both bourbon
 and scotch
- In isolation, does not appear profitable to produce very old bourbon
- High proof produces a higher return in bourbon

Summarizing

See very similar levels and trends in the estimates of own-price, cross-price and income elasticates

- Both become more price and income inelastic over time
- Both appear to be less price sensitive at top and bottom of the price distribution

Results seem consistent with a general increase in demand for whiskies and higher quality whiskies, initially and then a general decrease later.

But Why?

Simple demographic changes provides a compelling explanation

- As young baby boomers started entering the alcohol market in the mid- to late-60s demand shifted towards products favored by the young—beer and wine
- As boomers aged and became wealthier demand for whiskeys (and other spirits) returned to previously levels and then grew
 - See WSJ article on tequila
- Now, as boomers age out of the market, demand for spirits falls
 - Shifts toward cannabis? Good story, very little data
 - Likely among younger drinkers and, even if true, impact will be limited
- Normal consolidation of a recently expanding industry also seems to be occurring

But Why?

What about tariffs?

- Tariffs are never good but,
- At least currently exports are not a big share of bourbon production
- According to data KDA data, exports grew during the first Trump administration (2017-2020) when tariffs were in place, but fell during COVID like much of world trade
- But ...

Is there a glut of bourbon?

Some numbers:

- Scotland: population—5.5M; number of scotch barrels aging—22M; number of distilleries—151; size of global market—approx. \$61B
- Kentucky: population—4.6M; number of bourbon barrels aging—13M; number of distilleries—over 100; size of global market—approx. \$6B

Size of bourbon industry is consistent with trying to compete with scotch in the global marketplace

- Appears that there is plenty of opportunity to grow globally
- A trade war over tariffs would likely hurts these efforts

Future growth of bourbon likely contingent on expanding globally

Thank You



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