THE HANDBOOK OF

PERSUASION AND SOCIAL MARKETING

Historical and Social Foundations

David W. Stewart
EDITOR

The Handbook of Persuasion and Social Marketing

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The Handbook of Persuasion and Social Marketing

Volume 1: Historical and Social Foundations

David W. Stewart, Editor

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

David W. Stewart

Social marketing has emerged as an important sub-discipline of marketing over the past two decades, though its roots run far back in time. Some scholars would even go so far as to differentiate social marketing from the more general discipline of marketing, arguing that commercial firms by definition must always subordinate broader contributions to social welfare to business success and shareholder value (Hastings & Angus, 2011). Therefore, the argument goes, any social marketing activities of commercial organizations are suspect. It is certainly the case that many scholars and practitioners of social marketing define the objectives of social marketing in more noble terms than those of commercial marketing, even if they acknowledge that the tools and techniques are similar (Kotler & Lee, 2009). Still others suggest that social marketing has two parent disciplines—social science and social policy on one hand, and marketing on the other (Truss, Marshall, & Blair-Stevens, 2010)—and that it is therefore a hybrid discipline. Finally, there are scholars who argue that social marketing is really the more general discipline and commercial marketing is a special case of this broader discipline that happens to focus on financial returns to the marketer (Lazer & Kelley, 1973; Andreasen & Kotler, 2008; Andreasen, 2012).

In the face of such disagreement about the discipline it is not surprising that there is also disagreement about the scope of the discipline. Andreasen (1994) has defined social marketing as "the application of commercial marketing technologies to the analysis, planning, execution and evaluation of programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences in order to improve their personal welfare and that of society of which they are a part" (p. 110). Note that this definition limits social

marketing in at least three ways: (1) marketing tools, in contrast to other methods of social change, are the focus; (2) the emphasis is on influencing voluntary behavior rather than behavior more generally, including more or less "persuasion," whether through "nudges" or more coercive social control; and (3) the target is the individual rather than a larger social organization. In contrast, others enlarge the scope of social marketing, and the marketing discipline more generally, to include broader sets of tools for behavior change such as education, political action, and various forms of social control and behavioral change (Rothschild, 1999). The focus of social marketing has also widened beyond individual behavior to larger social entities and to behavior that is not altogether voluntary (Lindblom, 1977; Hastings, MacFadyen & Anderson, 2000; Rothschild, 2001; Grier & Bryan, 2005).

Even the founding of social marketing is a matter of some debate. Philip Kotler and Gerald Zaltman (1971) are often considered the founders of social marketing theory, but Wiebe (1951) raised the possibility of applying marketing tools and techniques to social issues 20 years earlier. Wilkie and Moore (2003) argue that marketing has been engaged with societal issues since the founding of the discipline, and that the early focus of the discipline was on economic efficacy in service of societal needs. Drucker (1958) described the important role of marketing as an engine of economic development: "marketing is thus the process through which economy is integrated into society to serve human needs" (p. 253). It may be more appropriate to suggest that Kotler and Zaltman rediscovered social marketing and drew heavily on the work of Lazarsfeld and Merton, who considered the roles of mass media, propaganda, word-of-mouth communication, and social power in social reform (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1948).

Thus, even as social marketing has become a significant tool for social change, it has also acquired a bit of a schizophrenic character. A reading of the literature on social marketing finds differences in definitions, philosophical orientation, and purpose. Criticisms of the ad hoc nature of social marketing as a discipline and means for change exist alongside rich discussions of specific theories and meta-theory describing the relationships of multiple theories. Examples of applications range from the highly operational to the strategic.

Purpose of this Set

It is both the growth and the split nature of social marketing that gave rise to this set. There are many books that describe how to utilize social marketing (Lee & Kotler, 2011; French, Merritt & Reynolds, 2011; Weinrich,

2010). These are very helpful resources but they often lack a comprehensive treatment of relevant theories. There are also numerous collections of case studies and applications (Basil & Wymer, 2007) that focus on specific domains such as public health (French, Blair-Stevens, McVey & Merritt, 2009); environmental sustainability (Tyson & Hurd, 2009; McKenzie-Mohr, Lee, Schultz & Kotler, 2011); corporate social responsibility (Crane, Matten & Spence, 2013); and poverty (Kotler & Lee, 2009), among others. These books are outstanding resources but they tend to have a narrow focus. There are also some very strong conceptual treatments of social marketing (Andreasen, 2005; Lefebvre, 2013), which are very useful discussions, but they tend to promote their authors' particular point of view.

This set is intended to provide a broad and varied treatment of social marketing. It is intended to represent a wide-ranging set of perspectives: philosophical, conceptual, and theoretical. The set also provides examples of applications of social marketing that vary substantially in focus, scope, and approach. A key theme of the set is that marketing is in the business of persuasion; that is, it is about changing the minds and behavior of people. The form of persuasion may vary widely, ranging from simply providing information, to framing that information to "nudge" an individual in a particular direction, to strong forms of social control. Some readers may object to such a broad definition of social marketing, but social marketing has clearly become a big tent within which there are many different perspectives and approaches. The breadth of the set, the topics addressed by the individual chapters, and the issues raised are intended to spark dialogue.

The set is also unabashedly conceptual in its focus and draws heavily on theory. It is the intent of the set to place social marketing squarely within a theoretical context and to make the philosophical differences in theories and approaches clear. There are three objectives in doing so. First, it is important that the deep theoretical roots of social marketing be clear. Social marketing need not be ad hoc or atheoretical as some critics and even advocates have suggested (Andreasen, 1997). Second, the very definition of social marketing is dependent on the discipline's theoretical foundations, and the relevance of particular theories is dependent on the definition of social marketing. Finally, there are deep philosophical differences between various theories that may be applied in a social marketing context. These differences are related to the focus of behavior change, the cooperation of the person or social entity that is the target of change, and the appropriateness of various approaches to change. Such differences carry quite significant ethical implications.

It is not the purpose of this set to resolve the definition of social marketing or identify the theory or theories that should guide thinking about and

the practice of social marketing. Rather, the set brings together in one place a set of chapters that provide both complementary and competing views that can be used to frame broad issues and facilitate study and discussion.

A naïve view of the difference between social marketing and commercial marketing is that the former is concerned with "doing good," while commercial marketing is concerned with making money. The contributors to the set make it clear that this is a false dichotomy. Commercial marketing and businesses more generally do a great deal of good. They create jobs, improve the quality of life through developing and making available innovative products and services, and even save lives by making products safer and by making lifesaving products and services available. The benefits created by commercial marketing are not just economic. The availability of good jobs is related to public health. People with good jobs are healthier. Children in families where wage earners have good jobs are healthier and perform better in school (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2013). Many corporations invest in their communities and contribute to social welfare through direct contributions and by encouraging volunteerism among employees. Corporate social responsibility is taken seriously in many organizations not because it contributes to the bottom line—which it does—but because they have a stake in improving the quality of life and creating sustainable businesses.

On the other hand, doing "good" is not always positive. One person's social problem may be another person's constitutional right or religious belief. This does not mean that there is not often widespread agreement about the goals of many social marketing campaigns. But it is not difficult to identify social interventions in the name of the common good that have had terrible consequences. It is also naïve to attribute only altruistic motives to government agencies and not-for-profit organizations. Large sums of money are now spent on social marketing programs, and social marketing programs can be avenues to significant political and social power. Both commercial marketing and social marketing face ethical issues. Brenkert (2002) argues that these ethical issues may be even greater for social marketers because of the value judgments that are associated with the definition of constructs like "social problem" and "social welfare." This set addresses the significant social, ethical, legal, and regulatory issues that are associated with social marketing.

This set is intended to be a starting place for exploring the rich literature on social marketing. It brings together contributions from the many disciplines that inform social marketing theory and practice: marketing, economics, psychology, sociology, political science, communication, and law.

It also provides a description of a wide array of theoretical and management perspectives, ranging from information processing to behavioral economics to social control. Finally, the set provides descriptions of an eclectic collection of applications designed to provide exposure to the breadth of social marketing and its uses.

Organization of the Set

The contributions to this set are organized in three volumes. Each volume has a somewhat different purpose and offers a different perspective on social marketing. Volume 1 places social marketing within a historical and social context. It is intended to describe the roots of social marketing in marketing, social psychology, and political science. It also provides a summary of empirical research on the effects of social marketing. Volume 1 also addresses the significant ethical, philosophical, and legal issues that arise in any value-laden enterprise, and especially one that involves persuasion and social control. Many of these issues arise in the context of commercial marketing as well, but some are unique to social marketing, where judgments of what is "good" for some individual or group are required in the absence of the self-correction that occurs in competitive markets.

Volume 2 focuses on theories and conceptual approaches that form the underpinnings of social marketing as a discipline and that provide guidance with respect to the practice of social marketing. This volume begins with a history of social marketing, at least as an identified discipline, and then describes an array of theories that differ greatly in their focus, scope, and approach. This volume also includes a chapter on the planning of social marketing campaigns and a chapter on the measurement of outcomes. The volume concludes with two chapters that link social marketing to the corporation through discussions of corporate social responsibility. This latter discussion explores the role of the firm and raises the question of whether the firm might be an instrument for social change even as it meets its obligations to shareholders. This discussion represents a return to the origins of the marketing discipline and its early concerns with social welfare.

Volume 3 provides examples of applications of social marketing. While the contexts of these applications are quite different, there are two related themes that tie all of the applications together: health and economic well-being. The examples include efforts to influence individual health care decisions, individual eating habits, substance abuse, family planning, and even participation in the U.S. Decennial Census. In addition, examples

include more macro-level applications related to social entrepreneurship and community economic development, another link to marketing's broader concerns with economic development.

The contributors to these three volumes include preeminent scholars in a variety of disciplines, accomplished professionals and managers, and keen observers of the human condition. This set is intended as an aid for learning, thinking, and discussion. It does not attempt to offer definitive answers about how social marketing should be defined, what approaches and theories are consistent with such a definition, or the philosophical and ethical issues that arise in the context of efforts to persuade and exercise social control over the thoughts and behavior of others. The set is intended to be balanced, to challenge thinking, and to encourage creative new ideas.

Introduction to Volume I

Volume 1 provides a general introduction to social marketing, its historical roots, and its philosophical groundings. The volume begins with a chapter by one of the pioneers of social marketing, Alan Andreasen, who has been at the center of work on social marketing since its beginnings as an identified sub-discipline of marketing. In this chapter Andreasen explains why the definition of a discipline is important and describes the evolution of the definition of social marketing. Chapter 2 identifies important questions about the boundaries of social marketing as a discipline and raises philosophical and ethical issues that are the focus of later chapters in Volume 1.

While social marketing is most often, but not always, identified as a sub-discipline of marketing, many of the tools, techniques, and guiding theories arguably have their origins in social psychology. Chapter 3 describes the social psychological roots of social marketing and the roles of persuasion and attitude change in changing behavior. This chapter reviews the significant and impressive body of empirical research and theoretical work on attitude change. Few areas in marketing or social psychology have been the object of so much attention, and it is appropriate that this set include an early description of this body of work. Much of what is considered social marketing theory and practice rests on the foundation of attitude change.

Much of social marketing activity takes place in a political context. Social marketing is an important tool for implementation of many government policies, ranging from the prevention of disease to encouraging people to participate in the census count. Chapter 4 addresses the political context of social marketing. Its focus is on persuasion in a political

environment. This focus is appropriate because many social marketing programs grow from political agendas and are the result of the mobilization of public opinion around the need to address particular social issues. Explicit recognition of the political context of social marketing is also important grounding for the discussions of ethics, law, and public opinion that are offered later in Volume 1. Chapter 4 also describes two approaches to political persuasion, priming and framing, which are also explored in chapters on theories relevant to social marketing in Volume 2 and applications of social marketing in Volume 3.

The focus of political persuasion is the crowd or public. However, the crowd is composed of many individuals who influence one another through formal and informal exchanges of information, modeled behavior, and values. These exchanges, collectively called word-of-mouth communication, play an important role in many social marketing campaigns. Chapter 5 describes the role of word-of-mouth communication and the role it plays in persuasion. It also explores the growing importance of social media as a medium through which word-of-mouth communication is spread. This is a particularly appropriate and useful discussion given the growing use of social media among marketers in general and social marketers more specifically.

Though some object to the characterization, much that is done in the name of social marketing is a form of social control. This control may be subtle, as in the selection of an opt-in default for retirement savings, or quite visible and coercive, such as the imposition of fines for those not wearing seatbelts while driving. Chapter 6 focuses on social control and its role in social marketing. The author uses examples related to health care to make the point that social welfare may be better served through overt control rather than more subtle forms of persuasion. It is certainly the case that many social marketing campaigns can be characterized as efforts at social control. The author of the chapter argues that social control, employed with the consent of the citizenry, is an important contributor to social welfare and the quality of life. This is most certainly true in many cases, but it also raises important philosophical, ethical, and legal issues that are the topics of the latter portions of the volume.

Implicit in all of the chapters in this volume are ethical dilemmas associated with decisions about influencing the behavior of others. Chapter 7 of this volume addresses these ethical issues. The authors ask the question "What could be unethical about persuading people to do good?" The chapter suggests that ethical issues are at least as important, and perhaps even more important, in the context of social marketing as in commercial marketing. There are two broad classes of ethical dilemmas raised in the

chapter. One class of issues is related to the "cause," that is the objectives or outcomes associated with the social marketing campaign. As Andreasen asked in Chapter 2, is the recruitment of Al Qaeda operatives an appropriate and ethical use of social marketing? Not all causes enjoy broad support, and there are important ethical issues associated with whether and in what circumstances it is appropriate to try to persuade others to join the cause. The second class of ethical dilemmas raised in the chapter is related to the means by which others are persuaded or induced to behave in a particular way. Even when there is broad agreement about the positive value of a cause, there may be some approaches to persuasion that are problematic, unethical, or even illegal. For example, is it appropriate to deceive people if the deception is for their own good? The authors of Chapter 7 offer a very cogent discussion of these dilemmas.

Ethical issues are always important but become especially so in the context of especially powerful tools and techniques for persuasion and social control. There is a long history of the popular press and others touting the idea that marketing is a powerful force that must be controlled. However, the evidence shows that marketing is not such a strong force and the competition that exists in most commercial markets creates a strong balance of power between marketers and consumers. Indeed, with the benefit of hindsight it is clear that even powerful, so-called monopolies have been reined in more by competitive forces and innovation in the marketplace than by government intervention. Social marketing is different, however. There is generally an absence of competition, and to the degree that there exist alternatives they are often framed as inappropriate, bad, or worse. This raises the questions of how powerful social marketing might be and what limits exist with respect to the exercise of that power.

Chapter 8 offers a meta-analysis of the effects of social marketing and identifies some important empirical generalizations. The analysis offered in the chapter makes clear that while social marketing interventions have positive effects, these effects tend to be small. So, like marketing in general, social marketing does not appear to be a strong force. This will be greeted as good news by some but as disappointing to others. An important finding of the analysis suggests that markets operate even in the context of social welfare: corporate misconduct appears to harm the financial performance of firms, while positive social and environmental performance improves financial performance. This latter finding suggests that there may be far more alignment between the objectives of the firm and improvements in social welfare than is suggested by some critics of business.

An important tenet of marketing in general and of many—if not all—of those who practice social marketing, is that marketing programs should be

consumer centric. This means that marketing programs should be informed by a deep understanding of the intended audience for the program. Such knowledge of the audience, or market, may or may not imply full or even partial agreement with the goals of the marketing program. For example, a drug addict may not be supportive of a program to end his or her addiction, at least initially. Part of the persuasive process in such cases may involve obtaining buy-in. This raises the question of how people feel about having their behavior systematically influenced or regulated by others.

Chapter 9 addresses the question of the degree to which the public supports its own regulation. It is certainly the case that many people reject efforts to promote behavior that is usually regarded as pro-social and in the best interests of the public. Despite marketing campaigns and even laws requiring specific behavior, some people still do not wear seatbelts and others still text on mobile telephones while driving. This chapter revisits the political domain and argues that social marketing cannot be separated from broader, "upstream" efforts to place boundaries on behavior and influence people through education or the passage and enforcement of laws. This is a recurrent theme in broader discussions of social marketing, especially those discussions of more strategic approaches to persuasion and behavior change. The shift in the focus of social marketing from influencing the voluntary decisions of individuals to inducing involuntary changes in behavior is clear in this perspective. Inherent in such a perspective is the increasing tendency to redefine what were once "personal" problems as "societal" or "public" problems. This is in part a matter of how the problem is framed, which is itself a common tool for persuasion.

Chapter 10 continues the discussion of upstream approaches to social marketing that use legislation and regulation as means for promoting behavioral change but also introduces the legal dimensions of social marketing. The author observes that social marketing and the law are often used in partnership to achieve societal goals. Efforts focused on the individual—"downstream" activities—may involve the provision of information, education, and other interventions, even as legal remedies are employed upstream. Thus, educational programs may be employed to discourage drug use at an individual level even as laws are passed and enforced to prohibit the sale and use of certain drugs. However, the law is not always a partner to social marketing. The author notes that the law also places boundaries around what is and is not acceptable in terms of social marketing practice. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the legal boundaries of social marketing.

Volume 1 is intended to establish a broad perspective for social marketing and the deep philosophical issues that are associated with efforts to

"persuade" others, even in the context of doing good. These philosophical issues may run deeper within the context of social marketing than in commercial marketing because of the value judgments that are inherent in decisions to change the behavior of others in a marketplace of ideas, social norms, relationships, and public concern, as well as the economic exchange that characterizes commercial markets. The chapters of Volume 1 are fertile ground for discussion and provide a strong conceptual and philosophical anchor for Volumes 2 and 3 of this set.

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CHAPTER TWO

What Is Social Marketing?

Alan R. Andreasen

It may seem odd to begin the first volume of a set of books on social marketing with a chapter devoted to the definition of the central term; however, it turns out that both the perception and practice of social marketing—and the discipline of marketing itself—has been affected dramatically over the years by what is meant by the term. It is also the case that the emergence of the field in the early 1970s served to raise fundamental questions about the definition of the origin field of marketing itself. Chapters found in Volume 2 of this set will trace the historical chronology of the field and set forth the theories and models used by practitioners at various points in time. However, it is critical that the reader begin with an appreciation of the formal definitions of the field that have been advanced over the years, and what those definitions have meant to how social marketing is carried out today and how social marketing is perceived by both casual observers and potential users. As will be discussed, debates articulating and defending an agreed-upon definition have helped the field integrate a diverse range of scientific, managerial, and substantive interests. The fact that scholars and practitioners alike have seen the need to agree on what social marketing is—and what it is not—has done much to advance the stature and permanence of the field.

Definitions in general can serve several purposes for social science and for the practitioners who seek to carry out activities that the social science encompasses. Definitions about fields of study and practice serve to establish intellectual boundaries. They state what is included and what is excluded in real-world investigations, argumentation, and advancements. Additionally, definitions help individuals choose careers because they suggest broad goals

and imply needed skill sets for those involved. Definitions also help institutions such as universities, government agencies, and think tanks decide whether they wish to make use of a field's concepts and tools, and help define their expertise.

For practitioners, definitions have parallel functions. Definitions indicate what body of knowledge and practice one needs to master to become an effective—even superlative—practitioner. They point to subjects and fields of study that one ought to master and define the benchmarks by which others—and the individuals themselves—can judge performance. They also define—or at least imply—boundaries beyond which individuals ought *not* to venture and where they might reasonably expect pushback—even antagonism—from those in other fields and with other skill sets who feel threatened by someone who advances beyond disciplinary boundaries. Furthermore, if not well articulated and defended, definitions can confuse outsiders and potentially diminish the acceptance and support of activities that advance a discipline.

As indicated below, these definitional issues have affected both how social marketing is viewed (or, unfortunately, ignored) by those not practicing the discipline, and how well applications of its concepts and tools are carried out. And, of course, success in the practice of a discipline can solidify both its place in society and its value—for example, the extent to which others will ask for assistance and provide funding. Definitions can help in such individual and institutional processes.

Early Definitions

Social marketing has both practical and conceptual roots in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Although Gerhart Wiebe published an article in the *Public Opinion Quarterly* in 1952 in which he asked, "Why can't we sell brotherhood like we sell soap?" (Wiebe, 1952, p. 679; cf. Rothschild, 1979), social marketing did not emerge until two decades later. There were two stimuli to its development. On the practical side, the seminal initiative was the imaginative application of commercial marketing concepts and tools to family planning initiatives in India and Bangladesh (Harvey, 1999). The Nirodh campaign in India was the first time in which a small fee was charged for condoms and birth control pills, which were available free in public health facilities. Six major international commercial marketers ensured distribution to the remotest parts of the country, while the program developed effective advertisements that touted the brand and promoted the positive benefits of smaller—and spaced—families. The campaign raised hopes and provoked criticism from many in the nonprofit and

government sectors who thought that the poor and destitute ought not to be charged for such important life-enhancing products. Similar campaigns around nutrition in the developing world were developed by Richard Manoff, who subsequently published one of the early books on social marketing (Manoff, 1985).

The pioneering Nirodh campaign in India led to the creation of one of the first social marketing organizations—Population Services International—led by Philip Harvey and Tim Black. The organization obtained a contract from USAID for a condom marketing program in Kenya, a project that both furthered the spread of the approach and was the first to prove social marketing's effectiveness through carefully controlled interventions in test sites matched to program-free areas. A second feature of the enterprise was that although a non-profit, it also sought out private sector customers—in his case, for branded condoms.

Black and Harvey offered a simple definition of social marketing in a 1976 report on their Kenya project: "Social marketing is simply the application of commercial marketing concepts to social endeavors" (Black & Harvey, p. 101).

Turmoil in the Academic Marketing World

Ironically, the emergence of social marketing contributed to a rethinking of the definition of the basic field of marketing itself. The aforementioned pioneering social marketing innovations in India and Africa were undoubtedly in the minds of young faculty members at Northwestern University's Kellogg School of Business as they contemplated the core definition and boundaries of the marketing discipline itself. The ensuing intellectual ferment at Northwestern resulted in two seminal articles: "Broadening the Concept of Marketing," by Philip Kotler and Sidney Levy (1969), and "Social Marketing: An Approach to Planned Social Change," by Kotler and Gerald Zaltman (1971). It is the latter article that first defined the term "social marketing" in academic circles and was intended to help nonprofit practitioners become more successful (Kotler, 1979). Professor Kotler and his colleagues expected that broadening the definition would lead to the recognition of new issues and the development of new concepts, generating more "attention and respect" to the field of marketing and attracting a new cadre of students in the process. They defined social marketing as "the design, implementation and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving consideration of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research" (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p. 5).

Professors Kotler, Levy, and Zaltman obviously believed that the definition of the field of marketing itself should encompass more than commercial applications. Their "broadened marketing" definition was published in the field's leading journal, the *Journal of Marketing*, which contributed to the definition's raising red flags in conventional marketing circles. Not surprisingly, the definition provoked considerable discussion and controversy, which, as Shelby Hunt later noted, in some ways mirrored a definitional debate from a decade earlier as to whether marketing should be considered a "science" (Hunt, 1976).

Shaw and Jones (2005) point out that one of the factors that helped the "broadened" view to become acceptable to the marketing discipline was that in the 1970s and 1980s Kotler's textbook, *Marketing Management*, came to dramatically dominate the field and was the basic text in a significant percentage of classes, especially at the advanced level. In his text and elsewhere, Kotler (1972, p. 53) argued that "the marketer is a specialist in understanding human wants and values and determining what it takes for someone to act." Kotler's text came to dominate the MBA world, replacing a text by Eugene McCarthy that adopted the conventional goods and services economic paradigm.

Criticism and concerns about "broadening" quickly emerged from mainstream marketing scholars. David Luck (1969; 1974) argued that the "broadening" definition was entirely too vague and general and that it made any kind of activity to influence others a marketing activity. Luck claimed, "Marketing is concerned with markets, *of course*, and markets must be characterized by buying-and-selling [emphasis added]" (1969, p. 54). However, other traditional marketing theorists accepted the thrust of the broadened concept for the discipline but thought that it emphasized the wrong thing. Bartels (1988) concluded that the new approach was focused on individuals and their personal gain and neglected the impact of their actions on society as a whole.

The attempt to craft new definitions and new boundaries engendered confusion. A senior marketing scholar, William Lazer, accepted the term "social marketing" but agreed with Bartels. Lazer and his co-author, Eugene Kelley, arguing that the "dimensions of social marketing" included the social implications of private sector marketing practice. This inclusion, they noted, was "based on long-run enlightened self-interest of marketing with direct, long-run economic consequences" (Lazer & Kelley, 1973, p. 47). Their readings book was titled *Social Marketing: Perspectives and Viewpoints*, and it included a range of articles on the social implications of marketing practices and on ways to carry out such practices in socially desirable ways. Nonetheless, Lazer and Kelley were still concerned that the

definition and boundaries of marketing would become less precise and would lead to "possible counter-incursions by economists, sociologists and management scientists" (Enis, 1973).

Scholars who were for and against the broadened definition agreed that the very essence of marketing was "the exchange," as Kotler (1978) and Shaw and Jones (2005) noted. Traditional marketing theorists such as Wroe Alderson (1959) had set this forth as essential. The exchange, of course, was a central element of the Kotler/Levy conception. Exchanges happen when there are at least two parties, each having something of value to the other, who are able to communicate and able and willing to accept the transaction. Later scholars, such as Richard Bagozzi (1975, 1978), agreed but sought to rethink the concept itself as allowing multiparty exchanges where one or more of the parties could be a nonprofit or social entity. Bagozzi also proposed that exchanges could involve elements other than economic components—such as products, services, and payments—and could also include beliefs, feelings, and opinions. It could be argued that this approach was consistent with Kotler and Levy's original definition, which stated that broadened marketing included the "acceptability of social ideas."

Extending the components of an exchange, while seeming to support the broadening movement, had the effect of highlighting a fundamental challenge. Indeed, Enis (1973) suggested that there were three counterarguments to the Kotler/Levy definition of the field's boundaries. The first, as noted, is that the broadened approach minimizes marketing's origins and strengths in traditional commercial exchanges and that other disciplines have their own exchanges to study—bribery by political scientists, loaning money by finance scholars, and so on. Enis's second argument is that the "primary function" of an activity should determine its field. Thus, a suitor seeking a marriage exchange is not involved in an economic enterprise—although the transaction has economic implications—and would not be carrying out a marketing activity. Third, there are "transactions" where the exchange is not clear, such as an evangelist's request for donations—what exactly is offered in return? Enis is rather accepting of a wide range of applications as long as the marketing perspective is "useful." He proposed that a useful framework for evaluating ways a field may be broadened is to ask whether it should apply to exchanges involving the following elements:

- Economic goods and services or anything of value
- Profit payoff or other desirable outcomes
- Customers or other publics

Enis said, "If exchange activity occurs, then it should not be ignored simply because it is difficult to measure. In short, the test of the broadness of a concept should be its broadness in explaining the existence or behavior of phenomena in a given situation . . . marketing concepts should be employed where they are useful" (Enis, 1973, p. 58). This definitional emphasis was also taken up by Kotler in a 1972 article entitled "A Generic Concept of Marketing," in which he argued that the most fundamental essence of the field is in the transaction (Kotler, 1972).

Other scholars have weighed in. James Hutton (2002) has argued that marketing philosophies, strategies, and tactics are misapplied when they

- focus on giving people what they *want* at the expense of what they *need*;
- use the term "customer" when "citizen" is more appropriate; or
- undermine traditional institutions such as religious organizations.

However, leaders in the traditional marketing discipline were clearly willing to explore broader applications and blend it with other disciplines (Rothschild, 1999). This was evidenced at the outset by the range of possible applications included by the editors in the *Journal of Marketing* issue in which the original "broadening" article appeared, including recycling, health care, fundraising, and family planning.

In 2003, when Wilkie and Moore conducted their landmark overview of the "4 Eras" of marketing thought and practice, they argued for an additional factor lending support to the broadened definition and to the subsequent involvement of marketing scholars in nonprofit issues. This was the broad sweep of social unrest affecting the world population in the second half of the 1960s and into the 1970s (Wilkie & Moore, 2003). The Vietnam War, urban unrest, and other social challenges led many marketing scholars to question basic notions of responsibility, social progress, fairness, and the like that can be involved in—or affected by—marketing practice.

In the end, the Kotler/Levy/Zaltman broadening breakthrough had the liberating impact of freeing up marketing scholars and researchers within a traditional discipline to carry out research and propose best practices to corporations, nonprofits, and governmental organizations with the goal of improving social welfare in ways that might or might not involve economic components. Indeed, William Nickels found that by the early 1970s, more than 90 percent of marketing educators surveyed believed that nonbusiness organizations do carry out marketing activities, and many of those activities go beyond economic transactions involving products and services (Nickels, 1974).

The present author was among those energized by the freedom offered by a broadened definition in light of the social turmoil of the 1970s, and therefore joined a growing cadre of marketing scholars who became deeply interested in issues broader than helping firms sell products and services (Andreasen, 1993). These scholars slowly discovered that they could turn their social concerns into important research projects and—as is important to academic career advancement—found opportunities to publish their work in top marketing journals. Many focused their attention on issues such as the social responsibility of business and marketing, while others focused on social marketing.

Hunt, however, made a significant point that those outside the marketing discipline still had to be convinced that marketing's broader domain could include subject areas they considered their purview. "Sadly, most administrators of nonprofit organizations and many academicians in other areas do not perceive that many problems in nonprofit organizations are basically marketing in nature" (Hunt, 1976, p. 24). Hunt urged the field to take on the marketing of marketing to nonmarketers, an issue that was revisited in 2001 (Andreasen, 2001). Efforts to gain acceptance of marketing as a valuable approach to social change have had only limited impact.

The First Major Revision of the Kotler/Zaltman Definition

The definition offered by Kotler and Zaltman—and modest variations in wording from others at the time—was the accepted gospel up to the 1990s. But two factors advocated a rethinking of the characterization that could advance the field. The first was the noted resistance to the term within other nonbusiness disciplines. Most prominent among these was "health communications" and "health education." Scholars and practitioners in these fields noted that the clear majority of field applications of social marketing and much of its writing and speechmaking involved advertising and various other communications vehicles aimed at health problems. And they quite reasonably complained that this was their domain and, indeed, they had already incorporated or originated many of the approaches to health promotion that social marketers were using—and bragging about!

This perception was abetted—often unintentionally—by marketing authors themselves, who argued that marketing could be used to advance products, services, places, people, and ideas. Indeed, the original definition by Kotler and Zaltman specified that social marketing's goal was to advance "programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas." This was a framework that was consistent at the time with other

views of the marketing field. For example, the American Marketing Association definition of marketing in 1985 stated, "Marketing is the process of planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion and distribution of ideas, goods, and services to create exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational objectives" (Meinert, Vitell, & Reich, 1994).

Kotler sought to broaden the definition in his first attempt at a textbook for the field with the assistance of his co-author, Eduardo Roberto. They proposed that the field be conceived as carrying out social change campaigns—"an organizational effort by one group (the change agent) which intends to persuade others (the target adopters) to accept, modify, or abandon certain ideas, attitudes, practices and behaviors" (Kotler & Roberto, 1989, p. 6). This definition remained basically consistent with the original Kotler/Levy definition, which was (unintentionally) the source of the problem.

While various authors continued to emphasize the role of exchange, it became clear that the end result of the "marketing" of ideas could be merely acceptance of those ideas. This concept presented three problems. First, this was what "health communicators/health educators" were doing. Second, it was difficult to define what was being exchanged when an idea was accepted. Third, if the ideas did not lead to action, one could reasonably argue that neither the individual nor society was better off.

This was the issue squarely addressed in a 1994 article in the *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* entitled "Social Marketing: Its Definition and Domain" (Andreasen, 1994). Here, the goal was to set forth the basic tenet that for social outcomes to be achieved through social marketing at the individual, group, national, or world level, behavior has to be influenced. This means that there must be a definite exchange. The proposed definition was "Social Marketing is the application of commercial marketing concepts and tools to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences to improve their lives or the society of which they are a part" (p. 110).

The definition is careful not to state that behavior has to actually change. This distinction was important because a number of social marketing campaigns were being designed or planned to *keep* target audiences from acting. These included campaigns about smoking, littering, physical abuse, and various discriminatory actions, among others.

This definition emerged from careful rethinking of what constituted a "marketing approach" in the private sector (from which social marketers borrowed). What marked success and what was failure? A moment's thought revealed that the *sine qua non* of commercial marketing is creating transactions—making sales, building customer loyalty, and so forth. Failure occurs when marketers do not—in Sergio Zyman's terms—"move the needle" (Zyman, 2000). Successful advertising campaigns that do not

result in more sales often lead to a change in ad agency and a reassignment of brand managers!

The focus on behavior today is captured well in the book title and the set of definitions accumulated by Craig Lefebrve in his major summary of the field, *Social Marketing and Social Change* (2013). The definitions he cites are reproduced in Table 2.1.

The Next Advance: Beyond the Immediate Target Audience

An important expansion of the areas of application for social marketing thinking and planning came about in the early 21st century. A number of scholars at that point—especially when thinking about problems such as childhood obesity—recognized the obvious fact that focusing solely on the individual with the "problem behavior" was only one part of an "impact system" designed to yield social improvements (Newton-Ward et al., 2004). The authors stated that a key to this new look at program structures is to "identify a comprehensive range of audiences, including decision-makers, who will need to adopt observable behaviors, actions, or decisions in order for [desirable social] outcomes to be achieved" (p. 19). In the case of childhood obesity, for example, obese children need access to healthier food, so parents, school cafeteria managers, and McDonald's planners need to change their offerings. Parents or other caregivers have to provide nutritious meal and snacking options. Law officers and politicians need to make schoolyards, neighborhood parks, and streets safer for children to exercise or simply take a walk. Software innovators need to create computer websites and programs that teach kids and parents healthful practices and ways to make children's time at their computers or on their cell phones an opportunity for exercise.

The revelation emerging from this third rethinking of social marketing is that social marketing concepts and tools can apply to key players in each of these "upstream" domains. Models in the field and best practices can be adapted to any target audience where behavioral change will yield healthier and happier lives for broader populations—the ultimate target audiences of interest to social marketers.

Where to Next?

In the second decade of the 21st century, a number of scholars have revived two fundamental definitional issues. The first is the continuing question of the relationship of social to commercial marketing (cf. Lefebvre, 2013), and the second is defining the outer limits of social marketing theorizing and application (Andreasen, 2012). In the first instance, it continues to be the

Table 2.1 Social marketing definitions, 1985–2010

Manoff, 1985	"Social marketing is the adaptation of marketing to public health imperatives . . . it is a strategy for translating scientific findings about health and nutrition into education and action programs adopted from methodologies of commercial marketing."
Kotler & Roberto, 1989	"A social-change management technology involving the design, implementation, and control of programs aimed at increasing the acceptability of a social idea or practice in one or more groups of target adopters."
Andreasen, 1995	"The application of commercial marketing technologies to the analysis, planning, execution, and evaluation of programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences in order to improve their personal welfare and that of their society."
Kotler, Roberto & Lee, 2002	"Social marketing is the use of marketing principles and techniques to influence a target audience to voluntarily accept, reject, modify, or abandon a behavior for the benefit of individuals, groups, or society as a whole."
Donovan & Henley, 2003	"The application of the marketing concept, commercial marketing techniques and other social change techniques to achieving individual behavior changes and social structural changes that are consistent with the UN Declaration of Human Rights."
Smith, 2006	"A program management process designed to influence human behavior through consumer-oriented decision-making leading to increased social benefit."
Serrat, 2010 (Asian Development Bank report)	"Social marketing is the use of marketing principles and techniques to effect behavioral change. It is a concept, process, and application for understanding who people are, what they desire, and then organizing the creation, communication, and delivery of products and services to meet their desires as well as the needs of society, and solve serious social problems."
Dann, 2010	"The adaptation and adoption of commercial marketing activities, institutions and processes as a means to induce behavioral change in a targeted audience on a temporary or permanent basis to achieve a social goal."

Note. Reprinted from *Social Marketing and Social Change* (p. 21), by R. C. Lefebvre, 2013, San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Copyright 2013 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Reprinted with permission.

case that, from the perspective of mainstream marketing scholars and practitioners, social marketing is merely an interesting application area. There continue to be a number of efforts to rethink what is meant by marketing—whether it is a "science" and whether it is merely a descriptive term or an action verb implying that there are effective and ineffective ways of carrying it out. A recent wave of interest in the fundamental nature of marketing was triggered by a series of articles by Stephen Vargo and Robert Lusch promoting a service-dominant concept of marketing (Vargo & Lusch, 2004) and noting that, historically, both practitioners and academics had conceived products as the essence of what marketers offered, with services seen as a special case where few or no products were involved. Vargo and Lusch offered the revelatory perspective that customers do not seek products for what they comprise—the physical entity—but rather what they deliver, or the service they provide. People do not want TV sets, but they want great pictures with many viewing options, chances to entertain others, sports events to watch, and so on. TV sets deliver entertainment services.

A 2012 article in the *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* suggested a further rethinking of social and nonprofit marketing in light of the Vargo and Lusch framework:

> The major proposition advanced here is that nonprofit and social marketing do not comprise a special (and minor) set of marketing applications. Rather, marketing, in both commercial and social settings, is ultimately about influencing behaviors, whether these behaviors are consumer purchases or people taking up more healthful lifestyles. More critically, it proposes that the managerial challenges that nonprofit and social marketing managers face are significantly more complex than those faced in the commercial sector. Such managers typically need to simultaneously promote sales (e.g., Goodwill clothing, charity t-shirts, opera attendance), corporate support, volunteering, individual giving and grants, and contracts from foundations and government agencies. The targets of each of these marketing challenges respond to different and often unique tactics and strategies and are evaluated in terms of different outcomes. Given that, it is proposed that commercial marketing should be viewed as a simplified, special type of marketing management with only one broad primary objective: maximizing sales. Therefore, nonprofit and social marketing comprise not minor applications of commercial concepts and tools but rather the most complex cases; commercial marketing is the special, narrower application. (Andreasen, 2012, p. 37)

In essence, this description of the field says that nonprofit and social marketing should be viewed as the dominant paradigm and commercial marketing should be regarded as a special case with only one kind of target and a focus on the delivery of products and/or services as the objective.

An additional proposition emphasized in this article is that it should be transparently clear that the ultimate objective of any kind of marketing is behavior. One implication of this proposition is that researchers in both commercial and social fields ought to study types of behavior and what propels and inhibits them—independent of the subject matter and objective of such behavior. For example, one can study

- starting a behavior, such as taking up golf or adopting a poor African family;
- switching a behavior, such as buying a new car brand or becoming a vegetarian; or
- stopping a behavior, such as not buying store brands or giving up smoking.

Outer Limits

A final definitional challenge remains unresolved in the many attempts to define the discipline: What constitutes the outer limit of social marketing's realm of application and its tools? For example, should it be independent of one's evaluation of the social desirability of a sought-after social outcome? Consider these questions:

- Is invading a country a social marketing campaign?
- Is recruiting soldiers for Al Qaeda social marketing?
- Is getting someone to join a church, synagogue, or mosque social marketing?
- Is psychoanalysis a social marketing tool if the goal is to cure anorexic behavior?
- Are "advice givers" of various kinds (e.g., therapists, psychics, marriage counselors) social marketers if their clients want to stop or change an undesirable behavior?
- Is lying an acceptable social marketing tool? How about coercion or threats if they are effective and the behavior in question is not good for the individual and/or society?

Clearly, despite its long history, the field of social marketing still has many unresolved—but important—definitional issues before it. Pursuing such issues is not simply an intellectual exercise but one that can sharpen its image and improve its outcomes.

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CHAPTER THREE

Social Psychological Foundations of Social Marketing

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A fundamental goal of marketing is to influence people's behavior, such as increasing consumers' trial of a product, willingness to pay for a particular brand, or their inclination to recommend a service to their friends. In the case of social marketing, behaviors are targeted that will improve the well-being of particular individuals or society more broadly. For example, social marketing efforts can be aimed at improving the well-being of women by encouraging them to perform self-administered breast exams, or at improving the well-being of the population more generally by influencing policy makers to enact laws such as bans on smoking in public or restrictions on the use of assault weapons.

In each of the preceding examples, there is an attempt to influence particular behaviors, such as performing self-administered breast exams or voting to change policy. This chapter recognizes that one common and effective means to influence behavior is to change individuals' attitudes. That is, as people adopt more favorable attitudes toward self-administered breast exams or specific public policies, they are more likely to engage in attitude-relevant behaviors. The present chapter reviews the fundamental variables and processes by which attitude change and persuasion operate. In doing so, this chapter contributes to the bedrock of social marketing by providing the reader with the tools to influence individuals' volitional behavior via attitude change. Our assumption is that the same basic

principles of attitude change uncovered in decades of basic research (see Briñol & Petty, 2012) will be useful in developing effective social marketing campaigns (Petty & Cacioppo, 1996).

To understand the importance of attitude change in affecting behavior, this chapter begins with an introduction to the concept of attitudes and their role in guiding behavior. Subsequently, we provide an overview of a classic trichotomy for organizing persuasive variables around source, message, and recipient factors. The chapter continues by introducing the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981, 1986) of persuasion to understand the critical role the amount of thinking plays in how and when a particular source, message, or recipient factor influences persuasion. After explaining how any given variable can affect persuasion in many different ways, the chapter turns to examining how there can also be interactions among various source, message, and recipient factors. Finally, the chapter discusses the importance of elaboration and other factors in producing attitude strength; that is, for creating attitudes that are persistent, resistant, and influential in guiding behavior.

Attitudes and Attitude Change

An attitude can be understood as the degree to which an individual likes or dislikes a person, place, or thing (for discussion, see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Pratkanis, Breckler & Greenwald, 1989). Attitudes are evaluative judgments that associate some degree of favor or disfavor with an object. For example, with regard to social marketing efforts, a relevant attitude object might be an individual's attitude toward a charity, green products, or a new public policy. In each case, an attitude might range from positive (e.g., I like this charity) to neutral (e.g., I neither like nor dislike this charity) to negative (e.g., I dislike this charity). Attitudes can also range in extremity (Abelson, 1995), such that two individuals might both like an attitude object (e.g., a green product) but differ in how much they like it.

One of the fundamental reasons scholars have been enamored with the study of attitudes is that attitudes have been shown to predict and influence behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Even though behavioral compliance tactics, such as a change in norms or laws, can affect behavior, many behaviors targeted by social marketing efforts are often left solely to the discretion of the individual. For example, when a woman engages in self-administered breast exams, or a legislator votes for a particular bill, or a consumer gives to a charity or purchases a green product, these are all volitional choices on the part of the individual guided, in part, by that individual's attitudes. Furthermore, even mandating behavioral compliance

often requires a change in the attitudes of those voting for a policy. For example, laws can be changed to ban cigarette smoking in public, but doing so still requires policy makers to first endorse and vote for the policy. Because attitudes guide behavior, a core means to achieve a desired behavior is to change people's attitudes. This observation rests at the heart of a large body of literature in social psychology and marketing dedicated to changing attitudes through persuasion (for reviews, see Petty & Wegener, 1998a; Fazio & Petty, 2007). Given that some behavioral outcome is likely to be the end objective for many social marketing efforts, changing people's attitudes is likely to be intertwined with most such efforts. Later in this chapter, we discuss when changes in attitudes are more or less likely to result in behavior change.

Source, Message, and Recipient Factors

In the study of persuasion, scholars have long utilized a classic trichotomy to describe variables involved in the success of a persuasive communication. Aristotle may have been among the first to describe such factors during the fourth century BCE. Specifically Aristotle wrote of the importance of ethos, characteristics of the speaker that enhance persuasion, such as charisma or trustworthiness; logos, the logic of the argument within the message itself; and pathos, recipient factors that facilitate or inhibit the persuasiveness of a message and, in particular, emotional reactions (Aristotle, 1991). In modern times, scholars have used the terms "source," "message," and "recipient" to describe these fundamental inputs into the persuasion process (McGuire, 1968).

This trichotomy provides an excellent starting point and organizational structure for reviewing the factors that affect the persuasiveness of a message. The next section reviews classic examples of specific source, message, and recipient factors that have been shown empirically to affect persuasion. In the discussion of these factors, the intent is not to universally summarize every possible variable that might fall into these descriptive buckets. Rather, the goal is to adequately summarize clear examples within each of these categories so that readers can apply them as an organizing tool to assess and evaluate variables present in their own social marketing efforts.

Source Factors in Persuasion

Source factors refer to aspects of the individual or organization delivering the message, irrespective of the message content. Perhaps the most common source factor studied in the literature is the credibility of the source

(Kelman & Hovland, 1953; see Petty & Wegener, 1998a, for a review). Source credibility is used to refer to two aspects of the source: the expertise of the source (i.e., the amount of knowledge the source possesses on the message topic) and the source's trustworthiness (i.e., the motivation of the source to be honest about the information delivered). Expertise increases the credibility of a source because it enhances a source's ability to convey information that is accurate; trustworthiness increases the credibility of a source because it suggests that the source is motivated to share truthful information. Early research found that audiences were more persuaded when the source of a message was an expert (Rhine & Severance, 1970) or viewed as trustworthy (Mills & Jellison, 1967).

Researchers have catalogued a number of other aspects of the source that affect persuasion, independent of source credibility. For example, past research has found that people's attitudes are influenced by the physical attractiveness of a source. Attractive sources have been shown to enhance persuasion compared to unattractive sources (Snyder & Rothbart, 1971). In addition, a source's power—his or her control over resources—can affect persuasion. Powerful sources have been shown to produce more attitude change than powerless sources (e.g., Festinger & Thibaut, 1951; French & Raven, 1959; see Briñol & Petty, 2009a, for a review). Similarly, sources might vary on how warm or competent they are perceived to be (Aaker, Vohs & Mogilner, 2010) or how liked they are (Petty, Cacioppo & Schumann, 1983). In each of these cases, a property of the source influences the extent of attitude change, and it may or may not matter what the source says. Although initial research on source factors focused on effects of sources that were consistent with their valence (i.e., credible, attractive, and powerful sources increased persuasion), in the following sections, we review research showing that source factors can produce various effects depending on the circumstances. This means that positively valenced source factors can sometimes be associated with increased persuasive impact, but at other times these very same aspects of the source can be associated with decreased persuasion.

Message Factors in Persuasion

Messages factors constitute what is literally said or spoken in the message or how the message is structured or organized. One important aspect of the information contained in the message itself is how compelling the arguments provided are. Strong arguments tend to present consequences that are highly desirable, likely to occur, and important (Petty & Wegener, 1998a). If people are carefully thinking about a message, the quality of the

arguments has a greater impact on persuasion than if the level of thinking is low (Petty, Wells & Brock, 1976). Messages can also vary in the total number of arguments that are presented, as well as their quality. Prior research has shown that messages with more arguments can lead to greater persuasion than messages with fewer arguments (Calder, Insko & Yandell, 1974; Josephs, Giesler & Silvera 1994), and this is especially true when thinking is low (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984a).

Beyond the quality or length of information a message contains, messages can also vary in the type of information they present. For example, messages can vary in whether they are simple or complex (Ahearne, Gruen & Saxton, 2000) or whether the information contained in the message consists only of arguments in favor of the advocated position (one-sided) or consists of arguments both in favor of and against a position (two-sided) (Hovland, Lumsdaine & Sheffield, 1949). Early research found that two-sided messages, despite disclosing information against the presenter's position, could sometimes exert a persuasive advantage over one-sided messages. One reason for this outcome was that people were more likely to infer that the source of a two-sided message was trustworthy when the source openly acknowledged weaknesses in the source's own position (Crowley & Hoyer, 1994). As was just noted for source factors, the available research suggests that variables relevant to the message can increase or decrease persuasion depending on the situation and the psychological processes by which they operate. The next sections describe the key aspects responsible for these different persuasion outcomes.

Recipient Factors in Persuasion

Recipient factors refer to characteristics of the individuals receiving the message (i.e., the audience). There are numerous recipient factors relevant to persuasion, and they can be divided into many different categories. For example, recipient variables can be categorized by both trait and state factors. Trait factors consist of more stable characteristics of an individual such as the person's demographics (e.g., gender, age, race), cognitive skills (e.g., intelligence), personality (e.g., extraversion or introversion), and particular belief systems (e.g., previous attitudes or issue-related knowledge). State factors consist of features of an individual that are more likely to vary over time, across contexts, or based on the immediate situation. For example, people can be in a variety of temporary states related to their current mood, how powerful they feel, or how fatigued they are.

Previous research has established that both trait and state aspects of the recipient can play critical roles in persuasion. For example, a

meta-analysis suggested that as an audience's intelligence increases, the audience becomes more difficult to persuade (Rhodes & Wood, 1992). The argument for this relationship has been linked to the idea that intelligence provides individuals with the ability to both evaluate the persuasiveness of an appeal and to counter-argue the information presented. Similarly, research by Briñol, Rucker, Tormala and Petty (2004) suggested that some individuals are naturally more resistant to persuasion than others. Specifically, they found that individuals' own beliefs about whether they tended to resist or succumb to persuasion predicted their actual resistance or yielding to persuasion.

With regard to state factors of the recipient, a large body of research has suggested that the temporary mood or emotional state of a recipient can affect how a recipient responds to persuasion. For example, early research found that placing individuals in a negative state because of an unpleasant odor in the room decreased persuasion (Razran, 1940). The initial arguments for this relationship were based on a learning theory framework. Specifically, researchers suggested that when an object was paired with a negative experience, simple associative processes led people to view the object as negative (see Zanna, Kiesler & Pilkonis, 1970). But if the object was paired with positive experiences such as music (e.g., Gorn, 1982) or food (Dabbs & Janis, 1965), attitudes became more favorable. As was the case with source and message variables, subsequent research revealed that the valence of the recipient's experience is not the only factor that matters for persuasion, and recipient factors can influence attitudes by multiple processes in different situations.

Source, Message, and Recipient Factors: Summary

This section provides a very brief and selective review of some common source, message, and recipient factors in persuasion, noting that each could play an important role in influencing attitudes. In doing so, this effort provides a first fundamental question for social marketers to ask: What are the source, message, and recipient factors at play in their particular context? For example, imagine a social marketing effort that is aimed at funding a new research center to improve the lives of children with Down syndrome. A natural starting point would be to take stock of who would deliver the message, what the message would say, and who the target recipient is. By addressing these considerations, social marketers can make judicious decisions as to how they might design their communications. Specifically, one would want to design a persuasion effort that uses these variables in ways that would yield the most favorable and strongest attitudes.

The difficulty in such an approach is that the formula for successful persuasion is not as simple as highly credible sources being more persuasive than less-credible sources, more arguments always being more persuasive than fewer arguments, or a recipient in a positive mood being easier to persuade than a recipient in a negative mood. Indeed, excitement about seemingly simple early findings on attitudes and persuasion became momentarily marred by more complex and conflicting findings. For example, whereas early research found that credible sources enhanced persuasion (Hovland & Weiss, 1951), later research found that the use of credible sources could decrease persuasion (Sternthal, Dholakia & Leavitt, 1978). Whereas initial research suggested that increasing the number of arguments increased persuasion (Calder, Insko & Yandell, 1974), later research found that enhancing the number of arguments either had no effect (Norman, 1976) or could decrease persuasion (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984a). And whereas research suggested negative emotions decreased persuasion (Zanna, Kiesler & Pilkonis, 1970), other research found that negative emotions could sometimes increase persuasion (Rogers, 1983).

The contradictory evidence for how the same variable affected persuasion had at least two noticeable effects. First, these findings crippled efforts to link a particular variable (e.g., the use of a highly credible source) with a single and unilateral effect on persuasion (i.e., more persuasion) (Petty, 1997; Petty & Briñol, 2008). Second, these findings raised the question of whether there was a scientific manner to craft messages beyond trial and error. In response to these findings, researchers moved away from trying to understand whether a particular variable had a positive or negative effect on persuasion and instead sought to understand when and why a variable had a positive versus a negative effect on persuasion.

The Elaboration Likelihood Model

One of the most prominent solutions to understanding when the same variable would have a positive versus a negative effect on persuasion and why each effect would occur came with the introduction of the Elaboration Likelihood Model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981, 1986). The ELM is a model of persuasion that focuses on how persuasion is affected by recipient elaboration—the amount of message-relevant thinking an individual engages in when processing a persuasive message. Petty and Cacioppo (1981, 1986) introduced the idea that the amount of effort people put into processing information rests on an elaboration continuum. At one end of the continuum, people engage in relatively little scrutiny and thinking about the information presented (low elaboration). At the other end of the

continuum, people engage in a great deal of thoughtful scrutiny of the information presented (high elaboration). As will be detailed momentarily, the degree of elaboration an individual engages in has important consequences for how particular source, message, or recipient variables affect persuasion.

Next, we provide a broad overview of the model. The emphasis and objective is to introduce the reader to the core constructs and implications of the model as opposed to the finer details. More detailed discussions of the ELM and its postulates have been summarized more comprehensively elsewhere (Petty & Briñol, 2012; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; Petty & Wegener, 1999). In addition, the present chapter places added emphasis on explaining how the model can be used parsimoniously to understand the effects that a variety of source, message, and recipient factors will have on persuasion.

Central Versus Peripheral Routes to Persuasion

ELM posits that persuasion can take place through one of two routes. First, persuasion can occur through a central route. The central route is marked by a careful scrutiny of message-relevant arguments to determine one's response to the message. Second, persuasion can occur though the peripheral route. Persuasion that occurs through the peripheral route is marked by a greater reliance on simple heuristics or rules of thumb for determining one's attitude. The extent to which people use the central versus the peripheral route is determined by the amount of message elaboration an audience engages in. When situational and individual factors result in the audience's elaboration level being high, attitude change is more likely to occur through the central route. In contrast, when the recipient's elaboration level is low, attitude change is more likely to occur through the peripheral route. The ELM is an early example of what became an explosion of dual-process and dual-system theories that distinguished thoughtful from non-thoughtful persuasion (see Chaiken & Trope, 1999; Sherman, Gawronski & Trope, 2014). We focus on this particular theoretical framework because it has guided the most research on attitude change and persuasion.

What determines the degree of elaboration people engage in, and whether persuasion is primarily a result of central versus peripheral route processing? The degree of elaboration engaged in is affected by an individual's motivation and ability to process the information presented. Specifically, an individual is likely to elaborate on information when motivated to do so because it is personally relevant (Maheswaran & Chaiken,

1991; Petty & Cacioppo, 1979), when they are personally responsible for outcomes related to the information (Petty, Harkins & Williams, 1980), or when the person naturally enjoys thinking (Cacioppo, Petty & Morris, 1983). However, in addition to being motivated to process information, an individual must have the ability to do so. A variety of factors can affect an individual's ability to process a message, including the person's level of knowledge (Wood & Lynch, 2002), whether the person is distracted (Petty, Wells & Brock, 1976), and whether the person has multiple opportunities to read the message via repetition (Petty & Cacioppo, 1979).

Importantly, although there are two routes to persuasion, this does not mean that a message recipient is forced into processing information via only one route. Rather, as the degree of elaboration increases, an individual's response to a persuasive message is more likely to depend on central route processes and less likely to depend on peripheral route processes. For example, an individual paying attention to the substantive merits of a message is more likely to consider the relevance of the source's physical attractiveness, but this does not mean that attractiveness will not also exert some minor influence as a simple peripheral cue or work by other means (e.g., biasing thinking). Thus, the central and peripheral routes should be thought of as anchors at either end of the elaboration continuum, but an individual can fall along any point of that continuum.

Multiple Roles for Variables

One of the most powerful insights from the ELM is that it proposes that variables can play "multiple roles" in the persuasion process and that the process by which a variable affects persuasion depends on the level of message elaboration. That is, depending on whether an individual's elaboration of a message is relatively low, moderate, or high, the same variable (e.g., source credibility, emotion) can exert an influence on persuasion through a different process. As will be explained, the fact that the same variable can affect persuasion through distinct processes means that the same variable can have positive or negative effects on persuasion depending on the process.

Understanding the multiple mechanisms by which variables impact attitudes is critical for a number of reasons. First, understanding the process by which variables can produce influence is important because if any one variable can affect influence via different processes, then different outcomes for the same variable are possible. For example, when thinking is constrained to be low, a happy state of the consumer might lead to more attitude change than a sad state because emotion serves as a simple positive cue (i.e., if I feel good, I must like it), but when thinking is

unconstrained, a happy state could reduce processing of a cogent message compared to a sad state, thereby reducing persuasion. Second, the underlying process has implications for the immediate and long-term consequences of the persuasive attempt. In particular, the more thoughtful the mechanism that is involved in producing attitude change, the more the attitude created is expected to be durable, resistant, and impactful over time (Petty, Haugtvedt & Smith, 1995). For example, if a person agreed with a store salesperson's request to purchase a box of cookies solely because of the salesperson's attractiveness, the person would be easier to talk into purchasing a different box of cookies on a subsequent visit than if the initial purchase came after the attractiveness led the consumer to carefully scrutinize the merits of the cookies and form a strong favorable attitude toward them. Thus, the ELM holds that the process by which an influence attempt is successful can be consequential for the future. That is, even if two different processes result in the same extent of influence at an initial occasion, the consequences of this influence can differ.

The next section explains how several different source, message, and recipient variables have been shown to affect persuasion under different degrees of elaboration. Because not every possible process has been examined for every possible variable, the full array of effects that specific variables are capable of incurring has not been documented. However, this section showcases the many different roles two particular variables, source credibility and recipient mood or emotion, have been shown to play in the persuasion process.

Effects of Variables under Low Elaboration Conditions

When the elaboration likelihood is low, either because of low motivation or ability to think about the persuasive proposal, variables are likely to exert their influence by serving as simple cues or input to simple heuristics. Heuristics can be thought of as rules of thumb, such as "When a message comes from a friend, it can be trusted." Evidence for the use of heuristics often comes from the fact that when people's message-related thoughts are examined, there are very few of them and/or those thoughts do not mediate or explain the reason behind the attitudes formed (see Rucker, Briñol & Petty, 2011, for discussion). That is, the use of heuristics means that people did not rely much on the substantive message content in forming their attitudes; although variables serving as heuristics can operate through multiple processes at all levels of elaboration.

Under conditions of low elaboration, the credibility of the source has been shown to serve as a simple positive cue to persuasion. For example, when messages deal with unimportant or irrelevant issues (low motivation

to think), irrespective of the actual merits of the arguments presented, individuals are likely to be more persuaded by credible sources compared to noncredible sources (Petty, Cacioppo & Goldman, 1981). This can be understood as resulting from the use of a simple heuristic or association such as "If an expert and trustworthy source supports this position, it must be good." Similarly, message factors, such as the total number of arguments contained in a message, have been shown to serve as input to a numerosity heuristic when the level of thinking is low, but not when it is high (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984a). When not thinking much, people might rely on the following heuristic: "If there are so many (few) reasons in favor of this proposal, it must be good (bad)!"

Recipient factors can also be used as simple heuristics. For example, the mood of the recipient can be used as a simple cue. In one study, Schwarz and Clore (1983) showed that participants reported being more satisfied with their lives on sunny days than on rainy days, which the authors reasoned was a result of participants misattributing their good mood from the weather to their life satisfaction. In the persuasion domain, Petty, Schumann, Richman, and Strathman (1993) found that when elaboration was low because the message object was irrelevant to the participants, people liked the object more when they were in a positive mood than when they were in a negative mood. Furthermore, Petty and colleagues (1993) found that participants' actual thoughts toward the product did not differ, suggesting this outcome occurred because of a thoughtless and heuristic process.

Cutting across source, message, and recipient factors, under low-elaboration conditions, persuasion is typically the result of a simple inference or association process. Individuals can look to the source, message, or themselves for simple cues to help them make a decision, irrespective of message content, or these simple cues can sometimes become automatically associated with the attitude object.

Effects of Variables Under Moderate (Unconstrained) Elaboration Conditions

When individuals' elaboration level is moderate (i.e., not constrained to be very high or low by other factors), variables can affect the amount of thinking in which people engage. For example, variables might serve as critical triggers that lead people to either increase or decrease their motivation or ability to process a persuasive message. As a consequence, a source, message, or recipient factor might lead people to rely more versus less on either peripheral cues or their reactions to the substantive message arguments. A common means to study whether a variable affects the amount of

elaboration has been to use an argument quality manipulation (Petty, Wells & Brock, 1976). An argument quality manipulation typically consists of including in one's experiment a pair of between-subject conditions. In the first condition, arguments are presented that are strong and compelling, leading to the generation of favorable thoughts if people think about the arguments. In the second condition, arguments are developed that are weak and specious, leading to the generation of unfavorable thoughts (counter-arguments) when people think about the arguments. The core idea is that if a variable is getting people to attend carefully to the information (i.e., high elaboration), then the inclusion of this variable should be associated with increased persuasion when the arguments are strong but decreased persuasion when the arguments are weak. To test if and how a variable (e.g., positive versus negative mood) affects elaboration, the variable is crossed with an argument quality manipulation. The effect of the variable on elaboration is determined by the relative difference between weak and strong argument conditions (see Rucker, et al., 2011, for a detailed discussion of the argument quality tool).

As one example of how a source variable affected the amount of processing using argument quality manipulation, Priester and Petty (2003) examined how the trustworthiness of a source influenced message elaboration. Priester and Petty proposed that a message that was presented by an untrustworthy or biased source might receive greater scrutiny compared to when the message came from a trustworthy source. They theorized that because a biased source might have ulterior motives, individuals would have to exert extra effort to examine the validity of the arguments presented compared to when the source could be trusted. Consistent with this hypothesis, Priester and Petty found that people were more likely to use the quality of the arguments to determine their attitudes when the message came from an untrustworthy source. That is, the quality of the arguments had a larger impact on attitudes when the source was untrustworthy than when the source was trustworthy.

Message factors can also affect the extent of message elaboration. As one example, Smith and Shaffer (2000) examined how the presentation of a message in a vivid and concrete fashion increased or decreased elaboration. Smith and Shaffer proposed that vivid messages would increase information processing when the vivid elements were consistent with the theme of the message itself but would lead to less processing when the vivid elements were inconsistent with the theme of the message. Supportive of this proposition, Smith and Shaffer (2000; experiment 2) found that participants showed a greater discernment between weak and strong arguments when the vivid aspects of a message were congruent with the theme

of the message compared to when the vivid aspects were incongruent with the theme of the message.

Finally, recipient factors also affect individuals' motivation to process a message. One important individual difference measure linked to elaboration is "need for cognition" (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982; Cacioppo, Petty & Kao, 1984). Need for cognition reflects individual differences in the extent to which people enjoy and engage in thinking. When situational factors do not encourage or prevent people from processing a message, individuals' high in need for cognition are more likely to elaborate on a message than those low in need for cognition. For example, Haugtvedt, Petty, and Cacioppo (1992) found that individuals high in need for cognition were more influenced by the quality of the arguments in an advertisement than those low in need for cognition, but those low in need for cognition were more influenced by the attractiveness of the endorsers pictured in the ad than were those high in need for cognition. In addition to chronic individual differences, situational factors can also affect the degree of elaboration people engage in. For example, Worth and Mackie (1987) examined the role of mood in people's processing of a message. They found that, compared to participants in a neutral mood, participants in a happy mood scrutinized subsequent information less carefully. In general, sad individuals tend to process information less carefully than happy individuals, but an exception occurs if people in a happy state believe that the message to be processed will maintain their happiness. If this is the case, then they can process as much or more than those in a sad state (Wegener, Petty & Smith, 1995).

Effects of Variables under High Elaboration Conditions

As we have reviewed, under low elaboration conditions, variables affect persuasion via a simple associative or cue-based process, and under moderate elaboration conditions, variables affect persuasion by influencing the amount of message processing. In contrast, when elaboration is constrained to be high, these same variables can affect persuasion through several different processes. Specifically, under high elaboration conditions, variables have been shown to affect persuasion by serving as arguments, biasing an individual's processing, validating an individual's thoughts, or being involved in a correction for bias.

First, under high elaboration conditions, variables can serve as arguments. Here, the same variable (e.g., source expertise, the individual's mood) that served as a simple cue when the level of thinking was low, or affected the extent of processing when thinking was not constrained, is

itself scrutinized as to whether or not it is a meaningful and logical argument or reason for changing an attitude or adopting the advocated position. For example, whereas an attractive source might increase persuasion under low elaboration purely because people have a positive association with attractive individuals (Snyder & Rothbart, 1971), under high elaboration conditions, people scrutinize whether the attractiveness of the source is relevant to the advocacy. An attractive source will exert little impact when people view the attractiveness as irrelevant to the merits of the advocacy. However, when the attractiveness is relevant—for example, if the source is advertising a beauty product that should make the user look attractive—then a physically attractive source could be more persuasive than an unattractive source by serving as a cogent argument (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984a). Similarly, the content of the message in terms of the arguments presented plays an important role under high elaboration conditions. With high elaboration it is not as important whether there are numerically many or few arguments, but whether the arguments presented are strong or weak (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984b). As discussed earlier, when the arguments presented are strong, people will be more persuaded than when the arguments are weak. Finally, with respect to recipient mood, Martin, Abend, Sedikides, and Green (1997) examined how participants evaluated a story designed to make them happy or sad. Because a core goal of the story was the mood it was supposed to induce, participants' mood could be viewed as a relevant argument. Thus, if a story was designed to make people sad, actually feeling sad would be a strong argument in favor of the merits of the story, but feeling happy would make the story seem worse.

Second, under high elaboration conditions, variables can also direct or bias individuals' thinking. In particular, when arguments are not clearly strong or weak (i.e., ambiguity exists), variables can bias or cloud how individuals assess the arguments. For example, Chaiken and Maheswaran (1994) found that when arguments were ambiguous, individuals tended to generate more favorable thoughts, and thus form more positive attitudes, when those arguments were associated with an expert versus a nonexpert source. This effect can be understood by the notion that the expert's credibility affected the thoughts participants focused on and generated in response to the message. When thinking levels are high, people interpret the ambiguous arguments in such a way as to make the arguments seem more compelling. Similarly, in the domain of recipient variables, mood has been shown to bias processing. In the research described earlier by Petty and colleagues (1993), in addition to examining the effects of mood under low elaboration conditions, the authors examined the effects of mood

under high elaboration conditions (e.g., when a product was viewed as relevant to individuals and thus meriting their attention). The authors found that positive moods also led to more favorable attitudes than negative moods when the level of thinking was high. However, unlike low elaboration conditions, where mood did not affect participants' thoughts, Petty and colleagues found that under high elaboration conditions, positive mood led to greater persuasion by biasing the thoughts participants generated about the product, making them more favorable when participants' moods were positive rather than negative.

Third, in addition to serving as an argument and affecting the direction of the thoughts generated, variables can also have an impact on the structural features of an individual's thoughts under conditions involving a high level of thinking. Although there are a number of dimensions of thoughts that might be affected, one being accessibility, most research has focused on a meta-cognitive factor—the confidence people have in their thoughts (for a review, see Petty, Briñol, Tormala & Wegener, 2007; Briñol & Petty, 2009b). Confidence in thoughts is important because as thoughts are held with greater confidence, people are more likely to use those thoughts in forming their judgments (Petty et al., 2002). In contrast, when people doubt the validity of their thoughts, their thoughts are less likely to have an impact on judgments. This may be one reason why some advertising campaigns are unsuccessful; although such campaigns might produce the appropriate favorable thoughts, these thoughts are not held with sufficient confidence to affect attitudes.

There are many factors of the source, message, and recipient that can influence persuasion by affecting thought confidence. For example, Tormala, Briñol, & Petty (2006) found that learning a message came from an expert source after processing it led people to have greater confidence in their thoughts than learning a message came from a non-expert source. Because participants were more confident in their thoughts when the source was an expert, people were more likely to use those thoughts in forming their attitudes. Recipient mood has also been shown to affect the confidence people place in their thoughts. Specifically, Briñol, Petty, and Barden (2007) exposed participants to a message containing either weak or strong arguments and encouraged them to process the message carefully. This fostered relatively high elaboration conditions where participants generated either favorable thoughts (in response to the strong message) or unfavorable thoughts (in response to the weak message). Subsequently, Briñol and colleagues manipulated participants' moods by asking them to recall a time they were happy or sad. Finally, they assessed participants' attitudes toward the message. Results showed that positive

mood validated participants' thoughts such that they were more confident in their thoughts after they had recalled a time they felt happy as opposed to after recalling a time they felt sad. As a result of this "thought validation," participants were more (or less) persuaded when their favorable (or unfavorable) thoughts had been validated.

Finally, under high elaboration conditions, variables can lead individuals to respond to potential bias in their thinking and attempt to correct for such bias. Specifically, because people are motivated to hold correct attitudes (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), under careful scrutiny they might detect factors that they believe are biasing their judgments and make an effort to correct for them. For example, as mentioned earlier, Schwarz and Clore (1983) found that incidental effects of the weather (e.g., mood) on judgments were attenuated when participants were first asked about the weather. Presumably being asked about the weather made the idea that the current weather might bias their evaluation salient, which led them to correct for it. In the domain of persuasion, Petty, Wegener, and White (1998) showed that people were more persuaded by a source they liked (e.g., an individual from a rival university who praised the participants' own university) than a source they disliked (e.g., an individual from a rival university who chastised the participants' own university). However, under high elaboration conditions, when participants were instructed to avoid bias, they corrected for their dislike of the source. In fact, they appeared to overcorrect such that they become more favorable to the dislikable source. Of course, people must be motivated and aware of a bias in order to correct for it (for discussion, see Wegener & Petty, 1994; Petty et al., 1998).

Summary of Multiple Roles

To reinforce the idea that elaboration affects how the same variable might influence persuasion, consider the variety of examples previously used with respect to recipient mood. On first blush, it might seem logical that positive mood would foster greater persuasion than negative mood. Indeed, as we noted, the first research based on simple associative processes was consistent with this perspective (Razran, 1940; Gorn, 1982; Zanna, Kiesler & Pilkonis, 1970). However, the now-large empirical literature suggests the relationship between mood and persuasion is highly dependent on elaboration.

When thinking is constrained to be low (e.g., due to many distractions), then emotions tend to serve as simple associative cues and produce evaluations consistent with their valence (Petty et al., 1993). Under low-level thinking conditions, positive emotions produce more agreement than

negative ones. When thinking levels are high, though, emotions serve in other roles. First, emotions can be evaluated as evidence (e.g., negative emotions such as sadness or fear can lead to positive evaluations of a movie if these are the intended states; see Martin, 2000). Also, when thinking levels are high, emotions can bias the ongoing thoughts (e.g., positive consequences seem more likely when people are in a happy state as opposed to a sad state; DeSteno, Petty, Wegener & Rucker, 2000). In addition, this bias has an emotion-specific component. In one study (DeSteno, Petty, Rucker, Wegener & Braverman, 2004), participants made to feel sad were more persuaded by a message pointing to sad consequences of a proposal rather than by a message pointing to angry consequences, whereas those participants made to feel angry were more persuaded by a message pointing to angering consequences than by a message pointing to sad ones. If an emotion is induced after people have finished thinking about the message rather than prior to doing so, then emotions can affect confidence in their thoughts (Briñol, Petty & Barden, 2007). This effect depends on the link between specific emotions and certainty appraisals. Because emotions such as happiness and anger are associated with certainty, these can validate thoughts whereas emotions such as sadness can cause doubt in thoughts and lead to less use of them (Tiedens & Linton, 2001). Finally, when the likelihood of thinking is not constrained to be high or low by other variables, then emotions can affect the extent of thinking. People might think about messages more when in a sad state than when in a happy state, either because sadness signals a problem to be solved (Schwarz, Bless & Bohner, 1991), conveys a sense of uncertainty (Tiedens & Linton, 2001), or invokes a motive to maintain one's happiness (Wegener & Petty, 1994).

This discussion illustrates the importance for social marketers to understand not only the variables at play in a persuasive message but the recipient's elaboration level. Without considering the elaboration level, a marketer may incorrectly believe a variable will have a positive effect when, in fact, it may have a negative effect.

The Interplay between Recipient, Source, and Message Factors

Although a given variable can affect persuasion through a variety of processes, the persuasion situation is a dynamic one. Persuasive communications often host interactions between recipient, source, and message factors. To highlight this interplay, we focus on interactions that have been observed between message and recipient factors. In particular, much past research on persuasion has examined the effectiveness of matching, tailoring, or aligning messages to their audience in order to enhance persuasion

(for reviews, see Petty, Wheeler, & Bizer, 2000; Briñol & Petty, 2006; Rucker, 2012; Salovey & Wegener, 2003). As an illustrative case, we review several examples of how information about a recipient factor might interact with the type of message factors a marketer should vary to affect persuasion through a variety of roles.

Self-Monitoring and Matching

Self-monitoring is an individual difference measure (Snyder, 1974) that refers to whether individuals change their behavior to fit with the demands of different situations or focus on their internal values and feelings to guide their behavior across situations. In an early demonstration of matching effects, Snyder and DeBono (1985) examined how individuals who were low versus high in self-monitoring responded to appeals focused on the social image conveyed by the product as opposed to appeals that stressed the intrinsic quality or merit of the product. Snyder and DeBono reasoned that because high self-monitors are social chameleons who adapt to the situation and the desires of others, they would be more persuaded by arguments that signaled the social image function that an object offered to them. In contrast, because low self-monitors are more focused on their own values, the authors reasoned they would be more persuaded by arguments that stressed the inherent merits of the product. Indeed, the authors found evidence consistent with this perspective. Why does matching the message to an individual's self-monitoring affect persuasion? As with other variables, we propose that the matching may affect persuasion through a variety of processes.

When elaboration is low, a match of message content to a person's level of self-monitoring is more likely to influence attitudes by serving as a simple cue (DeBono, 1987). That is, whereas early work is consistent with low and high self-monitors evaluating different arguments (social image versus quality) as more compelling, even when the content of the message is not processed carefully, if a source simply asserted that the arguments were consistent with a person's values, a low self-monitor might be more inclined to agree than a high self-monitor by reasoning, "If it links to my values, it must be good."

In accord with the ELM, if elaboration is not constrained to be high or low, matching messages to individual differences in self-monitoring can increase message processing (Petty & Wegener, 1998b). This means that when the arguments are strong, matching should lead to more persuasion (as found by Snyder & DeBono, 1985), but when the arguments are weak, matching leads to less persuasion (the opposite effect). In one study, Petty

and Wegener (1998b) matched or mismatched messages that were strong or weak to individuals who differed in their self-monitoring. In this research, high and low self-monitors read appeals based on image (e.g., how good a product makes you look) or quality (e.g., how efficient a product is) that contained arguments that were either strong (e.g., beauty or efficacy that last) or weak (e.g., momentary beauty or efficacy). The cogency of the arguments had a greater effect on attitudes when the message was framed to match rather than mismatch the person's self-monitoring status, indicating that matching enhanced processing of message quality.

When elaboration is high, matching might bias processing. Indeed, some research suggests that high self-monitors are more motivated to bias processing in the form of fostering favorable thoughts to messages that make an appeal to image rather than an appeal to values (e.g., Lavine & Snyder, 1996). Additionally, when elaboration is high, matching message contents and/or frames to self-monitoring can influence attitude change by more specific mechanisms under other circumstances. For example, Evans and Clark (2012) recently showed that thought confidence increased when a high (versus low) self-monitor received a message from an attractive (versus credible) source. In line with the self-validation logic, high (versus low) self-monitors relied on their thoughts more when the source was attractive (versus credible), which increased persuasion for positive thoughts but decreased persuasion for negative thoughts.

In sum, self-monitoring demonstrates how the message content can affect persuasion based on a match or mismatch to this individual difference variable. Furthermore, just as source, message, and recipient variables can have multiple roles, so too can matching, with matching having different effects depending on elaboration level.

Self-Schemas and Matching

Wheeler, Petty, and Bizer (2005) examined how individuals' self-schema—general cognitive associations to how one perceives the self—interacted with the initial title and first paragraph of message content to affect subsequent processing. Specifically, in one experiment, participants' degree of extroversion was measured. Wheeler and colleagues then exposed participants to a message for a VCR that began with a first paragraph that contained information designed to resonate with extroverts ("With the Mannux VCR, you'll be the life of the party, whether the party's in your home or out of it."), or to resonate with introverts ("With the Mannux VCR, you can have all the luxuries of a movie theater without having to deal with the crowds"). Subsequently, the remaining paragraphs contained

arguments that were varied between participants to be either weak or strong. Wheeler and colleagues found that individuals engaged in greater elaboration of the remaining message content when the initial paragraph matched participants' self-schemas. That is, the difference between weak and strong arguments was greater when the early message content matched participants' self-schemas. This finding suggested that a match between self-schema and the initial information presented in a message affected subsequent message elaboration. Wheeler and colleagues replicated these findings in a second experiment with the self-schema of need for cognition (i.e., individuals' propensity to enjoy and engage in thinking; Cacioppo & Petty, 1982). Individuals were more likely to process subsequent information when a message appealed to their enjoyment of deliberate thinking or quick decision-making. In the work by Wheeler and colleagues, elaboration was not constrained to be high or low. In accordance with the multiple roles notion, though, when elaboration is constrained to be low, perspective matches to self-schemas could serve as simple positive cues, and when elaboration is constrained to be high, such matches could bias information processing.

Regulatory Focus and Gains versus Losses

Regulatory focus theory (Higgins, 1997) suggests that two distinct types of goals drive humans: promotion and prevention. Promotion goals refer to the desire to attain positive outcomes, whereas prevention-focused goals refer to a desire to avoid negative outcomes. For example, an individual with a promotion goal might approach a situation (e.g., studying) with a focus on achievement (e.g., I want to earn an A), and an individual with a prevention-focused goal might approach the same situation with a focus on avoiding a loss (e.g., I do not want to earn a B).

Cesario, Grant, and Higgins (2004) examined the implications for persuasion of matching message content to whether a recipient was promotion versus prevention focused. To test their hypothesis, in one experiment, the authors measured participants' chronic tendencies to be promotion versus prevention focused in their goal pursuits. Participants were then exposed to a new message about the benefits of an after-school program that was framed in a manner to appeal to either promotion or prevention focused individuals. Specifically, given that promotion goals related to advancement and obtainment, one set of messages was framed to emphasize the gains from the program ("This program . . . will advance children's education and support more children to succeed"), whereas another was focused on the negatives that would be avoided ("This program will . . .

secure children's education and prevent more children from failing"). Cesario and colleagues (2004) found that participants who were chronically promotion focused were more persuaded by the message that emphasized gains, and participants who were chronically prevention focused were more persuaded by the message that emphasized the negatives that would be avoided. As might be expected by now, this simple main effect of matching is not the only result that can occur. Interested readers should consult Cesario, Higgins, and Scholer (2008) for the multiple roles this type of matching can induce.

Social Hierarchy and Warmth Versus Competence Appeals

Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky (2014) recently proposed a relationship between an audience's position in the social hierarchy and information related to warmth versus competence. Specifically, they proposed that individuals high in the social hierarchy were more sensitive to and focused on information related to competence because being at the top of a hierarchy creates a more agency- and self-focused means of thinking (Rucker, Galinsky & Dubois, 2012). In contrast, they proposed that individuals low in the social hierarchy were more sensitive to and focused on information related to warmth because being lower in the social hierarchy creates a more communal and other-focused means of thinking. As a consequence, information related to competence could be viewed as a better argument to them than information related to warmth.

To test this idea, Dubois and colleagues measured people's perceived social standing and their willingness to give money to a charity that featured characteristics associated with competence (e.g., skillful, competent, and capable) or characteristics associated with warmth (e.g., warm, trustworthy, and good-natured). Dubois and colleagues found that as participants' position in the social hierarchy increased, they were willing to donate more money to an organization associated with competence but less to an organization associated with warmth.

In a second experiment, Dubois and colleagues (2014) replicated the results by examining natural variations in people's power and associations with the source of a message. Specifically, Aaker, Vohs, and Mogilner (2010) demonstrated that ".com" companies were perceived as more competent but less warm than ".org" companies. Building on Aaker and colleagues' finding, Dubois and colleagues (2014) found that individuals who occupied positions of power at work (i.e., report their job to be that of a boss) were more persuaded by a message that came from a ".com" company as opposed to a ".org" company.

In the work by Dubois and colleagues (2013), the authors explicitly encouraged people to process and think about the information condition (i.e., high elaboration conditions). However, consistent with the multiple roles hypothesis, different outcomes are likely to occur at different levels of elaboration. For example, under moderate elaboration conditions, matching might affect the amount of information processing, which could increase or decrease persuasion based on whether subsequent arguments are strong or weak.

Matching Effects: Summary

For social marketers, the notion of message matching, alignment, or tailoring is a powerful tool. This suggests that after the source, message, and recipient factors have been identified, one should consider whether they are in alignment and the consequences of alignment or misalignment for persuasion. This section has emphasized the possibility of matching messages and recipients, but social marketers can work with many other kinds of matches, such as matches between the source and the recipient, the recipient and the context, the inductions and the measures, and so forth (Petty & Briñol, 2014). Furthermore, based on the ELM, matching effects need not always have a positive effect on persuasion. Rather, the result of message alignment is likely to hinge on factors such as the elaboration level and the quality of the arguments.

Attitude Strength: Persistence, Resistance, and Influence

As indicated earlier, the importance of attitudes, and therefore the topic of persuasion, stems in part from the fact that attitudes can ultimately influence behavior. However, a large body of literature now recognizes that not all attitudes are equally likely to predict behavior to the same degree. In particular, attitude scholars have introduced the idea of "attitude strength" to recognize that attitudes differ with respect to the extent to which they are persistent across time, resistant to change, and likely to predict and influence behavior (Petty & Krosnick, 1995). Given that a core goal of persuasion research is to create attitudes that are likely to guide behavior over time, persuaders often should be focused not only on changing attitudes, but on creating changed attitudes that are strong.

There are many determinants of an attitude's strength (see Petty & Krosnick, 1995, for a review). For example, attitudes tend to be stronger when they are held with certainty (Tormala & Rucker, 2007; Rucker,

Tormala, Petty & Briñol, 2014), are easily accessible (Fazio, 1995), or are important to a person (Eaton & Visser, 2008). Of relevance to the discussion of elaboration, attitudes formed under high elaboration conditions tend to be stronger than attitudes formed under low elaboration conditions (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; Petty, Haugtvedt & Smith, 1995). For example, with regard to attitude persistence, Haugtvedt and Petty (1992) developed a paradigm where individuals who were high and low in need for cognition formed similarly valenced and extreme attitudes. Haugtvedt and Petty then measured participants' attitudes two days later. As stated earlier, individuals high in need for cognition are more likely to engage in greater elaboration when forming their attitudes (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984a). Although individuals with high and low need for cognition had equally favorable attitudes initially, after two days, only the new attitudes of individuals with a high need for cognition persisted. Those who were low in need for cognition showed a marked decrease in favorability after this period of time.

Attitudes formed under high elaboration conditions have also been shown to be more resistant to subsequent efforts to change them. For example, Haugtvedt and Wegener (1994) developed a paradigm that examined how resilient participants' initial attitudes were to a subsequent attack. Specifically, participants were first given a message either in support of or in opposition to a topic. The elaboration of this message was manipulated by how personally relevant the message was to participants. This encouraged participants to form an initial attitude on the topic that was based on high or low amounts of thought. Subsequently, all participants received a second message that presented the opposition's position on the topic. Haugtvedt and Wegener found that participants changed less in the direction of the second message when they had processed the first message under high, as opposed to low, relevance conditions. Put differently, if participants formed their attitudes toward the first message under high elaboration conditions (i.e., high relevance), those attitudes became more difficult to change.

Finally, research has shown that attitudes formed under high elaboration conditions are more predictive of behavior than attitudes formed under low elaboration conditions. As one example, Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann (1983) gave participants a message for a consumer product. Elaboration was manipulated by making the product of either low or high relevance to participants. Petty and colleagues found that participants' attitudes were more predictive of their behavioral intentions (e.g., intention to buy) when the attitude had been formed under high as opposed to low elaboration conditions.

What are the implications of attitude strength for social marketing efforts? If the goal of a social marketing effort is to create long-term and enduring change, then social marketers may seek to target audience members under circumstances that favor central route processing. This might be accomplished by making sure targets are selected for whom the message is personally relevant. Alternatively, marketers could increase elaboration by using variables that increase message elaboration. Or, if ability is an issue, a brand might provide multiple exposures to allow participants to process the message over time. However, the collective evidence suggests that enduring change and influence are more likely to be accomplished through the central route.

The fact that central route persuasion leads to stronger attitudes does not mean that the peripheral route is invariably undesirable. There may be situations in which a momentary change in attitude would be enough to instigate an important behavioral action. For example, a television commercial might create an initial change that leads a consumer to engage in a product trial, and that product trial could become the ultimate catalyst for product adoption. Similarly, there might be cases where consumers are simply not interested in engaging in careful processing of a message, which means the peripheral route is the space a social marketer must work within. Finally, there might be cases where a marketer has a compelling cue but lacks strong arguments that are differentiated from the competition. These are all examples where the peripheral route to persuasion might occur and be desirable. In cases where attitude change occurs through peripheral route processes, there may be other means to increase the strength of an attitude (see Petty & Krosnick, 1995; Tormala & Rucker 2007).

In summary, a social marketer should understand the implications of the elaboration level not only for the initial degree of attitude change, but also for the persistence, resistance, and influence of the attitude on behavior.

Implications for Implicit Measures of Attitudes

After a long tradition of assessing the impact of persuasive treatments on attitudes with deliberative self-reports of people's attitudes (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Petty & Wegener, 1998a), more recent work has assessed change with measures that tap the more automatic evaluations associated with objects, issues, and people (Petty, Fazio & Briñol, 2009; Gawronski & Payne, 2010). Techniques that assess automatic evaluative associations without directly asking people to report their attitudes are often referred to

as implicit measures (for a review in the consumer domain, see Perkins & Forehand, 2009). Because implicit and explicit measures of attitudes are useful in predicting behavior separately (Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann & Banaji, 2011) and in combination (Petty & Briñol, 2006; Briñol, Petty, & Wheeler, 2006), it might be useful for marketers to understand how each is modified by various persuasion techniques. From the perspective of the ELM, sufficient research now makes it clear that the same fundamental processes described in this chapter for understanding changes in explicit measures of attitudes are also critical for understanding changes in automatic evaluations (Briñol, Petty & McCaslin, 2009).

Conclusion

The present chapter informs social marketers by providing an introduction to the foundations of attitudes and attitude change. The chapter first offered an organizing structure by which to think of the factors that can affect the persuasiveness of a communication: the source, the message, and the recipient. Second, it introduced the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) as an organizing framework to understand how numerous variables can exert different effects on persuasion as a function of elaboration. Third, the chapter introduced and discussed the importance of matching and alignment effects in persuasion, and it explained how the ELM could be used to understand and study such effects. Finally, it introduced the concept of attitude strength and the role of elaboration in determining the persistence, resistance, and influence of attitudes.

At the core, the present chapter offers four key questions that social marketers should ask themselves when crafting a message designed to persuade a recipient:

- What are the relevant source, message, and recipient factors in a given context?
- What is the elaboration likelihood level of the target audience?
- How might source, message, and recipient variables interact?
- Has a communication fostered strong (i.e., enduring, resistant, and influential) attitudes?

By asking these questions, social marketers can seek to understand and improve the efficacy of their persuasive attempt before any efforts have been undertaken. As other chapters in this volume will attest, social marketing represents a complex process with many problems and challenges. However, understanding the basic principles of persuasion, whether central or peripheral, represents an excellent starting point.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Persuasion in the Political Context: Opportunities and Threats

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In his *Politics* (1995; c.a. 350 BCE), Aristotle wrote that humans are created to live in the political state. Despite the many centuries that have since passed, this statement is still valid and has inspired many theoreticians and practitioners studying the life of people under many social systems. However, it has been modified many times in order to stay up to date with the changing picture of the way humans shape their conditions in life. In social psychology, the statement was popularized by Aronson (1992), who coined the notion of humans as social animals. Sociology, particularly the sociology of politics, treats the individual, to use Lipset's (1981) term, as *Homo politicus*. All these concepts point to the fact that people may fulfill their goals and desires only when they belong to a group, namely society. And because they belong to such a group, they must also obey the rules and standards that prevail there.

Politics may be defined, as proposed by Miller (1987), as a process whereby a group of people whose opinions or interests are initially divergent reach collective decisions that are generally regarded as binding on the group and enforced as common policy. Politics presupposes a diversity of views, if not about ultimate aims, at least about the best means of achieving them. When people agree spontaneously on a course of action, or more important, when they are able to reach unanimity simply through unconstrained discussion, they have no need to engage in politics. The

goal of politics and politicians is then to try to satisfy the needs and expectations of the people in addition to ensuring their well-being and constantly improving the quality of life.

Democracy is currently the main vehicle that people use to organize themselves within state structures in the world. Despite being often criticized, this system is spreading across the world and is becoming the final destination for many societies under authoritarian power (see Huntington, 1991). A fundamental element of democracy is that the legitimization of state power must arise from collective decisions by the equal members of the society who are governed by that power. According to a deliberative conception of democracy, decisions are collective when they arise from arrangements of binding collective choice that establish conditions of free public reasoning among equals who are governed by the decisions (Dahl, 2000). In the deliberative conception, then, citizens treat each other as equals not by giving equal consideration to all interests, but by offering justifications for the exercise of collective power, framed in terms of considerations that can, roughly speaking, be acknowledged by all as reasons. Democracy minimally requires that citizens have an opportunity to choose among rival elites and platforms in regular elections. Competition ensures that voters are not confined to a single perspective but instead have access to arguments representing opposing positions. Furthermore, voters have a set of predispositions (e.g., group attachments, beliefs and attitudes, values, partisan loyalties, incumbent evaluations) and they are charged with the task of matching those predispositions with a candidate or party. Voters are not asked to select their preferred candidate from among all eligible citizens in the country; rather, they must choose between candidates suggested by political parties. As voters learn new information over the course of the campaign, they are able to make subjectively "better" choices (Hillygus & Shields, 2008). But voters are not always aware of what the government is or could be doing, and often they do not know the relationship between government actions and their own utility outcomes (Downs, 1957).

Mutz, Sniderman, and Brody (1996) assert:

> Politics, at its core, is about persuasion. It hinges not just on whether citizens at any one moment in time tend to favor one side of an issue over another, but on the numbers of them that can be brought, when push comes to shove, from one side to the other or, indeed, induced to leave the sidelines in order to take a side. . . . The risk as well as the strength of democratically contested politics lies precisely in its openness to change. (p. 1)

In consequence, democracy is distinguished as a form of governance by the extent of persuasion relative to coercion (Pratkanis & Turner, 1996).

Persuasion is "human communication designed to influence the autonomous judgments and actions of others" (Simons, 2001, p. 7). It is a form of attempted influence in the sense that it seeks to alter the way others think, feel, or act. The successful persuasion is one that directs and channels thoughts so that the target thinks in a manner agreeable to the communicator's point of view. It disrupts any negative thoughts and promotes positive thoughts about the proposed course of action (Pratkanis & Aronson, 1992). This can occur either because an individual finds the arguments contained in the message to be compelling or because the source of the message is viewed as credible. These are two qualitatively different types of processing: one relatively effortful that parses information in a persuasive message, and another relatively effortless that focuses on superficial, extraneous (e.g., source attractiveness) information (Chaiken, 1987; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). The most effortful procedure for evaluating an advocacy involves drawing upon prior experience and knowledge to carefully scrutinize and elaborate issue-relevant arguments in the persuasive communication along the dimensions that are perceived central to the merits of the attitude object. This is the so-called central route to persuasion, as expressed in Petty and Cacioppo's (1986) elaboration likelihood model (ELM), or systematic processing, as expressed in Chaiken's (1987) heuristic-systematic model (HSM). Attitudes formed or changed by this route are postulated to be relatively persistent and resistant to change; such attitude change is rare because preexisting attitudes guide individuals' exposure to and interpretation of media messages. In consequence, people are usually exposed only to attitude-consistent messages, whereas attitude-inconsistent messages are typically interpreted and recalled in ways that reinforce rather than challenge existing attitudes (Lord, Ross, & Lepper, 1979). It is neither adaptive nor possible for people to exert considerable mental effort in processing all of the persuasive communications to which they are exposed. Indeed, people often act as "lazy organisms" or "cognitive misers" (Fiske & Taylor, 2008). This does not mean that people never form attitudes when motivation and/or ability to scrutinize a message are low, but rather that attitudes are more likely to be changed as a result of relatively simple peripheral cues or well-learned heuristics retrieved from memory.

In the context of political behavior, as Popkin (1991, p. 7) states, "the term *low-information rationality*—popularly known as 'gut' reasoning—best describes the kind of practical thinking about government and politics in which people actually engage." This reasoning draws on various

information shortcuts and rules of thumb that voters use to obtain and evaluate information and to simplify the processes of choosing between candidates or forming opinions about issues. Often these processes are unconscious. Their nature is unintentional, and the inherent lack of awareness is not that of the stimuli that provoked it but of the influence or consequences of those stimuli (Bargh & Morsella, 2008). According to Fiske and Taylor (2008), from the social-psychological perspective people are viewed as "activated actors." That is, social environments rapidly cue perceivers' social concepts, without awareness, and almost inevitably cue associated cognitions, evaluations, affect, motivation, and behavior. Thus it comes as no surprise that the majority of persuasion strategies used by candidates and by governments rely not on convincing citizens to accept certain principles, but rather on sublime and "imperceptible" opinion shaping or behavior control such that citizens feel their choices are free and conscious (Cwalina & Falkowski, 2008).

Efficient political systems in democratic countries are based on the same free market principles utilized in large economic corporations and small companies. In recent years, understanding the importance of these principles has led politicians to become more and more pragmatic and sensitive to voters' needs. Politicians began to realize the importance of the social atmosphere and put less emphasis on their own political views. It is the voters who decide whether a politician remains on the political stage and whether a new political star is born. Politicians have realized that winning parliamentary or presidential elections without a marketing strategy is nearly impossible. Although initially voter and political behavior methodology was adopted from such areas as consumer behavior and marketing strategies, at present an independent discipline seems to be emerging: political marketing (Cwalina, Falkowski, & Newman, 2011). Political marketing consists of "the processes of exchanges and establishing, maintaining, and enhancing relationships among objects in the political market (politicians, political parties, voters, interests groups, institutions), whose goal is to identify and satisfy their needs and develop political leadership" (Cwalina, Falkowski, & Newman, 2009, p. 70). There is a reciprocal relationship between politicians' (candidates' or governments') campaign strategies and citizen decision making. Voter behavior cannot be fully understood without taking into account campaign information, and the behavior of politicians rests fundamentally on perceptions about what voters care about and how they make up their minds in a campaign (Hillygus & Shields, 2008).

The development of democracy and political freedom facilitates the rapid development of marketing techniques intended to influence human

behavior (Newman, 1994, 1999a). In political marketing, marketing techniques are used to shape voters' attitudes in order to make them support a given candidate or political party. Therefore, new and sophisticated methods of influencing voter behavior are created, which are often based on psychological knowledge and principles. The results from psychological research on evoking emotions and creating perceptions of objects are commonly used to construct persuasion messages employed in political campaigns. Such methods are based on manipulating people's attitudes and preferences beyond their conscious control, on the "automatic" level. Often voters do not realize that their behavior is formed by those who purposefully use complex marketing technology.

This chapter consists of three sections. The first focuses on showing political marketing as the processes of exchanges and establishing, maintaining, and enhancing relationships among objects in the political market, which largely depend on planning and implementing particular advanced persuasion strategies. This section discusses macro and micro perspectives on political marketing, in the context of which marketing management is a kind of "lens" through which politicians try to win voters' support during electoral campaigns, as well as approval for their jobs when they are in office.

Generally the persuasion strategies used in political marketing rely on two main methods of influencing citizens: priming and framing. The second section of the chapter presents the psychological mechanisms that underlie priming effects and then proceeds to discuss their pragmatic outcomes in shaping opinions on political issues and evaluations of political leaders and parties. Presented here are the phenomena of media and candidate priming, along with the interrelations between them in the process of creating political messages. Also discussed are the specificity and consequences of priming, which concentrates on shaping citizens' judgments concerning politicians by focusing on particular political issues (issue priming) or on personality traits of the politicians (image priming). This section ends by pointing out the boundary conditions of priming strategies.

The third section presents the second main persuasive strategy used for influencing voters' opinions, attitudes, and behavior: framing. The section expounds the psychological grounds of framing effects—cognitive and affective—with special emphasis on prospect theory and its application to the political realm. It also underscores the increased effectiveness of framing when applied to the strategic segment of the electoral market—the undecided voters. Also presented in this context is the strategy to employ ambiguity in political communication as a specific type of framing. This

section concludes with a discussion on the use of negative political campaigning as a tool for influencing voters' evaluations and preferences regarding political candidates.

The chapter ends with a proposal of a model that offers a merger of political marketing management with priming and framing effects. The model elaborates on the interrelations between the particular stages of the political marketing process and the two persuasion strategies mentioned above, as well as the system of mutual dependencies that exists between these strategies.

Political Marketing as a Vehicle of Persuasion

In contemporary democracies, persuasive communication undertaken by politicians to influence citizens has become "institutionalized" in political marketing campaigns. One could claim that the rational planning and development of persuasion strategies has become an instrument of shaping the beliefs, attitudes, and behavior of those people who display low-information rationality (Popkin, 1991) or bounded rationality and intuitive decision making (Lau & Redlawsk, 2006). The principles of political marketing are such that not everyone can be persuaded to accept a different point of view, and that, in fact, there can be no sense in engaging in persuasive attempts with some voters. Hence, to achieve effective influence, the particular persuasion mechanisms as well as the wider context of their use are strategically important. This latter aspect is designated by Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman (2012) as a macro view on political marketing. In this perspective, the following macrostructures play important roles: (1) the political system and its legal regulations concerning the foundations of a particular political system (the constitution), as well as ruling, organizing elections, and regulating the media market; (2) technological forces; (3) the state's demographic structure; and (4) modern concepts of marketing management and its methods. Voters, politicians, political parties, opinion leaders, and other organizations (e.g., lobbyists, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), or labor unions) are considered agents that function not only within these macrostructures but also within specific microstructures. They enjoy a lot of influence on the course of political events and the shape of the microenvironment.

Looking at political behaviors and processes from these two perspectives (macro and micro) simultaneously, one can better understand the working of modern democracies and the processes taking place there, as well as the inherent development threats and opportunities. Such an approach can then integrate various theories of particular political behavior,

regarded as part of an external macrostructure and understood in a broad social, political, legal, economic, and technological context, forming and controlling the political behavior of individuals and institutions. However, such an approach toward marketing can also perform a heuristic function: it is the source of new ideas and an innovative approach to explaining the existing political behaviors, as well as predicting those which might appear in the more or less remote future. In this context, marketing management functions as a lens through which a given persuasion strategy is planned and implemented.

The advanced model of political marketing proposed by Cwalina and colleagues (2011) and presented in Figure 4.1 following constitutes a proposal to explain the specificity of marketing activities in politics.

The advanced model of political marketing integrates the permanent marketing campaign and the political marketing process into a single framework. These two components are realized within a particular country's political system. The system depends, above all, on political tradition as well as on the efficiency of the developed democratic procedures. In this way, "democracy orientation" determines how the functions of the authorities are implemented and who is the dominant object in the government structure. However, democracy orientation also defines whom the voters focus on during elections. From this perspective, one can distinguish four fundamental types of such orientation: candidate-oriented democracy, party leader–oriented democracy, party-oriented democracy, and government-oriented democracy. An example of candidate-oriented democracy is the United States, where the choice in an election is very much a function of the sophisticated use of marketing tools to move a person into contention. It is characterized by the electorate's attention shifts from political parties to specific candidates running for various offices and, particularly, for the presidency (Newman, 1999b; Wattenberg, 1991). Although the national party committees play a supportive role, candidate image, character, and policy pledges are the core "products" offered in elections rather than party behaviors and platforms.

Party leader–oriented democracy is characteristic of the United Kingdom and Mexico, where the focus is still on the individual in the campaign, but the choice in an election is more a function of the "approval" of a superbody of influentials who decide who will run in an election. As Stevens and Karp (2012) stated, in British politics the leaders are increasingly the personification of their parties. In this context it seems justifiable to assume that a political party and the voters' identification with it are important factors influencing voting decisions. However, the party's image is to a large degree dependent on how its leader is perceived. It is the leader

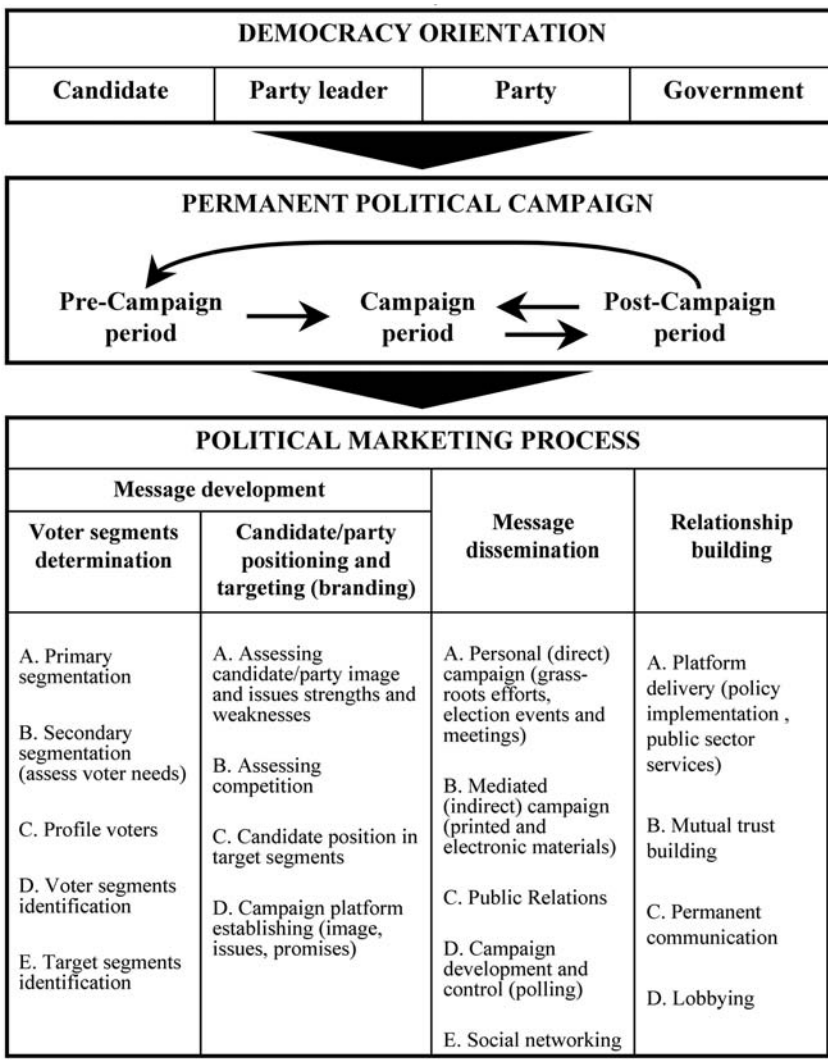

Figure 4.1 The advanced model of political marketing

(From Wojciech Cwalina, Andrzej Falkowski, & Bruce I. Newman, *Political Marketing: Theoretical and Strategic Foundations* (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 2011): 74. Copyright (c) 2011, by M.E. Sharpe, Inc. Reprinted with permission. All Rights Reserved. Not for Reproduction.)

whom voters focus on, and it is the leader whose promotion is the main goal of the campaign.

Party-oriented democracy is characteristic of such countries as Poland, Finland, the Czech Republic, and Romania, where political parties present themselves to the voters to choose among. Therefore, in the parliamentary, presidential, and local elections, candidates supported by significant political parties have a better chance of success. For example, in Poland, for a particular candidate to be elected the candidate's party (or election committee) must get at least 5 percent of the votes across the whole country, and if the candidate represents a coalition of various parties, the total must be at least 8 percent of the votes cast in the whole country. So it may (and does) happen that a candidate who wins the most votes in a constituency does not become a member of parliament (MP) because the candidate's party did not reach the 5 or 8 percent threshold of votes throughout the whole country. Obviously party leaders are an important element of winning such support; however, even their personal success does not guarantee the party's success.

Government-oriented democracy is characteristic of countries such as Russia, China, and other states where the government is dominated by one party. According to Zhang (2011), not only has the Chinese Communist Party-state developed an awareness of the importance of the free market economy and media as essential components of its governing capacity in contemporary China, but it has also been able to adopt sophisticated strategies to manage the greatly transformed media for consensus and persuasion so as to retain its legitimacy as the sole ruling organization. The party-state has been constructing hegemony by a mixture of consensus and coercion. While repressive measures are still part of the recipe for control, the party-state has also embraced and promoted the various forces and turned itself into one of the most sophisticated state administrations. In a government-oriented democracy, political campaigns focus on communication between the government and citizens rather than on direct competition between candidates or political parties.

Depending on the democracy orientation, then, political campaigns may focus on different goals and use different means to reach them. Nevertheless, in all the systems discussed above, political campaigns are permanent. The permanent campaign is a process of continuing transformation. It never stops. Therefore, distinguishing the particular stages of the campaign (pre-campaign period, campaign period, and post-campaign period) is, in a sense, an artificial procedure because those particular stages often merge into one another with no clear dividing lines between stages. Governing then becomes a perpetual campaign that transforms

government into an instrument designed to sustain an elected official's public popularity.

The permanent marketing campaign contains three key elements: politician/party message development, message dissemination, and relationship building. Message development refers to distinguishing particular groups of voters for whom an individualized and appropriate campaign platform will be designed. Determining voter segments is a process in which all voters are broken down into segments or groupings that the candidate then targets with a particular message. In political marketing, one can distinguish two levels of voter segmentation: primary and secondary (Cwalina et al., 2009). The primary segmentation focuses on dividing voters based on two main criteria: (1) voter party identification (particular party partisanship versus independency), and (2) voter identification strength (from heavy partisans through weak partisans to floating voters). Looking at the marketing campaign holistically, its goal should be to reinforce the decisions of the supporters and to win the support of those who are uncertain or whose preferences are not crystallized and those who still hesitate or have poor identification with a candidate or party that is close ideologically. It is these groups of voters that require more study—the secondary segmentation.

After identifying voting segments, one needs to define the candidate's position in each of the multiple stages in the process of positioning. This consists of assessing the candidate's and opponents' strengths and weaknesses. The key elements here include: (1) creating an image of the candidate that emphasizes the individual's particular personality traits, and (2) developing and presenting a clear position on the country's economic and social issues. These elements may be used jointly for positioning politicians via policies on issues or via image and emotions. The goal of message development is to set and establish the campaign platform. It evolves over the course of the permanent political campaign (during both the election period and the governing period). The campaign platform is defined in terms of candidate leadership, image, and the issues and policies the candidate advocates. It is influenced by several factors, including the candidate, the people in the candidate's organization, the party, and, most important, the voters.

The established political or party message is then communicated to the voter market. A personal (direct) campaign primarily refers to the grassroots effort necessary to build up a volunteer network to handle the day-to-day activities of running the campaign. The grassroots effort becomes the first information channel to transmit the candidate's message from the candidate's organization to the voters, and to transmit feedback from the voters to the candidate.

A mediated (indirect) campaign is a second information channel for the candidate. Instead of the person-to-person channel used with the direct marketing approach, this channel makes use of electronic and printed media outlets, such as television, radio, newspapers, magazines, direct mail, the Internet (e.g., e-mail, websites, blogs), campaign literature (e.g., fliers, brochures, fact sheets), billboards, and any other available forms of promotion. Political marketing also adopts new ways of communicating with the voter, mainly related to the development of new technologies, such as social networking and mobile marketing.

The third element of the political marketing process and the goal of any political party or candidate is to establish, maintain, and enhance relationships with voters and other political power brokers (e.g., media, party organizations, sponsors, lobbyists, interest groups) to meet the objectives of the parties involved. This is achieved by a mutual exchange, both during the election campaign and after it, when the candidate is either ruling or in opposition to the winner. An integral element of this relationship building is the "promise concept." The key functions related to this concept are giving promises, fulfilling promises, and enabling promises. Therefore, an important element of building stable relationships is trust, which is a willingness to rely on an exchange partner in whom one has confidence. To achieve trust, one also needs to establish communications channels that function on a constant basis.

According to Harris (2001), political campaigns are conducted primarily through mass media, with citizens participating in them as a media audience. Politicians compete for the voters' attention, not only against their political opponents but also against news coverage, talk shows, and other media events.

Priming in Political Persuasion

The notion of priming begins by acknowledging evidence from psychological research indicating that when people make judgments or decisions, they rarely take into consideration the entire array of available relevant evidence. Rather, because of the cognitive burdens imposed by a complete and comprehensive information search and integration process, people tend to "satisfice" rather than "optimize." That is, they often derive their decisions from limited subsets of the available information pool so as to make satisfactory judgments without expending a great deal of effort (Krosnick & Brannon, 1993). From a social cognition perspective, priming describes "the effects of prior context on the interpretation of new information" (Fiske & Taylor, 2008, p.60). Priming can influence cognition, affect, and behavior.

The basic cognitive mechanism of priming is accessibility. Accessibility concerns the fact that recently and frequently activated ideas or attitudes (in general, knowledge structures) come to mind more easily than ideas that have not been activated. Recent primes can temporarily increase the accessibility of a construct, while frequent primes can gradually increase the applicability of a construct in ways that make the construct chronically accessible long after exposure to the stimulus (Higgins, 1996; see also Price & Tewksbury, 1997). Recent exposure to an issue increases temporary accessibility by momentarily bringing the issue into working memory. When asked to evaluate a target, considerations already in working memory are more likely to be used. Frequent exposure makes an issue more chronically accessible or more generally available. Such chronically accessible issues are more likely to be used in evaluation, regardless of the recentness of a stimulus (Althaus & Kim, 2006; Claibourn, 2008).

The key feature of this "automatic" or "nonconscious" knowledge activation is inescapability (Bargh, 2006; Fazio, 2007). Encountering the attitude object activates the associated evaluation without the individual's intent and does so even if the individual is attempting to engage in some other activity. Accessibility also applies to interpreting or evaluating people, objects, and ideas, especially when positive or negative valences (e.g., traits, concepts, stereotypes, consequences) are primed. However, accessibility alone does not produce knowledge activation, nor does increasing the accessibility of a construct ensure that it will be used as a criterion in subsequent judgments. Rather, accessibility is one of two primary factors moderating the activation of stored knowledge; the other is the degree to which a stimulus and a knowledge construct are perceived as applicable to one another (Higgins, 1996). Even if a knowledge construct has a small chance of being activated because of its diminished accessibility, its chances of being activated are increased by its perceived applicability or relevance to a judgmental task.

Furthermore, one of the prevailing conceptualizations of memory structure in psychology is the associative network memory model developed by Anderson (1983). According to this model, semantic memory or knowledge consists of a set of nodes and links. Nodes (e.g., political attitudes) are stored pieces of information connected by links that vary in strength. A spreading activation process from node to node determines the extent of retrieval in memory. A node becomes a potential source of activation for other nodes either when external information is being encoded or when internal information is retrieved from long-term memory. Activation can spread from one node to other linked nodes in memory. When the activation of another node exceeds some threshold level, the information

contained in that node is recalled. Thus, the strength of association between the activated node and all linked nodes determines the extent of spreading activation and the particular information that can be retrieved from memory. Consequently, priming induced by a given stimulus (e.g., information about an economic crisis) would occur mostly for attitudes that are directly relevant to that stimulus (e.g., the need for budget cuts). However, according to the spreading activation principle, linked considerations (e.g., health care system reform) may also be activated in this way. Thus, as Miller and Krosnick (1996, p. 82) suggest, "There might be a gradient of priming effects, decreasing in strength as attitudes become more and more remote from those being directly activated by a story." It may happen because priming is likely to be "hydraulic" in nature: an increase in the impact of some issues should be accompanied by a decrease in the impact of other, unrelated issues.

The basic assumption of priming effects in politics is that the attention capacities of both the general public and politicians (candidates or government) are constrained, often quite severely. The public holds many generalized positions on issues, but only a few of those issues are relevant at any particular time. That is, people will attend to only a limited number of issues (Jones & Baumgartner, 2004; Zaller, 1992).

Media and Candidate Priming

As defined in the political communication literature, priming refers to "changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations" (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63). Priming is analyzed mainly as a media effect. Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, and Sasson (1992) stated that a wide variety of media messages act as teachers of values, ideologies, and beliefs, providing images for interpreting the world whether or not the designers are conscious of this intent. Then media presentation of political issues, by selecting and emphasizing certain values while excluding others (media agenda building), is likely to influence which cognitions are activated as voters evaluate a political environment (Domke, Shah, & Wackman, 1998). Media priming occurs when news content, crime dramas (Holbrook & Hill, 2005), or late-night comedy shows (Young, 2012) suggest to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments. For example, messages communicated through and by the media during an election significantly influence which attitudes and information are likely to be retrieved or accessed from memory and incorporated into voters' judgments and ultimate choices of candidates.

Moreover, as Sheafer (2007) emphasizes, primed messages are never neutral; rather, they are positive or (more often) negative. Therefore, priming has a built-in affective component, and media attributes activate or prime a specific political judgment. Then, in the process of affective priming, people use issue attributes (positive or negative) as another information shortcut to assist them in making political evaluations and decisions. Not only does priming influence the standards that people use to make political evaluations, but it also—via message direction or valence—directs them how to evaluate (see also Stevens, Banducci, Karp, & Vowles, 2011). From this perspective, priming is a subtle form of persuasion (for an opposing point of view, see Druckman & Holmes, 2004; Miller & Krosnick, 1996).

Priming is a two-stage process (Miller & Krosnick, 2000; see also Iyengar, Peters, & Kinder, 1982; Sheafer & Weimann, 2005; Scheufele, 2000). First, by emphasizing certain issues over others, the media influence the hierarchies of issues that the public recognizes as important. They set the agenda. The idea of agenda setting is a relational concept, specifying a positive, causal relationship between the key themes of mass communication, and determining what members of the audience come to regard as important. According to McCombs (1981, p.126), "The salience of an issue or other topic in the mass media influences its salience among the audience." Newspaper and television stories often make explicit statements about the importance of an issue (e.g., global economic crisis, terrorist threat) in order to justify attracting public attention to it. However, as Miller & Krosnick (2000) emphasize, even when such issue statements are not made, most readers and viewers recognize that devoting attention to an issue means that editors and reporters believe the issue is significant for the country. Consequently, people may infer from the media that an issue is nationally important. Changes in issue importance are effected by making certain salient issues more accessible in an individual's memory. In the second stage of priming, individuals use those issues, which are most salient and accessible in their memories, to evaluate the performance of political actors. That is, by priming a certain issue, the media affect the criteria that people use to evaluate and judge governments, presidents, policies, and candidates for public offices (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987).

Sheafer and Weimann (2005) found evidence for priming as a two-stage process in their analyses of survey and media content, drawing upon the case of four Israeli parliamentary elections between the years of 1996 and 2003. They focused on two specific issue domains: (1) the security-peace domain, and (2) domestic issues and the economy. The analyses showed that in three elections, worsening security conditions were associated with

increased media coverage of this domain and a relative decrease in the media coverage of the economic domain, and vice versa (agenda building). However, the media agenda was clearly not solely determined by the environment and by the activities of political actors. When two major issue domains (security and the economy, in this case) were simultaneously sending cues of worsening conditions (as in the 2003 elections), indicating increased newsworthiness, the media were forced to make a choice between them. In the agenda setting stage, it was found that the level of television coverage of issues influences the proportion of survey respondents indicating these issues as the nation's most important problems. Survey respondents indicating the security-peace problem as the most important were more likely than those naming the domestic-economic problem as most important to state that if the elections were held today, they would vote for one of the security-peace parties, and vice versa. These considerations significantly prime individuals' voting intentions.

In the context of media priming, trust in the news media plays a central role in regulating media effects. Cohen (2008) stated that the news media are no longer as consequential in helping to frame public opinion toward the president as they were a generation ago. The news coverage of the American president over the past quarter-century or so does not affect public attitudes toward the president as much as it did during the previous 20 years. Cohen analyzes three great scandals of the modern presidency: Clinton-Lewinsky, Iran-Contra, and Watergate. Each episode produced large volumes of negative news, but negative news seemed not to touch Bill Clinton (see also Kiousis, 2003) as deeply as it did Richard Nixon or Ronald Reagan. The declining news impact on public thinking about the president resulted from the fact that the news media provided less news about the president than it once did. Also, the audience for the news became smaller, and the public displays a more limited trust in the news media than it once had. Finally, the regularity of negative news makes it hard for the public to tell if the bad news reflects truly bad conditions to which it should pay attention, or if it merely reflects the agenda of journalists.

The results of Miller and Krosnick's (2000) experiments also showed that priming occurred reliably only among people who knew a lot about politics and trusted the media. Among viewers of stories about drugs and immigration, presented in American television broadcasts by highly trusted national media networks, exposure to stories about an issue increased the perceived national importance of the issue, which in turn increased the weight people placed on that issue in formulating a positive assessment of President Bill Clinton's job performance.

However, priming may be understood not only as media effect but also as a political campaign strategy—candidate priming. According to Negrine (1994), the key elements of the political communication process include media content, the influence of political institutions and other political and social actors on the context of the messages, the specific audience and interaction processes between sources of information, and the media diffusing information. The content of media messages is the result of the work of media practitioners (e.g., owners of media corporations, editors, journalists, reporters) and political actors or events covered by the media. Groups that influence the content of political communication have different levels of power in this area. In their interactions with the media, political actors—including parties, certain politicians, the government, and others—try to achieve their own goals, and sometimes they manage to do so by dominating the content of the message (Sheafer and Weimann, 2005).

However, if they fail, the "independent" communication of the media may have a negative influence on the level of candidate support. This has been seen, for example, with respect to economic recession and incumbents in American presidential elections (Shah, Watts, Domke, Fan, & Fibison, 1999); the Iraq war and the 2005 British general election (Stevens et al., 2011; Stevens & Karp, 2012); and public approval of the president's or government's job, as in the Iran-Contra disclosure and evaluations of President Ronald Reagan (Krosnick & Kinder, 1990), crime news and support for President Bill Clinton (Valentino, 1999), and the invasion of Iraq and evaluations of President George W. Bush (McAllister, 2006).

Based on both quantitative and historical analysis of John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign, Jacobs and Shapiro (1994) report that the candidate's policy positions were related to the results of his privately commissioned public opinion polls. Kennedy deliberately used these popular issues to attract media attention and to shape the electorate's standards for evaluating his personal attributes.

Candidates intentionally engage in priming by emphasizing certain issues (candidate agenda building)—by giving those issues more space in their statements—with the goal of inducing voters to put more weight on those issues when choosing among candidates (Druckman, Jacobs, & Ostermeier, 2004). In relation to the definition of the scope of issues discussed during the campaign, two opposing theories are recognized: the thousand-flower theory and the single-issue theory (Kern, 1989). The former suggests that in their electoral strategy, candidates should express their stance on all or the majority of issues that emerge in a given political atmosphere and are broadly discussed in the media. By contrast, the

single-issue theory assumes that candidates will concentrate on one or a small handful of topics, making every possible effort to put these topics in the limelight of public and media debate. Analyzing American political ads from the 1980s, one can observe that the latter theory dominated and proved to be a more effective campaign strategy (Kern, 1989).

Each campaign attempted to produce priming effects by increasing the salience of attitudes that favored its respective candidate, rather than pursue the more difficult task of trying to talk voters out of their established opinions. The process of priming, then, does not depend on altering an individual's political preferences (e.g., converting supporters of a particular reform into opponents). Indeed, changing the public's political preferences is quite unlikely, especially during the short period of an election campaign. Rather, "priming involves a twofold process: (1) it sets the agenda by focusing public attention on certain topics, and (2) it provides the main basis for evaluation" (Jacobs & Shapiro, 1994, p. 528). Moreover, a priming strategy does not require candidates to advocate positions the candidate actually opposes. Rather, it suggests that campaigns select a relatively few issues out of a large pool of acceptable possibilities for particular emphasis. Baumgartner and Jones (1993), in their theory of venue shopping, argued that fundamental policy change often occurs when actors succeed in shifting debates and decision making on a certain issue to new venues, which are susceptible to different kinds of arguments than the venues that originally dealt with the issue. In other words, candidate strategy involves strategic adjustments: highlighting a few policies by increasing the frequency, strength, and extensiveness of the candidate's statements.

Druckman and Holmes (2004) examine the direct impact of presidential rhetoric on approval. They combined a content analysis of President George W. Bush's State of the Union address delivered on January 29, 2002, with both a laboratory experiment and a nationally representative survey. In this address, Bush paid an inordinate amount of attention to the issue of terrorism and homeland security in an attempt to redirect the public away from its increasing focus on the economy. Druckman and Holmes showed that the president can have a substantial and successful effect on his own approval by priming the criteria on which citizens base their approval evaluations. In general, the more a participant approved of Bush's performance on the war, terrorism, the economy, or education, the greater the individual's overall approval of Bush. Moreover, people who did not watch the president's address based their overall approval evaluations on their issue-specific approval evaluations of the war in Afghanistan, the economy, and education, but not terrorism. In contrast, the watchers based their overall approval opinions on their issue-specific evaluations of

terrorism and the economy, but not the war or education. These results suggest that a president can exercise strategic and direct control over what citizens think of him and what standards they use for evaluation.

The content of an advertising campaign may also help to create and reinforce associations between the issues a candidate emphasizes and that candidate. Claibourn (2008) conducted a study that relied on a national, rolling, cross-sectional survey of Americans conducted from November 1999 through Election Day, 2000, combined with a data set for the presidential advertising campaign from the Campaign Media Analysis Group. This data set tracked television advertisements broadcast in the top 75 media markets, capturing information on what spots were aired, when, and where. The four issues tracked by the survey (education, health care, taxes, and Social Security) played a dominant role in the 2000 presidential campaign agendas. In fact, these four issues were among the six most frequently mentioned issues in both George W. Bush's and Al Gore's advertising campaigns. Claibourn (2008) found that the campaign appeared to have done more to promote longer-term associations, rather than short-term accessibility, between the candidates and the issues of Social Security and taxes, though not in identical ways. For Gore, the most common effect of his issue emphasis, among the issues studied, was largely neutral for Democrats and negative for Republicans. Overall, his influence on the criteria for evaluations was more likely to be selective, conditioned on partisan predispositions. For Bush, the more common pattern in response to his advertising emphasis was to move the weight of issue priorities in a positive direction for the electorate more broadly, though the degree of responsiveness also varied by partisanship. This pattern is consistent with the conventional wisdom that Bush won the air war and Gore ran a relatively ineffective campaign.

Also, Boyle's (2004) study focused on the influence of television advertising on prime voters in their evaluations of candidates based on policy issues. He provided content analysis of presidential political advertisements, newspaper stories, network news stories, and a national survey during the 1996 American presidential campaign, in which the incumbent, President Bill Clinton, faced challengers Bob Dole and Ross Perot. The results indicated that the major party challenger, Dole, primed likely voters through the issues chosen for his televised advertisements. The Dole campaign was able to give voters reasons to like the candidate and to dislike Clinton. Yet, for Clinton and Perot, the same influence was not demonstrated. Interestingly, some evidence exists to support the contention that Clinton's advertising influenced people to reduce their negative evaluations of him. The analysis showed that the more Clinton's

advertising mentioned an issue, the less likely it was to be mentioned by voters as a reason to dislike the president. The Clinton advertisements were more successful at driving down his "negatives" than increasing voters' reasons to favor him. Because of Clinton's popularity during the general election period, the president's campaign would have been pleased to simply limit his negatives among voters. Perot's advertising appeared to have little influence on how people evaluated the candidates.

Issue Priming

It is clear that campaigns can influence voters by altering their perceptions of issue salience (e.g., Cwalina et al., 2011; Hillygus & Shields, 2008; Holbrook, 1996; Newman, 1994). Druckman and colleagues (2004) suggest three types of criteria that candidates use when they select an issue to prime: when the issue is important for the public, when the public supports the candidate's position on the issue, and when the public gives high evaluations to the candidate's handling of the issue.

First, an issue is advantageous for a candidate to prime when the public ranks the issue as nationally important, when the issue is relatively novel (e.g., the American Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, in an experiment conducted by McGraw & Ling, 2003) or when it is easy to understand (Kelleher & Wolak, 2006; Togeby, 2007).

Analyzing data from various American surveys conducted between 1958 and 2003, Hetherington and Rudolph (2008) found that people decided how much they trust government by drawing upon the problems they judged important at any given point in time—a process they define as priming. Specifically, Americans trust the government more when they are concerned about international problems, which suggests that persistently high levels of concern about foreign threat at the height of the Cold War produced what appear in retrospect to be anomalously high levels of political trust in the 1950s and 1960s. Priming also explains the dramatic surge in trust after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, when it very briefly returned to 1960s-era levels. The continued importance of international concerns in the three years that followed 9/11 is also consistent with the fact that, despite much weaker economic performance and a war that the public began to sour on, trust in government at the end of 2004 was higher than at the end of the Clinton presidency.

In their analyses of media influence on evaluations of German political parties in 1986, Brosius and Kepplinger (1992) found that reporting on political issues (e.g., the health care system, energy supply, public security, national defense, economic situation) in TV newscasts not only caused

changes in voters' awareness of problems, but it also had consequences for voting intentions. Large parties rarely profited from the intensification of reporting on a given topic. In particular, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) lost voting shares in response to news coverage of the topic of energy supply, and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) did the same following coverage of environmental protection issues. Conversely, the small parties seem to have gained voting share following coverage of topical problems. The Free Democratic Party (FDP) profited from coverage of educational policy, and the Greens benefited from coverage of the health care system. Moreover, the losses or gains experienced by the large parties as a result of the choice of topical problems for the most part favored or disadvantaged the other large party. By contrast, the smaller parties' losses and gains were more likely to be spread among all the other parties.

Carmines and Stimson (1980) distinguish between "hard" and "easy" political issues. Easy issues have three basic features: They are symbolic rather than technical, they are more likely to deal with policy ends than means, and they have been on the political agenda for quite some time. In addition, they are issues on which parties and candidates have staked out relatively unambiguous and conflicting positions. In short, an easy issue is "so ingrained over a long period that it structures voters' 'gut responses' to candidates and political parties" (Carmines & Stimson, 1980, p.78). Easy issues do not require discussion to influence the election, whereas complicated or hard issues do. Hard issues are not likely to influence the electoral response unless they are controversial and extensively discussed or unless they are politicized in the specific situation.

Kelleher and Wolak (2006) combined public opinion data from 1981 to 2000 on American presidents' approval ratings with content analyses of presidential news coverage to see how media attention affects the way issues are weighted in connection with presidential approval. They expected to find that the issues citizens understand best are more likely to be primed than complex considerations. They defined two components of presidential approval as "easy" issues, using criteria that even less politically involved citizens rely on in evaluating the president: economic evaluations and character assessments. Two other issues, domestic policy preferences and foreign policy assessments, represented "hard" issues that the researchers considered to be less familiar and less likely to be primed in the aggregate. Kelleher and Wolak (2006) established that news stories about the economy and presidential character were more likely to be primed in assessments of presidential popularity, while policy matters, both domestic and international, were less likely to be emphasized in presidential evaluations in response to heightened media attention. Rather than

heightening the importance of novel considerations, patterns of priming suggest that media attention accentuates the influence of familiar issues that are understood across voters. These findings suggest that strategies of priming economic successes and positive character stories both have the potential to promote presidential popularity, whereas discussion of policy issues, even if favorably viewed by the public, will cause less variable influences on presidential evaluations. Thus, the influence of priming reflects both the tenor of news coverage and citizen appraisals of the issues.

In the context of Danish politics, Togeby (2007) found evidence that the priming process also is contingent on the level of the politicization of the issue. Her data set consisted of 12 smaller surveys using the same questionnaire conducted every four months from May 1999 to May 2003. The surveys contained a question concerning the general evaluation of the Danish government's performance and a number of diverse questions about issue attitudes. These issue attitudes covered most of the important political conflicts in the country, including attitudes toward the European Union, immigration, the contracting out of welfare services, aid to developing countries, the military budget, and an evaluation of economic development over the last couple of years. In addition to the survey, media analyses were also conducted covering the same period, making it possible to compare the development of media coverage and public opinion over time. Media coverage was measured by tallying the number of articles in three daily newspapers covering the relevant issues.

The results of Togeby's (2007) analyses suggest that for priming to occur, the issue should be politicized and closely related to the key conflicts between the government and the opposition, or the event should be perceived as the government's responsibility, such as the success of the Copenhagen Summit in December 2002. Togeby's study also documents the priming effects of strongly politicized issues, even in situations with relatively modest news coverage, as in the case of the foreign aid issue. The results show that the political context functions as a moderator for the presence of priming. The level of politicization (i.e., how strongly the issue is integrated in the overall conflict between the government and the opposition) appears to be the most important factor. Strongly politicized issues—easy as well as hard—seem to be most primed by those who are the most politically knowledgeable. Easy issues (e.g., privatization, immigrants, military spending) are primed by all groups if they are regarded as the government's responsibility, even if they are not strongly politicized (e.g., Copenhagen Summit, unemployment, Kosovo refugees). Togeby (2007) found only one instance where the least knowledgeable were the most primed. It concerned the European Union referendum, a topic that

received considerable media coverage but for which a clear relationship between the issue attitude and the evaluation of the government did not exist.

The second criterion that candidates use when they select an issue to prime is whether the public supports the candidate's position on the issue. The 1991 Gulf War was certainly a momentous event in recent history, and its impact on the American public is likely to have been multifaceted. A look at public opinion polls results suggests that the Gulf War may have had a profound impact on Americans' views of President George Bush's performance. As documented by numerous public opinion polls, Bush's approval ratings had been moderate just before the war began in October 1990, at about 55 percent. When the United States initiated air attacks on Iraq in mid-January 1991, after the gradual massing of allied troops in the Middle East, Bush's approval ratings began to increase. And in March, by which time the military efforts were completed, approval ratings soared to nearly 90 percent. Although the following months saw a gradual decline in this positive sentiment, even three months later they were still near 70 percent—a relatively high level. Simultaneously, the American media focused public attention powerfully and seemingly unceasingly on the Gulf War for a period of almost three months. What accounts for the dramatic increase in presidential approval ratings between the fall of 1990 and the spring of 1991?

Althaus and Kim's (2006) analyses show that the evaluative tone of Gulf War news coverage was an important factor in producing priming effects. The largest jump in Bush's approval rating was an immediate and direct consequence of the start of the air war in mid-January. American citizens, who had been deeply divided about the wisdom of going to war, became galvanized for action immediately following the war's onset.

Krosnick and Brannon (1993) analyzed the data collected as part of the 1990–1991 National Election Panel Study. During both prewar and postwar interviews, respondents were asked an extensive series of questions addressing many political beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. They appraised George W. Bush's handling of the Gulf War, his handling of foreign affairs generally, his handling of the domestic economy, and his job performance in general. In addition, respondents were asked questions measuring their knowledge about politics in general, their exposure to political information through the news media, and their interest in the Gulf War.

When Krosnick and Brannon (1993) examined the basic priming effects, ignoring political involvement, they found that the impact of the Gulf War on Bush's performance increased substantially (by 50 percent) after the war, while there were negligible changes over time in the impact

of foreign relations performance or economic performance. Additional analyses showed that the priming effect was apparent primarily among low-involvement respondents. That is, Gulf War performance became a more important determinant of overall evaluations after the war among low-knowledge, low-exposure, and low-interest respondents. No such priming effect was apparent among the high-knowledge, high-exposure, and high-interest respondents. But this pattern of results occurred only when these three aspects of political involvement were considered individually. However, when the three variables were examined simultaneously, they turned out to have opposite effects on priming. High levels of political knowledge enhanced priming, and high levels of exposure and interest reduced priming. According to Krosnick and Brannon, these contradictory findings are related to the fact that greater knowledge constitutes a greater ability to interpret, encode, store, and retrieve new information. And higher levels of exposure and interest are associated with a greater likelihood of forming online political evaluations and a dilution of priming effects because of a wider range of knowledge being activated by media coverage.

Allen, O'Loughlin, Jasperson, and Sullivan (1994) also analyzed the high and sustained levels of popular support for President Bush's policies during the Gulf War. They conducted an empirical examination of media priming and framing effects during the early stages of the Gulf War and looked at CNN's and NBC's depictions of dissenting voices, portrayals of elite consensus, and uses of technical language in conveying the success of U.S. policy. Their examination of these broadcasts showed that media coverage primed positive attitudes toward the war effort and negative attitudes toward dissent. In this way, the media affected Americans' interpretations and support of the Gulf War itself. To determine whether Americans rallied in support of the president's policy and to what extent this rally changed or was sustained, Allen and colleagues also used data from the University of Connecticut's Roper Center surveys conducted between August 1, 1990, and August 1, 1991. During the war, the media provided the public with ubiquitous, redundant, repetitious messages of support. More than serving simply as conduits for military information, the media also framed and primed views of dissent, patriotism, technology, and elite consensus to construct a reality that stifled dissent and influenced citizens' evaluations of military actions and support for President Bush. Furthermore, the reporting, recounting, and recapping of information by the media; the creation of a common language that served as a barrier to perceiving the war in any way other than as a military-technological event; and the news briefings, controlled by the military and

limited to only a few speakers and questioners, not only set the agenda for what was reported to the public but served as an information gatekeeper.

The third criterion candidates use when they select an issue to prime is whether the public gives high evaluations to the candidate's handling of the issue. Political parties "specialize" in offering "the best solutions" to particular social and economic problems. This means that, according to voters, a certain political group is more efficient in solving certain issues than other groups. Petrocik (1996) describes such a phenomenon, with reference to American political parties, in his theory of issue ownership. According to this theory, a party's "owning" of a certain problem is connected with a relatively stable social background and is also connected with political conflicts. The results of Petrocik's analysis suggest that American voters consider issues connected with general social welfare—including the homeless, public schools, the elderly, national minorities, unemployment, health care, and the environment—as owned by the Democratic Party. The Republican Party is associated with better achievements in the areas of crime, defense of moral values, running foreign policy, defense, inflation, taxes, and government spending.

The theory of issue ownership has certain consequences for running a successful campaign. According to Petrocik (1996), the campaign will achieve the desired result if the candidate or political party manages to limit voting decisions to those issues facing the country that the candidate is better able to solve than the opponent. In other words, to the degree that candidates or parties enjoy a favorable reputation on some issue, their support is likely to be boosted by news coverage on this issue. In an experimental study, Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1994) found that news coverage of crime was an asset to the Republicans. In addition, Republican advertising on crime was more effective in shaping viewers' perceptions of the sponsor as tough on crime, whereas Democratic advertising on unemployment was more effective in influencing perceptions of the sponsor as a supporter of jobs programs and in influencing voting preference.

Shah and his collaborators (1999) showed that campaign news coverage about the nation's economic health also provides cues to the public, and these cues supply the criteria for evaluating presidential candidates during the course of campaigns. Shah and colleagues used two types of data. First, they examined daily news media coverage of the principal candidates in the 1984, 1988, 1992, and 1996 American presidential campaigns for positive and negative appraisals of candidates. Second, they used a time series of public opinion polls to estimate citizens' presidential preferences throughout each campaign. Shah and his colleagues found that news media appear to respond to recent economic performance by

altering the valence and volume of candidate coverage. Moreover, incumbents presiding over periods of prosperity garner significantly more economic coverage as well as more favorable economic coverage than their opponents. In contrast, incumbents overseeing recessionary periods appear to receive substantially more negative economic coverage than challengers, as occurred in 1992. In combination, this suggests that information about the challenger is relatively unpersuasive to the public when the incumbent is well regarded.

Using national survey data collected between February and September of 2004, Malhotra and Krosnick (2007) inquired whether public approval of President George W. Bush's handling of a series of specific national problems (e.g., the Iraq war) influenced overall assessments of his job performance and evaluations of his likely future performance versus John Kerry's, and whether that, in turn, shaped voting choices. They observed that perceptions of President Bush's handling of the war in Iraq, the economy, and terrorism all had impact on voting choices, but they were partly mediated by overall assessments of his job performance and by guesses about how well he and Senator Kerry would handle these issues in the future. These domain-specific prospective assessments were derived partly from perceptions of the president's handling of these domains in the past and partly by perceptions of his overall performance. Nevertheless, the situation in Iraq seemed to carry the most weight in driving overall performance evaluations and voting choices, whereas the other two domains had less impact.

Image Priming

Van der Brug, Semetko, and Valkenburg (2007), in their two-wave panel study on media priming effects in the context of a summit meeting of European Union leaders, observed that media priming effects occurred in connection with improved evaluations only for politicians who appeared visible in the news in connection with the European Union, especially Dutch prime minister Wim Kok and French president Jacques Chirac. In contrast, media priming effects did not occur for four political leaders who were not visible in the news in connection with Europe (U.S. president Bill Clinton and the leaders of three Dutch political parties: Frits Bolkestein of the Liberal Party, Paul Rosenmöller of the Greens, and Jaap de Hoop Scheffer of the Christian Democrats).

Analyzing the data from the 1988, 1993, and 1997 Canadian Election Studies, Gidengil, Blais, Nevitte, and Nadeau (2002) established that an election campaign generally primed the personal characteristics of party

leaders and not political issues. The 1988 Canadian election was unusual in the degree to which a single issue dominated the campaign. The priming effect of the campaign was clear: as the weeks passed, the Canada–United States Free Trade Agreement issue became increasingly important to people's voting choices. No such effect was detectable in either of the two subsequent elections. In neither election did a single issue or set of issues dominate the public agenda, and the issues that were uppermost in voters' minds (social spending and jobs) were not the sorts of issues that are susceptible to priming. Instead, leadership became more salient over the course of both campaigns, and media consumption clearly played a role in priming leadership. As the campaign progressed and as media consumption increased, relative evaluations of the leaders became more important to the vote.

Similarly, in the context of the 2002 German federal campaign, Schoen (2004) observed that the governing and the opposition parties pursued priming strategies. The opposition focused on economics and unemployment, while the governing parties emphasized candidates, the management of the flood crisis along the Elbe, and the military intervention in Iraq. The opposition parties were not able to strengthen the influence of competence attributions in the field of economic policy because, with respect to the three dimensions whose electoral influence increased in 2002, the governing coalition was much more popular than the opposition. The change in the importance of the criteria for decision making contributed significantly to the electoral success of the red-green coalition. Thus, in Germany, as in other Western democracies, issue management and priming strategies pay at the polls. In contrast, voting intentions regarding the governing parties and Chancellor Gerhard Schröder became more personalized during 2002; as Schoen concluded, the red-green coalition and the chancellor would not have won the German federal election in 2002 if priming effects had not occurred.

Based on these studies, it is clear that priming may concern both particular issues and attributes of a candidate's image. In attempting to prime image, political campaigns have at least three strategies available to them (Druckman et al., 2004): direct image priming, indirect image priming, and priming image via issues. First, similar to issue priming, candidates can directly emphasize the importance of images in evaluating candidates. Mendelsohn (1994, 1996), drawing upon the 1988 Canadian Election Study, argues that part of the reason for vote instability during election campaigns is the media's activity in priming the character of leaders, especially their trustworthiness. Although voters come to election campaigns with an array of opinions on candidates, issues, and parties, because

candidates' personal qualities are highlighted by the media and parties are ignored, voters who are more highly exposed to the media become increasingly likely to base their votes on candidate evaluations.

The research conducted by Druckman (2004) concerning media issue and image priming was based on the 2000 campaign for the U.S. Senate in Minnesota. The content analysis of local newspapers allowed Druckman to define the major subjects of the campaign, which focused on Social Security and health care issues and the integrity of the candidates. Druckman also used data from the Election Day exit poll for his analysis and looked at differences between voters who paid attention to and discussed the campaign ("campaign voters") and those who did not ("noncampaign voters"). The results of these analyses showed that the noncampaign voters did not rely on the issues of Social Security and integrity; rather, they based their votes on taxes and leadership effectiveness—an issue and an image that were not particularly emphasized in the campaign. In contrast, campaign voters focused mainly on the central issue and image in the campaign. Thus, campaign priming effects manifested themselves only among voters who paid attention to and discussed the campaign.

Second, candidates can employ an indirect priming strategy by invoking visual cues that enhance the persuasive power of their images. National symbols are central to any nation-state. They provide an outward representation for a collective, its history, and its achievements. National symbols acquire their symbolic meaning through various means, including their metaphorical qualities and the ways in which they are embedded in various cultural practices (e.g., education). The theory of symbolic politics holds that people acquire stable, affective responses to particular symbols through a process of classical conditioning, which manifests itself most intensely relatively early in life (Sears, 1993). The political symbol is any affectively charged element in a political attitude object, such as a national flag or anthem, a political party logo, or the Nazi swastika. These learned dispositions may or may not persist throughout adult life, but the strongest—the so-called symbolic predispositions, such as party identification, political ideology, and racial prejudice—do. Any given attitude object (e.g., a particular presidential candidate) is composed of one or more symbolic elements, and each conveys some meaning to the individual. Attitudes toward the object as a whole reflect some combination of the affects previously conditioned by the specific symbols included in it. When the symbols become salient later on, they evoke consistent evaluations through a process of transfer of affect. As a result, the symbolic politics process is characterized by generally automatic, unthinking, reflexive,

affective responses to remote attitude objects. When a political symbol appears, it often primes particular meanings or features (Sears, 2001). For example, Kammelmeier and Winter (2008), in two experimental studies, examined the consequences of exposure to the flag on Americans' sense of national attachment. The results support the idea that the American flag increases nationalism but not necessarily patriotism.

Third, candidates can emphasize issues that send signals about their image (i.e., they can use issues to prime image). This assumption is supported by the results of analyses conducted by Schoenwald (1987). Combining issues with candidate imagery via correlational analyses, he found that, for example, an improved voter perception on the devotes-time-to-education attribute could translate into a better reading on caring about children, caring about state problems, and generally being more human. Iyengar and Kinder (1987) showed that the news media priming of issues related to energy, defense, and inflation influenced voters' perceptions of President Carter's competence.

Hayes (2005), in his theory of trait ownership, stated that not only do the Republican and Democratic Parties own issues (Petrocik, 1996), but their candidates own traits associated with those issues. Perceptions of candidates' personal qualities are the product of strategic candidate behavior, and they belong to the very nature of political information processing. During campaigns, candidates focus on issues their parties own, which prompts the public to make trait inferences associated with those issues. The American public sees Republicans as stronger leaders and more moral individuals, whereas Democrats are perceived as more compassionate and empathetic. The existence of party-based trait perceptions may generate a baseline of expectations in the minds of voters about how representative of certain traits each party's candidates should be in comparison to their opponents. The degree to which candidates deviate from these expectations—either in overcoming them or by falling short—could shape voters' candidate evaluations and, subsequently, their voting choices. Republican candidates who can successfully portray themselves as at least as compassionate or empathetic as their opponents can turn a traditional Democratic advantage into an electoral asset. This process of "trait trespassing" works the same for Democrats. Making intrusions into the Republican territory of morality and leadership can yield bigger advantages than Republicans can realize simply by maintaining their advantage. Voters expect the parties' nominees to represent particular traits, and these expectations powerfully influence their perceptions and behavior.

Peterson (2005) claimed that in addition to the direct impact on voting choice, issues also matter because they determine how voters perceive

candidate character traits. The more certain a voter is about a candidate's policy positions, the more the voter uses those positions to inform perceptions of the candidate's personality. This relationship, in turn, produces sizable differences in whom the voter is likely to support.

Limits of Priming

As Miller and Krosnick (2000, p. 302) claimed, "According to the theory of media priming, people are victims of the architecture of their minds—if a political issue is activated in people's memories by media attention to it, they presumably use the concept when asked to make political judgments—not by conscious choice, but merely because information about the issue appears automatically and effortlessly in consciousness." However, they emphasized that this radical view on media priming is too narrow and simplistic.

First, priming is mediated by the specific features of any issue, the particular values emphasized in media coverage, and individuals' cognitive systems, thus fostering "different priming effects from different issues for different people" (Domke et al., 1998, p. 52). For example, Ha (2011) combined public opinion data from the National Election Studies on candidate selection criteria in the 1992 and 2000 presidential elections with content analyses of campaign news coverage and found out that media exposure, in general, had a positive impact on voters' susceptibility to news agendas, but the strength of its impact was significantly moderated by the voters' levels of political sophistication. The moderately sophisticated are more likely to accept media agendas as their criteria for candidate selection than the poorly or highly sophisticated. The least sophisticated seem to be less susceptible to campaign news mostly because of their inattention to news media, which can be attributed to their lower interest in politics, whereas the most sophisticated are so because they usually are better able to counter-argue against the information in the news. However, the moderately sophisticated have enough political interest to seek information about political campaigns but do not have a well-developed defense mechanism to refute media agendas; thus, they are more open to media influence. Moreover, the high-sophistication group is relatively less susceptible to campaign news despite its greater level of news exposure, whereas the low-sophistication group becomes more susceptible as its exposure level increases. This finding means that priming effects are not owing to a single factor of media exposure, but rather that they are a combination of both exposure and information-processing ability (on the moderating role of political knowledge, see also Krosnick &

Brannon, 1993; Marquis, 2007; McGraw & Ling, 2003; Miller & Krosnick, 1996).

Second, in some cases, priming effects appear to arise because of two processes unrelated to priming. Exposing individuals to campaign and media messages on an issue informs some of them about the parties' or candidates' positions on that issue. As a consequence, these newly informed individuals often adopt their party's or candidate's position as their own. Combined, these effects (learning and adjustments) give rise to the appearance of priming in the absence of actual priming (Jenkins, 2002; Lenz, 2009). For example, Jenkins found that during the 1993 Canadian election campaign, the fortunes of the Conservative and Reform parties underwent a fundamental reorientation. While Reform support grew, it was precipitated by the decline in Conservative support. Drawing upon the data from the Canadian Election Study, Jenkins established that Reform's position on the budget deficit and the welfare state, which was to the right of the Conservative party, was important for its mobilization, and that at the end of the campaign cultural questions were also important. Attitudes toward ethnic minorities, which were irrelevant early in the campaign in accounting for Reform support among all respondents, were an important correlate in the last two weeks before the election. In effect, voters learned about Reform's true position on the deficit, and that learning appeared to carry more weight than priming. But although learning was the key to understanding the increased importance of welfare state attitudes, priming was responsible for the increased importance of cultural attitudes. As a result, both of these processes influenced voters' preferences and the Reform Party's success in the 1993 election.

Framing in Political Persuasion

It is no exaggeration to say that the concept of framing is crucial for contemporary psychological theories that describe the mechanisms of experiencing the physical and societal phenomena in the surrounding world. The importance of this concept lies in the fact that framing forms a basis for understanding received information and for defining social issues on the basis of perception and memory as well as decision-making. This is explicitly stated by Minsky (1977), when he pinpoints the essence of the frame theory:

> When one encounters a new situation (or makes a substantial change in one's view of a problem), one selects from memory a structure called a

> frame. This is a remembered framework to be adapted to fit reality by changing details as necessary (p. 355).

Creating a frame for interpreting a given situation is the first step in effective persuasion. It consists of mentally construing a representation of an object or event on the basis of the memory schemata that have been formed based on previous relevant experiences. This construed representation creates a delusive reference to a real object or event that existed or happened as a matter of fact. In the realm of perception, framing can be illustrated by ambiguous or reversible figures, which offer a chance for individuals to experience how such figures are perceived based on the experiences recorded in their memories (Long & Toppino, 2004). The phenomenon of ambiguous figures shows how easy it is to persuade someone to believe in the "factuality" of an object or event, as long as what the individual experiences agrees with that person's memory schema. A person can have many such schemata; hence, multiple interpretations of the same event are possible. The problem of persuasion consists of activating precisely the schema that will trigger the desired behavior in a person who experiences a given event.

Minsky's classical conception of framing (1977) laid the ground for research in cognitive processes regarding perception, memory, and conceptual thinking. This conception is at the core of the definitions of framing used in the field of political persuasive messaging. According to Entman (2007, p. 164), framing is the "process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation." As defined by Gamson and Modigliani (1987, p. 143), framing is "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about and the essence of the issue." Frames, as Altheide (1997, p. 651) stated, "are the focus, a parameter or boundary, for discussing a particular event. Frames focus on what will be discussed, how it will be discussed, and above all, how it will not be discussed." Druckman and Nelson (2003) stated specifically that framing effects occur when in the course of describing an issue or event, an emphasis on a subset of potentially relevant considerations causes individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions. Therefore, at a general level, the concept of framing refers to subtle alterations in the statement or presentation of judgments or choice problems, and, as Iyengar (1991) emphasized, framing effects refer to changes in decision outcomes resulting from these alterations. In contrast, Chong and Druckman (2007a) claimed that every issue can be seen from a number of perspectives. Consequently, the

perception of the issue is construed in a way that leads to expected behavior, strictly related to the person's motivation.

This general concept of framing can be illustrated by the interpretation suggested in the multi-attribute attitude model developed by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), where the basis for deciding on each issue—for example, the construction of a new housing district—is influenced by the differing importance of attributes such as the economy and environmental protection. Thus, one can look at the problem of the housing district's construction from an economic perspective, emphasizing the centrality of this attribute. Alternatively, one can ignore the economic attribute (i.e., weaken its power) and look at the problem from the perspective of detrimental environmental effects. In the former case, the attitude toward building the district would be positive, whereas in the latter case it would be negative. Hence, different attitudes toward a given issue are caused by different ways of framing the issue. According to the multi-attribute attitude model, the differences manifest themselves through changes in the assumed importance of the particular attributes. The process of such changes can be mathematically represented by a relevant formula, as developed by Nelson and Oxley (1999).

Other authors have emphasized in their conceptions of framing the interpretive element that is realized through the sense-making activity of the person experiencing the issue (de Vreese, 2005). Thus, one has to "package" the issue at stake in such a way that the recipient can reconstruct its sense unambiguously. Frames allow people to understand the issue on which someone wants to focus. This is why it is crucial to comprehend the key aspect of framing—providing interpretation of the experienced or presented political, societal, or economic issue. All frame analyses share the following key characteristics: the decisions resulting from the shaped attitude can differ, and these differing decisions depend on the differences in the way the problem is described. This was expounded explicitly by McElroy and Seta (2003) and is in harmony with the cognitive approach to framing (Minsky, 1977).

There are many methods of framing, and various researchers have attempted to provide classifications. De Vreese (2005) introduced a typology that distinguishes between issue-specific and generic frames. The former concern concrete events where the frames are strictly connected with the presented problem in time and space. Let us consider, for instance, women's rights, unemployment during the time of economic crisis, or the Lewinsky scandal during President Bill Clinton's second term. In contrast, generic frames are atemporal, and they concern the way in which a general perspective is formed, irrespective of the particular issues. Therefore, generic frames demarcate a general strategy that can be incorporated in a

variety of political topics. Each issue can be presented from the point of view of gains, losses, norms, and values accepted by the media.

Within the category of generic frames, further divisions are possible to distinguish the role of a frame as "conflict," "human interest," "attribution of responsibility," "morality," or "economic consequences" when discussing diverse political issues (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). In contrast, Hallahan's (1999) framing typology is dependent on what is framed. Frames are never neutral and they may provide different ways of presenting situations, attributes, choices, actions, issues, responsibility, news, and so on.

One of the most crucial frames is that which defines the "locus of responsibility" in presenting particular societal issues, and which assigns the desired causal relation to that presentation (Iyengar, 1989, 1991). One can look at the problem of responsibility for racial inequality or poverty from the perspective of the roots of these social phenomena, which automatically refers to the causal responsibility for these phenomena. These roots may be sought in individuals (individual responsibility), in their personality traits, and in their inadequate education. However, the roots may also be societal in nature, which leads to the postulation of social responsibility concerning economic, institutional, and cultural barriers as well as inadequate or failed governmental efforts. However, a different perspective is also possible: treatment responsibility. The point here is not to determine the roots of a given societal phenomenon but to develop means of handling it. This can be done, for instance, by improving people's financial status, overcoming cultural barriers, or by strengthening governmental efforts.

The issue of responsibility framing was undertaken by Iyengar (1989) in his research on the attitudes adopted by people toward governmental institutions. When a given institution is perceived as an agent of causation, it is evaluated negatively, but when the institution is perceived as an agent of treatment, the evaluation becomes positive. Generally, citizens fail to make an effort to identify the roots of societal problems. Neither do they ponder the means to deal with these problems. However, it is possible to create public interest in some issues—especially during election periods—and express one's attitude about the way in which they are presented. In other words, individuals can decide whether to adopt a causal or treatment responsibility frame.

Research on this way of handling framing is important because it pertains to the core of an individual's cognitive activity, and people interpret the societal reality they perceive by using causal categories (Rehder & Hastie, 2001). As Tobin and Raymundo (2009) suggest, when trying to change people's attitudes and beliefs, it is sometimes more important to explain why particular outcomes would occur than it is to provide

evidence that suggests the outcomes would, in fact, occur. Once someone has explained why a relationship exists, that person will continue to believe the relationship exists even if the evidence that prompted the explanation is discredited. According to Iyengar (1991), the activation of a particular causal relation takes places both in causal and treatment responsibility. The only difference is in the direction of the postulated causal relation. In causal responsibility it is the institutions under analysis that are at the root of the problem, whereas in treatment responsibility the institutions must adapt to situations in which they recognize a certain problem and the need to solve it. Both causal relations help understand the identified social issue, but they lead to divergent evaluations of the governmental institution involved.

Institutions can use their persuasive appeal to impose the desired, "appropriate" causal relation on the public. This relation can be framed in terms of both causal responsibility and treatment responsibility, but it can also be framed in terms of gains and losses—a negative or positive frame. This was demonstrated by Cobb and Kuklinski (1997) in their research on the persuasive power of messages that highlight advantages or risks as a consequence of adopting one or another societal policy (e.g., public health care). They explicitly stated the causal relation involved in all the frames used: "If X is adopted, Y will be the consequence" (p. 93).

Contemporary literature on creating various frames in the process of persuasion discloses yet another fundamental element that determines the power of that process. The actions undertaken by people as a result of their diverse experiences regarding the issue at hand are closely related to the problem of motivation. The process of differentiating the value assigned to particular attributes in the process of framing boils down to the act of referring to or evoking the desired motivation of the person to whom the message is addressed. The simple fact is that we choose what we deem advantageous, and we reject what we interpret as dangerous. This motivational aspect of framing is not clearly represented in any of the frame typologies, but it is a key factor influencing the power of persuasion.

Generally speaking, setting reference frames provides the basis for the creation of the tendencies and preferences needed to shape desired behaviors regarding issues that are strategic for the state in the areas of social and political action. Constructing the information offer with the use of a frame is crucial in evoking or suppressing public sensitivity to certain societal phenomena and can help control public preferences in parliamentary and presidential elections, which are closely related to the issue of motivation.

The following section presents an approach to framing that proposes a merger of the cognitive aspect of the problem (i.e., creating the desired

interpretative perspective) with the motivational factors that trigger actions undertaken in accordance with the adopted interpretation frame.

The Importance of the Prospect

Systematic development of effective persuasive strategies is only possible if they are grounded in reputable research that explains people's behavior from the perspective of their interests. The entire range of such interests can be divided into two possible results of human behavior: what can be gained and what can be lost. The knowledge of psychological mechanisms explaining the specific attributes of human evaluation in the context of the perception of potential gains and losses cannot be overestimated in political—especially electoral—behavior. It is the preferences of the voters that influence the shaping of the social and political reality of the state.

A theory that is particularly instrumental in pinpointing the fundamental psychological mechanisms of human evaluation is prospect theory, developed by Kahneman and Tversky (1979). Their theory assumes that our evaluation of something as being beneficial for us rests on our choice of a reference point, and the proposals made to us are assessed as juxtaposed against that reference point as far as the potential gains or losses are concerned. This cognitive procedure has serious consequences because people evaluate their gains and losses differently. The fundamental principles of valuing according to prospect theory show that people experience loss in a more intense fashion than they experience a comparable gain. In other words, the negative experience of the loss of $100 will be affectively more intense than the joy of gaining $100. These principles have a direct bearing on the formulation of persuasive messages based on various reference frames. Tversky and Kahneman (1986) present highly illustrative examples of how people create diverse reference frames to handle the same problem. They created identical scenarios in which the subjects were expected to make choices between two possible behaviors in each situation. The same situations were presented in different ways: either in positive terms, which—in accordance with prospect theory—evokes aversion to undertaking risks, or in negative terms, which evokes a tendency to undertake risks.

An important element of prospect theory is that it bridges the cognitive process of evaluating one's experiences with the motivational aspects of doing so. The evaluation of the experienced events in the context of gain or loss leads to opposing behavioral tendencies, which in psychological terms is defined as approach or avoidance. For the gain perspective, the subjective distance between $0 and $50 is larger than the gain between

$50 and $100. For the loss perspective, the subjective distance between $0 and $50 is smaller than the loss between $50 and $100. These obvious interrelations stemming from prospect theory led to the postulation of the principles of so-called mental accounting, which is effectively used in managing political events and in controlling their persuasive impact.

In their pioneering research, Tversky and Kahneman (1986) showed the "absolute" influence of positive and negative framing on decision-making through encouraging or discouraging the will to undertake risks. The problems they dealt with were discussed in terms of certainty or the probability of the occurrence of given events. In most cases, these events related to extreme and experientially infrequent phenomena, such as the need to cope in an unexpected cataclysmic situation or the choice of a more or less risky medical treatment. Nevertheless, the interrelations that these researchers postulated have aptly been extrapolated onto the realm of actual economic problems, which is crucial in creating state social policies (Quattrone & Tversky, 1988). These problems have led to the postulation of certain socially important legal regulations and thus can influence electoral behavior. Apart from the problem of choosing how to present these issues to the public—with the use of a positive or a negative frame—these problems also enable the use of the so-called psychophysical ratio-difference principle. This principle helps determine the divergence in perception of the same difference as dependent on the scale of values used for its assessment, such as the figures relating to the economic situation, the growth in the number of new businesses, or the decrease in the unemployment rate. When activated in the same message addressed toward a group of decision-makers, these two mechanisms—framing and the ratio-difference principle—can lead to a stronger persuasive effect.

Ratio-difference principle and framing. Let us scrutinize the problem discussed by Quattrone and Tversky (1988) regarding political decision-making. Such decisions are frequently compromises between gains and losses resulting from a choice. To put it metaphorically, the choice is often of whether "to have the cake or eat it." This problem can be illustrated by means of the relationship between employment and inflation. These economic phenomena are interconnected and stay in a well-defined causal relationship. In a nutshell, a rise in the employment rate can influence a rise in the inflation rate; similarly, reducing the inflation rate can send employment figures into a downslide. This interconnection is particularly evident in the early and late stages of global economic crises. Such circumstances reveal the fact that a desirable change regarding one societal problem, such as a reduction in unemployment rates, is accompanied by an undesirable change in another societal problem—in this case, increased

Table 4.1 Illustration of Relationship between Unemployment and Inflation: Method 1

	Workforce unemployed (%)	Rate of inflation (%)
Program J	10	12
Program K	5	17

Table 4.2 Illustration of Relationship between Unemployment and Inflation: Method 2

	Work force employed (%)	Rate of inflation (%)
Program J	90	12
Program K	95	17

inflation. This problem can be presented to the public in two ways, leading to two different public evaluations of the same economic circumstances. Table 4.1 shows the first method of illustrating the problem.

If program J is adopted, 10 percent of the workforce will be unemployed, and the rate of inflation will be 12 percent. If program K is implemented, the unemployment rate will dwindle to only 5 percent, but inflation will reach 17 percent. When faced with this data, almost twice as many subjects chose program K versus program J.

However, the same economic problem can be presented in an alternative mode. Instead of focusing on unemployment, the message can concentrate on employment. Table 4.2 shows how the problem looks when presented from this perspective.

On seeing the second presentation, the majority of subjects chose program J.

As noted by Quattrone and Tversky (1988), these diverse behaviors constitute a violation of invariance because either program leads to the same statistical result, despite two distinct methods of presentation. All in all, the statement that 10 or 5 percent of the workforce will be unemployed equals the statement that 90 or 95 percent of the workforce will be employed.

The differences in evaluating the two identical programs in two alternative presentations also demonstrate the effect of the ratio-difference principle. The quotient of 10 to 5 is large: the former number is twice the latter. However, the quotient of 95 to 90 is small; it equals not much more than 1. It thus becomes apparent why subjects preferred program K in the former presentation of the problem, because it promises to cut unemployment in

half (from 10 percent to 5 percent). In the latter presentation, the difference in the employment rate between programs J and K is not as radical. The argument for program K loses its validity because the numbers representing the employment rate in both programs appear to be comparable. This explains why the subjects evaluating the programs switched their attention to the inflation rates—12 and 17 percent for programs J and K, respectively. This difference becomes vital for the presentation oriented toward employment.

The problem presented above can also be approached within the categories of positive and negative frames. In the first presentation, unemployment creates a negative frame. This is why the subjects adopting this perspective focus on the unemployment rate and choose the program that promises to reduce it. In the second presentation, the workforce employed rate creates a positive frame, so the public sensitivity to the issue weakens. As a result, it is the inflation rate that attracts the most public attention. It is also evident from the case under analysis that negative and positive frames are strongly connected with motivational processes: we avoid unemployment and we strive toward increased employment.

In general, the majority of social issues and the solutions proposed by various political parties can be presented from either a positive or a negative perspective. For example, a far more powerful persuasive message comes from the presentation of a method by which the number of homicide cases can be reduced by half (from 4 percent to 2 percent) in a city populated by more than a million people in contrast to a method that tries to enhance the sense of safety by just a "tiny ratio"—from 96 percent to 98 percent. Although the real change regarding this societal issue is exactly the same, the former attempt to define it uses a negative frame focusing on public dangers, and hence attracts more attention and evokes increased public alertness. The second method presents the problem in a positive perspective. It stresses the issue of public safety. The public focus and public alertness are not as strong when the problem is presented this way.

The differentiation of societal issues, showing the growing or falling percentage of the occurrence of these issues, can always be presented in a positive or a negative frame. However, one must bear in mind that apart from the frame adopted to increase or decrease the sensitivity of the addressee to the message, this sensitivity is additionally influenced by the ratio-difference principle if the problem is expressed in terms of percentages. Research by Kahneman and Tversky (1979) provided solid ground for the implementation of prospect theory in the field of controlling the power of persuasive messages in the context of mental accounting. This

turned out to be a valid strategy for increasing politicians' popularity during the term of their political leadership or government.

The persuasive message appeal in the context of mental accounting. Thaler (1985) used prospect theory to infer a number of principles of mental accounting stemming from various modes of evaluating gains and losses. Two of these principles seem extremely important to the persuasive effect of political messages: the rules of segregate gains and integrate losses. In realizing their political programs, parties and leaders must face the conundrum of a continuously changing panorama of social and economic situations in their countries and in the world. These situations evoke positive and negative affect among voters, depending on the anticipated gains or losses from these situations. The use of the principles of mental accounting in the management of political, social, and economic events substantially contributes to enhanced control of the party's image with regard to relevant political events.

The principles of mental accounting have already been effectively employed to control economic behaviors. The rule of segregate gains posits that we receive greater satisfaction from a few smaller gains than from one greater gain that is the sum of those smaller gains. For instance, if a customer receives another product while buying something, the customer gets the satisfaction of buying two products. Insurance companies offer separate discounts for accident-free driving and for renewing the contract. In this way, the customer feels satisfaction from two separate gains. In contrast, the rule of integrate losses states that we feel less disappointed with one big loss than with a series of smaller losses. For instance, buying insurance in a package that includes various bank products (such as life insurance, mishap insurance, etcetera) for one price provides greater satisfaction to the customer than buying those products separately. Also, payments made with credit cards are accumulated and paid once per month because one larger payment or loss seems smaller than a number of individual payments.

These rules have been successfully used in developing marketing methods to control not only the market events important for consumers, but also the political, economic, and social events important for voters.

Gibson (1999) presented several hypotheses resulting from the psychological principles of managing event presentation time that find practical application in political activity. Two of these hypotheses clearly arise from prospect theory:

- **Integrating events (packaging):** Politicians, if they can, try to integrate negative information using the media, presenting all the negative information at the same time.

- **Separating events (splitting):** Politicians, when it is technically possible, try to divide information about positive events into a number of independently presented pieces of news.

The implications for the politicians are as follows: If two pieces of bad news appear at the same time, they will do less harm to the party's or politician's image than if they appear separately. In contrast, if good news is distributed over time—for instance, if each piece of good news appears in a different edition of a newspaper—it will be more profitable for a party or politician than if the news items were all published at the same time.

Gibson (1999) presented a number of observations concerning political and economic behaviors that are in compliance with these two principles, including by-election policy and the case of interest rate control in the British money market in various years of the government's term of office. Particular applications of these principles of mental accounting are also presented in Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman (2011).

The classic research by Kahneman and Tversky (1979) has also encouraged the broad application of positive and negative framing to control the persuasive appeal of messages dealing with daily societal issues. Such messages are commonly used by politicians to shape particular attitudes toward various methods of dealing with these issues, thus influencing electoral preferences. These applications are accompanied by the explication of the psychological mechanisms accountable for their persuasive appeal and the way in which they influence the competitive electoral market.

Anxiety, negative framing, and competitive democracies. The classic approach to framing in accordance with prospect theory has proved that the persuasive appeal of information is greater when presented in negative, rather than positive, framing. Both positive and negative framing directly address the motivational process of approaching or avoiding a given situation, leading to a decrease or increase in alertness regarding the anticipated positive or negative consequences of the experienced situation. This increase or decrease in alertness is modified by the affect evoked by the way in which a given situation is presented. Positive frames, which depict a situation in terms of gains, evoke positive affect as predicted by prospect theory. Conversely, negative frames, which highlight the danger of loss, evoke negative affect.

The psychological processing of the information presented in these two opposing perspectives involves motivational processes, but it is also influenced by affective processes. Affect not only accompanies the cognitive process of understanding a given situation, presented in either a positive

or a negative frame; it plays a far more important role in that it modifies the cognitive process of experiencing a given event and its persuasive power (see Albarracín & Kumkale, 2003; Forgas, 2008). Therefore, one can state that the increased alertness in experiencing the argumentation presented in a negative frame is caused by the arousal of negative affect. This is an intuitively unquestionable claim; unless the negative message fails to cause anxiety, its persuasive appeal should not exceed the appeal of the positive message, the content of which does not evoke negative affect.

This relatively complex psychological process, which activates the interdependencies between cognition, motivation, and affect, helps explain the mechanism of the gradable persuasive appeal of the information presented by means of negative or positive framing. If any of these elements is missing, the persuasive effect is undermined completely. Figure 4.2 presents a schema of the causal process of evoking the argumentative appeal in negative framing.

Arceneaux (2012) examined the involvement of activated affect in the creation of the persuasive appeal of information presented in a positive or a negative frame. In his analyses, he presented a genuine merger of theoretical approaches proposed within neurobiology and political psychology, on the basis of which he explains the differences in argumentation appeal used in political communication. To date, the research on anxiety caused by the anticipated experience of loss has proved that when faced with such a situation, people undertake actions to minimize loss, which calls for increased alertness, conscious attention, and deliberate processing of perceived arguments. The evolutionary process has led to the rise of

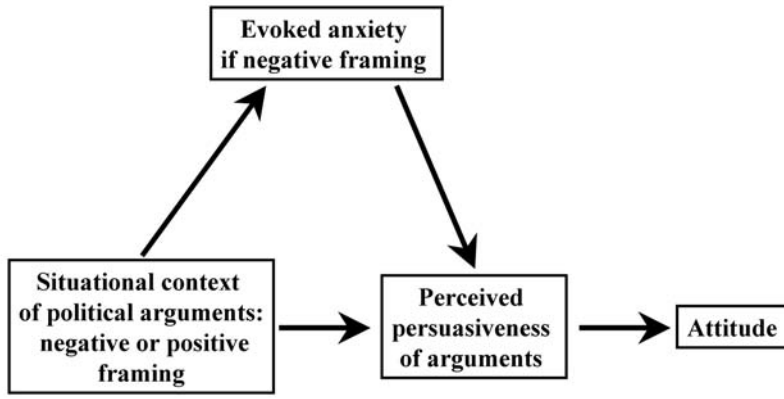

Figure 4.2 Framing and affect in controlling the persuasive appeal of the message

neurobiological structures that automatically initiate this kind of alertness, modified by the anticipation of loss or gain and by the simultaneous evoking of anxiety, influencing the persuasive appeal of the perceived arguments (Williams et al., 2007).

The research methodology employed by Arceneaux (2012) was a slight alteration of the well-known experiment by Tversky and Kahneman (1981) pertaining to the phenomenon of "Asian disease." The subjects were presented two alternatives for spending money to treat Asian bird flu. The money could be used to increase the production of the already available vaccine, which would certainly save some people. The other option was to undertake more risky steps to produce a new vaccine, whose production—if successful—would help save everyone from the disease.

The use of a negative and a positive frame was simple. In the former case, the argument relied on highlighting the information that by continuing the present treatment, the death of many people would be inevitable. In the latter situation, it was stressed that this continuation would save some lives. Both situations essentially repeat the situations used in the classic experiment by Tversky and Kahneman (1981), and the results confirmed that in the case of negative framing subjects revealed a greater risk-seeking attitude, opting for the production of a new vaccine, in contrast to the subjects facing the problem set in a positive frame.

The novelty of Arceneaux's (2012) research was in the introduction of a third situation, where both frames were used simultaneously in a so-called competing argument condition. The subjects were presented an option in which continuing the present treatment methodology would cause some people to be saved but would inevitably lead to the loss of some lives. The results did not diverge from the results for the control group, whose members were also asked to choose between two alternative treatments but were not exposed to any argumentation in favor of either treatment. Thus, it can be expected that the persuasive appeal behind the mode of message presentation is neutralized in the case of the simultaneous presentation of arguments in positive and negative framing.

Arceneaux's research (2012) effectively illustrates how various positions are presented in competitive democracies. However, in the conception of persuasion based on anxiety as a key factor (see Figure 4.2), the situation where the argumentation is simultaneously presented in a negative and a positive frame clearly discloses the modifying role of anxiety in activating risk-prone behaviors. Arceneaux examined the attitudes of the subjects toward a new, risky treatment that would save everyone's life. He also analyzed affective reactions to the presented problem. As a result, he was able to divide the subjects into groups for low or high levels of anxiety.

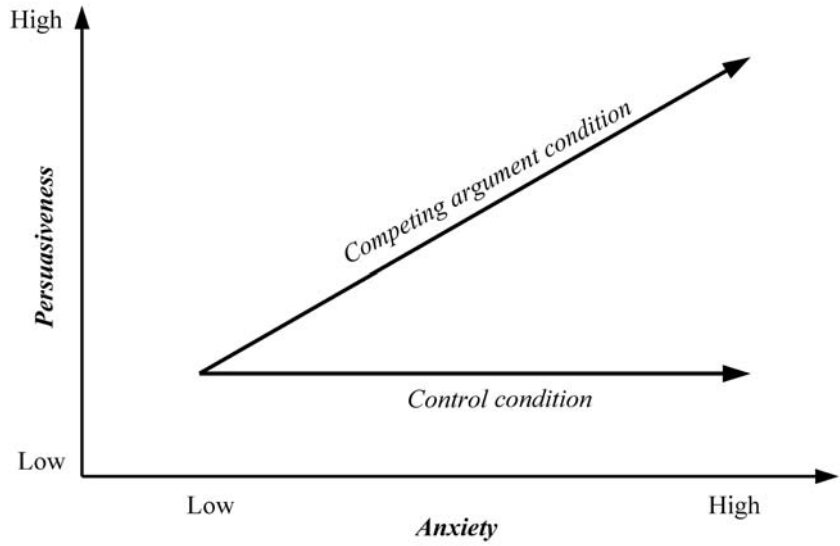

Figure 4.3 A schematic illustration of the relationship between anxiety and persuasiveness of the message

The research results were indisputable in the case where the evoked anxiety was high. Despite the simultaneous presentation of the argumentation in positive and negative framing, the subjects tended toward more risky behavior; that is, they opted for a new treatment. Figure 4.3 presents the role of anxiety in modifying the persuasive appeal of a message.

Arceneaux's (2012) conception proved that persuasive appeal is dependent not only on how the argumentation is framed but also on the affect evoked by the adopted mode of argumentation. The presentation of loss-framed arguments alone is not sufficient to make persuasion effective. The tendency to react more intensely to loss rather than to gain must also be activated through the process of presenting the argument. It is the arousal of anxiety that strengthens the sense of increased persuasiveness of loss-framed arguments as opposed to gain-framed arguments. In this way, the conception presented by Arceneaux introduced an important enhancement to prospect theory, expanding it to include an affective aspect.

A key element of Arceneaux's (2012) analysis is his emphasis on the fact that the process of creating persuasion must take into account the way voters function in a competitive environment. Factual political environments are always open to multiple perspectives for viewing a given issue in either positive or negative framing. One issue is very likely to be presented in a number of different contexts by different political options. Voters are faced

with the simultaneity of diverse presentations of the same issue. The persuasiveness of a negative frame is evidently weakened in the context of a positive-frame argument, but it rises considerably when the addressees' anxiety is evoked. Thus, in competitive democracies, the persuasive appeal of the argumentation of one political option, supporting behaviors leading to serious social and economic consequences, must always be analyzed in the context of the counter-arguments of an opposing political option. In factual political circumstances, the persuasiveness of argumentation is always modified by counter-argumentation, which constitutes its external context.

Chong and Druckman (2007b) discussed the analysis of this external context—that is, of the influence of the mutual interaction of contrary arguments on their persuasiveness levels in competitive democracies. They demonstrated that the contrary arguments of opposing options modify the influence of framing but do not eliminate it. The competitive context is bound to stimulate a thoughtful examination of diverse methods of arguing about a given issue and handling the problem of conflicts to which the arguments often lead.

Let us illustrate this point with an example. Contemporary public opinion pays great attention to environmental protection, which leads to the claim that construction development in city centers should be considerably reduced so as to protect the city's green areas. This pro-ecological stance can benefit from a strong argument that construction development in city centers constrains free city space, and hence the remaining natural areas should be protected. The same stance can also be built with the use of weaker argumentation. For example, one could argue that a socially involved community and active social communication is only possible outside city centers. The counterarguments to this stance can be drawn in a strong economic perspective by saying that any limitation on the development of city centers will negatively influence housing prices, which will make it more difficult for young families to find places to live. The weaker counterargument could rely on showing that the complex legal regulations meant to constrain the construction development of city centers will require an effort on the part of average citizens interested in investing in any such construction activity to learn details in which they have no interest or are not competent to understand.

Chong and Druckman (2007b) observed that displaying stronger argumentation in the context of weaker counter-argumentation substantially reinforces the persuasive appeal of the former. This leads to the so-called backfire effect. Weak arguments reinforce counter-arguments, which function as the external context for the weak arguments. The research also

showed that the power of the argumentation of the persuasive message is dependent on the traits betrayed by the particular voters—in other words, the external context in which such arguments are perceived. Voters represent diverse political orientations, display different attitudes toward the particular issues, and are driven by diverse axiologies when assessing and solving the issues presented to them. In the exemplary case of city center construction development, the subjects would have to be divided into two groups: those for whom environmental protection means more than economic growth, and those who value economic growth even at the cost of environmental degradation. This division constitutes the internal context for the preferred systems of values, which is responsible for the power of argumentation applied in a given issue.

Chong and Druckman (2007a) noted that framing in argumentation offers the chance of forming an option that departs minimally from the preferred axiology and approaches the middle position for competing messages. The "economists"—that is, those subjects who favor economic values over the environment—become less radical in their stance on the discussed issue. Similarly, the "environmentalists"—those for whom the environment is always superior to the economy—start displaying a less radical attitude to the issue at hand. We witness a depolarization of their primary stances.

Even though framing in argumentation can offer some persuasive appeal for changing opinions that depart only slightly from the adopted axiologies, it cannot change these axiologies as such if they are well-grounded and fostered. These axiologies function as reference points used to assess arguments that are framed in a particular way. Nelson (2004) has stressed clearly that effective framing must take into account the values of the addressees, but it cannot impose any new values on them. Analogically, Sniderman and Theriault (2004) have maintained that when voters encounter opposing frames during a political debate, they will choose the alternative that best matches their own system of beliefs. These analyses allow us to draw conclusions about the very nature of democracy, the main principle of which is the struggle between opposing views. Motivation and competition prevent a single framing effect, instead providing a chance to evaluate various arguments and opt for one of them. This direct form of competition is clearly visible during political debates, where different conceptions are presented. Voters are allowed to critically evaluate and reject those proposals that they find impossible to accept.

This is why, in constructing a political marketing message, one should try to match the voter's system of preferred values rather than trying to change it. Barker (2005) researched how this type of internal context

influences the power of argumentation. He constructed a very intriguing research procedure in which he created two lines of argument in favor of a private school for children, framed in either individualistic or egalitarian terms. These values were not a random choice, because they represented the two primary political orientations in the United States: the Republican Party's support for an individualistic system of values and the Democratic Party's support for egalitarian values. The American political arena is thus divided into conservatives, who worship economic freedom and personal accountability, and liberals, who strive for humanistic values and equality of civil rights. Both modes of argumentation were presented to voters regarding Republican presidential candidate John McCain's justification for his choice of a private school. The voters were asked to assess McCain's argumentation and express the extent of their support for him. The results confirmed the hypothesis; voters were more likely to opt for McCain when his message was framed in individualistic terms. Barker (2005) also noted that badly educated voters were generally insensitive to the changes in the message content reflecting either the individualistic or the egalitarian frame. The differences in content and the varied influence on voters' preferences in accordance with their individualistic beliefs were only noticeable among the well-educated voters.

Consequently, internal context must be seen as an important component that can activate a particular interpretative frame for a message. This context can undoubtedly refer to the segmentation of the political market, both in psychographic and demographic terms. Moreover, this segmentation allows voters to be classified not only by their political choices, but also by their sex, area of residence, and level of education. These types of market segments are strategic for assessing the influence of framing on electoral behavior, and in the political marketing terminology they are referred to as primary and secondary segmentation (Cwalina et al., 2009; 2011).

The primary and secondary segments are used to determine the axiologies of voters in harmony with the values promoted by the political parties (e.g., individualism versus collectivism), which can enhance the effectiveness of a particular campaign. Nonetheless, the ultimate condition of this effective influence is not only that the message is understood by the recipients, but also that they can relate the message to the values represented therein and the connection that the message has with the particular political option it represents. This connection is far better recognized by well-educated voters than by less-educated voters, which is why demographic segmentation is useful (Barker, 2005).

These results help portray a more in-depth picture of the psychological impact of various frames. One can conclude that the persuasive appeal of

a message presented in negative framing is modified through the arousal of anxiety as long as the values presented in the message match the voters' value systems and voters are able to interpret these values as representative of the particular political option (Barker, 2005). A message that is tangential to voters' axiology is doomed to be ineffective, irrespective of how much anxiety it evokes, unless it concerns some primary public value that is not dependent on any party ideology, such as saving lives (Arceneaux, 2012).

It has been shown here that the magnitude of framing effects depends on the characteristics of the recipients of the frame, which relates to the classic segmentation of the electoral market. Below, we present an example of the impact of positive and negative framing used in presenting a given stance on a political issue in the context of voter beliefs of varying intensity. Multiple research results have shown that the voters most susceptible to the influence of political messages are undecided voters, who find themselves in the midst of two extreme political options. Falkowski and Cwalina (1999) and Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman (2011) specified detailed methodological procedures to empirically justify the claim made by Blumler and McQuail (1968) that so-called deep-seated attitudes are impervious and cannot be changed by persuasive information. The image of a particular aspect of reality can be shaped in voters who are undecided on an issue, who fail to adopt any clear stance on it, or who claim to be neutral. Therefore, the problem of the persuasiveness of political messages shaped by framing can be considered in the context of an electoral market that highlights undecided voters as a strategic segment (Cwalina et al., 2011). The other segments gather decided voters, who express their deep support for various political parties and who tend to resist any persuasive political messages (Miller & Krosnick, 1996).

Positive and Negative Framing in Shaping the Behaviors of Undecided Voters

Cwalina, Falkowski, and Kaid (2000) and Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman (2011) presented a methodological analysis of how to identify the segment of undecided voters on the basis of the political elections in Poland, France, and Germany. Their research revealed that of all voters, undecided voters are most susceptible to the persuasive appeal of political messages. Research on electoral behavior has confirmed that the past few decades have witnessed a growing number of voters who are politically undecided and who are so-called floating voters—they make their voting decisions at the last moment—rather than steadfast supporters of one political option (Cwalina et al., 2008). This is exactly the segment of voters that has shown

the greatest susceptibility to framing in argumentation, and they should be the primary addressees of persuasive communication. In contrast, decided voters are impervious to this type of message. They opt for the candidate who offers a methodology of solving social and economic problems (such as increasing financial aid for education, reducing the crime rate, or decreasing unemployment) that is in harmony with their views.

Therefore, in the process of persuasion, we deal with the shaping of evaluations and preferences concerning a particular candidate, which is a function of the partial evaluations of the solutions proposed by the candidate. However, a given issue can also produce a division among voters, depending on the preferred solutions. In the majority of cases, three segments can be identified in the electoral market. The first segment gathers supporters of the given politician's stance (e.g., introducing a guaranteed quota of parliamentary seats for women). Voters in the second segment oppose the solution, while those in the third segment take a neutral position. The neutral segment is the undecided one; in principle, a well-designed persuasive message should be sent to the people in this segment. All in all, the persuasive appeal of a given message results from the operation of two factors: (1) the mode of its presentation, and (2) the attitude of the voter toward the problem—for, against, or neutral.

These two factors influencing electoral behavior were taken into account by Cwalina and Falkowski (2012) in their research concerning ambiguity in the presentation of election-related issues by candidates. The researchers studied the persuasive appeal of the following question: Should Poland adopt the common currency (euro)? The problem of adoption of the euro by European Union (E.U.) member states is topical, and it has been highlighted even more by the current economic crisis, which has led to a heated debate in various E.U. states concerning the justification for adopting the common currency by the states that are still outside the monetary union (such as Poland and the United Kingdom), as well as the potential withdrawal of states that fail to cope with the crisis (e.g., Greece). In view of these facts, the issue of whether member states should adopt the common currency can be a valuable asset in the hands of politicians who want to increase their support level among voters.

The image of how economic reality is influenced by the common currency can be shaped in voters' minds with the use of various types of frames. De Vreese (2005) analyzed the conflict and the economic consequences frames in an examination of the attitudes displayed to this problem by Danish, Dutch, and British voters. Voter perception of this issue depends on how the media portray information about the potential consequences of the adoption of the common currency. A detailed analysis of

the presentation of this issue helped establish that the media were mostly focused on the economic consequences of the process rather than on societal conflicts that might be triggered by the common currency among particular citizens (e.g., neighbors), communities, institutions, or states. Neither did the media discuss who might benefit and who might lose in the wake of the process. In the Netherlands, the media particularly focused on economic benefits, both on the macro- and the microeconomic scale. Nevertheless, some messages framed in positive economic consequences betrayed a certain anxiety and uncertainty. British publications pointed out that the adoption of the euro would be detrimental to Great Britain's position as a world economic leader because of the strength of the British pound sterling. The media evoked anxiety among voters when the issue of adopting the euro was presented in the context of the potential societal problems that might result. The conflict frames were quite infrequently used in this case, mostly surfacing in television broadcasts and being weakly represented in the print media. The very nature of the conflict created the imagery of gains and losses for various societal groups. Thus, the vision of a common currency was a source of anxiety and aroused a sense of endangerment. Consequently, these negative emotions led to adverse reactions toward adoption of the euro.

Presenting issues in conflict and/or economic consequences frames influences electoral behavior, as borne out by the research on persuasiveness presented so far. In the problem area under discussion, we can only determine the kind of frames and the frequency of their application in the media, but we are not familiar with their electoral impact. Thus, it is imperative to examine in detail how voters approach the problem of the common currency when the economic consequences frames are additionally divided into positive and negative. In their experiment, Cwalina and Falkowski (2012) provided subjects with the following three stances that might be taken by a politician regarding Polish accession to the monetary union:

1. The benefits related to the entry of Poland into the euro zone are very clear. It will be good for long-term economic growth. It will increase the reliability of Polish macroeconomic policy. I am in favor of adopting the common currency (euro) in Poland.
2. The adverse effects related to the entry of Poland into the euro zone are very clear. It will be bad for long-term economic growth. It will decrease the reliability of Polish macroeconomic policy. I am against adopting the common currency (euro) in Poland.
3. The benefits related to the entry of Poland into the euro zone are currently unclear. It is difficult to predict whether joining the monetary union will be favorable or unfavorable for Poland's long-term economic growth. One cannot

determine whether it will increase or decrease the reliability of Polish macroeconomic policy.

The first stance emphasizes advantages of adopting the common currency, the second focuses on losses, and the third is an ambiguous position. Obviously, voters supporting one of the two first stances will presumably opt for the politician whose stance agrees with theirs. However, it is intriguing to speculate how neutral voters are likely to behave, because they have no clearly defined stance on the adoption of the common currency. In the light of the assumption concerning the electoral market segmentation via issues, it is this third group of voters that constitutes a strategic segment that is most susceptible to persuasion. The research results are presented graphically in Figure 4.4.

These results require no elaboration. The voters showed their evident preference for the politician whose stance on the issue of Poland joining the monetary union matched their own, and they rejected the politician whose views were contrary to theirs on this topic. However, the results regarding the neutral voters are most intriguing. Logic dictates that the extent to which neutral voters are likely to support the politician who is

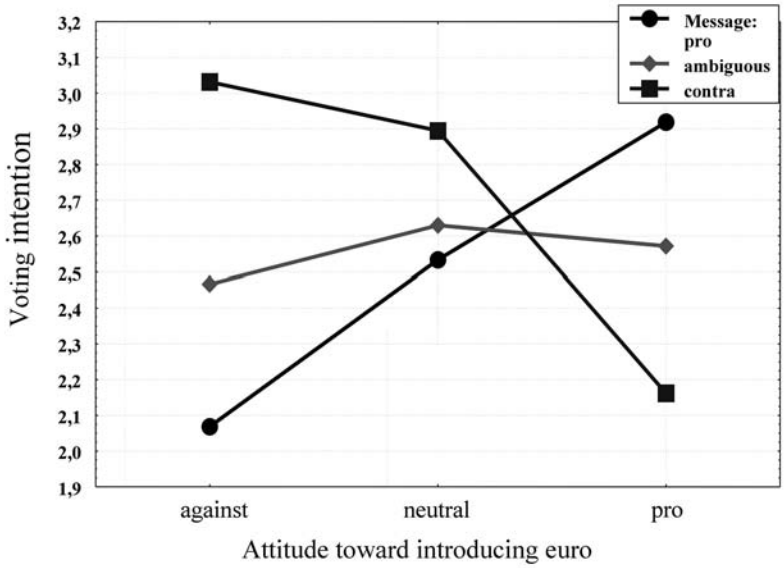

Figure 4.4 Voters' intention to opt for a politician who is for, against, or neutral toward the issue of adopting the common currency

in favor of and the one who is opposed to joining the monetary union should be the same. Hence, on the graph presented above, the intentions to vote for the politician in favor of the union and intentions to vote for the one against the union should overlap. However, this is not the case. The intention to opt for the politician opposed to the union turns out to be much higher when compared with the intention to vote for the politician in favor of the union; this is marked on the graph with an arrow. This result is in harmony with the predictions made by prospect theory: a loss is more devastating than the equivalent gain is gratifying. Thus, voters' incentive to avoid negative changes is greater than their incentive to embrace positive changes, and this translates into the strength of voting intentions (see Figure 4.4). This result is also in accord with the results achieved by Cobb and Kuklinski (1997), who demonstrated that in political behavior, "con" arguments typically hold more persuasive appeal than "pro" arguments.

It must also be noted that ambiguous messages considerably increased the electoral preferences of the two groups of decided voters—those who opted for or against the adoption of the euro. The level of their preferences approached the level demonstrated by the neutral voters (see Figure 4.4). This is an example of how ambiguous messages operate to neutralize the segmentation of the electoral market based on the pro and con division of opinions on a particular issue. While unambiguous messages lead to the electorate's polarization and thus limit the number of the candidate's potential voters, using ambiguous messages may help overcome voters' division. In this way, the impact of ambiguous messages precisely matches the concept of the political triangle presented by Worcester and Mortimore (2005) and empirically examined in the research on polarization of political opinions by Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman (2011).

The diversity of methods for creating effective persuasive messages in the context of electoral market segmentation into the decided and undecided electorate can be added to the list of principles that explain the persuasive appeal of such messages, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Effective messages should be differently framed based on demographic and psychographic segmentation, with special emphasis placed on the undecided voters in competitive situations.

Negative Framing in Political Advertisements

The research discussed thus far concerning the role of framing in the creation of the persuasive appeal of a political message proves beyond doubt that negativity is stronger than positivity or, as Baumeister, Bratslavsky,

Finkenauer, and Vohs (2001) stated in the title of their article, "Bad is stronger than good." Negative information receives more processing and contributes more strongly to the final impression or attitude developed by an individual than does positive information. Hence, positive and negative opinions on political candidates or parties cannot be valued equally. Negative opinions are more effective in discouraging voters than positive opinions are in encouraging them. This "negativity effect" means that when comparing negative stimuli and positive stimuli of the same intensity on behavior, affect, and cognitive representations of evaluated objects, the negative stimuli have a greater impact (Skowronski & Carlston, 1989). This "negativity effect" is clearly visible in the research undertaken by Kernell (1977). He observed that during the presidential campaigns of 1946–1966, positive and negative opinions of the president did not have equal impacts on behavior; that is, disapproval had a stronger effect on turnout and voter choice than approval.

This observation inspired Bizer and Petty (2005) to conduct experimental research to prove that framing an attitude negatively leads to greater resistance to persuasion than framing the same relative preference positively. Their research has opened a vista for developing a strategy to increase the persuasive appeal of political messages; one can intuitively use the strategy of supporting one's candidate—that is, sending messages that strengthen the candidate's image among supporters. At the same time, one can provide supportive voters with messages that will influence them to oppose the counter-candidate. These are two distinct ways of looking at the same situation. One can create an image of support for one's own candidate by framing an attitude in the positive or create a discouraging image of the counter-candidate by framing an attitude in the negative. Which of these styles of framing will lead to increased resistance of voters' attitudes to an attack against the politician they support? Bizer and Petty (2005) demonstrated that thinking of an attitude in terms of opposition rather than in terms of support is sufficient to enhance the resistance of that attitude.

This complex state of affairs, in which persuasive appeal is weakened in some circumstances and attitudinal resistance is enhanced in others, can be easily illustrated by an example from the American presidential election of 2004. Political advertisements for George W. Bush strove either to strengthen the image of the candidate by communicating to Bush supporters a positive image of their candidate or to create a negative image of the counter-candidate, John Kerry. In the first instance voters could identify themselves as "Bush supporters," whereas in the latter case they became "Kerry opposers." In keeping with the negativity effect principle, one can assume that Bush

supporters, who are made to think of themselves as "pro-Bush" by the media, should be more vulnerable to attacks on their candidate than voters who are classified as "anti-Kerry" by the media. In their research, Bizer and Petty (2005) confirmed the operation of the negativity effect and underscored its vitality for creating attitudinal resistance in voters for a particular candidate. It must be noted, though, that a presentation of an image of the counter-candidate in the media that strengthens the negativity effect can be classified as a negative political advertisement.

The research described above helps explain the destructive power of negative advertisements aimed at political opponents. Focusing the cognitive processes of voters on thinking about the political opponent, as done in such advertisements, automatically triggers the negativity effect and inoculates voters against messages attacking the candidate they support. This is a sophisticated strategy that gives insight into the operation of negative political advertising.

Let us analyze the results of the research conducted by Kaid (1997) on the impact of negative comparative advertising. In 1996 she conducted experimental research on the perception of advertising spots that distorted the images of the candidates in the U.S. presidential contest between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole. Different groups of subjects watched either the original negative spots about Dole and Clinton where distorted pictures were used, or the same advertisements with the distortions completely removed.

Figure 4.5 presents the complete picture of how negative advertisements produced by Dole's campaign to distort Clinton's image influenced subjects' evaluation of the candidate and their intention to vote for him.

The results obtained by Kaid (1997) revealed an interesting phenomenon. In accordance with the logic of negative information, such information weakens the image of the attacked candidate and discourages people from voting for him. However, there is an additional effect brought about by this information. Negative advertising not only decreases the rival's chances but also increases the chances of the candidate whose campaign prepared the spots. This observation goes hand in hand with the findings of Faber, Tims, and Schmitt (1990) that negative ads are more likely to cause target-partisans to strengthen their support for the target candidate and to cause source-partisans to strengthen their support for the ad sponsor.

The observed result, in the form of the positive influence of negative political advertising on the image of the candidate who opposes the one presented in the advertisement, is a good illustration of the negativity effect described by Bizer and Petty (2005). The enhanced political image

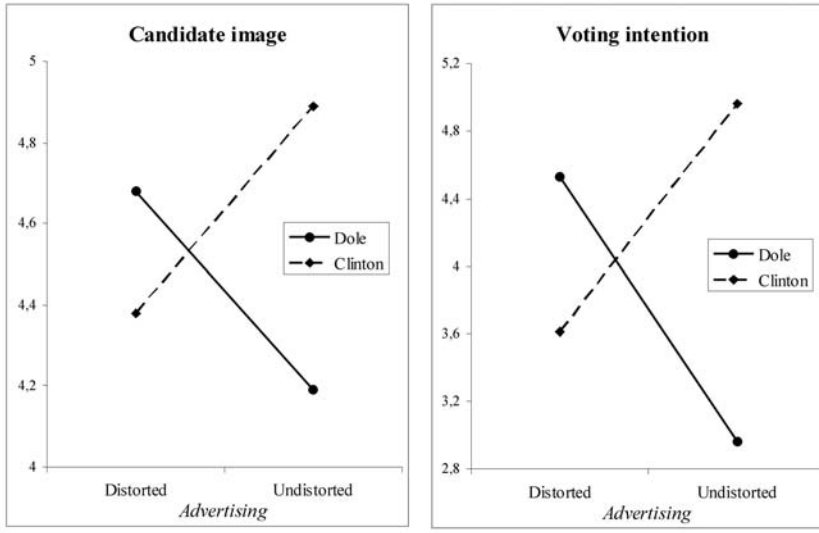

Figure 4.5 (Adapted from "Effects of television spots on images of Dole and Clinton" by L.L. Kaid, 1997, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40(8), pp. 1085–1094. Adapted by permission.)

leads to a greater resistance to attitude change toward the candidate one supports when voter attention is focused on the counter-candidate. The negative ads used by Kaid (1997) represent profiling the voters' thinking into the categories "anti-Clinton" and "anti-Dole."

Another famous advertisement is worth discussing here. It was entitled "Daisy Girl," and it represents a case of negative advertising meant to set voters' thinking into the "anti-Goldwater" category. The advertisement was used in the 1964 U.S. presidential campaign, in which Lyndon Johnson competed with Barry Goldwater. The advertisement was broadcast only once, but it turned out to be extremely effective in building support for Johnson (Diamond & Bates, 1992). In this case, the negativity effect was strongly enhanced by the fear of nuclear doom evoked in the spot. The reference to "fear appeal"—negative political advertising meant to arouse fear—substantially enhances the persuasive appeal of the negative message.

Stevens (2012) also conducted a comparative analysis of the impact of positive and negative political advertisements. He noted an asymmetric attention effect, by which he meant that negativity arouses emotions such as fear, anxiety, and anger. These emotions cause viewers to focus most of their attention on the negative bits of information presented in the advertisement.

Through his research on the perception of political advertising, Stevens demonstrated that the information content of negative ads motivates viewers to watch these advertisements more attentively. In the case of positive messages such emotions are not evoked, which weakens the messages' persuasive appeal.

In a similar vein, Craig (2009) observed that despite the conventional wisdom that negative campaigns discourage voters from participating in elections because such campaigns lower voters' sense of political efficacy, empirical research has proved that the reverse is true. It is negative campaigns that mobilize the electorate through the activation of certain psychological mechanisms during exposure to political advertisements attacking the political opponent (see also Geer & Lau, 2006; Goldstein & Freedman, 2002; Lau & Pomper, 2001). One of these mechanisms makes direct reference to the affective-motivational sphere. Attack arouses anxiety regarding the presented candidates. In this way, it increases the public interest in elections and in the content of the political messages proposed, and consequently it increases the probability of voting. The second mechanism pertains to the cognitive sphere. When voters realize that an election will be held very soon and that the political struggle is fierce, they become convinced that their vote can be politically decisive. In addition, these observations concerning the impact of negative political campaigns reveal the above-mentioned psychological process in which there is a relationship between a message's persuasive appeal and the negative affect it promotes.

Thus it comes as no surprise that negative ads are so frequently employed in the political market. As noted by Lau, Sigelman, and Rovner (2007), 83 percent and 89 percent of the ads sponsored in 2004 by the Democratic and Republican congressional campaign committees, respectively, were negative. The researchers from the Wisconsin Advertising Project (2008) found that during the week of September 28 to October 4 alone, nearly 100 percent of John McCain's campaign advertisements were negative, compared to 34 percent of Barack Obama's.

Political Marketing Model of Persuasion

As Zaller (1992, p. 6) states, "Every opinion is a marriage of information and predisposition: information to form a mental picture of the given issue, and predisposition to motivate some conclusion about it." Many citizens pay too little attention to public affairs to be able to respond critically to the political communications they encounter. Their understanding of the world of politics and their behavior are thus based on opinions and

cues coming from the mass media, political parties and candidates, and other people or organizations they trust.

In recent years, politicians have become more and more pragmatic and sensitive to voters' needs and the social atmosphere, and they have learned to put less emphasis on their own political views. It is the voters who decide whether a politician remains on the political stage or whether a new political star is born. Therefore, new and sophisticated methods of influencing voter behavior are created and used as part of the political marketing process (Cwalina et al., 2011; Newman, 1994).

A political marketing model of persuasion, presented in Figure 4.6, is a proposal that constitutes a merger of political marketing management with priming and framing effects. The model elaborates on the interrelationships between the particular stages of the political marketing process and these two persuasion strategies, as well as on the system of mutual dependencies that exists between these strategies.

The key elements of the political communication process include media content, the influence of political institutions and other political and social actors on the content of the messages, the specific audience, the interaction processes between sources of information, and the media disseminating information. The media agenda is the result of the work of media practitioners (e.g., owners of media corporations, editors, journalists, reporters), political actors, and events covered by the media (Negrine, 1994). Thus the relationship between the media and politicians is a bilateral one: politicians try to include their agenda (i.e., campaign platform) in the media, but to be successful, they must adapt to the content distributed by the media. Moreover, the content of a campaign platform is influenced by interest groups (e.g., lobbyists, labor unions, human rights groups, ecological movements). The most powerful way in which they exert influence is by supplying information about a constituent's case and the issues surrounding it on a regular basis to those within the decision process—actual or potential members of parliaments or governments (see Cwalina et al., 2011; Hindmoor, 2009).

In a political marketing campaign, message development also refers to distinguishing between particular groups of voters for whom an individualized and appropriate campaign platform will be designed. Voters have a set of predispositions (e.g., group attachments, beliefs and attitudes, values, partisan loyalties, incumbent evaluations), and they are charged with the task of matching those predispositions with a candidate or party. Voter segmentation is a process in which all voters are broken down into segments, or groupings, that the candidate then targets with a specific message. From the holistic perspective, the goal of the campaign is to reinforce

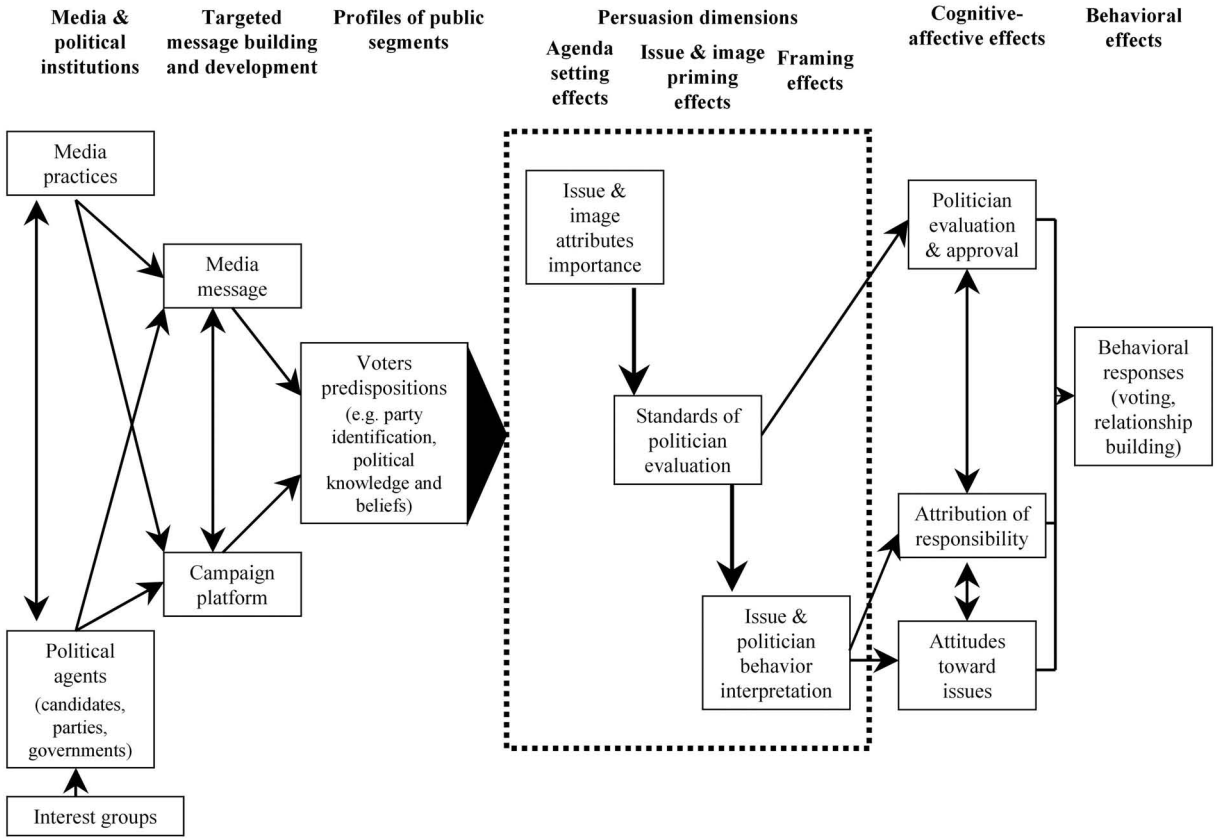

Figure 4.6 The political marketing model of persuasion

the decisions of supporters and persuade and win the support of those who are uncertain, those whose preferences are not crystallized, or those who hesitate about or have poor identification with a candidate or party that ideologically falls close to their beliefs.

Generally, the persuasion strategies used in political marketing rely on two main methods of influencing citizens: priming (with agenda setting) and framing. There are similarities and connections between agenda setting, priming, and framing, but they are not identical approaches (see Price & Tewksbury, 1997; Scheufele, 2000; Weaver, 2007). According to agenda-setting theory (so-called first-level agenda setting), the media influence public opinion by emphasizing certain issues over others. The amount of media attention, or the media salience, devoted to certain issues increases their accessibility and consequently influences the degree of public concern for these issues (McCombs, 2004). However, when the media present an object, they also tell something about the attributes of the object (so-called second-level agenda setting). According to McCombs (2004, p.70), each of the objects on the agenda "has numerous attributes, those characteristics and properties that fill out the picture of each object. Just as objects vary in salience, so do the attributes of each object." In other words, the attributes of the object emphasized by the news media affect the saliency of those attributes in the public mind.

According to Price and Tewksbury (1997):

> Agenda setting looks on story selection as a determinant of public perceptions of issue importance and, indirectly through priming, evaluations of political leaders. Framing focuses not on which topics or issues are selected for coverage by the news media, but instead on the particular ways those issues are presented. (p.184)

The primary difference between priming and framing is therefore the difference between *whether* we think about an issue and *how* we think about it. Furthermore, Domke and his collaborators (1998) asserted that, by highlighting some dimensions of issues while excluding other aspects, media framing of issue information seems likely to foster priming effects. In effect, framing issues (e.g., abortion, euthanasia) in a manner that focuses on their moral or ethical dimensions can prime some voters (e.g., evangelical Christians) to: (1) make attributions about candidate character, particularly integrity; and/or (2) evaluate other political issues (e.g., health care) in ethical terms. The frame of a priming message, coupled with its degree of resonance with an individual's preexisting schema, determine the extent to which a message primes subsequent judgments (Hwang,

Gotlieb, Nah, & McLeod, 2007). This implies that when audience members do not have a construct available to them in memory and the construct is not provided in a news story, a frame that applies the construct in a message will not be effective (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

Viewed from this perspective, framing is a stage that follows priming in persuasion message development (see Allen et al., 1994). In the case of primed issues, framing specifies the way in which the messages are to be interpreted. In the case of primed images, framing most often leads to the justification of the evaluation of a politician and/or to the definition of the politician's responsibility for particular, important political events.

The assumed result of political persuasion through priming and framing is: (1) changing and/or establishing standards that people use to make evaluations of candidates, parties, and governments; (2) suggesting the justification for these evaluations by determining the causal relationship between them and the factors accountable for their occurrence (attributions of causal versus treatment responsibility; Iyengar, 1991); and (3) shaping particular attitudes toward political issues. Evoking the desired behavior is the further and main anticipated consequence of political persuasion. The goal is for citizens to support a given candidate or a party; approve of the government's or the president's job and support particular political actions (e.g., implementing reforms or engaging in a military intervention abroad); and ultimately develop a stable relationship, built on trust, with a politician.

Politics is about persuasion, and political marketing largely relies on rational planning and developing persuasive strategies, predominantly based on psychological knowledge and principles, to shape people's beliefs, attitudes, and behavior (Cwalina & Falkowski, 2000). On the one hand, contemporary political marketing penetrates politics to a larger and larger extent —a phenomenon which Moloney (2007) calls "policy-by-marketing." It is criticized from an ethical standpoint as undermining democracy because of its ability to promote populism and to manipulate and mislead voters. It contributes to the misperception of political processes and the ease with which solutions can be traded and implemented. Political marketing subjects politics to the consumer-like forces of business management and the market (see Cwalina et al., 2011).

On the other hand, political marketing has a positive influence on the stability and development of democracy, as well. O'Shaughnessy (1987) points out that, at least to some extent, it can support the growth of an issue-oriented "political nation," distinguished from the older base of political support by greater commitment to narrower issues and the possession of detailed and intimate information. Furthermore, political marketing contributes to filtering down the knowledge of a variety of marketing tools and

techniques and a transfusion of power from elected to non-elected officials, including staffers and civil servants. Political marketing and political persuasion may be used for various purposes, and are not in and of themselves a threat to democracy. The real threat is in the intentions of the people who decide to use these tools.

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Impact of Word of Mouth and the Facilitative Effects of Social Media

Michael A. Kamins

Introduction

In his 1850 novel titled *White Jacket*, Herman Melville described a scene in which hundreds of sailors, servants, and cooks from all parts of the ship gathered during the day and night to get their share of water from a source identified as the "scuttlebutt." The process of taking a large cask ("butt") and putting a hole in it (known as "scuttling") enabled fresh water to be withdrawn for immediate consumption on a seafaring voyage. Indeed, the presence of a scuttlebutt also provided sailors a place to meet and share information, facilitating the process of word of mouth (WOM) throughout the ship. The analogy in today's world would be the "water-cooler effect" (DiFonzo, 2008). At the scuttlebutt, all sorts of information could be exchanged, including opinions about the captain, updates about the sailing plan, rumors about who was and wasn't in the captain's favor, and of course, plans for mutiny. As sailors exchanged gossip when they gathered at the scuttlebutt for a drink of water, the term took on a new meaning, becoming the navy's slang for gossip or rumor.

While WOM would seemingly be characterized as a recently discovered phenomenon, because of its impact in today's Internet- and social media–driven world, it is better characterized as a rediscovered phenomenon that has had a dramatic influence on what people know, feel, and do for almost as long as human history has been documented. Consider Aristotle's

three-volume thesis, *Rhetoric*, which was written almost 2,500 years ago and can be characterized as one of the first major theses focused on interpersonal influence and persuasion from a social perspective. In it, Aristotle focused on three means of persuasion on which an orator must rely: one grounded in credibility (ethos), one grounded in the emotions and psychology of the audience (pathos), and one grounded in patterns of reasoning (logos). Ethos is present in what the speaker communicates through his or her personal character and is perceived by the audience as having content representative of substance and credibility. Pathos represents the persuasion of audiences through the use of emotion. It works most effectively when the audience identifies with these emotions and thus accepts the ideas, propositions, or calls to action presented in the communication. Finally, logos represents the art of persuasion through the use of both deductive and inductive reasoning (Buttle, 1998). In today's world, it is evident that some elements of ethos, pathos, and/or logos must be present for a communication to serve as an effective source of influence. Indeed, WOM is typically distinguished from other informational sources such as advertising and promotion based on two important criteria. First, it is usually perceived as more credible and trustworthy because the source of the information may be known and is presumably unbiased; second, it is more readily available and accessible through social networks (Brown & Reingen, 1987; Murray, 1991). Both of these characteristics serve to make WOM an effective conduit through which information is communicated.

Definition of Word of Mouth and Early Word-of-Mouth Research

WOM has been described in the literature as one of the world's most effective, yet least understood, marketing strategies (Misner, 1999). As noted by Trusov, Bucklin, and Pauwels (2009, p. 90), "marketers are particularly interested in better understanding WOM because traditional forms of communication appear to be losing effectiveness." Indeed, a recent Adweek Media/Harris poll (Dolliver, 2010) found that more than 90 percent of Americans admit that they ignore some ads, with the largest segment (43 percent) ignoring Internet banner advertisements, undoubtedly because advertising is so ubiquitous today.

Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955), seminal researchers on interpersonal communication, defined WOM as the act of exchanging marketing information among consumers, which plays an essential role in changing consumer attitudes and behavior toward products and services. Arndt (1967), one of the first researchers to investigate the influence of WOM on consumer behavior, characterized WOM as "oral, person to person

communication between a receiver and a communicator whom the receiver perceives as non-commercial regarding a brand, product or service" (p. 291). From the perspective of Dichter (1966), for WOM to occur two parties must be engaged and motivated: the speaker (communicator) and the listener (receiver). What motivates the speaker to engage in WOM is different from that which motivates the listener. For the former, such factors include the speaker's personality (e.g., self-confidence), goals of the communication (Balasubramanian & Mahajan, 2001; Lawther 1978), and involvement with the product and the purchase decision (Day & Landon, 1977; Richins, 1983), as well as situational factors such as one's degree of dissatisfaction with the product purchase or experience (Lau & Ng, 2001). From the perspective of the listener, motivation to engage in WOM includes the perception of source credibility (Dichter, 1966; Herr, Kardes, & Kim, 1991), perceived strength of connection or the "ties" between communicator and receiver (Brown & Reingen, 1987; Granovetter, 1973), and the degree of perceived risk (Arndt, 1967).

Early research showing the effectiveness of WOM was undertaken by Whyte (1954), who examined the diffusion of air conditioners in a relatively demographically homogeneous neighborhood. Whyte found certain blocks where use of air conditioners was widely prevalent and others where it was sparse. He concluded anecdotally that the pattern of use could be best explained by the presence of a vast and powerful network of neighbors exchanging product information with each other. The interpersonal influence pattern seemed to flow within a given block rather than across the street, implying friendship patterns of children and mothers (Brooks, 1957, p. 154). A year later, Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) reported that WOM was the most important source of marketing influence in the purchase of food products and household goods. Using brand-switching behavior as their dependent variable, the authors found that the impact of WOM was seven times as effective as newspapers and magazines, four times as effective as personal selling, and twice as effective as radio advertising. Almost 40 years later, Herr, Kardes, and Kim (1991) replicated this finding, showing that WOM's impact upon consumer judgment in the form of brand evaluation was significantly greater than that of *Consumer Reports*. Indeed, Brooks (1957) was so bold as to state that the adoption of hybrid seed corn (made so famous in the 1962 book *Diffusion of Innovation* by Everett Rodgers) may not have seen "the superimposition of the snowball effect upon what would otherwise have been a fairly stable adoption pattern, if the interpersonal network were not in operation, and may well account for the shape of the curve of 'innovation'" (p. 155). Other early research showed that WOM was used as an important source for brand

adoption, whether in the case of the selection of auto service stations (Engel, Kegerris, & Blackwell, 1969), or in the diffusion of computers in clinical practice (Spencer, 1965) and among piano teachers (Brown & Reingen, 1987).

Today's "eWOM"

The importance of WOM has been recognized by marketers and sociologists since the mid-1950s. More recently, with the increase in the influence of the Internet, the impact and nature of WOM in marketing has changed. Today, WOM need not be face to face, direct, oral, or even ephemeral (Buttle, 1998), and with the growth of what has been referred to as "social media marketing," "viral marketing," "buzz," and "guerilla marketing," we have seen the birth of "word-of-mouth marketing" (WOMM), more fondly called "word of mouse" or "eWOM" (Goldenberg, Libai, & Muller, 2001; Kozinets, de Valck, Wojnicki, & Wilner, 2010). eWOM has been defined as "any positive or negative statement made by potential, actual or former customers about a product or company, which is made available to a multitude of people and institutions via the internet" (Hennig-Thurau, Gwinner, Walsh, & Gremler, 2004).

Social media has exploded as a category of online exchange and communication where people create content, share it, bookmark it, and network it, all at lightning speed (Asur & Huberman, 2010). Examples of such social media include online WOM forums such as blogs, company-sponsored discussion boards, and chat rooms; consumer-to-consumer email; consumer product or service ratings websites and forums; Internet discussion boards and forums; "moblogs" (sites containing digital audio, images, movies, or photographs); and social networking sites such as Digg, Facebook, MySpace, Tumblr, and Twitter. Whereas an early perspective on WOM communication focused on how one consumer communicated with another or with a group, in today's social-media dominated world, a given consumer can communicate with millions in a relatively short period of time, resulting in instant fame or shame for an individual or company—as an example, the case of Oscar Pistorius comes to mind. This recent change in the nature and "speed of spread" of information on the Internet through social media has had dramatic implications on the traditional view of the underlying factors that facilitate effective information exchange. Such changes require the marketer to turn the traditional theory of how information diffuses through a population on its head. We will discuss this important issue in the next section of the chapter.

Evolution of the Theory of WOM

The organic inter-consumer influence model. Kozinets and colleagues (2010) described the earliest and simplest understanding of consumer WOM as a model of "organic inter-consumer influence." This framework assumes that conversations among consumers regarding product and brand-related marketing messages and meanings hold more sway than marketing communications in influencing the rate of adoption of a product or service. The authors described the framework as "organic" because it is assumed that the interaction between consumers occurs as a natural consequence and without direct prompting or any other kind of influence or measurement by marketers. That is, when marketers innovate and communicate information to consumers, it is assumed that some consumers value the information enough to convey it to others. But why would consumers have such a motivation in the first place? Hennig-Thurau and colleagues (2004) maintained that some consumers gain benefits in the form of "focus-related utility" from such interactions (among other utilities). Such a focus-related utility reflects the benefit the consumer receives when adding value to others through his or her contributions, and it is related to Dichter's (1966) notion of "other-involvement" as a motivator of information dissemination. This utility is based upon the assumption that "adding value" to others is an important goal for the individual. Personal motives that have been linked to focus-related utility include concern for other consumers and helping the company. Concern for other consumers is closely related to the personality characteristic of altruism (Price, Feick, & Guskey, 1995), whereas helping the company as a motive can be seen as a "payback" to the company for having had such a positive experience. Focus-related utility is also seen as the basis for some individuals who have the desire to spread information about products or companies through social media. In this context, affiliation with a virtual community can provide a source of social integration and identification; likewise, it can allow a consumer to exert or express collective power over a specific company through the conveyance of the valence of information. Indeed, negative consumer comments can influence the way a company and its image are perceived. For example, Canadian musician Dave Carroll and his band, Sons of Maxwell, wrote a song about a real-life experience when his guitar was broken during a trip on United Airlines in 2008 and the subsequent reaction from the airline. The song became an immediate hit on YouTube and iTunes upon its release in July 2009 and a public relations embarrassment for the airline.

The linear marketer influence model. Over time, as the understanding of the processes of WOM has matured, an emphasis has been placed on the importance of particularly influential consumers in the WOM process (Feick & Price, 1987; King & Summers, 1976). Hence, it was in marketers' best interests to identify and attempt to influence these opinion leaders and marketing mavens by exposing them to marketing tools such as advertisements and promotions, so that they in turn could convey this information to consumers. This process was known as the "Two-Step Flow" hypothesis, where marketer-controlled communication flowed to opinion leaders, who in turn communicated it through WOM to their peers (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955). It operated in the broader framework as the conduit for the flow of WOM identified as the "Linear Marketer Influence Model" (Kozinets et al., 2010) because this model assumes that information flows linearly from corporation to opinion leader to consumer.

However, this approach is not without its criticism. First, opinion leaders appear to be limited to specific areas and to related products because their influence may not extend across diverse product categories (King & Summers, 1970). Second, the communication between opinion leaders and followers may not be one-way; that is, followers may request or transmit information from opinion leaders and vice versa.[1] Finally, the opinion leader is not alone in receiving information from the mass media; followers are, of course, influenced by advertising and promotion (Assael, 2003).

The network co-production model. WOM communication has been characterized as evolving into what Kozinets and colleagues (2010) have described as the "Network Co-Production Model." The authors have argued that although this model coincides with the development and recognition of the Internet, it is not limited to this domain. Indeed, the Internet seems tailor-made for the elements that characterize the process by which this model of WOM works. Beginning in the 1980s, marketers began to focus on how WOM that occurs in small groups or dyads (a microperspective) begins to accumulate more broadly to form large-scale patterns in the diffusion of information (a macroperspective). Research began to address the issue of delineating the process by which WOM begins. More important, researchers tried to identify the causes that trigger WOM to spread through a population. Finally, they looked for factors that might facilitate its spread. Clearly WOM is a social phenomenon, so properties of social relations might potentially play a crucial role in WOM interactions at both the micro and macro levels.

The marketing discipline has evolved from one with its roots in the "transaction" to one that is based upon relationships (Vargo & Lusch, 2004), whether it be retailer and supplier, distributor and manufacturer,

company to consumer, or consumer to consumer. Underpinning this transactional perspective is the need to understand how information is exchanged between individuals in a network. The key to how information diffuses through a given population was revealed by two seminal papers appearing in the literature within nine months of each other and with virtually the same title: "The Strength of Weak Ties" (Granovetter, 1973) and "The Strength in Weak Ties" (Liu & Duff, 1972). These papers provide a theoretical foundation to explain how micro-level interactions affect macrolevel phenomena by examining interpersonal "tie" strength defined as "the potency of the bond between members of a network" (Mittal, Huppertz, & Khare, 2008). Granovetter (1973) argued that the "strength" of an interpersonal tie is a function of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services that characterize the relationship. "Weak ties" are characterized by relationships that are tenuous or even random; such individuals, if known, are known only in passing. Conversely, "strong ties" represent the individual's personal networks, including family, friends, and co-workers. The premise of these papers was that while one might expect that communication would flow more easily between individuals who share similar attitudes and beliefs, such communication may be largely redundant because it presumably does not introduce any new information into the system (Liu & Duff, 1972). Both authors hypothesized that for the diffusion of new information to take place, some "heterophilous" relationships must exist; that is, the tie between communicators had to be weak. In other words, for an idea to flow completely through a given population, it must challenge the tendency for it to be contained within a specific subnetwork or group. This can only happen if it encounters an entity that has ties with distant networks or weak ties with the group. As Liu and Duff (1972) explained:

> Homophilous communication has structural limitations to diffusion, so that information tends to re-circulate among those who already possess the same information. Heterophilous communication, seemingly facilitated by the weak ties of neighborliness between some members of different socioeconomic classes, allows new ideas to enter the network of homophilous relationships, where such ideas and information were hitherto unavailable. (p. 366)

Today's social media, including Tumblr, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, YouTube, and the like, facilitate the prevalence of weak ties between individuals because people in all walks of life can interact with each other in these venues, sharing stories, experiences, information, and beliefs.

Without such social media, these interactions would not occur as quickly and might not happen at all. Next, we will focus on research that addresses the impact of weak and strong ties in actual marketing scenarios.

Social Media and the Strength of Weak Ties

Many writers in business and in academia have weighed in on the importance of weak ties as a facilitator in the spread of WOM over the Internet. For example, Watts and Dodds (2007) argued that despite a wealth of studies documenting the effect of opinion leaders and other influencers on the spread of WOM, "such individuals are only modestly more important than average individuals" (p. 442). Using a series of formal models of diffusion based on a mathematical representation of the social science literature, the authors found that "it is generally the case that most social change is driven not by influentials but by easily influenced individuals influencing other easily influenced individuals" (p. 442). In their book on WOM entitled *Grapevine*, Balter and Butman (2005, p. 7) added that "Word-of-mouth is NOT about identifying a small sub-group of highly influential or well-connected people to talk up a product or service. It's not about mavens or bees or celebrities or people with special knowledge. It's about everybody." Indeed, the traditional view of the opinion leader is one who disseminates information to others, but on the web, and particularly in social media, the identification of the participant as an opinion seeker, opinion giver, or opinion passer is blurred, and one's role in the playbook may become unclear (Chu & Kim, 2011).

More than 25 years ago, Brown and Reingen (1987) found general support for the influence of the two different types of WOM ties identified by Granovetter (1973) and Liu and Duff (1972), but they found different roles as a function of tie strength. Weak ties were found to provide an important bridging (or macro) function, allowing information to travel from one distinct subgroup of referral actors to another in the broader social system. Strong ties provided a micro function as a referral source, and they were more likely to be utilized as sources of information for related goods. Duhan, Johnson, Wilcox, and Harrell (1997) also found general support for the impact of weak and strong ties in WOM recommendation sources, reporting the mediating effect of participant product knowledge as dictating whether or not strong or weak ties would be consulted. Those who perceived great difficulty in the decision task were more likely to consult strong tie resources for advice.

Trusov, Bodapati, and Bucklin (2010, p. 643) noted that the success of an Internet social networking site is contingent upon the number and

activity levels of its user members. According to their field research, done by accessing an unnamed social networking site, approximately 22 percent of the typical user's friends were significant influencers of the user's behavior. Data from Statistica.com reveals that in 2012 the average Facebook user had 262 friends, and that number rose to 429 if the individual was between 18 and 24 years of age. Calculating 22 percent of the former number reveals that, on average, the typical Facebook user's behavior is influenced by 58 people, and for those in the 18–24 age group that number rises to 95 and does not even take into account the influence that friends of friends have on consumer behavior. Clearly, the average person cannot even hope to claim having 58 *close* friends, suggesting of course that the effect of weak ties is alive and well on social networking websites.

The question remains, though: How can the marketer effectively utilize social media so that one's unique selling proposition can be actively embraced by members of the site, and how can it be spread at a faster and broader degree to relevant members of one's target market? We turn to this issue next.

Effectively Conducting WOM via Social Media

One can assume that the success of a given Internet social networking site (SNS) is a function of size and activity levels of the current user base. A survey conducted in December 2012 by the Pew Internet and American Life Project revealed that more than 92 percent of online users between 18 and 29 years of age use social networking sites, and the usage rate is 69 percent across all age groups who are online users (Duggan & Brenner 2013). By far the highest usage is found for Facebook (66 percent) followed by LinkedIn (20 percent) and Twitter (16 percent). Only two years ago, MySpace was second to Facebook in usage (48 percent in 2010), and Tumblr, which is currently used by 5 percent of Internet users, was not even on the map. These numbers show how quickly the landscape changes in Internet social networking and how important it is for marketers to adapt their SNS strategies.

BIA/Kelsey (2012) reported that U.S. social media advertising spending reached 4.6 billion dollars in 2012 and is expected to grow at a 19.2 percent clip annually through 2016. SNS sites allow consumers to interact with companies by explicitly becoming friends or fans. These sites also facilitate WOM activities because users' social networks are readily available on these sites, and such networks may therefore be perceived by the marketer as more credible and trustworthy.

Four factors have been identified in the literature as affecting WOM behavior within the context of social networks. These include tie strength

(as discussed earlier), homophily (Gilly, Graham, Wolfinbarger, & Yale, 1998), trust (Nisbet, 2006), and interpersonal influence (Bearden, Netemeyer, & Teel, 1989). Homophily refers to the degree that interacting individuals are congruent or similar in certain characteristics, attitudes, or behaviors (Rogers & Bhowmik, 1970). It can be argued that the greater the perceived similarity between participants on a website, the more likely they are to engage in WOM with each other when making product choices and purchase decisions (Chu & Kim, 2011). The same can be said for the strength of the tie, which arguably is directly related to homophily (Brown, Broderick, & Lee 2007). That is, one would naturally feel closer to a person who shares similar personal and attitudinal characteristics and would therefore be motivated to share information with that person. The presence of close ties, as we have seen, does not in and of itself guarantee that WOM will spread, because weak ties are required in the network to accomplish this objective. Trust, defined in this context as "a willingness to rely on an exchange partner in whom one has confidence" (Moorman, Deshpande, & Zaltman, 1993), should also be positively related to engagement in WOM behaviors. Indeed, the term "friend," meaning someone who is part of your social network on Facebook, suggests an underlying foundation of trust.

Finally, two dimensions of interpersonal influence have been identified in the marketing literature: normative and informational (Bearden et al., 1989). Normative influence represents the need to conform in order to be liked and accepted by others. Informational influence is a phenomenon where people accept information from knowledgeable others in the form of store, product, and brand choice in an attempt to reflect correct behavior for a given situation (i.e., "be like Mike"). In a test of these four factors as drivers of WOM behavior on a social network site, Chu and Kim (2011) found that susceptibility to both normative and informational influence was positively related to WOM behavior on social network sites, as was trust. However, homophily was found to be negatively related to the engagement in WOM, and tie strength was limited in its effect, affecting opinion seeking and passing but not giving.

The findings related to tie strength and homophily are not surprising. In our previous discussion, we observed that strong ties, while important as source authorities for information, may actually restrict information dissemination to those in the group. We also noted that weak tie members be present for dissemination to a broader group. The implications of the results suggest that marketers should attempt to build trust in their presentations to others and emphasize various eWOM communication motives that tie into normative and informational influence. We discuss this topic next.

Building Trust and Providing Communication Motives in Social Media

There is evidence in the literature that consumers behave as if websites themselves are the "primary" actors in online social networks, and that online communities can act as social proxies for individual identification (Brown, Broderick, & Lee 2007). Therefore, one can argue that the stronger the match between an individual's interests and those presented by the website, the stronger the tie between the website and the user. That is, if the respondent's involvement with the website can be increased through site usage, then usage has been found to drive site homophily, which drives site tie strength (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987) and ultimately the perceived credibility of the information presented on the site, as well as its informational value. Brown, Broderick, and Lee (2007) argued, "To generate a sense of group mind set and shared interests, online brand communities should include a wide range of interests that have a direct, but non-intrusive, connection with the brand" (p. 15). Fournier and Lee (2009) presented an in-depth case study of a successful, effective brand community developed by Harley Davidson.

Recently, Awad and Ragowsky (2008) developed a model examining how trust is developed in online websites that allow customers to post perceptions and ratings of products offered for sale, as well as to communicate with each other. The authors found, in general, that WOM "quality" affects online trust and ultimately one's intention to shop online at a given retailer. Interestingly, though, perceived WOM quality was found to differ significantly as a function of gender. For men, it was found to be driven by their ability to post information that could be shared by others. This represents what was termed in the literature to be a focus-related utility motivation (Balasubramanian & Mahajan, 2001). Focus-related utility is the utility the consumer receives when adding value to the web-based community through his or her contributions. For women, perceived WOM quality was found to be a function of the responsiveness of other consumers to their contributions and the interactions they had with such consumers, all the while discounting the value of posting information. This behavior is closely related to what is termed "consumption utility," which refers to consumers obtaining value through "direct consumption of the contribution of other community constituents" (Balasubramanian & Mahajan, 2001, p. 125). In addition, the behavior of posting to see the responses of others is linked to the motivation of "approval utility," where the consumer gains satisfaction "when other constituents consume and approve of the constituent's own contributions" (Balasubramanian & Mahajan, 2001, p. 126).

Trust was found to play a more significant role in intention to shop online for women than for men. This can be explained by the fact that trust has been shown to be related to the degree to which a person depends upon other people (Deutsch, 1958; Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998). As women are typically characterized as being more concerned with how others react to and utilize their opinions—whereas men simply want to express their opinions—it seems reasonable to find that trust is more fundamental as a precursor to shopping behavior for women than for men. The managerial implication suggested by these findings is that website activity in the form of posting comments or product perceptions, as well as encouraging responses to these comments, engages men and women respectively, which not only enhances WOM quality (Brown, Broderick, & Lee 2007) but also positively affects site homophily and site tie strength (Awad & Ragowsky, 2008). This leads to an increased perception of credibility for the website and also increases online trust, ultimately affecting the intention to purchase.

Finally, Kozinets, deValck, Wojnicki, and Wilner (2010) maintained that marketing messages placed in social media are systematically altered by the very process of embedding them. The authors argued that the following criteria must be addressed if an embedded marketing message is to be effective: (a) consistency with the character narrative of the social media (e.g., helpfulness narrative, professional narrative, communal narrative), (b) consistency with the communications forum (e.g., blog, social networking site, etcetera), and (c) fit with the community's norms as they relate to the message objectives. If one gains congruency with these factors, then the marketing message is said to gain greater acceptance and be more effective.

The Impact of Negative WOM

Negative WOM is defined as an interpersonal communication between two interested parties concerning a marketing organization or product that denigrates the object of the communication (Weinberger, Allen, & Dillon, 1981). While it is well established that negative information typically has more impact than positive information on consumer judgment (Skowronski & Carlston, 1989), this finding may not extend to the study of the relative impact of positive versus negative WOM, particularly when related to brand choice in familiar categories, or even in more general investigations of the effect (Adjei, Noble, & Noble, 2010; Asur & Huberman, 2010; East, Hammond, & Lomax 2008; Liu, 2006).

There are many studies that show how the presence of mediating factors, such as accessibility, diagnosticity, and/or the nature of one's

attribution about the cause of the negativity, serve to attenuate the impact of negative WOM. For example, Herr, Kardes, and Kim (1991) showed that an established prior memory of the brand and/or the presence of extremely negative attribute information reduces or attenuates the impact of negative WOM. In addition, when negative WOM is attributed to the communicator (and not the brand), consumers tend not to decrease their evaluation of the brand (Laczniak, DeCarlo, & Ramaswami, 2001). The latter authors argued that these findings fit in nicely with those of Herr, Kardes, and Kim (1991) because communicator-based attribution is presumably perceived as nondiagnostic by the consumer.

One can gain an understanding of why the common perception among practitioners and academics is that negative WOM has significantly greater impact than positive WOM. First, WOM information is "vivid" in the sense that it is communicated face-to-face and, as defined by the *American Heritage Dictionary* (1975), such information is "heard, seen or felt as if it were real." Second, negative information conveyed about a company or product by others is diagnostic, in the sense that it is typically rarer than positive information, and thus helps the consumer discriminate between alternative hypotheses, interpretations, or categorizations (Herr, Kardes, and Kim, 1991).

In an attempt to examine the underlying processes that regulate the effect of positive versus negative information, Ahluwalia (2002) examined consumers' written responses to familiar versus unfamiliar brands when given information varying in valence about the brand. When the brand was unfamiliar to the subject, the negative information elicited more supporting arguments and was perceived to have more diagnosticity and weight. Under the familiar brand condition, there was no significant difference in the impact of positive versus negative information in terms of either weight or diagnosticity. Hence, consistent with the findings of Herr, Kardes, and Kim (1991), Ahluwalia (2002) found that brand familiarity mediated the impact of the diagnosticity of negative information on brand evaluation. She further argued that for known brands, positive information may potentially be perceived to be more diagnostic than negative information. Indeed if the weight of WOM being communicated in the field is linked to known versus unknown brands, then the dearth of significant effects for the impact of negative WOM is more easily understood.

Researchers have taken particular interest in the effect of social media on predicting movie box office success as a function of information valence versus quantity. For example, Asur and Huberman (2010) examined the degree and polarity of "tweets" on movie sales, findings that the rate of tweets was far more predictive than the polarity of the tweets. The findings

of this paper replicated those observed by Liu (2006) four years earlier using WOM generated from Yahoo! movie sites. Finally, Duan, Gu, and Whinston (2008) developed a dynamic simultaneous equation system that showed that a movie's box office revenue and WOM valence both significantly influence WOM volume. In turn, WOM volume leads to higher box office performance. Essentially, WOM serves as a feedback mechanism that both generates and sustains retail sales.

An important finding that may clarify the lack of strong support for the impact of negative information in WOM dissemination is evident in the research of Goldenberg, Libai, and Muller (2001). If it is true, as Ahluwalia (2002) observed, that the degree of brand familiarity regulates the impact of negative WOM, then the point at which the effect of advertising and promotion serves to educate the consumer about the brand is critical in regulating the ultimate effect of WOM. Through the use of mathematical modeling (i.e., stochastic cellular automata), Goldenberg, Libai, and Muller showed that the major role of marketing efforts (e.g., advertising and promotion) occurs in the initial stages of the diffusion process. They found that when 16 percent of the market was informed about a new product, the impact of marketing efforts began to decline in relation to WOM. When information dissemination reached half of the target population, the impact of marketing efforts diminished further, to one-third and one-quarter the impact of WOM activities through strong and weak ties, respectively. This finding suggests that in a new product category, knowledge about the product spreads rather quickly, and the window where a given individual knows little about the product (and is therefore susceptible to negative WOM) is not wide open.

WOM as a Conduit for Rumor

WOM serves as the conduit through which rumor spreads through the population. Interestingly, Kamins, Folkes, and Perner (1997) showed that consumers are significantly more negative about their beliefs and opinions about rumor than they are about WOM. When asked how important and credible a specific informational source was as a provider of product information in relation to rumor, individuals rated WOM as significantly more credible and significantly more important. In fact, WOM was rated as being equally as credible and equally as important as "published sources," whereas WOM was rated as being less credible and less important than advertising. In simple terms, for the business world, the term "rumor" is viewed unfavorably, yet if the same information is framed simply as WOM, it gains instant recognition and importance. Einwiller and Kamins (2008)

suggested that the poor reputation of rumor as an informational source could be traced to the definition of the construct as proposed by Allport and Postman (1947). These authors defined rumor as "a specific (or topical) proposition for belief, passed along from person to person, usually by word of mouth, without secure standards of evidence being present" (p. ix). The lack of secure standards of evidence serves to weaken the foundation of the information contained in the rumor. For marketers, the 1999 study by Kamins and colleagues provides a tool to use to diffuse the rumor, simply by framing it as a rumor.

The important question to ask, then, is: How does one frame information as rumor in today's social networking–addicted world, where communication occurs at light speed? Kane, Fichman, Gallaugher, and Glaser (2009) provided an answer in their *Harvard Business Review* paper. These authors maintained that with the rise of real-time social media 2.0, the rules of engagement regarding community outreach have changed. They outlined the need for companies to develop dedicated social media teams to manage the environment of online communities. They argued that the team has to create ways to defend against threats as well as find "constructive ways to engage." However, it is critical that the team be well versed in the most effective way to counter the threat. As a case in point, Starbucks recently used Twitter as well as its own website (through Starbucks' Newsroom) to refute rumors that the company took political positions in the Middle East. But in the process of refuting the rumor, Starbucks mentioned it, thereby making it visible to many customers who may not have heard it in the first place. Indeed, rumor has an impact; not necessarily because it is believed, but rather because it is processed (Tybout, Calder, & Sternthal, 1981). Hence, the lesson learned here is that to counter a rumor effectively in any media environment—and particularly in social media, where the lead time to react to negative information is minimal—it is necessary to use tactics other than refutation, such as storage or retrieval strategies.[2]

The Impact of WOM on Marketing Strategy Using Social Media

There have been many studies reported in the marketing literature that have attempted to investigate the link between WOM and company sales. Some of these studies were based in field research and others in experimentation and survey research. In general, a strong link has been established between participation in social media and company sales. As an example, Adjei, Noble, and Noble (2010) conducted an experiment where they manipulated the quality of commercial communication content in an

online brand community (OBC) and found that the quality of the communication exchanged between consumers reduced the level of uncertainty about the firm and its products, which ultimately resulted in a more positive attitude toward the firm and a greater intention to purchase its products (both in terms of frequency and variety). Using a simulation, Xiang and Gretzel (2010) found that in the travel area, search engines direct potential travelers to social media sites to collect information about travel destinations. Many of these sites contain documentation of user experiences (e.g., Tripadvisor.com, igougo.com) and are a strong source of WOM, serving to influence the traveler's choice of destination.

Because companies can effectively "seed" social media sites (Kozinets et al., 2010) by placing information about the product among influential consumers so that they can communicate about it to other consumers (Balter & Butman, 2005), the use of Web 2.0 applications (i.e., interactive web sites) is clearly the trend of promotion for the future (Thackeray, Neiger, Hanson, & McKenzie, 2008). The use of Web 2.0 social media allows innovative marketers to engage their customers in the creative process through interaction with other people, both like-minded and not. In this context, the consumer is able to become the creator or co-creator of marketing content through active participation instead of inactive reception. Although one could argue that companies should be careful in how they choose to participate in social media so as not to be seen as shills—or worse (see Kozinets et al., 2010)—their absence only allows for the message to be completely controlled by the customer base, and this is one form of uncertainty that seemingly should be regulated.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that social media serves to amplify the impact of word-of-mouth communication between consumers by providing a quick and extensive network through which consumers can communicate with each other and with companies. All indications are that this trend will continue into the future as social media becomes an even more important part of companies' promotional strategies. Given management's general lack of control regarding what is said in public forums, it is important to learn strategic approaches that can influence and shape such discussions (Mangold & Faulds, 2009). A few of these approaches follow in detail.

First, it is important for organizations to develop networking platforms that are designed to create communities of like-minded individuals through forums or blogs. According to Makovsky (2012), businesses are now in the minority if they do not blog, with 65 percent of businesses

reporting that they blog (HubSpot.com, 2011). Indeed, the average budget spent on company blogs has almost doubled from 2009 to 2011, with 27 percent of companies indicating that their company blog was "critical" to the success of their business (Makovsky 2012). Such blogs benefit organizations in many ways—by increasing awareness, building credibility and trust, gaining feedback used for product improvement (i.e., listening to the customer), and defending the company against criticisms and potential rumors.

Mangold and Faulds (2009) provided two additional strategies designed to enhance positive WOM about a company as spread through social media. First, they suggested that companies support causes that are important to consumers. This strategy is closely linked to what Brown and Dacin (1997) described as corporate social responsibility (CSR). The concept is that some segment of customers may be emotionally linked to such causes, either for physical (e.g., medical) or attitudinal reasons. The argument proposed was that emotionally charged messages involving feelings such as pleasure and arousal are more likely to spread through the population than messages without these characteristics (see Ladhari, 2007). Second, Mangold and Faulds (2009) maintained that a company should present its constituency with stories about the company, such as how the company was founded or its history over the years. Such information has the potential to create vivid memories, which are then more likely to be spread through traditional WOM and social media. In essence, WOM makes an impact because it is communicated in a vivid fashion, and the more vivid the information that is communicated, the greater its propensity to be spread by WOM (Magnini, 2011).

Notes

1. The only exception might be Oprah Winfrey.
2. A storage strategy requires introducing a second object associated with the rumor (one that is more favorable to rumor recipients) at the time the rumor is spread. A retrieval strategy redirects thoughts in memory away from rumor-stimulated associations to more favorable associations affiliated with the rumor object.

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CHAPTER SIX

Social Marketing as Social Control

James J. Chriss

Beginning in the late 1960s, marketing professor Philip Kotler, along with various colleagues, starting talking and writing about marketing in a new way. This new thing Kotler was talking about was broadening the concept of marketing—that is, taking it beyond the business or firm settings in which it had traditionally been located (Kotler & Levy, 1969). Traditionally, marketing was simply a strategy for helping business firms convince potential customers to purchase or use their products. In this sense, marketing had always been conceived as a form of persuasion if not outright propaganda, and its advertising principles could be applied to mass audiences using whichever media were considered most appropriate or effective (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1949).

In simplest terms, marketing is a strategy for connecting potential buyers—constituting a market—to a firm's products or services. In competitive open markets, where sellers hope to attract as many potential customers to their products as possible, the employment of techniques of persuasion and impression management is crucial. Rather than approaching this in a haphazard or ad hoc fashion, by the 1930s firms started relying on the best scientific knowledge available about how to use persuasion to maximize unit sales. Kotler and Levy (1969), drawing largely from the earlier work of Robert K. Merton and his sociologist colleagues at Columbia University, realized that the effective marketing strategies already developed for business firms could also be used to promote services provided by nonbusiness firms such as governments and nonprofit organizations.[1] But beyond the business of selling products or services to a customer base while ensuring loyalty and satisfaction, nonbusiness firms are even more

interested in needs assessment and quality assurance. In other words, beyond the short-term goal of connecting buyers with the firm's products, there is also the long-term goal of creating the products or services that people need (Kotler & Levy 1969, p. 15). The authors emphasized that reaching out to some customer or client base, not merely for the purpose of sales but also to ascertain what they want and need, is in the interest of all organizations, whether they are hospitals, schools, labor unions, or government agencies.

One key technique for outreach and needs assessment of a target population was the focused interview (which later developed into the "focus group"), first developed by Robert K. Merton and Patricia Kendall in a 1946 paper published in the *American Journal of Sociology*. Reflecting on that groundbreaking paper some 40 years after its publication, Merton (1987, p. 565) stated that "the focussed interview is not at all confined to market research," and that "it might even be described as ecumenical." Rather than a purely market-based model for selling products, the focus group is a more general strategy for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to help understand the sociological and psychological circumstances in which persons find themselves in relation to some social issue or question. For example, a legal defense team might hire a researcher or consultant to conduct focus groups with citizens (who are all potential jurors) to ascertain their sentiments toward the death penalty. The legal defense team is, of course, not interested in selling a product to these citizens, but it is interested in gleaning information about citizen attitudes toward the death penalty that could be used at trial. For example, the defense team could seek to enter into evidence the low levels of support for the death penalty discovered among focus group participants as a way of influencing the judge, who may have the discretion to rule out the possibility of a death sentence in the particular case at hand.

Several years later, Kotler and Zaltman (1971) put this earlier idea of broadening the concept of marketing into practice while giving it a name. They called this new approach to planned social change "social marketing." The authors referred to the then-current bestselling book by Joe McGinniss, *The Selling of the President*, which implied that "you can sell a presidential candidate like you sell soap" (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p. 3).

Kotler and Zaltman (1971) believed that standard marketing principles could be effectively applied to the promotion of a range of social rather than narrowly economic or financial objectives, whether brotherhood, family planning, safe driving, or even the elimination of poverty. Here, the authors utilized the "four P's" approach developed by McCarthy (1968),

namely, that any marketing design is always geared toward developing "the right *product* backed by the right *promotion* and put in the right *place* at the right *price*" (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p. 7).[2] It is, in a nutshell, the application of business marketing principles to effect some desired social change. Even so, the authors are also cognizant that many citizens might be resentful of government administrative agencies, especially the public health wing, employing elements of public opinion surveying and business marketing to "sell" desired health outcomes. The concern is that the public may come to view the governmental project of ameliorating a broad (and growing) range of social pathologies as manipulative and outright social control, the culmination of Orwell's *1984*.

Notice that any use of influence, persuasion, advertising, or promotion to get people to do something new or different is always a type of social control, yet social control is so pervasive that it is limiting to view it always or primarily through the dystopian lens of a government acting as a Big Brother seeking total domination of a hapless citizenry. Nevertheless, this particular element of social marketing, as used at the behest of governments seeking to soften the blow of the cost or invasiveness of health interventions, is a crucial aspect of the larger discussion of such issues addressed in this handbook. To discuss social marketing as social control within the context of health promotion, we must first develop a more nuanced approach to the concept of social control.

Social Control: Informal, Legal, and Medical

Beyond the condition of the archaic savage horde, human society is about association, of living together with other human beings. The primordial basis upon which human association developed was blood—that is, the bonding together of individuals through kinship ties and obligations. Later, with the transition from endogamy to exogamy—the latter being the rule that one should seek procreative partners outside the immediate clan—human associations started expanding outward toward more distant people and groups (such as in the totemic system where blood ties and ancestry played a less central role; see Frazer, 1910; Durkheim, 1912/1961). In the most primitive stage of existence, isolated families were self-enclosed units that engaged in little interaction with people outside their immediate group. Tarde (1903) provides clarity on this transition from solitary and limited human associations based on blood and direct rule (usually by male heads after the emergence of patriarchy or androcracy; see Chriss, 2006; Ward, 1883) to more complex human formations:

> Thus every tongue eventually had its own race, i.e., its own great family, whereas, primitively, every family, as I have said, possessed its own tongue. We have also seen how, in the question of religion, every family originally had its own cult and was a church in itself, but who, finally, through the more or less strict interdiction of marriage with infidels and the exclusive practice of *connubium*, combined into one race that was expressly created for its religion. (p. 287)

Within these human groupings, rules emerge regarding what is allowed and not allowed. The earliest human groups developed folkways (i.e., customs) regarding all manner of expected behavior in everyday life. As Sumner (1906) has noted, human beings discovered the advantages of living together, especially in harsh physical environments where life expectancies were low. The everyday challenges of living in such harsh environments meant that people living and traveling together (indeed, early human groupings were small and nomadic) could observe how others in the group fared in their encounters with the physical environment.

For example, a person brave (or foolish) enough to taste an unknown plant or berry would be keenly observed by any others who were present, and if the person became ill or died from that plant or berry, warnings would be carried back to the other members of the group to stay away from it. By this method, all sorts of rules arose regarding the realities of living together in groups in particular environments, and the ones that were considered especially vital to the well-being of the group were enshrined as higher-level "truths" called mores. Folkways are everyday customs that are expected to be followed, and everyone in the group is expected to abide by them and enforce them on others. It is the condition of self-help or informal control writ large.

Eventually, as human groupings hit upon standards of conduct backed by the coercive force of all able-bodied men who could be sent out to deal with those who violated folk norms (the posse), humans also developed written language. Advancing beyond oral traditions based on folklore and the proclamations of elders, the primitive informal systems of folkways and mores were augmented with formal systems of control, primarily those of law but also the increasingly professionalized practices of healing and medicine. It was with the rise of the state—what Hobbes (1940) referred to as the Leviathan—that modern notions of formal control were established; today, they characterize civilized society. According to Max Weber (1947), the state can be understood as a political authoritarian association that claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of force in a

particular area such that citizens of the jurisdiction are subject to its laws and decrees.

The slow and steady progression of society from primitive or savage hordes; to disparate clans or tribes; to the early Greco-Roman states; to medieval fiefdoms, monarchies, and aristocracies; and finally to the rise of constitutional democracies or republics where political power is dispersed more evenly across the citizenry—this latter development identified as the "responsible state" by Franklin Giddings (1918)—has culminated in a mix of control systems, the elements of which coexist, sometimes uneasily, across contemporary society. Although archaic informal control or self-help is still an important aspect of control in modern societies, over time it has been pushed aside in favor of more formal systems of control. The most formal, of course, is legal control, but medical control continues to expand and is becoming more formalized as it intertwines with aspects of legal control. For example, with the push toward universal health care under the direction of President Obama, federal mandates are filtering down to the previously informal level of health decisions between doctors and their patients, as well as between insurance companies, hospitals, the wide panoply of health care workers, and those who receive health care services.

It is also worth noting that as more and more of the responsibilities of providing health care have been shifted to employers, everyday decisions concerning health and well-being are increasingly being made for workers in the workplace. For example, nurses and other health care workers can be required to obtain flu shots or face termination of their employment if they refuse. In this way, workplaces are becoming a key site for all sorts of control, whether informal, legal, or medical (see Adams, 1982; Chriss, 2010, 2013; Lidz, 2010).

The Tacit Assumptions of Social Marketing

Because health is so highly valued in today's society, the ethos of medical control is that whatever can be done to reduce disease, injury, or accidents should be done. The philosophical principle underlying medical control—whether at the traditional level of individual case management or the newer versions of collective or public health—is that of utility. That is, all things being equal, social policies ought to be geared toward maximizing happiness (health) and minimizing pain or harm (disease, accidents, and injuries). Over the years, various public health initiatives have been introduced into society to try to reduce or eliminate adverse health outcomes among the citizenry. Some well-known successful public health

interventions include water sanitation, smoking cessation campaigns, use of vaccinations for a variety of health risks, and condom distribution in schools to lower the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and to reduce unwanted pregnancies. Many of these public health initiatives were promoted by social marketing campaigns designed to "sell" the recommended interventions to a reluctant or uniformed public. To growing numbers of observers, public health and social marketing are a logical combination and should be brought together as matter-of-factly as the traditional uses of marketing are employed to win audiences over with regard to any number of products or services (see Grier & Bryant, 2005). Indeed, a recent survey designed to measure the level of interest in forming a professional association for social marketing in the United States found that the highest percentage of respondents identified their primary focus as health communications (31 percent); this was followed by social marketing (28 percent); and health promotion (20 percent; see Marshall & Sundstrom, 2010).

The use of social marketing techniques to push public health initiatives into areas traditionally dealt with from a sociological perspective—especially with regard to various social problems, rather than medicine per se—has continued to proliferate. Examples of such uses of social marketing to redefine social problems as medical or public health problems include high-risk drinking among college students (Glassman & Braun, 2010; Gomberg, Schneider, & DeJong, 2001); obesity (Herrick, 2007); integration of cell phones and mobile technologies into public health practice (Lefebvre, 2009); maximizing life satisfaction among the citizenry (Sirgy, Morris, & Coskun Samli, 1985); problem gambling (Powell & Tapp, 2009); and the growth of employee assistance programs (EAPs) for dealing with problematic human relations in the workplace (Weiss, 2005). An area ripe for the newest social marketing initiatives in the redefinition of social problems as medical problems is the problem of gun violence, especially since the tragic mass shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School, where 26 people were killed, including 20 elementary school children. New initiatives under the Affordable Care Act (also known as "Obamacare") may even go so far as to have doctors engage in routine screening of patients on the subject of gun safety in the home.

Although this chapter has discussed a number of authors who have written papers supportive of the use of social marketing to implement any number of interventions considered to be advantageous to the health and well-being of society, not all observers are convinced that such approaches are effective. For example, in her paper recommending strategies to achieve more comprehensive implementation of policies addressing the threat of

climate change, Janette Webb (2012) argues that the typical social marketing approaches amount to little more than incremental social change because they tend to focus on individual preferences and behavior. When confronted with social problems—in this case, the fouling of the climate by human beings through their use of fossil fuels—the tendency is to psychologize such problems and emphasize behavior change or modification. This would seem to make sense on some level, since it is, after all, individual human beings who carry out plans and make choices among the options before them. The "social" in social marketing, then, merely points to the ideal state that would be reached assuming individuals in targeted populations could be made to adopt or refrain from the activities associated with the program. That is, a valued collective goal could be reached if only enough people within the targeted population could be reached and could be convinced to adopt the innovation.

Indeed, throughout its history, marketing has been entwined with assumptions about both "psychological man" and "subconscious man," informed by Freud. The earliest market research, from the 1920s forward, was heavily influenced by the writings of behavioral psychologist John B. Watson (Samuel, 2010). Later, when it became obvious that the attempt to link attitudes to actual behavior was somewhat imperfect and that predictions of consumer or customer choice were not meeting the scientific gold standard of statistical tests yielding robust r-squareds above, say, .70, it became fashionable to go back to Freud to uncover the deep or latent aspects of the black box of the mind residing beneath what was measurable at the level of personality (Chriss, 1999). Indeed, by the 1940s and 1950s, both marketing and social work had taken this clinical, Freudian approach to unlocking what resided in the deep, dark recesses of the unconscious. This was consistent with a general therapeutization of American society on the way to the 1960s, marked by such indicators as the increased use of therapeutic approaches in prison (i.e., the rehabilitative ideal of indeterminate sentencing), the exploration of mind-expanding or -altering activities and drugs (e.g., the rise in the use of experimental and hallucinogenic drugs in the psychedelic culture of the 1960s, new electronic sounds and hypnotic beats in rock music, visual effects such as black lights, explorations into Eastern mysticism), and the discovery of subliminal advertising in marketing and motivational research.

But is it really efficient to start with the assumption of the atomistic, psychologistic, idiosyncratic individual as carrier of a bundle of need-dispositions who confronts the world and makes behavioral choices on a case-by-case basis? The thought is that, if we understood individual people and their psyches well enough, we could direct those atomistic

individuals toward choices that, in sum, would lead to desired social change. Webb (2012) notes that individual cost-benefit calculations—for example, the hedonic calculus of the "rational man" or "rational actor," whereby individuals seek to maximize pleasure and minimize pain—are not timeless or universal, but make sense only in relation to particular configurations of societal expectations and structures. From the social or sociological perspective, then, one would need to take into account the zeitgeist—the prevailing conditions of a society in terms of its culture, economic structure, political and ideological infrastructures, and so forth—and see how it works to shape individual personality and identity.

Public health is, of course, shot through with psychological notions of well-being, even as it operates at the collective or population level. The public health approach includes "both the art and the science of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting health" (Weisheit & Klofas, 1998, p. 198). For example, since violence and aggression cause or lead to injuries and death, proponents of the public health model are apt to treat violence as if it were a disease with identifiable stages: etiology or onset, developmental pathways of the "disease" after onset, characteristics of the population "at risk" for "contracting" the disease, and interventions at the individual or group level that purport to reduce or eliminate the disease of violence.

From the public health perspective, both the earlier models of punishment and rehabilitation (or treatment) were reactive in that they dealt with criminals or clients only after their offending or problematic behavior came to light or was "diagnosed." Although public health proponents acknowledge that interventions aimed at rehabilitating defendants or clients who have already offended is an improvement over the criminal justice emphasis on punishment for the sake of deterrence, retribution, or justice, the treatment model does not go far enough. Rather than intervention, the public health model's primary objective is prevention, that is, ensuring that the disease never arises in the first place (see Guetzloe, 1992; McMahon, 2000).

Proponents of public health argue that whatever problems are being faced—whether violence, climate change, smoking, gambling, or obesity, to name a few—they are not simply social problems; they are public health problems. It is important to make whatever persuasive appeals are necessary to sell the notion that something is a public health problem because of the higher levels of invasiveness and surveillance of the population that are implied in the public health model as compared to other models of justice or treatment. Indeed, Deborah Prothrow-Stith (1993, p. 138) suggests that

the first stage of the public health mission involves the establishment of surveillance systems; in the case of interpersonal violence, this means collecting data on "who is being hurt and under what circumstances." The public health model, then, is utilitarian at heart, because even though stepping up surveillance of the population for purposes of monitoring and (hopefully) eradicating yet another "disease" is potentially harmful or debilitating to some groups, what counts in the end is the greatest good for the greatest number of people. That is, proponents of the public health model argue that whatever costs are incurred in the process of defining and treating violence as a disease are outweighed by the expected future benefits—namely, reducing or eliminating violence.

Three Stages of Prevention

The public health model conceptualizes a tripartite classification of prevention consisting of primary, secondary, and tertiary stages. These three stages or strategies of prevention are summarized below.

- *Tertiary prevention* encompasses all those strategies designed to keep persons who are already ill from becoming sicker. This is the classic "reactive" approach to social and health problems.
- *Secondary prevention* involves the early identification of those who already have symptoms of some disease. At-risk profiles, generated from heightened surveillance of the target population, help to determine which individuals are good candidates for early intervention. Secondary prevention represents a mix of reactive and proactive approaches.
- *Primary prevention* focuses on stopping some problem behavior before it starts, the overall goal of which is to reduce health problems in the general population. Strategies may include educational and public information campaigns; changing the environment, organization, or institution; immunizing potential hosts or victims; and so forth. These approaches are characterized as "proactive."

A recent addition to this tripartite classification of public health prevention is "quaternary prevention." Interestingly, this new category recognizes that many preventive measures in the name of public health or safety can lead to overmedicalization or medically invasive procedures far out of proportion to the health risks posed by the identified unwanted behaviors or social conditions. Over time, then, prevention has expanded from a narrower focus on illness to a broader focus on risk factors for a variety of disfavored conditions that go beyond problems in physical health per se (Starfield, Hyde, Gérvas, & Heath, 2008).

This tends to happen in many areas of life; what is considered efficacious or a good idea in one area of practice tends to find application in other areas previously unconnected with the original field. But this can also lead to unchecked expansion of an idea or policy, which then becomes a runaway norm that is subject to implementation unthinkingly or unreflectively. Such norms have the potential to become unchallenged dogma, visiting new forms of oppression upon those identified as in "need" of preventive measures, presumably for their own good.

To guard against this, critical and ongoing analysis needs to be conducted in many areas of life, especially those that are widely accepted as providing some universal benefit to humanity. Ferreting out the tacit or hidden assumptions of any plan of action is admittedly difficult work, and those who do such work open themselves up to easy criticism of reading too much into whatever issue on which they are taking a critical stance. Alvin Gouldner (1980) was the sociologist who took this project of examining the silent subtext or infrastructure of any theory, ideology, or public project further than anybody, and this chapter will be following some of his recommendations for examining the tacit assumptions in the particular case of social marketing.

Gouldner (1976) argued that both social theory and ideology are public projects to the extent that both seek to mobilize adherents to some cause articulated by theory or ideology. In other words, ideology as a public project carves out some part of the world that is under siege, in disarray, or dysfunctional and propounds steps or approaches to rescue or restore those areas. Both public health and social marketing do this; they identify areas of human existence that are marked by untoward or unwanted outcomes—usually with regard to adverse health issues in individuals or groups—and fashion interventions to promote health improvements. As Gouldner (1976) describes it:

> Ideology is thus a call to action—a "command" grounded in a social theory—in a world-referencing discourse that presumably justifies this call. Granted that it does not pursue "knowledge for its own sake"; nonetheless, ideology offers reports or imputes knowledge of the social world; its claims and its calls-to-action are grounded in that imputed knowledge. (p. 30)

These reports and calls for action have a lot on the line, because in order to carry out the conceptualized interventions, there is a need to gain access to the segments of the human population that are said to be at risk. This means that public health must always utilize mass surveillance of targeted populations to gather data about the nature of those risks and to ascertain

what sort of interventions (primary, secondary, tertiary, or unintended quaternary) would be best suited to reaching the ameliorative goals of the program. Social marketing is seen as a key tool in this work, because surveillance is intrusive by its very nature, and people are resistant to interventions they deem to be forced upon them. Indeed, one of the major criticisms of public health interventions guided by the logic of social marketing is that their combination produces something akin to a "nanny state," where self-proclaimed experts, acting on behalf of the government, intervene in ever more areas of daily life while justifying their actions by informing the common folk, "Trust us, we are doing this for your own good" (French, 2009; Turner, 2003).

Yet, for all the good that public health and social marketing proponents seek to do for society at large, the great majority of them never come to grips with the blatant social control functions of the entire enterprise. They seem afraid or reluctant to admit that, at heart, social marketing is indeed social control. Consider the definition of social marketing offered by Wymer (2010, p. 99), which is "the design, implementation, and control of programs seeking to increase the acceptability of a social idea or practice in a target group." Here, control is embedded in the very definition of social marketing (see Chapter 2 of this volume). Yet, in carrying out the designs of social marketing, its practitioners tend to gloss over the controlling or coercive aspects of the enterprise.

To soften the overtly controlling and steering aspects of the administrative functions of government, including public health administration, social marketing has been used as a way of attempting to frame a public discourse (or ideology) aimed at getting people to believe that the proposed changes are good for them and that they are not merely the nefarious or misguided ramblings of Big Brother bureaucrats. There are many concepts and undertakings allied to the project of social marketing on behalf of public health, including new ideas concerning the "imperatives" of health and wellness as argued by Lupton (1995) and newer policies in behavioral economics that are aimed at "nudging" a reluctant public toward healthy lifestyles and accepting health promotion as a public good in and of itself (Brown, 2012; Raphael, 2000; Rothschild, 1999).

Ironically, as Lupton (1995) has pointed out, the concern over government steering of the imperatives of health and wellness for all can be articulated from either the political left or the political right. From the political right, government meddling in the private affairs of citizens regarding their health interferes with the decisions citizens should be making in consultation with their doctors about their own health needs and concerns. From the political left, there is concern over the continuing

bureaucratization of the administration of public health, which also converges with an unwanted consumerist redefinition of everyday life in which, in order to rein in rising health care costs, people could be held accountable for their decisions regarding exercise, diet, risky behaviors, and anything else that could contribute to an escalation of costs. Left-leaning critical theorists such as Horkheimer and Adorno (1944/1972) lamented the rise of a "totally administered society," reflected also in the writings of a later generation of critical theorists, including Jürgen Habermas (1987), who lamented the continuing colonization of the life-world, where systems imperatives of efficiency, predictability, and cost-effectiveness distort the activities of actors in their everyday lifeworlds.

That the intent of public health administrators is benevolent, there can be no doubt. But there is also wisdom in the old saying, "The road to Hell is paved with good intentions." Indeed, Merton (1968) taught Gouldner (1980) well about the latent dysfunctions of any public program or policy, insofar as any change—be it a program, policy, or law—will have a deleterious impact on some groups while, on balance, it (hopefully) improves the lot of the many enough to offset any negative consequences for the few. With the rise of the nation-state and the concept of citizenship, human beings began being assessed and understood more and more in economic terms—that is, in terms of citizens being "resources" that the state could use to pursue collective political and social goals. This approach began with practices such as taxation (forced payments to the state to offset operating expenses) and conscription (forced military service) but then expanded into more areas of social life, including the idea that people ought not to do things that jeopardize their own or others' safety. Because medicine had already been on the scene to provide authoritative pronouncements about the nature of human health and illness, it was only natural that the professional complex of medicine would be placed in the service of the state, largely through the granting of licenses for the provision of medical services but also to inform legislative bodies about the health risks citizens face.

In the United States, the history of public health initiatives has been at best haphazard and sporadic, at least through the early 20th century. In the southern United States, especially, public health initiatives were not embarked upon in any systematic fashion until after full-blown health crises emerged. For example, it was not until the 1870s that major legislative efforts to implement public health measures were enacted, the most well-known of which was the response to a deadly plague of yellow fever that had been introduced through the port of New Orleans and that had spread as far north as Ohio (Warner, 1984). By an act of Congress, the port was

eventually quarantined, in spite of stiff opposition from local politicians and citizens who saw it as an unwarranted intrusion of federal authority and control.

Nevertheless, precedents established in law tend to take on a life of their own, and over time, more and more federally mandated medical interventions emerged, based on the success of many such programs implemented in the southern United States and elsewhere. Unlike the uneven and erratic impetus toward public health law that emerged in the United States, though, England's public health initiatives happened earlier and, on the whole, were better planned and managed. The Public Health Act, passed in England in 1848, was in response to

> the gross damage to human life engendered by the industrial revolution. To seek work and financial security, there was mass emigration from rural into urban life. The towns were not prepared for this and the consequent overcrowding, squalor and poverty created serious misery and disease affecting a large proportion of the working population. Over time, this threatened to engulf English society as a whole as disease spread across the poverty line into "polite" society. (Eskin, 2002, pp. 6–7)

Some of the earliest mapping of cities occurred in Britain as citizens—and especially city administrators—increasingly became concerned with the public health of industrial cities. In 1842 Edwin Chadwick, secretary of the Poor Commission, published detailed maps of cities such as Leeds and Bethnal Green (in London), indicating by color less-clean houses (in brown) and outbreaks of diseases such as cholera (in blue). Authorities could, in effect, exert social control through political surveillance of cities, keeping tabs not only on publicly avowed health issues, but also enabling "cartographic surveillance of centres of social radicalism" (Short, 2006, pp. 204–205).

This concern over housing, as public policy, can be traced at least as far back as Friedrich Engels' writings on the "housing question" in the 1870s. New concerns about housing were exacerbated by the population growth in urban industrial areas and the fact that existing housing stock was not keeping up with demand. Engels (1872) noted that the poorest of the poor among newly arriving immigrants were not finding proper housing accommodations and that disease from the crowded and unsanitary conditions threatened all sectors of society, not just the shantytowns or the squatter areas along the perimeters of heavy industry districts. In 1866 the Lord Provost of Edinburgh launched an "improvement scheme" to clean up and relocate those living in the urban slums. This involved not only

demolishing old and dilapidated buildings, but also constructing new living quarters for the teeming urban masses (Swenarton, 1981).

But what started out as a public health initiative to stem the tide of communicable diseases arising from unsanitary and crowded living conditions among the poor expanded to include other classes of citizens. In England, framers of the Housing Act of 1914 took the extraordinary position that the state has the "duty of seeing that a relative standard of comfort and convenience is secured in the housing of the working class" (Swenarton, 1981, p. 45). This required the formation of a public utility society (at Rosyth) where the state would contribute nine-tenths of the cost of construction. State planners believed that the cost outlay would be repaid by rental agreements with government employees because much of the new housing was connected with the construction of a new naval facility.

If a new housing policy could be implemented to accommodate the working class in urban centers—not just the poor, as previously configured—why couldn't it also be extended to rural areas? This part of the plan would not be realized until after World War I, when massive numbers of servicemen returned home from the war. As opposed to the 25,000 new homes planned for in the 1914 law, the postwar ambition was for the state to construct some 500,000 new homes. The project undertaken by the British government after World War I, to build "homes fit for heroes" (Swenarton 1981), was basically an act of pacification in the face of the potential for massive unrest caused by labor strikes and large numbers of demobilized soldiers out on the streets with no prospects for work, housing, or other amenities of modern living. British government officials perceived that this potential situation could take Britain down the same path as the alarming conditions that led to the overthrow of governments in Russia and Germany (Swenarton, 1981).

What Do Social Marketers Believe?

In general, the writings of social marketers reflect a left-leaning intellectual position that champions secular humanism and the role of government in driving desired social changes. This is not alarming on its face, because indeed many of the social sciences that have emerged since the 19th century have tended to attract like-minded individuals who share common notions about what is wrong with the world and what needs to be done to fix it. During the Progressive Era, for example, the founder of American sociology, Lester F. Ward, believed that as the queen of the sciences (following Comte's formulation), sociology's greatest contribution as an applied science would be the development of attractive legislation. Ward

(1883) considered sociology's ultimate purpose to be informing the lay public—but even more important, policy analysts and government administrators—about the best way to apply knowledge of social forces toward the amelioration of human social problems. The ultimate payoff would emerge in the form of meliorism, which is the improvement of society by society stripped of all sentiment. This development would emerge through use of the traditional methods of the natural sciences to understand and then harness social forces toward the shaping of human betterment, and it would be the primary function of government to use its power and allocate resources toward the fulfillment of that goal.

Ward (1883) believed that the discovery of truth and the reduction of error would be a slow, deliberate, evolutionary process, lurching forward in fits and starts through trial and error, key experiments, and intellectual innovations and breakthroughs. With his idea of scientific truth opening up in a sure but slow and methodological way, Ward was by no means exhibiting the revolutionary zeal of Marxists. In the late 19th century, Ward saw pressing social problems all around him, but it would have been a mistake, and a violation of the spirit of careful and measured scientific inquiry—represented by the slow and steady move from the pure to the applied stage—to allow passions to triumph over reason and intellect.

However, for the most part, contemporary social marketers do not take the path Ward (1883) espoused for sociology and instead are much more likely to favor the sort of rapid social change typical of a broadly evaluative or a specifically Marxist orientation. From the perspective of social marketing, there are pressing problems in the world—many of them described as public health crises—that demand quick action. The assumption is that we cannot wait around for long-term cultural change to take effect as attitudes or behaviors gradually change, reflecting an incremental improvement in social or health conditions. Instead, we must use whatever tools of influence or persuasion are at our disposal in an attempt to inculcate wholesale and perhaps rapid changes in behavior, rather than focusing simply on attitude adjustment. Many practitioners believe that there is no need to wring their hands over figuring out the first principles underlying and producing unwanted health outcomes; that is to say, they believe there is no need for social marketing to pass through the pure knowledge stage. Indeed, we can borrow pertinent first principles from neighboring disciplines—biology, sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, history, and so forth—and move right into the applied stage, fashioning interventions through law and the administrative apparatus of government in areas of the world deemed in need of help or repair (Rothschild, 1999).

Indicative of this sentiment is a paper by Gerald Hastings, published in the journal *Social Marketing Quarterly* in 2003. The title of the paper, "Social Marketers of the World Unite, You Have Nothing to Lose but Your Shame," is a play on the Marxist slogan, "Workers of the World Unite!" Hastings, along with his colleagues in social marketing, have assumed that capitalism is largely to blame for many of the inequities and infirmities people face in their daily lives and that the "core marketing skill of behavior change" (Hastings, 2003) at the disposal of the discipline can lead to improvements in the social and health realms. For example, Hastings (2003, p. 14) cited a figure that more than 50 percent of premature deaths are attributable to lifestyle choices and behaviors, and if we could figure out a way to inform people about the better options available to them—such as nudging them into eating more fruits and vegetables (Pollard, Kirk, & Cade, 2002)—we could realize significant reductions in premature mortality. But why stop there, at the level of health? Why not expand into criminal justice, environmentalism, or indeed virtually any social issue imaginable?

Hastings (2003) was quick to add that social marketing must confront the sins of its father, namely, traditional marketing, because that was a science devoted to the bald and unapologetic project of expanding capitalist production and consumption by making products more attractive to potential customers. Marketing discovered the principles of behavior change—borrowed, of course, largely from psychology and sociology—but the trick for social marketing is to transfer these principles from the commercial realm to the social realm. When the transition is made from the world of commerce to the world of everyday living and its attendant concerns over health, safety, security, and well-being, then social marketing's unmistakable critical agenda comes into focus. Where traditional marketing cozied up to the corridors of corporate power, social marketing is concerned with ameliorating the damaged and fractured lives of the less powerful and the oppressed. Hastings listed some of the areas implied by a critical marketing approach, including sustainability, ethics, gender issues, discourse analysis, and postmodernism (p. 17). Corporations are seen, at best, as ethically suspect for the way they work to channel desire in the populace (Ewen & Ewen, 1992). This sentiment is consistent with the assumption that health—like everything else in human society—is shot through with politics. Evaluative theorists of the Marxist bent make everything out to be political, because if it is political, it is amenable to legislative enactment or intervention, thereby making it an aspect of state administration and simultaneously removing it from the realms of everyday life, business, and the free market (see Bambra, Fox, & Scott-Samuel, 2005).

Redefining Health: The World Health Organization

But why, as an ontological position, must everything under the sun be political? Why is this assumption made? The most important reason behind the argument that everything is political is that, for those with ambitions to save the world, the most direct avenue for putting plans into action is through the administrative and legal apparatus of government. According to World Bank data, the annual gross domestic product of the United States in 2011 was a staggering $14,991,300,000,000.[3] This means that, on average, the United States produces $41 billion in economic products and services each day. This is a veritable goldmine for lawmakers, moral entrepreneurs, or anyone else with an interest in righting wrongs or repairing areas of society deemed worthy of attention. Wouldn't it make sense to figure out some way of skimming a little off the top of this juggernaut that is the United States economy? Wouldn't it make sense to take a little from everyone to help those whose life circumstances fall short of our highest ideals?

Consistent with this ethos is the assumption of the deeply political nature of health, which in turn leads to the expansion of the definition of health from the individual level to the collective level. This project has been in the works since the establishment of the World Health Organization (WHO), a specialized agency of the United Nations, in 1948. The original definition of health formulated by the WHO, still in force today, is "a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (Riediker & Koren, 2004). At about the same time, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was developed, which called for going beyond the basic negative rights established in the United States Constitution—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—to include "rights" to dignity, identity, security, a living wage, health, housing, asylum, marriage, voting, rest and leisure, education, and full social participation (Morsink, 1999). To reach this utopia, there would obviously need to be massive amounts of wealth redistribution, which could not be obtained through traditional charity, where people decide, on a case-by-case basis, to give voluntarily out of the goodness of their own hearts. Since launching this ambitious international project to rethink and remake the concept of health, the WHO and all its adherents have embraced a political approach in striving to make their aspirations a reality, and to soften some of the harsh realities of this wealth transfer or redistribution from the perspective of average citizens who typically would want no part of it, they have used rhetorical or persuasive devices, whether in the form of social marketing, nudging, public health, behavioral

economics, social justice, health promotion, or new conceptualizations of "stewardship."

Stewardship is another wrinkle in the WHO's quest to nudge people into rethinking what counts as good citizenship, not only at the national level but at the international or global level. In a series from the *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, John Krebs (2008) asked, "Whose responsibility is health?" Individuals and families have historically held the primary responsibility for the health of individual family members, but over time, with increases in human population and an increase in structural complexity and interconnectedness in the form of globalization, governments and world organizations are now taking more active roles. Individuals must still be responsible, but there is now more encroachment from outsiders because of scientific knowledge about the way personal lifestyles and choices affect personal health.

Attempting to deal with the delicate issue of mandating that people do not do certain things, whether in regard to eating, physical activities, the use of recreational drugs or tobacco, or risky behaviors, points to a new conceptualization of public health ethics using a stewardship model (Krebs, 2008). The stewardship model lays out a basic framework for the things governments ought to take on as primary responsibilities—in alignment more with the expanded list of items in the UDHR than with the traditional, limited legal or constitutional understanding of negative rights—and also seeks to provide guidelines so that within this important and beneficial work, individual rights and wills are not trampled. Krebs states that governments have a responsibility to provide the conditions under which people can lead healthy lives, and that the "stewardship state" has the particular responsibility of reducing health inequalities and protecting the most vulnerable among us. In implementing policies and programs to reach these goals, full recognition is given that some people will feel coerced into doing or refraining from doing whatever is specified in these goals. Hence, the stewardship model seeks to create a sliding scale for both coercion and the justifications that would need to be made explicit in the face of coercion. The higher the level of coercion, the higher the level of justification that would need to be provided to offset the negative or harmful aspects of that coercion.

But who, ultimately, will decide what sorts of justifications will be accepted for particular forms or levels of coercion? The citizenry? Not likely. Almost none of these proposed measures are being put to referendums where citizens can decide, at the ballot box, whether they want to see projects of moral entrepreneurism implemented. Ultimately, lawmakers will attempt to justify new health and welfare initiatives based on expert

judgments about the nature of the health risks confronting the citizenry. In other words, a new cadre of cognitive elite, teaming up with key officials in the corridors of power—at the executive, legislative, judicial, and administrative levels—will decide what's best for everyone. This is the same problem that Gouldner (1980) raised long ago concerning the way world-saving tends toward unreflective and dogmatic stances. It is the culmination of the bureaucratization of the welfare-warfare state, where champions of the underdogs and the downtrodden bring the bad news to the masses that those who have already attained the good life—or some proximity to it—will have to do a little bit more for their fellow man. This is a massive repudiation of private charity in favor of the bureaucratization of government mandates for behaviors deemed to be in the best interests of society as a whole.

Conclusion: Social Marketing and Globalization

In 2009 the Chief Executive Board of the United Nations formulated the Social Protection Floor (SPF) policy. Consistent with the UDHR, the SPF is a set of social policies "designed to guarantee income security and access to social services for all" (International Labour Office, 2011, p. 9). Among the rights pertaining to social protection, those most clearly emphasized are the right to social security (UDHR Article 22), the right to medical care and social services (UDHR Article 25), and the right to education (UDHR Article 26). Behrendt (2010, p. 163) noted that "the litmus test for the Social Protection Floor will be whether national governments and the international donor community are willing to allocate sufficient financial resources to the realization of the set of minimum rights to social protection" specified in the plan. Since the general public would likely not have the stomach for this kind of blatant wealth redistribution, it would fall upon global agencies such as the United Nations and the WHO to coax recalcitrant states—most notably the United States—into showing the will and fortitude to make it happen. It is obvious that with such a massive project in the works, social marketing could be employed on some level to change jaded minds about the benefits of making such a minimal set of protections available to all.

Economist Philip Harvey (2006) has attempted to calculate how much it would cost the United States to provide universal basic income consistent with the aims of the SPF. Essentially, what Harvey has asked is: How much it would cost to eliminate poverty in the United States? Utilizing a negative income tax—a system of refundable tax credits that guarantees eligible tax filers a certain minimum income—and working with 2002

dollar figures, the cost of a universal basic income would be about $1.69 trillion per year of policy implementation.[4] This would be the yearly cost imposed for as many years as would be needed to eliminate official poverty.

These are the economic realities faced by any government seeking to reach such utopian goals. With the national debt of the United States standing at about $17 trillion, proponents of this policy could justify it on the basis that an additional $1.5 trillion in federal spending per year would not make that much difference in the overall burden to the American people, especially considering the huge benefit to all if the plan actually worked—namely, the elimination of poverty. Social marketing would be pleased to position itself as a significant resource for steering hybrid systems of control—medical and legal, but also informal—toward the realization of this and other goals of social amelioration. Of course, there are multiple levels of potential resistance against even the best efforts to convince members of the general public that such measures are consistent with their economic, social, cultural, or subjective interests. Hence, with populist concerns over the spread of an unchecked and emboldened nanny state, social marketing will have to spend more time marketing itself in the face of multiple levels and types of resistance, whether in the form of gatekeepers and senior-level organizational managers ("big dogs"), apathetic or uninformed citizens (the "hard to reach"), or legislators and political leaders (the "not policy-friendly"; for an expanded discussion of these categories of resistance, see Marshall, Bryant, Keller, & Fridinger, 2006).

Contemporary society is the outcome of many years of struggle among real flesh-and-blood human beings whose concerted efforts led to the transition from the 18th-century absolute state to the 19th-century noninterventionist state, and then to the total state of the 20th century and beyond (Schmitt, 1932/2007, p. 23). But notice something peculiar. The "good society" can never rest on its laurels. The idea of egalitarianism, with which the responsible state wrestles incessantly, must always lead in the direction of repairing those instances in which its ideals are subverted or simply out of reach. This means that the state (or federal government) must intervene, favoring the cosmopolitan over the local (Gouldner, 1973; Schillmeier, 2009), thereby further trivializing the original notion of self-governance along with muting the free play of opinion- and will-formation. This colonization of the lifeworld, as Habermas (1987) put it, is the primary project that social marketing attempts to pacify or, at the very least, portray as the inevitable workings of liberal governance, the outcomes of which are presumably fully embraced by the citizenry.

Notes

1. For an early statement on the sociological contribution to marketing, see Jonassen (1959).
2. The 4 P's were later expanded to include *competition*, namely, the risk behavior currently practiced. With regard to public health, the product refers to the healthy behavior being promoted, so it makes sense, from a social marketing perspective, to understand the alternatives or competitors available to citizens that are identified as unhealthy (Coreil, Bryant, & Henderson, 2001).
3. These data are derived from the World Bank website, available at http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD.
4. This figure is somewhat less than the cost of Clark's (2005) proposed universal basic income, which he calculated at $1.96 trillion per year.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Ethical Issues of Social Marketing and Persuasion

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Most social marketers start from the assumption that they are doing good. After all, various definitions of social marketing specify that it focuses on creating a "social benefit" (Rangan & Karim, 1991, p. 3) by improving the "personal welfare" of the target audiences and "the welfare of the society of which they are a part" (Andreasen, 1994, p. 110). What could be unethical about persuading people to do good? Perhaps it is the very assumption that social marketing is, by definition, good—at least in the eyes of the social marketer—that helps explain why the topic of ethics in social marketing has often been given short shrift. Other than a few articles (primarily in the 1980s), ethical issues in social marketing have received little attention from academics.

This chapter argues that social marketing can raise a host of complicated ethical issues, and that ethical sensitivity is as important, if not more important, in social marketing as in commercial marketing for a variety of reasons. Indeed, scholars have argued that more harm is likely to result from unethical social marketing (e.g., detrimental effects on public health) than from unethical commercial marketing (e.g., puffery in advertising consumer products; Murphy & Bloom, 1990). Whenever one engages in judgments about what is in others' best interests, significant ethical issues are likely to arise. To begin with, how does one make such a judgment, especially in situations when there is little public consensus about what is good? If the social marketer is wrong about what is good, significant harm

can result from successful social marketing. Health claims are a paradigmatic example of the problem.

In addition, one must make a distinction between the social cause and the marketing of it. Both the cause itself and the marketing aspect of it can raise ethical issues, and even experts can have difficulty separating the cause from its marketing (Laczniak, Lusch, & Murphy, 1979). Some have argued that social marketers should be held to an even higher standard than commercial marketers because they are explicitly claiming to do good (Andreasen, 2001; Kirby & Andreasen, 2001; Murphy & Bloom, 1990). There is some indication that the public expects social marketers to adhere to higher standards than commercial marketers, and social marketers have been criticized for behavior that commercial marketers engage in routinely, such as puffery in advertising messages.

Thus, an examination or reexamination of ethical issues is more important than ever. During the past several decades, the social marketing marketplace has undergone radical change. The level of competition has increased dramatically as more and more nonprofits chase shrinking government funds and attempt to break through the clutter to cultivate donor loyalty. Increased competition has expanded social marketing budgets and staffs. Paid media, which were relatively unheard of in the social marketing marketplace of the 1980s, are now common, and electronic media—especially social media—provide the opportunity even for social marketers with shoestring budgets to become major players in providing persuasive messages. Any blogger can become a social critic and reach a broad audience with accusations related to social marketing. In addition, companies have entered the cause marketing arena with unparalleled force and resourcefulness as corporate social marketing in North America has spiraled to annual expenditures of $1.8 billion ("2013 Sponsorship Outlook," 2013). No doubt, increased competition, new media, and new corporate players have intensified some long-standing ethical issues and created new ones.

This chapter begins by defining some concepts related to both ethics and social marketing. Next, it identifies and discusses ethical issues in social marketing and then presents approaches to analyze ethical issues in sophisticated and nuanced ways. Finally, it discusses how social marketing professionals can act on their values and implement ethical behavior.

Ethics and Ethical Marketing Defined

Simply put, ethics is an attempt to determine and put into practice what is right and good. More formally stated, ethics is "a systematic attempt to make sense of our individual and social moral experience, in such a way

to determine the rules that ought to govern human conduct, the values worth pursuing, and the character traits deserving development in life" (DeGeorge, 2006, pp. 19–20). The study of marketing ethics is the "systematic study of how moral standards are applied to marketing decisions, behaviors, and institutions" (Laczniak & Murphy, 1993). Ethical marketing has been defined as "practices that emphasize transparent, trustworthy, and responsible personal and/or organizational marketing policies and actions that exhibit integrity as well as fairness to consumers and other stakeholders" (Murphy, Laczniak, & Prothero, 2012, p. 4). Ethical social marketing should certainly meet the standards of ethical marketing.

Ethics is "concerned with questions of what ought to be done, not just what legally must be done" (Cunningham, 1999, p. 500). Too often the two are blended, and the latter comes to define the former. The relationship between law and ethics should be clarified. Laws are ultimately a reflection of ethical judgments, and societies often make illegal what they consider most unethical. A fundamental mistake, however, is to assume that because something is legal, it is ethical, or that if something is unethical, it will be made illegal (Drumwright, 1993). Ethics often require judgments about issues that have not been addressed in law. Marketing law is a subset of marketing ethics. It does not and cannot encompass all of marketing ethics. Preston (1994, p. 128) observed that for marketers who believe the law is sufficient, "ethics never really starts."

Increasingly, social marketing messages are seen as political speech, which is a matter of law. When they qualify as political speech they warrant First Amendment protection, and as such they cannot be made illegal or be too closely regulated. The traditional exception to the First Amendment that allows robust governmental regulation of commercial speech (e.g., laws requiring messages to be nondeceptive) does not apply. This exemption places an even greater burden on the social marketer to identify ethical issues, analyze them in a sophisticated and nuanced manner, and respond to them responsibly and ethically. It is our position that social marketers should not walk close to the "unethical line."

Types of Social Marketing

Before we address ethical issues, we must acknowledge that social marketing encompasses a broad and diverse set of causes, and some undoubtedly are more likely to raise ethical issues than others. In an early article on ethics in social marketing, Murphy, Laczniak, and Lusch (1978) adapted a framework by Kotler (1973) to highlight three different types of social marketing that encompass causes with varying potential for raising ethical

issues: beneficial, protest, and revolutionary social marketing. Beneficial social marketing helps people achieve a higher quality of life (e.g., preventive health care causes such as healthy exercise and a balanced diet). The causes are relatively uncontroversial and apolitical, and the potential for ethical abuses is lower than for protest and revolutionary social marketing (Murphy et al., 1978).

In contrast, much less consensus exists about protest social marketing; it is designed to "shift priorities and resources to a new position advocated by the protesters" (Murphy et al., 1978, p. 198). The flat income tax, abortion, gun control, and gay rights are causes that have been the focus of protest social marketing. Because protest social marketing is "active, change oriented, issue centered, and representative of only one segment of society," the potential for ethical abuse is higher than for beneficial social marketing (Murphy et al., 1978, p. 200).

The third category, revolutionary social marketing, "proposes a fundamental change in the existing social system" and involves taking extreme viewpoints that are uncompromising; as such, the potential for ethical abuses is highest (Murphy et al., 1978, p. 198). The bloggers who precipitated the Arab Spring, the series of protests occurring in the Arab world primarily during the spring of 2011, created revolutionary social marketing. Promoting a change from a capitalist to a socialist system in the United States would be another example of revolutionary social marketing. As societal views shift and the degree of consensus increases, causes can move from one category to another, and many causes—for example, women's rights, antismoking, and gay rights—have evolved from revolutionary to protest or even beneficial social marketing as time passes and public sentiment changes. Note that protest and revolutionary social marketing typically qualify as political speech, and as such they enjoy First Amendment protection.

There has long been a discussion regarding whether the term *social marketing* is limited to public and nonprofit marketers or whether it extends to private sector firms that promote causes (e.g., beer marketers promoting responsible drinking, cosmetics companies promoting breast cancer screening; Andreasen, 1994). Increasingly, companies are supporting causes through marketing activities, and these initiatives have been labeled with a variety of terms: corporate social marketing, cause-related marketing, corporate societal marketing, cause branding, mission marketing, social alliances, and issue advocacy, to name a few (Drumwright & Murphy, 2000). Regardless of the semantics, there is no doubt that companies are participating in promoting social marketing causes in a variety of ways, and because of this they are likely to encounter or precipitate ethical

questions. We use the term "corporate social marketing" when referring to a social marketing initiative in which a company participates. Note that companies often, but not always, promote causes in partnership with nonprofit organizations or public entities.

Identifying Ethical Issues

The first step in ethical decision-making is to identify the ethical issue. Research has demonstrated that marketing, advertising, and public relations professionals often have difficulty recognizing ethical issues (Bowen, 2008; Drumwright & Murphy, 2004). They often suffer from moral myopia, a distortion of moral vision that prevents ethical issues from coming clearly into focus (Drumwright & Murphy, 2004). Drumwright and Murphy (2004) found that moral myopia is often accompanied by moral muteness, an unwillingness to talk about ethical issues (Bird & Waters, 1989; Bird, 2002). Reasonable people can disagree regarding what would be an ethical response, but it is unlikely that effective ethical decision-making will occur if the issue is not identified and discussed in some depth.

This chapter identifies and elaborates on some potential ethical issues in social marketing by adapting and augmenting a framework used by Murphy and Bloom (1990) that applies the most frequent criticisms of commercial marketing to social marketing. It then draws on work by Andreasen and Drumwright (2001) to discuss some additional ethical issues that are specific to corporate social marketing. The criticisms and some key questions are presented in Table 7.1.

Ethical Issues in Social Marketing and Corporate Social Marketing

The ethical issues identified and discussed in the following section are not intended to be an exhaustive list. Instead, the goal is to demonstrate how social marketers can use well-known criticisms of marketing to raise potential ethical questions in social marketing and develop ethical sensitivity.

Marketing is manipulative. Marketing has long been criticized for manipulating consumers and persuading them to buy things that they do not need (e.g., expensive designer clothing, luxurious automobiles, lavish homes) or products that have detrimental effects (e.g., cigarettes, alcohol, guns, junk food; Murphy & Bloom, 1990). What if social marketing is used to manipulate people and persuade them to engage in behavior that is not ultimately good for them and/or society? For example, often there is

Table 7.1 Identifying Ethical Problems for Social Marketers

Problem	Questions for Social Marketers and Corporate Social Marketers
Marketing is manipulative	Is the idea/cause worthy? To what degree is there societal consensus about the cause? Are there individuals or groups who do not benefit from the adoption of the social marketing behavior?
Marketing is deceptive	Is the message overtly misleading? Does the message imply something that could mislead or confuse consumers? Is there anything that consumers could interpret as less than authentic?
Marketing is unfair	Are target consumers vulnerable in any way that limits their capacity to make independent and competent decisions for themselves? Do consumers have sufficient information about trade-offs, ambiguities, and uncertainties? Do consumers have a choice and can they change their minds? Are appropriate advertising appeals and selling tactics being used?
Marketing is wasteful	Is social marketing the best way to bring about the desired social change, or could the funds be more effectively spent on another function? Is hypercompetitiveness developing among different factions? Is a cacophony of social marketing having adverse effects on consumers?
Marketing plays favorites	Are some segments receiving less attention from social marketers? If so, is it because those segments are unattractive in some fundamental ways? Is neediness being considered when segments are selected?
Marketing is intrusive	Are consumers given ample opportunity to opt out of providing personal information on all devices? Are consumers informed of all potential uses when they give permission for their data to be collected? Are consumers' identities given sufficient protection when their data is collected and used? Is excessive electronic clutter being created? Is the cause being promoted in keeping with cultural standards of good taste and decency?

Problem	Questions for Corporate Social Marketers
Marketing has unintended consequences	Are any individuals or groups harmed by the social marketing? Is the social marketplace harmed in any way by the social marketing campaign? Does the social marketing campaign have any negative consequences?
Corporate social marketing is a misuse of shareholder assets	Is the company benefiting substantially enough to maintain the initiative over time so that it is a win/win situation for company and cause?
Companies are meddling in areas in which they have insufficient skills	Is society better off because of the program? Has corporate involvement allowed this program to perform better than it would if it were managed by only a nonprofit organization or a government agency?
Companies cherry-pick the attractive causes	Are some important causes being neglected by corporate social marketers? Are some causes receiving undue attention and monopolizing corporate social marketing efforts?
Corporate social marketing creates a chilling effect on nonprofits	Are company leaders sending subtle or not so subtle signals that they will withdraw their support if they disagree with stances taken by nonprofit and public leaders?
Companies wield too much power	Is decision-making collaborative and inclusive of all partners? Are all partners sharing/receiving the credit and publicity that they are due? Are public and nonprofit partners treated respectfully and fairly?
Companies spend too much on the marketing and donate too little to the cause	Is the advertising-to-donation ratio responsible, ethical, and representative of good stewardship?

Note. Partially adapted from "Ethical Issues in Social Marketing" by P. Murphy and P. Bloom, in S. Fine, (Ed.), *Social Marketing: Promoting the Causes of Public and Nonprofit Agencies* (pp. 68–78), 1990, Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon. Copyright 1990 by Allyn and Bacon. Adapted by permission of Seymour Fine.

much debate and disagreement about what actually is "good" in protest and revolutionary social marketing, and what is good for one segment may not be good for another segment. Partisans on both sides of an issue will actively promote their own visions of social welfare, and "social marketing could be used by the Ku Klux Klan, the German National Socialist (Nazi) Party, Mother Teresa, and both pro-life and pro-choice forces" (Andreasen, 1994, p. 113). Also, what is good for society as a whole may disadvantage certain individuals. For example, family planning in developing nations with escalating birth rates may be advantageous for society in general, but it may disadvantage poor, rural farmers who depend on their children as workers and as providers for them in their old age (Smith, 2001).

As acknowledged earlier, social marketing, especially for protest and revolutionary causes, often warrants and receives First Amendment protection. Because of this, in the United States, constitutional law has determined that no one other than the social marketer will determine what messages are responsible and ethical. Social marketers should recognize the immense responsibility they have as they make judgments regarding what is good for others and fashion persuasive social messages, especially when there is little societal consensus regarding whether the cause is beneficial.

Marketing is deceptive. A long-standing concern about marketers is that they "lie, do not fully disclose relevant information, and are guilty of . . . extreme embellishment" (Murphy & Bloom, 1990, p. 73). Most commercial speech regulation focuses on assuring that advertising messages in the mass media are not deceptive or misleading. Legal scholars Tushnet and Goldman (2012) stated the essence of advertising law:

> No matter who the challenger is and no matter what the forum, the basic target of false advertising law is the same: deception that tends to make consumers more likely to buy what the advertiser is selling (or less likely to buy the competitors' products or services). (pp. 160–161)

In determining whether a commercial message is misleading, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and the courts typically consider whether the overall effect of an advertisement portrays a material fact in a manner that would mislead a reasonable consumer. A material fact is one that matters in the decision to purchase the product or service. The portrayal of the material fact may be an explicit statement, or it may be implied by text, visuals, or a combination of the two. It may be misleading by what is omitted as well as by what is stated.

An example of a social marketing claim that would not be acceptable as commercial speech would be the presentation of factual information in a way that implies that a disease or problem is more prevalent than it actually is, in order to create a sense of urgency among consumers. Another example would be presenting scientific information about which there is uncertainty and ambiguity in a manner that makes it appear to be "truth." In corporate social marketing, some companies have implied in their cause-related advertisements that their donations to causes were substantial when they were actually giving very little (Andreasen & Drumwright, 2001). Note that U.S. law has determined that only misleading statements of fact are actionable. It has chosen not to regulate nonfactual aspects of advertising (e.g., subjective statements of opinion; "atmospherics," such as the use of attractive people) on the "theory that they are nonfactual and that no *reasonable* consumer would be affected by such a claim" (Tushnet & Goldman, 2012, p. 161).

Advertising messages in electronic media are largely unaddressed by law. Electronic media have been characterized as "'The Wild West'—a rough and tough, no-holds-barred context in which the regulations, guidelines and controls of traditional media are absent"—essentially, an environment in which anything goes (Drumwright & Murphy, 2009, p. 87). Nonprofits and public agencies have generally been enthusiastic adopters of electronic media because of the low cost in comparison to mass media, which increases the importance of ethical sensitivity in their use. Many of the ethical concerns have to do with the absence of checks and balances, the advertiser's loss of control, a lack of transparency, and violations of privacy (Drumwright & Murphy, 2009). Particularly troubling ethical issues are raised by stealth marketing, which typically exposes consumers to promotional messages that they do not recognize as advertising. For example, social marketers who hire student interns to assume fake personas and send out favorable messages in an attempt to seed viral marketing are participating in stealth marketing.

Even though much social marketing is not subject to commercial speech regulation, social marketing messages should certainly meet—and, many would argue, exceed—the regulatory standards applied to commercial speech. Public reaction to a recent New York City Health Department anti-obesity campaign illustrates that some people have even higher standards for integrity and authenticity in social marketing than in commercial marketing. In a hard-hitting ad campaign against super-sized portions of fast food and sugary sodas, the New York City Health Department portrayed a diabetic with an amputated leg by electronically manipulating a stock photo of an able-bodied person instead of photographing an actual amputee (McGeehan, 2012). Even though manipulating a photo is a common

technique in commercial advertising, several critics found it objectionable in a social marketing campaign.

Marketing is unfair. Commercial marketing and advertising are required by U.S. law to be nondeceptive, but fair marketing and advertising typically go beyond the law and require ethical and responsible behavior by commercial marketers (Drumwright, 2014). Fair social marketing would compel these marketers to be forthright and transparent about any trade-offs, risks, or uncertainties involved in the behaviors that they are promoting. It would also prompt them to take into account any vulnerabilities of their target consumers that would hinder those consumers in making independent, competent, and informed decisions. For example, in certain circumstances, some consumers (e.g., children, the elderly, the illiterate) may not have the skills or the capabilities to make choices about social marketing behaviors competently. Fair social marketing would also refrain from appeals that have detrimental effects, such as graphic fear appeals that create dysfunctional anxiety (e.g., safe driving campaigns that show pedestrians bouncing off the hoods of automobiles).

New media create new opportunities for persuasion and raise new ethical issues. For example, social marketers target children with "advergames" on websites (Cai, 2008; Cicchirillo & Lin, 2011; Moore, 2004, 2014). Advergames are videogames with branded content that prompt extended engagement from children, often exposing them to promotional messages for 10 to 15 minutes. Research has demonstrated that advergames affect awareness, attitudes, and choice (Hernandez & Chapa, 2010; Moore & Rideout, 2007; Mallinckrodt & Mizerski, 2007), and that children often have difficulty distinguishing entertainment from persuasion in advergames as well as on websites and in viral marketing (Cicchirillo, 2014; Eastin, Yang, & Nathanson, 2006). Fair social marketing should take into account the limitations of children and the potentially problematic characteristics of the medium (e.g., the entertainment and extended play prompted by advergames).

It would behoove social marketers to apply the consumer sovereignty test, which was designed to help commercial marketers assess informed choice (Smith, 1995). It addresses three issues:

1. Do consumers have the capability to make an independent and competent decision, or do they have vulnerabilities that limit their capacities (e.g., age, education, income)?
2. Do consumers have sufficient information to make a competent and independent decision?
3. Do consumers have a choice and the opportunity to change their minds without excessive switching costs?

Note that the consumer sovereignty test does not deal with stakeholders other than the consumers of the offering, but other stakeholders often are important constituents of social marketing (e.g., volunteers, donors, citizens at large, partner organizations).

Marketing is wasteful. It can be expensive to differentiate offerings and communicate persuasive messages in a competitive marketplace. Social marketing has "long been called to task for spending money on marketing social causes" (Murphy & Bloom, 1990), and as competition has increased in the social marketplace, so have social marketing expenditures. Public agencies and nonprofit organizations are expected to be good stewards of their resources, and social marketing is no exception. Concerns about wastefulness raise several issues for social marketers.

First, one must consider whether social marketing is the best way to bring about the desired social change. Social marketers should consider whether resources could be more effectively spent on other nonprofit and government functions. For example, would money for smoking cessation be better spent on hiring more counselors rather than on social marketing? Murphy and Bloom (1990) suggested that some beneficial social marketing causes may be so well accepted that widespread promotion is unnecessary. In a competitive marketplace, one can imagine an organization engaging in social marketing more for its own organizational branding purposes than because the cause itself requires marketing.

Second, social marketers must consider whether the causes, consumers, and society at large are better off after the causes have been marketed. Particularly with protest and revolutionary causes, as one faction increases spending on marketing, the ante is upped, and the other factions typically follow suit (e.g., a cause version of the cola wars). In addition to wasted resources, the effect may be that conflicting, negative messages confuse consumers and/or cause them to react cynically (Murphy & Bloom, 1990). For instance, the initial social marketing related to giving Gardasil, the vaccine for the human papillomavirus (HPV), to teenage girls was quite partisan, and there was some indication that it confused consumers.

Marketing plays favorites. Market segmentation, "the process of dividing a market into distinct subsets of customers that behave in the same way or have similar needs" (American Marketing Association, 2008, "market segmentation") is typically at the heart of effective marketing strategy. In commercial marketing, attractive market segments typically are those that are the most profitable: people who can afford to pay, who are receptive, and/or who can be reached with little—or at least reasonable—cost. In contrast, in social marketing, the segments that need the social marketing message the most are often those who can least afford to pay, who are

the most resistant to change, and who are the most difficult and costly to reach. For example, how much should Outward Bound, a nonprofit that provides outdoor leadership training, spend targeting disadvantaged populations (e.g., poor youth, drug addicts) versus advantaged populations (e.g., affluent youth, executives)?

Market segmentation, particularly when combined with competitive pressures and funding concerns, could prompt social marketers to neglect or give short shrift to unattractive segments, such as poor people, minorities, or those who are resistant. Companies are especially likely to see segments with the potential to become loyal customers as attractive targets for their corporate social marketing efforts. Certainly it is infeasible to be "everything to everyone," and some segmentation is essential to effective social marketing, but social marketers must think carefully about which groups are being omitted and why. Perhaps a concomitant ethical question involves how much should be spent to reach resistant segments.

Marketing is intrusive. Marketing's potential for intrusiveness has typically taken two forms: invasion of personal privacy and spoiling of the environment (Murphy & Bloom, 1990). As media and messages have proliferated and become more personalized in recent years (e.g., email marketing, telemarketing, Internet-based advertising, social media), marketing's potential to intrude has increased exponentially. Concerns about invading consumers' privacy have been exacerbated by technological advancements that have enabled behavioral targeting, which allows electronic publishers and advertisers to collect personal information about consumers from their online activities. These data typically are sold to advertisers, who use them in identifying target markets for their campaigns. When the data are collected (i.e., "mined") or sold without consumers' knowledge, it is considered an invasion of privacy. Data mining and behavioral targeting can be particularly problematic for social marketers, because they often seek and have access to highly sensitive consumer information (e.g., sexual history, donation history, membership in political organizations).

Behavioral targeting has been a focus of FTC attention for some time. Despite some industry attempts at self-regulation, FTC chairwoman Edith Ramirez recently called for "an effective and meaningful" system "that would let consumers signal with their browsers to websites, advertising networks and data brokers that they do not want their online behavior monitored for marketing purposes" (Guynn, 2013, para. 2). Because so many consumers access the Internet through smartphones and tablets, the FTC also has urged the mobile industry to include "do not track" features in software and apps on smartphones and tablets (Wyatt, 2013). Note that

behavioral tracking of children under 13 years of age is regulated through the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act, which requires parental permission and disclosure of how the information will be used when it is collected from children under 13. Social marketers certainly have an ethical obligation to permit consumers to opt out of data collection, secure their permission before collecting data, inform them of the uses of the data in clear and understandable terms, and protect their identities when they permit their data to be collected.

Marketing has the potential both to pollute the natural environment (e.g., discarded packaging, outdoor media) and clutter the airwaves and electronic media. One would certainly expect social marketers to be good stewards of natural resources, just as they are expected to be good stewards of other resources. Because their budgets are substantially lower than those of commercial marketers, social marketers have not been criticized for advertising clutter in the mass media in the same way that commercial marketers have been. However, the costs of social marketing through electronic media are much lower than through most other media, so the potential of social marketers to create excessive electronic advertising clutter or spam is more probable now than ever. Taste and decency in messages have been considered environmental issues in advertising, and social marketers should be attuned to these issues as well. For example, some family planning social marketing programs in developing nations have been criticized for not respecting religious and cultural traditions (Smith, 2001).

Marketing has unintended consequences. Scholars from various disciplines have drawn attention to and lamented marketing's unintended consequences and social byproducts (Pollay, 1986). Although there are a myriad of criticisms related to marketing's unintended consequences, one criticism that pertains specifically to social marketers is that of creating and/or reinforcing problematic stereotypes. It is often easy to create or perpetuate a stereotype of people affected by a social problem while attempting to motivate others to avoid it.

For example, a Georgia anti-obesity campaign targeted parents who were not taking their children's weight problems seriously (Kiff, 2012). A recent study had shown that 75 percent of parents with obese children did not realize that their children were obese, and that 50 percent of parents did not know that childhood obesity was a problem—in Georgia, where nearly 40 percent of children are overweight or obese (Gray, 2012). The ads portrayed close-up, black-and-white photos of unattractive, sad-looking, obese children with headlines such as "WARNING: It's hard to be a little girl when you are not little," and "WARNING: Fat prevention begins at home and in the buffet line."

The ads stirred intense controversy and criticism for further stigmatizing overweight children and making them ashamed of their bodies, but the social marketers who created the campaign argued that the harsh tone was necessary (Gray, 2012). The possibility of unintended consequences is implicit in much of the above discussion; because social marketers intend to do good, any negative outcome is an unintended consequence. Marketers should be on the alert to recognize any unintended harmful consequences to individuals, groups, the social marketplace, or society more generally.

Ethical Issues for Corporate Social Marketers

Additional ethical issues may arise when commercial players and commercial interests enter the social marketing marketplace. Following is a discussion of several ethical concerns that are specific to corporate social marketing.

Corporate social marketing is a misuse of shareholder assets. Some scholars assert that the use of corporate resources for social marketing represents a misappropriation of shareholder assets (Friedman, 1970; Stein, 1983). In their view, the only social responsibility of companies is to generate profits for shareholders and jobs for workers. In response to concerns about misusing shareholder assets, companies and their public and nonprofit partners must be attuned to whether the company is benefiting and how. Research has demonstrated that corporate social marketing can result in financial, human, and social capital, and that companies typically sustain corporate social marketing only if they are benefiting consistently in a compelling way (Berger, Cunningham, & Drumwright, 2004). Sustaining corporate social marketing initiatives is important because causes rarely benefit significantly from initiatives that are short or sporadic.

Companies are meddling in areas in which they have insufficient skills. Historically, companies have not been known for their expertise in social issues. However, increased pressures and expectations related to corporate social responsibility have prompted some companies to develop the expertise needed to address the social issues on which they are most criticized. Companies often work in conjunction with nonprofit or public partners to address these issues. For example, in 2007, Coca-Cola, working in partnership with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), announced a goal to return to communities and to nature an amount of water equivalent to what the company uses in all of its beverages and their production ("Coca-Cola Company," 2013). In 2013 Coca-Cola's partnership with

WWF was expanded to a global partnership focusing not only on water but also on the sustainable management of energy, packaging, and the sourcing of agricultural ingredients. As another example, Starbucks works with Save the Children to improve children's health and education in coffee-growing communities in Indonesia ("Goals and progress," 2013). Bloom, Hussein, and Szykman (1995) proposed a two-question test to determine whether companies should be involved in corporate social marketing: First, is society better off because of the corporate social marketing program? And second, has corporate involvement allowed this program to perform better than it would if it were managed by only a nonprofit organization or a government agency? The answer to both questions should be a resounding "yes" to justify company involvement in social marketing. One reason partnerships between companies and nonprofits or public agencies are popular is because these organizations can provide companies with much-needed expertise regarding their selected causes.

Companies cherry-pick the attractive causes. Many firms choose to focus corporate social marketing programs on popular, attractive, socially acceptable causes—a practice described as cherry-picking (Andreasen & Drumwright, 2001). For example, breast cancer has been among the most popular corporate causes, and it is attractive and marketable for a variety of reasons. Many affluent people are affected by it or concerned about it, so it has high visibility on the public agenda and is likely to attract media attention. Its incidence is high, and it is not associated with any social sins or disreputable groups. Many people without a family history of breast cancer contract it, so it is difficult to predict who will be affected. With early detection and treatment, the survival rate for breast cancer is high, and it lends itself to positive social marketing messages of conquering the disease and thriving.

It is also possible to cherry-pick within a given cause such as breast cancer. For example, companies often prefer to be involved with the more glamorous aspects of the cause—such as funding potentially breakthrough research—rather than the less glamorous but very necessary aspects, such as providing transportation to and from mammography clinics for poor women.

Unfortunately, the importance of a cause is not necessarily correlated with its popularity and attractiveness. Early on, this was the case for AIDS, which had the potential to create an epidemic but was associated with some groups that were viewed unfavorably by many at the time. Likewise, causes such as domestic violence and date rape are important, but they make some people feel uncomfortable. In short, the concern is that company involvement in social marketing will create and exacerbate a "market

mentality" in which causes receive support based on their potential for popularity rather than their need. Corporate social marketers should take into account the urgency and neediness of a cause and not just its popularity. As an aside, finding a part of the social marketplace that is not cluttered with other companies can be helpful to company branding around a cause.

Corporate social marketing creates a chilling effect on nonprofits. Public and nonprofit leaders sometimes must speak out on highly controversial and polarized issues such as health care, welfare, or prison reform, not to mention abortion, gay rights, or other topics that company leaders typically avoid (Andreasen & Drumwright, 2001). Companies could create pressure, even if subtle, on public and nonprofit leaders to hold their tongues or refrain from building political coalitions for fear of offending or alienating their company partners and losing funds for social marketing. Such pressure could conceivably create ethical issues not only for nonprofit and public leaders but also for company leaders.

Companies wield too much power. Corporate social marketing partnerships are often characterized by imbalances in power, and typically the company is the more powerful partner (Berger et al., 2004). Companies may perceive that they "own" the initiative because they are the primary funders, and they may attempt to call the shots and take a disproportionate share of the credit and publicity. This perspective is at times reflected in the initiative's name, which often has no mention of the nonprofit or public partner (e.g., Avon Breast Cancer Crusade, Yoplait Save Lids to Save Lives). When disagreements develop over strategy or tactics, companies may attempt to use their power to coerce their partners to comply. A related problem is the tendency of companies to micromanage their nonprofit or public partners' participation in the initiative. These heavy-handed approaches by companies can be perceived by public and nonprofit partners as intrusive, arrogant, and disrespectful, and they can create ethical issues.

Companies spend too much on the marketing and donate too little to the cause. American Express, one of the early players in corporate social marketing, was roundly criticized regarding both its Statue of Liberty and Charge Against Hunger campaigns for spending significantly more to promote its partnerships than it donated to the causes (Ratnesar, 1997; Smith & Stodghill, 1994). For example, American Express's donation to Share Our Strength, its nonprofit partner in the Charge Against Hunger campaign, was capped at $5 million, but the amount the company spent on advertising its partnership with Share Our Strength was two to three times greater. One could assert that a disproportionate advertising-to-donation ratio is irresponsible and unethical (Andreasen & Drumwright, 2001).

Analyzing Ethical Issues

Moral philosophy provides theories, models, and frameworks that enable social marketers to analyze ethical issues in systematic, sophisticated, and nuanced ways. Following are presented five approaches to analyzing ethical issues and discussion of them in the context of social marketing. The first four cover the major philosophical theories that can be applied to social marketing decisions: utilitarianism, duty-based ethics, virtue, and the social contract. The fifth approach—religious models—pertains to the theological underpinnings of ethics that are implicitly used by some social marketers. All of the approaches have strengths and weakness, and there is no "magic bullet." The authors' recommendation is that social marketers facing an ethical issue first identify the theory toward which they are naturally gravitating in analyzing the issue, and then prompt themselves to apply other approaches as well. Often, multiple approaches lead to similar conclusions about the "ethicalness" of a given action, but at times, they diverge. When the conclusions diverge, social marketers must be prepared to defend the approach (or approaches) to moral reasoning that they have chosen.

Utilitarianism

Probably the most widely understood and commonly applied ethical theory is utilitarianism (Mill, 1861/1979). Essentially, this theory states that a decision concerning social marketing conduct is proper if—and only if—that decision produces the greatest good for the greatest number of individuals. "Good" is usually defined as the net benefits that accrue to those parties affected by the choice. Primarily, all of the stakeholders affected by the decision should be given just consideration. Utilitarianism deals with outcomes or end goals, and reasoning that "the end justifies the means" is one classic implication of utilitarian thinking. In social marketing, utilitarian thinking could justify using coercion or some other problematic approach to achieve the end goal of motivating many people to adopt the desired behavior, which creates positive outcomes. Using utilitarian reasoning, the Georgia anti-obesity campaign's harsh approach that perpetuated stereotypes of overweight children, who accounted for 40% of the population, could be justified if it motivated the remaining 60% of children to avoid gaining weight. As discussed below, this is not acceptable using other ethical theories.

Consequentialist or outcome-based approaches such as utilitarianism tend to be popular approaches with commercial and social marketers because they

are compatible with the idea of maximizing goals. For example, commercial marketers could draw the broader conclusion that the greatest good for society is equivalent to the highest profitability and/or the most clients, thus justifying their behavior. Similarly, social marketers could assume that the highest adoption of social marketing behavior or the most funds raised for social marketing causes is equivalent to the greatest good for society and justifies their behavior. It is easy to see how these systems (classical utilitarianism and financial optimization/social marketing goal optimization), which are oriented to maximizing results, are philosophically compatible.

Duty-Based Ethics

A second category of ethical theories comprises those classified by philosophers as deontological (i.e., duty-based). This impressive-sounding word simply indicates that actions are best judged as "good," standing alone and without regard to consequences or outcomes. Based on these theories, intentions or motivations, and not exclusively the act itself, determine whether a social marketing decision is ethical or unethical. Perhaps the most famous duty-based theory was developed by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1785/1981). He contended that moral laws took the form of categorical imperatives—principles that defined behavior appropriate in all situations and that should be followed by all persons as a matter of duty. Kant proposed three formulations of his supreme categorical (i.e., unconditional) imperative as follows:

1. Act only on maxims that you can will to be universal laws of nature (universality formulation);
2. Always treat the humanity in a person as an end and never merely as a means (human dignity formulation); and
3. Act as if you were a member of an ideal kingdom of ends in which you were both subject and sovereign at the same time (moral community formulation).

For both business and social marketing, duty-based approaches to ethics have important implications. These approaches suggest, among other things, that cost-benefit analysis is inappropriate for evaluating some situations, because decisions that produce good outcomes for the organization or social marketer but significantly hurt other stakeholders in the process are not morally acceptable. Because means as well as ends should be subjected to moral evaluation, an implication of duty-based theories is that sometimes business and social marketing executives must take actions that do not produce the best economic or social marketing outcomes. To do otherwise could be ethically wrong. That is, some actions might violate the basic duty to treat everyone fairly. For example, using duty-based reasoning, fear

> appeals that create excessive anxiety to promote social marketing goals would not be acceptable, even if those appeals are effective at prompting people to adopt the desired behaviors. Likewise, the Georgia anti-obesity campaign that perpetuated a harmful stereotype of overweight children could not be justified even if it motivated the majority of children, who are not obese, to avoid overeating.

A corollary theory to duty-based ethics is rights-based ethics. These two approaches may be likened to two sides of the same coin: Every right has a correlative duty. For example, the right to free speech is accompanied by a duty to allow others to express their opinions, even if they are antithetical to what one believes. Moral rights are justifiable claims or entitlements. The United States is considered by many to be a society based on moral rights; the reference to the rights of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" is a key phrase in the Declaration of Independence, and the first 10 amendments to the U.S. Constitution are known as the Bill of Rights.

In the social marketing world, rights are often invoked as a rationale for certain actions. For example, many people hold the belief that Americans have the right to education or health care, and this belief drives both governmental and nonprofit administrators and their social marketing efforts. In recent years, a troubling trend has been the argument by some for "duty-less rights." This means, for example, that an individual can express an opinion on gun control or the right to bear arms without accepting the duty to listen to the opposing point of view (Selbourne, 1994). Because social marketers so often deal with issues that are based on rights, they must understand and apply theories related to both rights and duties simultaneously.

Social Contract Theory

Social contract theory (SCT) is based on the most fundamental considerations for maintaining social order and harmony. Its premise is that people must generally agree to abstain from exploiting one another, and to ensure that this does not occur, rules and mechanisms to enforce cooperation are required. SCT assumes that a hypothetical social contract exists that encompasses actual ethical standards that permit individuals and groups to interact in mutually supportive, or at least benign, ways. In other words, it assumes that social marketers both desire and expect there to be basic ethical rules to govern their transactions. According to SCT, social marketers envision global humanity coming together to work out a

rational arrangement for ethics in life. SCT has special implications for social marketers' relationships with other organizations—both collaborators and competitors—and for relationships with less powerful parties, especially those who are dependent on social marketers. For example, SCT implies that international social marketers, such as Greenpeace or the Red Cross, will use the same high ethical standards to govern marketing relationships and communications throughout the world.

Virtue Ethics

The fourth approach to analyzing ethical issues, virtue ethics, is a comprehensive theory that has a long tradition and is currently receiving renewed emphasis. In part, virtue ethics is a contemporary reaction to the rampant relativism wherein society seems to lack a way of reaching moral agreement about ethical problems. Virtue ethics is different from the utilitarian and duty-based theories in that the emphasis is on the "decider/person" and not the decision.

While the essence of virtue ethics cannot easily be captured in a few sentences, several key elements reflect this mode of thinking. Virtues are essentially good habits. For an organization to flourish, these habits must be practiced, and the uninitiated managers in the organization must learn these virtues. This point has powerful implications for social marketers, including the notions that (a) social marketers can only become virtuous by actually engaging in ethical activities, and (b) organizations have to teach social marketers precisely what the appropriate virtues are. In other words, organizations that engage in social marketing—whether nonprofit organizations, public agencies, or companies—have the responsibility to help foster ethical behavior.

Another dimension of virtue ethics is that admirable characteristics are most readily discovered by witnessing and imitating widely acclaimed behavior. Aristotle, while focusing on the individual rather than the organization, listed such virtues as truthfulness, justice, generosity, and self-control as characteristics to which the noble person should aspire. In the theory of virtue, much attention is placed on role models. It takes virtuous people to make the right decisions, and virtue is learned by doing.

Many social marketers would probably judge themselves as following the virtue approach, because it is consonant with the emphasis that the public and nonprofit sectors place on helping people and bringing about desirable outcomes for society. One of the shortcomings of virtue ethics is that two important virtues can sometimes conflict. For example, imagine a social marketer in a developing nation that is suffering from a famine. Food

has arrived, but the infrastructure to distribute the food is not ready. If the social marketer is honest and tells the media that the food has arrived, rioters and looters will no doubt take or destroy the food supply, which would be wasteful and unjust. The social marketer is forced to choose between competing virtues: honesty versus stewardship and justice.

Religious Models

The four ethical schools of thought presented above are properly characterized as mostly secular or civic. They are the product of moral reasoning, based on human experience, and can be viewed as applying to and being derived from nature or the world as opposed to any religious or sectarian source. However, it is also relevant to recognize the extent to which religion contributes to the ethical standards observed in social marketing and in the world more generally.

Because of the historical importance of trade, both within and between communities, it has been natural for business people to seek moral guidance from religious sources—and for religious leaders to provide such guidance as representing divine instruction. In particular, the Judeo-Christian, Confucian, Jewish, Islamic, and Buddhist religions all have ethical precepts at their core. (For a discussion of these religious models of ethics, see Murphy et al., 2012, pp. 34–39.) Many believe that the world's religions have much to offer in terms of ethical guidance to marketers—especially to social marketers, most of whom intend to make the world a better place through their endeavors. One concept that spans both the religious and secular theories is the Golden Rule, which is discussed in virtually every world religion (Dalla Costa, 1999). Its central idea is that people should treat others in the manner that they would want others to treat them in similar circumstances. In recognizing cultural influences on human behavior, regardless of any individual's own religious heritage, the primary rules and principles of religious sources continue to be a dominant force in the development and maintenance of worldwide social norms. In fact, a significant minority of social marketing organizations still maintain a strong religious heritage and foundation.

Again, none of the theories or approaches is a "magic bullet." Many people habitually tend to gravitate to one preferred approach to moral reasoning. The authors recommend that social marketers become aware of the approach(es) that they are using and then systematically analyze the ethical dilemma using other approaches. When the approaches diverge, social marketers should attempt to defend the approach or theory that they have used for guidance.

Acting Ethically

In evaluating complex ethical decisions in a social marketing context, it is helpful if both administrators and employees utilize a multiple-step process to analyze and solve these dilemmas. Murphy and colleagues (2012, pp. 41–44) suggested a seven-step approach of (1) determining the facts of the situation, (2) identifying the relevant ethical issues or questions, (3) articulating the affected stakeholders, (4) selecting an ethical theory or standard (see discussion above), (5) specifying the alternatives and applying the relevant theories/concepts, (6) making and justifying the decision, and (7) monitoring the decision's outcomes. This process is not an easy one, but it treats difficult ethical questions in a systematic manner. Following is a discussion of two aspects of the process: generating alternatives and implementing ethical decisions.

Generating Alternatives

After identifying and analyzing an ethical issue, social marketers must consider their alternatives for ethical action. Drumwright and Murphy (2004) observed that some advertising professionals demonstrated what scholars have referred to as moral imagination (e.g., Johnson, 1993; Werhane, 1999). Moral imagination is the ability to think outside the box and imagine moral alternatives that others do not. Individuals with moral imagination have the resourcefulness to generate unique insights that lead them to envision ways to be both ethical and successful. Drumwright and Murphy (2004) noted that the advertising professionals with moral imagination in their study had mastered the various aspects of Rest's (1984) model of four psychological components that determine moral behavior:

> 1) moral sensitivity (interpreting the situation), 2) moral judgment (judging which action is morally right/wrong, 3) moral motivation (prioritizing moral values relative to other values), and 4) moral character (having courage, persisting, overcoming distractions, implementing skills). (p. 23)

Drumwright and Murphy (2004) observed that moral imagination is akin to what Levitt (1986, pp. 127–128) identified as "marketing imagination," through which marketers make "an inspired leap from the obvious to the meaningful," reconceptualize a problem, and generate a solution to it. Inasmuch as social marketers can develop marketing imagination, they should be able to develop moral imagination.

Implementing Ethical Decisions

After social marketing professionals determine what the ethical alternative is in a given situation, they must implement it. Implementation is particularly important because even individuals who have identified the ethical response can make bad ethical decisions if they do not know how to act on their values. Giving Voice to Values (GVV) is a business ethics research and curriculum development initiative that focuses on post-decision-making implementation. It is designed to enable individuals to develop the skills that they need to put their values into action (Gentile, 2010). GVV draws on the concept of scripts from social psychology, which are cognitive structures that, when activated, help people organize and understand events (Abelson, 1981). Through GVV, individuals develop ethics-related scripts by studying cases that present typical ethical dilemmas in their professions. Through the cases, individuals practice articulating arguments and rehearsing action plans related to giving voice to their values and acting on them (Gentile, 2010). Research has demonstrated that people who have built scripts are those who are likely to have the courage to put their scripts into action in difficult circumstances (London, 1970). GVV educational programs that focus on ethical issues in social marketing could certainly be developed for academic degree programs and continuing education programs.

As the above discussion indicates, acting ethically draws on many of the same skills of imagination, resourcefulness, problem solving, persuasion, and action that social marketers—indeed, all effective marketers—use in responding to and implementing other types of strategic and tactical decisions. Nonetheless, social marketing often presents a complicated context for ethical decision-making, and reasonable people can disagree about what type of social marketing is right and ethical. The authors argue that disagreement is not the problem, but the failure to recognize the immense ethical questions that social marketers must respond to is. Social marketers must embrace their ethical responsibilities and engage in reasoned, reflective decision-making based on sound moral principles.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

Empirical Generalizations for Social Marketing

George R. Franke

All empirical research is intended to have implications for more than the specific respondents, measures, settings, time frames, and other study characteristics that produce the available data. Generalizations can be made with more confidence when consistent results are found in multiple studies by different authors in varied settings using alternative research procedures (Barwise, 1995). Good empirical generalizations help researchers, managers, and policy makers understand the potential effects of marketing or regulatory actions on social welfare. For example, knowing consumers' average responses to price changes—that is, their price elasticity of demand—allows forecasts of the health and revenue effects of taxes on fatty foods (Mytton, Gray, Rayner, & Rutter, 2007), sugar-sweetened beverages (Andreyeva, Chaloupka, & Brownell, 2011), and cigarettes (Levy, Chaloupka, & Gitchell, 2004).

This chapter focuses on empirical generalizations provided by meta-analytic summaries of research streams relevant to social marketing. Meta-analyses compile and analyze effect sizes, which quantify the magnitudes of the relationships between variables or the differences between groups (Cooper, Hedges, & Valentine, 2009; Franke, 2001). In addition to providing norms for average effect sizes, a meta-analysis can show the robustness of such generalizations in terms of how many studies and observations underlie the average and how variable the effects are across studies. The analysis may also reveal moderators that systematically increase or decrease

the observed effect sizes. This information can help in prioritizing problems to address, setting goals for social marketing programs, and understanding the potential costs and benefits of alternative marketing and regulatory strategies.

True social marketing programs can be defined in terms of multiple criteria, such as designing interventions for specific target groups, aiming to change voluntary behaviors rather than just attitudes or knowledge, and using multiple elements of the marketing mix (Andreasen, 1994; McDermott, Stead, & Hastings, 2005). However, useful generalizations for social marketing purposes can come from many sources and many topics that do not intrinsically involve social marketing programs. Attitudes and intentions may be important precursors to behaviors, for example, and studies that focus on individual marketing dimensions, such as research on aggregate advertising or price elasticities, may suggest strategies for the broader marketing mix of a social marketing program. Therefore, this review presents findings from research in fields such as communication, consumer behavior, criminology, economics, environmental studies, health care, marketing, psychology, and public policy, not just social marketing specifically.

The scope of generalizations that may be relevant to social marketing is essentially limitless, because almost any behavior may have implications for health and well-being. This review focuses primarily on the antecedents rather than the consequences of behaviors (e.g., prices and cigarette consumption rather than cigarette consumption and lung cancer). Types of generalizations are grouped into several sections. The first set summarizes the results for interventions designed to reduce outcomes such as substance abuse, obesity, and school bullying or to improve outcomes such as safe sex or organ donation. To illustrate the potential for efforts to improve personal and social well-being, this section includes meta-analytic results for both traditional marketing mix elements and a variety of other interventions (e.g., group meetings to promote driver safety). Social marketing focuses on changing behaviors, but changing attitudes and intentions may be essential steps toward achieving behavioral goals. Therefore, another section summarizes the relationships between attitudes, intentions, and behaviors, for research in general as well as for specific practices such as blood donation, exercise, and smoking.

Promotional efforts are often important components of social marketing programs, so this review then examines the effects of promotional techniques such as comparative advertising, fear appeals, and warning labels. Advertising elasticities, which show the effects of ad spending rather than message elements, are summarized separately. Price elasticities for alcohol, cigarettes, and other products are summarized in a fifth set of generalizations. Because

socially responsible organizational behaviors may improve both corporate and social well-being, a final section summarizes the effects of corporate social or environmental performance on financial performance.

Empirical generalizations on these issues are largely presented in terms of four types of effect sizes: correlation coefficients, elasticities, standardized mean differences, and odds ratios. To facilitate interpretation of the findings, the next section provides a brief review of the meaning and interpretation of these metrics. Much more detail is available in sources such as Borenstein (2009) and Cooper and colleagues (2009).

Interpreting Effect Sizes

The correlation coefficient, usually symbolized r, is a measure of the strength of the linear relationship between two variables. It equals the covariance between two variables divided by the product of their standard deviations, and is therefore constrained to a range between –1 and +1. As r approaches ±1, a scatterplot of the variables' values approaches a straight line (sloping up for $r = 1$ and down for $r = -1$). When $r = 0$, there is no (linear) relationship between the variables. Values of r equal to .1, .3, and .5 are often considered to be small, medium, and large effects, respectively (Cohen, 1992). Dunlap's (1994) common language effect size indicator, or CL_R, helps to clarify the practical implications of these values. For example, Dunlap notes that the correlation between fathers' heights and sons' heights is about .40, giving $CL_R = \sin^{-1}(.40)/\pi + .5 = .63$. This value implies that the taller of two fathers has a 63% likelihood of having the taller son. CL_R values for $r = .0$, .1, .3, and .5 equal .500, .532, .597, and .667, respectively. Thus, if two variables, x and y, are uncorrelated ($r_{xy} = 0$), then knowing that one of two people has a higher x value indicates nothing about which of the two has a higher y value. If $r_{xy} = .3$, though, then the person who has a higher x value has a 60% chance of having a higher y value, or 3-to-2 odds. If $r_{xy} = .5$, the person who has a higher x value has a 67% chance of having a higher y value, or 2-to-1 odds. As a concrete example, the correlation between corporate environmental performance and financial performance is .10 (Margolis, Elfenbein, & Walsh, 2009; see Table 8.6). Thus, of two companies, the one that performs better environmentally has a 53% chance of also performing better financially.

An elasticity, e, gives the percent change in quantity demanded of one variable given a 1% change in another variable. Unlike correlations, elasticities can be greater than 1 or less than –1, indicating elastic demand or more-than-proportional responses to changes in inputs. If e is less than 1 in absolute value, demand is inelastic. Price elasticities are typically negative, such that

price increases reduce demand and price decreases increase demand. Advertising elasticities are typically positive, such that changes in demand are in the same direction as changes in advertising. Exceptions are possible—for example, advertising volume could reach the point of annoyance and reduce demand—but the results reported in the tables are all in the usual direction.

Standardized mean differences, often symbolized *d*, summarize differences between groups in terms of the variability within groups. They thus indicate the magnitude of group differences independent of measurement scales. Cohen (1992) suggests that *d* values of .2, .5, and .8 represent small, medium, and large effects, respectively. Roughly 95% of a variable's observations are within ±2 standard deviations of its mean, so that a medium standardized difference between groups is equal to about one-eighth of the variability within groups.

The odds ratio *OR* is the proportion of observations that meet a criterion in one group, such as behavior change given an intervention (e.g., quitting smoking after receiving counseling), relative to another group (e.g., quitting smoking after not receiving counseling). Odds ratios are widely used in research areas involving discrete outcomes, such as contracting or succumbing to a disease. Nevertheless, Fleiss and Berlin (2009, p. 244) suggest that "the meaning of the odds ratio is not intuitively clear." Considering the specific proportions involved may be useful. For example, Sussman, Sun, and Dent (2006; see Table 8.1) report an odds ratio of 1.46 for teen smoking cessation following an intervention. The percentages involved are 9.14% versus 6.24%, an absolute difference of less than three percentage points. The costs and benefits of the intervention may be clearer in terms of the absolute results than in terms of the odds ratios.

Elasticities are interpreted in terms of percentage changes and are difficult to compare with the other measures of effect sizes. However, results given in terms of correlations, standardized mean differences, and odds ratios are interchangeable (Borenstein, 2009). Specifically, $ln(OR)/1.81 = d$, where *ln* indicates the natural logarithm, $d = 2r/\sqrt{(1 - r^2)}$, and $r = d/\sqrt{(d^2 + 4)}$. Thus, the value of $OR = 1.46$ in Sussman, Sun, and Dent (2006) is equivalent to $d = .21$ and $r = .10$, a small effect according to Cohen's (1992) guidelines. This small effect may be important nevertheless, given the potential health benefits of not smoking.

Results for Empirical Generalizations

Given the breadth of this review, obtaining a complete set of relevant meta-analytic studies is not a realistic objective. Just the topic of intervention effects, for example, is huge; Google Scholar reports more than 16,000 results

for studies with meta in the title and intervention anywhere in the document. Studies listed in the tables were found primarily by searching online databases using the keywords "meta" or "research synthesis," plus other terms relevant to social marketing concerns (e.g., as shown in the contents of this book or listed as example behavioral objectives by Kotler & Lee, 2008).

The sets of generalizations described earlier are each reported in a separate table. The tables all have the same format. The source of the generalization lists the authors and indicates when and where the results were published. Then, the nature of the generalization is described. When available, the number of observations is listed. These typically reveal either the number of individuals studied or the number of econometric estimates evaluated in the original sources used in the meta-analyses. The type and magnitude of the effect sizes are then listed, together with their variability in terms of either standard deviations (SD) or 95% confidence intervals (CI), if available. Average effect sizes are shown as *OR* and *d*, if the sources report them as such, and are then converted to *r* for better comparability across studies. Finally, comments may be provided to indicate other study findings or to help in interpreting the generalizations.

Given the variety of generalizations examined, their organization in the tables is necessarily somewhat arbitrary (e.g., Table 8.1 lists findings from an assessment of previous meta-analyses, followed by findings from studies of interventions in mass media and online, followed by results for substance-abuse interventions, interventions on obesity prevention, child-related interventions on media use and school bullying, and so on). For each type of generalization, related results are presented together in chronological order. When a source, topic, or comment is identical to the previous row of the table, it is indicated as (same) rather than being repeated.

An obvious caveat in using the tables is that they summarize large amounts of information to produce broad generalizations. Omitted details and additional insights are available in the meta-analytic sources and the underlying studies.

Interventions on Health and Well-Being

Table 8.1 reports findings for 25 sets of interventions, including health communication campaigns, substance-abuse and obesity prevention, safe-sex practices, driver safety, organ donation, pro-environmental behaviors, and others. A positive generalization of the results is that a variety of intervention types produce desirable changes on average. Without exception, the average effect sizes are in the intended direction—lower weight, less substance abuse, reduced school bullying, and so on.

Table 8.1 Miscellaneous Interventions

Source	Topic	Observations	Samples	Effect Size	SD or (95% CI)	Comment
Snyder et al., *Journal of Health Communication*, 2004	Health campaigns in community-wide mass media	68,362	48	r = .09	(0.07–0.10)	Gives individual results for 8 campaign topics
Derzon & Lipsey, in *Mass Media and Drug Prevention: Classic and Contemporary Theories and Research*, 2002	Mass communications campaigns to reduce substance use		48	d = .03 (r = .015)		Intervention groups increased use, but less than control groups
Bangert-Drowns, *Journal of Drug Education*, 1988	School-based substance abuse education		14	d = .12 (r = .060)		Nonsignificant reduction
Rundall & Bruvold, *Health Education Quarterly*, 1988	School-based alcohol use prevention		12	d = .11 (r = .055)		Reported effect size is for less than 3 months; d = .12 for more than 3 months
(same)	School-based smoking prevention		27	d = .15 (r = .075)		Reported effect size is for less than 3 months; d = .34 for more than 3 months
Hwang, Yeagley, & Petosa, *Health Education & Behavior*, 2004	Adolescent smoking		53	d = .19 (r = .095)	0.01	Reported effect size is for 0–1 year; d = .18 for 1–3 years and d = .09 for >3 years

Sussman, Sun, & Dent, *Health Psychology*, 2006	Teen smoking	15,552	48	*OR* = 1.46 (*r* = .104)		Probability of quitting = 9.14% with interventions, 6.24% without
Rodrigues, Sniehotta, & Araujo-Soares, *Annals of Behavioral Medicine*, 2013	Varied interventions to improve sun-protective behaviors in recreational and tourist settings	9,562	12	*d* = .12 (*r* = .060)	(0.04 – 0.21)	Interventions with adults (*d* = .09) were nonsignificant, unlike interventions with children (*d* = .19)
Luckner, Moss, & Gericke, *European Journal of Public Health*, 2012	Adult obesity prevention	42,751	12	actual change = –.41		Average reduction in BMI across 3 types of interventions
Stice, Shaw, & Marti, *Psychological Bulletin*, 2006	Child and adolescent obesity prevention		64	*r* = .04		Improvement in BMI
Katz et al., *International Journal of Obesity*, 2008	(same)	10,752	8	*d* = .29 (*r* = .143)	(0.45 – 0.14)	Reduction in body weight
Gonzalez-Suarez, Worley, Grimmer-Somers, & Dones, *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 2009	(same)	7,459	7	*OR* = .74 (*r* = –.083)	(0.60 – 0.92)	Intervention reduced prevalence of obesity
(same)	(same)	9,302	12	actual change = –.62	(–1.39 – 0.14)	Nonsignificant reduction in BMI

(*continued*)

Table 8.1 (*Continued*)

Source	Topic	Observations	Samples	Effect Size	SD or (95% CI)	Comment
Luckner et al., *European Journal of Public Health*, 2012	(same)	33,010	63	actual change = –.15		Average reduction in BMI across 7 types of interventions
Maniccia, Davison, Marshall, Manganello, & Dennison, *Pediatrics*, 2011	Children's media use		29	*d* = –.15 (*r* = –.075)	(–0.22 – –0.07)	Interventions reduce "screen time" (television, DVDs, computer games, etc.)
Farrington & Ttofi, *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, 2009	School bullying		28	*OR* = 1.41 (*r* = .094)		Equivalent to 23% fewer bullies in experimental conditions
Franklin, Grant, Corcoran, Miller, & Bultman, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1997	Adolescent pregnancy prevention		25	*d* = .15 (*r* = .075)		Interventions reduce pregnancies
Neumann et al., *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes*, 2002	Heterosexual adult HIV prevention	10,008	10	*OR* = .81 (*r* = –.058)	(0.61 – 0.95)	Interventions improve safe sex behaviors
Johnson, Carey, Marsh, Levin, & Scott-Sheldon, *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*, 2003	Adolescent HIV sexual risk		42	*d* = .07 (*r* = .035)	(0.03 – 0.11)	Interventions increase condom use

Sweat et al., *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 2012	Condom use in developing countries	23,048	6	*OR* = 2.0 (*r* = .188)	(1.4 – 2.8)	Interventions increase condom use; authors warned that quality was low in the studies summarized
Hagenzieker, Bijleveld & Davidse, *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, 1997	Safety belt use		136	actual change = 20.6%		Reported effect size is for short-term increase in seat belt use; long-term increase = 13.7%
Masten & Peck, *Journal of Safety Research*, 2004	Driver improvement	1,640,000	106	*d* = .06 (*r* = .030)	(0.057 – 0.064)	Interventions reduce traffic violations; also reports *d* = .03 for crash rates
Phillips, Ulleberg, & Vaa, *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, 2011	Road safety campaigns		119	actual change = –12%	(–15% – –9%)	Interventions reduce traffic accidents
Feeley & Moon, *Communication Reports*, 2009	Organ donation campaigns	6,647,801	23	*r* = .05		Campaigns increase organ donations
Osbaldiston & Schott, *Environment and Behavior*, 2012	Pro-environmental behaviors		253	*d* = .45 (*r* = .220)	(0.43 – 0.47)	Interventions improve recycling and conservation behaviors

Unfortunately, almost without exception, the effects are rather small. The average across all studies, with all beneficial effects coded to have a positive sign, is $r = .092$. The largest effect is $d = .45$ ($r = .22$), obtained for stress management behaviors (Johnson, Scott-Sheldon, & Carey, 2010) and for dimensions of recycling and conservation efforts (Osbaldiston & Schott, 2012). The next largest is $OR = 2.0$ ($r = .19$), for programs to increase condom use in developing countries. However, the authors report that the quality of the studies analyzed is low due to a lack of randomized controlled trials, demographic differences between test and control groups, and so on (Sweat, Denison, Kennedy, Tedrow, & O'Reilly, 2012). Also, other interventions related to sexual activities have an average r of just .05.

Two sets of meta-analyses evaluated by Johnson, Scott-Sheldon, and Carey (2010) show the effects of interventions on participation in health services ($r = .17$) and screening or treatment behaviors for women ($r = .10$). The interventions excluded mass media programs, which Snyder and colleagues (2004) found to have an effect of $r = .09$ in health communication campaigns. Similarly, Cugelman, Thelwall, and Dawes (2011) found $d = .19$ ($r = .095$) for online interventions aimed at health behavior changes.

Johnson and colleagues (2010) examined 13 addiction-related meta-analyses and reported an average finding of $d = .21$ ($r = .10$). This average is at the high end of results for meta-analyses of substance abuse and smoking interventions, with one study of mass-communications campaigns reporting a result of $r = .02$ (Derzon & Lipsey, 2002).

The best result effect for youth weight loss from obesity interventions is $d = .29$ ($r = .14$; Katz, O'Connell, Njike, Yeh, & Nawaz, 2008). Johnson and colleagues (2010) combined meta-analyses on eating and physical activity and found $d = .22$ ($r = .11$). Several other studies showed smaller effects in terms of r values or specific reductions in body mass index (BMI).

Interventions on the remaining topics in Table 8.1 show r values of .09 or lower. Given the topics studied, small effects may nevertheless justify social marketing programs. For example, any traffic accident may have important financial or health consequences, potentially justifying driver improvement programs with $r = .03$ (Masten & Peck, 2004). Every additional organ donor may save multiple lives, so $r = .05$ for donation campaigns is not trivial (Feeley & Moon, 2009). The small effect sizes in Table 8.1 may therefore offer realistic expectations without necessarily leading to pessimism about the potential for social marketing programs.

Attitudes, Intentions, and Behaviors

The relationships between attitudes, intentions, and behaviors have been extensively studied in many contexts, resulting in hundreds of studies summarized in multiple meta-analyses. Table 8.2 shows the results for miscellaneous topics as well as focused research on blood donation, condom use, health-related screening programs, exercise, smoking, and pro-environmental behaviors. The correlation between attitudes and intentions equals .50 on average, slightly higher than the .45 correlation between intentions and behaviors. Both are higher than the .36 correlation between attitudes and behaviors. These are medium-to-large effects that are generally much stronger than the results for the interventions shown in Table 8.1.

The major exception to the general pattern described above involves studies on smoking (Topa & Moriano, 2010). The correlation between smoking attitudes and intentions is $r = .16$, almost identical to the .17 correlation between smoking attitudes and behaviors. The intentions-behavior correlation is higher at $r = .30$. The lower values relative to the other results in Table 8.2 may reflect the greater freedom of choice for the other behaviors compared to the addictive nature of cigarette smoking (West, 2009).

The overall correlations can be used in a structural model to calculate the effect of attitudes on behaviors, controlling for the effect of intentions. The results show that attitudes have an indirect effect on behaviors of .36, mediated by intentions, as well as a direct effect of .20. (The direct effect of intentions on behaviors, controlling for attitudes, happens to also equal .36.) Therefore, social marketing programs may better influence behaviors by addressing both attitudes and intentions rather than assuming that addressing intentions alone is sufficient.

Effects of Alternative Persuasive Techniques

Table 8.3 summarizes the findings for various approaches that can be used in designing persuasive messages: comparative advertising, explicit versus implicit conclusions, fear appeals, gain versus loss framing, humor, powerful versus powerless language, asking rhetorical questions, testimonial assertion evidence, two-sided messages, and warning labels. Most of the effect sizes are small but positive, implying that certain approaches tend to be more persuasive than other approaches. Because it costs no more to implement one technique than another, these findings may have useful practical implications for social marketing programs.

Table 8.2 Relationships Between Attitudes, Intentions, and Behaviors

Source	Topic	Observations	Samples	Effect Size	SD or (95% CI)	Comment
Kim & Hunter, *Communication Research*, 1993	Attitudes and intentions	16,785	92	$r = .65$	0.14	Miscellaneous topics
Armitage & Conner, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 2001	(same)		115	$r = .49$		(same)
Sheeran & Taylor, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 1999	(same)	8,418	32	$r = .45$	(0.17 – 0.70)	Condom use
Albarracín, Johnson, Fishbein, & Muellerleile, *Psychological Bulletin*, 2001	(same)	16,421	65	$r = .58$	(0.57 – 0.59)	(same)
Cooke & French, *Psychology and Health*, 2008	(same)	12,558	33	$r = .51$	(0.49 – 0.53)	Screening programs such as mammography and other health-related examinations
Hausenblas, Carron, & Mack, *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 1997	(same)		23	$r = .52$		Exercise
Hagger, Chatzisarantis, & Biddle, *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 2002	(same)	20,240	70	$r = .48$	0.20	Physical activity
Topa & Moriano, *Substance Abuse and Rehabilitation*, 2010	(same)	27,965	27	$r = .16$	(0.15 – 0.17)	Adolescent smoking

Bamberg & Möser, *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 2007	(same)	8,551	23	r = .62		Focused on antecedents of responsible environmental behaviors, such as social norms and guilt
Kim & Hunter, *Journal of Communication*, 1993	Attitudes and behaviors	90,808	138	r = .47	0.14	Miscellaneous topics
Kraus, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 1995	(same)		88	r = .38	0.21	(same)
Glasman & Albarracín, *Psychological Bulletin*, 2006	(same)	4,598	128	r = .52	(0.49 – 0.54)	(same)
Ferguson, *British Journal of Health Psychology*, 1996	(same)			r = .27		Blood donation
Hausenblas et al., *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 1997	(same)		16	r = .39		Exercise
Hagger et al., *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 2002	(same)	8,493	44	r = .30	0.15	Physical activity
Topa & Moriano, *Substance Abuse and Rehabilitation*, 2010	(same)	31,793	20	r = .17	(0.16 – 0.18)	Adolescent smoking
Hines, Hungerford, & Tomera, *Journal of Environmental Education*, 1986-1987	(same)		51	r = .35	0.22	Responsible environmental behaviors
Bamberg & Möser, *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 2007	(same)	6,751	17	r = .42		(same)

(*continued*)

Table 8.2 (*Continued*)

Source	Topic	Observations	Samples	Effect Size	SD or (95% CI)	Comment
Sheppard, Hartwick, & Warshaw, *Journal of Consumer Research*, 1988	Intentions and behaviors	11,566	87	$r = .53$		Miscellaneous topics
Kim & Hunter, *Communication Research*, 1993	(same)	10,203	47	$r = .46$	0.21	(same)
Armitage & Conner, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 2001	(same)		48	$r = .47$		(same)
Ferguson, *British Journal of Health Psychology*, 1996	(same)			$r = .44$		Blood donation
Cooke & French, *Psychology and Health*, 2008	(same)	8,148	19	$r = .42$	(0.40 – 0.44)	Screening programs such as mammography and other health-related examinations
Hausenblas et al., *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 1997	(same)		32	$r = .47$		Exercise
Hagger et al., *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 2002	(same)	10,985	60	$r = .42$	0.21	Physical activity
Topa & Moriano, *Substance Abuse and Rehabilitation*, 2010	(same)	21,462	18	$r = .30$	(0.28 – 0.31)	Adolescent smoking
Bamberg & Möser, *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 2007	(same)	5,654	15	$r = .52$		Responsible environmental behaviors
Schwenk & Möser, *Quality & Quantity*, 2009	(same)	4,253	12	$r = .51$	0.24	(same)

Table 8.3 Persuasive Techniques

Source	Topic	Observations	Samples	Effect Size	SD or (95% CI)	Comment
Grewal et al., *Journal of Marketing*, 1997	Comparative advertising and behavior		6	*d* = .46 (r = .224)	(0.16 – 0.75)	Effects are smaller for brand attitudes (*d* = .29) and intentions (*d* = .27)
Cruz, in *Persuasion: Advances Through Meta-Analysis*, 1998	Explicit vs. implicit conclusions and attitudes		7	*r* = .05		Explicit conclusions produce slightly more attitude change, but difference is not significant
Mongeau, in *Persuasion: Advances Through Meta-Analysis*, 1998	Fear and attitudes	4,311	29	*r* = .19	0.19	Fear strengthens attitudes
Witte & Allen, *Health Education & Behavior*, 2000	(same)	7,514	34	*r* = .15		(same)
(same)	Fear and intentions	9,686	43	*r* = .13		Fear strengthens intentions
Keller & Lehmann, *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 2008	(same)			*r* = .05		Presented results for 21 other tactics
Mongeau, in *Persuasion: Advances Through Meta-Analysis*, 1998	Fear and behavior	3,445	19	*r* = .12	0.20	Fear affects behavior

(*continued*)

Table 8.3 (*Continued*)

Source	Topic	Observations	Samples	Effect Size	SD or (95% CI)	Comment
Witte & Allen, *Health Education & Behavior*, 2000	(same)	4,666	28	*r* = .16		(same)
Kühberger, *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 1998	Gain vs. loss framing on risky decisions	30,000	230	*d* = .31 (r = .153)	0.53	Highlighting positive aspects of risky decisions increases risk aversion
O'Keefe & Jensen, *Journal of Communication*, 2009	Gain vs. loss framing on disease detection behaviors	9,145	53	*r* = –.04	(–0.07 – –0.01)	Gain-framed appeals (positive aspects of compliance) are less persuasive than loss-framed appeals (negative aspects of noncompliance), multiple diseases
Gallagher & Updegraff, *Annals of Behavioral Medicine*, 2012	(same)		18	*r* = –.04	(–0.09 – 0.01)	(same)
O'Keefe and Jensen, *Journal of Health Communication*, 2007	Gain vs. loss framing on disease prevention behaviors	21,656	93	*r* = .03	(.01 – .06)	Gain-framed appeals are more persuasive than loss-framed appeals, multiple diseases
Gallagher & Updegraff, *Annals of Behavioral Medicine*, 2012	(same)		32	*r* = .08	(0.03 – 0.13)	(same)

O'Keefe & Wu, *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 2012	Gain vs. loss framing on skin cancer prevention behaviors	4,168	33	$r = -.02$	(–0.06 – 0.02)	Gain-framed and loss-framed appeals are not significantly different for skin cancer prevention behaviors
Eisend, *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 2009	Humor and behavior		4	$r = .01$	(–0.42 – 0.44)	Effects are larger for brand attitudes ($r = .19$) and intentions ($r = .19$)
Burrell & Koper, in *Persuasion: Advances Through Meta-Analysis*, 1998	Powerful vs. powerless language and credibility	1,299	14	$r = .21$		Based on 5 studies, powerful language also increases perceived persuasiveness ($r = .23$)
Gayle, Preiss, & Allen, in *Persuasion: Advances Through Meta-Analysis*, 1998	Rhetorical questions and attitude change	1,950	18	$r = .05$		Average effect is nonsignificant
Reinard, in *Persuasion: Advances Through Meta-Analysis*, 1998	Testimonial assertion evidence and attitude change	1,920	14	$r = .25$	0.06	Identifying information sources and explaining their qualifications improves persuasion
Allen, in *Persuasion: Advances Through Meta-Analysis*, 1998	Two-sided messages and persuasion	10,580	70	$r = .03$		Two-sided messages are slightly more persuasive than one-sided messages

(*continued*)

Table 8.3 (*Continued*)

Source	Topic	Observations	Samples	Effect Size	SD or (95% CI)	Comment
Eisend, *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 2006	Two-sided messages and purchase intentions	2,643	37	r = .14	(0.10 – 0.17)	Two-sided messages produce a mix of positive and negative outcomes, including higher source credibility (r = .22) and lower attitudes toward the ad (r = –.05)
Keller & Lehmann, *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 2008	(same)			r = .14		Presented results for 21 other tactics
Cox, Wogalter, Stokes, & Murff, *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 1997	Warning labels and compliance	3,229	79	d = .31	(r = .153) 0.23	Warnings produce a 16% increase in compliance rates
Argo & Main, *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 2004	(same)	3,877		r = .19		Warnings also increase attention (r = .22), comprehension (r = .23), recall (r = .32), and judgments of product risks (r = .09)

Comparative advertising shows the strongest average effect on behavior, $r = .22$ (Grewal, Kavanoor, Fern, Costley, & Barnes, 1997). Testimonial assertion evidence, "in which a source introduce[s] material from an outside source in an effort to support a position," correlates with attitude change at $r = .25$ (Reinard, 1998, p. 71). Powerful language is more persuasive ($r = .23$) and credible ($r = .21$) than powerless language, which "reflects an abundance of hedges, hesitation forms, polite forms, and questioning intonations" (Burrell & Koper, 1998, p. 204). However, the studies underlying the results mostly involve courtroom settings, which may make them more relevant to personal presentation formats than to persuasive mass media messages when it comes to social marketing.

Varied results across reviews may raise questions about how generalizable estimated effect sizes actually are. Fear appeals and warning labels tend to show average effects between $r = .12$ and $r = .19$, but one exception shows $r = .05$ for fear and intentions (Keller & Lehmann, 2008). Two reviews of two-sided messages show $r = .14$, whereas a third, larger study shows a much lower r of .03 (Allen, 1998). The most variable results are found in comparisons of gain framing (positive effects of compliance) with loss framing (negative effects of noncompliance). One study shows a positive effect of gain framing at $r = .15$ (Kühberger, 1998), but five other studies show effects of $r = .08$ or less, with gain framing sometimes more and sometimes less effective than loss framing.

Three other approaches produce effects of $r = .05$ or less: explicit conclusions, rhetorical questions, and humor. Thus, these approaches have, at best, a small positive effect on average, but neither do they consistently hurt the performance of persuasive messages.

It is worth noting that multiple other studies have examined the effects of advertising executional characteristics using secondary data, sometimes with samples of hundreds of actual ads (Mothersbaugh, Huhmann, & Franke, 2002; Stewart & Furse, 2006; Stewart & Koslow, 1989). Although these studies may offer useful generalizations for social marketing, they are not meta-analyses of multiple authors' research findings and are not included in this review.

Advertising Elasticities

Advertising elasticities for a wide variety of products, plus separate estimates for alcoholic beverages and cigarettes, are shown in Table 8.4. Two general surveys showed selective (brand) elasticities declining from $e = 0.22$ in 1984 (Assmus, Farley, & Lehmann, 1984) to $e = 0.12$ in 2011 (Sethuraman, Tellis, & Briesch, 2011). A 1994 estimate of selective demand for cigarettes had an

intermediate value of $e = 0.18$. Selective demand allows for brand-switching within product categories, so not surprisingly its elasticity estimates are higher than for primary demand. Advertising elasticity estimates for aggregate sales of alcoholic beverages range from $e = 0.01$ to $e = 0.07$, and for cigarettes the values range from $e = 0.01$ to $e = 0.10$.

If advertising expenditures do influence demand, then advertising bans should reduce product consumption. However, empirical investigations of alcohol and cigarette advertising bans have produced inconsistent results rather than empirical generalizations. Bans on alcohol advertising have been argued to reduce (Saffer, 1991), increase (Young, 1993), and have no impact on consumption (Nelson, 2010). Some research has shown that complete bans on cigarette advertising do reduce consumption, though not necessarily significantly (Capella, Taylor, & Webster, 2008). Saffer and Chaloupka (2000) found mixed evidence for the effects of complete cigarette advertising bans, but they concluded that a complete ban in all Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries would have reduced consumption by 7.4%. A complete ban is a 100% reduction, so the implied change in consumption for a 1% change in advertising would be $e = 0.074$, comparable to other findings in Table 8.4.

Price Elasticities

Price elasticities for selective and category demand are shown in Table 8.5. Two studies of selective demand showed that it is elastic, with e estimated to be –1.76 in studies up to 1988 (Tellis, 1988) and $e = -2.62$ in studies up to 2005 (Bijmolt, Van Heerde, & Pieters, 2005). Because consumers can substitute one brand for another in response to price changes, these higher values are logical. Two other kinds of elastic demand shown in the table are charitable contributions, which respond to changes in tax deductibility—essentially changing the cost of a donation—with $e = -1.44$ (Peloza & Steel, 2005), and passenger air travel, with $e = -1.15$ (Brons, Pels, Nijkamp, & Rietveld, 2002). These results are also reasonable, because contributions and many kinds of air travel are discretionary expenditures and can easily be changed in response to changes in costs.

Demand for other products in the table is inelastic, ranging from –0.25 to –0.85. The lowest value, –0.25, is for the effect of state and local taxes on economic development (Bartik, 1992). To the extent that higher employment, business growth, and other forms of business activity affect well-being, localities that raise taxes may reduce well-being, though Bartik suggested that the benefits of lowering taxes might not be justified by the costs. Other lower values in the table are for public transport demand,

Table 8.4 Advertising Elasticities

Source	Topic	Observations	Samples	Effect Size	SD or (95% CI)	Comment
Assmus et al., *Journal of Marketing Research*, 1984	Selective (brand) demand, varied, short-term	128	22	$e = 0.22$	0.26	Long-term $e = 0.41$
Sethuraman et al., *Journal of Marketing Research*, 2011	(same)	751		$e = 0.12$		Long-term $e = 0.24$
Simester & Brodie, *New Zealand Journal of Business*, 1994	Selective demand, cigarettes	25		$e = 0.18$	0.26	
Gallet, *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 2007	Primary demand, alcohol	63		$e = 0.03$		Median, not mean
(same)	Primary demand, beer	95		$e = 0.02$		(same)
(same)	Primary demand, wine	83		$e = 0.01$		(same)
(same)	Primary demand, spirits	81		$e = 0.07$		(same)
Andrews & Franke, *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 1991	Primary demand, cigarettes	147	24	$e = 0.06$		Elasticities decline in studies after 1970
Simester & Brodie, *New Zealand Journal of Business*, 1994	(same)	53		$e = 0.05$	0.05	
Gallet & List, *Health Economics*, 2003	(same)	137	86	$e = 0.10$	0.13	
Nelson, *International Review of Law and Economics*, 2006	(same)	31		$e = 0.01$		$e = 0.002$ after 1970

Table 8.5 Price Elasticities

Source	Topic	Observations	Samples	Effect Size	SD or (95% CI)	Comment
Tellis, *Journal of Marketing Research*, 1988	Selective (brand) demand	367	27	$e = -1.76$	1.74	Examines multiple moderators
Bijmolt et al., *Journal of Marketing Research*, 2005	(same)	1851	81	$e = -2.62$	2.21	(same)
Andreyeva et al., *American Journal of Public Health*, 2010	Miscellaneous foods	345	160	$e = -0.60$		Included 16 food categories
Gallet, *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 2007	Alcohol	263		$e = -0.50$		Findings for composites of beer, wine, and spirits, not an average of findings for specific beverages
Wagenaar, Salois and Komro, *Addiction*, 2009	(same)	91	54	$e = -0.51$		(same)
Fogarty, *British Food Journal*, 2006	Beer	46	30	$e = -0.38$	0.30	
Gallet, *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 2007	(same)	315		$e = -0.36$		
Wagenaar, Salois, & Komro, *Addiction*, 2009	(same)	105	47	$e = -0.46$		
Fogarty, *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 2010	(same)	154	112	$e = -0.45$		

Nelson, SSRN abstract 2200492, 2013	(same)	191	114	$e = -0.42$	
Fogarty, *British Food Journal*, 2006	Wine	54	31	$e = -0.77$	
Gallet, *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 2007	(same)	300		$e = -0.70$	
Wagenaar, Salois, & Komro, *Addiction*, 2009	(same)	93	38	$e = -0.69$	
Fogarty, *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 2010	(same)	155	112	$e = -0.65$	0.51
Fogarty, *British Food Journal*, 2006	Spirits	50	33	$e = -0.70$	0.48
Gallet, *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 2007	(same)	294		$e = -0.68$	
Wagenaar, Salois, & Komro, *Addiction*, 2009	(same)	103	51	$e = -0.80$	
Fogarty, *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 2010	(same)	162	114	$e = -0.73$	0.36
Dalhuisen, Florax, De Groot, & Nijkamp, *Land Economics*, 2003	(same)	314	64	$e = -0.41$	0.86
Andrews & Franke, *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 1991	Cigarettes	198	41	$e = -0.36$	
Simester & Brodie, *New Zealand Journal of Business*, 1994	(same)	31		$e = -0.54$	0.36
Gallet & List, *Health Economics*, 2003	(same)	523	86	$e = -0.48$	0.43
Espey, Espey, & Shaw, *Water Resources Research*, 1997	Residential water	124	24	$e = -0.51$	

(*continued*)

Table 8.5 (*Continued*)

Source	Topic	Observations	Samples	Effect Size	SD or (95% CI)	Comment
Espey & Espey, *Journal of Agricultural and Applied Economics*, 2004	Residential electricity, long-run demand	125	21	$e = -0.85$		Short-run $e = -0.35$
Espey, *Energy Economics*, 1998	Gasoline, long-run demand	277		$e = -0.58$		Short-run $e = -0.26$
Brons et al., *Energy Economics*, 2008	(same)	64	43	$e = -0.81$		Short-run $e = -0.36$
Holmgren, *Transportation Research Part A*, 2007	Public transport	81		$e = -0.38$	0.23	
Hensher, *Transportation Research Part A*, 2008	Public transport	241	39	$e = -0.40$	0.27	
Brons, Pels, Nijkamp, & Rietveld, *Journal of Air Transport Management*, 2002	Passenger air travel	204	37	$e = -1.15$	0.62	
Bartik, *Economic Development Quarterly*, 1992	Economic activity		48	$e = -0.25$		Response to state and local taxes
Peloza & Steel, *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 2005	Charitable contributions	1,418,212	69	$e = -1.44$	1.21	Price variable = changes in deductibility of contributions; $e = -1.11$ after removing outliers

with $e = -0.38$ (Holmgren, 2007) or $e = -0.40$ (Hensher, 2008). Public transport, unlike air travel, may not be a very discretionary expenditure for commuters who have no alternative means of getting to and from work.

A higher elasticity of $e = -0.85$ was found for residential electricity consumption, suggesting that consumers do have some ability to cut demand in response to price increases (Espey & Espey, 2004). The results are somewhat mixed for gasoline demand, with one study showing a value of $e = -0.81$ (Brons, Nijkamp, Pels, & Rietveld, 2008) and an earlier study showing a value of $e = -0.58$ (Espey, 1998).

The elasticities of demand for alcoholic beverages show an average of $e = -0.58$, very similar to the $e = -0.60$ for a variety of foods, including various beverages, meats, eggs, and other products that was found by Andreyeva, Long, and Brownell (2010). However, elasticities vary within categories of alcoholic beverages, with wine showing the highest average of $e = -0.70$, distilled spirits somewhat lower than wine with $e = -0.66$, and beer the lowest with $e = -0.41$. Finally, demand for cigarettes showed an average elasticity of $e = -0.46$ across three studies. Levy and colleagues (2004) and others have used similar values to suggest that tax increases may be an important tool to reduce cigarette consumption, and Chaloupka and Davidson (2010) suggested that the cigarette literature may have similar implications for taxation to reduce demand for sugar-sweetened beverages.

Corporate Social and Environmental Performance and Financial Outcomes

Social marketing involves public well-being rather than corporate financial performance. However, social marketers may have greater success in recruiting business allies if they show that the goals of social and corporate marketing can be aligned (Andreasen, 2006). Table 8.6 shows a pattern of positive financial returns to positive social and environmental performance. The strongest effect is a negative impact on shareholder wealth from announcements of corporate social irresponsibility or illegal behavior, with $r = -.42$ (Frooman, 1997). Corporate social performance reduces firm economic risk and increases performance, with an average r of .15 in absolute value. Another study is consistent with this pattern, though it does not produce an effect size that can be incorporated in the table: Capon, Farley, and Hoenig (1990) showed 66 positive relationships between firm social responsibility and performance versus just 17 negative relationships. Corporate environmental performance has a smaller but still positive correlation with financial performance of $r = .07$. Other evidence suggests that this pattern may not hold for firms outside the United States,

Table 8.6 Corporate Social/Environmental Performance and Financial Outcomes

Source	Topic	Observations	Samples	Effect Size	SD or (95% CI)	Comment
Frooman, *Business & Society*, 1997	Social irresponsibility and shareholder wealth	2,161	27	$d = -.93$ ($r = -.422$)		Announcements of socially irresponsible or illegal actions reduce shareholder wealth
Orlitzky & Benjamin, *Business & Society*, 2001	Social performance and firm risk	6,186	60	$r = -.15$	0.22	Social responsibility reduces firm performance risk
Orlitzky, Schmidt, & Rynes, *Organization Studies*, 2003	Social performance and firm performance	33,878	388	$r = .18$	0.25	Positive social performance boosts firm performance
Margolis et al., SSRN abstract 1866371, 2009	(same)	38,483	251	$r = .13$		(same)
Orlitzky et al., *Organization Studies*, 2003	Environmental performance and firm performance	9,823	139	$r = .06$	0.20	Positive environmental performance boosts firm performance
Margolis et al., SSRN abstract 1866371, 2009	(same)	11,522	61	$r = .10$		(same)
Dixon-Fowler et al., *Journal of Business Ethics*, 2013	(same)	22,869	71	$r = .06$	(0.05 – 0.08)	(same)

but findings for U.S. firms do indicate that "it pays to be green" (Dixon-Fowler, Slater, Johnson, Ellstrand, & Romi, 2013).

Discussion

As a brief summary of multiple empirical generalizations for social marketing, this review indicates that on average:

- Interventions of various types concerning multiple topics have small positive effects on behaviors (Table 8.1).
- Attitudes and intentions have strong relationships with behaviors (Table 8.2).
- Some persuasive techniques have stronger positive effects than others (Table 8.3).
- Advertising elasticities are relatively small but positive, indicating that increases in advertising increase consumption (Table 8.4).
- Price elasticities are higher for individual brands than for general product categories, but even more habit-forming categories such as alcohol and tobacco show meaningful responses to price changes (Table 8.5).
- Corporate misconduct hurts organizations financially, whereas positive corporate social and environmental performances improve financial performance (Table 8.6).

As Snyder and colleagues (2004) noted in their review of the effects of mediated health communication campaigns, such findings can be useful in setting realistic goals and establishing benchmarks for social marketing programs. If the mean effect sizes found in the literature are similar to the median effects, then about 50 percent of social marketing programs will perform below the mean. Because small differences between intervention and control groups of $d = .20$ or $r = .10$ would actually be above average for many behaviors, planners should answer questions such as: (1) Would the benefits of a program justify the costs to achieve an average result? (2) Do available resources make average performance likely? and (3) What steps, if any, will plausibly lead to superior performance?

Addressing such questions could be part of the formative evaluation stage of social marketing programs (Balch & Sutton, 1997), which includes setting baselines as well as performing exploratory and strategic research with target segments. In addition to research on individuals, planners could also examine the original studies summarized in the empirical generalizations to gain insights for their own programs. That is, they could examine the literature to find precedents that might apply specifically to their particular situations and to discover practices to follow or avoid.

Empirical generalizations may also help in preparing for the process evaluation and summative research done to measure how a program is performing and what has been ultimately accomplished (Balch & Sutton, 1997). Detecting small effects reliably requires larger samples (Cohen, 1992), which must be considered at the planning stage. Resources should be allocated for reliable monitoring of a program's progress and for evaluating its ultimate success. Otherwise, inadequate research may lead to missed opportunities for improvement, continuance of a failing program, or failure to complete or expand on highly effective programs.

Conclusion

This review offers empirical generalizations about quantitative effect sizes that have been derived from meta-analytic research in numerous disciplines. Dillard (1998, p. 267) suggested that "it will usually be better to treat meta-analytic findings as guidance for future research rather than problems that have been fully solved." Effect sizes can vary over time, topics, settings, and so on, and findings from smaller research streams may be less reliable than those from larger bodies of literature. Therefore, such generalizations can be both useful and dangerous. "To generalize is to be an idiot," according to William Blake (c. 1808), and "all generalizations are false" (attributed to Alexander Chase, Albert Einstein, and Mark Twain). Certainly, generalizing without evidence or assuming that the general applies to every particular is unwise. However, refusing to generalize is refusing to learn. As Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel stated, "An idea is always a generalization, and generalization is a property of thinking. To generalize means to think" (1833, p. 35). If used appropriately, the empirical generalizations summarized here from more than 80 meta-analyses based on thousands of effect sizes and millions of observations should have useful implications for future social marketing efforts.

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CHAPTER NINE

Public Support for Regulating the Public

Josh Wiener and Marlys Mason

> The leading causes of death in 2000 were tobacco (435,000 deaths; 18.1% of total US deaths), poor diet and physical inactivity (400,000 deaths; 16.6%), and alcohol consumption (85,000 deaths; 3.5%). (Mokdad, Marks, Stroup, & Gerberding, 2004, p. 1238)

Despite innumerable marketing campaigns that promote pro-social behaviors, poor lifestyle choices continue to plague consumer and societal well-being. Social marketing campaigns attempt to persuade consumers to engage in positive behaviors (e.g., exercise, wear seat belts, immunize children, recycle) or to avoid personally self-destructive behaviors (e.g., binge drinking, smoking, unprotected sex). Broadly, there are two ways to try to influence a person to behave in a pro-social manner. The classic social marketing campaign focuses on trying to change the behavior of one individual at a time using downstream methods. An alternative to this approach focuses on changing the broader macroenvironmental conditions that influence behavior, and often this is achieved through policy changes (Andreasen, 2006). Mandates may be placed on how firms can market their products or services. For example, restrictions may be sought on what consumers can buy, when they can buy, where they can buy, who can buy, and so on. Marketing scholars have recognized such attempts to influence environmental conditions through policy as upstream marketing (Andreasen, 2006; Goldberg, 1995; Goldberg & Gunasti, 2007),

structural solutions (Wiener & Doescher, 1991), and the force of law (Rothschild, 1999).

Some scholars perceive such upstream efforts to be coercive and paternalistic while imposing unnecessary limitations on free markets (Hall, 2003). Other scholars view these actions as an important balancing mechanism for furthering consumer well-being in a market driven largely by financial concerns rather than social responsibility. In the public health domain, both agencies and scholars explicitly embrace the need for such upstream marketing remedies (Coffman, 2002; Wallack & Dorfman, 1996; Winett & Wallack, 1996). In marketing, support for such remedies and the use of political action to bring such remedies into being is more conditional. One reason may be that historically, public health has relied upon the use of the coercive power of government to address public health issues (Hall, 2003; Siegel & Lotenberg, 2007), whereas economic theory, with its emphasis on using the least restrictive remedy, is marketing's historical basis (Mazis, Staelin, Beales, & Salop, 1981; Federal Trade Commission, 1979). Marketing, grounded in business and with close relationships with industry, also aligns with a consumer choice rather than a paternalistic paradigm. Nonetheless, marketing scholars are increasingly advocating for consideration of coercive remedies when alternative remedies fail.

The common theme of the public health arguments, and some marketers, is that upstream approaches are required when efforts to motivate individuals to make the "right choices" of their own volition are inadequate (Coffman, 2002). Goldberg (1995) has long argued that the downstream approach of social marketing, with a focus on individual, voluntary behavior change, is too narrow and limiting. When conditions are such that individual change efforts are likely to fail, social marketing objectives may need to shift toward broader targets and attempts to stimulate policy change (Andreasen, 2006). Andreasen has argued that marketing can play a critical role in upstream efforts to change public opinion and influence key decision-makers:

> The same basic principles that can induce a 12-year-old in Bangkok or Leningrad to get a Big Mac and a caregiver in Indonesia to start using oral rehydration solutions for diarrhea can also be used to influence politicians, media figures, community activists, law officers and judges, foundation officials, and other individuals whose actions are needed to bring about widespread, long-lasting, positive social change. (Andreasen, 2006, p. 11)

Despite some scholars' arguments, the use of upstream remedies continues to stir controversy and has not been readily or widely embraced by

marketers or the marketing discipline. As a result, the marketing field is limited in its understanding of (and voice within) the upstream process that drives policy—and ultimately corporate—change. Deeper insights are needed into the efforts and process of upstream social marketing and how it influences the policy decision makers (e.g, government officials, CEOs) and important publics (e.g., consumers, taxpayers, nongovernmental organizations [NGOs]) who are the key players in the change process.

This chapter first examines the nature of upstream social marketing action and highlights both the importance of policy-driven efforts to the marketing domain and marketing's potential contribution to understanding the policy process. We believe that what takes place in the policy domain is vital to all marketers (not just social marketers). To argue that political issues are by their very nature outside of marketing's domain is to take an overly narrow view of marketing's scope. Second, this chapter proposes that marketing can make a substantive contribution to the theory and practice of policy realization. In a democracy, whether or not a proposed policy comes into being is most often strongly influenced by whether or not voters and other publics support or oppose it. In the language of marketing, policy passage is influenced by the extent to which key influencers favor or disfavor the exchange explicit or implicit in the policy. Finally, this chapter proposes a framework in an attempt to start to diagram and create a dialogue about this influential upstream social marketing process.

Before proceeding, it is important to note that the scope of upstream remedies addressed in this paper includes all the remedies that Rothschild (1999) would label "marketing" and "law," plus those "education" remedies where either a private party is forced to communicate or significant public dollars are employed. Rothschild's widely used remedy taxonomy is consumer-centric; simplified definitions follow (see Rothschild, 1999, for an in-depth discussion).

Education includes messages that inform or persuade; these messages can encourage a person to make an exchange but cannot change the material benefits and costs associated with the exchange. Marketing alters the terms of the exchange by enhancing the benefits associated with the exchange and/or reducing the cost of engaging in the exchange. Law most often entails restricting a person's choices or increasing the costs associated with an option. Often, the cost will be punishment. To illustrate the differences, consider the example of drunk driving. Education tells people that "buzzed" driving is dangerous, marketing provides free rides home for intoxicated drivers, and the law uses police checkpoints and jail time to catch and punish violators.

The Remedy Revolution

> The old paradigm that shaped public opinion and policy making on tobacco control efforts tended to emphasize consumer freedom of choice and to decry all government intervention as paternalistic. . . . A widespread popular consensus in favor of aggressive policy initiatives is now emerging, and this shift in popular sentiment has also been accompanied by support across most of the political spectrum. (Institute of Medicine, 2007, pp. 7–8)

An Upstream Movement Emerges

As the above quote illustrates, a fundamental shift is occurring in how social change agents (e.g., public health officials, environmental groups) pursue the promotion of pro-social behaviors. This trend entails a movement away from remedies that rely on persuasive or informative communications produced and disseminated by "good behavior" advocates within government and NGOs. Simultaneously, greater efforts and resources are being placed on advocating policy change that is likely to have a collective impact on large numbers of consumers rather than focusing efforts solely on individual change through personal choice. Our argument that these trends exist is based on three observations: the sheer number of new remedies that entail a degree of policy restriction; the writings of leading scholars (primarily in public health and, to a lesser degree, in marketing); and the positions taken by leading national and international agencies.

The intersection of these two trends roughly corresponds to what public health scholars and practitioners have in mind when they speak of the movement from downstream to upstream marketing. Table 9.1 outlines some important differences that have been the basis for understanding these two perspectives. While in practice, upstream and downstream efforts are often used simultaneously to improve public health, they do involve different philosophical and strategic approaches, including distinct goals, targets, and activities.

While traditional social marketing approaches have focused on a psychological perspective, with individual choice and behavior change as their main premises, upstream remedies are embedded in a different philosophy. Drawing heavily from sociology and a social construction perspective, the public health community increasingly believes self-destructive behavior to be a product of social and environmental conditions rather than free choice. In other words, people do not so much freely choose their actions as have their potential actions—and the meaning of those actions—shaped by their social environment. Given this perspective, Winett

Table 9.1 Important Differences in Upstream and Downstream Social Marketing Efforts

	Downstream Marketing	Upstream Marketing
Perspective	Psychology Free choice/rational Behavior is dependent on choice	Sociology Social construction Behavior is dependent on conditions
Target	Individual	Institutions: government, NGOs
	Person with the problem or at risk for the problem	Person with power to make change
Goal	Change one individual at a time	Change the environment to ultimately change groups of consumers
Process and Assumptions	Decision-making Change motivation, opportunity, or ability (MOA) to avoid behavior	Political Behavior embedded in environment & more complex than MOA frameworks
	Problem often seen as a lack of information	Problem often seen as a gap in power between 1) groups of consumers with limited resources, and 2) business marketers with significant resources
Activities	Centered around the 4 P's (product, price, place, promotion) to reduce costs or increase benefits associated with behavior (alters MOA) Use communication (alter information gap)	Centered around policy change: – Push strategy targets legislators – Pull strategy using media advocacy, political action, etc. to encourage/prompt legislative action
Approaches	Education and marketing	Attain resources to support education and marketing Law

and Wallack (1996, p.179) argue that social marketing campaigns are unlikely to improve long-term health status "given the seemingly insurmountable and ubiquitous cues influencing individuals to maintain unhealthy habits." Siegel and Lotenberg's (2007) public health marketing book catalogs many socioeconomic correlates of personally self-destructive behaviors. And if the environment is a root cause, then the solution is to change the environment. To accomplish this, public health advocates should concentrate on social change through the political process, rather than relying solely on traditional social marketing.

The target is the individual the marketer or agent is seeking to influence. In downstream marketing, the target is the individual who is either currently engaging in a particular behavior or has the potential to engage in it. For example, downstream remedies would target cessation/maintenance messages toward individuals already engaged in a destructive/pro-social behavior while prevention/uptake efforts would target individuals who are not currently engaging in the behavior. In upstream marketing, the target is not individuals (although ultimately these actions should benefit individuals); rather, the target is the organizations that have the power to influence the environment in which individuals make their decisions. The most important organizations typically targeted are government officials, government agencies, for-profit corporations, and nongovernmental agencies.

The ultimate behavioral change goal is the same for both forms of marketing—to get a person to either take or not take a specific health action (e.g., get immunized, stop smoking, not start smoking). The distinction is that in downstream marketing, the goal of inducing a person to "do the right thing" is the explicit goal. In upstream marketing, the goal is to induce one or more target organizations to alter the environment in which people make their decisions. For example, a government official may be targeted to vote for a change in a drunk driving law or to pass funding for immunization programs. Presumably, by promoting such changes in the environment, penalties or costs deter the negative behavior and/or increased opportunities encourage the desired behavior.

Downstream marketing views the process in terms of individual "decision making" without regard to any possible motivation, opportunity, or ability related to the targeted pro-social behavior. Decisions are not assumed to be rational, free of bias, or made with forethought. Recognizing this varying nature, decision making is often framed in terms of how individuals will respond to the stimuli and choices that they encounter in their environment. Downstream marketing has emphasized that the way to change behavior is to alter these stimuli in order to change the related

motivation, opportunity, and ability (MOA) within individuals. Often, downstream efforts assumed that the absence of adequate information about the problem behavior and its consequences impeded people's ability to make the "right" choice. More recently, attention has turned to the conditions that affect motivation and opportunity, such as the availability and presentation of alternatives to the "bad" behavior.

Upstream marketing views the process of effecting change as "political." With upstream marketing, the underlying assumption of the process is that behavior (and related MOA) is embedded in an environment that shapes and creates meaning for the behavior (e.g., smoking is a ritual for young adults when partying, smokeless tobacco is embedded in baseball and rodeo environments). The motive for political action stems from the view that these problems result from a lack of power between consumers and marketers, not a lack of information. Marketers have the power and resources to shape consumer environments, create product/brand tribes, and so on. While the downstream approach argues that individuals can resist a specific choice in such environments, the upstream view argues that it is fundamentally hard to even envision a "decision" when one is embedded in an environment and surrounded by norms shaped by a marketer's hand (e.g., it is hard to resist the matrix when you are in the matrix). Thus, the process of change must involve reshaping the environment through political means and influencing powerful parties through public opinion, pressure, and debate.

Downstream marketing tactics can be framed in terms of manipulating one or more of the four marketing "P's" (promotion, product, place, and price). The P's are manipulated to alter the perceived and actual benefits and costs associated with a behavior, and as such alter a person's motivation, opportunity, and ability to engage in (or avoid) the behavior (Rothschild, 1999). In contrast, upstream marketing can be framed in terms of either a push or pull strategy. A push strategy (such as lobbying) is one where the marketer seeks to directly influence a key organizational decision maker in order to create conditions that encourage (push) the appropriate behavior onto consumers (e.g., increase the state sales tax on "sin" products). A pull strategy (such as media advocacy or public will) is one where the marketer seeks to influence organizational decision makers by directly influencing public opinion. Then, ideally, an individual or society-driven desire is created that advocates for changed conditions to promote pro-social behaviors. Public health scholars (Wallack & Dorfman, 1996; Siegel & Lotenberg, 2007) argue that utilizing a pull strategy such as media advocacy (using mass media as a "political" tool) should be a critical feature of the new public health. This view is based on the

recognition that most upstream changes require decisions made by elected officials, and these officials can be pressured by public opinion (Coffman, 2002; Siegel & Lotenberg, 2007; Wallack & Dorfman, 1996; Winett & Wallack, 1996). Both push and pull strategies are used to achieve environmental change goals requiring the passage of public policy. The combination of these two approaches (including heavy media advocacy) is particularly needed to achieve policy change related to controversial restrictive remedies.

Rothschild (1999) identifies three broad *approaches* an agent can take to influence a person to not engage in self-destructive behavior: education, marketing, and the law. Education includes both informative and persuasive communications. Education does not, on its own, alter the actual positive or negative consequences of engaging in a behavior, but rather seeks to change how people understand or value the consequences of their behavior. Marketing changes the benefit-cost ratio associated with engaging in self-destructive behavior by increasing the perceived benefits (or reducing the perceived costs) associated with not engaging in the behavior. This may be done directly (e.g., the cost of not driving home from a bar while drunk can be reduced by providing a "party bus" to take home drinkers) or it can be achieved indirectly by providing an attractive alternative (e.g., offering appealing campus activities can reduce the cost of not going to bars and binge drinking). In contrast, a law uses punishment to force an agent to engage (or not engage) in a behavior. The broad distinction drawn is that marketing increases people's choices and laws restrict their choices.

Education and marketing entail both downstream and upstream marketing. The downstream dimension is the communication of the increased benefit (or reduction in cost) that the customer will experience. The upstream dimension is the action that leads powerful agents to provide the resources required to support the communication effort or provide the added benefit (or cost reduction). Only upstream efforts focus on law and policy change.

In summary, the shift from downstream to upstream is so prevalent that Wallack and Dorfman (1996) have argued that influencing public opinion to bring about support for regulations should be a critical feature of the new public health. This assessment is consistent with the policy initiatives advocated by government agencies such as the Institute for Medicine (2007) and the World Health Organization (WHO, 2009); by nongovernmental organizations (Coffman, 2002, 2003); and by politicians (e.g., taxing alcoholic drinks, Brooks, 2010; taxing stores that sell sugared sodas, Knight, 2009). We are suggesting neither unanimity in the public health

community nor an endorsement of the new perspective. We are suggesting that the view that "public health focuses on the health of populations. . . . It reflects systemic forces . . . necessitating interventions that span many levels of society" (Wallack & Lawrence, 2005, p. 567) is the view that is driving a great deal of health policy. In essence, over the past few decades, the conversation in the public health literature has evolved from making the case that upstream approaches are often required, to defending the role of modern public health advocates as agents of political change, to providing advice to public health agents regarding how to bring about political change. And yet marketing is absent in most of these conversations, despite the fact that both industry and consumers are greatly affected.

The Spectrum of Upstream Remedies

The range of restrictive remedies is large and amorphous. Examples of such remedies include smoking restrictions, drinking and driving restrictions, helmet laws, seat belt laws, trans-fat bans, laws requiring gun locks, age restrictions on various activities, vaccination laws for diseases that are not highly contagious, and so on. To develop some structure to upstream remedies, this chapter outlines a spectrum of the types of remedies that fall within the scope of this paper and provides a set of concrete examples in Table 9.2. Following Goldberg's (1995) recommendation, which was reiterated by Goldberg and Gunasti (2007), the remedies are organized using a consumer-centric/4P framework. In addition, we distinguish between restrictions that are directly felt by individuals during the postpurchase phase and those which are imposed on channel members prior to purchase. We draw this distinction because changing the social condition by

Table 9.2 Restrictive Market-Based Remedies in Upstream Efforts

	Strategy for Deterring Behavior	Examples
Product		
Prepurchase stage	Ban all forms of product use	Marijuana illegal
	Require product features	Gun locks, pool covers
	Restrict to whom product is sold	21 to purchase alcohol, training to drive ATV
		No trans-fats in restaurant food
	Restrict product features	

(*continued*)

Table 9.2 (*Continued*)

	Strategy for Deterring Behavior	Examples
Postpurchase stage	Ban product use under stated circumstances	No cell phones when driving
	Restrict who can engage in the activity	Limits on elderly driving
	Require a product use	Seat belts, bike helmets, auto insurance
Place/Access		
Prepurchase stage	Restrict when product is sold	No Sunday sales of alcohol
	Restrict how product is sold	Waiting period for guns
	Restrict where product is sold	No cigarettes in vending machines
		Licensed pharmacists only
	Restrict who can sell product	Birth control in pharmacies
	Require product availability	
Postpurchase stage	Restrict where the activity can take place	No smoking areas
Promotion/Communication		
Prepurchase stage	Ban forms of promotion	No TV ads
	Restrict how product is promoted	No ads near schools
	Restrict content of the promotion	No cartoon animals in the promotions
	Require specific disclosures	Tanning bed dangers
	Require how alternative presented	Plain vanilla mortgages
Postpurchase stage	Restrict display	No tobacco "gear" in schools
Price		
Prepurchase stage	Impose higher sales tax rate for product	Sin tax on tobacco and alcohol
	Increase psychological cost of product	Sit through education program about fetuses before attaining an abortion
	Subsidize cost to producer	Incentives for ethanol and alternative energy
Postpurchase stage	Subsidize cost to consumer	Tax breaks for energy-efficient vehicles, low-cost immunizations

imposing postpurchase restrictions is a very common and sometimes controversial policy tool.

As shown, a particular behavior can be banned entirely or under specified conditions relating to who may do it, when it may be done, or where it may be done. In other cases, a particular behavior may be required by law or as a condition of using a product or public service. A product may be made illegal; be required to have (or not have) certain features; or be sold only at specified times, only through approved places, or only to a given class of people. It should also be clear that single policy actions can impact multiple P's concurrently.

The examples illustrate two simple points. The first is the pervasiveness and diversity of such remedies in the market. The second is that even though the motivation for the remedies is to achieve a "social good," the consequences of the remedies often fall upon private companies in general and their marketing activities in particular. It is for this reason that even policies that, from a consumer perspective, could be construed as "liberating" (e.g., making retail stores handicapped-accessible) have an element of coercion (e.g., forcing retail stores to reconfigure their aisles) that requires policy change. It is important to note that almost all of these upstream actions were ultimately the product of persuasive upstream marketing efforts that strategically influenced policy makers and public opinion.

Forces Driving the Upstream Remedy Trend

There is a multiplicity of forces providing the impetus for the remedy revolution (or rapid evolution)—the movement away from education and toward other remedies. In addition, there has been an increased use of hybrid remedies, such as mandated warnings or marketing restrictions. These remedies are hybrid in the sense that, like education, they convey informative or persuasive messages to consumers, but they are disseminated as a result of coercion exerted upon marketers. This section briefly discusses some of the most important forces. We assume that most are well known to the reader, and our contribution is to explicitly link these trends to the question of why coercive remedies are being so widely advocated and supported. We should also add that we do not endorse or condemn any of these reasons; we acknowledge their power without passing judgment.

All arguments for coercive remedies begin with the observation that less coercive remedies have failed or are very unlikely (if essayed) to succeed. Often this observation is followed by making a reference to tobacco or drunk driving, where reductions in tobacco use (or drunk driving) are attributed to greater policy changes (e.g., stricter laws for driving while intoxicated,

increased taxes on tobacco, restrictions on tobacco advertising). Of course, if an educational campaign fails, the failure can be attributed to its execution or its remedy-form. The judgment that it would be pointless to even try an educational campaign reflects an expectation rather than experience. Hence, the question of "Why coercion?" or "Why an upstream approach?" cannot be answered by simply pointing to the futility of educational efforts.

A paradoxical reason is that over the decades, there has been a significant increase in educational remedies. It is hard to imagine anyone under the age of 50 who has not been exposed to information about the dangers of tobacco, the importance of nutrition, or the need to "save the environment." In addition, there have been numerous in-school educational programs and well-funded media campaigns designed to persuade (not simply inform) individuals about such issues. Over time, regulations have been altered so that marketers can (or must) communicate to consumers information about the nutritional—and to a more limited extent, health—properties of the foods they buy, the energy usage of objects they buy, and so on. In other words, the argument that doing a better job informing and persuading people is futile loses merit when one considers how often policy makers have attempted such actions.

A "green" reason is that remedies are increasingly sought for environmental and national security problems, and these are almost always social dilemmas or fences. Because a social dilemma can only be solved if almost all members of the affected community "sacrifice," it is not in the rational self-interest of any single member to sacrifice alone; a person who sacrifices when others do not is a "sucker," and one who does not sacrifice when a sufficient number of others do can "free-ride" (Wiener & Doescher, 1991). Rothschild (1999) made the point that under such conditions, a person (no matter how well-informed) will not be motivated to "sacrifice," and when motivation is lacking, education cannot bring about the "desired behavior"; thus, an alternative remedy is required. In other words, the trend toward public concern over the environment, be it the earlier concerns over the use of resources (e.g., the initial Corporate Average Fuel Economy [CAFE] requirements passed in 1975) or more recent concerns over greenhouse gases (e.g., subsidizing alternative fuels and trying to ban incandescent light bulbs) has led to a proliferation of objectives that many scholars agree require coercive remedies.

A "rights" reason is that remedies are increasingly sought for problems of inclusion and equity. Throughout the 20th century, there was a steady increase in the extent to which people implicitly or explicitly accepted the idea of "positive rights." A positive right is something such as food, shelter, or health to which people are entitled because they are human. Because it

is a right, if individuals cannot provide it to themselves, then society (acting through the government) has a duty to provide it. In public health policy, this thread appears under the rubric of addressing disparities (one of the two key goals of the 2010 Healthy People initiative). Consumers may be unable to provide for themselves because of a lack of financial resources (e.g., medical care/insurance), a physical disability (e.g., accessing a retail outlet), geography (e.g., inner-city youth lacking access to safe recreational environments), and so on. Rothschild (1999) explains why education cannot overcome a person's lack of ability (unless the person can learn to overcome it); thus, an alternative remedy is required. In the United States, the two most common remedies for inclusion and equity problems are for the government to construct a public facility or to subsidize the price the needy must pay.

A "public problem" reason that is driving the use of upstream remedies is that individual problems are increasingly being framed as public problems. This frame most often comes about because, due to the goals of inclusion and equity, there is a clear link between individuals' behavior, their needs, and the public's financial interests. For example, if health care is subsidized by the public, then any activity that could harm a person's health can be construed as a matter of public interest rather than merely self-interest. Similarly, if smoking is framed as a hazard to all people because of secondhand smoke or as a financial burden to the public because of the health care costs associated with smoking outcomes, then reducing tobacco use becomes a concern for all citizens rather than a matter of personal choice and freedom.

The broadest reason is that a "social constructionist" view of human behavior is increasingly being embraced by scholars and the public. The essence of this view is that people's behavior is viewed as being more a product of their environment than a product of "free choice." This chapter discusses two broad sources: people's physical environment and their information environment. The most critical aspect of the physical environment is the socioeconomic context (e.g., negative health outcomes are strongly correlated with poverty, education, unemployment, lack of available housing, race/ethnicity, lack of social support, etc.). In addition, there are marketing-specific factors that shift the physical environment away from pro-social behaviors. For example, some groups may have very easy access to retailers who sell "bad" products (e.g., liquor stores in poor neighborhoods, fast-food outlets near schools) or too little access to retailers who sell "good" products, such as fresh fruits and vegetables, or places where people can engage in positive behaviors, such as parks where children can play. The former argument is used to justify restricting where

particular retail outlets can locate; the latter argument is used to justify either subsidies or public works.

The information perspective also has socioeconomic and marketing threads. The socioeconomic thread reflects concerns over the consequences to young people whose environments provide mainly negative role models and social reinforcement. The marketing thread was nicely summarized by Winett and Wallack (1996, p. 179). They noted that "given the seemingly insurmountable and ubiquitous cues influencing individuals to maintain unhealthy habits," traditional educational campaigns will almost always fail. Recent advances in information technology have only served to amplify this argument. For example, the proliferation of computer games featuring children's snacks is viewed as just the latest example of how marketing communications strongly influence young people to engage in unhealthy behaviors (Ambinder, 2010). The critical point is that marketing communications are viewed as having an overwhelming influence on individual beliefs and preferences. This view obviously supports restrictions on marketing communications.

Simply identifying sources and drawing direct links to potential public policies understates the true importance of the social construction perspective. This perspective makes the case that individual choice is an illusion because the environmental context is so heavily shaped by corporate marketing efforts. We do not mean to suggest that the social construction view—its extreme form, in particular—has become accepted wisdom. The debate, often cast in terms of the importance or relevance of personal responsibility, rages. Our point is that one of its major pillars is the prevalence and presumed power of marketing practices. Over time, the social construction view has become more widely accepted and thus has led to support for upstream remedies.

To conclude, powerful forces underlie the trend toward upstream remedies. The relevance of these trends to the question of why people support coercive remedies is (at least) twofold. A commonality of many models of the public policy process is that intellectual ideas play an important role, even though most voters are only vaguely cognizant of their existence, and intellectual ideas are created and promoted by agents and organizations. In the current political environment, there are many centers, institutes, and organizations that are funded by companies seeking to influence public policy by influencing the intellectual discourse. At a more concrete level, the importance, relevance, and applicability of intellectual ideas to a specific policy is influenced by how abstract dimensions are articulated as contributing to the problem's existence, who bears the costs of the problem, and the policy-specific solution. For example, support for remedies

intended to limit the marketing of "high-sugar" foods will depend upon the extent to which one believes that a child's preference for such foods is the product of marketing communications (socially constructed), that the costs of obesity are borne by the taxpayers (public problem), and that almost all parents and children know that cola has a great deal of sugar and too much sugar can make people fat.

There are many depictions of the process that can lead to the creation of a law or expenditure with the objective of enhancing public health or the environment. There is a vast amount of research in multiple fields that sheds light on critical links in the process. Below, we will provide a brief introduction to this stream, often referring the reader to sources that can provide more in-depth discussion. Our goal is to set the potential role of marketing in terms of understanding the exchange faced by a "voter" in the broader policy-change context.

The Upstream Process, Key Actions, and Marketing's Role

The Upstream Process

A campaign to induce elected officials to pass a law that contributes to a public health objective is often called a public will campaign. Figure 9.1 draws on literature from marketing—public health literature in general and Coffman's (2002) "logic model" in particular—to depict the process that can lead to the passage of a policy that restricts behaviors to achieve a public good.

To create policy change with a public will campaign, the agent interacts with potential allies and forms a coalition; the coalition can communicate either directly to the public (message dissemination) or to legislators (lobbying). The coalition can also attempt to indirectly influence these key players by engaging in media advocacy, which entails communicating to the media, which in turn communicate to both legislators and the public. Whether message dissemination or media advocacy is used, the logic is that attention is given to the issue (first-tier agenda setting), pro-policy beliefs are formed (second-tier agenda setting/framing), the beliefs induce support for the policy, and public support leads to legislative support and passage of the policy.

Following both Coffman (2003) and the norms of logic models, the process is depicted from the perspective of the change agent. The conceptual model highlights the key steps that an agent should take to reach short-term, intermediate, and long-term goals. This brief review of the upstream process includes a discussion of the nature of support for the

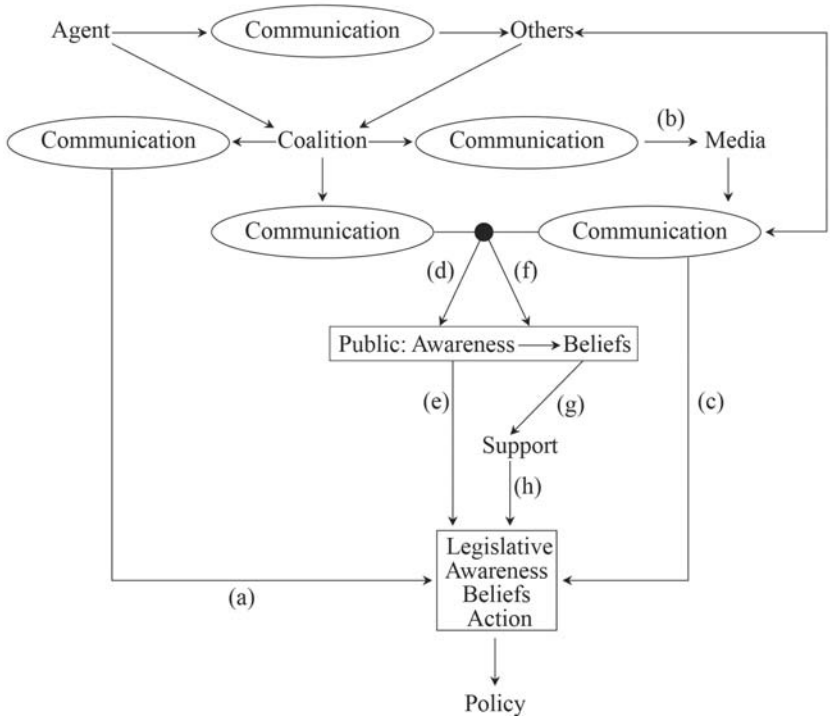

Figure 9.1 The Policy Formation Process

links that are highlighted in the public health literature, notes where marketing scholarship has been applied to provide added insight into the process, and concludes by discussing how future marketing scholarship can be used to provide insight into one of the most vital links.

Forming Coalitions

A critical first step in fostering policy change is building coalitions. Coalitions may be formed between private, public, professional, and nongovernmental organizations. A common feature of most successful efforts to enact significant prohealth policies is the existence of a strong coalition (Coffman, 2003). Coalitions can perform several important functions. First, they augment the level of financial, material, and human resources that can be used by change agents. Coalitions also provide legitimacy and access to key opinion leaders. For example, in their discussion of the success and failure of antismoking initiatives in six states, Jacobson, Wasserman, and Raube (1993) argued that a key cause of failure was the

unwillingness of medical, public health, and voluntary health organizations to fully participate in the required coalitions. In another case, a well-coordinated, community-wide coalition was found to be an important characteristic of communities that successfully instituted a wide array of policies that successfully reduced alcohol-induced deaths and injuries (Holder et al., 1997). Wallack, Dorfman, Jernigan, and Themba-Nixon (1993) argued that the legitimacy of media advocacy comes from community support, which in turn comes from having an encompassing and effective local coalition. Both Andreasen (2006) and Siegel and Lotenberg (2007) provided valuable insights about the importance of coalitions as well as strategic and tactical advice about how to construct and maintain effective coalitions.

One of social marketing's most important revelations regarding coalition formation is that potential members will initially be attracted on the basis of "self-interest," where self-interest often corresponds to their perception of how solving the problem or implementing the proposed policy will advance their core agenda. Through strategic relationship building, policy advocates can identify organizations with overlapping interests and explicitly draw links between their primary agenda (e.g., childhood obesity) and outcomes that are the primary agenda items of other organizations (e.g., the educational attainment of children, improving the diets of poor people). Over time, as a campaign builds, normative pressures and the potential "log-rolling" (I support your effort if you support mine) can be effectively used. Organizations can also foster long-term relationships and share resources to persevere through counterattack campaigns.

Communication with Elected Officials/Policymakers

There are two distinct issues that must be considered when discussing the various forms of communication. The first is that the attention of the receiver (e.g., media, member of the public, legislator) must be gained. The second is that once the receiver's attention is attracted, that party's understanding of the issue must be influenced in a pro-policy manner.

Communicating directly with public officials (Figure 9.1, Link "a") is essentially a "push" campaign. The importance of having a legislative champion is emphasized by Jacobson and colleagues (1993), who reported that the major reason why Minnesota passed one of the very first clean air acts was the passion of a single effective legislator. Public officials can be reached by paid lobbyists, concerned citizens, concerned experts (e.g., medical doctors), association representatives, other elected officials, targeted media messages, stories in the mass media, targeted special events

held at their meeting place (e.g., state capital), and so on (Andreasen, 2006). There are three broad means of making the transition from exposure to attention and thus enlisting legislative support. One approach is to speak to legislators' political needs (e.g., promise resources, explain how it will benefit constituents, provide an opportunity to show leadership). A second means is to talk about why the policy should be supported on its own merits. A third approach (see McGrath, 2007) is to employ many of the ideas that have been advanced in the public health literature for both attracting media attention and enlisting public support for a policy. Both are discussed below.

Media Advocacy—Gaining Media Attention

Coalitions can communicate with the public through the use of media advocacy. As noted above, some leading public health scholars have argued that media advocacy is the defining feature of the "new public health." Media advocacy is given preference over message dissemination because (1) it is a far more cost-effective means of reaching people, (2) messages transmitted through the media are more credible than paid messages, and (3) it is a means of addressing the power imbalance (Wallack & Dorfman, 1996). The power imbalance arises because communities and public health officials have far fewer financial resources than the elements of the private sector that profit from unhealthy behaviors (e.g., sellers of tobacco, alcohol, or motorcycles).

It is necessary (but not sufficient) that an effective media advocacy campaign attract media attention. Based on their reviews of numerous case histories, scholars have reached two important conclusions in this regard. First, a well-designed and -implemented media advocacy campaign can generate increased news coverage (Holder & Treno, 1996; Siegel & Lotenberg, 2007; Wallack et al., 1993; Wallack & Dorfman, 1996). This conclusion reflects both numerous pre-post evaluations of media coverage and the findings of a quasi-field experiment. In the quasi-field experiment, a comprehensive five-year campaign to reduce the availability of alcohol and high-risk alcohol consumption patterns was conducted in three communities. Outcomes in these communities were compared to outcomes in matched control communities. A major element of the comprehensive campaign was media advocacy, and news coverage of alcohol-related issues was higher in the experimental communities.

The second conclusion is that there are strategies and tactics for gaining media attention that have worked in multiple campaigns. A review of the public health literature reveals a great deal of convergence regarding the

actions a coalition should take to gain media attention. Broadly, the literature suggests that to be effective, the coalition should cultivate relationships with members of the media, create news, and present its message with an audience-attracting "hook." News can be created by staging events, reporting survey results, conducting tours, creating links with highly traditional newsworthy events, and so on. Hooks include such "tricks" as linking the story to a celebrity, having a personal or local angle, using an anniversary or milestone, using great visuals, and so forth. (See Wallack, et al., 1993, and Siegel & Lotenberg, 2007, for an extended discussion of effective strategies and tactics.) In summary, case histories strongly support the idea that Link "b" (see Figure 9.1) exists if the coalition uses effective strategies and tactics.

The Direct Consequences of Media Attention

A potential objective of media advocacy is to directly influence policy makers (Figure 9.1, Link "c"). There are numerous case studies in which successful efforts to gain media coverage also resulted in positive policy changes (Wallack et al., 1993). The consistent pattern is that legislators and potential coalition members do pay attention to the media. In addition, studies in the mass communication literature use aggregate data (e.g., Gallup polls) to test the level of association between measures of news coverage, measures of the relative importance of an issue in the minds of voters, and measures of congressional action on an issue. These studies find significant correlations (Tan & Weaver, 2007). Furthermore, media advocacy may be needed to "balance the playing field" when opposing forces have many resources. Media attention and public opinion are necessary to drive policy when the opposition may be able to forestall policy change by pooling financial resources and "buying votes" with political contributions (Wilson, 1980).

Attracting the Public's Attention

The goals of media advocacy and message dissemination are the same. The first goal is to raise the public's awareness of the issue (Figure 9.1, Link "d")—in other words, to put it on the public agenda (Lippmann, 1965, p. 229). Lippmann was interested in explaining how the news media influenced what people thought. He argued that the "mass media are like the beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bring one episode and then another out of the darkness into vision." The underlying theory was transfer of salience (McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, & Rey, 1997). The

more a person is exposed to an issue, the more important that person will think the issue is. While the media may not tell us specifically what to think about an issue, they do tell us what to think about in general; this is the power of first-level agenda setting. The media's role in first-level agenda setting is supported by numerous case studies (Wallack et al., 1993; Wallack & Dorfman, 1996). In addition, there are numerous studies in the agenda-setting literature, using a variety of methods (Carroll & McCombs, 2006; McCombs et al., 1997), that find correlations between the level of media and public attention. The "truth" campaign is a clear example of the power of message determination on public awareness (Farrelly et al., 2002).

In addition to reporting the link between communications to the public (either from the media or coalitions), the public health literature is replete with best practices. Paralleling the recommendations for how to attract media attention are recommendations for how to capture the public's attention. Some of the recommended actions for gaining exposure are to conduct an advertising campaign, provide speakers for events, host public and private events, and hand out leaflets. A lengthy discussion of specific strategies and tactics for effective message dissemination can be found in Siegel and Lotenberg (2007); not surprisingly, their discussion includes many of the basic communication precepts that can be found in the marketing literature.

Of course, exposure to media is not enough. For communication to be effective, people must pay attention. The public health literature contains extensive sets of recommendations regarding how a communication should be designed to achieve this end (Siegel & Lotenberg, 2007; Wallack et al., 1993; Wallack & Dorfman, 1996). The suggestions overlay the "media hooks" noted above and also draw on the conventional marketing communications literature.

Communicating to Legislators by Media

Within the public health literature, there is a strong belief (supported by case studies) that if legislators know that the public is interested in an issue, they are more likely to take action. Of course, in these studies, the public's interest is accompanied by beliefs that support action. The media and stimulated public interest communicate to policymakers that they should consider upstream remedies as solutions to piqued public concerns. In the mass communication literature, the findings are more mixed. Tan and Weaver (2007) have argued that based on time series analysis, little evidence exists to support the contention that, taken in isolation, the degree of importance the public gives to an issue influences policy (as

measured by congressional hearings). Whether there is or is not a direct link, in all likelihood, depends on the issue. Obviously, if the public does not care about an issue, then little public pressure exists to prompt legislative action. Also, an upstream remedy that provides small benefits for many at the cost of a few is unlikely to see the light of day (Wilson, 1980).

Influencing What the Public Believes

The second goal of media advocacy is to influence how people think about an issue (Figure 9.1, Link "f"). This is typically labeled as either second-level agenda setting or framing. Two different approaches are typically used to influence how people think about an issue: specific attribute messages and general issue framing. First, attention may be drawn to specific attributes about a social issue and away from other attributes (McCombs et al., 1997; Weaver, 2007). The intention of focusing on specific attributes is to educate the public about important, persuasive characteristics that can influence beliefs about an issue. For example, second-level agenda setting might emphasize the compassionate characteristics of street-level drug users (e.g., poor, undereducated, children of addicts) in order to shape preferences for addict reform rather than punishment.

Another approach often used to influence public beliefs about a social change issue is to focus on a central theme or frame. The frame is used to organize the information individuals have about an issue or object, giving it a simple meaning (McCombs, 2005). Rather than focus on specific attributes of the issue, a more general framing is used as a rallying call to take action. For example, the "truth" campaign focused antismoking efforts on the theme of ending corporate lies and manipulation. The campaign used some specific health attribute messages but did so within the empowering framing of ending the manipulation and taking control. These communicated meanings are then intertwined with a person's existing attitude toward the social change issue related to the upstream remedy.

Empirical experiments and survey evidence in the agenda-setting literature suggest that if individuals are exposed to stimuli (such as mass media) that emphasize specific issue attributes, they will place more importance on those attributes. The survey evidence shows correlations between the attributes reported in the media and the attributes that are most salient to media consumers (McCombs et al., 1997). In the experiments, subjects exposed to media stories emphasizing specific issue attributes assigned greater importance to those items (Rill & Davis, 2008). In the public-health media advocacy literature, there is a strong belief, based on case

histories, that the media can engage in both the attribute-level and central meaning forms of second-level agenda setting. Successful campaigns produced messages that had the intent of influencing how people thought about an issue. It must be noted that the nature of the empirical evidence to support second-level agenda setting is a function of the issue; it is almost impossible to run a field experiment for this purpose.

Because the attribute version of the second-level agenda domain is supported by conventional laboratory studies, consistent case studies, and consistent post-only field studies, it seems reasonable to accept the argument in Link "d" (see Figure 9.1). Moreover, it is assumed that the reader is seeing clear parallels between scholarship in the agenda-setting domain and scholarship in marketing communications. It could be argued that agenda setting is simply a special case of the general communication model widely accepted in marketing.

From Beliefs to Support

The next step in the process is the transition from the beliefs people have to their support for the proposed policy initiative (Figure 9.1, Link "g"). There is evidence in the agenda-setting literature that if individuals are exposed to positive information about an issue, they will have a more positive attitude toward the issue. This evidence is derived from studies that coded exposure to positive and oppositional negative messages in media (e.g., Matthes, 2008; McCombs et al., 1997).

The more interesting area of inquiry and application addresses the question of what types of beliefs will lead to support. Broadly, there are two ways to address this question. Prior research in the public health and social problems fields suggest that a person's willingness to support or oppose a proposed restriction may be influenced by the extent to which that person thinks: (1) the policy addresses an important public (or social) problem, (2) the policy will be effective, (3) the policy is in the person's self-interest, and (4) the policy is consistent with the person's ideological beliefs. Because marketing views the issue of policy implementation as one of exchange, a new set of considerations is introduced. These focus on the characteristics of the party that must pay the cost of the benefit. Following is a review of the current approach.

The importance of the social problem. One of the most common perspectives is that media advocacy is designed to influence the way people perceive an issue. It focuses on issues as social rather than as personal problems, and it emphasizes the collective nature of the problem. The idea is to get many people to care about and act on an issue, not just those who

are directly engaging in the problem behavior (Coffman, 2003). For example, framing tobacco control in terms of the public health hazard of secondhand smoke rather than as an individual user health problem shifts the costs toward a more collective concern. There are two complementary perspectives of what it means for an issue to be an important social issue.

Coffman (2003) draws on Zastrow's (1993, p. 5) definition of a social problem: "A social problem exists when an influential group asserts that a certain social condition: (1) affects a large number of people; (2) is a problem; (3) that may be remedied by a collective action." Direct empirical support for this view includes the findings that support for higher alcohol taxes is associated with a stronger perception of the health problems associated with drinking (Greenfield, Johnson, & Giesbrecht, 2004); that support for prohibiting alcohol sales in public places is associated with the belief that underage drinking is a major problem in the community (Richter, Vaughn, & Foster, 2004); and that stiffer penalties and lower legal limits for drunk drivers are associated with greater concern over drunk driving (Wagenaar & Streff, 1990).

A second perspective is that the key to creating public support for policies that address a problem is to use communications that "translate personal problems into public issues" (C. Wright Mills [1959], quoted by Wallack and Dorfman, 1996, p. 300). Wallack and his colleagues (Wallack & Lawrence, 2005; Winett & Wallack, 1996) have emphasized the importance of framing the targeted behavior in structuralist rather than individualistic terms. Thus, a person who engages in the behavior is a victim of circumstances. A consistent finding in the support for welfare literature is that the more a person accepts a structuralist interpretation, the more that person will support allocating resources to those who deserve them (Pereira & Van Ryzin, 1998; Timberlake, Lock, & Rasinski, 2003). Moreover, individuals who have an individualistic view are far more likely to support policies that punish welfare recipients than those who do not. Parallel results are found when the issue is drug control spending and combating drug use with law enforcement instead of rehabilitation or prevention. This argument is also supported by numerous case studies where policy advocates sought to communicate that individuals who were harmed by their own actions were victims of structural conditions rather than perpetrators who suffered from their own choices (Wallack, Winett, & Lee, 2005; Holder et al., 1997).

Efficacy and public support. Case studies and other literature support the proposition that the perceived efficacy of a policy solution will be associated with support for the policy. Both Holder and colleagues (1997) in their study of alcohol control policies and Wallack and colleagues (2005)

in their analysis of the California campaign to limit youth access to firearms made the case that a key to public support was the campaigns' advocacy for concrete policies that were viewed as effective. For example, Wallack and colleagues (2005) reported that a key driver of policies banning youth access to firearms was poll results indicating that most voters believed that the problem of youth violence could be best solved through prevention rather than through incarceration. Parallel studies (Richter, Vaughan, & Foster, 2004; Timberlake, Lock, & Rasinski, 2003) found that when individuals were given choices among policy solutions, they chose those remedies with greater perceived relative efficacy.

Self-interest and public support. Pereira and Van Ryzin (1998) made the case that numerous studies investigating social spending and welfare policies have found that support for spending is positively associated with proxies for being a user of those services. The most common translation of this idea into the alcohol and tobacco domain is the hypothesis that the extent to which a person drinks or smokes will be negatively associated with support for policies that restrict, tax, or punish smoking or drinking related behaviors. These hypotheses are supported by numerous studies in both the smoking (Brooks & Mucci, 2001; Miller & Kriven, 2001) and drinking (Richter, Vaughan, & Foster, 2004; Wagenaar & Streff, 1990) domains.

An interesting twist on the self-interest motive arises in cases where individuals engage in behaviors that they cognitively understand they should not engage in. These individuals need—and in some cases want—a crutch, and a 'law" can provide them with the external support they need so that they can act in accord with their cognitive side. In the language of behavioral economics, supporting a policy that restricts a particular behavior is a form of precommitment. Smoking restrictions have provided a fertile field for investigating this idea because the vast majority of smokers have (at the very least) mixed feelings about smoking. Both Kan (2006) and Hersch, Del Rossi, and Viscusi (2004) found a positive association between planning to quit in the next six months and an individual's degree of support for a ban. The authors argued that this association reflected the smokers' beliefs that the ban would help them quit.

Ideology and public support. There are at least two important variants of the argument that ideological beliefs are associated with an individual's attitude toward public policy interventions. In the social welfare/social spending literature (see Pereira & Van Ryzin, 1998), there are numerous studies that have found that self-described liberals (Democrats) are more supportive of welfare programs and spending than self-described conservatives (Republicans). In general, this conceptualization of the ideology-policy

support link is not supported by studies in the alcohol (Latimer et al., 2001) and drug control (Timberlake, Lock, & Rasinski, 2003) domains.

An important variant of this view focuses on the ideological framing of an issue and its degree of support. Within the welfare domain, the critical distinction is between the deserving needy, such as children, and the undeserving, such as able-bodied adults (Pereira & Van Ryzin, 1998). More broadly, this may be seen as drawing a distinction between structural and behavioral explanations for why a person is needy (Reutter, Harrison, & Neufeld, 2002). At a more abstract level, Free and Cantril (1968, p. 37) have described the American view of federal programs as a "schizoid combination of operational liberalism with ideological conservatism" (Feldman & Zaller, 1992). The essence of ideological conservatism is a combination of individualism and anti–big government, whereas operational liberalism translates into supporting humanitarian reasons for specific programs that aid the deserving needy (Feldman & Zaller, 1992).

In numerous papers, Wallack and his colleagues have argued that a critical barrier to public support for public health policies is that "the first language of American culture is individualism" (Wallack & Lawrence, 2005, p. 567). This theme is pervasive in the public health literature. Individualism is viewed as one of the key reasons why the general public views problem behaviors as owing to individual choices rather than social/structural "upstream" forces. Concern over individualism explains why Wallack and his colleagues frequently express a negative view of conventional health education or social marketing campaigns that focus on altering individual behavior (Wallack & Dorfman, 1996; Winett & Wallack, 1996). Support for the belief that individualism undercuts support for public health policies is found in the analysis of case studies where the agents engaged in communications intended to reframe the source of a problem behavior in social (not personal) terms and succeeded in engendering policy change.

From Support to Policy

The goal of the process depicted by Figure 9.1 is to influence policy. In the primary path, the agent communicates with the media, which in turn communicate with the public, which in turn communicates its support for the policy to legislators, who in turn make the proposed policy law. The critical link between public support and legislative action (Link "h") is supported by numerous studies in the political science domain (Greenfield et al., 2004; Pereira and Van Ryzin, 1998). Hersch, Del Rossi, and Viscusi (2004) reported a positive relationship between the proportion of voters in

a state who agreed that smoking should not be allowed in specific public areas and the likelihood a state legislature had banned smoking in specific areas. Public support will advance upstream remedy policy change.

Marketing's Unique Contribution

Downstream social marketing campaigns commonly use marketing concepts such as targeting, promotions, and so on. However, it is important to note that marketing can contribute to the conceptual thinking about upstream remedies and the standard public will model with regard to a critical aspect—exchange and its associated costs. The essence of marketing is exchange, and in the policy context, this means that any proposed policy will do more than produce benefits; it will impose costs. The perception of the extent of those costs and the framing of who bears those costs can be critical for upstream policy change. Another concern associated with upstream remedies is that once a policy change process is initiated, there is an increased likelihood that a parallel process of policy opposition (or the advocacy of policies contrary to the agent's goals) will be triggered. For instance, the wave of both pro- and antigun legislation that followed the 2012 school shootings in Newtown, Connecticut, is a prime example of how action evokes reaction. From a marketing perspective, it is imperative to understand how the opposition might frame costs in the ongoing debate of policy change.

As noted above, public health and social marketing change agents have embraced upstream-legal remedies that advocate industry and product usage restrictions to alter destructive consumer behaviors. Whether marketing agrees with the philosophy or not, social policy has embraced upstream-legal remedies. And in both research and practice, public health leads while marketing trails. This is particularly true when the behavior is a classic individual trap engaged in by a particular market segment rather than a social trap engaged in by almost all. To help marketers better understand destructive behaviors and how their costs can be framed for policy change, this chapter proposes a simple framework and then discusses it in terms of framing the costs to enact upstream remedies.

In this framework, two dimensions are considered: (1) who is being harmed by the current situation and will benefit from the upstream remedy; and (2) who will have to sacrifice, or pay the costs, to improve the situation. Figure 9.2 illustrates this basic framework.

Many of the situations addressed by individually-based social marketing efforts are individual fences or traps. Individuals are engaged in actions that bring harm to themselves but threaten little physical harm to others

Who is harmed/ would benefit?	Who must sacrifice? Specific Segment	Most of Society
Specific Segment	Individual Fence or Trap	Public Altruism
Most of Society	Public Protection	Social Dilemma

Figure 9.2 Social Marketing/Public Health Issue Framework

(e.g., not wearing a seat belt, obesity). The solution is for these individuals to make personal sacrifices that will improve their lives. At the other extreme are social dilemmas. In social dilemmas, almost everyone is incurring harm (or bearing the cost), and the solution requires almost everyone to make a sacrifice to improve the situation (e.g., global warming). The remaining cells are far less researched and do not have familiar labels. We use the term *public altruism* to denote situations where almost everyone makes a sacrifice that can be framed as helping only a segment of the population. In many cases, the vulnerable segment is helped by the provision of services paid for by the community at large (e.g., tax dollars used to provide educational services to mentally challenged children). We use the term *public protection* to denote situations that can be framed as one segment needing to sacrifice for the benefit of society at large. In most cases, the segment loses its freedom to engage in a behavior that has the potential to harm others (e.g., smoking in public places).

The classic public will campaign takes a situation that is currently viewed by the public as one where only a particular segment of the population is being harmed or will benefit and transforms it into one where the public believes that most of society is being harmed or will benefit. This can be achieved by using marketing to reframe an issue that is viewed as an individual trap into one viewed as public protection, or by reframing an issue seen as public altruism into one viewed as a social dilemma. For example, issues related to helping the needy can be recast from helping a specific segment of society to benefiting society as a whole using both practical terms (e.g., providing free preventive care to the poor will deter the need for expensive emergency care and save taxpayer money) and moral terms (e.g., a society is judged by how it treats its least fortunate). The passage of legislation related to such issues as national health care or credit industry reform may be dependent on changing the current view of public altruism to one of social dilemma. We argue that a key reason for

the growth in restrictive remedies in the public health sector is that through media advocacy, key behaviors (e.g., tobacco use, drunk driving) have been reframed; private behaviors transmuted into public behaviors foster support for marketplace restrictions.

The passage of restrictions related to destructive health behaviors may require shifting the public view of the behavior from an individual trap to a public protection issue. Many public health/public will campaigns attempt this transformation of issue framing (e.g., smoking restrictions, drinking and driving restrictions, trans-fat bans). In all these cases, the immediate "victim" of the behavior is the person who engages in the behavior, but over time, the social costs are given increasing attention to encourage the passage of policy. It is argued that a key reason for the growth in restrictive remedies is that through media advocacy, key behaviors (e.g., tobacco use) have been reframed from classic individual traps to social problems warranting public protection. Private behaviors transmuted into public behaviors foster support for marketplace restrictions.

An important insight from the public will literature is that the battle over public health is as much a battle over public versus private as it is over health consequences. A major element of this debate is how the costs are cast. The public cost frame can be seen not only in the antismoking emphasis on secondhand smoke but in other contexts involving health and financial well-being. For example, the "proregulation" arguments have been framed in this way: Bad loans lead to foreclosures, which destroy the value of everyone's homes; excessive trans-fats or sugar in foods leads to health problems that increase health costs for all; payday loans damage national security because so many victims are military families. To a large extent, the antirestriction side plays defense by making the case that either the harms are restricted to a relatively small segment (e.g., only a small proportion of citizens ever take out a payday loan) or that alternative policies could limit the public costs (e.g., if people were responsible for their own health care costs, the public would not be burdened by those who ate too many supersized meals or crashed a motorcycle while not wearing a helmet). These antirestriction efforts focus on keeping the behavior framed as an individual trap.

Conclusion

Social marketers and public health agents often work together and share a common desire to improve the well-being of individuals. Increasingly, these social marketing efforts are aimed at upstream remedies targeting policy change. This chapter has focused attention on the shift toward upstream

social marketing and attempted to clarify the distinctions from traditional downstream efforts. The public will literature was reviewed and a conceptual model proposed for understanding the process and key strategic actions of upstream remedy enactment. An important insight from the public will literature is that the battle over public health is as much a battle over public versus private framing of costs as it is over health consequences. As our framework (Figure 9.2) highlights, a major element of this debate is how marketing efforts cast the parties incurring the exchange benefits and those bearing the exchange costs (e.g., product users; society at large, including nonusers). Social change agents who recognize the different views may develop more effective strategies for garnering public support for proposed upstream remedies while reducing resistance to them. Social marketers, public health advocates, and policymakers should also be cognizant of these different perspectives when seeking an appropriate and effective balance between upstream remedies and downstream efforts.

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CHAPTER TEN

Social Marketing and the Law

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Social marketing and the law are similar in that they both seek to influence human behavior for the public good. Social marketing (including education—cf. Rothschild, 1999) involves the use of marketing concepts and techniques to influence behavior in ways deemed beneficial for the targeted individuals and society in general (cf. Andreasen, 2006, p. 91; Andreasen, 1994, p. 110). Often, changing negative behavior is the goal (e.g., stop smoking), but sometimes the goal is to prevent people from starting negative behavior (e.g., don't start smoking). In some cases, social marketing is used in part to counter commercial marketing such as cigarette advertising. In other situations, it may be used for policies unrelated to commercial marketing, such as encouraging birth control in developing countries. Social marketing efforts may be conducted by various entities, including commercial companies, nonprofits, and even government agencies.

Downstream social marketing directs marketing efforts at the group whose behavior has been targeted for change. Upstream social marketing is a newer concept that targets lawmakers, the media, and others to persuade them that a particular public policy issue is sufficiently important to take action (Hoek & Jones, 2011). Upstream marketing may target lawmakers to fund or require social marketing campaigns or to impose legal behavioral mandates, including taxes or fees and information disclosure. Such legal mandates are enforced by various types of sanctions, including injunctions, jail, fines, taxes, and other financial incentives. Laws can be crafted to be enforced by the government, injured private parties, or both.

In a democratic society, social marketing offers the advantage of suggesting voluntary changes in behavior in contrast to behavior change mandated by the legal system. The law may be used to prohibit certain behavior (e.g., cigarette sales to minors) or to establish incentives either toward positive behavior or away from negative behavior (e.g., cigarette taxes). In addition, the law, like social marketing, may be used to counter the perceived excesses of commercial marketing through the general regulation of commercial marketing practices (e.g., prohibiting false advertising) or through specific regulations addressing social issues (e.g., cigarette advertising regulations). This chapter first examines the relationship between law and social marketing. It then examines the regulation of commercial marketing and compares that to the regulation of social marketing.

Law and Social Marketing: Substitutes and Complements

Based on MacInnis, Moorman, and Jaworski (1991), Rothschild (1999) suggested that the audience's motivation, opportunity, and ability to act in the desired way should influence the selection of approaches to achieve public policy goals. For example, he suggested that if people are motivated and have the opportunity and ability to act, then education may be sufficient to change behavior. Opportunity addresses environmental factors that make it easier or more difficult for people to change their behavior. Motivation is the desire to change behavior, but change might still be inhibited by an inability to change (e.g., addiction to certain substances).

Rothschild (1999) suggested that in situations where people are not motivated to change their behavior, regardless of their ability and opportunity to change, the use of the law should be considered. If consumers who understand the risks are not motivated to change their behavior, the law can create incentives that discourage undesirable behavior (e.g., cigarette taxes) or incentives to engage in the desired behavior (e.g., mandatory health or life insurance discounts). If incentives are insufficient to motivate the desired behavioral change, then behavior can be mandated, as in laws that require obtaining a driver's license before operating a motor vehicle on public highways or that prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages. Of course, complete prohibitions run the risk of encouraging illegal consumption, as illustrated by the United States' experiment with alcoholic beverage prohibition from 1920 to 1933.

However, contrary to Rothschild's (1999) suggestion that if people are motivated to change their behavior, the law is not needed, the law may still be useful in improving the opportunity for people's ability to change. For example, if inner-city children can't find healthier food choices in their

environment, zoning regulations could be used to limit the growth of convenience food outlets, and laws could be enacted mandating healthier school lunches, the inclusion of healthier snack and beverage choices, or even the elimination of certain products in school vending machines (Seiders & Petty, 2004). Similarly, people who wish to change a particular behavior but are unable to do so may benefit from a legal mandate that forces the change. Thus, it would appear that the law generally has greater potential for actually achieving behavioral change for the public good than other methods, but it comes with the political price of restricting people's freedom of choice.

Social marketing and the law are often used in partnership. When a new law is passed, such as mandated seat belt use or a prohibition on texting when driving, there often is an accompanying social marketing campaign to inform people of the new law and attempt to persuade them to comply with it. Not only can social marketing enhance legal compliance, but laws may enhance the effectiveness of social marketing. For example, the 2009 Family Smoking Prevention and Tobacco Control Act (Pub. L. 111-31) was enacted because antismoking social marketing campaigns were deemed not sufficiently effective. The new law mandated that tobacco companies publish large and graphic health warnings in cigarette advertising and on product labels (50 percent of the front and back of cigarette packages) to correct the information deficit about the health risks of cigarette smoking and ultimately assist in persuading people to stop or never start smoking (Calvert, Allen-Brunner, & Locke, 2010).

Another example of the complementarity between social marketing and law is the ongoing initiative by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) against misleading advertising claims by companies promoting weight-loss products. Not only does the FTC bring enforcement actions against advertisers, but it also publishes educational materials to help consumers recognize common false advertising claims for such products and, by implication, what must be done to lose weight (FTC, 2004). The FTC periodically develops similar materials for other social issues, such as underage drinking.

Lastly, courts have accepted social marketing as a remedy to settle class action lawsuits. For example, when Allstate was sued by a class of African Americans and Hispanics for alleged racial discrimination in the sale of insurance, the company agreed to increase its expenditures on marketing directed at minorities to 15 percent of its national funding, to develop a credit education program to be distributed through two community-based organizations, and to pay those organizations $250,000 to implement the program for their respective target audiences. After a challenge by some

members of the class, the judge approved the settlement as fair, adequate, and reasonable (*DeHoyos et al. v. Allstate Corp.*, 2007).

Thus, while the law may be viewed as the last resort of social marketing, by mandating behavioral change after persuasion doesn't work, it also should be viewed as a complement to social marketing, by imposing incentives or changing the consumption environment to enhance the effectiveness of social marketing persuasion. For example, incremental behavioral mandates that diminish the social acceptability of smoking, such as banning smoking in public areas and workplaces, may both enhance antismoking social marketing campaigns and diminish the effectiveness of cigarette promotion.

Although the law and social marketing often complement each other, the law also exerts some regulatory authority over social marketing as part of its role to regulate marketing practices in general. The next section presents a definition of commercial marketing and a quick summary of how the law regulates it. The following section examines how the law distinguishes between commercial and noncommercial speech, which is an important issue because the latter receives a higher level of First Amendment protection. The third section examines the sorts of regulations that are of concern to social marketers.

The Regulation of Commercial Speech and Commercial Marketing

Before examining how the law may regulate social marketing, we must first examine how it regulates commercial marketing practices. Commercial marketing is generally defined as programs designed to facilitate voluntary exchanges between buyers and sellers—typically consumers paying money for goods and services (Gundlach, 2007). The techniques used are often divided into the "four P's" of the marketing mix: product, promotion, price, and place (i.e., distribution; McCarthy, 1960). In the regulation of marketing, the law generally seeks to protect the interests of both consumers and businesses and also seeks to promote allocative and dynamic economic efficiency (Petty, 1996). Marketing regulation generally follows a capitalist model, in which consumers are considered both rational and free to make their own choices. Marketers are generally allowed to attempt to persuade adult consumers to purchase particular goods or services through various types of rational and image/emotional appeals.

Undoubtedly, many commercial marketers believe that they provide a social benefit. Sellers of weight-loss products are assisting to reduce obesity and its social costs in the same way that smoking cessation products and programs reduce the public health costs associated with tobacco

consumption. Similarly, antiabortion social marketing programs may welcome the sale of condoms and other forms of birth control, and sellers of energy-efficient products are helping to achieve the social goal of reducing energy consumption and society's carbon footprint.

However, U.S. law has been clear since 1976 that commercial offerings of products are regulated as commercial speech, receiving only limited protection under the freedom-of-speech provisions of the First Amendment (*Virginia State Board of Pharmacy v. Virginia Citizens Consumer Council*, 1976). Four years later, in *Central Hudson Gas & Electric v. Public Service Commission of New York* (1980), the U.S. Supreme Court announced that commercial speech (defined as speech relating solely to the economic interests of the speaker and the speaker's audience) is not protected if it concerns illegal activity or is misleading.

Similarly, the FTC can regulate nonprofit entities if they work to make a profit for their members. For example, the FTC successfully sued a nonprofit trade association for making misleading claims about egg nutrition. In *National Commission on Egg Nutrition v. FTC* (1977), the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals largely upheld the FTC's cease-and-desist order despite arguments that the Egg Commission's paid advertising was more akin to paid political advertising than paid commercial advertising. The court disagreed, noting that the ads purported to make factual statements (rather than statements of opinion) in order to sell eggs.

Thus, the First Amendment allows both the FTC and private parties (i.e., injured competitors) to bring lawsuits to regulate false, misleading, and unsubstantiated commercial speech. Unlike securities marketers, advertisers are not required to provide all material information about their offerings to consumers, but the FTC does require information disclosure when needed to prevent severe consumer injury or deception (e.g., a salty, low-fat food labeled "heart healthy" because it is low in fat must also disclose that it is high in sodium, which may cause high blood pressure). As noted above, the FTC assumes consumers are rational, so it generally pursues deceptive factual claims about products and cases where there is deception about whether a communication is commercial advertising versus an image or nonfactual marketing appeal (Petty, 1997). The FTC may also pursue deception when it involves disguising commercial advertising to appear as some other form of speech (Petty & Andrews, 2008).

Although the First Amendment provides no protection for false or misleading commercial speech, regulatory concerns often go beyond falsity to issues of solicitation method and content. The *Central Hudson* decision (1980) set up a three-part test to judge the constitutionality of such restrictions. First, the state must assert a substantial interest that justifies the

restriction it seeks to impose on commercial speech. Second, the limitation on expression must be designed carefully to achieve the state's goal. Third, the restriction cannot be excessive if the governmental interest could be served as well by a more limited restriction (*Central Hudson Gas & Electric v. Public Service Commission of New York*, 1980, pp. 564–565). In that case, New York had prohibited all advertising and promotion for electric service, but the court held that the prohibition was too broad because it would also include advertising and promotion for electricity that was neutral as to conservation or even promoted conservation.

Over the years, the U.S. Supreme Court has supported state law prohibitions of speech only for lottery advertising (private lotteries being illegal or heavily regulated) and for in-person or targeted solicitation by attorneys. The court has overturned many state law speech prohibitions despite their justification by various social benefit arguments. It has overturned bans on price advertising for prescription drugs and legal services, on the inclusion of alcohol content in beer labeling, on the advertising of areas of professional specializations, and on various forms of solicitation, such as direct mail and commercial newsletters sold in vending machines. In most cases, the court admitted that there was a substantial government or public interest in the regulation but found the interest was not directly advanced, the regulation was not tailored narrowly enough to advance just the interest, or both.

With regard to commercial marketing, the FTC protects consumers from harassing or overly intrusive practices such as repeated or late-night telemarketing calls and the use of automatic telephone dialing systems without prior consent (16 C.F.R. § 310). The Minnesota Supreme Court found that state law provisions banning the use of automatic telephone dialing systems for commercial solicitation without prior permission from those being solicited did not violate the First Amendment. The court found that the regulation was neither a complete ban on commercial solicitation nor a complete prohibition on the use of automatic dialing devices. Rather, the regulation was narrowly crafted to advance the state's interest in protecting residential privacy (*State by Humphrey v. Casino Marketing*, 1992). Similarly, the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the FTC's Do Not Call Registry, finding it to be a reasonable restriction on commercial speech that was more intrusive and posed a greater danger of consumer abuse compared to other forms of speech. This restriction was consistent with the U.S. Supreme Court precedent that consumers could refuse commercial solicitations at their front door or mailbox (*Mainstream Marketing Services Inc. v. FTC*, 2004).

An important question for commercial marketing regulation is whether the First Amendment will allow laws that require information disclosure.

For example, the FTC ordered the Egg Commission to include a statement in future advertising that many medical experts believe increased consumption of dietary cholesterol, including that in eggs, may increase the risk of heart disease. Although the court recognized that such a statement could be necessary to refute longstanding past deception, it found little past deception because the campaign was relatively new. Therefore, it reversed the FTC requirement that the statement be included. The court felt a more narrowly tailored remedy was appropriate. Rather than requiring the Egg Commission to present a counterargument to its position, the court felt that merely requiring it to disclose that experts disagreed and it was presenting its side of the controversy was sufficient to prevent deception (*National Commission on Egg Nutrition v. FTC*, 1977).

The U.S. Supreme Court has repeatedly noted that factual disclosure requirements deserve less scrutiny than speech restrictions because factual information disclosure is consistent with First Amendment interests in protecting the flow of accurate information. Therefore, the court does not apply the *Central Hudson* test to required disclosures but rather only requires that such disclosures be reasonably related to the state's interest in preventing deception. This approach is intended to ensure that disclosure requirements are not unduly burdensome and do not chill commercial speech. For this reason, the court upheld a regulation requiring that attorneys advertising contingency fees disclose that the client would be liable for costs if the suit were not successful (*Zauderer v. Office of Disciplinary Counsel*, 1985).

The U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed these principles in 2010 when it upheld a similar requirement that law firms advertising debt relief services disclose that they also help people file for bankruptcy (*Milavetz, Gallup & Milavetz P.A. v. United States*, 2010). The Second Circuit Court of Appeals applied this reasoning to information disclosures not related to deception in upholding a requirement that sellers of mercury-containing lights disclose that fact on their packaging and further disclose that consumers should dispose of the lamps as hazardous waste. The court found that the disclosure requirement was reasonably related to the state's interest in protecting the environment (*National Electrical Manufacturers Association v. Sorrell*, 2001).

Affirmative text and graphic information disclosures in the tobacco regulations proposed by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) are among the primary issues currently facing legal challenge by the tobacco industry. The first appellate court to consider these proposals has upheld both the text warnings and (with one dissent) the pictorial warnings that together will cover about half the cigarette package as properly compelled

speech under *Zauderer*. The court also upheld bans on event sponsorship, free samples, the distribution of branded nontobacco products (other than matches), and marketing claims for purported reduced-risk tobacco products without prior FDA approval. However, the court also found the proposed restriction on color and imagery in tobacco advertising to be overly broad and not specifically tailored to target particular practices that have been proven to have an impact on underage smoking (*Discount Tobacco City v. United States*, 2012). The second appellate court held that the FDA had not proven its proposal would directly advance the government's interest in reducing smoking rates under *Central Hudson* (*R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. v. U.S.* 2012). The FDA is conducting research to show its proposals are likely to significantly reduce smoking.

A final area of regulation for commercial marketing is the inclusion of endorsements and testimonials in advertising. The FTC has issued guidelines that require endorsements to be truthful, accurate, and made in good faith. Furthermore, if there is a commercial connection that the audience would not expect between the endorser and the marketed product or service beyond the usual endorsement payment, it must be disclosed (16 C.F. R. 255). Courts and statutes in many states have also recognized a right of publicity that prevents a person's name or likeness from being used in commercial promotions without permission. In many cases, this right extends past the person's death. The law also recognizes that this right does not apply to noncommercial speech, such as news reporting or biographical reports (Petty & D'Rozario, 2009).

Distinguishing Social Marketing from Commercial Speech

The question often arises as to whether some particular speech is purely commercial or whether it is commercial speech mixed with other types of speech that merit fuller First Amendment protection. For example, in *Bigelow v. Virginia* (1975), the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a state statue prohibiting the encouragement of abortions that was used to convict a newspaper for running an ad describing legal and safe abortion services available in a neighboring state. The court held that the ad conveyed information beyond pure commercial information, and since it was legal to travel to the neighboring state to obtain a legal abortion, Virginia could not restrict this information.

In contrast, eight years later, the U.S. Supreme Court found a direct mail booklet on venereal disease (arguably social marketing) published by a condom marketer to be commercial speech for three reasons: (1) it proposed a commercial transaction, (2) it was in the form of a traditional

advertisement, and (3) it was prepared with the intent to make a profit (*Bolger v. Youngs Drug Products Corp.*, 1983). The court also noted that all three conditions did not need to be present for a communication to be considered commercial speech. Later U.S. Supreme Court decisions defined commercial speech as that which did nothing more than propose a commercial transaction (*U.S. v. United Foods Inc.*, 2001; *Board of Trustees of State University of New York v. Fox*, 1989, pp. 473–474).

More recently, the California Supreme Court held that when Nike responded to public criticism for its treatment of foreign workers with a series of press releases, letters to newspaper editors, and letters to university presidents and athletic directors, its response was commercial speech. The court reasoned that the communications in question were directed by a commercial speaker to a commercial audience and made representations of fact about business operations for the purpose of promoting sales of its products. The court sent the case back for trial on the question of whether any of the Nike statements were false or misleading (*Kasky v. Nike Inc.*, 2002).

The U.S. Supreme Court initially agreed to hear the case, but later a majority of the justices dismissed the grant of certiorari as having been improvidently granted because the case had not yet been tried on its merits in the California courts. The dissent disagreed, noting that the decision was final as to the issue of commercial speech and argued that the communications at issue were not purely commercial, because they involved information about a public controversy. Furthermore, the dissent argued, the letters were not traditional forms of advertising, and they did not propose the sale of a product or any other commercial transaction. Rather, the dissent noted, the speech had both commercial and noncommercial characteristics that were "inextricably intertwined," and therefore regulation of such speech should receive heightened First Amendment scrutiny (*Nike Inc. v. Kasky*, 2003).

Thus, while the precise boundaries between commercial and fully protected speech are difficult to define, it is clear, as discussed above, that commercial marketing of products and services, even those that are socially beneficial, could potentially be regulated as commercial marketing. Corporate social responsibility campaigns consisting of charitable sponsorship/involvement, messages about responsible consumption, or both also might be considered commercial speech because of their intent to build brand involvement and develop a positive brand image, with the ultimate goal of increasing sales. However, a second important goal of such programs is to avoid government regulation by recruiting the support of charitable partners and emphasize the importance of responsible

consumption by consumers (Dorfman, Cheyne Friedman, Wadud, & Gottlieb, 2012). This goal arguably places such campaigns within the domain of social marketing and could cause a court to find that the commercial and noncommercial aspects are intertwined. Ultimately, the determination of whether commercial marketing laws apply will turn on the specific facts of any particular example and whether the commercial aspects dominate the noncommercial aspects.

In contrast, social marketing efforts such as campaigns run by the media as a public service (rather than as purchased advertising) and produced by the government or by nonprofits not selling products or services would probably be deemed fully protected speech and would not be subject to regulation as commercial advertising. The only regulatory concern for such programs would be laws or regulations regarding noncommercial speech.

Legal Regulation of Social Marketing

The question of whether a social marketing campaign is commercial speech or at least intertwined with fully protected speech is important for determining how it might be regulated. State laws regarding privacy and the FTC's endorsement guidelines only cover commercial speech, but the latter could cover a commercial endorsement by an expert nonprofit organization. Most of the FTC telemarketing regulations cover for-profit fundraisers who work for nonprofit charities. Such fundraisers must not call at night between 9 p.m. and 8 a.m. and must not use autodialers without prior permission; in addition, the charity must maintain its own "do not call" list even though it does not have to follow the national list administered by the FTC.

However, because fundraising firms have been known to contribute as little as 15 percent of the money they raise to the charity for which they solicit, some states have attempted to regulate such fundraising efforts. The U.S. Supreme Court has overturned state statutes that set maximum percentages of funds used for fundraising (e.g., 25 percent) and in one case also struck down a requirement that before asking for money, fundraisers had to disclose the percentage of the prior year's solicitations that actually went to the charity. It found that these prior restraints on charitable solicitation unduly chilled fully protected speech in violation of the First Amendment.

But more recently, the court upheld the right of the Illinois attorney general to sue for-profit telemarketers for fraud for falsely telling people that the majority of their contributions went to the charity and for failing

to disclose that only 15 percent of each contribution actually went to the charity. In fact, over a seven-and-a-half-year period, the fundraisers raised more than $1.1 million for the charity and pocketed more than $6 million themselves. The court noted that unlike state statute cases, such lawsuits for fraud did not unduly chill protected speech, because the state had the burden of proving that the misstatement of fact was known to be false and was made with the intent to deceive the listener. The court further noted that requiring professional fundraisers to register with the government (which most states do require), to produce annual public reports on their activities, and to identify themselves as professional fundraisers when soliciting funds are all constitutional (*Illinois v. Telemarketing Associates, Inc.*, 2003).

This interest in preventing fraud extends beyond fundraisers. Assuming a social marketing campaign is not commercial speech, it would not be subject to laws and regulations regarding deceptive and unsubstantiated advertising. Of course, to the extent such laws are enforced by government agencies, those agencies also may lack jurisdiction or otherwise be reluctant to act against a campaign that is part of or associated with government programs. However, a private party could sue for trade libel (also known as product disparagement). The complaining party would have to prove that those issuing the statements knew they were false and made the statements anyway, with the intent to cause injury to the complaining party (Cain, 2012). This strict standard makes legal intervention rare and allows free debate in the "marketplace of ideas" (*Virginia State Board of Pharmacy v. Virginia Citizens Consumer Council*, 1976).

Although not related to a social marketing campaign, arguably the most famous challenges of this type were the lawsuits against Oprah Winfrey for remarks she made about beef and mad cow disease on her television show. These lawsuits were brought in several of the 13 states that have food libel laws. Most of these laws protect perishable food products (which might not include beef) and substitute "a lack of scientific evidence" for the "knowing falsity" standard of general trade libel. A majority of statutes also replace actual malice with a "knew or should have known" falsity standard. The initial case against Winfrey was partially dismissed by the judge, and the jury found her not liable on the remainder of the claims (Cain, 2012).

In additional to possibly being sued for fraud, social marketers might also be sued for negligence. For example, if a firm developed a public service announcement that encouraged intoxicated people to ride a bicycle instead of driving, the firm might be sued for not recognizing that bicycling under the influence of alcohol also is dangerous. Such a campaign

might also depict other unsafe bicycling behavior such as not wearing a helmet. Although a negligence lawsuit against a nonprofit might succeed, courts are reluctant to find government policymakers negligent for policy decisions made in good faith. Assuming there was no bad faith, such as accepting a bribe, government entities would likely not be held responsible for government-sponsored or content-mandated social marketing campaigns. For example, the Supreme Court of Canada recently dismissed allegations that the government was negligent in designing low-tar cigarettes, in misrepresenting the safety of low-tar cigarettes, and in failing to warn of the risks of low-tar cigarettes and smoking generally (*Regina v. Imperial Tobacco Canada Ltd.*, 2011).

Another common issue is whether state regulations are preempted by federal law. For example, in *Lorillard Tobacco Co. v. Reilly* (2001), Massachusetts had enacted restrictions on outdoor and point-of-purchase sales of tobacco products in an attempt to reduce underage tobacco use. The court found that the advertising restrictions for cigarettes were preempted by federal law, which explicitly prohibited further advertising and promotion regulation by states based on smoking and health. The court further held that the regulations on advertising for cigars and smokeless tobacco violated the First Amendment, but that the prohibition against self-service cigarette displays was neither preempted by nor a violation of the First Amendment. Only the self-service display prohibition was narrowly tailored to advance the state's interest in restricting underage tobacco use.

Federal preemption also has been considered in cases regarding state regulation of political speech. The first of these, *Van Bergen v. State of Minnesota* (1995), involved a Minnesota statute that restricted the use of automated dialing machines to situations in which the receiver had agreed or the message was preceded by a live operator. Political and charitable solicitations were covered by this law. A federal court of appeals found that the state law was "virtually identical" to the federal law and therefore was not preempted. A more recent state court decision (*State v. FreeEats.com, Inc.*, 2006) reached the same conclusion.

As discussed previously, one source of funding for social marketing campaigns is private contributions. In addition, social marketers may receive funding from the government or from sponsorships by commercial entities. These last two funding sources present legal issues. In cases involving government funding, the question arises as to whether some parties are being compelled to pay taxes or fees to support speech that they would prefer not to support. In *U.S. v. United Foods* (2001), the U.S. Supreme Court held that federally mandated assessments to fund

mushroom advertising violated the First Amendment rights of dissenting mushroom growers. It distinguished an earlier decision that allowed a similar program because the prior program was part of a larger regulatory program that included nonexpressive elements. In *Johannes v. Livestock Marketing Association* (2005), the court allowed a virtually identical program to the one it overturned in *United Foods*, because it found the speech actually was government speech and subject to the usual political controls. The majority opinion did not discuss the dissent's argument that the speech in question was deceptively identified as private speech by America's beef products producers rather than as speech from the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Today, it is clear that government-compelled speech can present First Amendment issues, but it is not clear how courts should or will analyze this issue.

Social marketers who team up with private entities in exchange for sponsorship recognition have other concerns, as well. First, such sponsorships are sometimes illegal. Austria and the Netherlands prohibit or strictly regulate social sponsorships because of the potential influence they might have (Maxeiner & Schotthofer, 1999). The FDA rule on tobacco promotion also prohibits tobacco brand-name sponsorships for fear they will influence youth, who tend to smoke the most well-known cigarette brands.

There are also tax implications for sponsorship arrangements. Money donated to a charity is supposed to be a gift from the donor, not a purchase from the nonprofit. Mere acknowledgment of the sponsorship donation, including use of the donor's logo and mention of the product line, address, or website, is not taxable, because such a brief mention is presumed to provide no substantial return benefit in exchange for the sponsorship fee. However, if the sponsorship statement includes qualitative or comparative discussion of products, price value, or savings information, or if the charity endorses or presents any inducement to purchase, then the sponsorship fee will be deemed to be the purchase of advertising. This also will be true if the payment amount is conditioned on broadcast ratings, event attendance, or any other measure of public exposure. In the case of such a ruling, the donor loses a tax deduction and the charity must pay taxes on the unrelated business income. If a charity's sponsorships mostly look like the sale of advertising, it might lose its nonprofit status (Stone, 2007).

Conclusion

Law is linked to social marketing in three ways. First, it is often used as a last resort when social marketing has been ineffective. If people are not persuaded by social marketing to change socially undesirable behavior, then the

law can create incentives or mandates for behavioral change. The second way law is related to social marketing is as a complement. The law's ability to encourage behavioral change through tax incentives and behavioral rules can reinforce the recommendations of a social marketing campaign. The third connection between law and social marketing is through regulation, in the same way that laws regulate the practice of commercial marketing.

First Amendment law plays a large role in determining what regulation might be appropriate for social marketing. First Amendment court decisions indicate both how to distinguish commercial speech from fully protected speech and what sorts of regulations could be appropriate for each type of speech. Social marketing campaigns can fall into either category. If a campaign is deemed to be commercial speech, it is subject to the same regulations as other forms of commercial marketing. If a social marketing campaign is deemed to be fully protected speech discussing an important public issue, then it is subject to significantly less regulation with respect to both truthfulness and methods of solicitation. For these reasons, social marketers need to carefully consider legal issues when structuring their campaigns and should plan for legal support to handle potential legal and regulatory issues.

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The Handbook of Persuasion and Social Marketing

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The Handbook of Persuasion and Social Marketing

Volume 2: Conceptual, Theoretical, and Strategic Dimensions

David W. Stewart, Editor

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

David W. Stewart

Volume 1 of this set described the historical, social, and ethical context within which social marketing exists. A theme of that volume is that social marketing is not all that different from marketing in other contexts, in that the same tools and techniques that characterize marketing in other contexts are employed in social marketing. Marketing is about persuasion and social marketing is no different. As discussed in Volume 1, the differentiation of social marketing from other types of marketing in terms of "doing good" and helping others—as opposed to selling commercial products and services that benefit the marketer—is an artificial distinction. Commercial products and services also "do good," make people better off, and improve the quality of life. Social marketing involves the same ethical and legal decisions confronted in other marketing contexts. Deciding what will make others better off or what is "good" for others are value judgments that may often be filled with even greater ethical issues than the decision to sell commercial products that consumers can elect to buy or not, and for which competitive alternatives provide some balance.

Also common to social marketing and commercial marketing are theories and conceptual frameworks regarding persuasion and behavior change. These shared theories and frameworks address psychological, social, and economic influences on human behavior, as well as management processes that organizations may employ when planning, implementing, and assessing social marketing programs. Volume 2 is intended as a bridge between the historical and philosophical discussions of social marketing in Volume 1 and the very specific applications of social marketing described in Volume 3. This volume focuses on the numerous theories and

conceptual approaches that may inform the design and implementation of social marketing programs. As might be expected of a discipline for which there is no single shared definition, there is no single theory of social marketing. Rather, there are numerous theories and conceptual frameworks that have informed definitions of social marketing and guided its practice. There are certainly differences in the contexts, applications, and targets of social marketing compared to other uses of marketing theories, tools, and techniques. Nevertheless, the underlying principles are the same. Indeed, as social marketing has evolved and matured over time it has become more like its parent disciplines in its sophistication, breadth, and diversity of tools and techniques. It has also borrowed broadly from theories developed in other disciplines.

The introductory chapter of Volume I and several of the subsequent chapters in that volume observed that there is also disagreement about the boundaries of social marketing. Thus, it is not surprising that there would also be disagreement about which theories are appropriate for informing social marketing activities and which theories apply to some other forms of social intervention. The theories and approaches described in this volume are intended to be representative of the range of perspectives that exist within the field.

Volume 2 also continues the discussion of the similarities between social marketing and conventional marketing. In this volume the focus is on similarities with respect to conceptual, theoretical, and strategic dimensions of social marketing and the broader marketing discipline. Before turning attention to the various theories and frameworks in the subsequent chapters in this volume, it is useful to consider what is and is not theory and to differentiate theory-driven social marketing programs from ad hoc programs that may be justified *ex post* by reference to one or more theories or conceptual frameworks.

What Is Theory?

In considering the role of theory in the context of social marketing, it is useful to first establish what is meant by theory and by what criteria a theory should be evaluated. If a theory is to provide guidance for the practice of social marketing it should show evidence of empirical support and practical relevance. There is some disagreement about what constitutes a good marketing theory (cf. MacLaran, Saren, Stern, & Tadajewski 2009; Hunt, 1990, 2010; Gummersson, 2002). Indeed, it is easier to define what a theory is not than what constitutes a good theory. Sutton and Staw (1995) have persuasively argued that theory is not references, data, variables, diagrams, or

hypotheses. Such elements have their place in theory development but none of them, alone or in combination is a theory. Rather, a strong theory has at least some, if not all, of the following characteristics: strong theory resonates; it shows patterns of inter-connectedness; it provides details about causal mechanisms; and it provides answers to the question "Why?" (Kaplan 1964).

Strong theory captures and succinctly summarizes knowledge that is generalizable. This goal may appear to be a particular challenge in an applied field, like social marketing, which has its roots in application and practice. However, if social marketing specifically and marketing more generally are to take their place within the social sciences, they must move beyond these applied roots to focus on more general questions. Integration of data and empirical findings across customers, situations, specific markets, and specific applications is critical for theory development. The individual market or application may be informative, but it does not build theory.

Neither does review of numerous individual studies of different markets, audiences, and applications alone result in a theory. Rather, theory emerges first from the integration of findings but ultimately results from a willingness to step away from the underlying data to take a creative leap that produces insights not to be found in any individual study. In the end, empirical studies are very often about a limited number of consumers, circumstances, products, and industries. Thus, there is a real challenge for marketing scholars to create generalizable knowledge. Good theory building and theory testing are ways to try and achieve such a goal. Good theory does more than describe; it identifies causal structures that provide the basis for forward prediction (not just good fits of historical data) and control (at least in some circumstances). It provides explanations of marketing phenomena—why customers behave as they do, why different markets evolve in particular ways over time, why specific institutions and practices emerge, and what factors facilitate and impede persuasion. With the addition of situational knowledge, marketing theories may also provide for predictions. While it is the case that the social sciences, in general, often have difficulties in predicting patterns of human behaviors (Secord, 1983), it is a mistake to dismiss prediction as a necessary characteristic of good theory. There is a myth that the physical sciences, the "real" sciences, are somehow better at prediction. They are not. They are only better at limiting the tests of their predictions to carefully controlled environments where a test is possible but also bound by the testing environment. Strong theories are simple and elegant; they provide rich descriptions; and they provide the basis for testable predictions in controlled circumstances.

Good theories in a social marketing context suggest solutions to problems and outcomes associated with interventions. A good theory need not be applicable to all situations or all problems, but within its defined range of applicability a theory should suggest something about how to proceed and the likely results of specific actions (Schurz, 2013).

Sutton and Staw (1995) argue that descriptions of theory building can leave a reader more, rather than less, confused about what constitutes a strong theory. Instead, they explain that it might be more productive to erect five "warning signs" (or "wrong way" signs). In other words, they describe things that may appear in practice or a research paper that are not theory. These include: a) diagrams and figures, b) conceptual definitions, c) hypotheses, d) data, and e) references. Many marketing papers, including those in social marketing, include diagrams or figures. Such devices, on their own, are not theories (Sutton and Staw, 1995). Instead, a theory requires a rich description that explains the underlying causal mechanisms and key processes that constitute the theory. Creating a set of boxes and arrows that show relationships among variables is not a theory. There must be a compelling logic about the reasons for the particular set of variables, their relationships, and the direction of their relationships that is supported by empirical research, that is more logically compelling than any other configuration of variables and their ordering, and that offers specific testable predictions about outcomes (even if these predictions can only be tested in highly controlled circumstances).

Defining focal concepts is a crucial first step in the creation of theory (MacKenzie, 2003). Measurement cannot be successful if there is only a vague notion of what exactly is being measured. But a theory is more than just a set of clear and concise definitions; a theory must go beyond this stage and describe the causal linkage among concepts. Some social sciences may be particularly prone to the tendency to "provide a dictionary of a language that possesses no sentences" (Weick, 1989, p. 517). Indeed, social marketing has a tendency to suffer from this problem. Thus, after many years of research, there is still an absence of compelling definitions of such terms as vulnerable consumer, socially acceptable or unacceptable behavior, or sustainability. We seem to know them when we see them. As a result there is a tendency to define by example rather than develop broad, abstract definitions that clearly identify classes of phenomena.

One type of "sentence" of the kind described by Weick (1989) is a hypothesis. Hypotheses are predictive "if-then" statements. However, a hypothesis is not a theory; rather, a hypothesis is a derivative of theory. A well-crafted hypothesis is a statement of what a theory predicts and therefore provides for a test of the theory. It provides statements about what is

expected to occur but does not necessarily explain why it is expected to occur. A theory provides both prediction and explanation.

Data can provide the inspiration for theory (as in inductive research), but it is not a substitute for theory. Social marketing is an applied discipline, so there is not only a justification for studying real phenomena from the marketplace, but the study of real phenomena and collection of data are inherent in the discipline. Nevertheless, theory and data play a distinct role in behavioral science research (Kaplan, 1964). Data may describe empirical patterns, but theory focuses on causal mechanisms that explain these patterns (Sutton and Staw, 1995). Published empirical research on social marketing and many proposals for funding of social marketing programs provide citations in order to situate their work in the extant literature. Authors attempt to anchor their work in prior research, both to justify their approaches and predictions and to make their unique contribution clear. Nonetheless, a listing of references does not constitute a theory. It is also the case that authors of papers and proposals will cite specific theories as the underlying justification for a particular intervention involving social marketing. However, careful analysis of what has been written or proposed often reveals little about the social marketing activity that is derived from or guided by the theory. Indeed, theory is often added after the fact to justify or explain the outcome of a particular intervention and thereby legitimize the theoretical foundations of an intervention or program.

Volume 2 of this set specifically focuses on some of the more common theories applied in a social marketing context. The set of theories is not exhaustive. Rather, the theories that are described are intended to be representative of various theoretical perspectives. There would likely even be debate among some scholars about whether some of these perspectives are theories at all. There would certainly be debate about whether some of the approaches are consistent with any specific definition of social marketing. Nevertheless, the subsequent chapters in this volume offer a useful introduction to formal theories and other conceptual frameworks that have been applied in a social marketing context. Like the chapters of Volume 1, the chapters in Volume 2 are intended to frame issues, stimulate thinking, and facilitate discussion.

Chapter 2 of this volume traces the evolution of social marketing and chronicles its growing sophistication. The author places social marketing in a broader historical context that predates the formal marketing discipline itself. The chapter describes the evolution of social marketing from a focus on education and the provision of information to a richer array of marketing tools. This evolution has been informed by developments in

marketing thinking and practice, as well as such disciplines as economics and public policy. The goal of persuasion, even if in its "gentle" forms, is recognized as central to social marketing. Chapter 2 also defines what has come to be rather well established core tenets of social marketing. Finally, the chapter ends with a detailed chronology of the development of social marketing over time. This chronology provides an especially interesting and useful description both of how modern social marketing has come to be defined and of the factors and events that have influenced its development.

The evolution of social marketing is really the story of the diffusion of a set of ideas and practices about how marketing can contribute to the social interest and to the welfare of society. Thus, it is appropriate that Chapter 3 describes the role of the diffusion of innovation in social marketing. The author of the chapter reviews the rich literature on the diffusion of innovation and the factors that facilitate and inhibit the diffusion of innovation, and then links these factors to the applications and outcomes of social marketing. The author also describes ways in which a theory of diffusion offers new insights into how social marketing can be made more effective and efficient.

Just as an understanding of diffusion can inform the success of social marketing, so too can an understanding of behavioral economics. Few areas have had as great an impact on the conceptualization and practice of social marketing. Chapter 4 offers a review of behavioral economics and its contributions to social marketing. The authors observe that behavioral economics not only offers a set of tools for facilitating behavioral change, it also represents a different perspective on the change process itself. In contrast to the notion that the relatively benign process of providing information can be persuasive and achieve change through education, the authors argue that behavioral economics can change behavior without changing minds. As such, they argue that social marketing and behavioral economics are quite distinct, even if the goals might be similar.

Behavioral economics is but one theory of behavioral change, albeit one that has become highly influential in recent years. Chapter 5 provides a review of seven other influential theories: the theory of planned behavior, social learning theory, stage models, health belief model, social exchange theory, normative social influence, and community-based social marketing. The authors describe each theory, discuss potential applications, and offer a critique of the utility of each theory in the context of social marketing. They also argue compellingly that a good theory is a powerful guide to success in designing and implementing social marketing programs; however, different theories have different advantages and ranges of application.

One of the most pervasive issues addressed by social marketing programs is risk. Many social marketing programs are concerned with communicating risk and helping people manage risk or avoid it altogether. Risk has been the subject of considerable theory development and empirical research. Chapter 6 focuses on theories of risk and risk perception. The authors offer a discussion of how risk may be defined and the implications of the ways in which the definition of risk influences the way risk may be perceived. They then discuss theories of risk perception and develop prescriptive recommendations for the communication of risk based on these theories, and identify characteristics of persuasive risk messages.

A good theory is the starting point for a potentially successful social marketing program. However, the application of a theory, no matter how good, cannot be successful without a strategy and a plan. Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the planning process for social marketing campaigns. The authors acknowledge that the goals of a social marketing campaign may be different from those of commercial marketing, but they also argue that much of what defines best practices in marketing planning apply to the planning of social marketing. They also identify challenges to the success of social marketing campaigns that may be addressed in the planning process in order to increase the likelihood of success.

Knowing whether a social marketing program is successful or not is very much dependent on having clearly articulated goals for the program and well-defined measures of the success of achieving those goals. Chapter 8 focuses on measurement of outcomes with a specific focus on measures of personal well-being. Since the goals of social marketing programs are frequently defined in terms of improving personal well-being and/or quality of life, such measures are particularly important in the context of social marketing. The authors explore a variety of measures and discuss issues related to their use and interpretation. They also provide examples of specific measures that are relevant to social marketers and the evaluation of social marketing programs.

Historically social marketing has been associated with the activities of not-for-profit organizations, government and quasi-government entities, and nongovernment organizations (NGOs). This may be one of the reasons for the perception that social marketing is somehow different from commercial marketing. The reality is different. Commercial organizations have used social marketing programs, albeit often under different names, for many years to encourage a variety of behaviors among their employees, within the communities of which they are a part, and among customers and other constituencies. It is a certainty today that the array of corporate programs to promote wellness, financial literacy, community improvement,

and energy conservation, among others, have much in common with typical social marketing campaigns.

The final two chapters of Volume 2 of this set move the discussion of social marketing to the corporate arena. Chapter 9 focuses on corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs—that is, programs of business organizations designed to contribute to long-term (sustainable) economic, social, and environmental well-being. The authors of this chapter describe CSR and various CSR initiatives. They also argue and present empirical evidence that the CSR activities of firms can have specific positive outcomes for the firm, such as improved business performance, more positive perceptions in the market, and greater ability to attract and retain talent. Thus, there is a synergy between the interests of the firm and CSR—CSR is good for business. The authors of Chapter 9 also describe how CSR efforts enhance social well-being and improve the quality of life. Many of these CSR activities involve social marketing activities, and the authors provide numerous examples of such activities.

Chapter 10 offers a radical view of CSR. Instead of arguing that CSR is good for business, the author turns the argument on its head by suggesting that organizing a business around making contributions to social welfare is good business. The author advocates a balance between mission and margin that explicitly recognizes the need to contribute to a better society while also generating sufficient resources to sustain such contributions and make a profit. The chapter includes numerous examples of firms successfully organized around a social mission. In effect, this approach eliminates the distinction between social marketing and commercial marketing.

This second volume provides a rich source of ideas about general approaches to social marketing, specific theories of behavioral change, and strategies for planning programs and measuring outcomes. It also continues to make the case that social marketing is not unique. Rather, it has much in common with commercial marketing and, as Chapter 10 suggests, may become synonymous with commercial marketing in at least some cases. At a minimum, the chapters in this volume make the case that social marketing is not the unique domain of government and not-for-profit organizations. This, in turn, raises the larger philosophical and policy question of what types of organizations are best able to influence the well-being of society at large.

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CHAPTER TWO

The Unfolding History of the Social Marketing Concept

Jeff French

Introduction

Despite massive advances in the health and well-being of many people around the world over the last 40 years (Word Health Organization [WHO], 2012), we know that many people still live wretched lives and die prematurely, often because of preventable disease, poverty, and economic and environmental conditions. For example, 1.5 million children die every year from preventable diarrhea (WHO, 2013). What these issues have in common is that action by individuals, communities, and political leaders is key to improving human conditions. Influencing what people think and what they do to promote their own and others' well-being is a central part of all social improvement programs for health, environmental safety, crime, and mental well-being. The art and science of social marketing has been developing over the last 40 years as part of the response to these core social challenges. However, currently its history is poorly recorded and even less well analyzed.

One of the early realizations of the author when commencing this chapter was that there is an urgent need for a full and comprehensive history of social marketing to be written in the near future. The rapid development and expanding influence of social marketing in social program delivery and as an academic field of study demands that a more comprehensive history be written. This task should be undertaken by a

professional historian in collaboration with a social marketing expert. A comprehensive history is clearly more than can be captured in a single chapter.

It also became clear that very little has been written about the history of social marketing in any of the mainstream textbooks published to date. The only text that contains any analysis—and it is purely descriptive, using the analogy of human development through birth, childhood, adolescence, and early maturity—is set out over six pages written by Andreasen in 2006. There is now some urgency for a more comprehensive analysis to be undertaken as many of the initial primary participants with direct personal insights into the early development of social marketing's conceptual development and application practice are nearing the latter part of their lives.

The chapter by Andreasen in this set focuses on the historic development of definitions of social marketing. Because this chapter covers the history of the development of ideas regarding the nature and definitions of social marketing, what is explored here are some of the key factors that have had an effect on or acted as causal agents in the uneven development and incorporation of social marketing into the mainstream of social policy delivery. This chapter seeks to make a few additions to Andreasen's analysis through a brief review of some of the key theoretical developments in marketing and social marketing that have taken place outside the United States.

The "Why" Question as Well as the "What" Question

It could clearly be argued using contemporary conceptions of social marketing that social marketing is as old as human history. Clearly, ever since groups of humans have existed, they have tried to influence each other. Evolutionary psychologist Buss (2004) and historian Jenkins (1997) might agree that one key reason for the development of the species has been a focus on mutuality and cooperation, both of which involve exchange and seeking to influence the behavior of others for their good and the good of the group. The desire to trade and generally act in a reciprocal manner may well be hardwired into the human condition (Ridley, 2012). If this is the case, it could obviously be argued that humans are natural social marketers—*Homo sociomarketus*!

The essentially collaborative trading nature of humans, together with the application and power of collective intelligence (Leadbeater, 2008), is a powerful cocktail. These ingredients have combined to advance the human condition and promote social good from the inception of the earliest

human societies in Catalhoyuk, Uruk, and Mesopotamia to the civilizations of Egypt, Greece, Rome, the Aztec empire, and the Xia dynasty to the present day. However, it is also clear that small groups of powerful elites have always sought to define "social good." These elites have used all manner of influencing strategies—including oratory, law, rituals, religion, communication, entertainment, and force—to persuade people to behave in ways that they believed to be beneficial for the wider group and especially for the elite (Marr, 2012).

As stated previously, there is a need for a book or even a series of books to explore the full history of human influence and persuasion, giving examples of behavioral influencing strategies set within the historic and cultural context of societies and markets over time. What follows is a truncated, selective analysis, influenced by the author's own narrow cultural perspective, of some of the key factors that have probably served to advance the development of both thinking about the nature of social marketing and its application.

A necessarily partial explanation about how social marketing definitions have developed has been set out by Andreasen in Volume 1, Chapter 2. A simplistic interpretation of this narrative would be that social marketing developed as a result of an academic analysis that proposed that marketing could add something to social policy based on the apparent effectiveness of marketing in the commercial sector when compared with the effectiveness of many traditional social programs, and that over time, further layers of refinement and expansion of the field have occurred. However, it is clear that social marketing did not develop simply because Kotler and Levy (1969) and Kotler and Zaltman (1971) set out what might be possible, or even because of the assertions of early practitioners such as Black and Harvey (1976) or Smith and Strand (2008) about the value of social marketing. Answering the "what" question is important but not sufficient for a more rounded understanding of social marketing. The more fundamental question is "Why?" According to Carr (1991), this is the first question that any historical study should address. "Why?" is the key question because in answering it, the deeper truths about how the nature of social marketing has shifted over time can be discerned based on its antecedents and defining forces.

Fundamental influences, including economic conditions, political factors, the emergence of new evidence, and new methods and technologies, are all key to understanding the history of social marketing. Before a necessarily brief review of some of these factors, it must be stated that just asking the "what" question makes it clear that social marketing has not progressed in a neat, consensual, and ordered way toward an increasingly

sophisticated and uniform view about what social marketing is, what its purpose is, or even how it should be executed. Rather than such a step-by-step, progressive, Hegelian view of history, the reality is rather more messy and contested in nature. The author's reading of the development of definitions of social marketing and how its processes are described reveals a history that is full of ongoing, unresolved, and probably irresolvable tensions. A few of these tensions are set out but not explored further toward the end of this chapter.

In 1951 an often quoted article by Wiebe stated: "In these frightening times, the question persists: why can't you sell brotherhood and rational thinking like you sell soap?" Wiebe, a research psychologist working for CBS Radio, was not really talking about social marketing as it would be recognized by most people who profess to work in the field today; rather, he was talking about what we would now call "smart social advertising." By "frightening times," Wiebe was referring to the Cold War, the actual "hot" war in Korea, and the many other worrying events happening at the time, including the Viet Minh offensive against Hanoi; bread rationing in Czechoslovakia; nuclear testing by the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union; and the Chinese Communists forcing the Dalai Lama to surrender his army to Beijing. On the upside for CBS, *I Love Lucy* was launched in 1951, no doubt helping the network to sell a lot more soap.

What the Wiebe article actually covered was how and when radio and TV could be used to "sell" social issues to people. Rather than being seen as one of the founding articles of social marketing's history, Wiebe's paper is really a restatement of the contemporary thinking that well-crafted information presented in an appealing way could influence behavior for social good. This view of social marketing persists today among some people and is an example of the echoes from the past that still permeate social marketing literature, thinking, and practice.

Arguably, the real start of a more rounded conception of social marketing can be attributed to the seminal paper by Kotler and Levy in 1969, in which they called for a broadening of the marketing concept to include action on social issues. The impact and repercussions of this paper on thinking about social marketing is the subject of Chapter 2 of this volume and many of the other chapters that are focused on subsequent research, theory development, and implementation.

Social marketing has been influenced by the development of the marketing discipline itself. Marketing has moved through a set of definable phases as set out by such scholars as Robert Bartels in his famous *History of Marketing Thought* (Shaw & Tamilia, 2001), from production to

product, sales, market orientation, managerialism, customer orientation, holism, relationship marketing, internationalism, and social mobile marketing orientation. Marketing thought and practice will clearly continue to evolve and influence social marketing theory and practice. But in addition to this stimulus from the marketing discipline, social marketing has also been influenced by a number of additional factors that are summarized below.

An early driver for social marketing was the realization that communication and educational approaches to social change, while necessary, were not sufficient to bring about change in complex social behaviors. The growing realization that people need to be engaged and empowered as part of social change programs was demonstrated by the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was approved by the General Assembly of the UN on December 10, 1948. The declaration is built on the fundamental principle that human rights are based on the inherent dignity of every person, and this entails undeniable rights to freedom and equality. This notion spurred the concept that respect, engagement, and people-centered planning was a key factor in the pursuit of humanity. The declaration was informed by a growing sense of a power shift from the political elites of the 1940s and 1950s toward a more egalitarian and representative future. The work of authors such as Illich (1971, 1977) and Schumacher (1973) are illustrative of this sentiment.

Further examples of the shift to people-centered planning and social policy delivery are evident in the successive WHO health promotion declarations, from the 1978 Alma-Ata declaration to the Helsinki declaration in 2013. All eight declarations emphasize the need to work with and through people. A further strand of the increasing emphasis placed on the need for strengthening community action in social policy intervention is evident in the work of Putman (1993, 1995) and others on social capital. Putman demonstrated that social good is deeply entwined with social cohesion and support mechanisms within societies, and that these can be measured and facilitated. The debate about the need for both community support and engagement is one that has persisted during the development of social marketing (Spotswood et al., 2012).

Epstein (1999), a qualified development economist and anthropologist with a great deal of experience in the application of social marketing in the developing world during the 1980s, made a powerful case for such a client-led rather than program manager–led approach to social marketing. Epstein set out how "participatory research and development methods" could be used to increase the chances that projects would

meet the needs of and be accepted by target groups through the application of "culturally adapted social marketing." This view has been translated into one of the key strands of modern social marketing through the work of McKenzie-Mohr (2011) in what he describes as community-based social marketing. The connection with social marketing and its user-centric approach to social program delivery is also now formally recognized by WHO in its new European Health Strategy, which includes the need for the application of social marketing principles to enhance community engagement program development and evaluation (WHO, 2012).

From the late 1970s onward, in parallel with the realization that there was a need to engage people more in developing social interventions, organizations such as the World Bank and WHO; the governments of countries such as India and Bangladesh; and development organizations such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID), and Marie Stopes International began sponsoring social marketing interventions to improve family planning and achieve other social goals in Africa, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere (Baker, 2012, p. 69). Two significant factors influenced the development of social marketing during this time and continue to exert a significant influence on it today.

The first issue was the application of social marketing principles to international development programs, especially those focused on increasing the uptake of tangible products to help prevent disease. Examples include condom use for family planning and to protect against the emerging threat of HIV/AIDS, the uptake and use of bed nets in the fight against malaria, and oral rehydration to combat infant diarrhea. The driving force behind these efforts was the belief and some evidence that by creating quasi-markets and using systematic marketing planning and integrated marketing promotions, success rates would improve. Some of this early work is captured in books by Manoff (1985) and Mukherji (2004). The application of marketing approaches and the creation of markets and nominal price structures for tangible products are not without their critics, though, despite reviews that indicate the significant contribution they can make (Meadley, et al., 2003; Sweat et al., 2012).

The second issue was the growing evidence of the importance but relatively limited impact of education and media promotions in relation to social issues. Much of this work was focused in the health sector and drew on the evaluations of population-level interventions such as those developed by John Farquhar and others at Stanford School of Medicine

beginning in 1969 (Breitrose, n.d.) and by Puska and his colleagues in North Karelia, Finland, starting in 1976 (Puska, Tuomilehto, Nissinen, & Vartiainen, 1995). Subsequent reviews of the evidence confirmed the need for more user engagement, understanding, and the delivery of integrated interventions that not only informed but also mobilized, motivated, and enabled change (International Union for Health Promotion and Education, 1999; Hornik, 2002). Rothschild (1998) further argued that a new conceptual framework was needed that went beyond information and coercion and embraced the application of social marketing.

An additional driver for the development of social marketing was a perceived weakness in what could be viewed as competing paradigms of social influence, namely social advertising, social education, and communication. Paradoxically, given the fact that some social marketing practitioners are reluctant to be categorized as practitioners of these forms of intervention, the growth in understanding about how advertising and promotions can be designed to influence behavior (Du Plessis, 2005; Windahl et al., 1992; McQuail, 2010)—and more lately, understanding about the power of social media marketing[1] and digital communication—have all served to add momentum to social marketing's influence. This is because many nonspecialists reasonably assume that this activity is a core part of the field. In reality, attention has continued to be focused on these important aspects of social marketing by specialist practitioners and academics as a key part of the total social marketing offer. However, certain promotional activities have sometimes been downplayed in an attempt to position social marketing as a more strategic and higher-level activity.

A set of drivers also appears to have emerged from an analysis of the complex nature of many social challenges faced by most countries, as set out in the 2007 report on "wicked problems" by the Australian Public Service Commission. This analysis makes it clear that, first, there is need for action at both the social policy and strategic level to create the conditions in which positive social choices can be made and reinforced, and, second, action at the individual level is required to encourage and reinforce positive social choices and behavior.

The first of these twin strands, the need to tackle the fundamental determinants and establish systems and policy solutions, has developed from reviews such as the Brandt Report (1980), which, in its time, was the most comprehensive analysis of the complex challenge posed by various issues of international development. The report made it clear that a new policy approach was needed to tackle the growing gap between the life

experience of people living in the developed northern hemisphere and the underdeveloped southern hemisphere. Action would be required in social policy to address the causes and determinants of inequality as well as individual change.

Since 1978 organizations such as WHO have also stressed the importance of focusing on the determinants of social discord. Reviews by Black (1980) and, more recently, the Commission on Social Determinants of Health (2008) have reinforced this imperative and the need for policy action focused on the determinants of poor life experience and ill health. While not a strong driver of social marketing's development before the 2000s, the need for social marketing to refocus upstream has been called for by authors such as Hastings and Donovan (2002) and Domegan (2008), as has the need for social marketing to influence social policy and strategy, according to French (2011) and Kennedy and Parsons (2012). The application of social marketing to improve understanding and tackle the determinants of social problems has become a more important driver in recent times, and there are now signs that social marketing is being incorporated into some aspects of social policy, as evidenced by the chronological developments illustrated in Table 2.1 and as illustrated by Kotler and Lee's book *Up and Out of Poverty* (2009).

The second of the key strands mentioned above is the need for social program planners and commissioners to be able to develop interventions capable of demonstrably influencing behavior in a cost-efficient way. This focus has a long history within social marketing and is seen by most academics and practitioners as one of its defining characteristics—a characteristic that sets it apart from social communication programs and educational initiatives. As a unique selling proposition, measurable behavioral influence has been a powerful differentiator in the competition for spending on social programs. Social marketing's promise has been seen by governments and other social organizations as one of real utility in crafting effective and efficient social programs focused on delivering measurable behavioral influence. It should also be noted that influencing individual behavior can be problematic from a practical and ethical perspective. The seminal article by Ryan (1976), who invented the phrase "blaming the victim," described an overfocus on individual responsibility for behavior that was often influenced by forces so overwhelming that individuals, rather than being the cause of social problems, were actually its victims. However, over the last 40 years, there has been a growing political and social focus on not only the rights of individuals but also their corresponding responsibilities. It is possible that such an individualized view of

society has acted as a major spur to the adoption of social marketing by policymakers.

The term "liberal paternalism," popularized by Thaler and Sunstein (2008), is based on a central tenet that the role of governments should be one of gentle persuasion rather than overt coercion. Liberal paternalism as a concept is also influenced by growing evidence that most behavioral issues faced by society stem from a combination of personal choices and environmental, cultural, and economic factors, and that people do not always act in an economically logical way—that is, we do not always act in a way designed to maximize our own advantage. Thaler and Sunstein call this "mindless choosing." Thaler and Sunstein set out concepts that can help inform how people with the responsibility for developing social programs can guide how choices are set up. These concepts include status quo bias, fear of loss, framing, the power of temptation, and anchoring, among others.

The hallmark of this kind of paternalism is incentivizing positive choices rather than punishing "bad" behavior or nagging people about what they should do. In tackling the determinants of issues such as obesity and alcohol misuse, the goal is to create conditions in which people feel able to and want to make constructive choices for their own and their families' benefit, or to construct choices that require little or no effort and result in a positive personal and social benefit. This kind of paternalism places responsibility on individuals and on the providers of public services, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and private organizations to create the choice architecture that will nudge people in the right direction. Providers wishing to develop such interventions can clearly be supported through the application of social marketing principles, which can help them understand conditions, establish interventions guided by insight and competition analysis, and use segmentation to help target interventions, offering either a rational or rapid cognitive choice.

Libertarian paternalism (Sunstein & Thaler, 2003) seeks a middle ground between a state-dominated, coercive, paternalistic approach to creating social change and a more liberal approach that emphasizes free choice and the power of the market as the key driver. This new approach (Dolan et al., 2010), which is related to the science of behavioral influence, has been a driver of social marketing's development since the early 1970s. Social marketing programs have moved from a position where many reflected the limited view of marketing as simply smart, integrated communications to interventions that seek to influence behavior though a mix of cognitive engagement and rapid cognition.

One of the key consequences of recognizing behavioral influence as one of the key features and advantages of social marketing is the concern by some in the field that this focus should be underpinned by the principle of voluntary choice and change. Influencing people to act in ways that circumvent their rational choice systems or using interventions that threaten, penalize, or create disincentives are considered by some not to be authentic social marketing. Smith (1998) is an advocate for "volunteerism" and has given many presentations about the characterization of social marketing as using interventions that can be described as "fun, easy, and popular." The notion of "volunteerism" is also enshrined in Andreasen's 1995 definition of social marketing. However, others, including Donovan (2011) and French (2011), have argued that in some circumstances—where voluntary behavioral change, compliance, or continued practice cannot be relied upon; where research shows that such an approach will not be effective; or in circumstances where an issue is a severe threat to individuals and others—behavioral controls and coercive interventions may be justified.

A further reason that social marketing has been taken up by organizations and governments is that with its close attention to setting measurable outcome objectives focused on influencing behavior, social marketing programs can readily be subject to cost-benefit analysis and return-on-investment analysis. The systematic and transparent nature of the social marketing planning process is also a big attraction to donors and sponsors concerned with understanding what has been done and how in order to gather intelligence that will assist with future learning and investment decisions. The growing need to ensure that budgets are spent wisely and represent good value for money is a further strong reason why many organizations have taken up social marketing. For example, Population Services International's TRaC evaluation and total marketing approach ensures that clear objectives are set and evaluation metrics are agreed upon and monitored. This kind of rigor inspires confidence in donors and gives them the feedback and reassurance they need. The historical power of this factor in the uptake of social marketing is endorsed by Donovan and Henley (2010), who also cite the views of Egger, Donovan, and Spark (1993) about the importance of this factor in the history of social marketing practice.

Brief Thoughts on the History of Ideas Related to Social Marketing

As Lefebvre (2012) has stated, there is now relative unanimity of agreement on the core social marketing principles. This was demonstrated by the results of the International Social Marketing Association and the

European Social Marketing Association consensus exercise conducted in 2013 to define social marketing and its key principles. However, as stated in the body of this chapter, social marketing's development has not been one of total consensus and smooth evolution. Rather, the field has experienced several unresolved disagreements and tensions during its history about a number of aspects of both theory and practice. There is not space in this chapter to fully explore these points of tension and debate, but they include:

1. The need for a full application of the product/price/place/promotion (4P) model, not just an emphasis on the promotional "P."
2. Rejection of the 4P model because of its outmoded view of the marketing process and inappropriateness for social marketing.
3. An emphasis on exchange and value rather than price.
4. Tensions about how "product" is defined when there is no tangible product being promoted and the need for greater emphasis on relationships and service.
5. The rejection of voluntarism as a key marker of social marketing.
6. The ethical stance of social marketing. A key question posed is: Is social marketing value-free and only concerned with context and consequences, or is it underpinned by explicit fixed ethical standards and principles?
7. The inclusion of critical marketing and demarketing as a component of social marketing.
8. The role of for-profit and not-for-profit organizations in social marketing and the links with corporate social responsibility and creating social value strategies.
9. The role of social marketing in influencing markets and their operation for the purposes of increasing social good.
10. The role of community ownership, co-creation, and evaluation in the design and delivery of social marketing programs.

This list is not intended to be exhaustive but rather illustrative of some of the significant tensions that have developed over time and still exist in the field. Many of these tensions are the result of some of the influencing factors explored in this chapter and the development of social marketing theory set out in Volume 1, Chapter 2 of this set. What is clear, however, as noted at the start of this chapter, is the need for a full historical review of these concepts and how they have been influenced by—and have influenced—related social, political, and economic events. It is also necessary to capture the historic development of social marketing from a more multicultural perspective than has been possible in this chapter. The history of the development of social marketing in different parts of the world and

how it has differed is a further gap in current analysis that should be addressed.

The tensions set out above have emerged at regular intervals over the last 40 years and illustrate that social marketing is a diverse field, much like marketing itself. Social marketing, like most modern multidisciplinary applied fields, can be described as an "essentially contested" field of study and application (Gallie, 1956). This means that social marketing has and will continue to adapt and develop through a process of challenge and revision and will continue to contain a number of oppositional and differing interpretations of what it is and how it should be practiced. This is not a unique or confused position; rather, it is one that recognizes the legitimacy of differing interpretations and the fluid nature of evidence. Other fields of study, such as psychology and economics, are similarly contested. In summary, the factors that have driven the uptake and development of social marketing are complex and interwoven. The following list summarizes the six key reasons for the development explored in this chapter:

1. The realization of the limits of information, education, and coercion in social policy.
2. The need to understand, engage, and empower citizens.
3. The opportunity of preventive tangible product distribution and demand stimulation in the developing world.
4. The need for action on social and health determinants.
5. The need to influence individual behavior.
6. The need for transparent planning and evaluation, including value for money and return-on-investment analysis.

It is important that these factors are actively considered, because they will continue to shape the ongoing debate about the nature and development of social marketing theory and practice.

Conclusions and a Brief Chronology of Key Events in Social Marketing's Practice Development since the 1960s

Although it might be deemed old-fashioned by many professional historians to consider history as the recording in chronological order of significant events and developments, the following table is presented in an attempt to partially capture some of the significant events and publications associated with the development of the application of social marketing,

rather than as a chronology of the development of the concept itself. The table illustrates that social marketing has developed from an intellectual exercise in university business departments to a community of practice and research that is beginning to have a global reach. For the sake of brevity, the table does not record the opening of every specialist academic center, every major social marketing program, or even the many key academic papers that have helped to shape contemporary social marketing. In any event, many of these papers are referenced in other chapters of this book.

One of the most striking revelations of the table is the impact that social marketing is beginning to have in governmental and international agency strategies. However, a note of caution is necessary because on closer inspection of some of these documents, what is described by them as social marketing often turns out to be social advertising supported by insight research.

As stated above, social marketing is now, like many other modern multidisciplinary fields of study and application, the subject of a healthy debate about its nature and focus of practice. This debate is informed by the developmental history of the theory of social marketing, the events that have shaped this theoretical thinking, and the historic events that have marked the development and application of social marketing.

This chapter has sought to capture the dynamic nature of social marketing's development and the multiple strands of thought and views about its application, while illustrating how these are a reflection of wider social, political, and economic factors. Social marketing is not an abstract academic subject but an applied field of study and application.

One of the other significant conclusions that can be drawn from this brief review of historical influences within social marketing is that attempts to develop a fixed categorical descriptor of social marketing and its key principles may have limited utility. The history to date of the development of both theory and practice indicates that a more reflexive pragmatism is needed when considering the nature of social marketing.

The interesting proposition posed by Andreasen in Volume 1, Chapter 2 is that if social marketing continues to permeate the social policy space, it will, given the fact that social spending is now at parity with and in many cases exceeds the private sector as a percentage of many countries' GDP, become the superordinate focus of marketing. This is a fascinating prospect that, if it comes to fruition, will clearly have significant implications for the disciplines of marketing and social policy.

Table 2.1 A Chronology of Key Events

1960s		*Marketers and social program planners begin to debate the application of marketing to social issues.*
	1964	*Chandy and colleagues from the Indian Institute of Management are commissioned by the Indian Government Central Family Planning Board to develop and publish proposals for family planning promotion using marketing as the core of the plan.*
	1969	*Levy and Kotler's article "Broadening the concept of Marketing" is published, making the case for marketing to be applied to solving social issues, and the idea of social marketing is introduced. Luck challenges Levy and Kotler and makes the case for not stretching the marketing concept to include social marketing.*
1970s		*USAID, DIFID, and other donor agencies begin to commission and fund social marketing programs in developed countries. Social marketing begins to be applied to health programs in the developed world.*
	1970	*Population Services International is formed and rapidly develops and applies a social marketing approach to health development project implementation.*
	1971	*The phrase "social marketing" is discussed and defined for the first time by Kotler and Zaltman.*
	1973	*The RARE social marketing organisation is founded, which applies social marketing interventions to environmental programs.*
	1974	*The Canadian Federal Minister of Health, Marc Lalonde, publishes "A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians," which sets out the need for government action focused on modifying behavior. It leads to the development of several sustained social marketing programs.*
	1974	*The Social Marketing Company, a not-for-profit agency is set up by the Bangladeshi government to deliver social marketing health and development–related interventions.*
	1978	*AED, the Academy for Educational Development, begins its prolonged program of implementing social marketing programs with its oral rehydration program in Africa.*
	1979	*Rothschild's paper, "Marketing Communications in Non-Business Situations," is published in the* Journal of Marketing.
1980s	*1980*	*World Bank, World Health Organization, Centers for Disease Control, Health Canada, and the Australia government start to apply and promote interest in social marketing. USAID, DIFID, and other national development agencies continue support for social marketing programs.*
	1981	*Health Canada becomes the first government agency to set up a social marketing unit to lead its health programs.*

	1984	*UNICEF task force report on the application of social marketing to enhance child survival rates.*
	1985	*"Social Marketing New Imperatives for Public Health" is published, giving a rationale for social marketing as part of public health, as well as tips for marketing and communication planning, plus example case studies.*
	1986	*The first time social marketing is included in a training program offered by the CDC. The courses entitled Social Marketing: Theory into Action and Community Intervention Skills: The Essentials are staged.*
	1988	*Social marketing principles are used to inform the delivery of key Australian social marketing programs such as Quit, Anti-tobacco, and "Slip, Slop, Slap" skin cancer prevention.*
	1989	*Publication of Kotler and Roberto's book* Social Marketing: Strategies for Changing Public Behavior.
1990s	*1990*	*Academic social marketing programs are established in the United States, Australia, United Kingdom, Canada, and New Zealand. Social marketing begins to be incorporated into developed countries' health and environmental programs.*
	1990	*The Health Sponsorship Council is established in New Zealand with social marketing as one of its core functions.*
	1991	*The Centre for Social Marketing is launched at Strathclyde University. The Centre grew from the Advertising Research Unit, which was launched in 1980 at the university.*
	1991	*The first University of South Florida Conference on social marketing and public health. More than 20 events have now been held.*
	1993	*The first social marketing website at Health Canada.*
	1994	The Social Marketing Quarterly *is launched, based at the University of South Florida.*
	1994	*The Centre for Social Marketing is created at Carleton University.*
	1995	*The Canadian Social Marketing Network website is launched to house public resources generated by Health Canada's social marketing division, and to offer a forum and network for those interested in social marketing.*
	1995	*Andreasen's book,* Marketing Social Change *is published, which includes a focus on strategic thinking and customer centric planning.*
	1995	*The first Innovations in Social Marketing conference is held in Atlanta. Subsequent events are staged in 1996, 1997, 1999, 2003, and 2007.*

(*continued*)

Table 2.1 (*Continued*)

1996	*The Consensus Conference entitled 'Future of Social Marketing' is hosted by Porter Novelli.*
1996	*Tamborini edits and publishes* Marketing Social Communication *in Italy.*
1997	*The U.S. Social Turning Point Social Marketing National Excellence Collaborative is launched and runs until 2006. It is a partnership of local, state, and national public health organizations to develop guidance and good practice in social marketing.*
1997	*The social marketing "List serve" goes live.*
1998	Marketing Public Health *is published by Siegel and Doner, making the case and giving examples about how social marketing can be applied to chronic and acute public health issues.*
1998	*The Open University distance learning Level 3 social marketing course (B324 Marketing and Society) is offered for the first time and continues to the present day.*
1998	*Joint UN/AIDS "Social Marketing: An effective tool in the global response to HIV/AIDS" guidance is published.*
1998	*CDCynergy social marketing planning tool is launched by CDC.*
1999	*The Social Marketing Institute is formed in Washington, D.C., supported by a grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. It launches the marketing email list server, the first online social marketing network.*
1999	*Rothschild's paper "Carrots, Sticks, and Promises" is published, setting out a conceptual framework that includes marketing influencing social behavior.*
1999	*Epstein's book* A Manual for Culturally Adapted Social Marketing *is published, which sets out the case and suggestions for ensuring that social marketing interventions are developed via co-creation and engagement.*
1999	*Doug McKenzie-Mohr and William Smith publish* Fostering Sustainable Behaviour. *The third edition is published in 2011. It introduces the notion of community-based social marketing and the application of social marketing to environmental issues.*
1999	Hands On Social Marketing *is published by Weinreichn, giving step-by-step guidance on running a social marketing program. The second edition is published in 2011.*

2000s *Social marketing begins to be embedded into mainstream social policy programs and systems.*

2000 *The Social Marketing National Excellence Collaborative is set up by a grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. The task is to grow the capacity of social marketing in the U.S. public health system.*

2000 *The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation sponsors three pioneering non-profit marketing summits, and again in 2001.*

2001 *WHO launches its development of the COMBI social marketing planning model for communicable disease. Final guidance published in 2012 following years of field testing and development.*

2001 *Andreasen's book,* Ethics in Social Marketing, *is published and is the first book to deal exclusively with this issue.*

2001 *University of Lethbridge Canada launches the Centre for Socially Responsible Marketing.*

2002 *Andreasen publishes the six benchmark criteria for social marketing.*

2002 *Mendive publishes the first book on social marketing in Argentina.*

2002 *Hastings and Donovan call for a social marketing focus on "upstream" policy, social and environmental behavioral determinants, as well as individual and group influences on behavior.*

2002 *Kotler, Roberto, and Lee's book,* Social Marketing: Improving the Quality of Life, *is published.*

2002 *In Italy, MKTS, The Association of Social Promotion, Social Marketing, and Health Communication is established.*

2003 *Donovan's book* Social Marketing: Principles and Practice *is the first social marketing textbook published in Australia.*

2003 *CDCynergy-Social Marketing Edition planning tool is launched; the second edition is launched in 2006. CDCynergy is an interactive training and decision support tool designed to plan social marketing and communication programs.*

2004 *G. B Mukherji publishes* An introduction to Social Marketing, *the first book on social marketing to be published by an Indian author based on case studies and examples from India.*

2004 *EPODE, a community-based approach to healthy living, is launched in France with social marketing as one of its key component strategies. In 2011 the Schemes International Network is formed with 25 participating countries.*

2004 *The Centre for Social Marketing becomes The Institute for Social Marketing and moves to Stirling University.*

2004 *The National Coordination of Social Marketing is established in Italy, with Giuseppe Fattori leading the program.*

(*continued*)

Table 2.1 (*Continued*)

2005	*The first Canadian SMART Conference is held (Social Marketing Advances in Research And Theory), and the first "tools of change" webinar is held.*
2005	*The United Kingdom's National Social Marketing Centre is formed in London with a remit to develop good practice and capacity in social marketing.*
2005	*The tenth annual conference on Innovations in Social Marketing and sixteenth annual Social Marketing in Public Health conferences are held.*
2005	*The Centre of Excellence for Public Sector Marketing is opened in Canada.*
2006	Social Marketing in the 21st Century, *by Alan Andreasen, describes the expanding role of social marketing.*
2006	*Social marketing is included in the United Kingdom's Environmental Agency DEFRA strategic plan.*
2006	*"It's Our Health," the United Kingdom's government-sponsored first national review of social marketing, is published.*
2007	*The United Kingdom's government publishes the first national policy on social marketing.*
2007	*The National Institute for Health and Clinical Effectiveness begins to publish a series of systematic reviews that indicate that social marketing should form part of generic attempts at population-level behavior change in a number of specific areas, including premature death, smoking, and alcohol and accident prevention.*
2007	*French and Blair-Stevens publish the eight U.K. National Benchmark criteria for social marketing.*
2007	*The first U.K. Social Marketing Conference is held in Oxford.*
2007	*Hasting's book* Social Marketing: Why Should the Devil Have All the Best Tunes *is published.*
2007	*The Institute of Social Marketing publishes reviews of evidence demonstrating social marketing's effectiveness.*
2008	*The WHO Healthy Cities Conference focuses on social marketing.*
2008	*The third edition of Kotler and Lee's book* Social Marketing: Influencing Behaviors for Good *is published.*
2008	*The First World Social Marketing Conference is held in Brighton, United Kingdom.*
2008	*The U.K. government publishes the first national social marketing strategy, called Ambitions for Health.*
2009	*The U.S. government's 2020 Health Strategy includes requirements for public health departments to develop social marketing capacity.*
2009	*The United Kingdom's National Occupational Standards for Social Marketing is published.*

2009	Operational Guide to Social Marketing *edited by Giuseppe Fattori, Jeff French, and Clive Blair-Stevens is translated into Italian and French.*
2009	*The Institute of Social Marketing (ISM-Open) is launched at the main campus of the Open University in Milton Keynes, United Kingdom.*
2009	*The Australian Association of Social Marketing is formed.*
2009	*Kotler and Lee publish their book* Up and Out of Poverty. *It is focused on using social marketing to address poverty, social exclusion, and inequality.*
2009	*The National Social Marketing Centre publishes its economic evaluation/value for money tools for social marketing.*
2011	*Cheng, Kotler, and Lee publish their book* Social Marketing for Public Health: Global Trends and Success Stories.
2010	*Donovan and Henley publish the second edition of their book* Principles and Practice of Social Marketing: An International Perspective *with Cambridge University Press.*
2010	*French and colleagues publish* Social Marketing and Public Health: Theory and Practice, *setting out new thinking regarding strategic social marketing theory and how to apply social marketing in the policy field.*
2010	*The Australia National Preventative Health Agency is established with a specific remit to coordinate across states and build social marketing capacity.*
2010	*The requirement that public health staff should receive social marketing training and that capacity on social marketing should be increased is included for the first time in U.S. government policy as part of the National Health Promotion and Disease Prevention Objectives for the 2020 Health Strategy.*
2010	*The Australian International Social Marketing Conference is held and repeated in 2012.*
2010	*The International Social Marketing Association is launched.*
2011	*The second World Social Marketing Conference is held in Dublin, Ireland.*
2011	*The* Journal of Social Marketing *is launched by Emerald Publishing.*
2011	*WHO Healthy Cities Program for Action recognizes social marketing as a key tool for increased impact.*
2011	*The International Social Marketing Association is formed.*
2011	*French, Merritt, and Reynolds's* Social Marketing Casebook *is published, setting out the total process planning model and the value cost exchange matrix, plus case studies from around the world.*

(*continued*)

Table 2.1 (*Continued*)

2011	*Hastings, Angus, and Bryant's* Handbook of Social Marketing *is published containing a collection of seminal chapters by a wide range of leading thinkers and practitioners in the field.*
2011	*CDC systematic review of* Health Communication & Social Marketing *is published, endorsing the efficacy of applying the approach.*
2011	*The U.K. government publishes the second National Strategy for Social Marketing, "Changing Behaviour Improving Outcomes."*
2011	*The World Marketing Summit is held in Bangladesh with a major focus on social marketing.*
2012	*The U.K. House of Lords review on behavior change is launched, which endorses the application of social marketing as part of a broader approach to social behavior change.*
2012	*The first European Social Marketing Conference is held in Lisbon, Portugal.*
2012	*The European Social Marketing Association is launched.*
2012	*Launch of the African Social Marketing Forum.*
2012	*Hastings's book* Marketing Matrix *is published.*
2012	*WHO Europe publishes a new 2020 Health Strategy with commitment to the application of social marketing principles.*
2012	*Carlos Santos's book,* Melhorar a Vida um Guia de Marketing Social, *the first social marketing textbook in Portuguese, is published.*
2012	*McKenzie-Mohr, Lee, Schultz, and Kotler publish* Social Marketing to Protect the Environment.
2012	*iSMA and ESMA begin work on developing a consensus definition of social marketing. The final definition is published in 2013.*
2013	*The third World Social Marketing Conference is held in Toronto, Canada.*
2013	*Eagle, Dahl, Hill, Bird, and Spotswood's book on social marketing,* Social Marketing *is published.*
2013	*Lefebvre's book* Social Marketing for Social Change *is published.*
2013	*The first consensus definition of social marketing is agreed upon by the International Social Marketing Association, the European Social Marketing Association, and the Australian Association of Social Marketing.*
2013	*A special issue of the* European Journal of Marketing *is published, dedicated to social marketing and edited by Dibb and Carrigan.*
2013	*The international Conference of Social Franchising and Social Marketing takes place in Cochin, India.*

2013	*The first consensus definition of social marketing is agreed upon by the iSMA, AASM, and the ESMA.*
2013	Social Marketing in India *is published by Deshpande and Lee.*
2014	*The second European Social Marketing Conference is held in Rotterdam.*
2015	*World Social Marketing Conference Sydney, Australia is held.*
2015	*French and Gordon publish* Strategic Social Marketing.

Drawn from personal correspondence with a wide range of social marketing leaders and Kotler, P. and Lee, N. (2008). *Social Marketing: Influencing Behaviors for Good*. 3rd Ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; French, J., Blair-Stevens, C., McVey, D., & Merritt, R. (2010). *Social Marketing and Public Health: Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Spotswood, F. *Academic Resource Pack. Part One: Social Marketing Definitions*. 2010. NSMC London.

(All additions and corrections to this chronology should be sent to the author, who will endeavor to maintain and update the chronology and make it available via the Internet.)

Note

1. An issue not covered in Volume 1, Chapter 2 regarding definitions of social marketing has been the protracted dual use of the term "social marketing." The use of the phrase in this volume is explored in great detail, but if one searches the Internet for the term, the dominant search responses are mostly focused on digital marketing applications and methods. This situation leads to confusion when explaining the role and nature of social marketing in other communities of interest. A similar situation persists with the confusion of social marketing with social advertising and promotions.

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CHAPTER THREE

Social Marketing and the Diffusion of Innovations[1]

James W. Dearing

> Diffusion really includes three fairly distinct processes: presentation of the new culture element or elements to the society, acceptance by the society, and the integration of the accepted element or elements into the preexisting culture. (Linton, 1936, p. 334)

> Diffusion is a natural social phenomenon that happens with or without any particular theory to explain it. . . . It is also a natural physical phenomenon as well, one that describes the spread of an object in space and time. (Kincaid, 2004, p. 38)

Testing our ability to purposively spread evidence-based practices, programs, and policies by expanding them or multiplying them has been identified as the single most valuable contribution that change agencies such as private foundations and government agencies can make to society (Porter & Kramer, 1999). The topic is receiving increasing, dedicated interest from funders, journal editors, researchers, and university graduate programs. At least 14 U.S. federal agencies and centers now participate in the funding of research about diffusion, dissemination, and implementation. Academic journals that have sponsored special issues about the topic include the *Journal of Health Communication* (2004), *Health Psychology* (2005), *Academy of Management Executive* (2005), *Metropolitan Universities* (2006), *American Journal of Public Health* (2006), *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* (2006), *AIDS Education and Prevention* (2006), *Journal of Public Health*

Management and Practice (2008), *Research on Social Work Practice* (2009), *New Directions for Evaluation* (2009), and *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* (2013). Other journals, such as *Translational Behavioral Medicine* and *Implementation Science*, have been founded explicitly to publish research about the topic. In the fields of education research and public health research, handbooks have been published highlighting the topic (Glennan, Bodilly, Galegher, & Kerr, 2004; Schneider & McDonald, 2007; Brownson, Colditz, & Proctor, 2012). Many graduate programs have added courses and concentrations on the topic. In 2012 the University of Washington introduced an entire doctoral program focused on the subject.

These activities represent an evolution of the classic diffusion of innovation research paradigm. This is a movement characterized by a transition from observational study to intervention study. Other distinctive features of this evolving science of dissemination and implementation include an emphasis on interorganizational systems for achieving message dissemination and product distribution, an emphasis on targeting intermediary service providers as adopters rather than residents or consumers themselves, an emphasis on implementation processes in organizations, and public-private partnerships as a means of achieving sustained activities and sustained effects. The resulting approach to change can look a good deal like social marketing with some atypical features. In turn, this new take on studying the diffusion of innovations as dissemination and implementation science may suggest new directions for scholars and practitioners of social marketing.

The Classic Diffusion Paradigm

Diffusion is the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system (Rogers, 2003). For example, Barker (2004) reported on three international development efforts in relation to diffusion concepts. In Haiti, a United States Agency for International Development (USAID) effort to conduct HIV prevention education in rural villages identified and recruited village voodoo practitioners, who are almost always considered credible and trusted sources of advice by Haitian villagers, to encourage villagers to participate in village meetings with USAID change agents. Meeting attendance exceeded campaign objectives by 124%. In Nepal, where vitamin A deficiency contributes to very high rates of infant and maternal mortality, the innovation of kitchen gardens was diffused among households through neighbor social modeling, resulting in heightened knowledge, positive attitudes, increased vegetable and fruit growing and consumption, and

improvements in vitamin A nutrition. In Mali in 1999, a study of 500 Malian youth evaluated their information-seeking behavior and perceptions of source credibility concerning reproductive health. A lack of accurate knowledge among youth was attributed to their most trusted sources of information being friends and siblings; youth did not consider information sources such as health agents and teachers to be sufficiently accessible or trustworthy.

Diffusion studies have demonstrated a mathematically consistent sigmoid pattern (the S-shaped curve) of adoption over time for innovations perceived to be consequential by potential adopters when the decisions to adopt are voluntary and there are attendant logically related propositions, qualifying this literature as a theory of social change (Green, Gottlieb, & Parcel, 1991). Many studies have shown a predictable over-time pattern when an innovation spreads—the now-familiar S-shaped cumulative adoption curve. The "S" shape is owing to the positive engagement of informal opinion leaders in talking about and modeling the innovation for others to hear about and see (see Figure 3.1). Alternatively and more commonly, when informally influential people do not become positively engaged, or when they ignore or actively reject an innovation, diffusion does not occur, and the resulting slope of a cumulative curve turns negative.

Key components of diffusion theory are:

1. The innovation, and especially potential adopter perceptions, of its attributes of relative advantage (effectiveness and cost efficiency relative to alternatives), complexity (how simple the innovation is to understand and use), compatibility (the fit of the innovation to established ways of accomplishing the same goal), observability (the extent to which outcomes can be seen), and trialability (the extent to which the adopter must commit to full adoption);
2. The adopter, especially each adopter's degree of innovativeness (earliness relative to others in trying and adopting the innovation);
3. The social system, especially in terms of the structure of the system, its local informal opinion leaders, and potential adopter perception of social pressure to adopt;
4. The individual adoption process, a stage-ordered model of awareness, persuasion, decision, implementation, and sustained use; and
5. The diffusion system, especially an external change agency and its paid change agents who, if well-trained, correctly seek out and intervene with the client system's opinion leaders, paraprofessional aides, and innovation champions.

Awareness of an innovation can produce uncertainty about what an innovation is, how it functions, how well it works, and what the consequences of adoption and use will be. Uncertainty can propel individuals

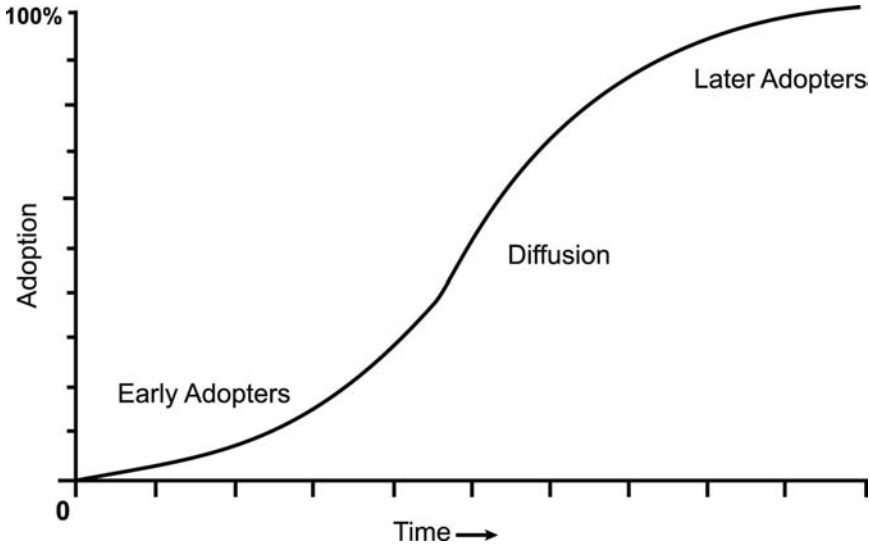

Figure 3.1 Generalized cumulative curve describing the curvilinear process of the diffusion of innovations. For any given consequential innovation, the rate of adoption tends to begin slowly, accelerate because of the activation of positive word of mouth communication and social modeling by the 5–7% of social system members who are sources of advice (i.e., opinion leaders) for subsequent other adopters, and then slow as system potential is approached.

into a search for information to resolve the uncertainty they feel about how to respond to knowledge of the innovation. Either adoption or rejection can restore a sense of cognitive consistency ("I'm already doing the right thing and I don't need this," or "This seems to have a lot going for it, so I'll give it a shot"). Much prior literature about diffusion suggests three sets of factors that explain people's decisions about innovations: (1) what they think about the innovation in terms of its pros and cons, (2) what they think others think about the innovation's pros and cons, and (3) when the innovation is introduced to potential adopters and how they understand it (Wejnert, 2002). The first factor concerns the attributes or characteristics of an innovation, the second factor concerns personal and social influence, especially in the guise of informal opinion leaders, and the third factor concerns timing and the meaning people make of an innovation.

Needs or motivations differ among people according to their degree of innovativeness (earliness in adoption). The first to adopt (innovators) tend to do so because of novelty and having little to lose because of their low

degree of social integration in the social system in question; the next to adopt (early adopters, including the subset of opinion leaders) do so because of a cost-benefit appraisal of the innovation's attributes and their overriding sense that the innovation is good for the social system in which they are key members; and the subsequent large majority adopts because others have done so and they come to believe that it is the right thing to do (an imitative effect). These motivations and time of adoption are related to and can be predicted by each adopter's structural position in the network of relations that tie a social system together (Kerckhoff, Back, & Miller, 1965).

Diffusion concepts are not new. The French judge-cum-sociologist Gabriel Tarde explained diffusion as a societal-level phenomenon of social change in his 1902 book *The Laws of Imitation*, including the identification of an S-shaped curve in cumulative adoptions over time and the importance of opinion leadership in promulgating that distribution. As a judge, Tarde had taken note of the way people coming before the bench used new slang and wore new clothing fashions as if on cue, even though they didn't know one another. In Germany at the same time, Georg Simmel, a political philosopher, was writing about how individual thought and action were both constrained and enabled by the set of interpersonal relations to which a person was subject. Tarde's perspective was the forerunner for the macro, social system perspective on diffusion as the means by which cultures and societies change and progress. Simmel's 1964 contribution, explicated in his book *Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations*, was the forerunner for understanding how social network position affects what individuals do in reaction to innovations and when. Together, these perspectives provided the micro-macro explanation for much about diffusion processes: how system-level effects pressure the individual to adopt new things and how individuals, linked in social networks, contribute to (and mostly resist) system change.

Following Tarde and Simmel, European anthropologists seized on diffusion theory as a means to explain the continental drift of people, ideas, means of social organization, and primitive technologies. American anthropologists also conducted historical studies, but they confined their analyses to more discrete innovations in smaller social systems, such as individual communities or regions of a country. The studies of these early diffusionists encouraged sociologists to take up diffusion work in contemporary 1920s and 1930s society, focusing on informal communication in friendship or social support networks as an explanation for rural-to-urban migration; the city-to-rural spread of innovations in fashion, language, and products; the importance of jurisdictions and social class as barriers to

diffusion; and the importance of proximity to the spread of ideas (Katz, Levin, & Hamilton, 1963).

The publication in 1943 of Bryce Ryan and Neil C. Gross's article reporting on the diffusion of hybrid seed corn in two American farming communities was a seminal event in this research paradigm (Ryan & Gross, 1943). The methodology of this study set the paradigm for thousands of future diffusion studies using interviews and surveys by emphasizing individuals as the locus of decision, adoption as the key dependent variable, the key role of a centralized change agency that employed change agents, and the importance of different communication channels for different purposes at different times in the individual innovation-decision process. The Ryan and Gross article propelled diffusion study to center stage among rural sociologists and made the practice of diffusion a primary toolbox in the day-to-day work of agricultural extension agents, whose activity with their clients was often studied by rural sociologists, crop and soil scientists, mechanical and civil engineers, home economists, education faculty, and nutritionists. Soon, many scholars in general sociology, medical sociology, organizational studies, higher education, journalism, communication, and public health jumped on the diffusion bandwagon.

The hottest intellectual concept studied was innovativeness (time of adoption relative to others) and its correlates. These studies often focused on sociodemographics and beliefs, both abiding scholarly interests in larger sociology and marketing research paradigms. Perhaps unfortunately, this emphasis steered diffusion scholarship away from the study of interpersonal, group, and relational influences on adoption behavior. This development became most clear in the fascination by some with innovativeness as a means to understand organization-level diffusion. Many management and organizational scholars conducted correlational studies of organizational innovativeness and a variety of organization-level characteristics (e.g., size, market share, bureaucratic structure, industry type, centralization), a paradigmatic burst of activity that contributed little to an understanding of diffusion of innovations across organizations. One positive development of this organization-level focus on adoption as a dependent variable of study was general agreement that adoption could mean very little given the political and social machinations inside organizations. Implementation, not the decision to adopt, was the more important process to study, and reinvention of innovations rather than innovativeness of the whole organization the more revealing research focus.

Mathematical modelers who studied diffusion sought to contrast external-to-the-community "broadcast" models of diffusion, in which mass

media and change agents from afar introduced ideas into communities, with internal-to-the-community "contagion" models of diffusion, in which strong friendship ties, weak acquaintance ties, structural equivalence (similarity in network position as a basis for expecting similar adoption behaviors and timing), or proximity accounted for diffusion outcomes (Strang & Soule, 1998).

Trained as a rural sociologist, Everett Rogers, too, conceptualized rural communities as the social systems of study. (Rogers grew up on an Iowa farm watching his father *not* adopt innovations, so trying to explain this regressive behavior and in turn perhaps helping to improve farming conditions among poverty-stricken farmers came naturally.) Rural sociologists focused on community-level phenomena, on interpersonal networks, and on the boundedness of such social systems. The reference groups of community members functioned as very effective filters and gatekeepers in what were usually rather conservative social systems—what the prominent sociologist and early diffusion scholar Elihu Katz (1980) labeled *interpersonal selectivity*.

If diffusion was about change and destruction and uncertainty, then interpersonal networks and opinion leaders were about stability, normative influence, and the measured appraisal of new ideas. Understanding the social dynamics of community-level systems was a main objective. Thus, the diffusion paradigm offered insight into strategies for community capacity building just as it also illustrated the divisive cumulative process by which the haves (those people who learn about and adopt innovations early on) increasingly left the have-nots (people who did not know about innovations and did not adopt them) behind.

Over the course of decades and centuries, structural differences in the rates of diffusion of innovations offered an explanation for why some social systems, such as states and nations, became wealthy and had healthier residents while others did not. A series of many repeated S-shaped "curves" of innovation diffusion among the haves, a social process labeled by Robert K. Merton (1968) as *cumulative advantage*, is now understood by epidemiologists, demographers, and policy researchers as population disparity. Of course, for those scholars and practitioners who hung around long enough to document them, the unintended consequences of progressive and repeated diffusion were as apparent as soil erosion, deforestation, nutrient loss, pollution, and overpopulation. Newer isn't always better. Yet seeing the forest for the trees is difficult when you're among the trees.

To spread agricultural, public health, and educational innovations—and many innovations were a combination of all three—diffusion systems were established to interact with communities. The 1950s, 1960s, and

1970s were decades of huge growth for U.S. federal capacity and expansionism. Thus, the diffusion systems were centralized with respect to both administrative control and substantive expertise. Knowledge flowed from the core to the periphery with the objective of lessening the problems of farmers, social workers, public health officers, and teachers. The main model for these systems was the agricultural Cooperative Extension Service, which was heralded at the time for its international successes in crop production increases (the so-called Green Revolution).

But the extension service model was expensive. There was not enough money to send change agents to meet with all public health officers and teachers on a regular basis. The agricultural rural sociology lesson about finding and using opinion leaders to influence the decisions of their near-peers got lost at the same time that new information technologies promised so much. Accordingly, some of the dissemination systems that were created looked a lot like clearinghouses of published reports (Hutchinson & Huberman, 1993).

So the classical diffusion paradigm found widespread application among academicians interested in different types of innovations and among practitioners who perceived the paradigm as a means for spreading solutions to real-world problems, yet it was also changed as it was adapted from agriculture to public health and education and as more efficient dissemination possibilities arose. Backlashes against these large investments, partly based in knowledge utilization studies showing little effect on the decisions of practitioners, focused on what seemed to be the advocacy of innovations that were the products of commercial firms. This criticism became particularly acute with respect to international development, where the unintended and undesirable consequences of using the new "evidence-based" innovations were at times devastating to human health and the natural environment (McAnany, 1984; Rogers, 2003). This broadcast model of diffusion was also established without attendant strategies for interpersonal influence, implementation support, or behavioral or organizational maintenance.

The application of diffusion concepts by government agencies was pursued on a large scale but usually concerned only one or two concepts. A support network of change agents would be created, or innovation attributes would be used in the creation of message content, or peer-to-peer communication would be encouraged, or message content would be tailored to a type of individual's readiness to change, or implementation support would be provided. A notable exception has been the U.S. Cooperative Extension Service, which has long applied multiple diffusion concepts in concert to effect change.

A contemporary example of a diffusion system is the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's community-focused effort at HIV prevention, the Diffusion of Effective Behavioral Interventions (DEBI) project. This centrally coordinated federal partnership with state health departments concerns a cluster of evidence-based HIV prevention interventions that are communicated to potential adopters in community-based organizations both in terms of their underlying principles and their manifest components. These interventions are comprehensively supported throughout the process of organizational implementation through the provision of trainers, capacity-building assistance, marketing assistance, behavioral scientists, and evaluation consultants (Collins, Harshbarger, Sawyer, & Hamdallah, 2006).

Why Is Diffusion the Exception Rather Than the Rule?

There are many obstacles to the spread of effective practices and programs. There are, perhaps, even more obstacles to the effective implementation and sustainability of those innovations. One general reason for failed, slow, and incomplete diffusion is a tendency for many interventionists—practitioners and researchers alike—to overlook what we already know, in a collective paradigmatic sense, about why innovations do and don't spread. They make mistakes that could be avoided or achieve results that could be better. Here are a few of the more common mistakes in relation to diffusion:

- We assume that evidence matters in the decision-making of potential adopters. Yet interventions of unknown effectiveness and of known ineffectiveness often spread while effective interventions do not. Evidence is most important to only a subset of early adopters and is most often used by them to reject interventions. *Solution*: Emphasize other variables in the communication of innovations, such as compatibility, cost, and simplicity.
- We substitute our perceptions for those of potential adopters. Inadequate and poorly performed formative evaluation is all too common as experts in the intervention topical domain engage in dissemination. *Solution*: Seek out and listen to representative potential adopters to learn their wants, information sources, advice-seeking behaviors, and reactions to prototype interventions.
- We use intervention creators as intervention communicators. While the creators of interventions are sometimes effective communicators, the opposite condition is much more common. *Solution*: Enable access to the experts, but rely on others who we know will elicit attention and information-seeking by potential adopters.
- We introduce interventions before they are ready. Interventions are often communicated as soon as they are created and tested. One result is that viewers are often uncertain about the innovation's effectiveness and believe the innovation

to be rather complex. *Solution*: Publicize interventions only after obtaining clear results and preparing messages that elicit positive reactions from potential adopters.

- We assume that information will influence decision-making. Information is necessary and can be sufficient for adoption decisions about more or less inconsequential innovations, but for consequential interventions that imply changes in organizational routines or individual behaviors, influence is typically required. *Solution*: Pair information resources with social influence in an overall dissemination strategy.
- We confuse authority with influence by relying on authority figures to communicate innovations. Persons high in positional or formal authority may also be regarded as influential by others, but often this is not the case. *Solution*: Gather data about who among potential adopters is sought out for advice by potential adopters and then intervene with them to propel dissemination.
- We allow the first to adopt ("innovators" in the diffusion model) to self-select into our dissemination efforts. The first to adopt often do so for counternormative reasons; their low social status can become associated with an intervention in the minds of potential adopters. *Solution*: Learn the relational structure that ties together potential adopters so that influential members can be identified and recruited.
- We fail to distinguish among change agents, authority figures, opinion leaders, and innovation champions. It is unusual for the same individuals to effectively play multiple roles in dissemination into and within communities and complex organizations. *Solution*: Use formative evaluation to determine the functions that different individuals or their organizations or organizational units are able to fulfill.
- We select demonstration sites based only on criteria of motivation and capacity when we are trying to show potential adopters how well an innovation works. The criteria of interest and ability make sense when effective implementation is the only objective. But spread relies on how others perceive initial adopters. *Solution*: Consider which sites will positively influence other sites when selecting demonstration sites as a stimulus to diffusion.
- We advocate a single intervention as the solution to a problem. Potential adopters differ with regard to perceived need, clientele, setting, resources, and so on, so one intervention is unlikely to fit all. *Solution*: Communicate a cluster of evidence-based practices so that potential adopters can get closer to a "best fit" of intervention to organization prior to adoption.

Evidence-Based Concepts for Intervention Development

Diffusion concepts can be operationalized in projects to affect the rate of adoption of innovations by slowing spread or, more commonly, by accelerating it (Rogers, 1973; Valente & Davis, 1999; Dearing, 2004). Such strategic application need not only affect adoption rate; strategies can be

differentially applied to segments of target adopters so that those persons or organizations that would typically adopt innovations late in a diffusion process become early adopters, thus working to close inequities and inequalities in a societal sector, bringing the have-nots closer to the haves (see Figure 3.2). For example, entertainment-education strategies, which partly hail from the diffusion concepts of establishing perceived homophily, of learning self-efficacy through social modeling, and of subjecting the individual to interpersonal social pressure, have been used successfully in a number of cases of international development and education (Singhal, Cody, Rogers, & Sabido, 2004).

The utility of diffusion concepts can be increased by applying them in concert (Anderson & Jay, 1985) and early in the formative process of

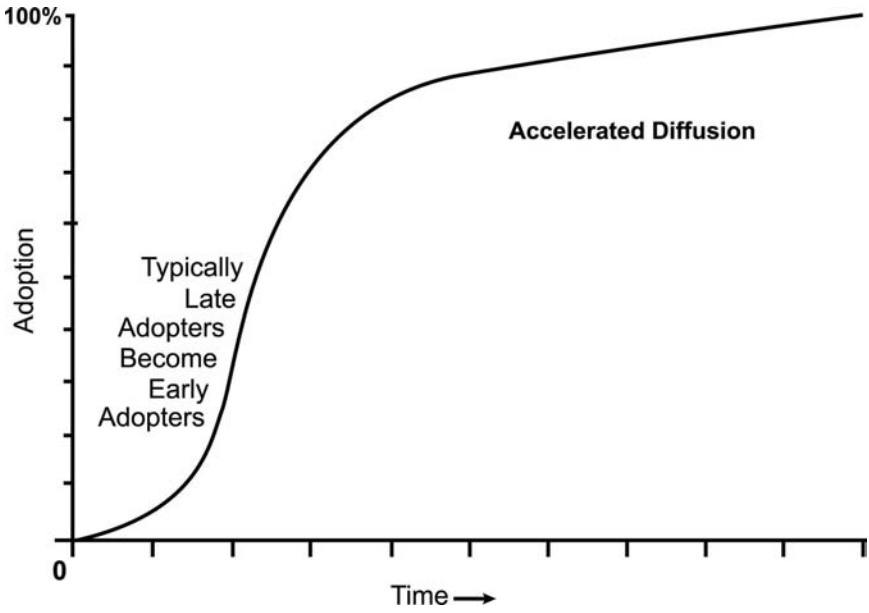

Figure 3.2 Cumulative curve for an accelerated diffusion of innovations process. The over-time process of diffusion can be accelerated by using validated concepts from the diffusion of innovation and social marketing literature to heighten the likelihood that an innovation and messages about it will be positively perceived by potential adopters and by identifying and recruiting influential potential adopters to help in communicating the innovation to other potential adopters. Disadvantaged population service providers who would typically be late adopters of an innovation can be proactively targeted for early adoption of an innovation, thus addressing inequities within social systems.

intervention design (Dearing, Smith, Larson & Estabrooks, 2013). The decisions made during intervention development often radically affect scale-up outcomes (Conley & Wolcott, 2007). Here, certain concepts from diffusion literature are combined with concepts from social marketing. The result is a set of evidence-based principles that can guide dissemination and implementation research and practice (Dearing, Maibach & Buller, 2006).

Principles of a Convergent Social Marketing and Diffusion Model

Diffusion of innovation and social marketing approaches to social change can be combined and represented as a set of principles to stimulate the spread of innovations, particularly to intermediaries—such as nurses, teachers or principals, city/county engineers, human resource professionals, or climate change managers—who make policy or programming decisions on behalf of residents, clients, patients, or students. This convergence pairs the relational emphasis of diffusion approaches with the transactional emphasis of social marketing (Maibach, Van Duyn & Bloodgood, 2006). It is a means of conceptualizing, pursuing, and tracking change in societal sectors where sector members are organizational employees with common occupations or responsibilities, rather than in holistic social systems such as small towns (as in most diffusion studies) or in characteristic-determined audience segments (as in most social marketing efforts).

Literature about the diffusion of innovations and social marketing began with different intents. Diffusion scholars sought to describe and explain social change. Social marketing scholars sought to demonstrate how to change behavior in pro-social directions. But as soon as one seeks to apply validated and actionable diffusion principles to affect a rate of change, the two approaches look a great deal alike and are quite compatible. The "push" emphasis in diffusion studies complements the "pull" emphasis of marketing science. Concepts from these two approaches have been studied together before as they relate to the programming decisions that intermediaries make (Dearing et al., 1996). Indeed, some of the most important advances in the diffusion of innovations and in marketing science have occurred through prior studies of convergence of these two literatures (Bass, 1969) and the applicability of diffusion concepts to consumer perception and behaviors (Agarwal & Prasad, 1997; Manning, Beardon, & Madden, 1995), while diffusion scholars have adapted aspects of marketing science to pro-social campaigns and causes such as health marketing and entertainment-education. Dissemination tests of combinations of diffusion and social marketing principles represent a promising

response to the comprehensive disease control agendas of leading federal agencies and their partners (Kerner et al., 2005).

Principle 1: Conceptualize and Operationalize the Societal Sector as the Locus of Change

A societal sector is a collection of focal organizations operating in the same domain without respect to proximity, as identified by the similarity of their services, products, or functions, together with those organizations that critically influence the performance of the focal organizations (Scott & Meyer, 1991). Increasingly, the interorganizational networks that tie organizations together are becoming the locus of idea production and decision-making—even governance—through standards setting (Powell & Brantley, 1992; Galaskiewicz, 1996). We focus on societal sectors and the complex organizations that comprise them as a logical locus for change because they can be transformed from one state to another (e.g., from the atomized use of ineffective physical activity programs to a state of practice where evidence-based programs are understood and appropriately adapted).

Sector change is a learning process, one that is indicative of the active translation of research into practice and sometimes back again. When information about effective programs is framed in ways that are meaningful to potential adopters, packaged and presented back to them as informational products, and then targeted first to influential organizational members of a sector and met with a positive opinion leader response, knowledge is translated from science to art and from research to practice. This is the scholarly domain of translational learning, where the learning entity is a societal sector of functionally similar organizations. Members of the National Council on the Aging constitute a societal sector, as do competing and collaborating health maintenance organizations, as do stakeholders of elementary schools in the Rocky Mountain region.

The focal organizations in a societal sector may exhibit various degrees of sector integration (interconnection), from mere functional similarity with an absence of direct or indirect ties, to occasional integration via one or more professional associations, to regular integration via direct ties such that representatives of focal organizations know one another via their communication together in a social network. Understanding the degree to which a societal sector is integrated is a key to subsequent dissemination intervention. Job mobility within a sector further ties it together in the form of social capital. And while like organizations in the same geographic area compete, the sharing of useful (and valuable) information among employees across organizations to solve problems is very common even

among direct competitors in the same city (Carter, 1989; Galaskiewicz & Bielefeld, 1998). Together, these conditions can suggest the extent to which organizations such as city permitting offices or construction guilds may be tied together through interpersonal communication in a network, and the extent to which common information sources are attended to by their representatives, even if interpersonal communication does not tie together representatives of different organizations.

New practices, programs, and policies spread through societal sectors on the basis of coercive processes (authority adoption through regulatory oversight or legislation, also termed *policy diffusion*), mimetic processes (voluntary adoption decisions on the basis of social influence from social networks and social modeling from observing what similar others are doing), and normative processes (e.g., collective or professional associational decisions based on legitimization from high status sources; Rogers, 2003; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Diffusion occurs most readily among similar types of individuals and among similar types of organizations (Ferlie, Fitzgerald, Wood, & Hawkins, 2005). Achieving spread across dissimilar types of organizations is more difficult.

Principle 2: Identify and Intervene with Opinion Leading Organizations within a Chosen Sector

There are two types of lead user organizations of note. Innovative organizations are risk-taking; they adopt more innovations and do so earlier than other organizations of the same type. They are often poorly integrated into networks of other like organizations, with extensive links outside the sector, and thus not bound tightly by their sector's norms. For the majority of potential adopting organizations, the actions of innovative organizations often serve as examples of what not to do.

Conversely, opinion leading organizations are visible and admired organizations that serve as models for others in the sector. These norm-setting organizations determine through their own example which innovations will receive attention and be widely tried. Representatives of opinion leading organizations actively monitor the oftentimes inefficient trial and error of innovation by more eager innovative organizations, selecting for adaptation and implementation those that best suit the needs of their organization and of the sector. These early adopting organizations base adoption decisions on the extent of the match that is achievable between the innovation and the organization, suggesting a rational decision process (Eyre, Suchman, & Alexander, 2000; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983; March, 2005).

Opinion-leading (i.e., bellwether) organizations, because of their potential in determining the reactions to innovations by the majority of

organizations within a societal sector, link together the behavior of focal organizations in a societal sector. Follower organizations eventually fall in line, depending on their degree of organizational innovativeness (Rogers, 2003), less out of a desire for efficiency than a desire to not be left out. Whereas lead users adopt for performance after extensive information searches, many later adopters with less information and higher uncertainty adopt because opinion-leading organizations have adopted (Carlson, 1964; Eyre et al., 2000; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983; March, 2005; Mezias, 2006). Stated differently, a unit's position in a social network affects not only the time at which that unit adopts an innovation but also why it adopts (Abrahamson & Rosenkopf, 1997; Kerckhoff et al., 1965).

Very often, convincing data are not available about the effectiveness of the innovation in question, but in the absence of performance data, innovations spread as fashions or fads—social contagion—throughout societal sectors (Abrahamson, 1991; Conell & Cohn, 1995). And as the proportion of other organizations that have adopted grows, the social pressure to adopt felt by holdouts increases. The point at which this social pressure causes the focal organization to adopt is its adoption threshold (Valente, 1995). The system-level point at which the innovation will complete its diffusion on the basis of such normative influence—achieving a bandwagon effect—is the societal sector's tipping point.

Principle 3: Use Existing Structured Relationships as Distribution Channels for Programs

Research and development activities can drive innovation among producers as well as product and service adoption among retailers. By learning to successfully integrate pro-social evidence-based practices, programs, and policies into the stream of inputs used by a particular sector to drive innovation, we have the potential to create "win-win" outcomes that help members of industry achieve their business objectives and accelerate progress toward important pro-social objectives. The efficiency inherent in this principle is that the distribution channel already exists; it is in place and characterized by extant buyer-seller relations, job mobility, and professional relations. In this sense, through the seeding of information and influence, trade associations, professional associations, chains of retailers, and other existing linking systems can become distribution partners for evidence-based innovations.

Different segments of the consumer market (e.g., families, singles, older adults) are served by different segments of the retail market (e.g., community recreation centers, health clubs, public school districts). Researchers and practitioners must strategically identify the segments of a societal

sector that will offer the greatest "return on investment" as distribution partners, engage the formal leadership of associations that tie the sector together, and then identify and recruit the opinion-leading organizations within them to achieve a critical mass of positive adoption decisions that lead the segment, and its larger societal sector, to tip (Marwell & Oliver, 1993).

Principle 4: Identify and Target Authority Figures, Opinion Leaders, and Program Champions within Complex Organizations with Information and Influence

Organizations that make up societal sectors are themselves comprised of complex structures, units, and relationships (e.g., teachers and administrators within schools within school districts). As such, organizations are beholden not only to sector norms, expectations, standards, or policies but also to intraorganizational policies, procedures, politics, expectations, and communication. The relationships within complex organizations are more densely integrated than in social sectors and can exert considerable influence over adoption decisions. For instance, the adoption and use of a physical activity program by a school district can be influenced by individual teachers' and administrators' characteristics, attitudes toward change, and perception of innovation attributes (e.g., relative advantage, complexity, fit with district values); district size and availability of resources; organizational complexity and formality; internal or external turbulence; decision-making (i.e., degree of openness, presence of internal champion[s], participation of teachers); and relationships with outside change agents (Rogers, 2003; Fennell, 1984; Parcel et al., 1995; Parcel et al., 2003; Rohrbach, D'Onofrio, Backer, & Montgomery, 1996; Zaltman, Duncan, & Holbek, 1968; Howell & Higgins, 1990).

Adoption of an innovation by organizations involves at least two phases: the decision to adopt and the implementation process. Much of the emphasis of this chapter involves the former—a felt problem that provokes a search for innovations that fit the organization and provide a solution to it. This process can be influenced greatly by outside forces. However, intraorganizational influences on innovation implementation often arise once the decision has been made to adopt a new practice, program, or policy. Frequently in organizations, users are not the choosers of an innovation (Leonard-Barton, 1984). The decision-maker's commitment to an innovation cannot be assumed to carry adequate weight to assure implementation success. It is primarily users who decide the degree of accommodation made for an innovation; thus, it is users who most affect the extent to which an innovation becomes routinized

(Goodman & Steckler, 1989; Tyre & Orlikowski, 1994; Van de Ven, 1986). Research about education innovations suggests that the involvement of boards, principals, teachers, parents, and students in school districts is key to achieving alignment of systemic innovations with school districts, which are complex organizations (Fishman, Marx, Blumenfeld, & Krajcik, 2004).

When innovations evoke a high degree of perceived risk or uncertainty about personal or organizational consequences (e.g., a new physical activity program for a senior center), opinion leadership is often sought out by potential adopters to resolve cognitive dissonance (Rogers, 2003). Several different functional roles are important within complex organizations to further the process of adopting an innovation, especially its adaptation during implementation. For most adoption decisions, external change agents (i.e., innovation advocates) seek the approval of formal leaders of organizations to legitimize employees' attention to the innovation. External change agents then seek to identify and interact with informal opinion leaders within complex organizations so that the latter form positive attitudes and engage in positive modeling for others in the organization to hear and observe.

Opinion leaders do not typically engage in open advocacy of innovations; it is their positive example that is important. Advocacy within complex organizations, such as school systems and hospitals, is left to voracious users—champions—who are important in fomenting excitement and helping to solve problems that occur during implementation. Champions are not necessarily organizationally powerful; effective champions initiate influence when they promote change as a part of their normal organizational roles and responsibilities (Scheirer, 1990).

Knowing where to look for credible and trustworthy practitioners to stimulate spread among other practitioners depends on the extent of sector integration (i.e., interconnection) among the focal organizations in question, whether they are schools, gyms, senior centers, or city transportation planning departments. If integration is limited to functional similarity with an absence of direct or indirect ties, local opinion leaders will not be able to easily communicate with others about the advantages of, for example, a cluster of effective physical activity programs. With a low degree of sector integration, opinion leaders with "star appeal" will be necessary; these are regional, state, or national opinion leaders within the sector. Their influence on individual decision-making is generally less than that of local opinion leaders, but they have broad reach. Frequently, appeals of this type are made through trade newsletters and professional association communication channels. Harnessing distant opinion leaders (i.e., well-known names in a particular field of practice who have high perceived

credibility or similarity to target audience members) is a time-honored marketing communication strategy.

If target audience members—those practitioners working in a sector's focal organizations—are linked through interactions that tie their organizations together, the opportunity for identifying and recruiting local opinion leaders exists because the relationships exist. Identification of opinion leaders can be accomplished through several methods, including (1) use of sociometric questionnaires in which respondents characterize their relationships with others in the network, (2) participant observation, (3) personal interviews with expert informants, and (4) self-report. Each of these methods has been validated in previous studies (Weimann, 1994).

The choice of how to identify opinion leaders should be made on the basis of resources available, sensitivity of respondents, and access to respondents. For example, in societal sectors where the social networks have few strong ties (i.e., a low degree of integration), relying on expert informants is of questionable reliability unless enough informants are accessed to cover most of the many cliques that will characterize the network. For target audiences of a large size, expert informants as a means of opinion leader identification will be preferable to formal surveys. Roster-based sociometric instruments are most reasonable for medium to small networks that involve fewer target adopters. Observation is only practical for small numbers of people who can be observed in the same place at the same time, such as at a professional association annual conference reception.

Principle 5: Plan for and Provide Ongoing Implementation Support

A key to successful implementation is communicating why an innovation works, not just what it is. Guided adaptation through explicating the underlying causal components of an innovation and providing examples for operationalizing those causal components in practice, as well as clarifying to implementers which aspects of a demonstrated innovation are central to its observed effect and which are peripheral and more likely changeable without deleterious effects, is a sensible approach to implementation that can recast adaptation as a property of the implementation process and fidelity as a property of outcomes. Conceptualized this way, adaptation and fidelity can be positively, not negatively, related (Dearing & Meyer, 2011).

Practitioners should be encouraged to customize by making additions to rather than just modifying an innovation. Adding local supplemental components is less likely to dilute effectiveness than is modification that

includes the deletion of or alteration to core components (Blakely et al., 1987). The pursuit of process adaptations to achieve positive outcomes is especially likely when both conceptual knowledge and examples are codified so that they are explicit rather than remaining tacit for subsequent implementers. Implementation of innovations is more consistent and positive when knowledge about them is clearly communicated (Edmondson, Winslow, Bohmer, & Pisano, 2003).

Implementation research has also shown that internal "sponsors" or high-ranking members of the organization—formal leaders—have a role to play in dissemination apart from the importance accorded to informal opinion leaders or champions (i.e., frequent users and problem solvers) in the classic diffusion model. In organizations, resources in the form of staff time are often required for an innovation to be implemented. If senior management is not on board, practitioners often cannot risk implementation (Bradley et al., 2004).

Principle 6: Anticipate Activity on the Part of Practitioners

The traditional assumption about adopters in diffusion theory is that while a few will be active in evaluating innovations and affecting the decisions of others for any given innovation type, for most innovations most of the time, adopters are relatively passive or reactive followers who reject or accept an innovation based on the actions of credible others whose behavior they monitor. This perspective on adopter passivity is erroneous for the adoption and implementation of practices, programs, and policies that are packages with multiple parts that can be disentangled and differentially implemented, each to a different degree, such as many social marketing efforts. For innovations like these, adopters who progress to the process of implementation are, in a very real sense, creators, inventors, and sources of change. They get extremely involved in testing, manipulating, jerry-rigging, and doing what it takes to create—both through language and action—an innovation that precisely addresses the requirements of an acutely felt local problem. This is what Maslow (1959) referred to as *secondary creativity*—individual activity that accounts for the majority of creative if modest outputs, "which are essentially the consolidation and exploitation of other people's ideas" (p. 93).

Two types of adopter involvement can be distinguished. Potential adopters can be involved (i.e., active) with other adopters and potential adopters. They can also be involved with an innovation. The current principle is based on the former type of adopter involvement; the next principle (number 7) is based on the latter type of involvement.

The traditional diffusion perspective is one in which potential adopters actively listen to, read about, and observe others' responses to innovations and discuss those innovations with others (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1956; Katz, Levin, & Hamilton, 1963). People are neither passive nor atomized individuals as much scholarship has characterized mass audiences. Except for the most venturesome and the most cautious, potential adopters think and act with reference to the social norms of the networks or systems to which they belong; in other words, their perceptions of the attitudes and values that characterize the groups—real, virtual, and imagined—to which they feel attachment or belonging (Hyman, 1968; Merton, 1988). Their involvement is with other adopters and potential adopters, defined more or less by their degree of innovativeness.

The earliest adopters ("innovators" in Rogers's 1973 categorization) are highly active in scanning mediated information environments, seeking out new ideas from heterogeneous sources, and experimenting. Feeling few constraints on their behavior, they act nearly autonomously toward the group, though they often exhibit ties to others outside the immediate group. But innovators comprise only a small proportion (2.5 percent) of the adopters in any social system. The vast majority of others (early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards) are less active in how they behave, their involvement being more a response to how they perceive that others within the group view the innovation. The last to adopt also exhibit a lesser degree of social integration, although they are more commonly passive rejecters rather than active in relation to others.

Working within complex organizations also limits adopters' abilities to take action on their own to try out and modify an innovation. Decisions about the fit, feasibility, and effectiveness of an innovation are rarely left to a single individual. Moreover, others determine whether an adopted innovation is used once it is implemented within the organization. They react and contribute to the changes, uncertainty, and misunderstanding surrounding what is new. Involvement, to the extent it is understood to occur, happens through social relations.

Principle 7: Design Innovations and Portrayals of Them to Invite Productive Adaptations

Adopter involvement in invention is not a prevalent concept in the diffusion literature. To be sure, there is support from studies that adopters change innovations during implementation (Dearing, Larson, Randall & Pope, 1998; Rice & Rogers, 1980; Whitten, 1997). But involvement of this sort has usually been considered deviant or minor in relation to the

original source-defined purpose of an innovation. Scholars labeled such adopter involvement *reinvention*. Adopter involvement in relation to innovations is far more important, common, and consequential than reflected in the diffusion literature (Green, 2004; von Hippel, 2005; Douthwaite, Keatinge, & Park, 2002). This is especially true when disseminating innovations to complex organizations that comprise societal sectors rather than individuals (Fishman et al., 2004). The question, from a convergent diffusion and social marketing perspective, is how to design dissemination strategies so that practitioners who are potential adopters perceive that reinventing and tailoring an effective innovation to their clients and their organizations will be easy yet still produce effective outcomes.

What adopters and implementers do with innovations has been viewed as a dichotomy. Either they adopt an innovation as is or they change it to better fit their current workplace or client conditions. Designers of interventions have come to believe that adaptation is either good or bad. For decades, in discussions of how to best diffuse or "scale-up" effective innovations, researchers have kept to this framing of the translational problem (Hutchinson & Huberman, 1993). Adherents of the fidelity perspective believe that working to ensure that adopters make as few modifications as possible is vital to maintaining the success of the original innovation. In contrast, adherents of the adaptation perspective counter that it is only by allowing adopters to change an innovation to suit their needs that the likelihood of sustainability is increased. If adopters do not feel ownership, how can we ensure an innovation's persistence in practice? This debate is alive and well in disease prevention circles (Elliott & Mihalic, 2004; Backer, 1995; Leonard-Barton, 1988).

Designing intervention programs to resist modification is futile; the baby may be tossed out with the bathwater because adopters are free to look elsewhere for workable programs, or they will self-invent by borrowing from what their experience suggests will work and what impresses them from different sources. There is simply too much incentive for—and often internal time pressure on—practitioners at the individual or single organizational level to customize, partly adopt, and combine innovation components from elsewhere to meet their needs and circumstances (Dearing et al., 1996; von Hippel, 2005). The wiser path is to anticipate and encourage this strong tendency (Dearing, Greene, Stewart, & Williams, 2011). Principles 8 and 9 provide practical ways to anticipate and encourage productive reinvention—reinvention that does not detract from the achievement of positive outcomes as a result of innovation modification.

Principle 8: Explicate Each Program's "Theory of Change" to Enhance the Likelihood That Core Components Will Be Implemented in Ways That Produce Effective Outcomes

More than an innovation must change if a best fit between a program and one's work context is to be achieved. The context, too, should change. If one only changes an adopted program and not the work environment—or vice versa—technical, delivery system, and performance criteria misalignments are likely to characterize implementation and possibly lead to discontinuance. Incremental adjustments made over time to both an innovation and a work environment characterize successful cases of technology transfer (Hutchinson & Huberman, 1993; Leonard-Barton, 1988; Hubbard & Ottoson, 1997). Mutual adaptation of both innovation and environment implies that much of the action occurs not with the adoption decision-maker but with the end-user and important intermediaries in the host organization. How practitioners interpret the purpose and promise of an innovation and its benefits in actual practice will affect how they choose to accommodate it in the workplace. Thus, our perspective is processual, echoing the view that organizational processes of implementation are a more productive focus for health promotion improvement than is attention to locating "best practices" themselves (Green, 2001). The way people interpret an innovation influences the workplace changes and adaptations they deem useful to best exploit it. Adaptation is likely to intensify the meaning of an innovation for users through a process of personalization and identification, similar perhaps to the strong bonds that can develop between consumers and particular goods (Belk, 1988).

For adaptation to increase the likelihood of effect fidelity (the achievement of the source's desired effects in subsequent external validity tests of the program) over implementation fidelity (exact replication of the program process as it was originally demonstrated), a potential adopter should understand why a program works. Ideally, a potential adopter will be better able to (1) recognize how and what aspects of a program fit into the current organizational structure and processes, (2) determine how to implement the core components to achieve the desired effect, (3) change peripheral components of a program such that they add to the achievement of the desired effect rather than detract from it, and (4) intuit how to alter organizational and environmental capacities to best support the achievement of the program's intended effect.

User activity will produce evidence-based innovations of higher external validity—demonstrating program effectiveness in a variety of locations—to the extent that core components are known and understood.

Developers, or parties interested in dissemination, should tailor their promotion efforts to explain why or how an innovation works. Precisely how to do this should not be assumed or guessed at, but rather derived from careful marketing research to assess the needs and wants of potential adopters as well as their reactions to successive prototypes of the innovation.

In addition to communicating the conceptual basis for why an innovation works, developers should explicate a variety of alternative ways to bring about a desired outcome. The objective is to give the practitioner flexibility as well as guidance to adapt the intervention in a fashion most appropriate to the circumstance with little risk to effect fidelity.

Potential adopters will naturally ask an important external validity question: "Will this innovation work *here*?" It may help to have potential adopters reframe the question as: "How are the circumstances and environment here similar to and different from the circumstances and environment in which this innovation succeeded elsewhere?" This reframed manner of asking the same question will be beneficial to potential adopters in two ways (Cook, 2000; Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2003). The first relates to the extent to which prototypical characteristics of a model innovation are like those in second-order sites (i.e., surface similarity), and the second focuses on clarifying which differences between the original demonstration and the subsequent second-order tests are superfluous—what Shadish and colleagues called ruling out irrelevancies. Stated differently, another important way to help potential adopters understand the core components that influence innovation success is to identify both the peripheral components that are not necessary for success and the complementary assets of organizations where the innovation has been successfully implemented.

Peripheral components are those that adopters can be encouraged to change. The listing of complementary assets or organizational capacities related to fielding an innovation can give subsequent adopters a strong sense of what it took to successfully implement the innovation in question and what they need to marshal in their own organization to achieve the same effect.

User involvement will be relatively more effective if careful thought is given to important similarities as well as important differences between demonstration sites and adopting sites. Developers might, for example, provide information about the specific organizations used in the demonstration (e.g., employees, customers, clients) as well as other groups thought to have benefited (e.g., vendors, the clients' customers). At the same time, attributes of organizations in which the innovation should not

be administered can also be pointed out. Similarities and dissimilarities might also be communicated about delivery, timing, and location. With such guidance, implementers will be better able to make informed decisions about which aspects of the innovation or their environment should be changed to achieve a best fit between the two. Of course, some of the responsibility must fall to potential adopters, as well, to make reasonable determinations concerning the extent and importance of certain similarities and differences between their site and demonstration sites.

Principle 9: Make Use of Marketing Research to Heighten the Likelihood that Innovations Will Be Adopted and Implemented

Social marketing derives one of its key strengths from basing strategic decisions on careful listening to the wants expressed by representative members of potential adopters (Maibach, Van Duyn, & Bloodgood, 2006). In social marketing, efforts to promote the offered product or service are created in response to the beliefs, attitudes, and desires of those the marketer wishes to reach.

Yet the potential of marketing research can go much further. Environmental scans of needs, opportunities, and the positioning of the competition—overall and within specific geographic areas—are critical assets in constructing an effective marketing plan. Social network analyses can be used to map the structure of relations that crisscross a societal sector by tying together the complex organizations within it. Dissemination tactics can be beta-tested to fine tune them prior to introduction. Real-time information can be collected about users' and target audience members' perceptions of critical innovation attributes as identified in diffusion literature (i.e., effectiveness, cost, complexity, compatibility, trialability, observability) to refine promotional tactics in ways that heighten the likelihood of personalization, identification, and positive adoption decisions. And a relentless focus on the target audience's, users', and distribution partner's experiences with the marketing offer can facilitate building a "total quality improvement" or "continuous quality improvement" mindset into the dissemination effort.

Principle 10: Cluster Together Alternative Evidence-Based Innovations to Increase Choice and Perceptions of Objectivity among Potential Adopters

Another principle based in diffusion, decision-making, and psychology research is "clustering." An alternative innovation cluster is a set of effective innovations that comprise different means to achieve the same or similar end. Packaging several effective innovations together increases the

likelihood that adopter-implementers will be able to come to a "best fit" of innovation and work environment by mutually adapting each to the other. The prerequisites for clustering are that several effective innovations with the same or similar objectives exist, that together they represent some variance in the means for achieving their effects so that consumers will perceive a choice, and that the developers of each effective innovation are willing to cooperate in a joint portrayal.

Delimited selection such as this still allows for considerable personal agency and involvement on the part of adopters, especially during implementation (fit-finding), because the choice of one out of several innovations is just the beginning step. Implementers then have to learn the conceptual basis for the innovation's effects so that they can responsibly make adaptations (modifications to peripheral components) that will enhance rather than detract from the likelihood of achieving fidelity of effect.

Collective websites can be designed to be more than a set of links to the homepages of each of several effective innovations. For example, each new practice, program, or policy can be portrayed in a consistent format, with equivalent content, testimonials, and video examples of each one in action; a model demonstrating how each innovation achieves its effects as determined through prior internal validity and external validity testing; and linked examples for each model component to demonstrate how that variable has been operationalized. Interactive websites can be created to make it easy for practitioners—such as teachers and exercise coaches—to upload their own videos and text demonstrating the exact ways in which they implemented a model component, showing how it unfolded in their department, worksite, clinic, or school, or how they accommodated the innovation with their staffing or other resource limitations. This will allow other practitioners and researchers to see how the same conceptual components can be differently implemented without compromising effect fidelity. As a quality control measure, it is recommended that research staff or other experts connected to the program(s) in question serve as gatekeepers or peer reviewers of such user-contributed examples to make sure that each theory of change model component is accurately reflected in each example that is put onto the website.

The clustering of alternative effective innovations is attractive to external change agencies, too. Change agencies often have catalogues of many interventions of a similar type, each created by grantees, each of which often addresses the same problem (e.g., the Cancer Control PLANET website created by the National Cancer Institute). Piecing together an alternative innovation cluster of effective innovations does not put the

change agency in the position of "picking a winner" and running the risk of seemingly advocating one program at the expense of other effective solutions.

Conclusion

As it has been applied increasingly to agricultural, international development, public health, health services, and educational interventions, classic diffusion of innovation theory is evolving into a science of dissemination and implementation. I have highlighted certain concepts from this theory that are especially amenable to operationalization for intervention purposes, and I have suggested, through a proposed set of principles, how these concepts can be combined with concepts from social marketing to better achieve dissemination and implementation outcomes.

The implications for social marketing scholars and practitioners are:

- Social marketing has promising application *upstream*, to communicate with intermediary providers of services and products to consumers, clients, patients, and residents. Many of the same techniques common in social marketing can be applied to reach and affect professionals to influence their adoption decisions.
- Conceptualizing adopters as organizations has value, especially when organizations of a common type constitute a *societal sector*. Audience segmentation strategy can be well applied to professionals who are tied together in occupational or professional networks.
- Social marketing scholars and practitioners can benefit from conceptualizing and operationalizing how certain target adopters are *informally influential* among other target adopters. Social network analysis can be used to statistically and graphically identify these opinion-leading individuals or organizations for the purpose of formative recruitment.
- Social marketing shaping of messages and of innovations themselves can use *attribute categories* to assess formative feedback. Innovation attributes have a long and more or less standardized history that can add to the formative evaluation toolbox for assessing consumer perceptions and factoring them into product and service design.
- Effective alternative innovations can be combined and communicated to potential adopters in delimited *clusters* to encourage choice and responsible adaptation. Consumers like choice, just not too much choice (Schwartz, 2004).
- Innovations can be designed to invite productive process *adaptations* so that fidelity of outcomes is heightened, not lessened, by users' inevitable modifications. The fidelity/adaptation dichotomy is a false one.

Note

1. The 10 principles listed and explained here draw on ideas that I generated with two collaborators, Ed Maibach and Dave Buller, in relation to physical activity promotion interventions, and that we previously presented in the article "A Convergent Diffusion and Social Marketing Approach for Disseminating Proven Approaches to Physical Activity Promotion" (Dearing, Maibach, & Buller, 2006).

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CHAPTER FOUR

Social Marketing and Behavioral Economics: Points of Contact?

Stephen Young and Vivienne Caisey

Behavior change is complex to understand and difficult to achieve. It typically requires a mix of interventions. In areas ranging from public health to the environment and many others considered in this handbook, such interventions have frequently used techniques drawn from social marketing. In recent years, a new set of techniques for achieving behavioral change has become prominent, based on insights drawn from behavioral economics.

Many social marketers see this as a threat. We believe that this is a mistake, based on a misunderstanding of the nature, origins, and purpose of behavioral economics. So the purpose of this chapter, which focuses on the United Kingdom while also drawing on evidence and examples from elsewhere, is to provide an overview of how behavioral economics became a challenger to social marketing in the field of public policy. This will enable social marketers, most of whom are not economists, to have a better understanding of the origins, purposes, and objectives of behavioral economics—where it came from, what it can and cannot do, and what it might mean for social marketing.

This chapter begins by describing how behavioral economics became a prominent influence on policy during the first decade of the 21st century as the result of several publications. It then considers, drawing mostly from experience in the United Kingdom, how government has applied behavior change techniques drawn from behavioral economics in a

number of policy areas. Having demonstrated the reach and the applications of behavioral economics in public policy, it then compares and contrasts social marketing and behavioral economics using a range of criteria.[1]

This analysis demonstrates that:

- Behavioral economics, despite coming to prominence in recent times as a tool for public policy, has a long and complex back story, most of which has nothing to do with interventions to change behavior.
- Behavioral economics has, until comparatively recently, been essentially a field of academic study; it was not designed to achieve behavioral change, and its use to achieve behavior change is adventitious.
- Despite its origins and development, behavioral economics can offer cost-effective and appropriate solutions for some interventions.
- There is more to behavioral economics than "nudging," and it is inappropriate and reductionist to conflate the two.
- Paradoxically, for a chapter in this *Handbook of Persuasion*, behavioral economics, when used as a tool for behavior change, does not rely on persuasion; it can change behavior without changing minds.
- Behavioral economics should not be incorporated into social marketing. The two disciplines have a different history, heritage, purpose, and objectives.
- There is no natural monopoly in the field of behavior change. Practitioners should have an informed understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches to be able to know which approach is appropriate for each intervention.
- Social marketers need to acknowledge that behavioral economics is a legitimate source for behavioral change interventions.
- A realistic, pragmatic, and constructive approach by practitioners of the two disciplines would be one based on peaceful coexistence, recognizing that each has its place in the array of interventions aimed at changing behavior.

Move Over Social Marketing? Behavioral Economics and Public Policy in the United Kingdom

Embraced by policy makers in the United States and the United Kingdom for application to the types of challenges that used to be the province of social marketers, behavioral economics is generating controversy among social marketers, some of whom now view behavioral economics as competition (Wood, 2012). Philip Kotler (2011) has noted that President Obama has a liking for behavioral economics, which Kotler attributes to its genesis in the president's home base of Chicago and its ability to support Obama's various initiatives in health care and environmental protection. Kotler recommends that rather than focusing on behavioral economics, Obama should "recognize a worldwide fraternity of social

marketers who have been creating success stories for 40 years to discourage smoking, drug abuse, overeating, and so on." As Kotler continues, "The bottom line is that those who want to influence social behavior for the good of the individual and the society need to apply social marketing thinking, a much larger system than 'behavioral economics.'"

In the United Kingdom, social marketers are warning that the popularity of social marketing as the basis for behavior change interventions is waning, displaced by interventions based on behavioral economics. According to Spotswood (2012, p. 1), "the Government has scrapped marketing budgets in favor of behavioral economics." She continues:

> David Cameron's Coalition Government has made a scene about cutting marketing budgets and instead using insights from behavioral economics to "nudge" people into making choices which are better for themselves and society. . . . We are in danger of behavioral economics becoming the only default position for behavior change.

Although "default" may be overstating the position, there is a common view, particularly among social marketers, that behavioral economics is ascendant in policy relating to behavior change. One of the reasons, according to Loewenstein and Haisley (2008, p. 214) is that behavioral economics makes it possible to design policy interventions that "use relatively subtle psychological factors to influence behavior, making it possible to accomplish policy goals without imposing more draconian mandatory measures."

The authors note that it is possible to design "light paternalistic" policies that help people without reducing their autonomy. Many of the most successful interventions use the same biases that typically hurt people to instead help them.

The arrival of behavioral economics in the field of public policy recognizes that, as Daniel Kahneman (2008) has said, "There is a technology emerging from behavioral economics. It's not only an abstract thing. You can do things with it." Not only is it possible to "do things with it," but governments who want to do so now have a handy guide, in the shape of Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein's book *Nudge* (2008).

Behavioral Economics and Public Policy: From Obscurity to Influence

Behavioral economics has entered the arena of public policy during the last decade, the result of a confluence of influence and influencers and a series of books and reports that have marked the transition of behavioral economics from an "obscure discipline" (Chakrabortty, 2008)[2] into a key influence on

public policy. As one author has commented, "Perhaps the most significant development in behavioural economics since 2000 has been the increasing efforts to apply approximately three decades of behavioural economics observations to practical policy concerns" (Oliver, 2013b, p. 10).

This incursion into the policy field got under way around 2004 and continues to the present day. One key underlying reason for this is that, as Kahneman (2013, p. vii) has, somewhat ruefully, noted,

> Like it or not, it is a fact of life that economics is the only social science that is generally recognised as relevant and useful by policy makers. Given their monopoly, economists have become gatekeepers, and their analyses and conclusions have enormous weight, even in domains in which they do not seem to have any particular comparative advantage, such as healthcare and education.

The following section, indicative rather than exhaustive, illustrates the increasing prominence of behavioral economics in the policy field. In 2004 a team of policy advisers to Prime Minister Tony Blair produced a strategy paper entitled *Personal Responsibility and Changing Behaviour* (Halpern et al., 2004). Although it was marked as "an issue paper for discussion purposes and does not represent Government policy" (p. 1), the paper contained sections devoted to theories of behavioral change, challenged the notion of "rational man," and considered applications in areas such as employment, health, crime, and education with what was described as the "over-arching logic" (p. 60) of helping people help themselves. Although not devoted exclusively to behavioral economics, the paper drew on sources that included a key work in behavioral economics, *Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases* by Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman (1974).

The following year, The New Economics Foundation, an independent think tank, made an explicit pitch for the policy domain with its publication *Behavioural Economics: Seven Principles for Policy-Makers.* (Dawnay and Shah, 2005). This work echoed criticisms of economic rationality and recommended that policy makers, before rushing to devise policy based on flawed assumptions from neoclassical economics, should instead use insights from behavioral economics. The organization's stated aim was "to change the analytical framework for policy as well as to maximise the impact of policy interventions" (p. 2). In addition, the authors noted, "We also hope to reduce unintended outcomes arising from making decisions based solely on a neoclassical economic analysis" (p. 2).

1 Other people's behaviour matters: people do many things by observing others and copying; people are encouraged to continue to do things when they feel other people approve of their behaviour.

2 Habits are important: people do many things without consciously thinking about them. These habits are hard to change – even though people might want to change their behaviour, it is not easy for them.

3 People are motivated to 'do the right thing': there are cases where money is de-motivating as it undermines people's intrinsic motivation; for example, you would quickly stop inviting friends to dinner if they insisted on paying you.

4 People's self-expectations influence how they behave: they want their actions to be in line with their values and their commitments.

5 People are loss-averse and hang on to what they consider 'theirs'.

6 People are bad at computation when making decisions: they put undue weight on recent events and too little on far-off ones; they cannot calculate probabilities well and worry too much about unlikely events; and they are strongly influenced by how the problem/information is presented to them.

7 People need to feel involved and effective to make a change: just giving people the incentives and information is not necessarily enough.

Figure 4.1 Seven principles of behavioral economics for policy makers. (From *Behavioural Economics: Seven Principles for Policy-Makers* (p.2) by E. Dawnay and H. Shah, 2005, London, United Kingdom: New Economics Foundation. Reprinted by permission.)

A study carried out for the United Kingdom's Financial Services Authority in 2008 noted:

> Behavioural economics has been directed more to explaining choices than to changing them. Even if there is a sense in which people can be shown to be making poor decisions it is of course debatable whether it is appropriate to try to intervene. . . . A relatively small literature has looked at remedies for various cognitive biases. (de Meza, Irlenbusch, & Reyniers, 2008, p. 3)

But attempts to formulate policy that could remedy these biases were about to take a major step forward with the publication of *Nudge* by Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein in 2008. *Nudge* was arguably the first book on behavioral economics aimed at an audience outside academia, and it went further than documenting anomalies between actual human

behavior and the flawed textbook assumptions of neoclassical economics. *Nudge* contained many suggestions for public policy and behavioral change interventions that drew on findings from behavioral economics. *Nudge* was also the first book on behavioral economics to be featured on a summer reading list of the United Kingdom's (then) opposition Conservative party. None of this should be surprising. *Nudge* has been described by Kahneman (2011) as "the basic manual for applying behavioral economics to policy" (p. 372).

During this period, industry regulators also joined in, producing reports that considered whether their activities should incorporate more findings from behavioral economics. Studies include works by regulators covering competition policy (Office of Fair Trading, 2010), energy (Ofgem, 2011), and finance (de Meza et al., 2008). And in the Obama administration, *Nudge* coauthor Cass Sunstein was appointed head of the White House Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, a post he held from September 2009 until August 2012. Although the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs may appear obscure, the position—a role that has been described as a "regulatory czar" (Newmyer, 2013a)—meant that Sunstein was able to use his office as "a laboratory for his brand of 'libertarian paternalism'" (Newmyer, 2013a).

In 2010 behavioral economics finally moved to center stage in policy terms in the United Kingdom. David Halpern, who had been the chief strategist in the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit between 2001 and 2007, produced a book titled *The Hidden Wealth of Nations*, consciously echoing Adam Smith. (Halpern, 2010). The book included a list of "Ten Things to Do If You're Prime Minister" (p. 256). Number six on the list was "Embrace Behavioural Economics" (p. 260). According to Halpern,

> Behavioural economics provides a powerful new set of tools for policy makers and citizens to address the challenges of today and improve the quality of our lives. But even though many of the key insights are 20 to 30 years old, policy makers have been slow to apply them. . . . The application of behavioural economics could offer substantial gains in relation to the environment, crime, pro-social behaviour, education, welfare and health. (Halpern, 2010, p. 260)

Also in 2010, coauthored by David Halpern, came MINDSPACE, a report from the Cabinet Office and the Institute for Government (Dolan et al., 2010a). This report contained many tools and techniques drawn from behavioral economics and recommended that they be used to tackle policy challenges such as cutting crime, reducing obesity, and increasing

environmental sustainability. MINDSPACE, with its checklist approach to behavior change, was an explicit attempt to bring techniques from behavioral economics into the policy arena—a manual for practitioners. In fact, MINDSPACE even came with a short version aimed at practitioners—a practical guide that highlighted the most robust effects that have been found repeatedly to have strong impacts on behavior (Dolan et al., 2010b).

Reports and studies linking insights from behavioral economics continue to be published by think tanks and government bodies on subjects from tax and benefit policy to personal finance. The Institute for Fiscal Studies produced "Tax and Benefit Policy: Insights from Behavioural Economics" in July 2012 (Leicester et al., 2012), and in 2013 the United Kingdom's new consumer finance regulator, the Financial Conduct Authority (FCA, formerly the Financial Services Authority), published "Applying Behavioural Economics at the Financial Conduct Authority" (Erta et al., 2013). The FCA paper covers consumer protection in retail financial markets, where people are described as being "particularly susceptible to biases" (p. 11), and uses behavioral insights to consider what is best for consumers as well as the practical implications of using behavioral economics to protect consumers from their own mistakes. It is unlikely that the FCA paper will be the last publication to consider the uses of behavioral economics in public policy.

Behavioral Economics Reaches the Heart of Government in the United Kingdom: The Coalition Government and the Behavioural Insights Team

The inconclusive result of the U.K. general election of May 2010, where no single party won enough parliamentary seats to command a majority in the House of Commons, eventually resulted in Conservatives and Liberal Democrats agreeing to form a coalition government. The Coalition set out its objectives in a Programme for Government, and in the foreword, written by Prime Minister David Cameron and Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg, appeared a statement that could be seen as a coded endorsement of the use of behavioral economics. It reads:

> We are both committed to turning old thinking on its head and developing new approaches to government. . . . There has been the assumption that central government can only change people's behaviour through rules and regulations. Our government will be a much smarter one, shunning the bureaucratic levers of the past and finding intelligent ways to encourage, support and enable people to make better choices for themselves. (Cameron & Clegg, 2010, p. 7) [3]

The Behavioural Insights Team at 10 Downing Street. David Halpern's (2010) advice that an incoming prime minister should ensure a role for behavioral economics proved timely. The Behavioural Insights Team (BIT), commonly known as the Nudge Unit, was set up in July 2010 with a mandate to find innovative ways of encouraging, enabling, and supporting people to make better choices for themselves (Cabinet Office: Behavioral Insights Team, 2013). Headed by David Halpern, the team was created to help government departments think about "non-regulatory means of achieving behaviour change" (House of Lords Science and Technology Select Committee on Behaviour Change, 2011, p. 33) and to look at alternatives to the constant flow of regulations through Whitehall. The original drive was for "deregulatory thrust" (p. 33) linked to the Better Regulation Executive, with the objective of raising awareness of "less cognitive, less familiar approaches" (p. 33).

Although the first goal of the Nudge Unit was to encourage healthy living, with a focus on urging people to "make better choices for themselves" (Hickman, 2011), the BIT's range of activities has subsequently spread much wider (Hickman 2011).[4]

Nudge coauthor Richard Thaler, an unofficial adviser to the Behavioural Insights Team, has said that the unit is the first attempt by any government to put his ideas into action systematically. He also led a Downing Street delegation to Paris in an attempt to persuade President Nicolas Sarkozy to consider taking a similar approach to behavior change in France (Lawrence, 2010). This Anglo-French nudge appears to have resulted in a 2011 paper on the subject of behavioral economics and the environment from the Centre d'Analyse Stratégique, a research and advisory institution under the authority of the French prime minister, with a brief covering economic, social, environmental, and technological policy (Centre d'analyse stratégique, 2011).

Recent developments. In June 2012 the U.K. government published The Civil Service Reform Plan**,** setting out the way forward for the British civil service**.** In a section on policy skills and expertise, the paper noted that "the models used to develop policy need updating to reflect the new tools and techniques [are] now available. The traditional tools of legislation, funding and regulation need to be used more sparingly, and new tools such as behavioural insight, transparency, and digital engagement should be considered more readily." The paper went on to state that, henceforth, policy makers would be expected to attend five days a year of continuous professional development, including in new areas such as behavioral sciences (HM Government, 2012, p. 17).

In March 2013 Cass Sunstein, *Nudge* coauthor and former head of the White House Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs under President

Obama, visited the Behavioural Insights Team. The visit coincided with the publication of Sunstein's new book, *Simpler: The Future of Government*, which built on the thinking outlined in *Nudge*. The program included an appearance at a round table at 10 Downing Street; meetings with various ministers and senior officials; and lectures at the British Academy, the Institute for Government, and Cambridge University. As the BIT blog noted, "Cass has been a consistent proponent of BIT's approach. . . . We are fortunate to have his ongoing support as well, of course, as that of his long time collaborator, Professor Richard Thaler" (Behavioral Insights Team, 2013). Back in the United States, by July 2013 *Nudge* was declared to be "back in fashion," with the federal government acknowledging that "insights from the social and behavioral sciences can be used to help design public policies that work better, cost less, and help people to achieve their goals." As a result, the government set out its objective of creating a new team to " help build federal capacity to experiment with these approaches, and to scale behavioral interventions that have been rigorously evaluated, using, where possible, randomized controlled trials. The team will be staffed by 4–5 experts in behavioral science and experimental design and evaluation" (Decision Science News, 2013; Subramanian, 2013).

A note of caution. Behavioral change is complex, and many of the problems that need to be addressed could be described as "wicked" (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p. 155). So there is unlikely to be just one solution to any given problem, and it is more likely that a complex mix of interventions will be required. In July 2011 the House of Lords Science and Technology Select Committee published its report after a year-long investigation into how the government uses behavior change interventions. One of the committee's main findings was that "nudging" on its own is unlikely to be successful in changing the population's behavior. Instead, a whole range of measures—including some regulatory measures—will be needed to change behavior in a way that will make a real difference to society's biggest problems. The committee's report noted that "non-regulatory measures used in isolation, including 'nudges,' are less likely to be effective. Effective policies often use a range of interventions" (House of Lords Science and Technology Select Committee, 2011, Summary).

The U.K. government appeared to agree, stating in its response to the House of Lords report:

> Nudges, used in isolation, are likely to be less effective than using a range of interventions. We believe, however, that it is useful and important to consider how to apply behavioral insights as one of several tools which the

> Government has at its disposal. (The Cabinet Office, Government Response to the Science and Technology Select Committee Report on Behaviour Change, 2011, p. 2)

This notion is supported by looking at the commercial world; businesses are often highly effective users of behavioral economics (even if they are not aware of it). As the *British Medical Journal* noted:

> Nudging certainly works. Shaping environments to cue certain behaviours is extremely effective, unfortunately often to the detriment of our health. The ready availability of foods that are packaged, presented, and engineered to stimulate our automatic, affective system has led us to consume more than we need—consumption that is further primed by advertising. The doubling in alcohol consumption in young people over the past 50 years is attributed in part to its marketing and ready availability, and the design of many neighbourhoods supports car driving over walking or cycling. (Marteau, Ogilvie, Roland, Suhrcke, & Kelly, 2011, p. 263)

Dr. Vivienne Nathanson of the British Medical Association commented, "We agree that 'nudging' people to be healthy may be more effective than only telling them how to live their lives" (Bosely, 2010). But nudging on its own is unlikely to be sufficient. As behavioral economists George Loewenstein and Peter Ubel pointed out in *The New York Times* in 2010:

> As policymakers use it to devise programs, it's becoming clear that behavioral economics is being asked to solve problems it wasn't meant to address. Indeed, it seems in some cases that behavioral economics is being used as a political expedient, allowing policymakers to avoid painful but more effective solutions rooted in traditional economics.

And,

> Behavioral economics should complement, not substitute for, more substantive economic interventions. . . . For all of its insights, behavioral economics alone is not a viable alternative to the kinds of far-reaching policies we need to tackle our nation's challenges. (Loewenstein & Ubel, 2010).

One journalist described behavioral economics as offering "cute technocratic solutions to mostly minor problems" (see Rownson, 2011), so it would be unwise to pretend that behavioral economics alone can solve the problems of debt, inequality, public health, obesity, or climate change.

Getting Practical: Behavioral Economics Meets Public Policy

Public policy covers many fields, several of which concern the behavior of individuals. Ensuring that the goals of public policy are achieved is often premised on individuals making the right choices in areas such as the effective functioning of markets, sustainable consumption, consumption of alcohol and tobacco, energy use, personal financial choices, and many others. As behavioral economist Sendhil Mullainathan (2008) has observed:

> We happen to call the word economics. But it's not economics. You could be talking about crime, you could be talking about many things, in the social domain, the entire spectrum of human behavior. Anyone who is interested in the broader world should be interested in something we currently call "behavioral economics." (Mullainathan, 2008)

Public policy has traditionally been based on the view, derived from standard economic theory, that consumers are rational, use information effectively, pursue their own interests, and are consistent in their choices. In fact, consumers frequently lack information and may not use it correctly when they do have it; moreover, they are often time-inconsistent and can sometimes behave in ways that actually work against their own self-interest. If individuals do not behave like rational machines, basing policy on this assumption is unlikely to produce the intended outcomes.

This rejection of the standard economic model opens the door to both social marketing and behavioral economics. Social marketing, because it draws on insights from commercial marketing, has always acknowledged the role of psychology in decision-making. Behavioral economics, by highlighting the anomalies between economic assumptions and actual behavior, has shown that the application of standard textbook assumptions to policies aimed at changing behavior may be of limited value.

As a result, insights from behavioral economics are being used as the basis for policy guidance on a wide variety of issues. These range from attempts to curb overconsumption by changing plate sizes and portion sizes (Wansink, 2009), to using choice architecture to steer eaters toward healthier decisions (Just, Mancino, & Wansink, 2007; Commission of the European Union, 2008; Just & Wansink, 2009)—also implemented by Google[5] (Mancino & Guthrie, 2009)—to measures designed to encourage home insulation, help unemployed people find work (Tarr & Riley, 2011), help people save for their pensions, and encourage them to pay their taxes on time (Bell, 2013).

One noteworthy example, for which results are now available, has been a pilot relating to U.K. employment offices. The Behavioural Insights Team ran a six-month randomized controlled trial with Jobcentre Plus in Essex to test the impact of changes to the way the center operates, specifically through commitment devices and an emphasis on building psychological resilience. A "commitment contract" was used to ask job seekers to specify their plans for the next two weeks, with detailed timings. They found job seekers in the treatment group were 15 percent to 20 percent more likely to be off benefits 13 weeks after signing on, and the trial is now being expanded to 14 other Jobcentres across the county (Cabinet Office: Behavioral Insights Team, 2012).

Nudges in Practice: Policy Using Choice Architecture and Defaults

If public policy can use insights from behavioral economics to maximize individual and societal welfare, which techniques are being used? We next consider some examples of how behavioral economics is providing tools for policy interventions. The tool of choice for libertarian paternalists—and the one that has captured most of the attention from the public (and from social marketers)—is the nudge, described by Richard Thaler (2012) as "some feature of the environment that attracts our attention and influences our behavior." As the Sustainable Development Commission (2011) put it, a nudge is:

> Any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people's behavior in a predictable way without forbidding any option or significantly changing their economic incentives. To count as a mere nudge, the intervention must be easy and cheap to avoid. Nudges are not mandates. Putting fruit at eye level counts as a nudge. Banning junk food does not. (p. 19)

Nudges include default rules, structured choice systems, incentives (market-based or socially created), feedback mechanisms, social cues, frames, and transparent designs. A nudge is subtle and can involve the provision of information about social norms, or it can mean a change to the environment, such as installing fewer elevators in a building to encourage people to use the stairs more. Of an extensive list of potential nudges, we consider two main examples: choice architecture and defaults.

Choice architecture. According to the title of a booklet published by The Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (2010), "We are all choice architects now." What did they mean by this? They simply meant that it is

possible to design environments that make it easier for people to choose what is best for themselves, their families, and their society. Choice architecture relates to the norms, habits, practices, and patterns that structure our social, political, and institutional lives, so we can use what we know from behavioral economics to nudge us in beneficial directions—without restricting freedom of choice.

Choice architects recognize that "neutral" design is impossible and that what may seem to be arbitrary decisions are very important, because we are constantly organizing how other people make decisions. We can use choice architecture to improve the quality of those decisions. Choice architecture may seem to be invisible, but it is the specific shape of an organization's policy, its physical manifestation, or its online presence when people come into contact with it. Choice architecture recognizes that:

> Decision makers do not make choices in a vacuum. They make them in an environment where many features, noticed and unnoticed, can influence their decisions. The person who creates that environment is . . . a choice architect. . . . Choice architecture can be used to help nudge people to make better choices (as judged by themselves) without forcing certain outcomes upon anyone. (Thaler, Sunstein, & Balz, 2010, p. 1)

Examples of choice architecture are many and varied; they can include a parent preparing dinner, the layout of a canteen, a doctor describing treatments to a patient, a health care manager creating a form, the choices presented by a car rental firm, a voter ballot—the list is long (see, for example, Fuller, 2009; Johnson et al., 2012). Even in fields such as patient health, there is now a recognition that the former mantra of patient engagement may not always be necessary, given that "in some settings, choice architecture and associated strategies provide a clear alternative for improving behavior and decisions without relying on ongoing engagement" (Nease, Frazee, Zarin, & Miller, 2013, p. 242).

One such example concerns a 2013 study that considered patient decision aids, such as instructional leaflets describing treatment options for prostate cancer. These leaflets are aimed at educating patients so that they can share in decisions about their care. Historically, developers of such decision aids have striven for balance, aiming to be as neutral, unbiased, and nondirective as possible. In this study, the authors argued that balance should not always be a goal; so for men diagnosed with early-stage prostate cancer, it may be that active surveillance is a reasonable alternative to immediate surgery or radiation. According to the study authors, "It may be desirable to design decision aids that promote active surveillance as an

option" (Blumenthal-Barby, Cantor, Voelker Russell, Naik, & Volk, 2013, p. 1). In other words, the study "challenges medical decision makers and decision aid developers to determine if and when patients should be 'nudged' toward one option or another by the use of tools from behavioral economics" (Blumenthal-Barby et al., 2013, p. 1).

Defaults. Kahneman and Thaler (2006) noted the importance of setting defaults for libertarian paternalists, stating that "because of strong inertia, and other factors, default choices are often selected even when opting out is essentially costless" (p. 232). In other words, in many choice regimes, people simply stick with the default option. Because not making a choice is the same as making a choice, getting defaults right can make a big difference to people's lives. Default effects exist for a wide range of domains and are frequently used by commercial organizations to nudge consumers (Johnson & Goldstein, 2006). Studies (Dinner, Johnson, Goldstein & Liu, 2010) have shown the wide range of areas in which defaults are powerful determinants of people's behavior, including such diverse topics as car insurance, pizza consumption, retirement planning, and organ donation.

Even defaults that appear trivial can affect people's lives. For example, authorities in Mexico City are attempting to change a default with a campaign to remove salt shakers from restaurant tables so that diners have to ask for salt if they wish to put it on their food (Tuckman, 2013).[6] Although seemingly trivial, such changes to context and placement have been shown in studies to have a major impact on people's food consumption (for more examples, see Wansink, 2009). The following section considers two other significant public policy interventions based on changes to defaults.

Defaults and pensions: The biggest nudge? One fruitful area for implementing measures based on behavioral economics relates to personal savings in general and pensions in particular (Thaler & Benartzi, 2004). There are a number of behavioral factors affecting retirement decisions, including anchoring and framing effects, affective forecasting, hyperbolic discounting, and the planning fallacy (Knoll, 2011). The consequences include the phenomenon that, although people know that they should save into a pension scheme, they often don't. Some of the reasons include:

- Pensions are complicated and confusing,
- People do not get around to it,
- There is a lack of suitable pension products for people with low to moderate incomes, and
- There is a lack of employer pension provisions, particularly in smaller firms (Johnson, P., Yeandle, D., Boulding, A. 2010).

Defaults play a critical role in many crucial areas relating to pension decisions, including retirement age, pension plan participation, retirement savings rate, pension portfolio choice, and the withdrawal of pension wealth. Despite—or perhaps because of (Schwartz, 2005; Saleci, 2011; Iyengar, 2010)—superannuation choice, most people stick with defaults, such as the fund chosen by their employer or the default plan chosen by that fund. People often choose not to choose. Defaults or standards—what happens if a person does not take action, also sometimes called "silent consent"—affect outcomes.

Switching the default has a major impact on behavior. One study showed that with the default set to non-enrollment, employees hesitate to enroll in a pension plan. Company A changed its enrollment policy for new employees from automatic non-enrollment (opt-in) to automatic enrollment (opt-out). With automatic non-enrollment, participation started below 60 percent of employees and increased to about 80 percent in 2 years. With automatic enrollment, participation was almost 100 percent within 3 months (Beshears, Choi, Laibson, & Madrian, 2007).

So a series of nudges based on changing defaults would improve retiree well-being. For example, such nudges could include raising the default contribution rate (with the ability to opt down if chosen), a default superannuation fund based on a low-fee index-tracking fund (retaining people's ability to switch to a riskier boutique fund if they so desired), and a default investment strategy of rebalancing over the lifecycle (e.g., high growth for young people, more cautious investments for those approaching retirement).

In the United Kingdom, 2012 saw what has been probably the biggest nudge so far. It began on October 1, 2012, with implementation phased through September 2016, and involves changing the pension scheme default to a system of automatic enrollment. Employees will have to opt out if they do not wish to participate in a pension scheme. Every employer is required to automatically enroll its workers into a qualifying pension scheme if they are not already in one. Employers must also contribute to that pension (Gov.UK, 2013).

According to a document published by the United Kingdom's Department for Work and Pensions, the lead department for implementing the policy, the purpose is to "increase the numbers of people saving for their pension by ensuring that inaction on their part will lead to pension saving occurring, just as inaction at present leads to no saving" (Johnson, Yeandle, & Boulding, 2010, p. 3).

Measured by the number of people affected, this arguably constitutes the biggest U.K. nudge so far, with potentially life-changing consequences

for millions of people as a result of the translation of principles from behavioral economics into a concrete public policy measure.

Defaults and organ donation. Another area of public policy with serious implications for life and death relates to the supply of organs for transplant. In the United States, United Kingdom, and other countries, there is a growing gap between the demand for and the supply of human organs for transplantation, despite the efforts of governments and health agencies to promote donor registration. For example, in the United Kingdom, where 8,000 organs are needed for lifesaving transplant operations each year, there are more than 16 million people on the National Health Service (NHS) Organ Donor Register (ODR). But although polls indicate that approximately 90 percent of people are in favor of organ donation, only 26 percent of the population has actually registered with the NHS ODR. A social marketing approach to the problem was expressed by Henrietta Joy, director of communications and public affairs for NHS Blood and Transplant, who has noted that approximately 1,000 people die every year in the United Kingdom (almost 3 a day) waiting for an organ transplant. "We need to be much clearer as to why more people are not signing up to the NHS Organ Donor Register and what would motivate them to do so," stated Joy (OrganDonationNHS, 2009).

Is understanding motivation the best way to close the gap between the supply of and the demand for organs, or might other approaches be more effective? In Australia and the United Kingdom, applications for driving licenses now include an option for anyone who wants to donate their organs. In the United Kingdom, the BIT was behind the introduction of this "required choice"—from July 31, 2010, a tick box on the license application form enabled applicants to register for the NHS organ donor scheme, allowing the use of their organs after death. The BIT estimates that this will more than double the percentage of people joining the ODR and bring in an extra 1 million donors over the course of the Parliament. However, in Australia, where this option has been in place for longer, approximately three-quarters of applicants do not tick the box, suggesting that a better way to increase organ donation rates would be by requiring everyone to tick either "Yes, I will donate" or "No, I will not donate" (Leigh, 2009).

These measures focus on increasing the numbers of people who make an active decision to register, but could there be a simpler way to increase the number of organ donors, without needing to engage with and motivate individuals? Could the problem be addressed by simply changing a default?

In some countries, organ donation laws and regulations are based on the principle of presumed consent. Under presumed consent legislation, a

deceased individual is classified as a potential donor in the absence of expressing explicit opposition to donation before death. Findings have indicated that with presumed consent, organ donation rates increase (Johnson & Goldstein, 2003). As Abadie & Gay (2006) noted, "We find that . . . presumed consent legislation has a positive and sizeable effect on organ donation rates" (p. 599).

These findings are being reflected in the policy debate around organ donation in the United Kingdom's devolved administrations; a draft policy document from NHS Blood and Transplant (2013) refers to the need for "a revolution in consent" (p. 2) if the United Kingdom is to match the best-performing countries. The paper cites plans by the Welsh government, where 31 percent of the population is currently registered to donate organs, to introduce legislation to bring in a soft opt-out system, which would change the default to presumed consent for organ donation.

Under this arrangement, people in Wales will have the choice of registering a wish either to be a donor (opt in) or not to be a donor (opt out). Those who do neither will be deemed to have given their consent to donation. The new system will be preceded by a two-year communications campaign to ensure that people are aware of the new law and of their choices. The view of the Welsh government is that, based on international evidence, changing the default could result in a 25 percent increase in the donation rate. Thus, it is projected that 15 percent more people per year would become donors under a presumed consent system, resulting in approximately 45 more organs available for donation anywhere in the United Kingdom.

The Health Committee of the Welsh Assembly has backed the proposed opt-out organ donation plan contained in the Human Transplantation Bill. The committee has raised concerns about clarifying the family's role, the cost of a communications campaign, and health service resources, but it has supported the principle that people will be deemed to have consented to their organs being donated unless they opt out in advance. Following the green light from the committee, Welsh health minister Mark Drakeford commented, "I am determined and committed to putting deemed consent on to the statute book here in Wales" (BBC News Wales, 2013). If presumed consent is introduced, the Welsh government will launch a publicity campaign to make people aware of the change in the law (BBC News Wales, 2013). In a similar vein, the Department of Health, Social Services, and Public Safety in Northern Ireland is also consulting on attitudes toward organ donation, including changing the default to an opt-out system.

A Comparison of Behavioral Economics and Social Marketing

Now that we have reviewed the changing policy context, with concrete examples of how behavioral economics is being used by governments to change behavior, we turn our attention to the emergence of behavioral economics, comparing and contrasting some of its key aspects with social marketing. These are summarized in Table 4.1 and considered below in more detail.

Theoretical Background

There are many models of behavior change, and space does not permit consideration of them all here (for an overview, see Darnton, 2008). Suffice it to say, both social marketing and behavioral economics can be seen as fields of study; neither qualifies as a unified theory based on a single model that can then be applied as a template for all behavioral interventions.

Starting with social marketing, there is much debate as to what it comprises. Many have attempted to add to Kotler and Zaltman's (1971) original definition, but as Rob Donovan (2011) said, "While social marketing may have some unique elements, it is still based on the fundamentals of marketing" (p. 9). As one commentator has stated, "By the very nature of its focus, helping to influence behavior for social good, social marketing needs to be a multi-disciplinary, trans-theoretical field of study and practical endeavour, just like commercial marketing" (French, 2011, p. 155). This is captured in the title of Gerard Hastings's 2007 book on social marketing, *Why Should the Devil Have All the Best Tunes?*

Of course, commercial marketing is itself influenced by theories drawn from psychology, sociology, economics, and neuroscience. The result is that social marketers tend not to start with a theory but instead use insight work to guide them to the theory that might work best for the specific intervention required. Effective social marketing is based on a deep understanding of what drives people to behave in a certain way and proceeds to develop interventions that will persuade those people to want to change or adapt their behavior. Social marketers recognize that commonly used behavioral theories, though useful, should not be applied too inflexibly. So social marketing uses a mix of theories and tools to persuade "customers" to see the value of changing their behavior.

As Gerard Hastings notes:

> Social marketers, then, respect behavioral theory—but also realise its limitations. Human behavior is the most complex phenomenon we could

Table 4.1 Comparison of Social Marketing and Behavioral Economics

	Social Marketing	Behavioral Economics	Comparable?
Policy Timeline and Impact	Up to 2010	From 2010	No
	Favored by previous governments (e.g., Change4Life)	Favored by current government (e.g., *Nudge*, MINDSPACE), Behavioural Insights Team	
Theoretical Background	No unified theory	No unified theory. Based on anomalies in existing economic theory.	Yes
History and Heritage	Commercial marketing	Standard economic theory augmented with results from experiments and observations	No
Behavioral Assumptions	People may act irrationally—as recognized by commercial marketers and psychologists. Pragmatic.	People may act irrationally—contrary to key assumptions of standard economics. Two systems of behavior. Based on experiments and observations from psychology, with findings used as the basis for interventions.	Yes
Philosophy and Ideology	Interventionist	Libertarian paternalism	No
Importance of Context	Important	Important	Yes
Voluntary or Coercive?	Voluntary	Voluntary	Yes
Role of Persuasion	Yes—engage and persuade by segment	No—enable and facilitate. Don't change minds; change behavior.	No

(*continued*)

Table 4.1 (*Continued*)

	Social Marketing	Behavioral Economics	Comparable?
Understanding and Segmenting the Audience?	Yes. Essential to understand what moves and motivates target audience. Requires research-based insight into behaviors of relevant segment.	No. Based on knowledge of general psychological barriers that prevent desired behaviors.	No
Price of Intervention	Relatively expensive; research costs money	Relatively inexpensive; nudges are minor features	No
Service Providers	Many	Few	No

> possibly try to understand. That means that, on one hand, we need all the theories and models we can get to make sense of it. On the other hand, we have to recognise that all these theories and models will, inevitably, be gross over-simplifications that will ultimately be found wanting if we set too much store by them. (Hastings, 2007, p. 21)

Like social marketing, behavioral economics can also be seen as a fusion; it draws on neuroscience, experimental psychology, and social psychology. In doing so, behavioral economics replaces the standard economic assumption that everyone in the economy is rational and selfish with the idea that some of us are not only human but behave as such. It does this by integrating insights from psychology with neoclassical economic theory to better understand individual decisions (The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, 2002).

Behavioral economics is animated by a different goal than social marketing; its primary purpose is not to intervene but to explain. So behavioral economics explains observed anomalies or departures from the standard model of economics. According to Stephen Cave (2011), behavioral economics "has some way to go before it can claim a realistic model of human nature." This should not be surprising; it is inherent in the evolution of behavioral economics. As explained by two of its foremost exponents, Colin Camerer and George Loewenstein (2003), "Behavioral economics increases the explanatory power of economics by providing it with more

realistic psychological foundations" (p. 3). So the purpose of behavioral economics was originally to improve the efficacy of economics, not to change behavior. The latter aspect of behavioral economics is, as illustrated above, a comparatively recent development.

Behavioral economics: It's economics but not as we know it. Conventionally, economics has subsumed the motivations and practices underlying individual behavior into a standard set of assumptions. Once assumed, economists can move on to consider their real subject matter: what happens in markets. So for the sake of theoretical coherence, elegance, and predictive power, standard economics assumes that people are mechanistic agents following an implied set of behavioral rules.

More formally, as explained by Nick Wilkinson (2008, p. 5), the standard economic model assumes that people are:

- rational;
- motivated by expected utility maximization;
- governed by selfishness, not taking account of the utility of others;
- Bayesian probability operators;
- consistent over time preferences, with time preferences expressed according to discounted utility; and
- liable to treat all income and assets as fungible.

This standard economic model traditionally conceptualizes a world populated by calculating, unemotional maximizers, sometimes dubbed *Homo economicus*. The standard economic model ignores or rules out most of the behavior studied by cognitive and social psychologists. This "unbehavioral" economic agent has been defended on numerous grounds; some claim that the standard model is "right" whereas others argue that it is easier to formalize and has more practical relevance. Either way, it has been the standard model that has formed the basis for policymaking.

Behavioral economics emerged as an attempt to explain observed deviations from the standard economic model, considering anomalies such as biases and heuristics, the distortions caused by ownership, the role of information and choice, the distorting effects of time, and misperceptions of risk and probability (Thaler & Mullainathan, 2000, 2007).[7] Herbert Simon (1955) recognized that individuals do not have unlimited power to process information; they are subject to bounded rationality, which affects both their beliefs and their choices. People are also prone to overconfidence, optimism, and extrapolation. Moreover, people are boundedly selfish; they donate to charity, they volunteer, and they donate blood (and sometimes their organs). There is an extensive literature dealing with, for

example, the Ultimatum Game (Guth, Schmittberger, & Schwarze, 1982), which makes clear that people often engage in cooperative behavior and are even prepared to damage their own interests to punish others who they perceive as acting unfairly. This contrasts with economic theory, which downplays the role of altruism, because it recognizes self-interest as people's primary motive.

Another problem with the standard model of economics is the assumption that people will respond appropriately to information that facilitates the effective operation of markets. In reality, people often lack the appropriate cognitive skills, the required computing power, and the relevant levels of self-control. So to economize on their use of cognitive faculties, people adopt rules of thumb, also known as heuristics (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974).[8]

Heuristics can explain why we eat, drink, or spend too much and exercise, save, and work too little. Iain Potter of the New Zealand Health Sponsorship Council is reported to have made the following remarks:

> It would be easy to give the public information and hope they change behaviour but we know that doesn't work very satisfactorily. Otherwise none of us would be obese, none of us would smoke and none of us would drive like lunatics.[9]

But the assumptions about individual behavior that underpin standard economics have been increasingly challenged. Pesendorfer (2006) noted:

> Starting with an experimental finding that shows violations of standard economic assumptions, research in behavioral economics proceeds by introducing new variables that are used to "parameterize" deviations from standard models. In many cases, the new variable is used to describe a "bias" in decision making, i.e., some form of irrationality or systematic mistake. (p. 713)

In an article from his series "Anomalies," published in the *Journal of Economic Perspectives* during the 1990s, Nudge coauthor Richard Thaler said (writing with Colin Camerer):

> Economics can be distinguished from other social sciences by the belief that most (all?) behavior can be explained by assuming that agents have stable, well-defined preferences and make rational choices consistent with those preferences in markets that (eventually) clear. An empirical result qualifies as an anomaly if it is difficult to "rationalize," or if implausible assumptions are necessary to explain it within the paradigm. (Camerer and Thaler, 1995, p. 209)

So, although standard economic analyses rely on an unrealistic model of human behavior in which economic agents are hyperrational robots, behavioral economics takes a more realistic approach, assuming that economic agents are humans—not *Homo economicus* but *Homo sapiens*. As Thaler and Sunstein (2008, p. 6) noted, the model of *Homo economicus* assumed in conventional economics textbooks can "think like Albert Einstein, store as much memory as IBM's Big Blue, and exercise the willpower of Mahatma Gandhi." Putting actual human behavior at the center of economics, a former editor of *The Economist* has written, "Economics is not about models and mathematics, it is about behavior: our reactions to opportunities, risks and fears" (Emmott, 2009). Or as Charlie Munger, vice chairman of Berkshire Hathaway Corporation and business partner of Warren Buffett, has said, "If economics isn't behavioral I don't know what the hell is" (Munger, 1995, p. 1).

So how did economics became "behavioral?" To answer this question, we need to consider some of the history and heritage of economics itself.

History and Heritage

Philip Kotler put the spotlight on social marketing in the early 1970s, defining it as "the application of marketing principles and tools to achieving socially desirable goals" (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p. 3). In essence, the same marketing principles that were being used to sell products to consumers could be used to "sell" ideas, attitudes, and behaviors. Between 1971 and 2013 there were numerous attempts to define social marketing, many of which are cited elsewhere in this book, but the search for the perfect definition continues to be a matter of debate. In October 2013 the International Social Marketing Association, European Marketing Association, and the Australian Association of Social Marketing endorsed a consensus definition, which noted that

> Social Marketing seeks to develop and integrate marketing concepts with other approaches to influence behaviours that benefit individuals and communities for the greater social good. Social Marketing practice is guided by ethical principles. It seeks to integrate research, best practice theory audience and partnership insight, to inform the delivery of competition sensitive and segmented social change programmes that are effective, efficient, equitable and sustainable. (European Social Marketing Association, 2013)

This 40-plus-year heritage of social marketing has sometimes been adversely contrasted with the arriviste behavioral economics, which is seen

as dating back no further than the publication of *Nudge* in 2008. In fact, behavioral economics has a venerable history and heritage, with a lineage dating back several centuries via philosophers and economists such as Adam Smith in the 18th century, Jeremy Bentham in the 19th century, and John Maynard Keynes and Herbert Simon in the 20th century, as well as neuroscientists and psychologists in the 21st century.

If we consider the history of economic thought, we can see that economics was originally "behavioral." But developments in economic theory have meant that the behavioral elements have, over time, been gradually de-emphasized. So in some respects, the "new" field of behavioral economics could be framed as simply a return to the roots of economics, particularly some of the behavioral assumptions that underlie what is now termed "classical economics."[10]

We can take the example of Adam Smith, widely regarded as the founder of what we now know as "economics." In fact, Smith was Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University, a title that goes some way beyond what has become our modern conception of economics. Smith is probably best known for depicting in 1776 what appears to be his 18th century version of rational economic man in *The Wealth of Nations* (Smith, 1909), where he famously stated, "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest" (pp. 19–20). But Smith's previous work, published in 1759, was *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. There he observed:

> How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it but the pleasure of seeing it. (p. 9)

The Theory of Moral Sentiments includes descriptions of individual behavior driven by psychology, covering phenomena such as reciprocity, sympathy, risk, and probability. Some have cited Adam Smith as the precursor to today's behavioral economists, because his world "is not inhabited by dispassionate rational purely self-interested agents, but rather by multidimensional and realistic human beings" (Ashraf, Camerer, & Loewenstein, 2005, p. 142).[11] Another author has noted, "Smith's (1759) *Theory of Moral Sentiments* is a mine of what have become known as behavioural economic insights" (Oliver, 2013a, p. 690).

Following Smith, Jeremy Bentham, the Utilitarian philosopher, wrote extensively on the psychological underpinnings of utility, but psychology disappeared from economics with the rise of neoclassical economics,

specifically Alfred Marshall's (1890) *Principles of Economics*. From that point on, economists sought to reshape the discipline as a natural science, leading to the emergence of *Homo economicus*, based on a fundamentally rational psychology.

A number of factors contributed to the resurgence of psychology and the development of behavioral economics as observed and repeatable anomalies challenged the "rational man" hypotheses. Expected utility and discounted utility models began to gain wide acceptance, generating testable hypotheses about both decision-making under uncertainty and intertemporal consumption. By the 1930s, John Maynard Keynes (1936) was pondering the causes of economic depression and the role of human psychology in the form of those "animal spirits" that drive investment decisions (Akerlof and Shiller, 2009).

In 1955 Herbert Simon introduced the notion of "bounded rationality," which proposes that rational decision-making is often limited by availability or time; in some cases, it may even be limited by too much choice, which leads to procrastination (see Schwartz, 2005). The body of work by psychologists Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman (Tversky and Kahneman, 1974; and Kahneman and Tversky, 1979) compared cognitive models of decision-making under conditions of risk and uncertainty to economic models of rational behavior, revealing that actual human decision-making contravenes many of the basic assumptions of the standard economic model (Earl, 1990). Such work has demonstrated the limits of the assumptions that underlie the standard economic model.

Nudge coauthor Richard Thaler has systematically illustrated the anomalies between these assumptions and actual human behavior (Thaler, 1994). Behavioral economics aims to help recognize when cognitive and psychological biases can make people less likely to pursue the analytical rationality of *Star Trek*'s Mr. Spock and more likely to end up with suboptimal choices.

So, behavioral economics is not "new." What is new is its emergence into the field of public policy—and the realization that it can be used as a mechanism to achieve behavioral change, which puts it into contention with social marketing.

Behavioral Assumptions

Social marketing and behavioral economics share one key assumption: that people's decisions may lack rationality such that individuals are prone to engage in behaviors that are suboptimal for themselves and for society

at large. For social marketers, this insight comes from commercial marketing; when making a purchase, the decision criteria are frequently not those of utility maximization as posited in the standard economic model, which is why marketers often sell the sizzle rather than the sausage. Whether or not people have the right information, they may go on to make decisions that are not rational.

So social marketers do not assume that providing the right information will lead to positive change; instead, they attempt to identify physical and emotional barriers that prevent the desired behavior and then offer a mix of products or services that will appeal to clients and encourage change. Social marketing finds out what makes people tick and then offers a proposition designed to steer them toward a positive outcome without presupposing that the decisions follow a rational path aimed at maximizing utility. The contrast between marketers and economists is pointed out by Pete Lunn (2008, p. 143), who notes:

> For an economist trained in orthodox theory, Armstrong and Kotler's *Marketing: An Introduction* . . . is almost a horror story. It teaches marketing students, most of whom go into business, to ignore just about every assumption economists make. At various points throughout the text, it advises that consumers are not independent, rational or selfish, that they do not have stable preferences and they are often poorly informed.

In contrast to the standard economic model, the more realistic assumptions about decision-making that form the basis for behavioral economics are premised on a dual-system model of human behavior, as expressed in the title of Daniel Kahneman's *Thinking Fast and Slow* (2011). In fact, dual-system models of human behavior have been present in philosophical discussions dating back to the ancient Greeks. In *The Republic*, Plato contrasted the immediacy of desires, or short-sighted attractions to particular classes of things, with the broader scope of reason, whose function in the human soul is to "rule with wisdom and forethought on behalf of the entire soul" (as cited in Loewenstein & O'Donoghue, 2004). Or as Strack and Deutsch noted (2004, p. 222), "Social behavior is the effect of the operation of two distinct systems of information processing: a reflective system and an impulsive system."

When surveying the literature on the conscious/unconscious divide, Baumeister, Masicampo, and Vohs (2011) observed that "the causal role of conscious thought has been vastly overstated," and they went on to note that "only has been bold enough to furnish a precise estimate: 'Our psychological reactions from moment to moment . . . are 99.44% automatic'" (p. 2).

In a similar vein, Camerer, Loewenstein, and Prelec (2005) considered the relationship between neuroscience and economics and recognized that although deliberation is clearly part of human decision-making, neuroscience points out two generic inadequacies of this approach: the inability to handle the roles of automatic and emotional processing. This is because automatic processes are designed to keep behavior "offline" and below consciousness, meaning that we have far more introspective access to controlled than to automatic processes. Camerer and colleagues stated, "Since we see only the top of the automatic iceberg, we naturally tend to exaggerate the importance of control" (p. 11). For behavioral economics, this means that decision-making is systematic and amenable to scientific study, and because people are prone to making predictable (Ariely, 2008)[12] and avoidable mistakes, behavioral economists can premise interventions accordingly.

Philosophy and Ideology

Both social marketing and behavioral economics accept that people do not always act in their own or society's best interests and then present them with options that can help them change their behavior for the better. These attempts to change people's behavior are, by definition, a form of intervention. It can be argued that the history of government is a history of intervention, which has historically taken various forms.

Kooreman and Prast (2010) categorized types of intervention as market-based, legal, or paternalistic, dividing the last of these into old paternalism and new paternalism. Behavioral economics falls into the latter category; it assumes that citizens know what's good for them but do not always act upon it. Furthermore, behavioral economics aims to reduce negative "internalities" and uses mechanisms such as defaults and commitment mechanisms, all the while maintaining freedom of choice—which may be guided.

For behavioral economics, the philosophy and ideology of the new paradigm is libertarian paternalism, a philosophical approach to public or private governance designed to help people who wish to make choices that improve their lives without infringing on their liberty. Libertarian paternalism is seen as a relatively weak, soft, and nonintrusive type of paternalism in which choices are not blocked, fenced off, or significantly burdened.

It is debatable whether this paradigm is consistent with neoclassical economics, because it retains the main construct while rejecting some of its less plausible assumptions (Berg & Gigerenzer, 2010). Some argue that it represents a departure, with behavioral economics being beyond the

Table 4.2 The Two Systems of Behavior in Behavioral Economics

	System 1: Automatic (Fast)	System 2: Reflective (Slow)
Operation	Operates automatically, with little effort, either based on our innate mammalian skills—perceiving the world around us, recognizing objects, avoiding losses—or through prolonged practice and skills development	Requires individuals to pay attention and is disrupted when attention is drawn away
Characteristics	Emotional Doing Gut Intuitive Uncontrolled Effortless Associative Hot Impatient Unconscious Short-term Immediate gratification Homer Simpson and the inner lizard	Thinking Planning Brain Rational Controlled Effortful Deductive Cold Patient Self-aware Long-term Deferred gratification Conscious thought Mr. Spock and the rational calculator
Examples	Native language Detecting that one object is more distant than another Orienting to the source of a sudden sound Completing the phrase "bread and . . . " Detecting hostility in a voice Answering 2+2 = ? Reading words on large billboards Driving a car on an empty road Thinking, "The turbulence is bad; we're all going to die."	Second language Filling out a tax form Parking a car in a narrow space Telling someone one's phone number Walking faster than usual Bracing for the starting gun in a race Thinking, "The turbulence is bad, but planes are safe."

Note. Based on *Nudge* by R. Thaler and C. Sunstein, 2008, and *Thinking Fast and Slow* by D. Kahneman, 2011.

mainstream. Addressing academic economists and their students, Kalle Lasn (2012) wrote:

> Outside your department, a vigorous heterodox economics thrives. . . . There are social economists, feminist economists, inter-disciplinary economists, behavioral economists, ecological economists and hundreds of intellectuals and maverick professors who are openly critical of the neoclassical regime and fighting to overthrow it. (Preface, pages unnumbered)

Others contend that behavioral economics is part of the orthodoxy, noting, "Once heretical, behavioral economics is now mainstream" (Lovallo & Sibony, 2010).

Mainstream or not, behavioral economics marries what have been described as the "traditionally opposed concepts" (Mitchell, 2004, p. 40) of libertarianism and paternalism, which are forged together in the concept of libertarian paternalism—the encompassing ideology of measures that aim to improve well-being without constraining choice. As Sunstein and Thaler (2003) have noted, "The idea of libertarian paternalism might seem to be an oxymoron, but it is both possible and desirable for private and public institutions to influence behavior while also respecting freedom of choice" (p. 1159). Addressing the oxymoron, Gregory Mitchell (2004) took up the gauntlet to argue that while libertarian paternalism does leave rational individuals a way out of the central planner's paternalism, the exit will often not be costless. Instead, he argued, the paternalistic costs of trying to improve the welfare of irrational individuals are shifted to the rational individuals.

Ricardo Rebonato (2012) has constructed a book-length critique of libertarian paternalism, questioning the attempts to influence individuals and to exploit their cognitive shortcomings for their own good and for the common good and scrutinizing the claims that libertarian paternalism preserves freedom. He questioned whether libertarian paternalism actually accords decision-making autonomy and raised concerns about the transparency and value neutrality of the approach. Rebonato prefaces his book with an adaptation of a couplet from T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*: "The last temptation is the greatest treason: / To do the wrong thing for the right reason" (Rebonato, 2012, p. 1).

Equally troubling for those seeking to use behavioral economics as a policy tool, Stephen Cave (2011) referred to the problem at the very heart of nudge theory: the assumption that "our wise leaders will use their powers to nudge us for our own good. But why should we think they are any less self-deceived and irrational than the rest of us?" This concern is

echoed in Tory Newmyer's (2013b) review of *Simpler* by Cass Sunstein, which stated, "This approach rests on a belief that government, informed by experts, should be equipped with the tools to save us from ourselves" (Paragraph 10).

So critics maintain that nudge-style paternalism presumes that technocrats understand what ordinary people want better than the people concerned. Moreover, critics contend that, in *Nudge*, Thaler and Sunstein (2008) offer no means for ordinary people to comment on, let alone correct, the technocrats' prescription, which leaves the technocrats with no systematic way of detecting their own errors, correcting them, or learning from them. Writing in *New Scientist*, Henry Farrell and Cosma Shalizi (2011) cited work by Suzanne Mettler in which she argued that libertarian paternalism treats people as consumers rather than citizens, failing to tell people why choices are set up in particular ways or actively seeking to conceal the rationale. For example, when the Obama administration temporarily cut taxes to stimulate the economy, it did so semisurreptitiously in an attempt to encourage people to spend rather than save. Farrell and Shalizi argued that libertarian paternalism is a seductive ideology because democratic politics is cumbersome and messy. Even so, democracy is far better than even the best-intentioned technocracy at discovering people's real interests and how to advance them. It is also better able to defend those interests when bureaucrats do not mean well.

The Importance of Context

For practitioners devising interventions based on either social marketing or behavioral economics, context matters. This can be contrasted with neoclassical economics, where context is either ignored or dismissed in the ceteris paribus[13] assumptions. Early behavioral economist Herbert Simon (1990) mischievously echoed a key trope of neoclassical economics and used it to reinstate context, echoing the comment made at the end of the 19th century by the father of neoclassical economics, Alfred Marshall (1890). Marshall had noted that supply and demand were like the two blades of a pair of scissors, each blade necessary but neither sufficient on its own. In the 20th century, Simon asserted that "human rational behavior is shaped by a scissors whose blades are the structure of task environments and the computational capabilities of the actor" (p. 7). More recently, Daniel Kahneman (2008) has stated that "the context, the medium, and the interface within which a decision is taken, may have a far greater affect on the decision we make than the

long term consequences of a decision even when we know those consequences."

Steven Johnson (2013) picked up the theme in an article in which he noted:

> Attitudes don't drive behaviors, contexts drive behaviors. For decades, public health laboured under the common sense assumption (supported by the more traditional social psychology literature) that the attitudes we hold determine the behaviors we manifest: if people agree that excessive alcohol consumption is a bad thing, they won't drink to excess. . . . An exclusive focus on internal psychological constructs (such as attitudes) places disproportionate emphasis on the individual as the locus for change, and removes due consideration of the social and structural influences that surround them. Effective and ethical behavior change interventions take a holistic approach that influence at the social and structural levels, not just the individual.

Of course, the context in which decisions are made can be the environment, as noted by Simon (1990) and Kahneman (2008), or it can be the social context; even when people do make self-conscious decisions, those decisions are partly governed by systematic biases that are fundamentally social. This goes further than the herd behavior that typically underlies asset bubbles, with cycles of boom and bust, and covers the social and cultural norms that form the behavioral expectations, or rules, within a society or group. As MINDSPACE reminds us:

> Norms can be explicitly stated ("No Smoking" signs in public places) or implicit in observed behaviour (shaking the hand of someone you meet for the first time). People often take their understanding of social norms from the behaviour of others, which means that they can develop and spread rapidly. (Dolan et al., 2010a&b, p. 21)

Increasingly, attention is being paid to the social dimension of behavioral challenges, such as the analysis carried out on obesity by Christakis and Fowler (2007), who found that "a person's chances of becoming obese increased by 57 percent . . . if he or she had a friend who became obese in a given interval" (p. 370), leading them to conclude that "network phenomena appear to be relevant to the biologic and behavioral trait of obesity, and obesity appears to spread through social ties. These findings have implications for clinical and public health interventions" (p. 370). The same authors have considered the impact of social networks on happiness and found that a person's happiness is related to the happiness of that

person's friends, those friends' friends, and the friends of those friends' friends—that is, to people well beyond the original person's social horizon. Christakis and Fowler (2008) noted, "People's happiness depends on the happiness of others with whom they are connected. This provides further justification for seeing happiness, like health, as a collective phenomenon" (p. 23).

Johnson (2013), in highlighting the importance of social context, notes the likelihood of it being compounded by the fundamental attribution error—that is, people tend to explain others' actions in terms of their personalities rather than in terms of contextual factors. So if "other people" are behaving "unsustainably," it's because they have the "wrong attitude." But when seeking to explain their own behavior, people's reasons or excuses are mainly contextual, for example, "The air conditioning controls are complicated," "The recycling bin is on the other side of the office," "The default is printing single-sided," "The attic is too full of junk to fit insulation," and so on. Although both social marketers and behavioral economists recognize the importance of context, it is context that is the focus for most interventions based on behavioral economics. Behavioral economics recognizes that attitudes are hard to change and is mostly content to leave that challenge to other practitioners, including social marketers.

Voluntary or Coercive?

Behavior change can be accomplished in many ways. One is by using legislation and regulation, premised on the coercive power of the state. Both rely on compulsion, normally enforced by sanctions. But unlike legislation or regulation, behavioral economics and social marketing do not have the force of compulsion; each approach relies on people making voluntary changes to their behavior, and each can be avoided.

Both methods are interventionist, but both depend on voluntary compliance. It is fundamental to the philosophy of libertarian paternalism that interventions based on behavioral economics can be avoided; if the default is set in a way that an individual does not like, it is essential that the person can make a different choice. If that isn't possible, it isn't libertarian paternalism, and it isn't behavioral economics—it's a form of coercion.

Similarly, if a person chooses not to comply with an indicated behavior as a result of an intervention based on social marketing, sanctions are typically not applied. The application of sanctions for noncompliance takes us into the territory of regulation and legislation, which is neither social marketing nor behavioral economics.

The Role of Persuasion

Social marketing interventions are designed to help specified segments of the population make more optimal choices, usually based on an understanding of their desires and motivations. To change behaviors, social marketers believe that it is necessary to convince members of the audience to change their minds about the behavior in question. As already noted, social marketers use tools and techniques from commercial marketing to persuade audiences. Like commercial marketers, social marketers are adept at finding ways to persuade their audiences, using reasons that are important to that audience.

Social marketers normally eschew arguments based on rationality; they are less likely to use messages such as "Give up smoking because it's bad for you" or "Try to eat a healthy diet" or "Exercise more and get fit," and more likely to say, "If you stop smoking or take more care with what you eat, you are more likely to see your grandchildren grow up." Social marketing focuses on the reasons why people might change their behavior rather than providing the kind of information that frequently makes scant difference to people's actual choices.

As noted, behavioral economists say that it is possible to help humans make better choices without taking away their freedoms, just by giving them a gentle nudge. But unlike social marketing, interventions based on behavioral economics are designed to change behavior without the need to change minds; nudges can influence behavior by altering the context or environment in which people make choices.

Some critics have questioned the morality of behavioral economics, holding that there is a Big Brother quality to the idea of changing behavior without changing minds. Words such as "subliminal" have been used—mistakenly, because a subliminal message exists below an individual's threshold for conscious perception; if people don't know it is there, they cannot avoid it. The essence of a nudge is that an individual can choose to avoid it. Or as Bonell and colleagues noted, "Nudging is based on the principle that it is legitimate to influence people's behaviour to make their lives healthier (paternalism), but that such influence should be unobtrusive and not entail compulsion (libertarian)" (2011, p. 241).

Thaler and Sunstein (2008, p. 10) have remarked that the world is full of nudges, most of which are designed to sell us things that we may or may not need and that may or may not be good for us—a world in which there can be a cola machine on every other corner, nudging us to make decisions that we may later regret. According to the authors, "There is . . . no way of

avoiding nudging in some direction, and whether intended or not, these nudges will affect what people choose."

For Richard Thaler, addressing the Edge Master Class (Thaler, Mullainathan, & Kahneman, 2008a), "There is no way of avoiding meddling. People sometimes have the confused idea that we are pro meddling. That is a ridiculous notion. It's impossible not to meddle. Given that we can't avoid meddling, let's meddle in a good way."

Understanding and Segmenting the Audience

"Never assume" could be a mantra for social marketers, who recognize that before commencing an intervention it is necessary to develop a deep understanding and appreciation of the audience and the world that the audience lives in. What motivates one set of individuals to change may not work for others, so understanding the audience and segmenting that audience is key to effective social marketing, which mirrors commercial marketing. Interventions based on social marketing use a mix of research methods to identify target audiences and then segment those audiences accordingly, using messages targeted to specific audience segments. This handbook contains many examples of social marketing success stories, where a deep understanding of the target audience coupled with intelligent and appropriate interventions have led to sustained behavioral change.

Behavioral economics is different because it does not require a detailed understanding of the audience as a prelude to intervention. So an intervention based on behavioral economics will not require segmentation of the audience; there is no need to carry out detailed research and develop insight into the target audience. This is because behavioral economics assumes, based on the evidence from experiments and observation, that humans are all subject to similar cognitive and computational flaws. Often, people are more alike than different. As economist Paul Samuelson noted, "God must love those common folk that behavioral science economists write about, because She made so many of them" (cited in Kooreman & Prast, 2010, p. 9).

So behavioral economics uses generic information about the biases and behavioral patterns that cause us to behave in certain ways in order to design behavioral interventions, and this can take place without the need for detailed insight into the values and beliefs of the audience. Hence, as the MINDSPACE report noted, it is possible to "change behavior without changing minds" (Dolan et al., 2010a&b, p. 13). In other words, it may not be necessary to engage with people's beliefs to change behavior.

And we should remember that our objective is exactly that: behavior change.

The Price of Intervention

Developing insight and segmenting an audience for a social marketing intervention can be expensive. The precise costs depend on factors such as the size of the target audience, the amount of research needed to develop insight, and the nature of the intervention. The case study database at the National Social Marketing Centre (http://www.thensmc.com/resources/showcase-preview) shows that budgets can start at around £10,000, while the top end of the scale can reach the millions of pounds spent on a program intended to stimulate healthy behaviors in the British population (Change4Life, http://www.nhs.uk/Change4Life).

Behavioral economics, while relatively inexpensive, is still capable of producing impressive results. If, as Richard Thaler (Peters, 2008) has said, a nudge is "any small feature of our environment, which captures our attention and changes our behavior," it is not likely to be costly. In practical terms, an intervention based on behavioral economics can be as simple as changing a default or including a line of text on a form, and such measures are usually accomplished at low cost. No doubt this is one reason why, in an era of fiscal crisis (O'Connor, 1973),[14] behavioral economics has such appeal for cash-strapped governments. Similarly, the costs of changing the default for organ donation or moving to an opt-out system for pension contributions are minimal. (Although the costs of the intervention may be minimal, the subsequent impact of the changed behavior may require substantial changes to infrastructure and service provision. This should not be confused with the costs of the intervention.)

So the application of behavioral economics can produce an impressive "bang for the buck." Examples of a low-cost intervention with a major financial payback is included in advice provided to Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs (HMRC) by the Behavioral Insights Team. BIT advised HMRC on various design aspects of communications with taxpayers. The results were that minor amendments to letters resulted in significant paybacks.

"A trial with HMRC that showed how telling late tax payers that most people in their towns had already paid their tax increased payment rates by 15 percentage points. When rolled out this will generate £30m of extra revenue to the Exchequer annually" (see BIT Annual Update 2010–11, p. 16; BIT Annual Update 2011–12, p. 2).

The Role of Professional Service Providers

Social marketing has acquired the trappings of any other commercial sector: conferences, professional associations, a plethora of practitioners, and a range of service providers that vary from small-scale boutique providers to practices that are part of full-service advertising and marketing agencies. If we think of social marketing from a lifecycle perspective, it may not yet have reached "maturity," but it is definitely "established."

The largest gathering of social marketers is probably the World Non-Profit and Social Marketing Conference, which was held in Dublin in 2011 and was attended by "more than 600 marketers, communications experts and researchers from 40 countries" (Beall et al., 2012, p. 103–4). The authors of this chapter were speakers at the conference, and we noted the large number of commercial firms who participated as speakers, sponsors, delegates, and exhibitors. As one social marketer has commented, "There appeared to be more commercial agencies than at previous conferences and a dominance of marketing generally" (Wood, 2012, p. 98). Not only that, but "the non-profit part of the conference title had largely been ignored" (p. 98). By the time of the 2013 conference in Toronto, Canada, the conference had dropped the word "Non-Profit," becoming simply the World Social Marketing Conference (WSMC).

At the Dublin conference, there were several keynote addresses from global advertising and marketing corporations who were among the conference sponsors. Wood (2012) noted the increased involvement of profit-making organizations, a phenomenon that he believes illustrates "the contradictions and confusion in contemporary social marketing thought which may be hindering the acceptance and adoption of social marketing principles" (p. 94).

Behavioral economics, by contrast, is very much at the "introduction" stage of the product lifecycle. Although books like *Nudge* (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008), *Predictably Irrational* (Ariely, 2008), and *Thinking Fast and Slow* (Kahneman, 2011) have been nonfiction best-sellers and have been highly influential in policy terms, there are, as yet, few commercial practitioners of behavioral economics. There are very few conferences that cross over from the academic to the commercial world and few consultants or commercial practitioners. Although the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising has run a campaign and produced publications aimed at getting advertising agencies to incorporate behavioral economics into their thinking (Institute of Practitioners in Advertising 2009; 2010; 2011), and some advertising agencies claim to have adopted it (Welch, 2010),

behavioral economics has not crossed over from the realm of policy or academia to become a definable commercial sector.[15]

Conclusions

Behavioral change can be complex. It is usually a process and not an event. So most sustained behavioral change requires multiple actions and adaptations over time, frequently based on more than one type of intervention. Changing behavior depends on a set of practices and ways of thinking that does not belong to either social marketing or behavioral economics; there should be no place for monopoly in interventions to change behavior.

The arrival of behavioral economics has occurred at the same time that social marketing has reached a critical point, ceasing to be the first choice of government when making policy interventions to change behavior. This perception has driven a view among social marketers that social marketing and behavioral economics are engaged in a turf war and that the appropriate response for social marketers is to incorporate behavioral economics. For example, consider this comment by social marketer Fiona Spotswood (2012):

> Behavioural economics should become part of the social marketing mix and not be viewed as in opposition to it. Marketers are experts at changing behaviour, so the challenge is to incorporate all types of marketing techniques, including insights from behavioural economics, into social marketing, and demonstrate the field's rigour, flexibility and contemporary applicability. The real challenge is how to incorporate behavioural economics in social marketing practice without becoming slavish to a new fad, without forgetting all of the other things we know about people and how to influence their behaviour. (p. 2)

Spotswood's (2012) comment appears to be representative of the general attitude of social marketers toward behavioral economics. To coincide with the WSMC 2011 Dublin conference, an online poll was conducted among 280 social marketing professionals "to better understand trends, issues, and opportunities within the field of social marketing internationally" (Perellis, 2011). The results of the survey, conducted by full-service advertising and marketing agency Ogilvy in conjunction with conference organizers The Conference People, included the finding that "70% agree that social marketers have led the way for integration of behavioral economics in driving change" (Beall et al., 2012, p.108).[16]

Although it is true that behavioral economics can be used instead of social marketing for some interventions or to inform some interventions, it is not advisable to "incorporate" or "integrate" behavioral economics into social marketing. As this chapter has pointed out, a better understanding of the heritage, background, and purposes of behavioral economics would underline that behavioral economics is not a fad, is not reducible to the notion of nudges, and is not part of the social marketing mix.

Practitioners in the field of behavior change, whatever their discipline, are attempting to help people with the difficult task of making the right decisions. This chapter has shown that both social marketing and behavioral economics can be used to produce changes in behavior; this is the one big thing that the two disciplines have in common. But each discipline has followed a different trajectory to arrive in the domain of behavior change, and a consideration of these trajectories shows that there are actually more differences than similarities between the two. For this reason, we believe that those seeking to change behavior should not ask the question, "Should our default position be to use social marketing or behavioral economics?" Instead, the correct question for practitioners and policymakers is, "Which is the most appropriate form of intervention for the behavior change we wish to achieve?"

Behavioral economics came into being not as a way to change behavior but as a way to understand it.[17] Behavioral economics has arrived in the arena of public policy almost by accident. Governments, policymakers, and regulators are finding that it can offer a useful and low-cost approach to some kinds of behavior change, sometimes prior to using social marketing and sometimes instead of using social marketing.

But social marketers should recognize that, on occasion, behavior can be influenced without a deep understanding of the audience and without recourse to expensive interventions. Knowing about behavioral economics should be valuable to every social marketer, not in the sense of "knowing the enemy" but because it might sometimes offer a solution to a particular problem.

Because not every problem is "wicked" (Rittel & Webber, 1973), it is not always necessary to change minds to change behavior. Not every intervention requires social marketing. Similarly, behavioral economics will not always be the answer. So it is important that practitioners recognize both the possibilities and the limitations of each approach. For those in the business of behavior change, it is essential to know which approach to use and when.

Social marketing and behavioral economics can and should coexist. In 2001 Michael Rothschild wrote about behavioral economic insights for

social marketers and noted, "People live in difficult environments with poor information; they are prone to error, emotion, and self-interest, and often fail to maximize their own long term best interests" (p. 12). More recently, the MINDSPACE report (Dolan et al., 2010a&b; Dolan et al., 2012) has explored how behavior change theory can help meet policy challenges—such as reducing crime, tackling obesity, and increasing environmental sustainability—by providing policymakers with a checklist[18] of the most important influences on behavior. Although MINDSPACE recognizes two systems by which human behavior can be influenced, an insight drawn from behavioral economics, some of the techniques it favors will also be familiar to social marketers.

In terms of their ingredients and their provenance, social marketing and behavioral economics are like chalk and cheese. But practitioners should learn to view the two disciplines as potentially complementary; each has its strengths and weaknesses. Understanding this makes it more likely that practitioners and policymakers will make appropriate use of each discipline, following the recommendation of social marketer William Smith, who, in 2010 commented, "Behavioral economics is a natural ally of social marketing. We have much to give each other" (Smith, 2010, p.137).

Notes

1. We assume that readers of this handbook are familiar with the main elements of social marketing, but less so for economics and behavioral economics. Hence, the latter will receive more attention. Although there are many definitions of behavioral economics, all agree on an increased prominence for psychological aspects of human decision making. See, for example, Thaler and Mullainathan (2007).
2. "It was surely the best plug two Chicago academics with a book about the obscure discipline of behavioural economics could hope for." From article by Aditya Chakrabortty, "From Obama to Cameron: Why Do So Many Politicians Want a Piece of Richard Thaler?" *Guardian*, 12.7.08 http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2008/jul/12/economy.conservatives.
3. See also George Osborne and Richard Thaler. "We Can Make You Behave," *Guardian*, 28.1.10 http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/jan/28/we-can-make-you-behave
4. See also *The Economist*, *"Nudge Nudge, Think Think: The Use of Behavioural Economics in Public Policy Shows Promise*," 24 March 2012 (www.economist.com/node/21551032). In early 2011, Minister Oliver Letwin said that the Behavioural Insights Team (BIT) was working on five key projects: how to improve organ donations, stopping smoking, car labeling to make energy efficiency more conspicuous, food hygiene, and a charitable project to improve donations. He said

the common features of the schemes were that they involved "prompted choice" rather than regulating. For more information on the ongoing work of the BIT, see http://blogs.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/behavioural-insights-team/

5. The cafeteria at Google's office in New York City has been hyperanalyzed and re-engineered to be loaded with "nudges" intended to lead people toward healthier food choices. ABC News, Jan 2013 http://abcnews.go.com/Health/google-diet-search-giant-overhauled-eating-optionsnudge/story?id=18241908
6. Mexico City's health minister, Armando Ahued, said approximately 31% of Mexicans have high blood pressure, and average salt intake in the country was about 11 g per day—approximately double the level recommended by the World Health Organization for healthy adults. See: Jo Tuckman (2013).
7. This section draws on Richard H. Thaler and Sendhil Mullainathan, "Behavioral Economics Defined" in *The Concise Encyclopaedia of Economics* http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/BehavioralEconomics.html and Richard H. Thaler and Sendhil Mullainathan, Behavioural Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Department of Economics Working Paper Series, Working Paper 00-27, September 2000 http://papers.ssrn.com/paper.taf?abstract_id-245828
8. Heuristics are shortcuts or "rules of thumb" often used unconsciously when people make decisions. The idea was first mentioned in "Judgment under Uncertainty" by Tversky and Kahneman in 1974. They considered three heuristics: (i) representativeness: decisions are made on likeness to previous outcomes; (ii) availability: the likelihood of an event is assessed by the ease with which it can be recalled; and (iii) adjustment/anchoring: people make judgments based on their reference point (where they started from). Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, (1974), "Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases," *Science*, Volume 185, 27 Sep 1974 http://psiexp.ss.uci.edu/research/teaching/Tversky_Kahneman_1974.pdf
9. This remark, although oft-quoted by social marketers, does not appear on record. We have verified the comment direct with Iain Potter (email from Iain Potter to Viv Caisey, 23 October 2013).
10. For a definition of classical economics, see the *Financial Times* lexicon at http://lexicon.ft.com/Term?term=classical-economics.
11. Nava Ashraf, Colin F. Camerer, and George Loewenstein (2005) "Adam Smith: Behavioral Economist," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Volume 19, Number 3, Summer 2005. In an email to the main author in January 2012, noted Adam Smith scholar Donald Winch commented that this article "shows how much richer was the economic psychology employed before the rational economic man fiction was adopted for deductive purposes." Donald Winch, email to Stephen Young, January 2012.
12. We are, as in the title of Dan Ariely's (2008) book, "predictably irrational."
13. "Ceteris paribus" is Latin for "all other things being equal."
14. For a Marxist analysis of "fiscal crisis," see James O'Connor (1973) *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*. New York, St Martin's Press. For a non Marxist perspective, see Samuel Brittan (1977), "The Economic Consequences of Democracy." *The*

Political Quarterly, Volume 60, Issue 2, pp 190–203, April 1989. For a more recent view of the U.K. fiscal deficit and the need for retrenchment, see Robert Chote, Rowena Crawford, Carl Emmerson and Gemma Tetlow (2012), Fiscal repair: painful but necessary. Institute for Fiscal Studies at http://www.ifs.org.uk/budgets/gb2012/12chap3.pdf

15. An exception is Ogilvy, which set up a behavioral economics practice. Rory Sutherland is the executive creative director and vice chairman of OgilvyOne London, and vice chairman of Ogilvy Group UK; during his time as President of the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, he pushed behavioral economics up the agenda, including the publication of reports covering various aspects of the subject. See Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (2009, 2010 and 2011).
16. The same survey also included the finding that "78% agree that social marketing is the important mix of heart, business, and dream." Perellis, C. (2011), A Recap of the 2nd World Non-Profit and Social Marketing Conference. Ogilvy Public Relations. Retrieved from: http://womenology.ogilvypr.com/2011/04/a-recap-of-the-2nd-world-non-profit-and-social-marketing conference. A full length version of the findings is at Beall, T., Wayman, J., D'Agostino, H., Liang, A., Perellis, A., (2012) "Social Marketing at a Critical Turning Point," *Journal of Social Marketing*, Volume 2 No 2, 2012 pp 103–107 http://www.emerald insight.com/journals.htm?articleid=17036490
17. This is almost an inversion of the Marxian epithet, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it." Marx, K., "Theses on Feuerbach" (1845), Thesis 11, *Marx Engels Selected Works, (MESW)*, Volume I, p. 15; these words are also engraved upon Marx's grave.
18. The checklist is the elements that make up the acronym MINDSPACE: messenger, incentives, norms, defaults, salience, priming, affect, commitment, and ego.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Driving Change: The Role of Theory in Social Marketing

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As a young parent, I (PWS) took my 4-year-old son to spend a day at an "Exploratorium." The site had a number of hands-on activities for children and their parents, including a water-damming activity that involved a fountain of water that could be turned off and on. The water ran down a short cement channel and ultimately drained into a large box that contained a model miniature village along the outer edge. Our objective in this activity was to prevent the water from flooding the village for as long as possible. To accomplish this, children and their parents were encouraged to create structures inside the box to change the course of the water. There was a large assortment of cups, trowels, buckets, blocks, and other miscellaneous tools available to use for the task. The time scores for completing the activity were recorded in rank order on a digital display, and we were convinced that we could outscore the top mark. However, when the water was turned on, we quickly realized that the flow was too strong and that the village would be immediately flooded. We knew that we needed to divert the water—a seemingly simple task—but without an understanding of the tools that were available to us or the patterns by which the water flowed through the channel, we found ourselves trying to save the village by hurriedly creating a wall of blocks. Then, as the wall began to break apart, we filled our buckets and cups with the oncoming water and frantically hurled it back toward the fountain.

When we began the water-damming task, we had very little understanding of the issues involved. We didn't understand the "behavior" of the water. So, despite our well-intentioned efforts, we failed to change its course. However, as we gained experience across several trials, we began to identify patterns and develop a better understanding of the principles involved. We realized that by dispersing the flow of water and directing it to fill a bucket first and then spill over, we could create smooth flowing channels. The trick was to control the speed of the water flow to allow the channels to effectively divert the water away from the village (i.e., a primitive levee system).

In many ways, this story is analogous to developing a successful social marketing campaign. Social marketing involves changing a pattern of behavior. Consequently, a successful social marketing campaign means that one or more individuals must adopt a new course of behaviors or engage in existing behaviors in a different manner. This is an ambitious goal and, like the water-damming task, it requires a considerable amount of precision. Without a basic understanding of the principles of human behavior and the tools available to change its course, social marketers are unlikely to succeed.

Social marketing campaigns attempt to influence or change the behavior of a target audience in order to improve particular outcomes for individuals (e.g., health), communities (e.g., vaccines), or natural environments (e.g., pollution prevention). As such, social marketing campaigns have been applied across a wide range of social and behavioral domains from health and education to workplace safety and environmental protection. Despite the variations in its application, social marketers have access to a common set of research and marketing tools that they can use to address their specific behavior change goals. However, as in the water-damming task, the tools are only effective if we first understand the behavior we are trying to change.

One approach to promoting behavior change is to load up a campaign with as many elements as possible. Giveaways, celebrity cameos, humor, mascots, catchy taglines, memorable brands, and whatever other "tools" the budget will support are tossed into what begins to look like a social marketing cornucopia. In this approach, social marketers hurl a variety of messages at the target audience through numerous media outlets in the hopes that one of those program elements will resonate with some of the target audience and produce a change. This approach requires little understanding of the targeted behavior or the target audiences involved. Unfortunately, many social advertising programs adopt this "throw spaghetti at the wall and see what sticks" strategy. While these programs can

capture a lot of public attention, they typically experience a low rate of success in terms of behavior change and, as a consequence, a dismal return on investment.

An alternative, and the one this chapter advocates, is a more focused approach that is grounded in a firm understanding of the patterns of human behavior and that leverages a refined set of tools. Over the past 50 years, social and behavioral scientists have made considerable progress in understanding human behavior and, by extension, how to change it. This knowledge has been formalized into theories that have been empirically tested. These scientifically grounded theories provide program planners with a rich set of tools and techniques that can be effectively incorporated into a campaign. This chapter provides an overview of some of the most frequently used theories in social marketing and demonstrates their efficacy through selected program examples. This chapter is by no means comprehensive; rather, it illustrates the important role that driving theories have in creating effective social marketing campaigns.

Theory of Planned Behavior

A key to our success at the water-damming activity described earlier was our ability to predict the flow of the water. Our diversion method hinged on our ability to predict the volume, the direction, and the intensity of the water. Without accurate predictions of these factors, our strategy would have continued to fail. Much like the initial flow of water, behavior can be difficult to predict. Indeed, there are a range of variables that can affect human behavior, including the physical context, social context, personal variables, biological variables, and an endless myriad of interactions among them.

One theory that stands out in the behavioral prediction domain is the theory of reasoned action and its extension, the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991). The theory of reasoned action posits that behavior can be predicted using a person's behavioral intention, which in turn is a function of a person's attitudes and subjective norms (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). The theory of planned behavior added perceived behavioral control to the existing model. Taken together, these constructs help predict and explain human behavior in specific contexts. Both theories treat behavior as deliberate actions, and they assume that individuals decide to engage in behaviors based on their processing of related information (Conner & Armitage, 1998). Given the personal nature of decision-making, along with the many studies testing the two theories' predictive ability, the theories of reasoned

action and planned behavior provide a clear starting point for the discussion of models that can be used to drive behavior change.

Within both the theory of reasoned action and the theory of planned behavior, behavioral intention represents the immediate precursor to behavior. According to Ajzen (1991), intentions capture the motivational factors that influence behavior. An important stumbling block, though, is that intention can only lead to behavior if the person can actually decide to perform or not perform the behavior (Ajzen, 1991).

Prior to behavioral intention, an individual forms an attitude toward the intended behavior. Attitudes are made up of thoughts and feelings about particular behaviors (Sheppard, Hartwick, & Warshaw, 1988). Individuals assess the outcomes of the behavior along with the likelihood of the outcome; in general, more positive outcomes will result in more favorable attitudes. For example, consider a woman who values the health of her children and who believes that food grown organically is healthier because it has additional nutrients. As a result of the expected positive outcome associated with eating organic food, she will be more likely to buy organic foods when given the option.

Subjective norms related to the behavior in question are the final component common to the theory of planned behavior. Subjective norms are the social pressures to engage in or abstain from the target behavior. Notably, these pressures can originate from the actual behavior of a peer group, or they can originate simply from perceptions of how important individuals and groups act or what they value. Specific individuals or groups can have more or less influence on a person, depending on their relevancy to the person. For example, if a teen likes going to watch musicals, but all of his close friends think that attending musicals is "uncool" and do not approve of him attending them, he will be less likely to do so.

Although such social pressures play a role in the likelihood that an individual will engage in a specific behavior, their efficacy in the predictive model is limited. Indeed, in their meta-analytic review of studies on the theory of planned behavior, Armitage and Conner (2001) found that the subjective norms factor was the weakest overall predictor of behavioral intention. Despite this finding, though, there have been many recent advances in the domain of social norms that have yielded stronger effects. This chapter will discuss these findings and applications in more detail later.

The three factors in the theory of reasoned action—attitudes, subjective norms, and behavioral intentions—can be measured and subsequently used to predict behaviors. However, these factors alone are only able to

assist in predicting specific behaviors that are under the direct control of the person engaging in the behavior. Once behaviors become less controlled, the accuracy of predicting them diminishes. The theory of planned behavior added the concept of perceived behavioral control to help explain the relationship between behavioral intention and actual behavior. Perceived behavioral control represents an individual's beliefs about the presence of factors that might facilitate or impede performance of the behavior and the perceived power of these factors. Stated simply, it is the individual's perception of the ease or difficulty of performing a specific target behavior (Ajzen, 1991). Importantly, an individual's degree of perceived behavioral control can vary across different situations, even for the same behavior.

Application

The theory of planned behavior can drive social marketing campaigns in multiple ways. First, the theory helps predict the likelihood that a person will engage in a desired behavior. As a result, the most worthwhile interventions are those that are centered on a behavior that is unlikely to be adopted because of low attitudes, low intentions, prohibitive subjective norms, or low perceived control. The theory also dictates how to identify and define target behaviors. According to Ajzen (1991), a behavior needs to be tested as a specific behavior and in the specific context in which it will occur. Behaviors that require a person to weigh options are particularly good candidates for a planned behavior intervention.

Finally, the theory of planned behavior can be leveraged to inform efforts to change behavior. Using the theory as a driving force, program elements and persuasive messages need to take into account the three factors that are predictive of behavioral intention. In designing these program elements, it is also important to consider the relative weights of each component. For example, if members of a target audience held favorable attitudes and high perceived control toward engaging in a prevention behavior such as wearing sunscreen, but believed that their peers didn't wear sunscreen or didn't approve of them wearing sunscreen, then the resulting program might focus on increasing subjective norms. Similarly, the theory might be used to identify target audiences. For example, one program might be targeted at people who have negative attitudes toward a behavior while another might be targeted at people who believe their social groups disapprove of a behavior. As individuals develop a favorable attitude toward the target behavior, perceive that other people think the target behavior is a good thing to do, and believe that they are capable of performing the target

behavior, the likelihood that they will actually engage in the target behavior also increases.

Many studies have tested the applied value of the theories of reasoned action and planned behavior. The results of these studies have demonstrated that the theories can be effectively applied not only to predict but also to change behavior in a diverse range of contexts, including green consumerism (Sparks & Shepherd, 1992), policy support for controlled burns in national parks (Bright, Manfredo, Fishbein, & Bath, 1993), and sleep intentions by undergraduate students (Knowlden, Sharma, & Bernard, 2012), among many others.

Example

In one exemplary study, Bamberg (2006) tested the theory of planned behavior as a framework for promoting the use of public transportation. Participants in the study were residents of Germany who were relocating to a new city. Bamberg chose this transitional time because with their habits already in flux because of the move, individuals might be more receptive to alternative forms of transportation. Each person in the sample of 241 participants was randomly assigned to receive an intervention or to a control condition. The intervention included a letter from the local public transportation company, a free ticket good for one day of public transit use, and personally tailored information about using public transportation for daily trips (e.g., a highlighted map of the area with routes and bus stops marked, local time schedules, examples of how to use public transit for frequent trips). The materials were developed to promote perceived behavioral control, to convey a positive norm about using public transportation, and to present positive expected outcomes.

Following the intervention, the transportation behaviors of the participants were measured using daily diary entries. Participants also completed questionnaires (Bamberg, 2006, p. 825–826) containing the following questions related to the theory of planned behavior:

- "For me, to use public transportation versus the car for daily trips from my residence would be good/bad" (attitude);
- "Most people who are important to me would support my using public transportation" (subjective norms);
- "For me to use public transportation versus the car for daily trips to my residence would be easy/difficult" (perceived behavioral control); and
- "My intention to use public transportation versus the car for daily trips from my residence is strong/weak" (intention).

Participants were measured 6 months before the move, 6 weeks after the move, and 12 weeks after the move. The results showed that the intervention was effective. For the residents in the intervention condition, use of public transportation increased from 18 percent prior to the move to 47 percent following the move. For residents in the control condition, use of public transportation increased only slightly, from 18 percent prior to moving to 25 percent following the move. In terms of the theory, attitude, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control explained 73 percent of the variance in transportation choice.

Critique

The theory of reasoned action and the theory of planned behavior have demonstrated positive effects on interventions and staying power in the field of social psychology. However, these theories are not without limitations in terms of their efficacy for driving behavior change approaches. As discussed earlier, one weakness is the limited predictive power of subjective norms. Further distinctions have been made in terms of the different types of norms and the interaction of the norm types. Another potential limitation is that the targeted behaviors and the context in which they occur need to be very specific. For a more general target, such as "sustainable purchasing," these types of interventions could not be effectively applied. At the same time, the interventions need to take into account multiple components that lead to behavior change. If the intervention does not have the ability to consider all parts of the theory, the desired results may not be achieved.

Social Learning Theory

Social marketing campaigns often emphasize learning and adopting new behaviors. While there are many theories related to learning, the focus here is on social learning. Social learning theory proposes that human behavior is a reaction to a mix of influences, both external and internal. Individuals do not act independently of their environments, nor do they behave solely based on external influences. Instead, learning occurs through individual experiences (e.g., rewards and punishments) and by observing the actions of others along with the consequences of those actions (e.g., modeling).

Social learning theory explains human behavior using a three-way model in which personal factors, environmental factors, and behavior continually interact. According to Bandura (1978), there are three traditional ways of

viewing the relationship between personal and environmental influences: unidirectional, partially bidirectional, and reciprocal. The unidirectional view treats behavior as a product of two independent factors: personal and environmental. The second view treats personal and environmental influences as independent but concedes that they are at least bidirectional in nature. Bandura advocated for the third view, in which personal and environmental factors have a reciprocal influence on each other and on behavior. From this third perspective, the way in which an individual views a situation will shape how that person reacts to it. In turn, the way in which the person reacts to the situation alters the person's environment and affects future situations. Bandura also noted that in many situations, environmental conditions end up being an overriding determinant of behavior because they can provide powerful constraints.

Bandura (1989) further expanded on the personal component of the reciprocal relationship. A large determinant of how a person acts is the amount of self-efficacy that person has. Bandura (1977) defined an efficacy expectation as the conviction that one can successfully execute the behavior required to produce the desired outcomes. According to Bandura (1989), self-efficacy can be either helpful or harmful. As an individual's self-efficacy increases, that individual's goals and commitment to achieving those goals also increases. People who have a strong sense of self-efficacy tend to visualize success scenarios that provide them with a behavioral guide. People who have low levels of self-efficacy tend to visualize failure scenarios. These failure visualizations can undermine behavioral performance. High levels of self-efficacy lead to an individual having more motivation to exert effort into a behavior. Self-efficacy levels also influence how long people will persist in the face of challenges (Bandura, 1982).

Self-efficacy is fostered through four sources of information: performance accomplishments, vicarious experiences, verbal persuasion, and emotional arousal (Bandura, 1977). A powerful generator of self-efficacy is firsthand experience. A person will feel more accomplished and will feel more efficacious after several successful attempts at a behavior. Self-efficacy as a result of firsthand experiences can even spill over into other, unrelated domains (Bandura, 1977). Second to firsthand experience is vicarious experience, which involves watching others successfully complete difficult behaviors without negative consequences. Through these experiences, individuals can convince themselves that if other people can complete the behavior, then it is likely that they also can.

The third method of increasing self-efficacy is through verbal persuasion. People can learn confidence through suggestion. However, this

verbal convincing is not as strong as if the person were to have firsthand experiences of success. The final method of increasing self-efficacy is through emotional arousal. Bandura (1977) notes that high arousal usually harms performance. Therefore, people might not expect success when they are experiencing high arousal. Reducing arousal can lead to a reduction in avoidance behavior.

The principles of self-efficacy can be scaled up to the level of proximal and collective efficacy (Bandura, 2002). These other forms of efficacy are what make up the social aspect of social learning theory. As mentioned above, environmental factors can override personal factors. A method of overcoming this issue is to tap into the expertise of others. Proximal efficacy involves getting other people who have expertise to use their power to act on behalf of the person in need (Bandura, 2000). People are rarely in situations of isolation, and instead they often interact with other people. Together, people can leverage collective efficacy and work to accomplish what they would be unable to accomplish individually. Bandura (2000) noted that collective efficacy is not simply the sum of each person's individual efficacy; rather, it involves how the group works together to accomplish goals. Often, groups of highly skilled individuals fail when they are put into groups.

Social learning involves more than a simple demonstration of proximal or collective efficacy. According to Reed and colleagues (2010), learning must be demonstrated by the people involved. Further, this learning should be largely the result of social interaction. The learning also needs to be demonstrated beyond just individuals or small groups and should ultimately become common knowledge in society. The way in which a message is transferred also contributes to whether learning can be qualified as social or not. To be considered social, learning the information must not only be conveyed to people, but also, the people must distribute it through their social networks.

Application

Social learning theory has been applied to a wide range of issues, including:

- Factors influencing young men to become escorts (Smith, Grov, Seal, & McCall, 2013);
- Food consumption behaviors (Anderson, Winett, & Wojcik, 2007); and
- Homophobic bullying behavior in high schools (Prati, 2012).

Example

A popular radio program in St. Lucia successfully leveraged the principles of social learning theory to engage residents and alter their behavior. Vaughan, Regis, and St. Catherine (1999) designed a program using role models to promote feelings of self-efficacy around family planning. The goals of this specific program were to promote the use of family planning, the prevention of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases, gender equality, and other social developmental goals (37 behavioral goals in total). The radio program included protagonists who were rewarded for good choices and punished for negative choices. Story updates were published in the local papers, and posters, bumper stickers, and billboards were used to advertise the show. The evaluation consisted of a pretest/post-test design. Results indicated that the program had the desired effect with respect to many of the target issues. Of particular importance were the social factors: 22 percent of listeners and 13 percent of nonlisteners knew a slang term for condom. This term, "catapult," was made up for the show, and the only way a person could have known it would be to have heard the show or talked to a person who listened to the show. Also, as a result of the show, 35 percent of listeners reported talking to a friend and 19 percent reported talking to their spouses about the topics raised in the show.

Critique

One limitation of social learning theory as a driving theory for social marketing efforts is that there are many factors to take into consideration. To be properly implemented, a strategy needs to simultaneously take into account the reciprocal relationship of behavioral influences, the varying levels and origins of self-efficacy, and the different types of social networks involved. Because of this inherent complexity, there are many examples of efforts that have included elements of social cognition but have not fully implemented the theory. If a diverse array of approaches and program elements are not feasible or available, then a social learning approach may not be the optimal behavior change strategy to use.

A second consideration is that some people are much more resistant to change in social situations. Therefore, for some target audiences, interventions of a social nature may not be sufficient to change their behavior. Finally, a social learning intervention that takes into account all possible unintended consequences can be difficult to craft. Any negative behaviors

that are depicted need to be sufficiently discouraged; otherwise, they may gain prominence through modeling.

Stage Models

Stage models describe behavior change as a process that is broken down into a series of defined stages through which an individual progresses. Behavior change is a process, and individuals differ in where they fall along the change continuum. One such stage theory is the stages of change model, or the transtheoretical approach (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982). The stages of change model emerged from clinical work and psychotherapy. Prochaska and DiClemente analyzed 18 of the most used therapeutic systems to look for common themes and approaches to behavior change. Through this analysis, they identified five basic processes related to behavior change.

The first and most used process is consciousness-raising, which consists of making a person aware of an issue. Consciousness-raising can also involve the breaking down of defense mechanisms as well as the process of choosing. Choices are best made when they are the result of information processing and when they take into account the consequences of a certain behavior. An alternative mechanism to choice is that of conditional stimuli. According to Prochaska and DiClemente (1982), when a person behaves based on conditioning, that person can alter the environment to minimize the probability of the stimuli occurring. Another process is contingency management. This process involves altering the consequences of a behavior. If a behavior is undesirable, a punishment can be associated with it to reduce the behavior. Later works have accounted for ten processes of change: consciousness-raising, self-liberation, social liberation, self-reevaluation, environmental reevaluation, counterconditioning, stimulus control, reinforcement management, dramatic relief, and helping relationships (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983).

An understanding of these change processes led to the conceptualization of the stages of change model. The model represents a continuum for how an individual goes about changing and essentially places individuals in a particular stage along that continuum according to the level of behavior that they demonstrate (Norcross, Krebs, & Prochaska, 2011). The stages are defined by the amount of time spent at each stage and the tasks that a person needs to complete to move on to the next stage. Prochaska and DiClemente (1982) noted that the content of the therapy that moves individuals to the next stage varies from person to person. Prochaska

(2008) discussed six separate stages of change: precontemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, maintenance, and termination.

The first stage of change is precontemplation. According to Prochaska (2008), in this stage individuals have no intention of changing their behavior within the next six months. People might be at this stage because they are unaware of the negative consequences of their actions or are in denial about those consequences. Also, individuals might be at this stage because they have tried to change in the past but have failed and given up.

The second stage is contemplation, when an individual intends to take action within the next six months but is not yet ready to take action, often because of doubts about the effectiveness of the action or about the costs versus the benefits of engagement. At this stage, individuals tend to have a love-hate relationship with the behavior they want to change (Prochaska, 2008) and have not yet made an actual commitment to changing their behavior (Norcross et al., 2011).

The third stage of change is preparation. Once individuals enter this stage, they intend to take action within the next month. Typically, these people are taking steps toward changing their behavior and are keenly aware of the costs and benefits of change. According to Norcross and colleagues (2011), preparation is the stage where a person begins the behavior change process, including having a plan for action.

When people are actually making specific changes to their behavior, they have entered the fourth stage, action. The minor behavior modifications leading up to the action stage do not count as action. To be considered in the action stage, a person needs to be fully engaged in behaviors that significantly reduce the problem behavior. People in this stage may also be altering their environments. Individuals are considered to be in the action stage if they have successfully altered the problem behavior for a period of one to six months (Norcross et al., 2011).

Following the action stage is the maintenance stage. The maintenance stage is characterized by individuals who are actively working to prevent relapse. Much less of their time is spent on making change happen. According to Prochaska (2008), the maintenance stage typically lasts from six months to five years.

The final stage in this model is termination. In the termination stage, a person has no risk of relapse, and the adopted or changed behavior has become normative. During termination, a person has no temptation and total self-efficacy (Prochaska, 2008). The person completes the new behavior automatically, without hesitation, in all situations. Some people

never make it all the way to the termination stage and remain in the maintenance stage.

Application

Most of the applications of the stages of change model have been in the health domain. The focus on changing problem behaviors has made the model a natural fit for health-related behaviors such as addiction and risky behavior. Among the most notable applications are:

- Smoking behaviors (Schumann et al., 2005; Dijkstra, Conijn, & De Vries, 2006);
- Nutrition (Paschal, Lewis-Moss, Sly, & White, 2010);
- Exercise behavior (Kim, 2008); and
- Condom-carrying behavior (Arden & Armitage, 2008).

Example

Prochaska and DiClemente (1983) conducted a test of the stages of change model with a population of people in the process of quitting smoking. A sample of 872 participants was divided into groups based on quitting stage. A group of 247 long-term quitters represented the maintenance stage of the process. An additional 134 people from the sample were recent quitters and made up the action stage. The 187 participants who were considering the behavior change represented the contemplation stage, and the 108 smokers who had no intention to quit represented the precontemplation stage. The authors also tested an exploratory group of 196 "relapsers" who had recently failed attempts to quit smoking within the past year.

Participants filled out a 40-item process-of-change test to determine what processes they were using to change. Smoking status was measured by self-reports; some participants also provided saliva samples to validate the self-report measures. Participants were also asked five questions to determine their current stage of change.

The results showed that individuals in the different stages use different processes to change their behavior. First, the researchers found that participants in the precontemplation stage used processes of change the least. Those in the precontemplation stage processed less information about smoking, spent less time reevaluating their behavior, and did not expend much effort on making changes to their behavior. Participants in the contemplation stage responded best to feedback information about smoking. They also reported thinking more about their problem behavior.

Participants in the action stage used counterconditioning and stimulus control to actively change their behavior and their environment.

Prochaska and DiClemente (1983) discussed the implications of these findings for smoking cessation programs. Based on the results of their study, the authors suggested that programs should recognize that smokers coming for treatment are not all in the same stage. The researchers further suggested that to improve programs, participants should be grouped by their stages and provided with the corresponding treatment. That is, participants in the contemplation stage should begin with consciousness-raising whereas participants in the action stage should use behaviorally based processes.

Critique

One limitation of the stages model is that in order to be effective, the interventions need to be highly targeted. The model is basically a form of audience segmentation that arranges individuals into categories (or stages) based on their level of engagement in a behavior. Given the audience segmentation nature of the stages model, it has become a natural fit for social marketing efforts. However, if an intervention is not offered in the correct stage, it might not result in behavior change. In many social marketing situations, it is not possible to know what stage a person is in before conducting an intervention. Another limitation is that many behaviors are complex. Brug and colleagues (2005) noted that some behaviors, such as physical activity, are not just one-off behaviors but instead are made up of many different actions, each with their own pros and cons. With a stage model, targeting a complex behavior may not be as successful as targeting a simpler behavior.

Health Belief Model

The health belief model originated from studies focused on understanding decisions related to the detection, diagnosis, and prevention of disease (Rosenstock, 1966). The original focus was on explaining health behaviors among individuals who believed that they were free from disease, but it has subsequently been applied to health behaviors across a range of populations (Becker & Maiman, 1975).

The health belief model takes into account a person's desire to avoid illness and the belief that a certain action will prevent that condition (Janz & Becker, 1984). Essentially, the model posits that people's beliefs about whether or not they are at risk for a health problem, along with their

perceptions about the benefits of taking action to avoid it, influence their readiness to take action. The health belief model consists of four elements: perceived susceptibility, perceived seriousness, perceived barriers and benefits of taking action, and cues to action. Importantly, the focus is on the perceptions of the person who is seeking treatment, not of the doctors or medical professionals.

Perceived susceptibility accounts for how likely people think they are to contract a certain condition. Individuals range in their perceptions of susceptibility, from denying any possibility of contracting a condition to thinking that they are very likely to contract it. Perceived seriousness represents how much people think a given condition will affect their lives. One dimension of seriousness is the likelihood that it may lead to death. The other dimension of seriousness is how much effect the condition will have on the person's life. For example, will it prevent the person from working or require the person to rely on family members for care? Any given condition can have mixed perceptions of seriousness. Rosenstock (1966) offered the example of tuberculosis, which a person may not perceive as medically serious but may nevertheless consider serious because it requires the person to stop working.

When considering whether to engage in health behaviors, people also consider the barriers and benefits associated with the behaviors. To determine benefits, people assess how effective the treatment will be and compare it to other available alternatives. Barriers are the perceived negative consequences associated with the treatment, including factors such as inconvenience, expense, pain, unpleasantness, and distress.

The final component of the health belief model involves cues to action. Rosenstock (1966) defined cues to action as triggers that induce a person to begin to take action. These triggers can be internal to the individual (e.g., worsening symptoms) or external to the individual (e.g., seeing a public service announcement). It is also important to note that the strength of the cue required to generate action depends on the influence of other components of the model. People who think they are highly susceptible need only a minor cue to take action whereas people who do not think they are susceptible need a strong cue to take action.

The health belief model is one of the most widely applied theoretical models for health-related social marketing campaigns. Carpenter (2010) conducted a meta-analysis of 18 studies encompassing more than 2,000 participants to determine if the model could longitudinally predict behavior. A notable finding was that barriers and benefits tended to be the strongest predictors of health behaviors. However, beliefs about the severity and seriousness of a condition were weak predictors. Carpenter

further concluded that the inconsistency in the effect sizes and the generally weak effects for susceptibility and severity indicated that there were likely other mediating and moderating variables at play. As a result, a more complex version of the model may provide more predictive utility.

Application

The health belief model is one of the most commonly used driving theories in the area of public health and has been applied to a wide variety of health behaviors, including:

- Cancer screening behaviors such as routine Pap smears to detect cervical cancer (Guvenc, Akyuz, & Acikel, 2011) and mammograms for detection of breast cancer (Norman & Brain, 2005);
- Exercise to reduce the risk of stroke (Sullivan et al., 2008);
- Dietary behaviors for reducing the risk of cardiovascular disease and cancer (Abood, Black, & Feral, 2003) as well as diabetes (Gillibrand & Stevenson, 2006); and
- Sexually risky behaviors such as having multiple partners (Lin, Simoni, & Zemon, 2005) and contraception use (Condelli, 1986).

Example

A notable application of the health belief model was reported by D'Souza and colleagues (2011). They set out to understand and promote vaccinations against the human papillomavirus (HPV) among young women, using the health belief model as a guide for their investigation. At the time of their study, the HPV vaccine was available free of charge in Australia; nevertheless, many young women did not get vaccinated. To better understand the motivations of the target population, focus groups were conducted with girls having three different levels of education: those enrolled in grades 10 through 12, those not currently attending school, and university undergraduates. The participants' answers to questions related to perceived susceptibility indicated that many of the girls had little consistent knowledge about HPV. Their answers to questions about perceived severity indicated that almost all of them understood that the goal was to prevent cancer. However, D'Souza and colleagues noted that being vaccinated for health reasons did not seem to factor into the decision-making process because vaccinations had become routine.

One of the major benefits of the program was that it was free. However, the effect of this benefit differed across the three educational levels;

although it was very important to the grade school girls, it was perceived as more of a benefit for the university girls. Perceived barriers included a fear of needles, side effects of the vaccination, and the possibility of developing cancer despite being vaccinated. The identified cues to action were schools, family, friends, media, advertising, and, to a lesser extent, physician recommendations. Based on the results, D'Souza and colleagues (2011) concluded that the current information campaign regarding the vaccine was not having much of an impact on vaccination rates. They offered suggestions such as targeted messages based on the issues of the different age groups.

Critique

The health belief model has been widely applied, yet it is not without limitations. One critique of the model is that the cues to action can be difficult to study. In many situations, people may not even be aware of what influenced them to take action in the first place. Second, the health belief model has limited applications outside of the health domain, because the concepts of severity and susceptibility do not transfer easily to other behaviors. Another important consideration when applying the health belief model is that perceptions are based on personal factors and feelings, not necessarily on accurate information. Thus, it can be difficult to craft successful interventions. Finally, some of the components of the model (e.g., barriers and benefits) have been determined to be stronger predictors of behaviors than others. And, as Carpenter (2010) indicated, such factors are likely influenced by a variety of other variables. These other components may need to be further refined for more predictive accuracy.

Social Exchange Theory

The theories discussed up to this point have focused on individual-level attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs in the absence of a social interaction. Yet another theoretical approach to understanding human behavior is to view it as an exchange of goods. Social exchange theory is a broad and influential framework utilized across many social and behavioral science disciplines, including psychology, sociology, economics, and political science. The theory posits that behavior results from the sum of the weighted costs and benefits associated with the outcome. Because all behaviors involve, at a minimum, the cost of an expenditure of energy, only behaviors that are rewarded or that have the least costs relative to other behaviors will be repeated (Chibucos, Leite, & Weis, 2005; Homans, 1958).

According to social exchange theory, an individual's decision to engage in a behavior is based on the subjective evaluation of two components. The first component is the cost of engaging in the behavior. Behavioral costs can be monetary or physical costs, or they can be nonmaterial costs, such as expending energy or physical pain. Costs can also be lost rewards from not engaging in an alternative behavior. The second component evaluated by individuals is the reward associated with the behavior. As with costs, rewards can be material, such as money, or they can be nonmaterial, such as social approval or prestige (Homans, 1958). An individual weighs the costs and the rewards to determine the likely consequence. This decision-making process can be expressed as an equation: Profit = Rewards - Costs. Based on this theory, individuals will seek out behaviors that maximize their behavioral profit.

In addition to the basic equation, there are several other factors that influence the behavior of individuals. One such factor, originating from economics, is behavioral satiation. According to Homans (1958), the more an individual attains, the less valuable subsequent rewards become to that individual. In turn, the individual will engage in less of the behavior over time. Another factor, related to behavioral satiation, is the comparison level. A comparison level is a stabilization point for a new behavior; deviations from this level are considered to be either positive or negative (Emerson, 1976). A third factor is group cohesiveness. A more cohesive group can change the behavior of other group members more than a less cohesive group (Homans, 1958). Finally, it is important to consider the motivations of other people, because others are also motivated to maximize their behavioral profit, and an individual's behavior is partly dependent on the behavior of others (Homans, 1958).

Chibucos and colleagues (2005) discussed four important assumptions involved in social exchange theory. The first is that people are rational and that they conduct calculations of costs and benefits in a rational manner. Second, it is assumed that people rationally try to maximize the benefits they gain from social interactions. The third assumption is that multiple exchanges can lead to behavioral patterns in which individuals are constrained by the behavior of their interaction partners. Finally, social exchange theory assumes that people are goal-oriented in competitive social exchanges. It is important to understand these assumptions and other driving factors when designing social marketing programs.

Application

Social exchange theory has been applied across many domains that involve social interactions, including:

- Group commitments among theater group members who were managing multiple group memberships (Kramer, 2005);
- Client-nurse interactions during public health home visits (Byrd, 2006);
- Marital relationships and conflicts (Nakonezny & Denton, 2008; Rosenbaum, 2009);
- Workplace issues such as management styles (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005), employee volunteerism (Jones, 2010), and perceptions of supervisors (Scott, Restubog & Zagenczyk, 2013);
- Commitment among online community members (Jin, Park, & Kim, 2010); and
- Lying and deception in sexual encounters (Marelich, Lundquist, Painter, & Mechanic, 2008).

Example

One relevant application that is consistent with social exchange theory comes from research on helping behavior (e.g., see Myers, 1999). This research suggests that people consciously calculate the costs and benefits of helping and not helping. Subsequently, individuals will choose to help only when the overall benefit of the helping action outweighs the cost. One extreme form of helping behavior (owing to its high personal cost) is blood donation. Piliavin, Callero, & Evans (1982) surveyed individuals who donated blood at a single blood collection facility both before and after the individuals donated. The pre-donation survey consisted of several items designed to assess donor mood and affect prior to giving blood. The post-donation survey included the same measurements of mood and affect as well as items assessing demographics (age and gender) and other background variables (e.g., number of previous donations, motivations). Valid survey data were obtained from 1,846 donors. The results indicated that blood donation involves a concern with self. That is, the discomfort and inconvenience of donation is outweighed by the benefits to self that come in the form of positive affect. These positive feelings may even become addictive and sustain continued donations over time.

More recently, Ferguson, Farrell, & Lawrence (2008) challenged the commonly held perception of blood donation as an altruistic behavior. The researchers concluded that blood donors were motivated somewhat by selfish concerns and that, therefore, blood donation campaign messages should include benevolent appeals that highlight both donor and recipient gains rather than simply altruistic appeals. Indeed, research using rigorous non-survey methods has suggested that direct economic incentives may play a significant role in increasing blood donations (Lacetera, Macis, & Slonim, 2013).

Critique

One primary critique of social exchange theory is that it assumes people are rational when they make decisions. Although people may believe they are rational in their decision-making, there are numerous examples of times when people do not act rationally. For example, when playing the prisoner's dilemma game, participants often choose payoff options that are not in the best interests of both partners (Poundstone, 1992). Also, research from cognitive psychology has demonstrated that when people are making quick decisions, they tend to rely on a set of heuristics that do not always lead to the best decision (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). People also do not act in their own best interests in cases where they are exhibiting altruism or spite. When crafting interventions from a social exchange perspective, it could be difficult to assess what may be perceived as costs or rewards for each individual person. Because people can reach behavioral satiation and stop engaging in a behavior with their initial frequency, it is important to design social marketing programs around new behaviors. Additional behaviors should be considered to supplement the initially targeted behavior once it has been satiated.

Normative Social Influence

Research has demonstrated that humans use the behavior of others as a guide for determining the correct and approved course of action (Schultz, Tabanico, & Rendon, 2008). This is particularly true in ambiguous or unfamiliar situations, although even in simple or familiar situations the power of the group can influence an individual's behavior (Asch, 1956).

The driving force behind normative social influence is the concept of social norms. A social norm is a person's belief about the common and accepted behavior in a certain situation. Individuals develop these beliefs primarily by interacting with or observing the behavior of other people. However, direct observations of behavior are not required, and individuals use a variety of cues to derive normative information (Cialdini et al., 2006; Keizer, Lindenberg, & Steg, 2008). Research on normative social influence has differentiated between two types of normative beliefs: descriptive and injunctive (Kallgren, Reno, & Cialdini, 2000). Descriptive norms refer to an individual's beliefs about the common behaviors in a specific context; for example, the percentage of coworkers who participate in a company-sponsored retirement plan or the number of 40-year-old women who have had a physical exam to screen for breast cancer. Injunctive norms reflect approval or disapproval of behaviors by others in a social group (Cialdini,

2003), for example, the number of coworkers who approve of exercising each day after work or the social approval for drinking alcohol at a lunchtime business meeting.

When crafting a social marketing campaign centered on normative social influence, it is important to distinguish the different types of norms, but it is also just as important to understand how they interact. Program designs that neglect the interaction effects can backfire. Cialdini (2003) proposed that normative messages that are aligned will exert the strongest influence on behavior. Norms are aligned norms when the descriptive norms are consistent with the injunctive norms of the situation. In some instances, social marketing campaigns present an injunctive norm of approval (or disapproval) for a behavior but then mistakenly convey that behavior as common. For example, a 1971 public service announcement to discourage littering showed a tear running down the face of a Native American onlooker to convey social disapproval (an injunctive norm) as white Americans threw litter from a passing car (a descriptive norm). Cialdini (2003) argued that stronger normative messages are those that show a lone individual—a deviant—engaging in a behavior that is socially disfavored.

A key strength to the success of normative social influence is the finding that individuals are often unaware of the influence that normative messages can have on their behavior. For this reason, normative messages are often most effective at changing the behavior of individuals who are least engaged in the behavior (Göckeritz et al., 2010). In a field experiment related to residential electricity consumption, Nolan and colleagues (2008) showed that people tend to underdetect the influence of social norms. When asked to rate various reasons for conserving electricity, participants indicated that "conserving because other people do it" was the lowest ranked motivation for conserving relative to environmental protection, saving money, and social responsibility. Yet when provided with messages encouraging electricity conservation, only participants given the normative message changed their behavior—messages about environmental protection, social responsibility, and saving money did not produce significant changes in consumption.

Application

Normative social influence has been applied to a variety of social issues ranging from health and public safety to the environment. These studies have demonstrated positive behavior changes across a wide range of actions, including:

- Sun protection (Mahler et al., 2008);
- Smoking (Eiser, Morgan, Gammage, & Gray, 1989);
- Problem gambling (Larimer & Neighbors, 2003);
- Bullying (Perkins, Craig, & Perkins, 2011);
- Littering in public spaces (Schultz et al., 2013);
- Recycling (Schultz, 1999); and
- Energy conservation (Bator, Tabanico, Walton, & Schultz, 2013; Göckeritz et al., 2010; Schultz, Khazian, & Zaleski, 2008).

Example

One social marketing example of normative influence was reported by Schultz and colleagues (2007a). In this study, the authors conducted a field experiment using personalized feedback as a tool for reducing consumption. In this technique, individuals are provided with feedback about their own behavior (in this case, household electricity consumption), coupled with a normative referent showing their behavior relative to the norm. However, the focus theory of normative conduct suggests that the norm will serve as a "magnetic middle," attracting an increase in behavior for those below the norm and a decrease in the behavior for those above the norm.

In the field experiment, weekly electricity consumption was measured for a sample of 290 single-family homes. Following baseline measurements, door hangers were placed at each house detailing how much the household used compared to similar houses in the neighborhood. Households were randomly assigned to receive one of two door hanger messages: a descriptive norm alone or a descriptive norm combined with an injunctive norm (in this case, a hand-drawn happy or sad face). For the combined condition, participants using more electricity than the average received the sad face, and participants using less than the average received a happy face. Results showed that when only the descriptive norm was used, both the high users and the low users were pulled toward the mean; low users increased their consumption and high users decreased their consumption. However, when the injunctive norm was included, only the high users moved toward the mean while the low users continued to use less than the mean. This effect was consistent both initially and at a later follow-up.

Critique

One drawback of using normative social influence as a behavior change mechanism is that the effects can be short-lived. Duration of influence

varies, but results begin to fade once the intervention ends. Social norm interventions also have the potential to generate boomerang effects, which may produce behaviors opposite to what is being promoted. Special care must be taken when designing studies to avoid boomerang effects that might undermine the goals of the behavior change program. Another drawback is that interventions need to be properly framed so that the correct norm is promoted. It is crucial that the desired behavior is framed as being prevalent, not infrequent. Framing the situation as a severe problem because so few people are engaging in the desired behavior will result in the opposite of the desired effect.

Community-Based Social Marketing

The final theory for discussion in this chapter is community-based social marketing (CBSM), which is essentially a framework that integrates several theoretical models. The framework draws heavily on the principles of social exchange theory, normative social influence, and other theories outlined in this chapter. CBSM has been successfully applied to a range of behaviors, especially in the area of environmental protection and sustainability (McKenzie-Mohr 2000, 2011; Schultz & Tabanico, 2007a).

Many social marketing programs in the area of environment and sustainability are conceived with the idea that the primary reason people do not engage in conservation behavior is because they lack proper information about the topic. In other words, programs are based on the assumption that people do not participate in desired behaviors because they do not know that they should or because they do not know what steps to take. The reasoning behind these programs is that if people just had more knowledge, they would change their behavior. Unfortunately, a large body of scientific research demonstrates that environmental behavior is not a direct result of knowing more (Schultz, 2002). Although education campaigns can positively affect knowledge and attitudes, they are largely ineffective at creating lasting changes in behavior. Information-based social marketing campaigns fail to change behavior because they ignore the motivations for behavior. People engage in behaviors for reasons (e.g., social pressures, financial motives), and simply knowing what to do is not a reason to take action.

CBSM has emerged as an effective alternative to traditional education campaigns (McKenzie-Mohr, 2000, 2011; McKenzie-Mohr, Lee, Schultz, & Kotler, 2012; Schultz & Tabanico, 2007a). This approach is based upon the premise that behavior change is often most effectively achieved through initiatives delivered at the community level that focus on removing

barriers to an activity while simultaneously enhancing the activity's benefits. CBSM involves five steps:

1. Selecting which behaviors to target;
2. Identifying the barriers to and benefits of the selected behavior;
3. Developing a strategy that reduces the barriers to the behavior to be promoted while simultaneously increasing the behavior's perceived benefits;
4. Piloting the strategy; and
5. Ongoing evaluation once the strategy has been broadly implemented.

The first step to creating a CBSM campaign is to select the target behavior. Within the CBSM framework, target behaviors should be end-state and nondivisible (McKenzie-Mohr, 2011; McKenzie-Mohr et al., 2012). A nondivisible behavior is one that cannot be further divided into smaller actions. For example, driving less is a divisible behavior because there are different purposes for trips; getting to work or school, running errands, and road trips are all distinct types of behaviors. Some of these behaviors will be harder to change than others, and each behavior can have its own set of associated barriers and benefits.

An end-state behavior is one that will directly produce a change in the desired outcome. Consider the case of LED lightbulbs. Installing an LED bulb instead of a traditional incandescent lightbulb will likely reduce consumption. Thus, this behavior is end-state—directly related to reduction in energy use. But note that buying LED lightbulbs is not an end-state behavior, because buying the bulb does not produce a reduction in energy consumption; the bulb must be installed to achieve that goal. In addition, note that "install LED lightbulbs" is still a divisible behavior, because there are several different locations in the home where such bulbs could be installed, each with its own barriers and benefits. Consider the installation of LED bulbs in recessed ceiling fixtures, which may require a ladder, special tools, and considerable effort, compared to installing an LED bulb in a bathroom vanity fixture.

Once the target behavior has been determined, it is important to select behaviors that are worth the time and effort of promoting. The CBSM approach lists three criteria to consider when selecting from possible behaviors. First, behaviors that have a large impact should take priority over those with a smaller impact. Second, behaviors that have a low penetration rate should be selected over behaviors that are already widely adopted. Finally, behaviors that have a high probability for change should be targeted over those that will meet more resistance. In selecting optimal behaviors to target, all three of these factors—impact, penetration, and

probability—are taken into consideration simultaneously by creating a weight using the following formula: Weight = Impact * (1 - Penetration) * Probability.

The second step in the CBSM approach is to identify the barriers and benefits associated with the selected behaviors. Barriers and benefits can differ for each behavior and for each target population (McKenzie-Mohr et al., 2012). An analysis of barriers and benefits is crucial to a program's success but is often neglected for a variety of reasons including added time, expense, and lacking staff with research experience (McKenzie-Mohr & Smith, 1999). The third step in a CBSM campaign is to develop a behavior change strategy, targeting the barriers and benefits identified for the selected behavior and utilizing effective tools of behavior change. The strategy should take into account the findings from the previous steps. A program should be designed to reduce the barriers and increase the benefits related to the target behavior. To accomplish this, the CBSM strategy relies on a set of behavior change tools, commitments, social norms, social diffusion, prompts, communication, incentives, and convenience (McKenzie-Mohr, 2011).

Once a workable program has been developed, the fourth step in the process is to pilot test the program. According to McKenzie-Mohr and colleagues (2012), pilot testing generally involves randomly assigning participants to a control or an intervention condition, carrying out the strategy or multiple strategies on a small scale, and then comparing results from the randomized groups. Using randomized control groups allows for a more systematic and internally valid test of the strategy. Pilot testing is an important component because it can prevent spending a great deal of money and resources on implementing a program that does not work.

The final step in the process is to implement and evaluate the program. Once a program has demonstrated positive effects during pilot testing, it is worthy of implementation on a larger scale. The program can be instituted with all members of the target population. The process does not conclude with implementation, though. Continual evaluation of the program is necessary as this ongoing research can help refine the program even further or provide insight for future projects.

Application

CBSM has been applied in a wide range of domains, including the fields of sustainability, agriculture, energy, transportation, pollution, and water. (See McKenzie-Mohr, 2011, and McKenzie-Mohr et al., 2012, for a

comprehensive review.) Among some of the most notable programs have been those addressing:

- Anti-idling (Natural Resources Canada, 2010);
- Residential recycling (Haldeman & Turner, 2009);
- Sustainable agriculture practices (Lokhorst, Dijk, Henk, Dijk, & Geert, 2010); and
- Environmental regulation (Kennedy, 2010).

Example

In 2010 the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency funded the development of a CBSM program aimed at reducing the potential health effects associated with eating contaminated fish by persuading anglers to release rather than consume contaminated white croaker caught along the Palos Verdes Shelf near Long Beach, California (Jonick et al., 2010). The Palos Verdes Shelf is an area along the California coast where several companies had historically discharged dangerous pesticides and chemicals into the sewer system, including dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) and polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), resulting in these contaminants being transmitted to the ocean, where they settled into the sediment on the ocean floor. Fish caught within this area, especially bottom-feeders such as white croaker, have a higher likelihood of being contaminated than fish caught elsewhere.

The researchers conducted intercept interviews to identify the barriers and benefits to releasing rather than consuming contaminated white croaker (Jonick et al., 2010), as well as to gain a better understanding of what anglers were presently doing when they caught white croaker (e.g., releasing, consuming, giving it away). The intercept surveys revealed that not knowing that white croaker was contaminated was the most significant barrier to not releasing the fish. In terms of potential benefits, 73 percent of anglers reported that a health-related message would be motivating, and 70 percent indicated that a message related to the health of children would be a particularly strong motivator.

The barriers and benefits research led to the development of a printed tip card for distribution to anglers. The tip card included a photo of a white croaker to make it easier for anglers to identify the fish. The card also included an image of a physician examining a child along with a message that said, “Protect your health and the health of your children: Join with other fishermen and release white croaker back into the ocean to avoid consuming contaminated fish” (Jonick et al., 2010, p. 38).

To pilot test the program, the intervention was implemented with anglers on one pier while another pier served as the control area. Pier outreach workers then delivered in-person information to anglers about white croaker contamination along with a request that they release any white croaker that they caught. Anglers were also given the tip card, described above, to reinforce the message. To evaluate the outcomes, pre- and post-intervention surveys were conducted with anglers as they left the pier. The survey involved counting the overall number of fish that were caught as well as the number of white croaker caught, and then asking anglers to identify white croaker from a card that depicted a number of species of fish. Anglers were also asked what they intended to do with the white croakers that were in their fishing buckets.

Results of the pilot study indicated that at the intervention pier there was a 93 percent reduction in the number of white croaker leaving the pier, whereas at the control pier there was no change. In addition, the self-reported data indicated that catch and release increased significantly in the intervention area while self-consumption or giving white croaker to family or friends decreased substantially.

Critique

The CBSM approach addresses many of the issues associated with other theoretical approaches, but it has issues of its own. One problem with implementing a CBSM campaign is the time involved. To do a full program takes significant time and resources. A CBSM program is not one that can be put together in a hurry. In addition to timing are the issues of costs and resources. Doing a full analysis requires investment, and funders who are unfamiliar with the approach may apply pressure to skip some parts. The targeted behaviors in a true CBSM campaign are very specific, and the approach may not suit interventions that are broader in scope or that need to tackle a wide range of behaviors all at once.

Conclusion

Social marketing campaigns aim to change behavior. Whereas traditional marketing activities focus on selling products, social marketing campaigns aim to improve the well-being of individuals or communities. Although this may occasionally involve a product, social marketing campaigns typically focus on behaviors that do not require a purchase. As evidenced throughout this chapter, social marketing campaigns have focused on a range of different behaviors, including using public transportation, preventing the spread

of HIV, smoking cessation, vaccinations, blood donation, energy conservation, and reducing the risk of eating contaminated seafood, among many others.

This chapter has provided an overview of seven theoretical and conceptual models that are eminently applicable to social marketing activities: the theory of planned behavior, social learning theory, stages of change, the health belief model, social exchange theory, normative social influence, and community-based social marketing. For each theory, we provided a brief summary of the principles involved followed by references to behavior change campaigns that have used the theory. Next, we provided a focused example illustrating a successful application of the theory. We concluded with a brief critique of the theory in terms of its utility for developing, implementing, and evaluating social marketing programs. Importantly, these seven theories were selected from a much larger (and expanding) domain of theories from within the social and behavioral sciences.

Although social marketing campaigns have become commonplace, there remains a critical need to utilize theoretical models of human behavior to inform campaign activities. Too often, campaigns are developed with little consideration for the underlying causes of the target behavior. While such a program or campaign might occasionally prove effective, the absence of a theoretical grounding dramatically reduces the probability of success.

One reason for the infrequent use of theory in social marketing campaigns is the isolation of academics from practitioners. Academics typically focus on theory development whereas practitioners create and implement campaigns. The two communities rarely intersect. Handbooks such as the present volume are generally read by academics (or students at academic institutions), so our argument for the importance of theory in social marketing campaigns is likely reaching a receptive audience. We encourage the students and professional academics reading this chapter to get involved with social marketing campaigns. This means publishing papers in trade journals, attending and speaking at marketing and social marketing conferences, and partnering with marketing, advertising, or public relations firms that create social marketing campaigns. While these types of applied activities fall outside the comfort zone of many academics, they offer tremendous opportunities for research and scholarship.

Finally, we want to conclude with a comment about the reciprocal relationship between theory and practice. Throughout this chapter, we have provided a unidirectional pathway, from theory to practice. But we want to point out the opportunity for reciprocity, from practice to theory. Often, theories are developed in sterile environments where the principles can be

isolated and tested. But in practice, the principles cannot be isolated, and in many instances, they interact with characteristics of the target audience or the physical and social context in which they are implemented. These real-world applications offer important opportunities to develop new theories or to illustrate boundary conditions regarding the limits of existing theory. In this sense, just as theories should be used to inform social marketing campaigns, the practice of social marketing provides a fertile area for theory development.

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CHAPTER SIX

Risk Perception and Risk Communication

Anthony D. Cox and Dena Cox

This chapter discusses how consumers think and feel about risks and some factors that social marketers should consider when communicating with consumers about risks. Risk is an important topic for social marketers because social marketing campaigns often involve risk communication, including warning consumers of the hazards of some behaviors (e.g., smoking, underage drinking, texting while driving) and promoting the risk-reduction benefits of other products or behaviors (e.g., condoms, vaccines, radon detectors, insurance). Before developing such risk messages, it is important for social marketers to have a good understanding of how consumers think and feel about risks and how they are likely to respond to risk information. Without such an understanding, it is possible that even the best-intentioned risk message will be ineffective or (even worse) counterproductive, producing behavioral effects that are the opposite of those intended by the social marketer.

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section discusses what risk is and explores some of its most important dimensions. The second section explores consumer risk perception, summarizing research on how people think and feel about various risks and hazards and how they respond to risk information. The third and final section provides some guidelines for effective risk communication.

What Is Risk?

The Merriam-Webster online dictionary defines risk as "the possibility of loss or injury." In a similar vein, the British Medical Association states that "risk is the probability that something unpleasant will happen" (Berry, 2004, p. 3). Both of these definitions imply two essential elements of risk: (a) a potential negative event (e.g., "loss," "injury," "something unpleasant"), and (b) uncertainty about its likelihood of occurrence (e.g., "possibility," "probability"). Thus, the word "risk" is typically not used to describe events that are certain to occur (e.g., "There is a risk of darkness tonight") and is *typically* not used to describe potential positive outcomes (e.g., "There is a risk I might win the lottery"). We stress "typically" because some academic disciplines (especially economics and finance) sometimes use the word "risk" to describe any kind of uncertainty or variance in potential outcomes, positive or negative, and thus use terms such as "upside risk" and "downside risk." However, in most everyday conversations, in most disciplines other than finance and economics, and in this chapter, "risk" is used to describe the possibility of something bad happening.

The definition above implies that the level of risk can vary on at least two dimensions: how likely the potential negative event is and how severe the event would be if it occurred. As we will see, these two dimensions (likelihood and severity) play a central role in both prescriptive models that prescribe how rational people "should" evaluate risks (e.g., expected utility theory) and in many descriptive models that try to describe how people really do evaluate risks, including protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975) and the health belief model (Janz & Becker, 1984). However, there are additional important dimensions of risk beyond these two.

One of these dimensions is time. For example, the Royal Society Medical Group defines risk as the "probability that a particular adverse event occurs *within a stated period of time* [emphasis added]" (Berry, 2004, p. 9). The phrase "within a stated period of time" is important because the likelihood of a given negative event can vary greatly depending on the time horizon one considers. For example, a healthy 50-year-old male's probability of dying in the next 12 months is very small; however, his probability of dying within the next 100 years is 100 percent. Similarly, if you drive without a seatbelt, you have less than one chance in a million of being injured or killed on your next car trip, but a much higher chance of being injured or killed over the next 20 years. Changing the time frame not only alters the likelihood of a negative event but may also alter its perceived severity (Takahashi, 2009; Loewenstein, Weber, Hsee, & Welch, 2001).

For example, a 10 percent chance of losing $100 today may be perceived as more severe than a 10 percent of losing $100 a year or even a week from now. Later, this chapter discusses why consumers are often more concerned about the potential for immediate losses than they are about the potential for comparable (or even much greater) future losses.

Another risk dimension is the degree of uncertainty. Some risks are well defined, in that both the likelihood and the severity of the threat are well understood. For example, when taking a new prescription drug, you might confidently estimate that you have a 30 percent chance of getting an upset stomach while taking the drug, based on the percentage of patients who experienced this side effect during a six-week clinical trial. However, what is the likelihood that you will experience a more severe long-term side effect (e.g., liver damage) if you take the product every day for a year? Unless the clinical trials examined the effects of long-term usage (and they usually don't), it may be impossible to assign a probability to this event. So it is important to distinguish between well-defined risks (in which probabilities are well known) and ill-defined risks (the likelihoods of which are unknown or controversial). Some research (e.g., Slovic, 2000) suggests that people often tend to worry more about ill-defined risks, the likelihood and severity of which are shrouded in uncertainty.

Finally, there is the distinction between uncontrollable risks (e.g., the risk that your town will experience severe weather in the next 24 hours) and risks that can be altered by changes in behavior (e.g., the risk that you will get lung cancer). Often, social marketers want to either discourage risk-increasing behaviors (e.g., smoking, drunk driving) or encourage risk-reduction behaviors (e.g., vaccination, Pap tests, safe sex practices). In the process, they may present information on conditional risks—for example, how much a woman's risk of dying of cervical cancer changes depending on whether or not she has annual Pap screening tests. Later, this chapter will discuss how consumers respond to alternative approaches to communicating such conditional risk information.

How People Think (and Feel) about Risk

Before getting into the specifics of how consumers evaluate risks, we should note that there are two very different types of theories of risk evaluation: prescriptive theories and descriptive theories. Prescriptive theories of risk evaluation prescribe decision rules that are supposed to be used by a "rational" decision-maker—rules that, if followed, are supposed to maximize the decision-maker's long-term happiness or well-being. Descriptive

theories, in contrast, seek to capture how real flesh-and-blood consumers actually judge risks, whether these judgments seem "rational" or not.

Of course, social marketers ultimately need to understand the decision processes of real flesh-and-blood consumers, rather than those of some imaginary, perfectly rational "economic man." So, why should we even discuss prescriptive theories of risk decision-making at all? There are two important reasons. First, prescriptive theories can offer a useful benchmark against which to assess whether consumers are acting in their own self-interest or if their decision processes contain biases or blind spots that may harm their long-term welfare. Second, several very influential descriptive theories (i.e., theories that try to describe how real consumers actually make risk decisions) have used prescriptive theories as their starting point; that is, they have assumed that the prescriptive models provide a "reasonable approximation" of how real consumers actually think about risk. As we will see, this starting point has led some researchers to neglect some of the uniquely human aspects of risk decision-making (e.g., the role of emotion).

Prescriptive Theories of Risk: Expected Value Theory and Expected Utility Theory

Imagine that there are two options to (possibly) make a little money:

- Option A: Win $1 (no risk; Option A entails 100 percent probability of getting $1)
- Option B: 50 percent chance to win $10 and 50 percent chance to win $0

How does one choose? One approach is to choose the option that maximizes the expected value. To calculate the expected value (EV) of a given option, just multiply each potential outcome by its respective probability. Option A's EV = $1 * 1.0 probability = $1. Option B's EV = ($10 * .50) + ($0 * .50) = $5. In a sense, the expected value of an option is the average amount a person would receive by choosing that option over and over again. If a person repeatedly chose Option A, the average payoff would be $1. If a person repeatedly chose option B, sometimes the payoff would be $10 and sometimes it would be nothing, but on average, the payoff would be about $5. Expected value theory (going back to Huygens, 1657) suggests that people should maximize their expected value; in this case, they should choose Option B, because its average payoff is five times higher than that of Option A.

In the above example, it does seem reasonable to choose Option B, because of the much higher average payoff. But let's alter the options a bit and reconsider:

- Option C: Win $10,000,000 (100 percent probability)
- Option D: 50 percent chance of winning $100,000,000 and 50 percent chance of winning $0

In this scenario, Option D clearly has a higher expected value ($50 million) than Option C (EV = $10 million). However, the vast majority of people (including the authors of this chapter) would choose Option C, even though this choice violates the prescriptive rule to "maximize expected value." Why? Back in the 1700s, Swiss mathematician Daniel Bernoulli noted cases (such as the one above) where intelligent people's preferences seemed to violate expected value theory. To explain these anomalies, he proposed an alternative theory called expected utility theory (Bernoulli, 1728/1954; also von Neumann & Morgenstern, 1994). Bernoulli argued that rational people do not actually seek to maximize expected monetary value or wealth but instead seek to maximize their expected utility (i.e., their happiness, pleasure, life satisfaction). Further, he argued that there is diminishing marginal utility for increasing amounts of wealth. In other words, increasing one's wealth from $0 to $1 million will have a huge impact on one's happiness, but increasing one's wealth from $99 million to $100 million has a small effect on happiness.

The idea of diminishing marginal utility is now considered a foundation of economic theory, and it doesn't just apply to money. Consider the following medical treatment options offered to a 50-year-old man who has been diagnosed with a serious disease:

- Treatment Option E: Live to age 80
- Treatment Option F: 50 percent chance of living to age 120 and 50 percent chance of dying immediately

It is likely that many people will choose Treatment Option E, even though it has a lower expected value (30 years of additional life) than Option F (EV = 35 years of additional life). Based on expected utility theory, people may choose Option E because they value the years from age 50 to 80 (e.g., "I can watch my grandchildren grow up") more than they value the years from age 80 to 120 (e.g., "I don't want to outlive my kids").

Descriptive Theories of How Consumers Evaluate Risks

As we noted earlier, several influential descriptive theories of consumer behavior assume that real consumers evaluate risk and uncertainty in a way that mimics expected utility theory (EUT).

For example, expectancy-value models of consumer attitude formation (e.g., those originally developed by psychologist Martin Fishbein [1963] and his colleagues) posit that a consumer's attitude toward a given behavior is a function of (a) the consumer's subjective probability that the behavior will lead to various outcomes, multiplied by (b) the subjective value (or utility) that the consumer assigns to each of these outcomes (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, pp. 106–109). By adding the word "subjective," expectancy-value models include an element of human fallibility, acknowledging that consumers may misperceive the true probabilities and the utilities of possible behavioral outcomes. However, expectancy-value models assume that consumers combine their subjective probabilities and utilities in essentially the same multiplicative fashion as prescribed by expected utility theory.

Expectancy-value models and their offshoots (e.g., Fishbein & Ajzen's [1975] theory of reasoned action and Ajzen's [1985] theory of planned behavior) have been used to explain a wide range of consumer behaviors, including many risk-related behaviors (Weinstein, 1993).

In addition, there are two expectancy-based models that were developed specifically to predict consumers' risk-reduction behaviors: protection motivation theory and the health belief model.

Protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975) posits that when consumers decide whether to adopt a risk-reduction behavior (e.g., getting a flu shot or buying flood insurance), they make two types of assessments: threat appraisal and coping appraisal.

In threat appraisal, consumers assess the threat or hazard (e.g., the flu), including

- severity (e.g., "How bad would it be if I got the flu?") and
- vulnerability (e.g., "How likely am I to get the flu?").

In coping appraisal, consumers assess the protective response (e.g., getting a flu shot), including

- response efficacy (e.g., "How effective is the flu shot?"),
- self-efficacy (e.g., "Do I think I can get a flu shot?"), and
- response costs (e.g., "How expensive/inconvenient/painful is the flu shot?").

A similar (though not identical) model of health-protective behavior is the health belief model (Rosenstock, 1966; Janz & Becker, 1984). This theory predicts that consumers' adoption of health-protective behaviors is a function of the

- perceived severity of the disease,
- perceived susceptibility to the disease,
- perceived benefits (or efficacy) of the protective action,
- perceived barriers to the protective action, and
- cues to action.

Both protection motivation theory and the health belief model have elements that are very reminiscent of EUT. For example, susceptibility and vulnerability in these models are analogous to outcome probabilities in EUT; perceived severity is analogous to outcome (dis)utility in EUT; and perceived efficacy essentially represents the decreased probability of harm if a person adopts the protective behavior.

The models described above have been very influential among risk-behavior researchers. (For a good discussion and comparison of these models, see Weinstein, 1993.) The models have several attractive features that have contributed to their popularity. First, they have a strong logical appeal. For example, it makes sense that consumers deciding whether or not to get a flu shot would assess their vulnerability to the flu, the severity of the flu, and the effectiveness of the flu shot. Second, the models have broad empirical support (Janz & Becker, 1984; Floyd, Prentice-Dunn, & Rogers, 2000) in the sense that many studies find that consumers' attitudes, intentions, and adoption of risk-reduction behaviors are correlated with their perceptions of vulnerability and efficacy (though, interestingly, studies are less likely to find significant effects of perceived severity). For example, in our own research, we have found that an older woman's likelihood of getting a mammogram is significantly correlated with her perceived vulnerability/susceptibility to breast cancer (Cox & Cox, 2001) and adoption of human papillomavirus (HPV) vaccination is significantly correlated with perceived vulnerability/susceptibility to cervical cancer (Cox, Cox, Sturm, & Zimet, 2010). Third, many health communicators find these models useful because they suggest specific categories of beliefs (e.g., perceived susceptibility, severity, efficacy) that health messages can attempt to change to motivate risk-reduction behavior.

However, despite the undeniable value of these theories to risk researchers and communicators, they have some limitations. First, sometimes the correlations between risk beliefs (perceived susceptibility, efficacy, etc.) and consumer risk-reduction behaviors, while statistically significant, are relatively small. For example, in the mammography study mentioned previously, while mammography adoption was significantly correlated with perceived susceptibility to breast cancer, a much stronger

behavioral predictor was whether the woman's doctor had ever recommended she get a mammogram. Second, while the health belief model and protection motivation theory suggest specific perceptions (e.g., perceived susceptibility to and severity of a threat) that drive consumer risk response, these theories offer few insights into how these perceptions are formed or what types of messages are likely to change them. Finally, these expectancy-based theories tend to be very cognitive in orientation; that is, they assume that consumer reactions to risk are governed by beliefs, thoughts, and perceptions of risks and tend to neglect the more emotional or visceral aspects of how people respond to risks and dangers.

In the following sections, we will review research that addresses these topics. First, we will discuss research on how consumers form risk perceptions (e.g., perceived vulnerability to or severity of specific threats). Second, we will discuss recent research on the long-neglected emotional side of consumer risk response, a topic some researchers call "risk as feelings" (e.g., Loewenstein, et al., 2001; Slovic, Finucane, Peters, and MacGregor, 2004).

How Consumers Form Risk Perceptions

While protection motivation theory and the health belief model do not specify how consumers form perceptions of susceptibility, severity, and so on, there is a considerable amount of research on this topic, which will be discussed shortly. Much of this research focuses on what are called heuristics, biases, and framing effects. A heuristic is basically a decision shortcut that allows a consumer to make a quick judgment or decision with a minimal amount of mental effort or research. For example, a heuristic for judging the likelihood of breast cancer might be, "How many people can I think of who have had breast cancer?" Tversky and Kahneman (1973) call this the availability heuristic. A bias occurs when a heuristic causes people to systematically over- or underestimate certain risks. For example, the availability bias may cause people to overestimate the frequency of diseases that get a lot of media attention (e.g., breast cancer) and underestimate the frequency of diseases that get relatively little media attention (e.g., colon cancer). A framing effect occurs when consumers' perception of a risk is altered when identical facts are presented (or "framed") in different ways. For example, consumers' willingness to undergo a medical procedure may differ depending on whether they are told it has a 95 percent success rate or a 5 percent failure rate, even though these statements are factually equivalent.

Factors That Influence Perceived Probability or Susceptibility

Availability heuristic. The availability heuristic, a shortcut for assessing the frequency or likelihood of an event, was first identified by Tversky and Kahneman (1973), who stated:

> People assess the frequency of a class or probability of an event by the ease with which instances or occurrences can be brought to mind. For example, one may assess the risk of heart attack among middle aged people by recalling such occurrences among one's acquaintances. (p. 1127)

Lichtenstein and colleagues (1978) identified two sources of availability information in judging the frequency of health threats, which they called "direct suffering"—how many friends or relatives a person can think of who have been afflicted with the disease—and "indirect suffering" (p. 552—how often the person hears about the disease in the media). Pachur, Hertwig, and Steinmann (2012) found that people's risk perceptions were especially influenced by direct suffering or the extent to which they could recall a negative event occurring to individuals in their social network.

In many situations, the availability heuristic probably provides a reasonable approximation of event frequency; after all, if an individual has known thousands of people and cannot think of a single one who has been afflicted by disease X, how common can disease X be? However, the availability heuristic can also lead to some biases. As mentioned earlier, some negative events get much more media attention than others, and this may bias people's perceptions of those events' likelihood. For example, events in which many people die violently in the same place in time (e.g., mass shootings, terrorist attacks, plane crashes) get much more media coverage than nonviolent causes of death (e.g., diabetes) or events in which one or two people die (e.g., automobile accidents).

Recalling event cases in one's social network is not subject to media-coverage bias, but it may be affected by other biases. For example, members of your social network may be unrepresentative of the larger population (e.g., affluent consumers may overestimate the frequency of polo-related injuries), and they may be more willing to publicize some afflictions than other, more stigmatized ones (e.g., mental illness, bankruptcy).

Representativeness heuristic. Another probability-assessment shortcut identified by Kahneman and Tversky (1972) is the representativeness heuristic, which involves judging the likelihood that a person will experience a given event by how "representative" (or typical) that person appears

to be of people who experience that event. In a series of experiments, Kahneman and Tversky (1972) asked people to predict whether an individual belonged to a given category—for example, whether a particular person was a bookkeeper or a professional athlete. In making this judgment, subjects were given two types of information: the base-rate or population-wide incidence of the category (e.g., the nationwide percentages of people who are bookkeepers versus professional athletes) and the traits of the person being judged (e.g., the person's high school grades in math and physical education [PE]).

According to the prescriptive principles of prediction (e.g., Bayes' theorem), one should use the population-wide probability as a starting point and then adjust it to the extent that the individual in question possesses traits that are truly predictive of occupation. Since bookkeepers are much more plentiful than professional athletes, and school performance is only moderately correlated with future occupational choice, even the student that did better in PE than in math is much more likely to be a bookkeeper than a pro athlete. However, Kahneman and Tversky (1973, 1981) consistently found that subjects tended to predict the category that seemed to best "represent" the specific traits of the individual (e.g., that the outstanding PE student would become a pro athlete) and to ignore the population incidence of the category.

As noted by Peters, McCaul, Stefanek, and Nelson (2006), the representativeness heuristic can bias people's perceptions of disease risks. They stated:

> A similar phenomenon is observed when people are asked to judge whether women are more likely to die of breast cancer or heart disease. Because heart disease is more stereotypic of men, women tend to view their risk of breast cancer as greater than their risk of heart disease, despite objective evidence to the contrary. (p. 47)

Consistent with this, in an unpublished study conducted by the authors of this chapter, people were asked to imagine and describe the "typical" victim of various diseases. Respondents overwhelmingly identified the typical heart disease victim as male (as well as middle-aged, working class, and overweight). By focusing on such stereotypes, people can overlook the fact that heart disease is the leading cause of death among both women and men.

Comparative risk heuristic. As noted earlier, several risk-behavior theories (e.g., expectancy-value models, protection motivation theory) assume that consumers assess risks according to the perceived probability

that a given negative event will occur to them; for example, that people will be more motivated to get a flu shot if they think they have a 50 percent chance of getting the flu than if they think they have a 2 percent chance of getting the flu.

However, some research suggests that consumers' risk assessments are often less influenced by their estimates of their own absolute risk (e.g., 2 percent versus 50 percent) and more by judgments of how their own risk levels compare to those of other consumers, that is, by social-comparative risk information (Klein, 1997, 2002a, 2002b; Fagerlin, Zikmund-Fisher, & Ubel, 2007; Zajac, Klein, & McCaul, 2006). For example, Klein (1997) found that subjects' level of concern upon receiving disease-screening test results was influenced less by their own absolute risk level (e.g., whether they had a 30 percent or 60 percent chance of having a pancreatic abnormality) than by whether this risk level was higher or lower than that of the average person.

One reason that consumers may be influenced by comparative risk information is that it is easier to evaluate than absolute risk information, which can be hard to assess without a reference point (cf. Hsee 1996; Zikmund-Fisher, Fagerlin, & Ubel, 2004). If a doctor says an individual's chance of getting colon cancer in the next 10 years is 4 percent, that person's first question may be, "Is that good or bad?" However, if people are told that their colon cancer risk is "higher than average" or "lower than average," this information may seem more meaningful and actionable.

Interestingly, French, Sutton, Marteau, and Kinmonth (2004) found that people were more likely to be reassured by favorable social comparisons (i.e., learning that their risk was lower than the average person's) than alarmed by unfavorable relative risk information (that their risk was higher than the average person's). This finding is consistent with research on motivated denial (Ditto, Jemmott, & Darley, 1988), in which some consumers respond to health threats by selectively seeking out reassuring information.

The comparative risk heuristic has implications for the growing trend in medicine of providing consumers with personalized disease-risk assessments. For example, it is now possible for physicians to provide women with personalized assessments of their risk of breast cancer, either by looking at medical history information (e.g., number of first-degree relatives who have had breast cancer) or genetic information. Typically, these assessments not only inform patients of their absolute risk (e.g., "You have a 3 percent chance of getting breast cancer in the next 10 years") but provide social-comparison information (e.g., "You are at less-than-average risk of breast cancer compared to other women your age"). The danger of such

comparative information is that it may give some patients a false sense of disease immunity or complacency, because they have been reassured that they are "better than average."

Comparative optimism bias. In a related finding, Weinstein (1980) noted a general tendency among people to believe that they are "better than average" when it comes to health risks, a tendency called optimism bias. Optimism bias appears to be especially likely when the health threat is perceived as being controllable. For example, the majority of people believe that they are better-than-average drivers and therefore are less likely than average to get into a car accident. This is biased thinking on two levels because (a) only 50 percent of drivers are above average (except in Lake Wobegon), and (b) many accidents are beyond the control of even excellent drivers. (The neglect of this fact is an example of illusion of control, in which people overestimate their control over future events).

There is one caveat to keep in mind about optimism bias, which is that it refers mainly to people's comparative risk judgments (i.e., whether their risk is above or below average) but not necessarily to their absolute risk estimates (i.e., whether their risk is 1 percent or 10 percent). Actually, people tend to overestimate their absolute percentage likelihood of developing many various diseases (e.g., some kinds of cancer). So, paradoxically, most women believe they are at less-than-average risk of breast cancer, but they overestimate the percentage likelihood that they will get breast cancer. However, given the comparative risk heuristic discussed earlier, it may be that the comparative optimism bias has a greater influence on behavior.

Attribute framing effects. Another factor that affects consumers' risk perceptions is what Levin, Schneider, and Gaeth (1998) called attribute framing. Attribute framing refers to whether a product or behavior is described in terms of the incidence of one attribute or the incidence of the opposite attribute; for example, whether a glass of milk is described as half empty or half full. In general, descriptions that focus on the positive attribute ("half full") are perceived as more positive than equivalent descriptions that focus on the negative attribute ("half empty"). In a non-risk context, consumers are likely to react more positively to ground beef if it is described as 90 percent lean (or 90 percent fat-free) rather than if it is described as 10 percent fat. In a risk context, patients will tend to be more encouraged if told that their type of cancer has an 80 percent 5-year survival rate than if they are told it has a 20 percent 5-year mortality rate. Similarly, a patient is more likely to choose to undergo a surgical procedure that has a 90 percent success rate than one that has a 10 percent failure rate. In one study of attribute framing effects, Linville, Fischer, and

Fischoff (1993) found that 85 percent of subjects said they would encourage their partners to use condoms when told that condoms had a 90 percent success rate in preventing HIV transmission, but only 63 percent said they would encourage their partners to use condoms when told that condoms had a 10 percent failure rate.

Denominator neglect. When estimating the percentage probability of an event (e.g., the chance that a college student in the United States will get meningitis in a given year) one needs to know both the numerator (the number of U.S. college students who get meningitis each year) and the denominator (the total number of college students in the United States). However, sometimes consumers will judge a risk solely by the absolute number in the numerator. At times, this occurs because the numerator is the only information presented; as this chapter will discuss later, one common problem with media coverage of risk is that news stories often report only the numerator (e.g., "Every day, 22 veterans commit suicide") without providing a denominator to provide context (there are about 21 million veterans in the United States). However, some research indicates that even when consumers are provided with both numerator and denominator information, they tend to focus on the numerator—the absolute number of incidents (Reyna & Brainerd, 2008). As a consequence, health communicators who want to make a risk seem large are likely to choose numbers that have large numerators (e.g., the number of hepatitis-related deaths that take place worldwide in a year; this number is quite large, but the denominator is more than 6 billion).

Narrative bias. In communicating with consumers about a particular risk, one can either focus on statistics (e.g., the extremely small probability that a person will be a victim of a home invasion) or individual stories (e.g., a vivid story about a family victimized by home invasion). One could argue that it is more rational for a consumer to focus on statistical probabilities, because one can come up with an anecdote to illustrate just about any event, however unlikely. However, research indicates that consumers are often more influenced by anecdotes than by statistics. For example, Betsch, Ulshofer, Renkewitz, and Betsch (2011) presented people with two types of information on vaccine adverse events reported on an online bulletin board: statistical information on the percentage of vaccine users who experienced adverse events and written narratives from consumers who had or hadn't experienced such events. They found that consumers' perceptions of vaccine risk were more strongly influenced by narratives than by statistics, especially narratives with high emotional content.

Illusory correlation and confirmation bias. To accurately assess the riskiness of a given behavior, one should first determine whether there is

	Got lupus	Didn't get lupus
Got silicone implants	A	B
Didn't get silicone implants	C	D

even a significant correlation between the behavior (e.g., getting silicone breast implants) and a particular adverse outcome (e.g., developing lupus). To accurately assess this correlation, one needs data on four different conditions, as indicated in the above matrix.

To accurately assess correlation, one must examine data from all four cells (A, B, C, and D) so that one can determine whether the probability of lupus is higher among those with silicone breast implants than among those without them.

However, research indicates that consumers' informal assessments of correlation often violate this rule. Specifically, once consumers have formed a hypothesis that two variables are correlated, they tend to selectively seek out data that seem to confirm this hypothesis; in the example above, this would entail focusing on cell A (examples of women who got lupus after having silicone implants) and ignoring data from the other three cells. Sometimes, people are influenced in this direction by biased media coverage—for example, talk shows that parade parent after parent whose children were diagnosed with autism after receiving the measles-mumps-rubella (MMR) vaccine (but no parents with unvaccinated autistic children or vaccinated children without autism). However, even when people have data from all four cells, they tend to focus on the cases that seem to confirm their prior hypothesis. For example, in a study reported by Fielder (2004), people were asked to examine the following data and assess whether rainy weather aggravates arthritis symptoms:

A careful examination of these data reveals that arthritis symptoms are actually slightly more likely to occur on nonrainy days (6/8 = 75 percent

	Rain	No rain
Arthritis symptoms	14	6
No arthritis symptoms	7	2

incidence) than on rainy days (14/21 = 67 percent incidence). However, most subjects in this study concluded that there was a positive correlation between rain and arthritis, because they focused on the absolute number of cases in cell A (14 people who experienced arthritis on rainy days) rather than all the relevant data. This suggests that once consumers form a belief that something (e.g., rain) increases risk (e.g., of arthritis), it may be hard to convince them otherwise.

Factors That Influence Perceived Severity

Time horizon effects. As noted earlier, both prescriptive risk theories (e.g., expected utility theory) and descriptive risk theories (e.g., protection motivation theory, the health belief model) posit that consumers' reactions to a potential negative event are influenced by its perceived severity—that is, how bad the negative event would be if it occurred. However, none of these models suggests that consumers will be influenced by *when* the negative event is expected to occur. Thus, these theories implicitly assume that consumers will be equally deterred by a 10 percent chance of a severe headache regardless of whether the headache is expected to start in 10 minutes, 10 hours, 10 days, or 10 years. Yet, as noted by Takahashi (2009), potential behavioral consequences (positive and negative) are often given considerably less decisional weight if they are expected to occur after a delay (even a delay of just a day or two) than if they are expected to occur immediately.

It is tempting to view this "time discounting" of pleasure and pain as analogous to the time discounting of cash flows prescribed by financial decision models such as net present value (NPV) analysis. But the two processes seem quite different. To begin with, NPV analysis typically employs a constant discount rate (say, k = 0.10) in which payouts 1 year from now might be divided by 1.10^1, payouts 2 years from now by 1.10^2, payouts 3 years from now by 1.10^3, and so forth. In contrast, humans' time discounting of pleasure and pain often involves what behavioral economists call hyperbolic discounting, in which the decisional weight given to potential gains and losses drops sharply if they are delayed by only a few hours or days. And the driving force for such hyperbolic discounting appears to be not cognitive calculation but visceral emotion. As noted by Loewenstein and colleagues (2001), a person may cognitively understand that a future event (e.g., public speaking, skydiving) might lead to unpleasant consequences; however, anticipatory negative emotions (e.g., fear, dread, anxiety) tend to spike rapidly in the hours (and even minutes) immediately before the event occurs.

Loss aversion, the endowment effect, and gain versus loss framing. People are often more motivated to avoid a loss rather than to achieve a comparable gain (Kahneman, Knetsch, & Thaler, 1991). For example, consumers may be more motivated to avoid losing $100 than to gain $100, and patients may be more motivated to avoid losing a year from their life expectancy than to add a year to their life expectancy. Such loss aversion appears to be related to another phenomenon called the endowment effect: Once people have been given (endowed with) something, they start to consider it "theirs" and are reluctant to give it up. Kahneman and colleagues described an experiment in which subjects were randomly assigned to receive either $2 or a lottery ticket. Later, both groups were offered the opportunity to trade (either trade their lottery ticket for $2 or vice versa). The researchers found that neither group's members wanted to lose what they already had (either certain cash or a tiny chance at millions); thus, the majority in both groups decided not to trade. One implication of this experiment is that it is possible to alter people's choices by creating different baseline or default conditions for them (e.g., owning either $2 or a lottery ticket).

In another illustration of loss aversion, Kahneman and colleagues (1991) described a study in which subjects were told that a standard insecticide typically causes 15 injuries per 100,000 users and then were asked how much more they would pay for a safer product that reduced this risk to 0 out of 100,000. On average, subjects were willing to pay only $3.78 extra for the safer product. However, when subjects were asked how much of a discount they would require to buy a slightly less safe product (causing 16 injuries per 100,000 users), 77 percent said they would refuse to buy it at any price. In other words, subjects had a strong aversion to a small loss in safety (compared to a baseline or default behavior) but only a mild attraction to a (much larger) potential gain in safety.

Consumers' perception of whether a given choice involves potential gains or potential losses can be altered by the way the consequences are described or "framed"—what is called gain-framing versus loss-framing. In a famous experiment, Tversky and Kahneman (1981) asked subjects to imagine that an "Asian disease" is about to strike the country and that if officials take no action, 600 citizens will die. All subjects were then asked to choose between two public health programs; however, some subjects were shown a gain-framed presentation in which the programs' consequences were stated in terms of the number of people "saved," and other subjects were shown a loss-framed presentation in which the programs' consequences were stated in terms of the number who would "die," as summarized in the following matrix:

	Gain-framed presentation	Loss-framed presentation
Program A	200 saved	400 die
Program B	1/3 chance 600 saved 2/3 chance 0 saved	1/3 chance 0 die 2/3 chance 600 die

Programs A and B have the same objective consequences, regardless of whether they are described in terms of the number saved or the number who die. However, people responded differently to the two programs depending on how they were framed. In the gain-framed presentation, 72 percent of subjects chose Program A. However, in the loss-framed presentation, only 22 percent of subjects chose Program A. It seems that in the gain-framed condition, many subjects were attracted by the certain, positive outcome of saving 200 lives, and didn't want to risk missing that opportunity by choosing Program B. However, in the loss-framed condition, subjects did not want to be responsible for causing the certain death of 400 people, and thus were more willing to "roll the dice" on Program B, which offered a chance that no one would die.

Omission bias. Many people seem to have a greater aversion to harm that is caused by their own actions (e.g., an illness that occurred because of getting vaccinated) than by their inaction (e.g., an equally severe illness that occurred because of not getting vaccinated). Baron and Ritov (2004) called this tendency omission bias, which they described as "the preference for harm caused by omissions over equal or less harm caused by acts" (p. 74). One reason for this difference is that people tend to feel more personally responsible for events that occur because of their actions than for those that occur because of their inaction. As a consequence, people anticipate more severe emotional and social consequences (e.g., regret, guilt, blame) for losses that occur as a result of what they did than for losses that occur because of what they failed to do.

However, in some situations, it may be possible to alter whether a given behavior is perceived as constituting action or inaction. For example, some school-based vaccination programs use an opt-out system, in which the standard requirement is that students must receive certain vaccinations, but parents can opt out by signing a form and providing reasons (religious or otherwise) for choosing not to have their children vaccinated. Requiring parents to opt out not only creates additional effort, but it also may make them feel more responsible for the consequences of

nonvaccination, because nonvaccination now requires action rather than inaction.

Other factors influencing perceived severity. Researchers have identified several other factors that can influence consumers' perceptions of risk severity (e.g., Slovic, 1987; Bennett, 1998). In summarizing this research, Berry (2004, pp. 11–19) notes that people tend to be more concerned about risks that (a) can cause "hidden and irreversible damage" (what might be called "insidiousness"), (b) are man-made versus "natural," (c) are surrounded by a great deal of uncertainty and/or are poorly understood by science, or (d) are unavoidable or seem to strike randomly.

Emotion and Risk

As noted earlier, many of the most influential models of consumer risk response (e.g., theory of planned behavior, protection motivation theory, health belief model) are essentially cognitive in orientation. In other words, they assume that consumers' responses to risk involve weighing and evaluating the likelihood and severity of behavioral consequences. These models incorporate beliefs about vulnerability, susceptibility, or severity, but they typically don't include emotions (e.g., fear, anxiety, worry, guilt, dread) that may occur as people contemplate the possibility of unpleasant events. However, in the past decade or so, some researchers have taken a closer look at the emotional side of risk.

Slovic and colleagues (2004) presented compelling evidence that humans' responses to risk are governed by two psychological systems: an analytical system, which is based on cognitive risk assessment, and an experiential system, which is more intuitive, emotional, visceral, faster, and sometimes "not very accessible to conscious awareness" (p. 311). Slovic and colleagues stated that the experiential system

> relies on images and associations, linked by experience to emotion and affect (a feeling that something is good or bad). This system represents risk as a feeling that tells us whether it's safe to walk down this dark street or safe to drink this strange-smelling water. (p. 311)

Slovic and colleagues (2004) did not agree that the analytical system is "rational" and the experiential system is "irrational." Instead, they argued that (a) the experiential system plays an essential role in helping people make extremely rapid danger assessments, for which the analytical system can be fatally slow (e.g., seeing a snake), and (b) that the two systems ideally work in tandem in guiding humans through a risky world. They stated:

> [The two systems] operate in parallel and each seems to depend on the other for guidance. Studies have demonstrated that analytical reasoning cannot be effective unless it is guided by emotion and affect. Rational decision making requires proper integration of both modes of thought. (p. 311)

One key element of the experiential system is a reliance on mental imagery to guide decision-making. Slovic and colleagues (2004) described an experiment in which mental health clinicians were asked to recommend whether a mentally ill man should be released into the community based on the probability that someone with his profile would later commit an act of violence. Clinicians were all given the same probabilities but were randomly assigned to two different presentation conditions, as follows:

- A: "20 out of every 100 patients similar to Mr. Jones are estimated to commit an act of violence." (p. 316)
- B. "Patients similar to Mr. Jones are estimated to have a 20 percent chance of committing an act of violence." (p. 316)

Among clinicians given description A, 41 percent said they would refuse discharge. Among clinicians given description B, only 21 percent said they would refuse discharge. When probed about their decisions, clinicians given description B said they pictured a single patient with a low (20 percent) chance of committing violence. In contrast, clinicians given description A said they pictured 20 crazed patients (out of 100) committing gruesome acts of violence. The objective information was identical across the two descriptions, but the emotional response was very different.

Loewenstein and colleagues (2001) also examined emotional reactions to risk, with a particular focus on what they called anticipatory emotions, that is, emotions that are experienced at the time of risk evaluation, in anticipation of future events (e.g., fear, worry, dread). Although they acknowledged Slovic's and colleagues' (2004) view that emotional and cognitive risk evaluations often work together to guide rational decision-making, Loewenstein and colleagues argued that "anticipatory emotional reactions sometimes diverge from cognitive evaluations, and when they do, the emotional reactions often exert a dominating influence on behavior" (p. 270). They reported that people's emotional reactions to risk can be sensitive to factors that have little influence on cognitive assessments, including the "vividness with which consequences can be imagined" (p. 271), personal experience/exposure to the threat, and (as discussed earlier) the timing or temporal immediacy of the threat.

Loewenstein and colleagues (2001) stated, "As the prospect of an uncertain event approaches in time, fear tends to increase, even when cognitive assessments of the probability or likely severity of the event remains constant" (p. 278). Conversely, they argued, emotional risk reactions tend to be insensitive to certain factors that influence cognitive risk evaluation, especially probability information. They noted, "It has been demonstrated that feelings about risk are largely insensitive to changes in probability, whereas cognitive evaluations do take probability into account" (p. 271).

Loewenstein and colleagues (2001) further noted that emotional reactions not only influence people's reactions to immediate physical threats (e.g., snakes, spiders, heights) but to economic decisions that one might expect to be governed by cool calculation. For example:

> When people make decisions regarding investments in protective measures such as warranties, they do not think about probability of malfunction unless these figures are given to them. Rather . . . they use arguments such as peace of mind or sleeping well at night to defend their positions. (p. 277)

Communicating Risk

Given what we know about consumer risk perception, how should social marketers communicate risks? As will be explained, that depends on the communication objective or goal. This section will discuss three potential risk-communication goals: (1) attention (getting consumers to notice the risk message), (2) comprehension (helping consumers to understand the risk information), and (3) persuasion (changing consumers' attitudes, intentions, or behaviors). The first two goals (attention and comprehension) are shared by almost all risk communicators. However, the third goal (persuasion) is the subject of some controversy in the risk-communication world. Although persuasion is widely accepted among social marketers as a legitimate (even essential) communication goal, some risk-communication experts argue that risk communication and persuasion shouldn't mix. We will come back to this debate later.

Attention

For a risk message to have any effect on consumers, consumers must first notice or pay attention to the message. Andrews (2011) provided an excellent review of research on the factors that influence consumers' attention to risk messages and other disclosures. These factors include size, contrast, multiple modalities, and absence of distraction.

Size. Other things being equal, larger risk messages (e.g., warning labels, signs, or written disclaimers that occupy a large portion of the reader's visual field) are more likely to attract consumers' attention than smaller risk messages.

Contrast. A consumer is more likely to pay attention to a warning message that visually contrasts with background stimuli. For example, if a product's packaging is predominantly blue, consumers' eyes are more likely to be drawn to a red warning label, and vice versa.

Multiple modalities. Consumers are more likely to notice a risk message if it is communicated using multiple modalities (e.g., both visual and auditory). For example, a consumer is less likely to notice a risk disclaimer in a television ad if it appears solely in writing on the bottom of the screen or solely as a voiceover than if it is communicated in both modalities.

Absence of distraction. Consumers are more likely to notice a risk message if other stimuli are not simultaneously competing for their attention. For example, one common criticism of direct-to-consumer drug ads is that risk warnings are often presented in only one modality (typically a voiceover) while potentially distracting, emotionally incongruent visual images are being presented concurrently (typically images of happy, symptom-free patients). If the goal were to maximize consumer attention to the warnings, the voiceover warning would either be presented without any visual distractions (e.g., against a blank screen) or in concert with reinforcing visual information (e.g., scrolling text of the risk disclosure or possibly even pictures of people experiencing potential side effects). Incidentally, we have examined hundreds of prescription drug ads and have yet to see one that showed patients experiencing side effects!

Comprehension

Once consumers have noticed a risk message, the next step is getting them to understand its content. Many risk messages contain both verbal information (describing what might happen) and numerical information (describing how likely it is to happen). It is important to present each type of information in a way that is easy for consumers (including those without a great deal of education) to understand.

Reading comprehension. Risk messages should use clear, plain language that is readily understood by the target audience. The "gold standard" for assessing readability is message pretesting, in which members of the target audience read a proposed risk message and then respond to measures that gauge their comprehension of the message. However, as a quick initial assessment of readability, one can evaluate proposed risk

messages using mechanical reading-ease metrics, such as the Flesch-Kincaid reading ease and grade level scores, which are based on the average number of syllables per word and the average number of words per sentence. Research has shown that Flesch-Kincaid scores are predictive of both readers' comprehension of a piece of written material and their tendency to continue reading it (Fry, 1989; Cardinal, Martin, & Sachs, 1996).

Unfortunately, many risk messages are written in hard-to-comprehend language. Neuhauser (2011) noted:

> More than 1,000 studies of health print materials (including medication labels and packaging) and web sites have found that text readability significantly exceeded the estimated reading skills of the audience for whom they were developed. (p. 131)

Consistent with this, our own research has found that in direct-to-consumer ads for prescription drugs, product risk statements are often written in more difficult language than product benefit statements (Perry, Cox, & Cox, 2013). For example, in a recent consumer magazine ad for the drug Asclera, the benefit statement was, "Enjoy the Freedom to Show Your Legs," while the first risk statement was, "Asclera (polidocanol) Injection is contraindicated for patients with known allergy (anaphylaxis) to polidocanol and patients with acute thromboembolic disease."

This difference may be a result of authorship rather than intentional obfuscation. Ads' benefit statements are typically written by marketers, while risk disclosures are often written by scientists or lawyers, who may place more emphasis on completeness and technical accuracy than on clarity or readability. However, regardless of intent, it is essential that important risk information be communicated in language that consumers can readily understand.

Numerical comprehension

Beware of "rare" and "common." For consumers to make informed decisions about uncertain events, they need to know how likely those events are to occur. Unfortunately, consumer-targeted risk messages often provide very little information on event likelihood.

For example, in a recent content analysis of 63 direct-to-consumer prescription drug ads (Perry et al., 2013) only 11 percent of the ads provided any quantitative benefit information (e.g., percentages or frequencies relating to the likelihood that patients taking the advertised drug would

experience its purported benefit), and only one ad provided numbers on the likelihood of side effects.

Instead, many consumer risk messages employ what might be called frequency words. For example, potential side effects are often described using words like "common" or "rare." Some efforts have been made to provide risk communicators with numerical guidelines for the use of such words (e.g., in both Europe and the United States, "rare" is typically used to describe side effects occurring less than 0.1 percent of the time, and "common" is typically used to describe side effects occurring between 1 percent and 10 percent of the time; Cox, Cox, & Mantel, 2010). Unfortunately, research indicates that consumers have wildly variant interpretations of what such words actually mean and often make inaccurate inferences based on them. For example, Cox and colleagues (2010) found that, while "very common" is typically used to describe an incidence of approximately 10 percent, consumers reported their perceived likelihood of "very common" side effects to be about 38 percent. Conversely, while "very rare" is typically used to convey an actual side effect incidence of less than 0.01 percent, consumers estimated their own likelihood of experiencing such side effects to be about 29 percent. Thus, consumers tend to greatly overestimate the likelihood of risks associated with certain terms (particularly "rare") compared to the actual probabilities these terms are typically used to convey.

Interestingly, despite the widely held belief that consumers "don't like numbers," several studies have found that most consumers want to receive numerical information when told about risks (Davis, 2007; Halvorsen, 2010; Gigerenzer et al., 2008) and are able to comprehend quantitative risk information if it is presented in an easy-to-understand format (Schwartz, Woloshin, & Welch, 2007). Among the factors that help consumers understand risk statistics are: (a) presenting risk frequencies (e.g., 7 out every 1,000 people) rather than probabilities (e.g., a 0.7 percent chance), (b) comparing risks using a constant denominator (2/1,000 versus 5/1,000) rather than a constant numerator (1/500 versus 1/200), (c) reporting absolute risk reduction (e.g., "reduces your risk from 4 in 100,000 to 1 in 100,000") rather than relative risk reduction (e.g., "reduces your risk by 75 percent"), (d) including baseline or control-group risk information, and (e) using graphs to communicate event likelihood. Each of these principles is discussed in greater detail below.

Use frequencies versus probabilities or percentages. Many people have difficulty understanding risk statements that employ probabilities or percentages; as Berry (2004) noted, quoting a British public health official, "fifty per cent of the public doesn't actually know what 50% is" (p. 31).

For this reason, several risk-communication experts (most notably Gerd Gigerenzer of the Max Planck Institute in Berlin) have recommended stating risks in terms of frequencies rather than probabilities. Gigerenzer (2002) presented compelling evidence that many people find percentages confusing. For example, in one study, he found that many respondents thought that "40% of people" meant either 1/4 of people or 1/40 of people. (And lest readers think that this reflects the poor state of U.S. mathematics education, it should be noted the respondents were all German.)

Part of the problem, Gigerenzer argued, is that percentages are often presented in an ambiguous way. For example, he described a doctor who told a male patient that Prozac had a 30 percent to 50 percent chance of causing sexual problems and later learned that the patient interpreted this as meaning that sexual problems would occur during 30 percent to 50 percent of his sexual encounters. In contrast, Gigerenzer's research suggested that a frequency (30 out of 100 people) is both less ambiguous than a single-event probability (a .3 chance) or percentage (a 30 percent chance) and easier and more natural for people to imagine (i.e., most people can picture 3 sick people out of a crowd of 1,000, but what does a .3 probability look like?)

Use a constant denominator when reporting frequencies. When comparing two risks (e.g., the risk of heart attack among people who take a drug versus those who take a placebo), one should use a constant denominator (e.g., the risk of heart attack increases from 2 in 100 to 5 in 100) rather than a constant numerator (e.g., the risk increases from 1 in 50 to 1 in 20; Berry, 2004). A surprisingly large number of people have a hard time telling whether a 1/20 risk is larger or smaller than a 1/200 risk; however, if one converts these numbers to a constant denominator (10/200 versus 1/200), comprehension increases considerably (Berry, 2004).

Include baseline risk information. When reporting the event likelihood associated with a given behavior (e.g., X out of every 1,000 smokers will die of a heart attack), one should also present the event likelihood among those who do not engage in that behavior (e.g., Y out of every 1,000 nonsmokers will die of a heart attack). However, risk messages often do not include this information. For example, in our own content analysis of prescription drug advertising (Perry et al., 2013) we found that among ads that included quantitative benefit information, a majority listed the "success rates" only for patients who received the drug but not for patients who received a placebo. This omission deprives consumers of an important frame of reference, since placebo patients often experience substantial improvements, as well. For example, in clinical trials of a certain urinary incontinence drug, 72 percent of patients who took the drug experienced

reduced "incidents" over the course of the trial, but so did 55 percent of patients who took a sugar pill. Only one ad we examined reported the percentage success rate for both the drug and the placebo groups.

Report absolute risk differences, not just relative risk differences. Risk messages often describe how much specific behaviors either increase or decrease risk (e.g., how much birth control pills increase the risk of stroke or how much HPV vaccination reduces the chance of cervical cancer). Often, these messages will describe the relative risk difference (e.g., birth control pills increase stroke risk by 85 percent, HPV vaccination is estimated to reduce cervical cancer risk by 70 percent) without mentioning the baseline risk (e.g., fewer than 1 out of every 100 American women will ever get cervical cancer). An alternative is to present the absolute risk difference (e.g., lifetime risk of cervical cancer is 7 out of every 1,000 unvaccinated women versus 2 out of every 1,000 vaccinated women). Risk communicators seeking to persuade often report relative risk differences, because those differences generally sound more dramatic and impressive.

If the goal is to help consumers make well-informed decisions (which many risk communicators believe should always be the main goal), absolute risk information is superior because it helps consumers put risks in the appropriate context. Several risk experts (e.g., Woloshin & Schwartz, 2008; Berry, 2004) have noted that media stories about health risks are much more likely to report relative risks than absolute risks and that this often causes consumers to make ill-advised decisions. For example, Berry discussed the "Pill Scare" in the United Kingdom, in which newspaper headlines reported that taking birth control pills "doubled" a young woman's chance of a stroke. What the stories did not report was that (a) the absolute risk of stroke was very small, even among women taking the pill, and (b) getting pregnant elevated the risk of stroke more than taking the pill did. Berry reported that as a consequence of this media coverage, the country experienced spikes in both unplanned pregnancies and strokes among young women.

Using graphs as risk-communication tools. One method to help consumers understand risk statistics is graphical presentation. Previous research has suggested that graphical risk presentations are often easier to understand (Chua, Yates, & Shah, 2006; Stone, Yates, & Parker, 1997), can be processed more rapidly (Paivio, 1971), may help people tolerate low-probability risks (Stone et al., 1997), and often increase intention to adopt risk-reduction behaviors (Chua et al., 2006). Recently, Wallace, Leask, and Trevena (2006) found that an online decision aid employing graphical information about the risks of the MMR vaccine increased parents' intentions to vaccinate their children. Graphical risk presentation

may be particularly helpful for those who are not well-educated and people with low numerical fluency.

Cox and colleagues (2010) examined the effects of rhetorical questions (e.g., if there was a vaccine that could prevent cancer, would you have your daughter get it?) and graphical presentations of benefit and risk information for the HPV vaccine in mothers of young girls. The researchers found that a graphical presentation of risk information enhanced mothers' message comprehension and also resulted in higher intentions to have their daughters get the vaccine. When the rhetorical questions were included, there was a significant interactive effect that decreased the effect of graphical presentation on vaccination intentions. The authors concluded that each intervention should be used separately to achieve the largest effects.

More recently, reviews by two teams of researchers, one focusing on cardiovascular risk presentation (Waldron et al., 2011) and one examining the general impact of different risk presentation formats (Hildon, Allwood, & Black, 2012) both found that graphs seem to enhance comprehension of risk information.

Some research (Fagerlin, Zikmund-Fisher, & Ubel, 2011) has suggested that graphs employing icon arrays are particularly helpful in aiding risk comprehension, particularly if they show incremental changes in risk (e.g., the incidence of pneumonia among those who do versus those who don't get annual flu shots) within a single pictograph.

Persuasion

Should risk communicators attempt to persuade? While consumer attention and comprehension are widely accepted as legitimate goals of risk communication, there is considerable controversy about whether persuasion should be a goal of risk communication. Should risk communicators simply inform consumers of risks, or should they also use risk information to shift consumers' attitudes, intentions, and behaviors in a predetermined direction?

Ethical arguments for and against persuasion. At one end of the continuum, the traditional social marketing perspective is that persuasion is a legitimate communication goal as long as the behavior being promoted is beneficial to the individual or society and the information being presented is truthful. This viewpoint says that if the evidence shows that increasing mammography rates among women over 50 will save lives, the social marketer should select and present facts in the most compelling way possible to increase the number of women who get mammograms. For example,

messages might present cautionary tales of women who got advanced breast cancer because they skipped a mammogram while giving less (or no) emphasis to counterexamples (e.g., women who got annual mammograms but died of breast cancer anyway or women who underwent unnecessary surgery because of false positives). In this view, persuasion is completely legitimate as long it is in the service of a good cause. So the marketing bottom line, "Will it sell more soap?" is transformed to "Will it save more lives?" As stated by Andreasen (1995):

> Unlike educators, who may be satisfied that messages were distributed and received and that people have apparently learned some facts, social marketers argue that learning facts is only important if it leads to a desired behavioral outcome. Expert social marketers would not make the mistake of educating women about the risks of breast cancer without checking to see whether the possession of such information led to increased readiness to practice self-examination and schedule regular mammograms. (p. 13)

At the other end of the continuum, some ethicists (especially medical ethicists) argue that persuasion is never a legitimate goal of risk communication and that risk messages should only seek to educate consumers about risks and benefits so that consumers can make independent, well-informed decisions about their own health and welfare. In this view, consumers have a right to balanced information that helps them make their own personal decisions, and risk communicators who attempt to persuade are adopting a paternalistic attitude (i.e., assuming they know what is best for consumers) and attempting to violate consumers' right to autonomy. Thus, framing risk information in a persuasive way is viewed as inherently misleading and manipulative. For example, Rossi and Yudell (2012) argued that "when framing effects are deployed deliberately to influence a decision, their use seems manipulative" (p. 194), and they noted that some ethicists view persuasion of any form as an inherent violation of personal autonomy (p. 193). Rossi and Yudell see a thin line between persuasion and manipulation, which they define as influencing others "by bypassing their capacity for reason, either by exploiting non-rational elements of psychological makeup or by influencing choices in a way that is not obvious to the subject" (p. 193). Finally, they note that persuasive risk messages can cause psychological harm, including negative emotions such as guilt and anxiety.

In the middle are those who say, "It depends." These people argue that while most risk communication should simply seek to inform and educate, there are some cases in which persuasion is a legitimate and ethical

goal. For example, Swindell, McGuire, and Halpern (2010) examined risk communication between doctors and patients and argued that doctors must balance two important ethical imperatives: beneficence (acting in the patient's best interest) and respect for autonomy (recognizing that patients have a right to control their own destinies). Thus, patients (consumers) have a right to receive complete information on the risks and benefits of potential treatments, especially if those treatments are preference-sensitive, meaning there is no universally "best" choice, but the "best" choice depends on each patient's value system. An example of a preference-sensitive choice might be a woman's decision about whether to use hormone replacement therapy, which involves a tradeoff between reducing unpleasant symptoms (e.g., hot flashes) and small but significant increases in serious long-term risks.

However, some behaviors (e.g., smoking) are clearly damaging to patients' long-term welfare, and in those cases, physicians' beneficence imperative requires that they strongly encourage patients to act in their own self-interest. Swindell and colleagues (2010) argued that a persuasive stance is particularly appropriate to offset "potentially counterproductive decisional biases" (p. 260) that cause patients to "make decisions that contravene their long-term goals" (p 260). In these cases, "physicians should develop their understanding of . . . decisional biases and, in many cases, use this knowledge to rebias their patients in ways that promote patients' health" (p. 260).

The pragmatic argument. Beyond these ethical arguments concerning persuasive risk communication, Brewer (2011) raised some interesting practical issues about the efficacy of risk communication in changing behavior. He argued, "If behavior change is the goal, risk communication may not be the only, or even the best, solution" (p. 7). Brewer pointed out that many risk-communication campaigns are ineffective (or counterproductive) in creating the desired behavior change. In addition, he argued that social marketers should consider other ways to change consumers' risk-related behavior. For example, he pointed out that despite the plethora of risk messages concerning smoking (e.g., public service announcements, warning labels), the single most effective way to decrease smoking is to increase the excise tax on cigarettes. He also noted that the most effective way to promote consumption of healthier foods (e.g., fruits and vegetables in school cafeterias) may be to increase their physical accessibility. Brewer did not argue that social marketers should abandon risk communication as a potential persuasive tool, just that they should consider it alongside alternative approaches.

Characteristics of persuasive risk messages. If a social marketer determines that it is ethically and practically appropriate to develop

persuasive risk messages, how should these messages be designed? The design of persuasive risk messages essentially involves examining the perceptual heuristics, biases, and framing effects that this chapter discussed in detail earlier and employing them for persuasive effect. Below are presented just a few examples.

Persuasive attribute framing. When encouraging people to adopt a risk-reduction behavior, social marketers should use positive framing, which stresses the likelihood of a positive outcome rather than the reciprocal negative outcome. For example, consumers are more likely to have positive attitudes toward a cancer screening test that detects 90 percent of tumors than one that misses 10 percent of tumors, or to a vaccine that prevents 65 percent of infections than one that fails to prevent 35 percent of infections. Conversely, when discouraging people from adopting risky behaviors, social marketers should use negative framing, which stresses the likelihood of a negative outcome. For example, antismoking ads sometimes state that 1 out of every 3 smokers will die from smoking-related illnesses; they never state that 2 out of 3 smokers will die of causes unrelated to their smoking. Both are true, but the first presentation is likely to be more persuasive.

Relative risk differences. Relative risk differences almost always sound more impressive than absolute risk differences. For example, it is more persuasive to say, "Using condoms reduces your risk of a sexually transmitted disease by 80 percent" than to say, "Using condoms reduces your risk of a sexually transmitted disease from 5 in 10,000 to 1 in 10,000."

Narratives showing negative consequences of not adopting the advocated behavior. As noted earlier, people are often more influenced by compelling personal narratives than by statistics. However, narratives seem to be especially persuasive when they stress the negative consequences of not heeding the message. For example, in our research on mammogram messages (Cox & Cox, 2001), we found that women were more likely to say they would get a mammogram if they read a negative story about a woman who didn't undergo mammography and got advanced breast cancer than if they read a positive story about a woman who did undergo mammography and prevented advanced breast cancer. In fact, women who read the positive story were actually less likely to endorse mammography than women who were shown no message at all! This result was replicated in a subsequent field experiment (Finney & Iannotti, 2002). This finding is important, because it runs counter to the conventional wisdom among health communicators, who typically want to accentuate the positive and avoid fear appeals. For example, we found that many brochures promoting mammography featured "success stories" about women whose lives

had been saved by mammography—which seems to be a very reasonable message, except that the two studies mentioned above showed that such messages actually discourage women from getting mammograms. While communication professionals tend to shy away from fear appeals, a large body of research indicates that strong fear appeals, if combined with information on effective protective actions, can be very persuasive (see the meta-analysis by Witte & Allen, 2000).

Persuasive social comparisons. As noted earlier, consumers sometimes pay more attention to their comparative risk (e.g., "Is my risk of colon cancer above or below average?") than to their absolute risk (e.g., "Is my risk of colon cancer 4 percent or 8 percent?"). Therefore, if one's goal is to motivate protective behavior, risk messages should stress unfavorable risk comparisons as opposed to favorable risk comparisons. For example, if a woman has first-degree relatives who have had breast cancer, a persuasive message might (truthfully) say, "You are at greater-than-average risk of breast cancer because of your family history." Conversely, if a woman does not have any relatives who have had breast cancer, a persuasive message might (truthfully) say, "80 percent of women who get breast cancer have no family history of the disease." While it would also be truthful to tell this woman, "You are at lower-than-average risk of breast cancer," it would probably not be persuasive and might even discourage her from getting mammograms.

Making the promoted behavior the default. If you want to increase HIV testing, make HIV testing the default, but allow people to opt out. If you want to increase childhood vaccination, make vaccination the default, but allow parents to opt out. This not only makes HIV testing and vaccination the "paths of least resistance," but it means that declining these procedures requires an overt action (opting out), which means people are more likely to feel responsible for the consequences of declining. This is a way of overcoming omission bias.

A Final Caveat: Test, Test, Test

The principles discussed in this chapter provide general guidelines for designing risk-communication that are likely to be effective, based on a large body of previous research findings. But they are not a guarantee of success. Each risk-communication situation is unique, involving a unique behavior, a unique set of risks and benefits, and a unique audience. In addition, each risk message is a unique configuration of words, images, and (sometimes) numbers that can interact in unpredictable ways. Therefore, while the principles in this chapter should serve as useful guidelines for designing risk messages that are likely to be effective, it is crucial that all

risk messages be carefully pretested with members of the target audience before they are fully launched.

In many ways, this is analogous to testing potential new drug therapies in clinical trials before bringing the drugs to market. Basic pharmacological research provides helpful guidelines for identifying molecules that are likely to be helpful in treating a certain disease. However, each molecule then has to be carefully tested to determine whether it actually works as expected and whether it has any unexpected side effects. And sometimes, tiny differences between two molecules can be the difference between a drug that is safe and effective and one that is ineffective or even harmful. Similarly, psychological research provides helpful guidelines for designing messages that are likely to be effective. But the ultimate effectiveness can only be judged when the risk message is tested on a real audience.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Planning the Social Marketing Campaign

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Planning a social marketing campaign, like planning any other type of campaign, follows a fairly structured series of steps. Although the information contained in campaign plans is similar across domains (e.g., brand versus social marketing), the factors that influence campaign success in a social marketing context are somewhat different from those associated with other types of campaigns.

With regard to similarities across domain, there are several areas of social marketing campaign development that can be improved by drawing upon more traditional campaign planning processes; namely, developing a sufficient understanding of the environment and the target market segments/audiences, articulating measurable objectives, identifying resources available (or lack thereof) that can facilitate (or limit) the success of the campaign, and considering strategies to secure long-term success for the cause. Further, others have suggested the need to consider other contextual factors (Wymer, 2010, 2011), theoretical/behavior-based approaches to message development (Thackeray & Neiger, 2000; Huhman et al., 2004; Fraze, Rivera-Trudeau, & McElroy, 2007), and the incorporation of brand/equity building (Huhman et al., 2004; Hoeffler & Keller, 2002)—all potentially fruitful avenues that are relatively new and often underutilized.

This chapter introduces the social marketing campaign planning process, identifies challenges to achieving campaign success and potential

means of addressing these challenges, and presents possible opportunities for campaign development and positioning for success.

The Planning Process

Social marketing was established as a discipline more than four decades ago (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971) and has since been accepted as a process that fosters and promotes social change through the use and implementation of marketing principles (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971; Wiebe, 1951; Hill & Moran, 2011). Similar to selling products or services to consumers through various marketing efforts, social marketing presents a social issue or concern that requires a behavioral change by consumers. In contrast with traditional marketing that focuses on sales and profits, social goals reflect a desire to prompt a change in behavior that cumulatively benefits society (Kotler & Lee, 2007). Since the surge in social marketing, advertising agencies, nonprofit organizations and consulting firms specializing in the discipline have flourished. For example, Porter Novelli and Prospect Center are leaders in the consulting field. The Academy for Educational Development (AED) is a leading nonprofit organization concerned with social marketing, specifically focusing on social barriers to clean fuel adoption, while advertising agencies such as Ogilvy Mather and Burson Marsteller are making strides in offering clients social marketing capabilities (Andreasen, 2002). Social marketing is not limited to the United States and has become increasingly prominent in Europe, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom (Dooley et al., 2009; Donovan et al., 2009; Andreasen, 2002; National Social Marketing Centre, 2013).

Once an organization forges a communications plan to initiate a societal behavioral change, certain steps must be taken to implement a social marketing campaign. Whether an advertising agency is hired or the campaign is conducted in-house, the process is similar to that of a traditional communications campaign. However, differences emerge because social campaigns emphasize behavioral change (Andreasen, 2002), while traditional product campaigns focus primarily on a bottom line driven by profits and sales. Because of this distinction, social marketing researchers and dedicated organizations offer a variety of guidelines for the planning process, typically consisting of three to eight steps.

Several successful campaigns that have followed such processes provide evidence of effectiveness and success in changing behavior. For example, Andreasen (2002) suggests that the planning process for a social marketing campaign focus on six areas.

1. Ensure that behavior change is the primary benchmark measure.
2. Focus on consumer research—specifically, audience research—with pretests of any planned initiative before intervention takes place.
3. Segment the target audience to maximize reach and effectiveness.
4. Create meaningful exchanges that will attract and motivate the target group.
5. Implement strategies that take advantage of the full marketing mix.
6. Carefully monitor the competitive landscape.

An example of a campaign that followed these steps is the Census 2000 initiative (Andreasen, 2002; James, 2001), which identified the benchmark measure as a need to increase public response to the U.S. census. Through extensive research and after hiring a group of advertising agencies, the campaign highlighted a main message to a segment of citizens from diverse ethnic backgrounds (James, 2001). Essentially, after seeing a drop in census participation, the marketing strategy focused on asking citizens for an exchange of information so that the census could provide better services on both individual and communal levels. An innovative integrated marketing approach was used to reach young people as well as minority groups (i.e., groups to visit schools to generate interest). In the end, the campaign results revealed an increase in response rates and an overall positive change in behavior toward census data collection (Andreasen, 2002).

French and colleagues (2010) offer a similar approach, highlighting the use of the following eight benchmark criteria and principles when creating a social campaign:

1. The benchmark goal is behavioral change.
2. Focus on consumer-oriented research.
3. Use theory to drive communications.
4. Aim for consumer insights from research.
5. Focus on meaningful and consistent consumer exchange.
6. Thoroughly analyze potential competition.
7. Segment the target market.
8. Focus on the marketing mix (product, place, price, and promotion) in an integrated marketing approach.

Another successful initiative is a program used in the United Kingdom by the National Social Marketing Centre (NSMC), called the Total Process Planning Model. The model is made up of five key phases designed to unify the process, while providing a systematic planning approach for the social marketing discipline (Dooley, Jones, & Desmarais, 2009; National Social Marketing Centre, 2013). The five key phases are scope, develop,

implement, evaluate, and follow-up. More specifically, this approach requires the following activities:

1. Name the social issue, create an understanding across key stakeholders, identify the target audience, and establish behavioral goals and methods to promote behavioral change.
2. Test the campaign so that goals and objectives can be refined and adjusted.
3. Implement the social marketing intervention that is key to prompting the behavioral change among the target audience.
4. Evaluate the campaign in terms of impact and outcome.
5. After the evaluation phase, follow up with necessary action for the campaign based on findings (Dooley et al., 2009).

Many social marketing campaigns have put this particular model to the test and found that it yielded positive results. For example, the Heart Truth, a campaign aimed to raise awareness of women's heart disease, conducted extensive research on a specific segment of the population—women between the ages of 40 and 60—and continually monitored the progress of the campaign as suggested by the NSMC guidelines (Wayman, Temple, Taubenheim, & Long, 2008). A different campaign, Quit and Win—a program focused on helping smokers quit—also used the strategies suggested above and saw a surge in consumer involvement in the program as well as an increase in cessation rates (Lavack, Watson, & Markwart, 2007).

Each of these suggested frameworks rests on the idea that the main objectives in social campaigns are to motivate and facilitate behavioral change, conduct extensive research on audience segments, create attractive and motivational exchange opportunities, and ultimately, through these steps, entice the target to commit to a behavior shift. Overall, the different frameworks converge on several of the overarching steps involved in developing social marketing campaigns. Following is a summary of the suggested steps, as well as examples of how they can be implemented in a successful campaign. Specifically, the four phases outlined below are: (1) situation analysis, (2) objectives and budget, (3) execution, and (4) monitoring and evaluation.

Situation Analysis

As the first step in this initial phase, the advertising agency or company spearheading the social campaign identifies the cause or the benchmark change required. Including a historical review of the cause helps set the goals for the campaign as well. Understanding any previous pitfalls or

obstacles will aid in avoiding mistakes as the campaign progresses. Through the use of secondary and primary research, information is gathered and used to isolate a target market that will positively respond to a call for change and with which the message will resonate. Often, more than one audience is designated for a social effort, depending on the scope of the campaign.

Once the primary audience is determined, extensive research is conducted through the use of existing studies, governmental agency (e.g., Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC]) reports, thorough interviews, observations, and other qualitative methods. Companies such as Nielsen, Simmons, and MRI Plus provide an abundance of consumer data that is essential in this phase because it concentrates on specific consumer demographics, geographics, purchase and usage behavior, and media habits, all of which are crucial for understanding the target audiences. For example, when the American Legacy Foundation launched the Truth campaign to increase awareness and educate the public about the harmful effects of smoking, the foundation, together with advertising agency Arnold Communications (American Legacy Foundation, 2013), conducted extensive research and produced insights that were later incorporated into various campaign elements. Research showed that most smokers (more than 70 percent) began smoking before the age of 20 (American Legacy Foundation, 2013); thus, one segmentation strategy focused on changing behavior in this young demographic. One important finding taken from a survey conducted by the CDC noted that more than 70 percent of smokers wanted to quit at some time, thus supporting the theory that smokers are inclined to stop smoking and further cementing the behavior change needed. The same survey found that even though smokers had a desire to quit, most were unsuccessful in their efforts (CDC, 2002). Such findings are imperative in this stage of research because they support the basis for the campaign.

It is also important to examine the regulatory environment and competition during this phase because these external factors influence aspects of the planning process, just as they do in a traditional campaign. Recognizing the breadth and power of the competition at the start of the campaign is vital for success. Dating back to the Joe Camel years when advertising, games, and contests—along with the "cool" factor of Joe—enticed young consumers to smoke (Weinberger, Spotts, & Markos, 2010; Cohen, 2000), the heftiest competition for antismoking campaigns like Truth was the tobacco industry. Still, the antismoking messages used during this time were effective in influencing young people to either quit smoking or not start, despite millions of advertising dollars spent by large tobacco companies (Pechmann & Knight, 2002). Uncovering this fact during the research phase was important because it clearly showed that there was an opportunity for the

behavior change efforts to be effective despite the robust competition and push back.

In terms of regulation, the Truth campaign benefited from the assistance of the CDC and other regulatory agencies that were (and still are) on board to increase health awareness and make a positive change in society. In essence, governmental agencies helped fund the campaign by winning lawsuits against tobacco companies over the past three decades. In summary, during the first phase of campaign planning, the most important tasks are identifying the desired behavior change, segmenting the target market or markets, and understanding how the competition and regulatory environment can work for, or against, the campaign efforts.

Objectives and Budget

Determining the objectives for any campaign requires a quantifiable statement so that actions can be planned. Typically, in a marketing campaign, an objective will include a percentage increase or a benchmark sales figure based on existing statistics and figures. However, in a social marketing campaign, objectives focus on addressing awareness, decreasing or increasing usage (e.g., smoking), or changing a societal attitude. Still, in a social marketing setting, objectives are quantifiable because statistics related to consumer behavior are available and can be used to set the benchmark against which change is measured. For example, during the Truth campaign, learning that more than 70 percent of teens begin smoking before their eighteenth birthdays marked a clear starting point for determining an important objective: to decrease smoking by a specific percentage among teens and young adults.

Another step that is necessary before the objectives can be finalized is to determine the budget for the campaign. The purpose of drafting a budget is to provide substantiation for the money spent during a campaign and to outline how and where the money will be spent. In general, the budget outlines the amount of funds allotted to advertising, producing the advertising, compensating people, and executing promotions. For traditional campaigns, a number of budgetary methods are used, such as taking a percentage of the past year's sales or spending on par with the competition. In the social marketing setting, budgets are often allocated by government agency funding or through fundraising initiatives. For instance, when the Truth campaign was launched, budgets varied based on the state in which the campaign was launched; in Florida, $25 million was allocated to focus on teen antismoking initiatives. Funding for the Florida Truth campaign was determined after the state won a victory of $11.3 billion from the

tobacco industry (Social Marketing Institute, 2013). Overall, the Truth campaign received $300 million annually in funding from the government, which received compensation from tobacco companies to settle the numerous cases brought against the industry over the course of three decades (Krisberg, 2004).

Admittedly, receiving this type of funding is lucrative because of the potential dollar amount involved, but there is a risk of losing the funding because of legislative changes. Bearing this in mind, it is imperative to determine where the funds will come from and how long they will be available. Whether obtaining funding requires requesting it from governmental agencies or generating it through fundraising efforts, the budget must be in place before embarking on phase three of the campaign.

Execution

Once the objectives are set in light of the budget, a strategy for successfully meeting objectives must be outlined. The execution phase of the campaign accounts for the creative aspect, the media plan, and implementation of an integrated marketing approach. When devising the creative execution and copy plan for a campaign, the objectives are considered so that there is a synergy between what is desired and how those goals will be met. If, for instance, one objective is to persuade consumers to engage in healthy living, a key creative element is to present advertising that gives the "reasons why" a change in behavior is beneficial on an individual level and a societal one. A good example from the Truth campaign is the strategy in which facts about smoking and its negative health effects were presented regularly through a mix of media outlets The Truth Campaign, 2013); past research has found this approach effective in shifting attitudes toward smoking in teens (Pechmann & Ratneshwar, 1994; Pechmann & Knight, 2002).

Understanding how the audience will react to different advertising appeals is vital, as is choosing the best creative pieces for the segment. In early antismoking campaigns, research showed that teenagers do not respond well to fear appeals illustrating death or disease as a consequence of smoking. Instead, teens connect with advertising reflecting insecurities about appearance, how smoking affects cosmetic beauty, and the "uncool" factor associated with smoking (Michaelidou, Dibb, & Haider, 2008). Such insights are crucial in the creative process because executing ineffective messages is a waste of both time and money.

From a media planning perspective, extensive audience research conducted in phase 1 is pivotal in determining through which means—specifically, through which media outlets—the audience will best be

addressed. For example, using MRI Plus and Nielsen data highlights the media channels (e.g., television, Internet) through which the target audience can be reached effectively. Both databases provide detailed information on viewing habits and pertinent information about specific audience behaviors that are important when devising a media plan. Recognizing that the target audience is young and that its media habits include watching MTV and browsing the Internet, the Truth media plan dictated where and when the creative pieces would be shown, while reflecting the unique characteristics of the target audience. In addition to traditional media choices, the campaign implemented unconventional guerilla marketing tactics that caused a stir in the media. For example, the "Bodybag" campaign launched in New York City was extremely successful in getting attention from both consumers and media outlets alike.

Proponents of social marketing campaigns agree that an integrated marketing approach is required for success. The Truth campaign implements such an approach, based on extensive research on the target market and tools best suited to reach and connect with this group. The Truth media campaign has incorporated media outlets such as television, radio, and print, while featuring youth-led activism against smoking and tobacco companies. By using youth ambassadors to spread the message, the Truth campaign has connected with its target audience, delivered an antismoking message, and prompted the desired behavioral change. Successful executions have included ads featuring young people confronting the tobacco industry while also exposing marketing ploys that promote smoking, even though the risks are well understood. More recent efforts by the campaign have included the addition of modern marketing tools, including a YouTube channel, a social media presence through Twitter and Facebook, music sponsorships, an interactive website, and art initiatives (The Truth Campaign, 2013).

Tapping into an integrated marketing approach for social marketing is appealing and effective for many audience segments. Introducing multiple contact points allows for more interaction and repeated exchange, which is vital in social campaigns that require reminders to facilitate the desired change in behavior.

Integrating an Interactive Component to Campaigns

Advances in technology and the proliferation of the Internet have provided effective means for communicating marketing messages. In the social marketing arena, direct marketing has long been used to reach consumers to facilitate change. Particularly, email correspondence as a

form of direct marketing has proved successful because such communications act as a reminder to the target audience regarding the issue at hand, and they prompt action (Hurling et al., 2007; Lefebvre, 2009; Webb, Joseph, Yardley, & Michie, 2010). Moreover, research has found that interactivity is a key to engaging consumers (Steuer, 1992) because it keeps the consumer in continuous communication with the brand, thus making the consumer more motivated. New technology allows for two-way interaction between consumers and brands, which was not possible before the inception of the Internet or the adoption of Web 2.0 applications (e.g., blogs, social networks, photo-sharing sites). Integrating new interactive media tools into social marketing campaigns is an efficient way to change behavior without swamping the audience with advertising messages.

Recent research has reported an increased use of social media and nontraditional marketing approaches to reach consumers (Hill & Moran, 2011). Customized online tools present an opportunity to stimulate behavioral change because they allow people to move at their own pace, monitor their progress, and report their results as desired (Webb et al., 2010). For example, a mobile application that allows users to monitor their calorie intake and post their results on Facebook, Twitter, or an online community is a powerful tool for such purposes. In general, research has found that increasing self-efficacy aids in eliciting behavior change (Binks & van Mierlo, 2010). Offering contests, interactive games, and quizzes regarding health, for example, integrates interactive media components into social campaigns to influence behavior (Hill & Moran, 2011; Kreuter, Bull, Clark, & Oswald, 1999).

Another trend has focused on the notion of online communities, which are similar to brand communities, where a sense of unity and self-efficacy are created, resulting in positive feelings toward the brand or cause. In general, focusing on online programs can prove fruitful for social marketing campaigns aimed at behavioral change because people that participate in online communities tend to find emotional support and encouragement online, while also contributing to the greater good of society (Fournier & Lee, 2009).

Finally, an integrated marketing approach that uses multiple contact points to disseminate advertising is decidedly a major tenet of successful social marketing campaigns. Varying the media outlets used in a campaign while maintaining a consistent message increases the likelihood of change and that consumers will be stimulated enough to commit to long-term change (Brug, Oenema, Kroeze, & Raat, 2005). An integrated approach fosters an engaging environment that sways younger audiences and those that are distracted or reluctant to participate in a conversation or communication (Lee, Cheung, & Chen, 2005).

Monitoring and Evaluation

Once the campaign is launched, a system is needed to monitor and evaluate the campaign's progress as well as to make adjustments. The success or failure of any plan depends on its ability to deliver and meet the set objectives; thus, having a method to evaluate this is fundamental in assessing the progress of the campaign.

An important element of this final phase is monitoring progress during different intervals of the campaign to ensure that the plan is proceeding appropriately. Implementing interim evaluations is a good way to do this. One method is to use a test market, where a small segment of the audience is exposed to the advertisements before the entire campaign is launched so that their reactions and attitude shifts can be assessed. Another successful approach is to circulate surveys to consumers to assess their attitudes about the topic at hand after the campaign has begun. The Truth campaign used a survey measure called the Legacy Media Tracking Survey throughout the initial stages of the campaign (Niederdeppe, Farrelly, & Haviland, 2004); this measure tracked campaign progress using a random telephone survey of teens and young adults within the United States. In addition, surveys were conducted on segment samples drawn from various states where other antismoking campaigns existed to determine if there was overlap with the national Truth campaign. A final measure looked at the media portion of the plan, measuring the gross rating points (GRPs) delivered to a specific geographic location and how that correlated with instances of youth smoking. Both measures found the plan effective in the interim stage of the campaign. Specifically, more than 75 percent of the targeted youth segment reported having seen or heard an ad from the Truth campaign, and more than 66 percent of those surveyed reported that they would not try smoking in the coming year.

Overall, after evaluating the campaign results and comparing them with pre-Truth numbers, it was found that the campaign contributed to a decrease in youth smoking of more than 20 percent (American Legacy Foundation: Legacy for Health (2013)). While evaluating the final results of any campaign is important, monitoring progress throughout the campaign is one of the most useful measures to ensure that the objectives of the campaign are met.

Potential Challenges to Campaign Success

The previous section detailed the stages in the planning process and highlighted the need to consider situational and audience characteristics in order to develop both a strong message, a creative execution, a media plan

and an integrated communications strategy that will that will successfully deliver the message to the intended audience. Considering situation and audience characteristics parallels traditional campaign planning from a "process" perspective; however, challenges unique to social marketing must also be identified. With this in mind, the following sections discuss important differences in cause and context, challenges to budgeting, and uniqueness in audience identification and profiling.

Cause and Context

Wymer (2010, 2011) suggests that social marketers need to understand the context within which an individual engages in unhealthy behaviors. He and others argue that campaigns focused on persuading individuals to change unhealthy behaviors are unlikely to be effective without a clear understanding of the environmental—or what Wymer (2011) calls "upstream"—factors (c.f. Eggers & Swinburn, 1997; Hoek & Gendall, 2006; Ludwig & Nestle, 2008) that impact behavior. For example, as discussed later, it is difficult for individuals suffering from obesity to change their behavior when the choice environment frequently promotes unhealthy food options (Eggers & Swinburn, 1997).

Wymer (2011) offers a model to guide strategic planning that in addition to considering individual behavioral factors also considers: (1) those factors absent from the environment that are needed to promote healthy behavior (privation), and (2) those factors present in the environment that promote unhealthy behaviors (pathogenic agents). Although strategic planning for social marketing extends beyond the scope of campaign planning specifically, it is important to consider strategic elements that will affect the positioning of any given campaign, because ultimately the individual campaigns are tied to a longer-term strategic goal.

Lefebvre (2011) suggests that social marketers have made behavior change the central outcome of social marketing efforts, ahead of products and services that are also needed to address social concerns. Yet, ensuring that resources needed to support behavior change are in place can be an important precursor to the execution of a behavior change campaign. Thus, planners must consider when it is best to spend money on persuading individuals to change their behavior, given the potential need for changes in the environment either prior to or concurrent with a behavior-focused campaign. After substantive review of the situation from an environmental perspective, those involved with planning social marketing campaigns might find that funding communications to facilitate change in the environment early on in the lifecycle of a cause is an important first step.

Budgeting

Execution of a social marketing or any other campaign is partly a function of resources. Budgets for social marketing initiatives are far below those spent to successfully carry out commercial campaigns. For example, food industry advertising ran $11.64 billion in 2004; in comparison, a mere $9.99 million was spent by the U.S. government and California to promote healthy eating (Consumers Union, 2005). This vast difference in spending ability is suggestive of the limited share-of-voice (i.e., message weight) available to social initiatives in the marketplace. Although the Truth campaign demonstrated early success despite the amount of advertising by tobacco companies, it is important to remember that this particular cause had the benefit of successful litigation and press coverage. In line with Wymer (2011), such support (additional funds for campaigns, in this case) is needed to make individual-level campaigns effective. Otherwise, share-of-voice will be undermined by the sizable share-of-voice that "counter messages" have (c.f. Wymer, 2010). As exemplified by the food advertising versus healthy eating advertising expenditures, the audience of interest to any social cause receives numerous and conflicting messages (i.e., messages counter to the cause's interest) from other, potentially more powerful institutions (Wymer, 2010). Often these other messages reinforce behaviors that the consumer already engages in and may likely have a preference for; given these conditions, social marketing campaigns are not likely to be effective (Royne & Levy, 2008).

Regulatory agencies might assist social initiatives by establishing regulations that make commercial entities more accountable for the negative externalities produced by their participation in the marketplace. As was done with antismoking efforts, social causes can look for avenues to shift the burden of campaign cost, all or in part, to industry participants. For example, New York City has mandated that food service establishments provide calorie counts for standardized menu items (New York City Department of Health & Mental Hygiene, 2013). Thus, the cost of providing health-related information is borne, in part, by the commercial entities that are potentially contributing to unhealthy eating. Here, there is an appropriate match—restaurants bear the cost of communicating about what they are selling to their customers.

With continued stress on federal and state budgets for social programs, pressure to find new funding sources and donors will become increasingly challenging. Social marketers must therefore recognize that competition for funds among social causes will continue to increase and that

establishing a strong presence in the market for a cause is akin to a brand establishing a unique position in the minds of its audience base. Thus, communication strategies—methods of gaining support from policymakers, the media, and the general public—need to be included in the agenda-setting process (Lefebvre, 2011).

In addition to the message weight and budget issues that social marketers face, the availability of unhealthy options and the cost of those options as compared to healthy ones further act to reinforce unhealthy behaviors. Although some regulation has taken place with respect to labeling products and informing the public of health information, and although some industry participants have initiated a level of self-regulation (such as food makers and restaurants adding healthier offerings and cigarette companies offering low-nicotine alternatives), social marketers need to continue to find partners and influence regulators to put pressure on organizations that generate revenue from the sale of unhealthy products and services. As such, and as noted in the Cause and Context section, the focus of social campaigns might initially be on important stakeholders that provide products, services, and other resources needed for behavior change to ensue at the individual level.

Audience Factors

Once the social marketer has identified important situational and budget factors affecting campaign success, the campaign planner must choose the message, creative approach, and media strategy that will be most effective in achieving the established behavioral objectives. Here, the planner must consider who should be receiving the communication and what other needs these individuals might seek to satisfy. Understanding the audience means not only understanding how individuals respond to environmental factors that reinforce or interfere with the ability to engage in healthy living, but also understanding how individual goals (conscious and nonconscious) influence the choice of one behavior over another. While some behavioral theory has advanced in this area (e.g., the integration of social cognition theory; Finlay & Faulkner, 2005), others call for a greater understanding of additional behavioral factors such as motivation (Wymer, 2011). Further, as identified in the previous section, it is not enough to focus only on the individuals targeted for behavior change. Rather, sufficient understanding of goals and motivations of individuals and organizations that provide resources in support of social initiatives is also important because communications may in part target the donor/sponsor base and society at large.

In summary, considering both the individuals engaging in unhealthy behaviors and those that help fund and facilitate the social marketing initiative in a theoretically sound way will aid with building an effective campaign strategy. On both accounts, maintaining the relationship over time (i.e., keeping the targeted individuals from going back to their old behavior and keeping the givers giving) is important to long-term success. Building a critical mass of both individuals engaged in behavior change and donors/sponsors engaged in supporting such change will extend the life and success of a cause.

Targeted individuals. Unlike the typical audience targeted in a traditional marketing context, the individuals targeted by a social marketing campaign often are not interested in changing their behavior in line with the social initiative's suggestion. In essence, the social marketing campaign may be attempting to persuade consumers who are loyal to their behavior to effectively "switch". Thus, the strategies focused on motivating a change are potentially costly, slow endeavors with low probabilities of success because of high perceived switching costs and strong attitudes (Dick & Basu, 1994).

For illustrative purposes in discussing the challenges associated with persuading people to change their behavior, individuals are classified here into four broad categories: (1) those who want to change but do not; (2) those who say they want to change but act in such a way that contradicts this; (3) those who do not want to change, although they know their behavior is not healthy; and (4) those who do not think they need to change. The classification is meant to assist with understanding how individuals might be characterized by conflicting motivations and how planners might position messages to target the right motivations. Theories of motivation and goals can help connect the challenges faced at the individual level with challenges faced because of interaction with social and other environmental factors.

The first group, consisting of those who want to change but express that they cannot, may be facing both internal motivation issues (e.g., it is hard to change) and external factors that reduce the likelihood that they will abandon their current behaviors. Thus, they face goal conflict. Although these individuals may perceive value (benefit) in changing their behavior, the immediate time and effort needed to make a change may outweigh the benefit that may not be realized until sometime in the future. Moreover, the social environment, marketers, or others may be reinforcing the current behavior, and individuals' high perceived need for group affiliation or mere exposure to heavy marketing efforts will likely conflict with behavior change.

Individuals in this particular group are likely to have knowledge about the risks of their current behaviors and the benefits of change. Social campaigns targeting this group might therefore reinforce this knowledge but, more importantly, might emphasize the benefit relative to costs to the individual while also demonstrating a recognition of the influence of social others. It may be important to aid this group in the goal-setting and goal-pursuit process. In other words, a more interactive approach in communicating to this group—perhaps even a call to action—might be effective. Interactive technologies, discussed in the Planning Process section previously, can be used to assist individuals in goal planning in an achievable way, and rewards for goal achievement (ultimately a healthy lifestyle, although that is clearly a long-term goal) can be part and parcel of an effective interactive campaign.

The second group—those who say they want to change but do not behave in line with what they say—is challenging to address if the campaign planner just listens to what people say without really understanding the underlying motivations that are not voiced. Dual coding theory (Paivio, 2010) is helpful in understanding why what is voiced is not always representative of the real motivation to behave in a certain way. Manifest goals are those that are easy to voice whereas latent goals are more deep-seated and hard to voice, although they might really be stronger drivers of behavior. In terms of dual coding, verbal systems are more aligned with the expression of rational thoughts, whereas nonverbal systems are aligned with affect-based processing (c.f. Fosshage, 2005). Thus, it is important for planners to make sure they can uncover the potential for unvoiced motivations during the research process.

Additionally, individuals' latent goals, or those goals that are not easily voiced or recognized, can conflict with the overt or manifest goals. For example, although a person may want to save money for the future (manifest goal, easy to voice), that person may also desire the enjoyment that often comes from overspending (latent goal, hard to voice). If that need for enjoyment is sufficiently strong, the savings goal will be undermined. Because goals also may be in conflict for this group (though harder to recognize as that), campaigns need to be constructed with full knowledge of what is motivating behavior and to consider this kind of goal conflict. For example, enjoyment and indulgence can win out over a painful goal of changing and abstaining from behaviors. Therefore, a campaign objective for this group might be to reduce the approach-avoidance conflict that might be occurring, but here, an appeal that targets the latent motivations, rather than an active/goal pursuit strategy noted for group one, might be useful.

Individuals in the third group—those who do not want to change even though they know their behavior is unhealthy—may be better at understanding the sources of their motivations. They are not challenged with goal conflict, because the manifest goal of what they "should" do does not come into play; they do not have this goal. Thus, the emotion-based goals are better able to surface and can be expressed. Appropriate message strategies here might involve stimulating curiosity, such that these individuals are motivated to think about what they are doing and what might result from a change in their behavior. Such messages must not directly contradict the preferences of those in this group early on, because they will be somewhat resistant to changing current beliefs and likely to counterargue messages that are too challenging of those beliefs.

Individuals in the fourth group—those who do not perceive their behavior as being problematic—will not change their behavior, because they do not perceive themselves as being part of the target audience (e.g., "this doesn't represent me" or "this won't happen to me"). These individuals may well be rationalizing that their behavior is acceptable based on interpretation of the social environment, self-construal, or other factors that affect self-perception. The message to these individuals may be a difficult one to develop, because these individuals may be the true loyalists to the behavior that is satisfying their current need (as they currently see it). Thus, it may make sense to first target those groups that have a greater potential or readiness for change before targeting this more difficult, loyal group. If, for example, the social marketer seeks to change the behavior of a critical mass of consumers from the other three groups, then the individuals in the fourth group may well "come along," much like the laggards in the adoption curve (Rogers 1983).

Sponsors and donors. Among the multiple segments to which the social cause must direct communications exists the donor base and potential public partners needed to endorse and reinforce the initiative, such as schools, health departments, and regulatory bodies (Henley, Raffin, & Caemmerer, 2011). The donor/partner is akin to an investor in the cause, be it in monetary terms, time, or effort.

Sponsors or partners such as communities and governments recognize the social good of supporting social causes, as well as the reduction of social costs involved in doing so, but these institutions have limited budgets given their reliance on tax dollars for funding. If society at large does not recognize the value of the cause, these sponsors will be less willing to devote resources to such efforts. According to Sargeant and Woodliffe (2007), 60 percent of cash donors exit after the first donation. If this is the case, it

may also be likely that members of a community will be willing to support the use of tax dollars to support a cause once, but maybe not over the long term.

Unlike the typical investor in a traditional marketing campaign, the donor/sponsor of a social marketing campaign is not motivated by the potential for direct financial gain (with the potential exception of corporate sponsorships). Government sponsors, nonprofits, and other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) may, of course, recognize the long-term benefit of supporting a cause (e.g., less costly health care in the future for all or less costly environmental hazards), but without the support of individual members of the community, funding the initiative will be challenging regardless. For example, community or society members, including individual donors, may discount the benefit to be recognized in the future relative to the out-of-pocket cost today (c.f. Lefebvre, 2011). Emotion-based benefits realized through helping behavior, connections to a cause from a personal standpoint (e.g., knowing someone with cancer), or similar relationships are needed to create value for the donor who is also a member of society.

Although corporate sponsors may recognize financial gain from social responsibility campaigns connected to their organizations (Hastings & Angus, 2011), these companies are likely to endorse those causes that have attracted or have high potential to attract the attention of their current and potential customer bases. Thus, individual-level adoption of the cause (internalization) and the desire to support it is critical.

Opportunities to Increase the Probability of Long-Term Success

In the context of continuous improvement in the planning process, one opportunity for social marketing programs and the development of campaigns going forward is to take a lifecycle/behavioral brand equity approach. Thus far, literature focuses more on how social programs can achieve success by taking a marketing approach, with some emphasis on how behavioral theory can help ensure the success of campaigns. Yet, there is also rich literature on behavior-based branding that can inform social marketers on how to sustain or extend the life of a social program. Of course, not all causes require a long-term strategy. Some causes are very specific and require a shorter-term campaign solution only—for example, programs to promote disaster relief efforts following an unexpected catastrophe.

That said, many other social causes are ongoing concerns—obesity, tobacco usage, alcohol, gambling, safe sex, health-related behaviors, and so

on. These are initiatives that have a long life, may benefit from a branding perspective to build a loyal donor base, and reinforce the continued acceptance of behavior change at the societal level. Both target individuals and sponsors/donors need support and reminding; otherwise, they will perceive the behavior change or cause's efforts as being less important relative to other alternatives. As with any brand, a social marketing campaign cannot suddenly become silent in the market and continue to maintain its consumer base (and donor base). As noted by Henley and colleagues (2011), the cause must have a strategic commitment to supporting and measuring initiative success over the long term.

Consumer-Based Branding in Social Marketing Campaign Development

Connecting the cause to an audience is key to a successful campaign, so the goals of a social marketing campaign might take on the characteristics of a brand campaign built around differentiation, awareness and knowledge, and relevance.

BrandAsset Valuator developed the Brand Equity Evaluator (BEE) and suggest that there are four drivers of brand equity: relevance, differentiation, knowledge, and esteem. Brands that perform highly on these drivers also achieve high brand equity. Keller (2001) has similarly proposed that there are four stages in brand development that lead to high brand equity: brand identity (awareness of the brand and associations), brand meaning (perceptions of the brand's performance and imagery surrounding the brand), brand responses (judgments and feelings ensuing cognitively and affectively related to perceptions of brand performance/imagery), and brand relationship (the degree to which the brand resonates with the consumer). Other academics (Aaker, 1996) have similarly emphasized measuring brand equity. Achieving established goals using such branding perspectives may allow for systematic development of campaign objectives and executions that lead to long-term success of the cause.

Consider the example of a brand with very high brand equity: Coca-Cola (Batra & Homer, 2004). This particular brand keeps up with the changing values of its market. From the 1970s' flower children to today's "Happiness" campaign, Coca-Cola has connected to a broad spectrum of audience members. Moreover, the brand stands apart from others in the minds of consumers. Not only is it recognizable, the associative network formed in the minds of consumers is extensive and consistent across consumers. Beyond the meaning of the red-and-white coloring, people associate Coke with polar bears, glass bottles, and concepts such as fizzy/bubbly,

sweet, timeless, and happy. It is not only well-known, it is resistant to competition. Even if a person does not drink Coke, that person knows what it stands for: cool, all-American, and real (Pendergrast, 1993). The brand is unique, relevant, popular, and perceived as high quality (esteem), and there is a high level of consistent knowledge about the brand in the marketplace.

Some social causes are pursuing a branding effort, albeit on a smaller scale, and can leverage the current knowledge base in branding theory that scholars like Keller (2001) and Aaker (1996) continue to build. For example, be it accidentally or purposefully, Fair Trade has created a unique position in the minds of its market for the label and what it stands for, at least abstractly. Similar NGOs that are attempting to raise the awareness level of their sustainability efforts (e.g., Forest Stewardship Council, Marine Stewardship Council) have faced much more challenge (Cashore, 2008). These organizations work with academics in an attempt to understand how best to raise awareness, which is a necessary precursor to changing behavior. Current discussions have involved getting the NGOs to work together and to pool their budgets and their connections with industry partners to create a unifying brand that all NGOs can become part of (Cashore, 2008).

As discussed earlier, individuals may have different motives (goals) for engaging in unhealthy behaviors and these motives can conflict with the goal of engaging in healthy behavior. Such individuals may range from those who are unaware of the need for change to those who are very aware of the need but have not internalized the benefits of change given the social or environmental context. Social marketers likewise need to consider what type of message is important from a lifecycle perspective. If awareness is low, then the message needs to build awareness for the cause and what it stands for in a relevant and unique way. The message design must consider the targeted individuals in their social world, and in addition creative execution must break through the clutter by saying something different. The brand can build awareness and simultaneously influence attitudes toward the cause by creating positive associations—through behavioral conditioning, for example—and establish negative attitudes toward the behavior by using anxiety or fear approaches.

Once the cause is noticed and the consuming public gains a positive predisposition towards the campaign, the cause might then be successful in building a more persuasive message that incorporates elements that aid in educating about the cause and that is geared toward getting consumers to change their behavior. This particular strategy requires consumers to

already have a positive predisposition toward the behavior change or a negative predisposition toward the current behavior, indicating a readiness for change. Otherwise there is a significant risk of counterarguing or blocking out the message entirely. The persuasive elements must be introduced in such a way as not to challenge the existing thinking of the target individual too drastically. Adaptation-level theory (Helson, 1964) suggests that such a contrast will cause the receiver of the message to reject it because it is too far away from what the receiver believes to be true, but some contrast is necessary to change thinking.

Once an individual has committed to change, at least cognitively, the image building and reinforcement of that behavioral change should be the continued goal of the campaign. In this stage, the extensions of schema (beliefs held about the cause) and solidification of the cause's meaning should be the goal. Such a strategy will aid in making the change resistant to counter messages in the environment and increase the likelihood of long term success.

Formalizing the Planning Process

A major trend in the social marketing arena is the move toward formalizing the planning process in campaign building, mostly to differentiate the discipline and methodology from traditional marketing campaigns. Considering the differences between social objectives / outcomes and consumer brand marketing objectives / outcomes, a systematic approach to this type of marketing is warranted. Using a uniform approach, social marketers may benefit by consistently examining external factors influencing behavior, while at the same time broadening consumer theory to understand the individual within the social context. Moreover, this process accounts for the expected life of the cause allowing for substantial long-term success. Finally, addressing budgetary constraints by leveraging a variety of communication tools can aid in disseminating the social message effectively across groups.

Academics, organizations, and advertising agencies alike have proposed a number of systematic approaches for the planning and execution of social marketing campaigns. For example, NSMC's Total Planning Process Model has proven effective in Canada, and the VERB Campaign Logic Model has been used in cooperation with the CDC to increase awareness among youths about healthier lifestyles (CDC.gov, 2013). The VERB campaign uses a logic model to share information that facilitates planning and provides guidelines for the evaluation process (Huhman, Heitzler, & Wong, 2004). In addition to these broad-based programs, academics have

published research proposing guidelines with specific steps and foci for campaigns (Hill and Moran, 2011; Andreasen, 2003, 2006).

Although a number of planning and evaluation tools for social campaign management are available, each credible and effective, overlapping attributes do exist among these options. It makes sense to integrate key aspects of these models to create one cohesive program of action. Within a systematic context, insights that can be gained from a social marketing perspective and also from advertising and branding theory improve the content of the campaign plan and increase the likelihood of successfully meeting objectives. Drawing from the suggestions made by Wymer (2011) and considering the arguments made by Lefebvre (2011), developing campaigns that target important stakeholders, who in turn support behavior change through the supply of products and services, and/or through monetary donation, is also an important consideration.

Looking forward, branding the cause seems to be a lucrative and valuable avenue for social campaign planning. The rich literature in behavior-based brand-equity building and loyalty can serve as a foundation for long-term planning. Behavior change is typically a long process when considered at a societal level. Thus, maintaining loyalty across stakeholders can help ensure long-term success.

Finally, as technology—particularly interactive marketing tools—is increasingly used in marketing campaigns, it is important to incorporate digital elements in a purposeful way to reach modern audiences. Implementing an integrated approach ensures that desired outcomes are reinstated at multiple contact points during the life of the campaign, encouraging more interactivity and higher rates of success.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

Measuring the Impact of Social Marketing Programs Using Personal Well-Being Constructs

M. Joseph Sirgy

Typically, social marketing programs are evaluated using three sets of indicators involving outputs, outcomes, and impacts (e.g., Andreasen, 1995; Lefebvre & Flora, 1988; Patton, 1982; Wholey, Harty, & Newcomer, 1994). Outputs indicate a level of effort or resources invested in the program. For example, a social marketing campaign using advertising (TV ads, newspaper ads, magazine ads, radio ads, web ads, and outdoor ads) can be evaluated in terms of metrics such as impressions, gross rating points, reach, frequency, and so on.

Outcomes are changes that take place within the target population because of the intervention (i.e., the social marketing program). Typically, outcome indicators of social marketing campaigns may involve behavioral constructs ordered along a hierarchy of effects, such as awareness, knowledge/beliefs, attitude, behavior intention, and actual behavior. Consider a social marketing advertising campaign designed to reduce excessive drinking of alcohol among college students. Outcome indicators that may capture the effectiveness of the intervention may include:

1. Changes in individual actual behavior (e.g., percentage of college students reporting alcohol use in the past 30 days decreased from 50 percent to 37 percent as a result of the intervention);

2. Changes in behavioral intention (e.g., percentage of college students reporting that they intend to drink alcohol in the next week decreased from 66 percent to 52 percent as a result of the intervention);
3. Changes in attitude (e.g., percentage of college students reporting that they have an unfavorable attitude toward binge drinking increased from 45 percent to 63 percent as a result of the intervention);
4. Changes in knowledge and beliefs (e.g., percentage of college students reporting that binge drinking can be fatal increased from 43 percent to 59 percent as a result of the intervention); and
5. Changes in awareness (e.g., percentage of college students reporting that students drink excessively increased from 72 percent to 87 percent as a result of the intervention).

To further illustrate, consider the study conducted by Wechsler and colleagues (2003). This study was designed to evaluate the effectiveness of social norms marketing interventions to reduce college students' heavy alcohol use. Social norms marketing is a popular method to combat student alcohol abuse by attempting to highlight latent healthy norms about drinking. A typical social norm message is, "Most students have five or fewer drinks when they party," which is conveyed through a variety of mass media promotions such as posters and flyers. The goal is to reduce binge drinking by making students aware of the social norms regarding drinking in an attempt to motivate binge drinkers to reduce their drinking by adhering to the social norms regarding college students' drinking habits.

To evaluate the effectiveness of social norms marketing campaigns, Wechsler and colleagues (2003) used the following outcome measures in a survey directed to college students: (1) any alcohol use in the past year; (2) any alcohol use in the past month; (3) heavy episodic drinking, defined as the consumption of 5 or more drinks in a row at least once in the past 2 weeks for men and 4 or more drinks in a row for women; and (4) number of drinks consumed in the past month (20 or more drinks versus fewer than 20). Note that this study employed a set of indicators capturing changes in individual actual behavior.

Impacts are the ultimate results of a social marketing program, such as specific behavior changes at the aggregate level. For example, the impact of a social marketing program designed to combat excessive drinking among college students may involve specific forms of well-being indicators related to health and safety. This chapter focuses on impact indicators and makes an attempt to sensitize the reader to personal well-being indicators that are commonly used in survey research.

Three Conceptualizations of Personal Well-Being: The Ultimate Indicators

This section will make a distinction among three major concepts of personal well-being: hedonic well-being, life satisfaction, and eudaimonia. Then, it will discuss these concepts and provide examples of corresponding measures (cf. Sirgy, 2012).

Hedonic Well-Being

Hedonic well-being is the experience of positive emotions over time (Seligman, 2002; Sirgy & Wu, 2009). David Phillips (2006), a philosopher of happiness, distinguished between two approaches to happiness: hedonic and eudaimonic. In the hedonic approach, the individual is motivated to pursue self-preservation and self-enhancement. In contrast, eudaimonia focuses on concepts such as the good life, prudence, reason, and justice. In the eudaimonic approach, the individual is motivated to flourish, to contribute to society, and to achieve the highest standards of morality. But hedonic well-being focuses on pleasure and self-preservation. In that context, hedonic well-being is conceptualized in terms of positive/negative affect, hedonic sensations to momentary pleasures, and emotional well-being.

Hedonic well-being as positive and negative affect. Typically, quality-of-life (QOL) researchers measure hedonic well-being in terms of two types of affect, positive and negative, and then add the scores to derive an index of personal well-being (e.g., Bradburn, 1969; Chamberlain, 1988; Diener & Emmons, 1984; Diener, Sandvik, Seidlitz, & Diener, 1993; Diener et al., 1995; Headey, Kelley, & Wearing, 1993; Kim & Mueller, 2001; Lucas, Diener, & Suh, 1996; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). That is, a person who has a high level of personal well-being is one who has a preponderance of positive affect (such as joy, contentment, or pleasure) over negative affect (such as sadness, depression, anxiety, or anger).

QOL scholars have long argued and empirically demonstrated that positive and negative affect are relatively independent dimensions of hedonic well-being. Thus, people can be classified differently in terms of how they score on these two dimensions (Diener & Lucas, 1999), as follows:

1. Individuals experiencing high levels of pleasant affect plus low levels of unpleasant affect—"happy" people
2. Individuals experiencing low levels of pleasant affect plus high levels of unpleasant affect—"unhappy" people
3. Individuals experiencing high levels of both pleasant and unpleasant affect—"emotional" people

4. Individuals experiencing low levels of both pleasant and unpleasant affect—"unemotional" people

A popular measure used to capture positive and negative affect is the Intensity and Time Affect Scale (ITAS; Diener et al., 1995). The ITAS is a 24-item survey measure capturing how frequently respondents have experienced different positive (e.g., joy, affection) and negative (e.g., anger, fear) emotions in a given time interval. Study participants respond to a 7-point rating scale ranging from 1 (never experience) to 7 (always experience). Another measure of positive and negative affect that is gaining popularity in the QOL literature is the Scale of Positive and Negative Experience (SPANE), which was developed by Diener and his colleagues (2010). See SPANE in Table 8.1.

Hedonic well-being as hedonic sensations of momentary pleasures. Parducci's theory of happiness (Parducci, 1995) provides another conceptualization of hedonic well-being. Parducci viewed personal well-being as a theoretical summation of separate momentary pleasures and pains. Although personal well-being can refer to a particular moment, QOL researchers have used the concept to describe a person's state of affect over much longer periods. Thus, personal well-being is viewed as a conceptual summation of separate hedonic values, positive and negative, divided by the duration of that period.

Kahneman (1999) also conceptualized personal well-being as sensations that are associated with real-time feelings of happiness. He called this construct "objective happiness." Kahneman has employed the popular experiential sampling method to capture objective happiness. Subjects are contacted at set time intervals during the day and are asked to report the feelings they are currently experiencing (or have experienced during the last hour or so). See example survey indicators in Table 8.2.

Hedonic well-being as emotional well-being. Some QOL scholars treat the concepts of hedonic well-being and emotional well-being as the same thing. The most popular measure of emotional well-being is the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) measure (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Simsek (2011) has developed a more macro measure of emotional well-being that makes reference to "life." This measure is shown in Table 8.3.

Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction is a more macro concept than hedonic well-being. Life satisfaction is experienced when a person achieves a high state of

Table 8.1 Scale of Positive and Negative Experience

Please think about what you have been doing and experiencing during the past 4 weeks. Then report how much you experienced each of the following feelings, using the scale below. For each item, select a number from 1 to 5, and indicate that number on your response sheet.

1 = very rarely or never
2 = rarely
3 = sometimes
4 = often
5 = very often or always

- Positive
- Negative
- Good
- Bad
- Pleasant
- Unpleasant
- Happy
- Sad
- Afraid
- Joyful
- Angry
- Contented

Scoring: The measure can be used to derive an overall affect balance score, but it can also be divided into positive and negative feeling scales.

Positive feelings (SPANE-P): Add the scores, varying from 1 to 5, for the six items: positive, good, pleasant, happy, joyful, and contented. The total score can vary from 6 (lowest possible) to 30 (highest possible).

Negative feelings (SPANE-N): Add the scores, varying from 1 to 5, for the six items: negative, bad, unpleasant, sad, afraid, and angry. The total score can vary from 6 (lowest possible) to 30 (highest possible).

Affect balance (SPANE-B): The negative feelings score is subtracted from the positive feelings score, and the resultant difference score can vary from -24 (unhappiest possible) to 24 (happiest possible).

Note. From "New Well-Being Measures: Short Scales to Assess Flourishing and Positive and Negative Feelings" by E. Diener, D. Wirtz, W. Tov, C. Kim-Prieto, D. Choi, S. Oishi, and R. Biswas-Diener, 2010, *Social Indicators Research*, *97*, p. 153–154. Copyright 2010 by Social Indicators Research. Adapted by permission.

Table 8.2 Measuring Hedonic Sensations of Momentary Pleasure

Ecological Momentary Assessment Participants are given a sampling diary and are instructed to rate their current feelings on a series of affect adjectives (happy, tired, stressed, frustrated, and angry) on 5-point scales ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much) at six time points: at the office, at bedtime, 30 minutes after waking the next morning, at noon, and at 3:00 p.m.
Day Reconstruction Method A diary is completed online at the end of each 24-hour period. Participants are asked to recall the monitoring period as a continuous series of episodes (e.g., similar to episodes of a television show). Each episode is defined in terms of time of onset and duration, location, social situation, and activity. After the complete 24 hours are reconstructed, participants rate their feelings related to each episode on a series of affective states (happy, tired, worry, feeling hassled, angry, and frustrated) on 7-point scales ranging from 0 (not at all) to 6 (very much).

Note. From "A Comparison of Affect Ratings Obtained with Ecological Momentary Assessment and the Day Reconstruction Method" by S. Dockray, N. Grant, A. Stone, D. Kahneman, J. Wardle, and A. Steptoe, 2010, *Social Indicators Research*, *99*, pp. 271–272. Copyright 2010 by Social Indicators Research. Adapted by permission.

well-being, both mentally and physically (Veenhoven, 2000). The concept refers to feelings of hedonic well-being plus the action that generates personal growth. It is the engaged life (Seligman, 2002), as distinguished from the pleasant life and the meaningful life (cf. Sirgy & Wu, 2009). To illustrate, a person may experience perfect bliss at any given moment in time (hedonic well-being), but that person may not also be experiencing life satisfaction. Life satisfaction necessitates engagement in life to realize one's potential. People who achieve personal fulfillment may experience life satisfaction.

Many QOL researchers view life satisfaction as a "cognitive" conceptualization of happiness or subjective well-being (Diener, 1984; also see Veenhoven, 1984a, 1984b; and Veenhoven et al., 1994, for literature reviews). Life satisfaction may involve judgments of fulfillment of important needs, goals, and wishes. The life satisfaction conceptualization of personal well-being is largely based on seminal studies by the founding fathers of the life satisfaction research movement, Andrews and Withey (1976); Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976); Cantril (1965); Diener (1984); and Michalos (1985). More explicitly, Diener, Horwitz, and Emmons (1985) defined life satisfaction as "a cognitive judgmental process

Table 8.3 Emotional Well-Being Scale

Positive Emotional Well-Being

- Life gives me pleasure.
- Life excites me.
- I feel at peace with life.
- I am content with life.
- I appreciate the life I lead.
- I completely accept life as it is.

Negative Emotional Well-Being

- I feel pain about my life.
- I feel upset about my life.
- The life I lead gets me down.
- The life I lead frightens me.
- I worry about the life I lead.
- The life I lead saddens me.
- I feel I'm wasting my life.

Response scale: 5-point Likert scale varying from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Note. From "Happiness Revisited: Ontological Well-Being As a Theory-based Construct of Subjective Well-Being" by O. F. Simsek, 2009, *Journal of Happiness Studies, 10*, 505–522. Copyright 2009 by *Journal of Happiness Studies*. Adapted by permission.

dependent upon a comparison of one's circumstances with what is thought to be an appropriate standard" (p. 71). The life satisfaction view of personal well-being is defended by many philosophers. For example, Tatarkiewicz (1976) has argued that happiness is satisfaction with one's life as a whole. People are happy when they are fully satisfied with their present, past, and future life circumstances (cf. Brandt, 1967; Sumner, 1996; Telfer, 1980).

Typical studies of life satisfaction use a single indicator in surveys in which respondents are asked to assess how their lives have been going over some period (e.g., the last few weeks, months, or years). A typical survey indicator of life satisfaction is a single item with a three-point scale, such as: "Taken all together, how would you say things are these days—would you say that you are very happy (1), pretty happy (2), or not happy (3)?" (Andrews & Robinson, 1991).

The Cantril Ladder (Cantril, 1965) is another popular single indicator of life satisfaction. It employs a visual graph of a ladder to capture respondents' feelings about their lives overall. The measure has the following instructions:

> The respondent is first asked to describe wishes and hopes for his or her future, and then describe what would be the most unhappy life for him or her. The respondent is then presented with a picture of a ladder numbered from zero on the bottom rung to nine on the top rung. The respondent is then asked to suppose that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for him or her, and the bottom represents the worst possible life. The respondent is then asked: "Where on the ladder do you feel you stand at the present time? Here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder the worst possible life. Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?" (0–10 rating scale using a picture of a ladder)

With respect to measures of life satisfaction that involve multiple indicators, the reader should be cognizant of the popular Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al., 1985). The survey measure has five items rated on a seven-point Likert scale. The items are shown in Table 8.4. The SWLS has been validated in many contexts (Bai, Wu, Zheng, & Ren, 2011; Gouveia, Milfont, Nunes da Fonesca, Pecanha de Miranda Coelho, 2009; Swami & Chamorro-Premuzic, 2009; Wu & Wu, 2008).

Life satisfaction as domain satisfaction. Much research on subjective well-being has focused on conceptualizing and measuring personal well-being in terms of life domain satisfaction. That is, high personal well-being is viewed as satisfaction in various and salient life domains. Following are examples of popular domain satisfaction measures.

Andrews and Withey (1976) conducted a study to measure personal well-being at the national level. The survey (N = 5,000) obtained self-reported assessments about a factor analyzed list of life domains and also included a global question about satisfaction with life in general. These assessments were guided by the theoretical notion that personal well-being is an overall sense of well-being reflecting affective responses to various life domains. This effort generated a linear additive indicator of personal well-being called the Index of Overall Life Quality.

Social marketing scholars should also be aware of the Quality-of-Life Inventory (QOLI; Frisch, 1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1998). Frisch conceptualized domain satisfaction in terms of 16 dimensions: (1) health, (2) self-esteem, (3) goals and values, (4) money, (5) work, (6) play, (7) learning, (8) creativity, (9) helping, (10) love, (11) friends, (12) children, (13) relatives, (14) home, (15) neighborhood, and (16) community. Under the QOLI, life satisfaction is defined as the degree to which individuals feel their most important needs, goals, and wishes are being met in the most important life domains. An overall life satisfaction score is computed by

Table 8.4 Satisfaction with Life Scale

- In most ways my life is close to ideal.
- The conditions of my life are excellent.
- I am satisfied with my life.
- So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
- If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

Response scale: Responses are captured on 7-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

From "The Satisfaction with Life Scale" by E. Diener, R. A. Emmons, R. J. Larsen, and S. Griffin, 1985, *Journal of Personality Assessment, 49*, pp. 71–75. Copyright by *Journal of Personality Assessment*. Adapted by permission.

adding the satisfaction ratings for each important life domain. For each domain, the satisfaction score is multiplied by an importance weight. The weighted domain satisfaction scores are then summed and divided by the sum of the weights.

Another popular domain satisfaction measure is the ComQuality of Life-A5 (Cummins, 1993, 1996, 1997a, 1997b; Cummins, McCabe, Romeo, & Gullone, 1994). With this measure, personal well-being is captured in subjective terms in relation to the following life domains: (1) material well-being, (2) health, (3) productivity, (4) intimacy, (5) safety, (6) place in community, and (7) emotional well-being. An overall life satisfaction score is derived by summing the domain satisfaction scores (weighted by the perceived importance of those domains). Internal consistency tests have shown that the objective, importance, and satisfaction subscales have satisfactory reliability. Test-retest correlations (five-month interval) have been reported to be satisfactory, too. The ComQuality of Life-A5 has been updated and renamed the Personal Well-Being Index (PWI) (Cummins et al., 2003; Nielsen, Paritski, & Smyth, 2010; Nielsen, Smyth, & Zhai, 2010; Renn et al., 2009; Smyth, Nielsen, & Zhai, 2010; Tiliouine, Cummins, & Davern, 2006). See Table 8.5 for the survey items of the PWI.

Eudaimonia

Going back to Seligman's (2002) distinction among the pleasant life, the engaged life, and the meaningful life, the concept of eudaimonia seems most consistent with the concept of the meaningful life (cf. Sirgy & Wu, 2009). The ancient Greek philosophers Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle associated personal well-being with virtue (e.g., Aristotle, 340 BC/1986;

Table 8.5 Personal Well-Being Index

Part 1: Life Satisfaction Overall

Thinking about your own life and personal circumstances, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole?

Part 2: Domain Life Satisfaction

1. How satisfied are you with your standard of living?
2. How satisfied are you with your health?
3. How satisfied are you with what you are achieving in life?
4. How satisfied are you with your personal relationships?
5. How satisfied are you with how safe you feel?
6. How satisfied are you with feeling part of your community?
7. How satisfied are you with your future security?
8. How satisfied are you with your religion or spirituality?

Response scale: Responses are recorded on an 11-point scale varying from 0 (extremely dissatisfied) to 10 (extremely satisfied).

Note. From "Personal Wellbeing Index in a National Cohort of 87,134 Thai Adults" by V. Yiengprugsawan, S. Seubsmann, S. Khamman, L. L.-Y. Lim, A. C. Sleigh, & The Thai Cohort Study Team (2010), *Social Indicators Research, 98*, p. 213. Copyright by Social Indicators Research. Adapted by permission.

Plato, 360 BC/1892). In Plato's dialogue "Gorgias," Socrates tells Polus, "The men and women who are gentle and good are also happy, as I maintain, and the unjust and evil are miserable" (Plato, 360 BC/1892, p. 529). These Greek philosophers believed that people become happy through wisdom and choosing wisely, and people do not act irresponsibly toward themselves or others when they choose wisely.

Thus, eudaimonia refers to a life that is good in all respects, including the moral life. It is a life that is desirable, enviable, and admirable. Haybron (2000) illustrates the concept of eudaimonia by describing an evil person as someone who may be psychologically happy (high on hedonic well-being) and well off in every way (high on life satisfaction) but is a parasite to society (e.g., low on eudaimonia; cf. Austin, 1968; Goldstein, 1973; McFall, 1989).

Eudaimonia as self-determination. Ryan and Deci (2000) have suggested that there are several universal human psychological needs, such as the need for competence, relatedness, and autonomy, that contribute to human flourishing. An example of a measure of self-determination applied to a work setting is the Work Motivation Form-Employee (WMF-E) inventory (Kasser, Davey, & Ryan, 1992). The WMF-E measures employees' perceptions of the extent to which they experience three motivating factors

in their current job: autonomy (six items, e.g., "Do you work because the work is important to you?"), relatedness (three items, e.g., "How much do you consider the people you work with to be your friends?"), and competence (three items, e.g., "How difficult is work for you?").

Eudaimonia as human flourishing. Ryff (1989) defined human flourishing in terms of psychological well-being, which involves six dimensions: self-acceptance, positive relations with others, personal growth, purpose in life, environmental mastery, and autonomy (cf. Burns & Machin, 2009; Ryff, 1989; Ryff & Keyes, 1995; Ryff & Singer, 1996, 1998; van Dierendonck et al., 2008). See the measure in Table 8.6. A more recent measure of human flourishing is the Flourishing Scale (Diener et al., 2010). This is a brief, eight-item measure of the respondent's self-perceived success in important areas of life, such as relationships, self-esteem, purpose, and optimism. Table 8.7 shows the measure.

Eudaimonia as having purpose in life. QOL researchers have produced evidence suggesting that purpose in life plays a very important role in personal well-being. Philosophers have long debated the concept of purpose in life and its role in personal well-being (Frankl, 1963, 1967; Steger, Frazier, Oishi, & Kaler, 2006). The argument goes like this: People who are aware of what life aspects are most important and live their lives consistently with those values are likely to experience high levels of personal well-being.

A popular survey measure of purpose in life is the Meaning in Life Questionnaire-Presence Subscale (MLQ-P; Steger et al., 2006). The MLQ-P measure captures the degree to which people feel their lives are meaningful (five items; e.g., "I have a good sense of what makes my life meaningful"). Survey responses are captured on a seven-point rating scale ranging from 1 (absolutely untrue) to 7 (absolutely true). More recently, Schulenberg and Melton (2010) have provided some evidence of construct validity for another popular measure, the Purpose-in-Life (PIL) measure (Chamberlain & Zika, 1988; Dyck, 1987; Hicks & King, 2007; Melton & Schulenberg, 2008; Morgan & Farsides, 2009; Schulenberg, Schnetzer, & Buchanan, 2011). This instrument measures attempts to capture respondents' feelings regarding

- the extent to which they feel enthusiasm in living,
- whether they feel life is exciting,
- if they have clear life goals,
- whether the life they have lived has been worthwhile,
- whether they have a reason for being alive,
- whether the world is meaningful, and
- whether they feel they have a life purpose.

Table 8.6 Ryff's Psychological Well-Being Measure

Autonomy

- I am not afraid to voice my opinions even when they are in opposition to the opinions of most people.
- My decisions are not usually influenced by what everyone else is doing.
- I have confidence in my opinions even if they are contrary to the general consensus.
- Being happy with myself is more important than having others approve of me.
- I tend to worry about what other people think of me. (reverse coded)
- I often change my mind about decisions if my friends and family disagree. (reverse coded)
- It is difficult for me to voice my own opinions on controversial matters. (reverse coded)

Positive Relations with Others

- Most people see me as loving and affectionate.
- I enjoy personal and mutual conversations with family members or friends.
- People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others.
- I know that I can trust my friends, and they know that they can trust me.
- I often feel lonely because I have few close friends with whom to share my concerns. (reverse coded)
- I don't have many people who want to listen when I need to talk. (reverse coded)
- It seems to me that most other people have more friends than I do. (reverse coded)

Environmental Mastery

- I am quite good at managing the many responsibilities of my daily life.
- I generally do a good job of taking care of my personal finances and affairs.
- I am good at juggling my time so that I can fit everything in that needs to be done.
- I have been able to build a home and a lifestyle for myself that is to my liking.
- I do not fit very well with the people and the community around me. (reverse coded)
- I often feel overwhelmed by my responsibilities. (reverse coded)
- I have difficulty arranging my life in a way that is satisfying to me. (reverse coded)

Personal Growth

- I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how you think about the world.
- I have the sense that I have developed a lot as a person over time.
- I am not interested in activities that expand my horizons. (reverse coded)
- I don't want to try new ways of doing things—my life is fine the way it is. (reverse coded)
- When I think about it, I haven't really improved much as a person over the years. (reverse coded)
- I do not enjoy being in new situations that require me to change my old familiar ways of doing things. (reverse coded)
- There is a truth in the saying that you can't teach an old dog new tricks. (reverse coded)

Purpose in Life

- I am an active person in carrying out the plans I set for myself.
- I enjoy making plans for the future and working to make them a reality.
- I tend to focus on the present because the future nearly always brings me problems. (reverse coded)
- My daily activities often seem trivial and unimportant to me. (reverse coded)
- I don't have a good sense of what it is I am trying to accomplish in life. (reverse coded)
- I used to set goals for myself, but that now seems a waste of time. (reverse coded)

Response scale: Responses are captured on 6-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree).

From "An Evaluation of the Precision of Measurement of Ryff's Psychological Well-Being Scales in a Population Sample" by R. A. Abbott, G. B. Ploubidis, F. A. Huppert, D. Kuh, and T. J. Croudace (2010), *Social Indicators Research, 97*, 360–362. Copyright by Social Indicators Research. Adapted by permission.

Eudaimonia as positive mental health or flourishing. Keyes (1998) has long advocated a positive mental health concept of personal well-being. Positive mental health involves not only feeling good but also functioning well. He has argued that positive mental health is flourishing in life, whereas the absence of positive mental health is languishing in life. Thus, positive mental health is a syndrome of symptoms of both positive feelings and positive functioning in life. Keyes (2002) identified 13 dimensions of positive mental health:

1. Positive emotions
2. Avowed satisfaction with life

Table 8.7 Flourishing Scale

- I lead a purposeful and meaningful life.
- My social relationships are supportive and rewarding.
- I am engaged and interested in my daily activities.
- I actively contribute to the happiness and well-being of others.
- I am competent and capable in the activities that are important to me.
- I am a good person and live a good life.
- I am optimistic about my future.
- People treat me with respect.

Response scale: Responses are recorded on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Note. From "New Well-Being Measures: Short Scales to Assess Flourishing and Positive and Negative Feelings" by E. Diener, D. Wirtz, W. Tov, C. Kim-Prieto, D. Choi, S. Oishi, and R. Biswas-Diener, 2010, *Social Indicators Research*, *97*, 154–155. Copyright 2010 by Social Indicators Research. Adapted by permission.

3. Making a contribution to society
4. Social integration
5. Social growth and potential
6. Acceptance of others
7. Social interest and coherence
8. Self-acceptance
9. Environmental mastery (control)
10. Positive relations with others
11. Personal growth
12. Autonomy
13. Having purpose in life

A measure of positive mental health was found to be positively related to extroversion, conscientiousness, and agreeableness and negatively related to introversion (Joshanloo & Nostrabadi, 2009), a pattern of findings consistent with much of the research in personality and subjective well-being (cf. Keyes, 2006a, 2006b).

Eudaimonia as satisfaction of the full spectrum of human needs (basic and growth needs). Personal well-being can also be construed as need satisfaction related to the full spectrum of human development needs. One popular humanistic approach is Maslow's (1954/1970) hierarchy of needs. True happiness is experienced when the individual experiences satisfaction with not only basic needs (e.g., biological needs, safety needs, and economic needs) but also with growth needs (e.g., social, esteem, self-actualization, knowledge, and aesthetic needs; cf. Sirgy & Wu,

2009). My colleagues and I (Kosenko, Sirgy, & Efraty, 1990; Sirgy et al., 1995) developed a measure of personal well-being based on the notion that personal well-being is satisfaction with both basic and growth needs. Four need categories were used: survival needs, social needs, ego needs, and self-actualization needs. The items are shown in Table 8.8.

Conclusion

The three major sets of constructs of personal well-being (hedonic well-being, life satisfaction, and eudaimonia) are highly akin to Seligman's (2002) distinction of the pleasant life (hedonic well-being), the engaged life (life satisfaction), and the meaningful life (eudaimonia). In essence, this is Seligman's view of the concept he calls "authentic happiness." One can argue that personal well-being is an amalgam of these three major constructs.

Table 8.8 Need Satisfaction Hierarchy Measure of Well-Being

- The feeling of having been secure
- The feeling of having given to (and having received help from) others
- The feeling of having developed close friendships
- The feeling of having been "in the know"
- The feeling of self-esteem (pride) one has about oneself
- The feeling of prestige (reputation) one has about oneself
- The feeling of having experienced independent thought and action
- The feeling of having determined one's life course
- The feeling of having experienced personal growth and development
- The feeling of having experienced self-fulfillment
- The feeling of having had worthwhile accomplishments

The following scales are used to record responses for each of the 11 items:

How much is there now?	Minimum 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Maximum
How much should there be?	Minimum 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Maximum

The overall life satisfaction score of a particular respondent is computed by taking the absolute difference score (between "How much is there now?" and "How much should there be?") for each item and deriving an average score. The lower the resultant average score, the higher the overall life satisfaction.

Note. From "Developing a Life Satisfaction Measure Based on Need Hierarchy Theory" by M. J. Sirgy, D. Cole, R. Kosenko, H. L. Meadow, D. Rahtz, M. Cicic, G. X. Jin, D. Yarsuvat, D. L. Blenkhorn, and N. Nagpal, in M. J. Sirgy and A. C. Samli (Eds.), *New Dimensions of Marketing and Quality of Life* (p. 6), 1995, Westport, CT: Greenwood. Copyright 1995 by M. Joseph Sirgy and A. Coskun Samli. Adapted by permission.

Peterson, Park, and Seligman (2005) developed a measure based on Seligman's theory of authentic happiness (cf. Chen, 2010; Peterson, Ruch, Beerman, Park, & Seligman, 2007; Vella-Brodrick, Park, & Peterson, 2009). The measure is shown in Table 8.9 and seems to capture the three major constructs of personal well-being: hedonic well-being, life satisfaction, and eudaimonia.

This chapter has attempted to describe popular constructs and measures of personal well-being as indicators of the impact of social marketing

Table 8.9 Orientations to Happiness Scale

The Pleasant Life

- Life is too short to postpone the pleasures it can provide.
- I go out of my way to feel euphoric.
- In choosing what I do, I always take into account whether it will be pleasurable.
- I agree with the statement: "Life is short—eat dessert first."
- I love to do things that excite my senses.
- For me, the good life is the pleasurable life.

The Engaged Life

- Regardless of what I am doing, time passes very quickly.
- I seek out situations that challenge my skills and abilities.
- Whether at work or play, I am usually "in a zone" and not conscious of myself.
- I am always very absorbed in what I do.
- In choosing what to do, I always take into account whether I can lose myself in it.
- I am rarely distracted by what is going on around me.

The Meaningful Life

- My life serves a higher purpose.
- In choosing what to do, I always take into account whether it will benefit other people.
- I have a responsibility to make the world a better place.
- My life has a lasting meaning.
- What I do matters to society.
- I have spent a lot of time thinking about what life means and how I fit into the big picture.

Response scale: 5-point rating scale ranging from 1 (very much unlike me) to 5 (very much like me).

Note. From "Validating the Orientations to Happiness Scale in a Chinese Sample of University Students" by G-H. Chen, 2010, *Social Indicators Research, 99*, p. 435. Copyright 2010 by Social Indicators Research. Adapted by permission.

programs. As previously mentioned, impact indicators are different from output and outcome indicators. Impact indicators are end goals in a hierarchy of indicators (output → outcomes → impact). Of course, personal well-being constructs and their corresponding indicators may not be suitable as impact indicators for all social marketing programs. However, personal well-being is likely to apply to a vast majority of social marketing programs. I urge my research colleagues in social marketing to place more emphasis on the metrics used to gauge the impact of social marketing programs.

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CHAPTER NINE

Leveraging Corporate Social Responsibility to Maximize Social Value

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Corporate social responsibility (CSR), or "a firm's commitment to maximize long-term economic, societal and environmental wellbeing through business practices, policies and resources" (Du, Bhattacharya, & Sen, 2011, p. 1528), has received unprecedented attention from scholars and practitioners. A large and growing body of evidence suggests that CSR activities can enhance business performance (Margolis, Elfenbein, & Walsh, 2009). Through CSR actions, a company enacts and upholds the sociocultural norms in its institutional environment and thus attains social legitimacy (Handelman & Arnold, 1999; Palazzo & Scherer, 2006). In turn, stakeholders reward good corporate citizens by engaging in pro-company behaviors. For example, consumers are more likely to purchase products from and be loyal to such companies (Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001). Similarly, socially responsible companies enjoy a significant advantage in attracting, motivating, and retaining talented employees (Greening & Turban, 2000; Surroca, Tribó, & Waddock, 2010; Turban & Greening, 1997).

Interestingly, most CSR research has focused on business value but has largely ignored social value. Yet it is critical to understand how CSR creates social value. We emphasize that it is crucial to put the "social" back into

corporate social responsibility, not only because it is in and of itself important for CSR initiatives to create social value but also because, in many circumstances, social value is the route through which CSR initiatives gain credibility in the eyes of stakeholders and thus generate business value (Bhattacharya, Sen, & Korschun, 2011). As can be seen from the mission statements of many companies, creating social value and making the world a better place is often a major reason why companies engage in CSR. To illustrate, Tom's of Maine (2013) states that it not only wants to give to communities, but to "inspire all those we serve with a mission of responsibility and goodness." In its corporate blog, Symantec (2013) states that when employees volunteer, they "bring the program to life, inspire others, and make true impacts in our communities and business."

Research has shown that the social value of CSR activities often leads to business value. Stakeholders are usually suspicious of "greenwashing," or companies' paying lip service to CSR (Yoon, Gurhan-Canli, & Schwarz, 2006), and rely on diagnostic cues such as the social impact of CSR initiatives to gauge whether the company is genuinely concerned about societal welfare. When a company does make a significant impact on its intended beneficiaries, stakeholders perceive its social initiatives as credible and authentic, and they reciprocate by rewarding the company. Du, Sen, and Bhattacharya (2008) found that stakeholders' willingness to support a company is directly linked to their perception of the social efficacy of the company's CSR initiatives.

This chapter seeks to enhance readers' understanding of when and how CSR creates social value. By social value, we mean improvements to societal welfare as the result of a firm's CSR activities. There are different dimensions to the social value created by CSR, including stakeholders' awareness and knowledge of the social issue, direct benefits to the cause (e.g., financial resources, facilities), and behavioral change that is beneficial to individuals and society. Consider the example of Toys "R" Us' partnership with Autism Speaks. Through this initiative, Toys "R" Us employees have joined Walk Now and other CSR events, raising society's awareness of autism (Autism Speaks, 2013). The company holds in-store fundraising during Autism Awareness Month each April and has collected more than $16 million in donations to date. This initiative also promotes "Safe Play Tips" relating to autism, designed to encourage the adoption of behavior changes by parents and their autistic children, thus enhancing the safety of play environments for children with autism.

Understanding the link between CSR and the different dimensions of social value creation is important for managers seeking to maximize joint social and business returns, as well as for scholars examining the

complementary roles played by businesses, government, and nonprofits in solving complex social issues (Waddock, 2008). This chapter presents a framework, adapted from our prior research (Bhattacharya et al., 2011; Du et al., 2008), that sheds light on the mechanism through which CSR generates social value. It begins by providing an overview of CSR and the recent trends in the field that are relevant to our topic. It then discusses in more detail the CSR → social value framework and three key mechanisms for maximizing social value creation.

Evolution of CSR

While CSR is by no means a new idea, it has gained tremendous momentum over the past 10 years (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2004; Porter & Kramer, 2011; Smith, 2003). Numerous companies are now embracing CSR initiatives such as cause-related marketing, fair labor practices, employee welfare programs, and community outreach with real financial and marketing muscle. With compelling evidence pointing to the many business benefits of engaging in CSR and the potential risks of not doing so (e.g., Bonini, Koller, & Mirvis, 2009; Du, Bhattacharya, & Sen, 2010; Godfrey & Hatch, 2007; Surroca et al., 2010), the debate on CSR has decisively shifted from *whether* to *how* (Smith, 2003).

CSR partly reflects a company's efforts to cater to institutional norms, which act as unwritten rules of the social contract to which businesses must adhere (Handelman & Arnold, 1999). Institutional norms, in turn, originate from public opinions, educational systems, professions, ideologies, and certification bodies, to name a few (Scott, 1987). Over the years, our society has increasingly come to expect companies to play a larger role in solving many of today's social miseries (Margolis & Walsh, 2003), particularly because businesses are becoming so powerful and possess many comparative advantages over government and nonprofits (e.g., marketing expertise, business know-how, financial resources) when it comes to driving positive social change. For example, the White House Task Force on Childhood Obesity's Report to the President (2013) explicitly emphasized the important role private businesses can play in addressing the obesity epidemic currently facing the United States. Similarly, consumers, communities, and the media all expect the business sector, such as companies in the food and beverage industries and those in the athletic apparel industry, to be part of the solution to the obesity epidemic. In other words, merely writing a check to support a social issue is no longer considered adequate; stakeholders nowadays expect deeper CSR engagement from the business world.

On the corporate side, managers increasingly realize that CSR is not just "the right thing" to do but can potentially be a powerful source of competitive advantage (Porter & Kramer, 2011). Accordingly, more and more companies are taking a long-term, strategic approach to CSR; rather than paying lip service to support a social issue, companies dedicate substantial resources and develop signature social programs to champion specific issues. For example, Avon's signature Breast Cancer Crusade has lasted for more than 20 years, contributing more than $740 million to breast cancer research and access-to-care programs (Avon, 2013).

In addition, companies are doing more to integrate CSR with business. For example, Procter & Gamble (P&G) has established an overarching socioenvironmental theme to guide and organize the numerous CSR activities undertaken by its different brands, all of which are aimed at helping children live healthfully, learn, and thrive. One of P&G's brands, Crest, has gone beyond manufacturing and selling oral care products to addressing the epidemic of oral diseases among children in disadvantaged U.S. communities through a multifaceted social initiative, the Crest Healthy Smiles program. Companies are taking big steps to address social issues, particularly issues that intersect with their core businesses (e.g., an oral care brand addressing the oral health issue, a food company addressing obesity; Kotler & Lee, 2004). Porter and Kramer (2011) have claimed that CSR is no longer at the periphery but is now at the very center of business.

A CSR → Social Value Framework

Our framework (see Figure 9.1) explains the links between CSR activities and different dimensions of social value. We employ a contingent input-outcome approach, where CSR inputs (i.e., the characteristics of the CSR programs) drive social outcomes, and the extent to which the effects occur varies depending on a number of contingent factors.

There are two routes by which CSR creates social value (Bhattacharya et al., 2011). The first is the direct route, where investment in CSR initiatives results in immediate and often very tangible social outcomes. For example, changes in production procedures can improve the efficiency of operations, reducing waste of materials and energy and thus shrinking a company's environmental footprint. Similarly, building a playground in a local community enhances children's access to outdoor facilities and their quality of life. The second route involves engaging stakeholders as the conduits to the social value that CSR generates; it is a less direct but potentially powerful driver of social value. In this indirect route, individual stakehold-

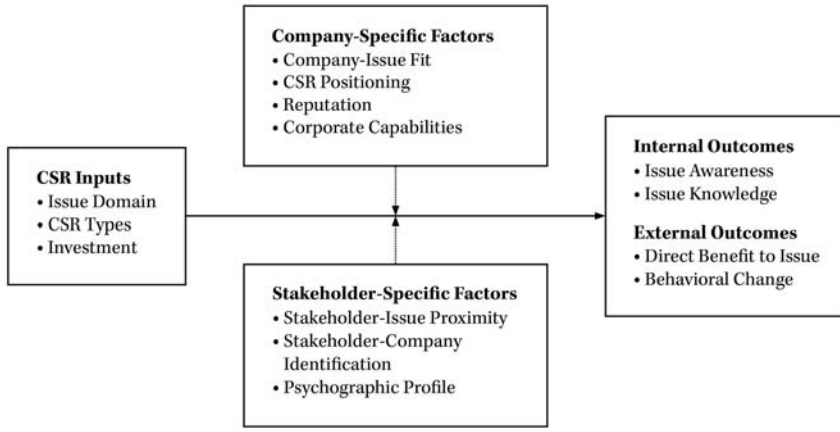

Figure 9.1 The CSR [→] Social Value Framework.

ers respond to a company's CSR initiative by changing their beliefs, attitudes, and ultimately their behavior in support of the social issue.

The social value of CSR programs can manifest itself in a number of realms. Table 9.1 provides some examples of how CSR can generate social value in realms such as consumption, employment, and local communities. These examples are hardly exhaustive, but they illustrate a number of ways in which CSR activities generate social value for different stakeholder groups.

CSR Inputs

This section focuses on several characteristics of CSR programs that are relevant for social value creation: CSR issue domain, CSR types, and CSR investment. In designing and implementing CSR initiatives, companies often do research regarding various stakeholder groups and their respective needs, then prioritize various social issues based on considerations such as issue-company compatibility, degree of differentiation from the competition, urgency of the issue, and potential for generating social and business value (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2004; Drumwright, 1996; Kotler & Lee, 2004; Waddock, 2008). Once a social issue is selected, companies decide on implementation, such as choosing a CSR type and the level of CSR investment.

Issue domain. There are numerous social issues from which companies can choose. According to the Kinder, Lydenberg, Domini & Co. (KLD) dataset, one of the most widely used sources for CSR performance, there are

several broad categories of social issues based on a company's stakeholder groups relating to the community, the environment, employees, consumers, and diversity. Common environment-related issues include access to clean water, electricity conservation, recycling, wildlife preservation, rainforest protection, and others. Common community-related issues include disaster relief, hunger, poverty, education, access to health care, and, importantly, various health issues such as breast cancer, heart disease, skin cancer, diabetes, HIV/AIDS, and oral health. Diversity-related issues include the promotion of women and minorities, the protection of gay and lesbian employees, and programs addressing work/life balance. Examples of consumer-related CSR activities are product safety and products that benefit disadvantaged (e.g., bottom-of-the-pyramid) consumers. Examples of employee-related CSR activities are employee welfare, employee health and safety, fair labor practices, and union relations.

Some CSR issues are more internally focused, requiring companies to change their internal business practices with regard to matters such as product safety, employee welfare, and work-life balance, whereas other CSR initiatives are more externally focused, such as fighting breast cancer and supporting education. Additionally, some issues, such as health promotion and environmental protection, may call for long-term, multifaceted CSR programs capable of changing beliefs and fostering behavior change, whereas other issues, such as disaster relief or helping the homeless, necessitate less complex corporate involvement (e.g., financial contributions and fundraising).

CSR types. Given the same issue, different companies might take different approaches to creating social value. For example, both Diet Coke and Subway support heart health. Diet Coke focuses on increasing awareness and knowledge of the issue, whereas Subway focuses on providing stakeholders with dietary guidelines and tips for being physically active in order to stay heart healthy. Indeed, the degree to which CSR generates social value is determined in part by how the CSR activities are implemented (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2004). Kotler and Lee (2004) identified six types of CSR: cause promotions (sponsorships of organizations or events), cause-related marketing (earmarking a percentage of profits or revenues to an issue based on each sale), corporate philanthropy (direct contributions to a charity), corporate social marketing (campaigns designed to produce behavior change), company volunteering (directing employee volunteering), and socially responsible practices (adopting business practices that have a positive societal impact or that reduce the negative societal impact).

These different types of CSR programs vary with respect to the social value created. In particular, cause promotions and cause-related marketing

may heighten awareness of an issue more than corporate philanthropy. This is because cause promotions and cause-related marketing often have a strong communications component (e.g., CSR advertising, point-of-purchase communication), which makes them ideal inputs for generating awareness and understanding of an issue. For example, Diet Coke's cause promotion initiative has greatly promoted awareness of women's heart health because of the brand's effective use of high-profile marketing tactics, including celebrity endorsement (e.g., Minka Kelly), the Red Dress Collection℠ fashion show in New York City as part of Fashion Week, large-scale social media involvement (e.g., #ShowYourHeart). In contrast, corporate philanthropy merely involves writing a check and often does not warrant enduring publicity or active stakeholder engagement.

Corporate social marketing has a strong "call-to-action" element and embraces positive behavioral change as one of its social outcomes. While a corporate social marketing campaign may include awareness building and educational components or efforts to alter current beliefs and attitudes, it focuses more on supporting or influencing behavior change. This type of CSR initiative has been used to address a variety of complex social issues ranging from public health (e.g., HIV/AIDS prevention, heart health) to protecting the environment (e.g., water conservation, recycling) and engendering community involvement (e.g., organ donation, voting; Kotler & Lee, 2004).

CSR investment. CSR investment can take various forms, including donating funds, making in-kind contributions, or providing other corporate resources such as marketing expertise, human capital (e.g., employee volunteers), and research and development (R&D) capabilities to support a social issue. There are several aspects of CSR investment: the size or amount, the duration, and the consistency of investment (Du et al., 2010). In general, we expect a positive relationship between the size of CSR investment and the social value created. Larger investments may translate into more promotional activities, more publicity, and more widespread involvement of stakeholders, all of which are likely to result in a greater increase in issue awareness and belief/behavior modification. In addition, we also expect the duration of the investment (i.e., whether it spans 6 months or 10 years) and consistency of support to exert an impact on social value creation. Changes in beliefs and behaviors do not occur overnight; rather, they need consistent support over time. In studying cause marketing campaigns, Drumwright (1996) found that longer time commitments greatly increase the likelihood that campaigns will succeed in achieving their social and economic objectives. Therefore, CSR programs that are geared for the long-term and are supported consistently and sufficiently by companies are more likely to make a real impact than CSR programs that do not meet those criteria.

Table 9.1 Examples of Social Value Created in Various Stakeholder Contexts

	Consumption	Employment	Local Communities
Example of CSR Program	Kimpton hotels encourages its customers to conserve water and reuse towels.	Crown Holdings runs a Total Safety Culture program.	Campbell's Soup Company has social initiatives to educate local communities about nutrition.
Social Value: Internal Outcomes	Consumers gain issue knowledge by learning simple and effective ways to conserve water.	Employees have higher issue awareness about workplace safety and gain issue knowledge (e.g., familiarity with safety procedures and reporting).	Children and their families become more aware of nutrition-related social issues and gain knowledge about how to provide balanced nutrition to children.
Social Value: External Outcomes	Consumers practice water conservation at hotels and at home.	Employees conform to safety regulations, follow safe practices, and adopt increased safety measures.	More families practice healthy eating.

It is also important to note that we expect that CSR investments encompassing both financial contributions and contributions of business capabilities (e.g., marketing, R&D) will be more effective in generating social value. A case in point is Diet Coke's support for women's heart health, which was mentioned earlier. Rather than merely donating funds to support the issue, Diet Coke leverages its brand power and marketing capabilities to effectively raise awareness of the issue and change behaviors related to heart health.

Social Value Creation

When discussing social value, we differentiate between internal and external outcomes. Internal outcomes are those that occur within the minds of individual stakeholders, such as awareness of and knowledge

about an issue. External outcomes include behavioral changes as well as direct, tangible benefits to the social issue in question.

Internal outcomes

Issue awareness. CSR programs can play an important role in raising the public's awareness of important social issues (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2004; Kotler & Lee, 2004). Social issues typically go through a lifecycle that starts with obscurity, is followed by indifference/inattention, transitions to salience solely among opinion leaders, then moves to attention in the media and legislative concern, and finally ends in resolution (Waddock, 2008, p. 64). Because of the enormous marketing resources held by the corporate world in the form of a massive customer base, creativity and expertise in communication and persuasion, and other competencies, companies can be a powerful engine for pushing important social issues to the forefront of public attention.

The Body Shop has long been the corporate champion of the fight against animal testing of consumer products and has been instrumental in raising public awareness of this animal welfare issue. In 1996, when the company started its campaign, it collected 4 million petition signatures from individual stakeholders, which were then delivered to the European Commission. Similarly, consider Dove's Real Beauty campaign, launched in 2004, which celebrates the natural physical variations embodied by all women and inspires women to be confident and comfortable with themselves. Thanks to this high-profile CSR campaign, more and more people and institutions have become aware of and are starting to address the critical social issues surrounding unrealistic Hollywood beauty standards and the resultant widespread low self-esteem among girls and women. Dove's recent "real beauty sketch" commercial has been viewed more than 26 million times on the Dove YouTube channel since its debut in mid-April 2013 (Spitznagel, 2013). The reach of such CSR campaigns is enormous and speaks to the power of corporations in raising issue awareness.

Issue knowledge. Beyond raising awareness, CSR initiatives also help stakeholders develop in-depth issue knowledge through their various communication and educational components (Du et al., 2010). Issue knowledge often includes the importance or severity of the issue (e.g., statistics about the current status), the benefits of certain desirable behaviors, tips and advice about how to improve one's health and the environment, and so on. In the context of a corporate oral health initiative targeting children and their families in disadvantaged communities, one CSR program has significantly increased children's knowledge about the issue

through an age-appropriate oral health curriculum employing videos, audiotapes, a website, and interactive lesson plans. Research (Du et al., 2008) showed that the program has helped children develop accurate beliefs about the importance of oral hygiene, the benefits of good oral health, and the proper way to take care of their teeth. To illustrate, program participants made the following statements in a focus group study (Du et al., 2008, p.485):

- "Dental hygiene is important because it fights cavities."
- "The first thing people see is your smile. You don't want to have dirty teeth, and when you are close to people your breath needs to be clean."
- "They (my children) learned how to floss really well."

Interestingly, in terms of engaging stakeholders and fostering positive social change, research (Du et al., 2008) has suggested that it is important to educate people about both the functional benefits (e.g., fighting cavities) as well as the psychosocial benefits (e.g., a beautiful smile) of targeted behaviors. In many circumstances, individuals are more persuaded by the social approval and self-esteem benefits of the desirable behaviors than by the functional benefits (Du et al., 2008; Pechmann, Zhao, Goldberg, & Reibling, 2003). Similarly, Griskevicius, Tybur, and Van den Bergh (2010) found that when psychosocial motives are salient, individuals are more likely to engage in environmental preservation such as choosing a more basic pro-social green product over a more luxurious nongreen product, suggesting that individuals adopt socially responsible behaviors to achieve psychosocial benefits. When educating stakeholders about a social issue, an effective CSR initiative emphasizes both the functional and the psychosocial benefits of supporting the issue, thus enhancing the audience's motivation and ability to adopt positive behavioral change.

External outcomes

Direct benefits to issue. By supporting social issues with generous contributions of corporate resources (financial or in-kind donations and human resources), CSR activities produce numerous benefits directly to the focal issues. Funding from corporations can feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, and save lives endangered by natural disasters. Many socially responsible business practices also directly create social value. For example, by implementing policies that promote workplace diversity and enhance employees' work-life balance, companies directly improve employee welfare and reap business benefits such as better work attitude and

greater employee productivity (Bhattacharya, Korschun, & Sen, 2009). Similarly, environmental initiatives often lead to energy conservation, cost reduction, and, more importantly, eco-innovations, which incorporate both social value (e.g., a lower eco-footprint) and business value (Porter & Kramer, 2011). Consider General Electric's Ecomagination initiative, which has triggered hundreds of green product innovations, enabling customers to reduce their environmental footprints while also producing billions of dollars in sales revenue for the company.

Behavioral change. A critical external outcome of social value is behavioral change. For many social issues, ranging from health to diversity to environmental protection, it is often behavioral change adopted by individuals that has the most lasting impact in the effort to solve the issue. To illustrate, up to 50 percent of the deaths from the 10 leading causes of death in the United States are owing to modifiable lifestyle factors (Danaei et al., 2009); thus, experts agree that it is behavior change rather than the development of new therapies that holds the greatest promise for improving human health (Salovey, Rothman, & Rodin, 1998). Accordingly, many CSR initiatives seek to create enduring social impact by effecting positive behavioral change. Some CSR types, such as corporate social marketing, explicitly seek to "sell" a particular desired behavior, whereas others, such as cause promotion, seek to increase issue awareness and public support for the issue, which also ultimately results in behavioral change.

We use the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991) as the general framework to illustrate how CSR initiatives can promote desired health or pro-social behaviors. The theory of planned behavior has been used to predict a wide range of behaviors and has served as the basis for many behavioral interventions (Albarracin, Johnson, Fishbein, & Muellerleile, 2001). According to this theory, behavior is influenced by three components: (1) beliefs about the perceived outcomes of performing the behavior, (2) subjective norms, and (3) perceived behavioral control. CSR initiatives can foster positive behavioral change by influencing one or more of these three components. Specifically, a CSR initiative can cultivate positive beliefs by educating stakeholders about the various positive outcomes of engaging in the focal behavior. Given the brand appeal and creative advertising employed by many corporations in their CSR campaigns, these programs often generate beliefs not only about the functional benefits (e.g., good oral hygiene fights cavities) but also the psychosocial benefits (e.g., good oral hygiene improves one's smile and social popularity) of a target behavior. In addition, CSR programs can influence individual normative beliefs and people's motivation to comply with those norms, particularly when using opinion leaders (e.g., celebrities) and social media

platforms (e.g., Facebook, online communities surrounding an issue) to shape social norms regarding a targeted behavior.

Lastly, CSR programs can effect behavior change by influencing individuals' perceived behavioral control. Perceived behavioral control, conceptually related to self-efficacy in social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1997), refers to an individual's perceived ease or difficulty in performing the targeted behavior. CSR programs can enhance behavioral control by, among other effects, removing sociostructural impediments to or adding sociostructural facilitators for the targeted behavior. For example, putting recycling bins in the park can significantly promote recycling. By building playgrounds in local communities, companies can promote children's physical activities.

A Virtuous Circle: Social Value → Business Value

Social value is a potentially powerful antecedent to business value. Consumers, employees, and other constituents are now attuned not only to whether a company is engaged in CSR activities but how effective those activities are in improving societal welfare. Du and colleagues (2008) found that the intent of beneficiaries to purchase from the corporate sponsor of a CSR program is partly a function of the beliefs they hold about the program's effectiveness. The more they believe that the program helps their children's oral health, the more they become interested in supporting the company through purchases. Such an effect is partially attributable to a norm of reciprocity (Goulder, 1960), which is the convention that people should return good for good in proportion to what they receive.

In addition to reciprocity, the social value of CSR programs can lead to business value by generating favorable stakeholder attributions and thus building trust and identification (Du et al., 2011; Bhattacharya et al., 2009). Stakeholders often ask why a company engages in CSR and are usually suspicious of greenwashing or business exploitation of social issues (Yoon et al., 2006). However, when a CSR program makes a significant difference in improving societal welfare, stakeholders use such information to infer that the company engages in CSR out of a genuine concern for doing good. As a result, stakeholders are more likely to trust the company and, further, identify with it. In turn, this greater trust and identification strengthen the company-stakeholder relationship, propelling stakeholders to voluntarily engage in a range of pro-company behaviors (e.g., more frequent purchases, greater loyalty, favorable word-of-mouth).

More generally, our research has attested to the power of CSR programs to simultaneously bring about social change and deliver positive returns to business. Although many companies believe and operate under the

premise that doing good comes at the expense of doing well, empirical studies show that there does not have to be a tradeoff relationship between social and business returns; instead, there is a symbiotic, win-win relationship between the social and business returns attributable to CSR (Du et al., 2011).

Contingent Factors in the CSR → Social Value Link

Prior CSR research has found that the impact of CSR on business value is not homogeneous across firms but rather is contingent upon a variety of company- and stakeholder-specific factors, such as corporate ability (Brown & Dacin, 1997; Luo & Bhattacharya, 2006), CSR positioning (Du, Bhattacharya, & Sen, 2007), stakeholder CSR support (Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001). We expect that the same contingent view applies to the impact of CSR on social value. Our framework identifies several company-specific and stakeholder-specific factors that will amplify or dampen the effects of CSR on social value.

Company-specific factors

Company-issue fit. Company-issue fit, or "the perceived link between [CSR] and the firm's product line, brand image, position, and/or target market" (Becker-Olsen & Hill, 2006, p. 47), affects social value creation primarily by influencing how stakeholders react to a company's CSR program. Stakeholders often expect companies to sponsor only those social issues that have a high fit, or a logical association, with their core business activities (Simmons & Becker-Olsen, 2006). Company-issue fit may result from common associations that the brand shares with the cause, such as product dimensions (e.g., an oral care brand helps to fight the oral disease epidemic), affinity with specific target segments (e.g., Diet Coke's female consumer segment and its initiative regarding women's heart health), or corporate image associations created by the brand's past conduct in a specific social domain (e.g., the Body Shop's fight against animal testing; Du et al., 2010; Menon & Kahn, 2003).

Company-issue fit affects stakeholders' attributions of the motives underlying a CSR initiative. Simmons and Becker-Olsen (2006) found that low company-issue fit makes extrinsic motives (i.e., business-related motives rather than intrinsic motives of making a difference) more salient and results in a less favorable attitude toward the CSR program; in contrast, a high-fit CSR program elicits more positive attributions and more favorable attitudes toward the program. In general, we expect that a high-fit program is more likely to break through the media clutter and resonate with

its targeted segment of stakeholders. Furthermore, when stakeholders embrace a high-fit CSR program, they pay more attention to it and are more likely to change their beliefs and behaviors as advocated by the program. This reasoning is in line with research indicating that companies should focus on high-fit social issues to create maximal social and business value (Kotler & Lee, 2004; Porter & Kramer, 2011).

CSR positioning. Given the widespread corporate engagement in CSR today, the influence of a company's CSR activities on both social and business value will be contingent upon stakeholder reactions in the context of different CSR actions, particularly those taken by competitors. Companies vary in the extent to which they rely on their CSR activities to position or brand themselves relative to their competitors. Although many companies support various social issues, some, such as Timberland, Stonyfield Farm, and Whole Foods Market, go beyond just engaging in CSR to position themselves wholly in terms of CSR, becoming known as the socially responsible brand in a category. For example, in the U.S. yogurt category, Stonyfield Farm, positioned as the brand "For a Healthy Planet," is focused primarily on environmental responsibility. The brand practices organic farming, uses environmentally friendly packaging, and has a signature Profits for the Planet (PFP) program that contributes 10 percent of corporate profits to support efforts that help protect and restore the Earth through nonprofit organizations such as The Sustainability Institute, the Children's Health Environmental Coalition, and The Rainforest Foundation.

We expect a company's CSR positioning to amplify social value creation. Specifically, for a CSR brand, CSR is embedded into its DNA, portraying its soul or character. Accordingly, stakeholders are likely to not only pay more attention to a company's CSR message but also to believe in the authenticity of its CSR endeavors, resulting in greater persuasion in favor of the social issue as well as the company. Du and colleagues (2007) found that relative to non-CSR brands, consumers of CSR brands (e.g., Stonyfield Farm) have higher awareness of the brand's CSR activities (e.g., environmental responsibility) and are more likely to believe that genuine concern is the company's motive for engaging in CSR. Consequently, a CSR brand will be more successful in raising issue awareness and changing the beliefs and behaviors of its stakeholders in favor of its selected issue.

Reputation. A company's reputation is another important factor in determining the effectiveness of CSR in creating social value. Reputation is defined as "a collective representation of a firm's past actions and results that describes the firm's ability to deliver valued outcomes to multiple stakeholders" (Gardberg & Fombrun, 2002). Company reputation influences CSR's ability to create social value because it serves as a preexisting

schema upon which stakeholders rely to interpret ambiguous information about the company (Fombrun & Shanley, 1990), including its CSR activities. Companies with good reputations are perceived to have high source credibility and therefore will be more effective in communicating their social initiatives to their targeted stakeholders, whereas stakeholders are likely to ignore or discount social issue messages from companies with poor reputations.

In addition to the reputations of individual companies, the reputation of the industry in which a company operates also moderates the amount of social value created by CSR. For instance, stakeholders are often suspicious of companies in certain controversial industries (e.g., tobacco, oil, gambling) and discount their CSR initiatives as being untrustworthy (Du & Vieira, 2012; Yoon et al., 2006).

Corporate capabilities. Research has shown that for a firm to enjoy a competitive advantage, it must possess superior capabilities; that is, the ability to deploy resources and other productive factors more efficiently than its competitors (Wernerfelt, 1984). We argue that in the realm of social value creation, corporate capabilities play a similarly essential role. Given the same CSR inputs (i.e., issue domain, CSR type, and level of investment), a firm with superior capabilities (e.g., marketing and R&D) is likely to create more social value. Specifically, firms with strong marketing capabilities exhibit superiority in understanding stakeholder needs in relation to social issues and possess more information channels through which to effectively communicate their CSR initiatives (Dutta, Narasimhan, & Rajiv, 1999). Relative to firms with lower marketing capabilities, firms with superior marketing capabilities (e.g., more effective advertising and greater market orientation) will generate more positive stakeholder responses to their CSR initiatives, such as greater increase in issue awareness and more aroused interest in the advocated issue, thus leading to greater social value.

Similarly, a firm's R&D capabilities will influence the amount of social value created from its CSR activities. R&D investment results in accumulation of knowledge and, subsequently, product and process innovation (Gatignon & Xuereb, 1997). Research on CSR has suggested that corporate innovative ability interacts with CSR to affect stakeholders' perceptions of and identification with companies (Brown & Dacin, 1997; Luo & Bhattacharya, 2006). The CSR program of a firm with inferior R&D capabilities may backfire and may not generate the desired social outcomes. This is because there is a lack of pragmatic legitimation when a firm with inferior R&D capabilities engages in CSR; that is, stakeholders have doubts about the firm's ability to produce a good product and perceive that its

priorities are misguided (Luo & Bhattacharya, 2006). In contrast, firms with superior R&D capabilities are able to achieve pragmatic legitimation, making it easier for stakeholders to embrace the firms' CSR initiatives. Furthermore, firms with superior R&D capabilities are also more capable of creating direct social value, particularly when the focal social issue requires innovations such as green products or products benefiting the bottom of the pyramid (London & Hart, 2004; Prahalad & Hammond, 2002). For example, in Toyota's efforts to protect the environment, the company, thanks to its strong R&D capabilities, has produced the best-selling hybrid car, the Prius. The Prius is equipped with unique clean technologies and emits only 10 percent of the harmful pollutants conventional vehicles produce, directly contributing to social value (e.g., a lower eco-footprint).

Stakeholder-Related Factors

Stakeholder-issue proximity. Stakeholder-issue proximity is closely related to issue support, or issue affinity, which refers to the extent to which stakeholders support the focal issue of a company's CSR efforts. Issue proximity affects the amount of social value created by CSR because it is related to stakeholders' motivation to process CSR information and to engage in behaviors that support the issue. Research has shown that information perceived as self-relevant (versus nonrelevant) elicits voluntary attention (Petty, Cacioppo, & Schumann, 1983). Because issue proximity reflects stakeholders' personal needs and values, all else being equal, CSR information on initiatives that stakeholders deem important or personally relevant is more likely to catch their attention, resulting in higher issue awareness and issue knowledge, and, ultimately, a greater likelihood of behavioral change.

An effective way to increase issue proximity is to engage stakeholders in co-creating a social initiative by soliciting their input in selecting which social issue or which nonprofit organization to support (Korschun & Du, 2013). For example, the Pepsi Refresh Project allowed individuals or charities to post innovative charitable programs on the project website (refresheverything.com); participants (i.e., visitors to the site) voted for the ones they liked most, and Pepsi donated money to the winners. By tapping into stakeholders' inputs and feedback, Pepsi was able to support a wide range of social initiatives with which stakeholders had high affinity.

Stakeholder-company identification. Identification refers to stakeholders' perceived sense of overlap between their own identities and that of the company (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2003). Research on social identity (Tajfel

& Turner, 1986) and, more specifically, organizational identification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Bergami & Bagozzi, 2000; Bhattacharya & Sen, 2003) has suggested that stakeholders often identify with organizations they belong to or interact with (e.g., employees with employer organizations, consumers with the companies they purchase from), incorporating favorable aspects of the organizational identity into their own identities to satisfy certain higher-order self-related needs (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994). Importantly, identification aligns stakeholders' self-interests with the interests of the company (Dutton et al., 1994), triggering a multitude of pro-company behaviors. Prior CSR research (Du et al., 2007; Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001) suggested that identification is the fundamental driver of stakeholders' support for the company, ranging from purchase to loyalty and advocacy behaviors for the company.

We expect identification to accentuate the effect of CSR activities on social value. This occurs because, through identification, individual stakeholders intertwine their own self-concepts with that of the company, taking on its commitments as their own. The greater the stakeholder-company identification, the more the company's CSR message stands to break through the clutter and persuade stakeholders to change their beliefs and behaviors in favor of the selected social issue. Moreover, identification may propel stakeholders to act as ambassadors for the company's social issue. Thus, identification may generate a second-order effect of stakeholders taking on the company's social issue, spreading issue awareness, educating their friends and families about the issue, and advocating for behavioral change.

Stakeholder characteristics. The demographic and psychographic profile of stakeholders is also likely to moderate the impact of CSR on social value. For example, Wehrmeyer and McNeil (2000) found that females are more likely than males to be actively involved in environmentally friendly behavior but are less likely than males to believe in the role of technology in solving ecological problems. More generally, because of different socialization and feedbacks regarding gender-appropriate qualities and behaviors since early childhood, women tend to put more emphasis on communal goals, with a primary concern for the caring, welfare, and nurturing of other people, whereas men are likely to put more emphasis on individual, agentic goals, with a primary concern for assertiveness, control, self-efficacy, and self-advancement (Eagly, 1987; Schwartz & Rubel, 2005). Such gender differences in basic values affect how men and women respond to CSR activities. In particular, companies need to engage men and women differently in terms of CSR messages, focusing more on other-oriented, communal benefits when targeting female stakeholders and

focusing more on self-oriented, individual benefits when targeting male stakeholders.

In addition to gender, stakeholders' social value orientation is a relevant psychographic variable. Defined as an individual's "stable preferences for certain patterns of outcomes for oneself and others" (Van Lange, Otten, De Bruin, & Joireman, 1997), social value orientation affects how stakeholders react to CSR initiatives. Research has identified three types of social value orientation: pro-social, individualistic, and competitive (Van Lange et al., 1997). Pro-social individuals tend to maximize the outcomes for both themselves and others while minimizing the differences between outcomes for themselves and others (i.e., equality). Individualists tend to maximize their own outcomes with little or no regard for others' outcomes, and competitors tend to maximize their own outcomes relative to others' outcomes, seeking relative advantage over others. These three social value orientation types have been shown to predict a range of social behaviors. Among the three types, pro-social individuals are more likely to help others (McClintock & Allison, 1989) and to use public transportation versus driving their own cars (Van Vugt, Meertens, & Van Lange, 1995). All else being equal, we expect pro-social individuals to be more responsive to CSR initiatives, more likely to adopt socially responsible behaviors, and more likely to act as advocates for social issues.

Mechanisms for Maximizing Social Value

The contingent input-output framework discussed previously provides key implications for what companies can do to maximize the social value of CSR initiatives. This section discusses three mechanisms by which social value can be maximized: co-creation, communication, and calibration.

Co-creation

Co-creation refers to companies empowering stakeholders so that they become co-creators of social value. It is a process that draws stakeholders closer to CSR activities, creating higher issue proximity and higher identification with the company, thus enhancing the effects of CSR programs on internal and external social outcomes. Research has shown that in today's environment, stakeholders, particularly primary stakeholders such as consumers and employees, are not content to be passive recipients of CSR programs. They want to be "enactors" who are actively engaged in co-creating CSR initiatives with corporate decision-makers.

Despite research pointing to the strong desire of employees and consumers to play a more active role in CSR (Bhattacharya et al., 2009; Korschun & Du, 2013), both anecdotal evidence and our own research have revealed that more often than not, companies continue to develop, implement, and manage their CSR initiatives in an essentially top-down manner. We recommend a co-creation–oriented, stakeholder-centric approach to CSR decision-making. This approach initiates dialogue with stakeholders and incorporates representative stakeholder input as early as possible in the formulation process of a CSR initiative. In the formulation phase, companies should actively seek inputs from relevant stakeholders and select a CSR initiative that is both desired by stakeholders as well as attractive to the company in terms of potential social and business value.

Next, in the implementation phase, companies need to continually engage their stakeholders, making them enactors in the execution of CSR initiatives. Some of the ways that companies can facilitate stakeholder engagement in this phase are by maintaining open, two-way communication with stakeholders in the CSR domain; offering requisite guidance for implementation; and, finally, rewarding stakeholders appropriately for their efforts. For instance, Shell bases its employee bonuses on individual and corporate performance; environmental and social elements account for 20 percent of how employee performance is measured.

Although co-creation itself is not a new idea, it has not been systematically used in the CSR arena. We believe co-creation has significant potential to maximize CSR's social (and business) value. Key stakeholders (e.g., employees and customers) respond best to being directly involved. Embedding stakeholders in CSR programs can enhance several key levers that magnify the social value of CSR activities. Co-created CSR programs will enjoy high stakeholder-issue proximity and high perceived company-issue fit, and they will generate strong stakeholder-company identification. Through co-creation, stakeholders can become part of the solution to a social issue, dedicating their talent and resources to advocate for the issue and drive positive change.

Communication

In the effort to maximize CSR's social value, co-creation is only part of the story. Co-creation is restricted, almost by definition, to a company's most valued stakeholders (e.g., employees and key consumer segments)—those whose needs and welfare matter the most to the company. Companies need to communicate their CSR programs to a much broader stakeholder set, informing not just employees and consumers but also potential

consumers, suppliers, local communities, nonprofit organizations, and other stakeholders. Broad communication enhances the social value of CSR by expanding the reach of CSR programs, raising issue awareness and knowledge and promoting behavioral change on the largest scale possible.

Our research has indicated that effective CSR communication needs to include both the rationale behind the CSR efforts and the specifics of the programs, including details about their operations, the amount of company resources devoted to them, and, most importantly, their successes (Bhattacharya et al., 2011; Du et al., 2010). To raise the credibility of CSR communication, companies need to be factual and emphasize key messages such as the level of CSR investment, the importance of the issues, and the societal impact of their CSR programs. It is also important for companies to enhance stakeholders' understanding of the focal social issue. Most people today are generally aware but still relatively uninformed about many of the pressing social and environmental issues facing not just their local communities but also the broader global landscape. It is critical for companies to clarify to their stakeholders why a particular issue is worth focusing on—with a clear emphasis, if possible, on the usefulness of such engagement not only to the environment or society in the abstract but more specifically to the stakeholder, as well.

To cut through the clutter and effectively reach the targeted stakeholder group, companies need to utilize a variety of communication channels, ranging from press releases and the CSR section of their corporate websites to TV commercials, magazine or billboard advertisements, and product packaging. It is important to note that communication channels vary in the extent to which they are controllable by companies. For instance, a company can control the content of CSR messages through its own corporate communication channels (e.g., TV advertising or point-of-purchase communication), but it has little control over many of the external communicators of CSR initiatives (e.g., the press, customers, monitoring groups, blogs, social networks). However, although external communicators of CSR messages are less controllable from the company's perspective, they are perceived as more credible information sources by stakeholders. Thus, companies should try to encourage informal yet credible communication channels such as word-of-mouth by stakeholders. It's best not to underestimate the power and reach of CSR communication by stakeholders such as employees and consumers.

A good example of leveraging stakeholders to communicate about a social issue is Timberland. Known for its environmental stewardship, Timberland launched the Earthkeeper campaign in 2008 to recruit 1 million people to become part of an online network designed to inspire real

environmental behavior change. As part of the Earthkeeper program, Timberland launched an innovative global network of online social networking tools, including a strong Facebook presence, a YouTube Earthkeeper Brand Channel, and a richly populated Earthkeeper blog. Through this campaign, Timberland has proactively engaged stakeholders to spread the word about the importance of environmental protection while solidifying its corporate reputation for environmental commitment.

Calibration

The familiar adage "You can't manage what you can't measure" is as true in the realm of social value creation as in other disciplines. If companies want to maximally effect social change through their CSR initiatives, then they must quantify and calibrate the social outcomes of those initiatives and leverage research findings to continuously improve and optimize their CSR programs.

Research has suggested that calibration involves three interrelated processes (see Figure 9.2), as follows:

- Quantifying requires collecting data that can be numerically coded in a form that is amenable analysis.
- Finding links involves analyzing that data to develop an understanding of how variables in the framework relate to one another.
- Calibrating means using the knowledge thus obtained to optimize CSR programs to achieve maximal social value.

When collecting quantitative information, managers can utilize research methods such as surveys and lab and field experiments and, depending on the research objectives, involve a varied set of stakeholder segments such as employees, consumers, and business-to-business customers. More important, research at this stage should focus on providing quantitative answers to these two overarching questions:

1. To what extent is the CSR program achieving the desired social outcomes (e.g., increase in issue awareness)?
2. How are stakeholders reacting to the CSR program?

The next step is to find links between CSR inputs and outputs (i.e., social value) and, perhaps more important, to understand under what circumstances CSR programs are maximally producing social value. For example, managers should understand the key drivers of stakeholder

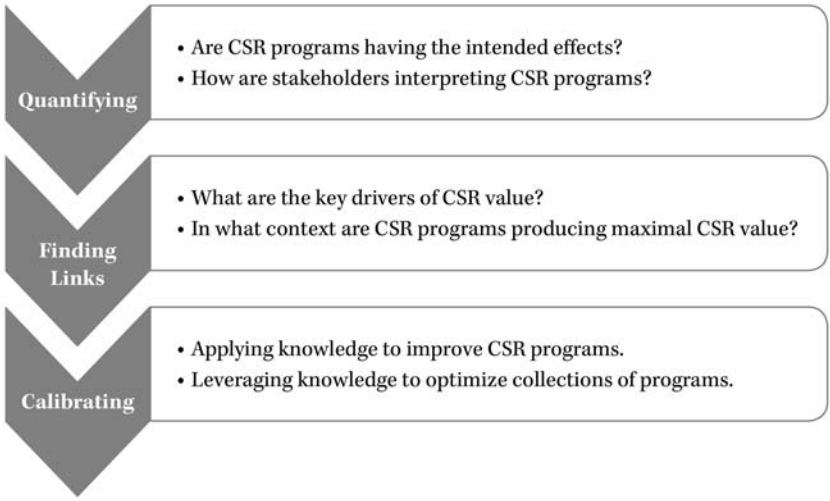

Figure 9.2 Calibrating CSR Programs

behavioral change. Barriers to behavioral change include lack of knowledge, lack of motivation, and obstacles in the sociostructural domain (e.g., lack of access to facilities). Through proper research design and analysis, managers can gain insights into the links between the variables in CSR inputs and the corresponding changes in social outcomes. In addition, managers should also measure and track company-specific and stakeholder-specific contingent factors that amplify or dampen the impact of CSR activities on social value. Through systematic research, managers will be able to identify the most fertile context for creating social value through CSR initiatives.

The last step in calibration is applying insights from research to continuously improve and optimize CSR programs. Managers can create a CSR dashboard, providing a high-level view of a company's CSR performance (i.e., social and business value). The dashboard can systematically track key indicators, such as issue awareness, adoption of targeted behaviors, and stakeholder-issue proximity, and can also identify gaps or weaknesses. When social goals are not met, managers can delve into the framework for clues as to why the program is underperforming. In many cases, managers can recalibrate their CSR programs based on this information, perhaps by improving CSR communication or adding new features to the program.

Conclusion

In today's socially conscious world, CSR is a strategic imperative, with more and more companies leveraging CSR to create joint social and business value. Prior CSR research has focused almost exclusively on the business returns of CSR while neglecting the social returns. However, social and business value are often intricately intertwined (Du et al., 2011; Porter & Kramer, 2011). Investigating the social value of CSR is important not only on its own, but also because it will advance our knowledge of how CSR activities create business value. Drawing upon prior research (Bhattacharya et al., 2011), this chapter discussed a contingent input-output model of CSR → social value creation. The framework highlights key dimensions of CSR inputs, ranging from issue domain to CSR types and CSR investment, and differentiates between internal and external social outcomes. We also identified several company-specific and stakeholder-specific contingent factors that can strengthen or weaken the CSR → social value links. Finally, we discussed three mechanisms managers can use to maximize social value creation: co-creation, communication, and calibration. We encourage future scholars to empirically test and further expand our conceptual model. Furthermore, we call for additional research to disentangle the social-business link of CSR.

Our CSR → social value framework can provide guidelines for practitioners in their quest to maximize social and business value. Companies should carefully select, design, and implement their CSR programs (e.g., issue domain, CSR types, and CSR investment) in a way that maximizes their potential to create lasting social value. It is also important for companies to consider contextual (i.e., company-related and stakeholder-related) variables, so they can create the most fertile ground for their CSR programs to drive social change. For example, with regard to stakeholder-issue proximity, companies need to be stakeholder-oriented and focus on the issues that are most important for their key stakeholders. Co-creation will significantly enhance stakeholder-issue proximity. Companies can leverage social media platforms (e.g., Facebook, YouTube, blogs) to engage stakeholders in the design and implementation of their CSR campaigns. Doing so will allow companies to garner collective intelligence about their stakeholders to better design and execute CSR programs, and stakeholders will be more involved in supporting CSR programs.

We emphasize the importance of measuring the social value of CSR initiatives. Although prior CSR research has predominantly focused on business metrics such as purchase, loyalty, and word-of-mouth, we believe that going forward we need to broaden the portfolio of measures and include

more measures related not only to social and environmental outcomes but also to other outcomes relevant to stakeholders, such as happiness and well-being. Social value metrics should include both internal and external outcomes. For instance, PNC Bank's "school readiness" program and many other programs related to childhood education in underprivileged communities should try to assess children's academic confidence, attitudes toward school, school performance, dropout rates, and other measures of social progress traditionally used by researchers in social marketing and social work. Depending on the CSR program, the social value metrics could relate to malnutrition, disease, environmental footprint, and other relevant factors.

Our framework adopts a multi-stakeholder perspective that is broader than that offered by much of the prior research on CSR. Individuals assume multiple stakeholder roles in their lives, being customers, employees, investors, family members, members of their communities, and so on. Because a company's CSR programs are used to deal with and build relationships with its various stakeholders, a multi-stakeholder perspective is more appropriate than one focusing only on one stakeholder group. We show that CSR can create social value in different stakeholder realms. On a related note, it would be interesting to explore how social outcomes created in one stakeholder domain spill over to other stakeholder domains. For example, how does volunteering for a nonprofit at work affect one's subsequent behavior in the consumption domain? Another critical question is how individuals, in their different stakeholder roles, can practice "responsible stakeholderism" across all realms and roles, focusing collectively on making our world a better and more sustainable place.

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CHAPTER TEN

Corporate Social Responsibility: Brand and Value at the Edge of an Era

Charles J. Ansbach

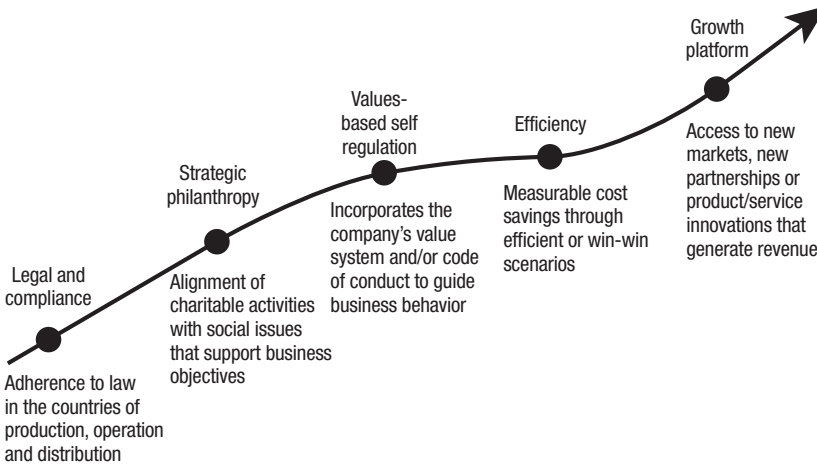
The concepts of corporate social responsibility and sustainability are taking on new meaning and moving center stage as the market shifts toward the integration of economic and social priorities as a basis for creating value. Consumers and activists, often using social media, have shown companies that there is now significant financial risk involved in using natural and human resources in an unsustainable manner, as well as financial benefit for those that combine sustainability and innovation to produce new products and services that serve the interests of the market. Brand messaging, particularly on social media, is being shaped by where a company sits along that continuum of integrated value creation. Visionary CEOs, CSR managers, social media marketers, activists, impact investors, social entrepreneurs and intrapreneurs, and nonprofits are among the catalysts helping to bring about this market shift. It is already under way in corporations like Interface, GE, Google, IBM, Walmart, DANOME, Unilever, Coke, Nestlé', VISA, and more. How far will it go? There is now enough momentum behind this shift toward a new era in business that it is approaching a global tipping point.

According to a 2010 UN Global Compact-Accenture CEO Study (Compact & Accenture, 2010):

> Despite the challenges facing businesses in integrating sustainability, CEOs believe they are beginning to see the outline of a new era of sustainability coming into view. Fifty-four percent of CEOs envisage a tipping point occurring within the next decade—a point at which sustainability will be embedded in the core business strategies of the majority of companies globally. . . . Eighty percent of CEOs believe this point will occur within the next 15 years (based on completed surveys by 766 CEOs worldwide). (p. 11)

In 2013 the same study showed that business leaders still believe sustainability is at the heart of future growth but now add that "only with greater government intervention—at global, national and local levels—can sustainability move from sporadic incremental advances to a collective and transformative impact" (p. 2).

In June of 2009 IBM released a report titled: "Attaining Sustainable Growth through Corporate Social Responsibility" (IBM, 2009). The report, based on a survey of 250 business leaders worldwide, reveals that a majority of companies understand the financial value of CSR. Sixty-eight percent of those surveyed utilize CSR as an opportunity and a platform for growth (p. 2).



Source: IBM Institute for Business Value.

Figure 10.1 Corporate Social Responsibility Value Curve (IBM Institute for Business Value. (2009). Attaining Sustainable Growth through Corporate Social Responsibility. Retrieved January 3, 2014, from IBM: http://www-935.ibm.com/services/us/gbs/bus/pdf/gbe03019-usen02.pdf p 4).

The most often used definition of sustainability comes from "Our Common Future," a Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (United Nations, 1987) that says sustainability is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Chapter 2, Section 1). A more homespun perspective is the story of a young farmer asking his much-older neighbor what the best thing is that he can do to pass the farm on in good condition to his kids. The response was, "Don't pee in the well."

There is no universally agreed-upon definition for corporate social responsibility (CSR), though it is often used synonymously with the concept of sustainability. Wayne Visser, PhD (2012), a thought leader in the field, defines CSR as "an integrated, systematic approach by business that builds, rather than erodes or destroys economic, social, human and natural capital" (p. 7). It is a proactive definition that a business can use to guide its own initiative and innovation. By subtle contrast, Business for Social Responsibility defined CSR in 2003 as "operating a business in a manner that meets or exceeds the ethical, legal, commercial and public expectations that society has of business" (p. 1). As a sign of the time, it is more reactive and reflects the attitude toward the issues of society and the environment that business will address them, but only to the degree it must. In general, the contemporary adage that "you will know it when you see it" applies at the moment to CSR, particularly in this time of change.

The idea of combining the priorities of business with those of society as the basis for creating value is represented effectively in the concept of "Shared Value" developed by Harvard professors Michael Porter and Mark Kramer in 2002. They summarize their concept like this:

> There is no inherent conflict between capitalism and social needs. A productive and growing economy requires rising skill levels, a proliferation of new companies, safe working conditions, healthy workers who live in decent housing in safe neighborhoods, and a sense of opportunity. Social and economic policy must be integrated in addressing society's ills and ensuring true progress (Porter & Kramer, Creating Shared Value, 2011). The capitalist system is under siege. . . . A big part of the problem lies with companies themselves, which remain trapped in an outdated approach to value creation. . . . They continue to view value creation narrowly, optimizing short-term financial performance in a bubble while missing the most important customer needs and ignoring the broader influences that determine their longer-term success (Porter & Kramer, Creating Shared Value, 2011). . . . Business must find a way to engage positively in society, but this will not happen as long as it sees its social agenda as separate from its core business agenda. (Porter, 2010)

Interface, Inc., provides a good example of a company whose CEO is using a combination of the economic and social priorities found in Shared Value and the new CSR model as a compass for a comprehensive redesign of an existing corporation's approach to creating value in a way that is financially and socially successful, as well as sustainable. Interface is a billion-dollar international company that manufactures and distributes carpet products (Visser, 2012). According to the company's CEO, Roy Anderson, "green" was not an issue for the company until the early 1990s. Then, following the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992, Anderson found himself trying to respond to customers wanting to know how Interface was addressing their environmental concerns. He had no plan. Anderson did research and noticed that the way Interface was doing business was environmentally destructive, and that he and the company were on the wrong side of the issue. He later wrote, "It dawned on me that the way I'd been running Interface is the way of the plunderer; plundering something that was not mine, something that belongs to every creature on earth. And I said to myself: 'The day must come when this is illegal, when plundering is not allowed. It must come. . . . Someday people like me will end up in jail.'" The carpet business, according to Anderson, "is a pretty abusive industry." It uses enormous amounts of water, energy and petroleum, and the products last thousands of years in a landfill. He realized that such an approach to business was not sustainable.

Anderson took action. He created a vision for the company, which was to be the first truly sustainable and ultimately restorative company in the world. He alerted his supply chain providers such that he would only work with those who helped him realize his vision for an entirely green company. He created metrics to identify, measure, and monitor the company's energy use and waste production in relation to its products, as well as the company's impact on its employees, affiliates and the communities it served. He pushed for the innovation of new products that have now dramatically changed the way carpet products are produced, installed, and disposed of. For him and the company this will be an ongoing process. The approach is proving to be profitable and impactful. Interface is a model for how companies can do both—make a profit and be sustainable (pp. 133–139).

Similarly, Walmart's former CEO, H. Lee Scott, Jr., was inspired and guided by Jay Ellison from Blue Skye Sustainability Consulting to think about how his global company, ranked as one of the largest in the world, could completely redesign its environmental impact and realize increased profits as a result. In 2005 Scott announced to Walmart's 1.6 million employees and 60,000 suppliers around the world that the company was

undertaking a companywide "business sustainability strategy." The objective was to improve the company's impact on the environment (Plambeck & Denend, 2008, p. 1). He announced three core goals: "1. To be supplied 100 percent by renewable energy; 2. to create zero waste; and 3. to sell products that sustain our resources and environment (Humes, 2011, p. 104)." This had a major impact on suppliers. One example was Walmart's decision to move from selling incandescent bulbs to selling far-more energy efficient, compact, fluorescent bulbs (Visser, 2012). In a December 2005 meeting with executives from General Electric, Walmart's largest bulb supplier, "the message from G.E. was, 'Don't go too fast. We have all these plants that produce traditional bulbs.'" The response from the Walmart buyer was blunt: "We are going there. You decide if you are coming with us." The bulb makers decided to work with the company (p. 197). Jay Ellison is working with other firms— including Nike, Sony, HP, Microsoft, and Waste Management—on developing sustainable business practices.

Corporate social responsibility, and by inference sustainability as a concept, has a long history. Evidence of businesses donating time and money to improve and preserve their local communities showed up more than 1,000 years ago in the Middle East. It would not be until 1953, when Howard Bowen published "Social Responsibilities of the Businessman" and coined the term *corporate social responsibility*, that the question was more formally raised about what, if any, are the responsibilities of a business to the community.

To better understand how CSR evolved to its current and sometimes conflicting place in modern business, the reluctance if not refusal of some CEOs to adopt it, and the precedents that form the basis for its role in this new market shift, it is useful to look at the early stages of the Industrial Revolution where polarities in the approach to management and this current market shift toward the integration of social and environmental priorities into the creation of value can be seen taking root.

In 19th-century England the concept of CSR emerged early in the relationship between management and labor. At that time, attitudes among business owners toward labor were generally divided along the line of treating workers as a commodity or as partners in production. The emphasis was on the former. For the workers in general, which included children at the age of five, the issue was paramount:

> The shift from working at home to working in factories in the early 18th century brought with it a new system of working. Factory and mine owners sought to control and discipline their workforce through a system of long

> working hours, fines and low wages. By the 1860s the 10 hour day was common, but not universal . . . the government passed laws called the Combination Acts, which made it illegal for men to combine to demand higher wages. . . . Working class housing was appalling. It was overcrowded and unsanitary. . . . Toilets were usually cesspits, which were infrequently emptied and sometimes overflowed. Or urine might seep through the ground into wells from which people drew drinking water. Given these disgusting conditions it is not surprising there were outbreaks of cholera in many towns. (Lambert)

Children working in the factories were used for all manner of labor and at times were beaten with belts, had nails driven through their ears, or were suspended in cramped baskets as factory foremen were given free rein to force them to work to their fullest, even in the most difficult conditions. The courts tended to take the side of owners and shareholders versus stakeholders on such issues, though not universally.

In her book *North and South*, Elizabeth Gaskell provides a glimpse into the attitude often held by management toward labor: "The factory owner Thornton, when questioned 'why could you not explain what good reason you have for expecting a bad trade [and thus having to lower the already low wages of the workmen]?', answers simply that 'Do you give your servants reasons for your expenditure, or your economy in the use of your own money? We, the owners of capital, have a right to choose what we will do with it'" (Chang, 1993). That same attitude played a fundamental role in creating the unchecked pollution of the air, water, and soil that was rampant at that time. Management saw no reason to hesitate in externalizing those costs and their other negative effects on the community. It was simply the best way to do business. When the effects on the community became overwhelming, it ultimately provoked government regulations like the Metropolis Water Act of 1852, the Smoke Nuisance Abatement Act of 1852, and the Public Health Act of 1891, along with the creation of social activist groups like the Coal Smoke Abatement Society in 1898, which were all aimed at limiting the negative impacts of business when business itself would not.

By contrast, factory owners like Robert Owen represented management with a different point of view regarding labor in particular:

> Owen was not just interested in running a successful business. He was also keen to improve the working conditions and life of the workers. At the time, factory conditions were often dire, with people working long hours for little pay. Workers received little, if any, education and workers had few prospects. Owen was a great believer that man was shaped by his environment and surroundings. Therefore, he felt it his duty as a manager to offer education and

> respectable surroundings for his extended family. On taking over the New Lanark (textile mill) business, Owen ordered the building of a school. He also banned corporal punishment. Owen also restricted the employment of children under the age of 10 (children as young as 5 had been working in the factories). These young children were instead sent to school. (Pettinger, 2013)

Owen's philanthropy toward his own workers was not rare, and his other business partners feared that the profitability of their investment would be reduced. This conflict between profit maximization and social concerns was a continual source of tension. To resolve it, Owen borrowed money from a Quaker, Archibald Campell, to buy out the other businessmen. He later sold shares to investors more sympathetic to his aims. Despite his investment in education, and improved factory conditions, his factory in New Lanark continued to be profitable. Owen also successfully instituted new management practices and found ways to encourage his workers to be more productive.

Owen was not alone. John Cadbury, founder in 1824 of the Cadbury chocolate company, and his sons also gave their workers good working and living conditions, medical services, a five-and-a-half-day work week, pensions, and time off on bank holidays. The company was profitable and remained so, culminating in its sale to Kraft in 2010 for $11.5 billion. Similarly, the founder of National Cash Register, John H. Patterson, provided his workers with health clinics, bath-houses, recreational facilities, profit-sharing, and well-lit, ventilated factories in which to work. These and other similarly minded business leaders became part of the Industrial Welfare Movement in England, which grew around the idea that business could do a better job of taking care of the needs of their workers than government, and that providing incentives to workers would increase productivity and reduce turnover.

Looking now at the approaches to business represented by Owen, Cadbury, and Patterson, it is possible to see the start of today's concepts of employer-sponsored health care programs, CSR, and sustainability. There is also embryonic evidence of the ideas that would lead to the start of current corporate legal structures like the B-Corporation, which allow owners to engage investors on the premise that integrating profit and social or environmental benefits for the community is acceptable and desirable.

During the same basic period, business leaders in America like John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Leland Stanford, and J. P. Morgan were taking a somewhat different approach. Darwin's theories of evolution and survival of the fittest were becoming popular. Rockefeller, Carnegie, and

others shared a belief that God granted a select few the talent to be successful and thereby acquire wealth, which became known as the Gospel of Wealth. They also believed Christian virtue demanded that some of that money needed to be shared. Therefore, they became major donors, giving away vast sums to support everything from churches to libraries to universities and art museums. Working conditions in their industries, however, was not their priority, and for many Americans industrialization meant long hours, dangerous working conditions, and a meager salary (Social Realism, 2014). Henry Ford and others ultimately raised hourly wages and began offering pensions and other benefits to stabilize and improve their workforce. Many of these industrial welfare programs disappeared during the Great Depression, but the concept of business and personal philanthropy built around the idea of "giving back" to the community once a business had done well, regardless of how it made its money, was prevalent and continues to this day.

In America the concern about how corporations respond to community priorities preceded the Industrial Revolution. The country's Founding Fathers did not trust corporations. Much like England, they were inclined initially to grant corporate charters but only to complete projects for community benefit, like roads. Their experience with the Dutch East India Company financially abusing the colonies on behalf of the Crown had led to revolution, and they were apprehensive about the power corporations might develop. They had a particularly hard time with banks. Thomas Jefferson said, "If the American people ever allow private banks to control the issue of their money, first by inflation and then by deflation, the banks and corporations that will grow up around them (the banks) will deprive the people of their property until their children will wake up homeless on the continent their fathers conquered" (2013).

John Adams felt similarly: "Banks have done more injury to the religion, morality, tranquility, prosperity and even the wealth of the nation than they have done or ever will do good" (2005).

Those leaders believed that the idea of corporations being socially responsible could only be realized by limiting their function. However, as the power of pro-corporate leaders grew, they successfully used the law that granted slaves personhood to give corporations the same rights. After that the genie was out of the bottle.

By the 1920s, shareholder interests versus stakeholder interests was gradually becoming an issue. It culminated in a debate published in the Harvard Review between two professors, E. Merrick Dodd at Harvard Law School and Adolph A. Berle at Columbia Law School. The outcome of that debate continues to define the issue in America today. Berle argued that

shareholders should have more protection in a corporation, because at that time corporate managers had developed strategies that ensured that they (the managers) and not stockholders got the greatest financial benefits from a company. Dodd took the position that if one could argue that a single special interest group like the shareholders could have its needs addressed, then other stakeholder groups could too. Even though the two men did not differ widely in their opinions in the end, Dodd is popularly thought to have won the debate. That launched an era of community social and environmental activism and the idea that corporations can be held accountable for their impact on others in the community, including the environment, in addition to stockholders.

In the years that followed, activists like Rachel Carson and her book *Silent Spring* drew attention to the environmental damage being caused by the chemical industry. Other activists centered on similar failings by the timber, oil, mining, and other resource-heavy industries. Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at Any Speed* took the automobile manufacturers to task for the lack of product quality (Visser, 2012). Greenpeace gained power in the stakeholder versus stockholder debate on behalf of nature.

As the pendulum inevitably began to swing back in the direction of favoring shareholders, the most influential argument for the primacy of their interests over those of other stakeholders was put forward by business-thought leader Milton Friedman. Friedman famously argued that the sole purpose of a corporation is to generate profit and increase shareholder value. He considered CSR and corporate philanthropy to be distractions at best from the primary purpose of maximizing profits:

> The businessmen believe that they are defending free enterprise when they declaim that business is not concerned "merely" with profit but also with promoting desirable "social" ends; that business has a "social conscience" and takes seriously its responsibilities for providing employment, eliminating discrimination, avoiding pollution and whatever else may be the catchwords of the contemporary crop of reformers. In fact they are—or would be if they or anyone else took them seriously—preaching pure and unadulterated socialism. Businessmen who talk this way are unwitting puppets of the intellectual forces that have been undermining the basis of a free society these past decades. (Friedman, 1970, p. 33)

It was not until Porter and Kramer introduced their concept of Shared Value that there was in effect the opportunity for a more balanced discussion about the legitimacy of business striving to do no harm as part of profitability. The credibility of the Shared Value concept rose as global corporations like Coke, Nestlé, Intel, Dow and others began adopting it.

However, as a few companies began to incorporate corporate social responsibility into their core business strategies, many others used it as a public relations veneer or a method to control any substantive change in their social and environmental practices. "CSR is lies, damn lies and statistics," according to a global marketing adviser. Indeed, if one were to ask a group of reasonably knowledgeable people what corporate social responsibility is, at least one answer would be "an oxymoron," and they would have good reason for saying so. At its zenith, Enron had one of the best-looking corporate social responsibility programs in its field, while their core business was built on financial fraud. Lehman Brothers received an award posthumously for its CSR accomplishments during the global recession it helped to cause. In 2008 Countrywide Financial Corporation was acknowledged for its support in rehabilitating low-income homes and communities across America. Shortly thereafter, California's attorney general, Edmund Brown, Jr., announced, "The Countrywide settlement will likely become the largest predatory lending settlement in history, dwarfing the nationwide $484 million settlement with Household Finance Corporation in 2002" ("Attorney General Brown Announces Landmark $8.68 Billion Settlement with Countrywide," 2008).

CSR programs often are created as a form of damage control following a negative publicity event that threatens a firm. Adding a conflict-free supply chain, managing waste and energy in an environmentally sensitive manner, maintaining compliance with various voluntary codes of conduct, being philanthropic, and supporting employee volunteerism usually happen once the initial crisis has passed and corporate social responsibility becomes institutionalized in a company. While many CSR programs are generally positive in nature, CSR overall as a concept and a practice is failing to actually mitigate the scale of damage business is causing to people and the planet in the process of creating value (Visser, 2012). CSR in that sense is a Band-Aid on an ever-widening wound, which is not sustainable.

As the market changes and there is stronger demand for the integration of social and economic interests in creating value, CSR programs that remain isolated within companies far from the development of their core business strategies are poised to decrease in value. To be more relevant and effective, CSR officers must be tasked, for example, by corporate leadership to help design a vision and a plan for profitable social and environmental responsibility based on each company's core competencies, and then either disappear into the fabric of those firms or serve as the center for the innovations, partnerships, acquisitions, and community engagements needed to realize the company's ongoing sustainable value

objectives. There is little question that major corporations worldwide have the ability and know-how to take the idea of producing goods and services in concert with social and environmental needs profitably to scale. The question is will they, and if so what role will CSR officers play in helping to make that happen?

Making CSR part of a corporation's core business strategies will not always mean a total redesign, as was the case with Interface, Inc. Some companies will begin by testing the profitability of a new integrated value product, while others will partner with existing firms, like social enterprises that already have such products and help take them to scale. Still other corporations will find that there are social "intrapreneurs" within their staff who will develop new products and services based on integrated value simply out of the passion to do so. Finally, some new corporations or subsidiaries are forming specifically with the intent of producing integrated value goods and services. For them, CSR as a separate program simply does not exist.

As an example of partnering, DANONE is working with the nonprofit Grameen Foundation to develop vitamin-enriched yogurt for children in developing markets, and it is using the Grameen approach of using women's collectives to serve as local distributers. It is helping to meet DANONE's CSR and profitability objectives, while opening a new market for both partners.

Investing in or acquiring social enterprises that are designed specifically to solve unaddressed social and environmental challenges and taking them to scale also is a way to address a significant part of a corporation's CSR and value agenda. Mark Kramer from Shared Value calls this option "the tip of the spear" and believes it is where the greatest opportunities for innovation and scaling can be found.

Examples of large corporations investing in or acquiring CSR-aligned social enterprises include Shell's investment in Husk Power, which produces energy-efficient electricity, jobs, and education in remote communities; Uniliver's acquisition of Ben and Jerry's ice cream company, which was the very first company to file a CSR report in the 1990s; and Coke's bid to acquire Honest Tea.

Social enterprises represent uniquely useful potential partnering and investment opportunities for larger firms because social enterprises are built specifically to combine a mission to improve the community with profitable and often new business models. While many social enterprises are start-ups and early-stage growth firms, the field also includes mature companies like Patagonia, Clif Bar, and The Body Shoppe, as well as a long list of B-corporations operating in the United States at notable scale, like

Plum Organics ($80.8 million), Home Care Assistance ($62.7 million), Rally Software Development ($56.8 million), and Revolution Foods ($54.1 million). They are worthy of close inspection by other large corporations seeking viable partner and investment opportunities in line with their core competencies, brand, and response to the current market shift.

David Wilcox at ReachScale is an adviser and deal facilitator in this field. He helped Proctor & Gamble partner with Healthpoint Services, a for-profit social enterprise dedicated to bringing self-sustaining health services to underserved communities worldwide. He also matched industry and private social impact investment funds with Solar Ear, a company designed to give low-income consumers access to affordable, high-quality, solar-powered hearing aids.

Affiliations with social enterprises can also yield other benefits for larger firms. Social enterprise managers have developed the skill of balancing the tension between achieving a social or environmental mission and earning profit. They can show their corporate peers how to address those issues from a viable business standpoint while larger companies can show them how to reach scale. These relationships also can give the larger corporations access to substantial capital from impact investors that are available to share the risk of trying impact innovations in various industries. Impact investors are specifically interested in financial as well as social and environmental improvement returns.

Social entrepreneurship is a cause-celeb among college students and Millennials worldwide. For several years, Dell sponsored a competition called "The Dell Global Challenge" in partnership with the University of Texas, Austin. Young social entrepreneurs were invited to submit innovations and business plans aimed at creating new breakthroughs in an unserved part of the market. It is very successful in attracting participants and aligning the Dell brand with innovation, social concerns, and youthful innovation. Programs for teaching social entrepreneurship now exist at universities all over the world, including Harvard, Stanford, Yale, INSTEAD, Oxford, Brown, Northwestern, Duke, New York University, Universities of California at Davis, Berkeley, and Los Angeles, and many more. Programs like the Global Center for Social Entrepreneurship, run by sector-thought leader Jerry Hildebrand, attract students and advisers from throughout the social enterprise community worldwide to help spawn the next generations of social entrepreneurs. These programs provide corporations with a ready source of research and talent they can use to help them enter the new CSR-guided market.

Corporate "social intrapreneurs" are making CSR objectives into new profit centers inside their parent companies. Stories of these insider inno-

vators come from a variety of fields, including but not limited to engineering, telecom, finance, construction, and media.

> In 2008, SustainAbility produced a report which interviewed twenty social intrapreneurs from a diverse set of multinational corporations. . . . The report revealed that social intrapreneurs believe there are numerous opportunities for the corporation when it comes to projects that align societal needs and business value: creating new revenue streams, expanding core capabilities into new areas, fueling innovation, enhancing brand equity, retaining talent, or achieving competitive advantage in new markets. "The profit is not obvious right away, but it's important to have a presence in these markets," says Orlando Ayala, who led Microsoft's Unlimited Potential initiative to promote accessible, affordable technology to lower income populations and is now Senior Vice President of Emerging Markets at the company. Other examples of social intrapreneurs are Vijay Sharma, who led Project Shakti for Hindustan Unilever to train and finance female entrepreneurs in India, Sue Mecklenburg, who pioneered opportunities for livelihood enhancement within the supply chain at Starbucks, and Dan Vermeer, who worked on Coca-Cola's Global Water Initiative to develop solutions to water scarcity, with water being Coca-Cola's single biggest input. (Ip, 2013)

Lastly, some new companies are being built specifically to produce integrated value products and services from day one. One Pacific Coast Bank (OPCB) in San Francisco is an example of such a company:

> Our vision is of a banking industry that is fair to the person with the least bargaining power; provides access to financial services for all our communities, particularly the traditionally underserved; results in the long-term prosperity of responsible consumers; promotes financial system stability; and contributes to the sustainability of the environmental commons. We call this vision beneficial banking. The Mission of One Pacific Coast Bank, FSB, is to build prosperity in our communities through beneficial banking services delivered in an economically and environmentally sustainable manner. (Beneficial Banking, n.d.)

OPCB is a B-corporation and all of its stock is owned by a nonprofit foundation, which helps ensure its vision and mission remain unaltered.

Once a company develops its integrated value strategy, it is time to communicate that vision, process, and value to stakeholders. Doing so will impact brand and brand messaging, including the use of social media and social media marketing. Social media is already the preferred tool of social, environmental, and anti-corporate activists. Likewise, more corporations are using social media, but many still tend to use it to sell products or post

information about themselves that consumers in general now often view with skepticism:

> As events in the Middle East have shown, social media can play a critical role in connecting up protesters around a common cause. Whilst in this context the aims are political and the targets are state leaders, over in the world of business, companies are also finding themselves the unwitting subjects of campaigns fueled by social media. . . . After having claimed the scalp of Nestle last year with its viral Kit-Kat ad that prompted the company to change its sourcing of palm oil, Greenpeace has also recently rolled out its "Polluter Harmony" campaign in Canada to confront government support of oil sands companies. Last week, it claimed another victory with the US retailer Costco announcing a major sustainable seafood initiative after a Greenpeace campaign featured the company in a series of videos going through an "Ocean destroyers anonymous." . . . "Nike was targeted by campaigners because it was the world's best-selling brand and because initially it denied responsibility for any malpractice that may be taking place in its sub-contractor factories," explains Rob Harrison, editor of *Ethical Consumer*. With the campaign scoring a direct hit on Nike's bottom line, the corporation today operates with an openness and transparency that would have been unthinkable 20 years ago. (Crane & Madden, 2011)

While firms like Enron and Lehman Brothers represent the most recent colossal failures in the market, many other companies continue to create their own vulnerability for a loss of market share by being willing to manipulate information to make sales, particularly in the "green" market. Their medium of choice is social media.

> Over 75% of the S&P 500 have sections of their websites devoted to disclosing information about their social and environmental policies and performance. Green advertising grew almost 300% between 2006 and 2009 and sales of green products and services are projected to climb from $230 billion in 2009 to $845 billion by 2015. As corporate green claims have mushroomed, however, consumers have grown increasingly skeptical about their authenticity. They have good reason to be wary: fully 98% of the products making environmental claims in 2009 misled consumers by committing . . . greenwashing . . . which is . . . the intersection of two firm behaviors: poor environmental performance and positive communication about environmental performance. (Lyon & Montgomery, 2013)

If brand is basically what people say about your company after you leave the room, then it now can be assumed that impressions about CSR, sustainability and being "green" are and will continue to be part of what

they discuss. Introducing the use of CSR as a branding and business development strategy will vary from company to company and at least three basic marketing situations are emerging:

1. The company is committed to generating profit in a way that continues to be highly destructive in regard to its use of natural and human resources. The marketing messages will generally focus on covering up that story or spinning it to make the product and process sound like something they generally are not.
2. The company is making genuine and effective but incremental efforts to improve its impact on resources. The marketing message will focus on telling that story.
3. The company is focused on producing products in a way that is not harmful to resources and is producing new products in ways that help preserve and even rejuvenate the quality of natural resources as part of creating value. The marketing message will focus on engaging customers in that vision, the process, and the added benefits of being part of such a company's "family."

Once it is determined what stage of engagement with CSR is going on inside a particular company, the marketing teams can design messages that fit. In her book *Just Good Business*, Kellie McElhaney provides guidelines to help maximize the benefits of CSR's alignment with core business priorities and the attendant messages. Arguably, two of the most important considerations are brand alignment and authenticity.

> The Ford Corporation illustrates how easy it is to misalign CSR and brand. For years, Ford generously donated millions of dollars to support breast cancer research. While the cause is important it had absolutely no alignment with the core business in which Ford is engaged. If Ford had chosen to support solutions to air pollution caused by combustion engines, for example, it could have leveraged its own engineering resources to augment its financial contribution to produce greater results, and then helped get any resulting improvements introduced into the market to demonstrate its CSR values to its stakeholders in a manner that aligned clearly with its brand. (McElhaney, 2008, p. 20)

To avoid misalignments, McElhaney provides a basic checklist for integrating CSR into the fabric of a brand that includes:

- Firm commitment from company leadership to CSR
- CSR goals align with the top three business objectives of the company and contribute to achieving them
- CSR goals are aligned with company's core competencies

- CSR is fully integrated into the governance of the company and existing management systems
- CSR has developed clear performance metrics or indicators to measure its impact (p. 19)

However, that list was created for companies whose CSR programs generally are isolated from the development of the brand and the core strategy of a company. As CSR moves to a lead role more central to a company's fundamental business, the list will look more like this:

- Firm commitment from company leadership to put CSR values and priorities at the center of the business vision and strategy
- CSR objectives dictate the top three objectives of the company and contribute to achieving them
- CSR goals guide the use of the company's core competencies
- CSR is used as the basis for the development of the governance of the company and its management systems
- CSR-based performance metrics are clear and used to measure the company's impact

For social media and other marketers, these strategic characteristics of a company form an entirely new basis for developing messages, promoting value, and engaging stakeholders. Social media marketers in particular can take advantage of the storytelling, links with community causes, and interest in transparency that can be used to engage customers in long-term relationships.

There are at least five basic factors helping to create this market shift, and to a degree, each can also impact and shape the branding messages of participating companies:

1. The single biggest factor is the Millennial Generation. They are 8–9 million strong and are reportedly the first generation to want it all: products they like, delivered in the way they want, when they want, at affordable prices and produced without doing any damage to people or the planet. And that is mostly true. There are some contradictions in this market group as well. They may speak out with their opinions and wallets when they learn of sweatshop labor making their favorite shoes but they may also withhold their opinions when they learn their newest cellphone may damage the hands of workers during assembly because they do not want to risk losing the next best iteration of communication technology. Contradictions aside, they are interested predominately in the idea of companies producing new products that fit a sustainability model.

> The Millennial Generation is by far the most analyzed, most marketed to and most intriguing generation to date. It is a generation that is comprised of individuals who are extremely ambitious and not only have high expectations for themselves, but also for those around them including their friends, families, communities and brands. It is also a generation that has been shaped by tragic world events such as 9/11 and natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina. The result is a group that has developed a strong social conscience amplified by technology. . . . Millennials are a generation of young people accustomed to choices and options. They are acutely aware of their marketing power and influence. They demand customization and instantaneous feedback. And their demands are usually answered. (AP Agency, 2010)

Social media marketers and marketers in general can use this profile to engage these customers as a company makes a change toward a CSR-based value model.

2. A similarly powerful factor is business itself, especially chief executives, which can be characterized in many cases, at least until now, as moving in the wrong direction. Ironically, that negative movement is what is creating its influence in this market shift. The now classic movie statement, "Greed is good!" may have acted as an effective rallying cry for aggressive productivity in the financial markets. But it did not provide the equally compelling justification for restraint of the overzealousness and dishonesty that contributed to the 2008 global financial meltdown and putting the bailout burden on the public as an externalized cost. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the public believes that businesspeople will literally do anything to make a profit and need to be controlled.

   According to the *2013 Edelman Trust Barometer*: "Less than one fifth of the general public believes business leaders . . . will tell the truth when confronted with a difficult issue." The Barometer finds that this lack of trust is driven by poor performance and the perception of unethical behavior. "Business must . . . move beyond earning the License to Operate—the minimum required standard—toward earning a License to Lead—in which business serves the needs of shareholders and broader stakeholders by being profitable and being a positive force in society." (p. 1)

   The opportunity now exists for companies and their executives to take a different route to creating value and in the process create a new and very positive image for themselves and the business community, and a growing number are going in that direction.

3. Arguably investors are the most important factor in a market shift, but they too appear to be defining rather than leading this current market change. For them, CSR is fundamentally risk mitigation at this point and in some cases a way to gain a competitive advantage. An article titled "Investor Interest in Corporate Social Responsibility on the Rise" appeared on CSRWire on March

24, 2003, and said: "A new CSR Europe/INSEAD study, carried out in cooperation with the Investor Relations Society, also suggests that the interest in social and environmental issues has risen significantly over recent years and that investors are beginning to ask more informed and detailed questions about companies' corporate social responsibility performance."

No one wants to have invested in Nike five minutes before the disgruntled employee and anti-corporate activists use social media to effectively draw international attention to that company for using sweatshop labor. The value of Nike's stock dropped precipitously until the company corrected that problem and regenerated a degree of trust in the market again, based on the effectiveness of its response. By contrast, HP's CSR program, which is and has been a robust feature of that company over time, was in part created with the mitigation of an inevitable PR problem in mind, just for this reason.

4. Another element influencing the evolution of the market toward sustainability and CSR is the power of dominant thinking. C. K. Prahalad discusses this issue in detail in his seminal book on creating value for the billion-strong market made up of very low income consumers worldwide. The book, entitled *Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid*, points to dominant thinking as one of the most formidable hurdles over which company executives must pass in order to "see" new markets or value propositions in locations where they are not accustomed to looking. A dominant thought at the moment is that stockholder interests are the most important, and they are best served by an emphasis on short-term earnings, regardless of their long-term social and environmental effects. Without sufficient pressure from an equally powerful source, that point of view would persist. The idea of Shared Value and others like it are creating a countervailing argument that is giving business leaders a chance to step out of the established norm and potentially into a new paradigm of management and value creation.
5. Government is the final factor. It has played a significant role in business in the past by creating new markets and using regulation, taxes, and tariffs to encourage or limit changes in business practices. That should be the case with the new CSR, sustainability and integrated value creation. Indeed, according to the 2013 UN Global Compact & Accenture Survey of CEOs, business leaders globally continue to want to pursue the concept of sustainability as a platform for growth, but they now see the need for government regulation to incentivize the market and allow them to make more dramatic and consistent steps toward that goal (p. 12). However, government also has gotten in the way of business development in the past with an overabundance of political zeal, a lack of oversight and enforcement on existing laws, and confusion created by the passage of conflicting, politically motivated regulations. The recent display of political conflict in Washington and the inability to compromise in any reasonable manner has created the current impression that government is the last place to look for an effective partner in change. Investors and Millennial voters can play

a role in guiding government to address new market issues more effectively, and if that occurs it will play a significant role in enabling the market to complete its shift.

Of course, there are many factors that also could derail or delay a change in this market. In this case, four factors stand out:

1. The question of reality around this market shift. Is this shift toward sustainability, corporate social responsibility, and integrated value the Y2K issue of the market today? In other words, the sustainability argument may make business sense, the implied danger may appear substantial, but the reality may be nonexistent. That issue could derail change.
2. The continued interest or loss of it on Wall Street and among consumers in making sustainability an elemental factor in the creation of value. A strong change in consumer or investor interest could derail this change.
3. The belief in an eleventh-hour solution to the major social and environmental problems of today. Ernesto Sirolli gives an engaging Ted Talk about the impact of foreign aid, in which he highlights the unexpected solutions that can arise, illustrating it with a story that goes something like this: In the late 1800s, City of New York officials invited a group of futurists to give them opinions about the city's future. They wanted to know what would happen if New York City continued to grow at its then-current pace. The futurists concluded that based on the fact that most of the city ran on horses for work and pleasure, the number of horses would have to grow exponentially with the population, and the result would be a disaster. The amount of horse manure would become so great that it would engulf the city. Not very long after that vivid vision had a chance to settle into the minds of those city leaders, nearly 20 different automobile companies had been formed around the invention of the combustion engine. The manure problem was solved. With that kind of example in mind, it is possible that some corporate managers may elect to simply ignore the sustainability issues with the belief they will be solved with a yet-to-be-developed innovation. That would reduce the momentum of change.
4. The Easter Island solution. After the complete depletion of their main natural resource, namely trees, the Easter Islanders were forced to abandon their island and live someplace else. The recent sale of one-way tickets to Mars being offered by a Dutch company called Mars One offers a departure date in 2022 and an arrival in 2023, with no return flight. The purpose is to colonize the planet. Shortly after that invitation appeared on the Internet, more than 10,000 people expressed interest. The majority of businesses could simply elect to continue to use natural and human resources with the same abandon as they do now until those resources are depleted, with the belief that there will be the opportunity to move on to another "Earth" when things run out. That too would derail any progress, perhaps permanently.

As business considers entering this emerging new era in value creation, it is important to consider what exactly the target is that companies are trying to hit for consumers when it comes to the issues of sustainability and value. Students of corporate social responsibility and social entrepreneurship were asked what they want from business that would satisfy their expectations of CSR as consumers. In general, they applaud ideas like cradle-to-cradle design, which means designing products and services that rejuvenate the environment and support job creation as core to value. They want CEOs to be creating "seventh generation" companies that last and build value long-term, rather than act as short-term profit mills. Some students understand that such an approach might limit their own investment plans or those of their parents, but they were inclined to take the longer view in favor of other subsequent benefits, like having a sustainable planet on which to live. They also want company marketers to stop the double-speak and outright lies, and to quit hiding behind fear tactics about job loss and the hardships that will ensue if companies are forced to make any sustainability adjustments of real substance. They want companies to stop being lazy and get innovative.

Predicting the transition of CSR from a protective veneer for business to an active ingredient in the creation of value has gone beyond the Ouija board stage. Major companies are now making that change and measuring its value. If they continue to report that it causes them no harm, improves or revives public opinion of their brand, strengthens loyalty among their customers, differentiates them competitively, sets the stage for longevity, provides access to new financial resources, and has a positive impact on their stock value in a manner that is protected over time by government regulations, it will influence the dominant thinking of peer companies. That is when the most significant transformation in the market will occur.

Perhaps the single point that CEOs, marketers, and CSR officers must understand in order to profitably take part in the coming market shift is that it is no longer how companies spend money (i.e., for donations), but rather how they make it, that is important to the coming market.

An authentic commitment to this new approach to the creation of value can be seen, sensed, and communicated. For all intents and purposes, the market has not been faced with this particular alchemy of factors before, and social media is and will continue to be the link for companies and their stakeholders to engage together in more clearly defining this coming new era of business. The outcome is, at this moment, unfolding.

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The Handbook of Persuasion and Social Marketing

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The Handbook of Persuasion and Social Marketing

Volume 3: Applications and Uses

David W. Stewart, Editor

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

David W. Stewart

Social marketing has been applied to a wide array of social problems and issues and has evolved substantially over time. At one time not too many years ago social marketing was largely limited to providing information through public service announcements and targeted communications using brochures, flyers, and mailers. Today social marketers have adopted the full array of sophisticated marketing tools and techniques used by their commercial marketing colleagues. Among the biggest changes in social marketing has been a shift from programs and information driven by policy professionals to a more consumer-centric approach to the design of social marketing programs. "Market research" designed to develop a deep understanding of the world of the "consumer" is now a routine part of the design and implementation of social marketing programs. Both qualitative and quantitative research provides social marketers with information about motives and goals that drive behavior or that serve to discourage behavior. Such research also provides a means for evaluating alternatives for actions before they are implemented and after they are deployed in the market. Information obtained through research allows social marketers to identify more effective marketing actions in advance of implementation and to make adjustments to activities after implementation. It also provides invaluable information about how such actions should be delivered and communicated to the target audiences.

As the first two volumes of this set make clear, the key differences that are often identified between commercial marketing and social marketing are what is being "sold" and for what purpose. Instead of products and services, social marketers more often focus on ideas, attitudes, and

behaviors, though there are often very real products and services associated with these ideas and products, and services are frequently necessary for facilitating behavior. And, as was also discussed in the earlier volumes of this set, the notion that the social marketer's objective is to influence social behaviors that benefit the target audience and society at large rather than benefit the marketer and his or her organization is fraught with problems and highly value laden. These observations are not offered to diminish the good works of social marketers. Rather, they are offered to make the point that social marketing and commercial marketing have a great deal in common and share the common purpose of persuading people to take or refrain from various actions. The tools and techniques are identical. The planning process involves the "Four P's" and creation of an appropriate marketing mix that is usually, but not always, driven from a consumer perspective.

The ten examples of the application and use of social marketing that are contained in this volume are intended to be illustrative of the range of issues addressed with social marketing. They are not intended as a comprehensive list. A much larger collection of case studies can be found in Lefebvre (2013). Neither are the examples in this volume intended to be a "how-to" guide to social marketing in particular domains. Chapters in the first two volumes of this set do provide a more detailed treatment of planning and implementing social marketing programs. Various guides to the planning and implementation of social marketing programs also exist (see, for example, Weinreich, 2010, and Lee & Kotler, 2011).

Rather, the ten chapters that follow are intended to illustrate the scope, variety, and focus of the applications and uses of social marketing. The examples range from operational—that is, they focus on solving a specific problem or address a single issue—to strategic—that is, they focus on addressing macroissues that can, in turn, influence a wide array of more specific problems. Some of the examples focus on very specific situations, while others take a broader view and describe various approaches for addressing particular social issues with the goal of comparing and contrasting what has and has not been effective.

Chapter Overviews

The most frequent application of social marketing has been in the area of health care, where various efforts to both prevent disease and promote health have existed for decades. Indeed, long before the term social marketing became part of the lexicon, the concepts and tools of marketing were being applied to issues related to health. Florence Nightingale's work

on sanitation in India had many of the characteristics of social marketing, including the use of statistics to help define the problem and track outcomes (Cook, 2010). The U.S. Center for Disease Control engages in extensive social marketing activities (see for example, http://www.cdc.gov/healthcommunication/), and the United Nations operates a variety of social marketing programs related to health and other societal needs through its United Nations Development Programme (http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home.html). Thus, it is not surprising that several of the chapters in this volume deal with health and wellness. However, at one level most social ills have a public health dimension. The creation of good jobs and economic development with the attendant rise in standard of living almost always results in a healthier population. The removal of financial, environmental, and social stressors also has health implications. Thus, there is a health theme throughout all of the chapters.

Chapter 2 has a specific focus on health. It describes a highly focused operational social marketing program designed to encourage individuals to enroll in corporate programs that encourage healthy behavior. The program is called ENABLE, an acronym for efficient, novel, active, behavioral levers. The chapter describes the program and six field experiments that investigate its efficacy with and without financial incentives for participation. Lessons from the ENABLE program may be applied to other health programs. Indeed, just as marketers in one industry or setting may learn "best practices" from another industry, so too may the effectiveness of a specific social marketing program inform other similar programs in different settings.

Chapter 3 also focuses on health but takes a much more holistic and strategic approach to the relationship of people and food. There are many specific personal and social issues that revolve around food. Some people do not have enough food, while others consume too much and struggle with obesity. Some consumers do not get the right amount of the right foods. The authors of the chapter reconceptualize numerous specific food-related problems as part of a larger issue related to "food well-being," which defines the relationship between food and a healthy individual and a healthy society. They then show how social marketing can be used to encourage both a healthy relationship with food and a larger sense of well-being that is associated with this relationship. The authors of Chapter 3 demonstrate that redefining a problem, or conceptualizing many different problems as a manifestation of a larger, overarching problem, can provide new insights about both the problems and the social marketing interventions that may successfully address them.

Many social issues and problems confronted by individuals and society are chronic. They persist over time and often across generations. However, other

problems are more immediate in origin and require immediate intervention. The authors of Chapter 4 address one such problem, that of dealing with disasters. Disasters are not chronic but they are common. Recovery after a disaster is one dimension of the problem but encouraging people to adequately prepare for a disaster, especially one that can be reasonably foreseen, may be more important for minimizing the loss of lives and property. Like the authors of Chapter 3, the authors of Chapter 4 take a strategic view of disasters. They redefine a disaster not as a single event but as a series of stages that include preparation and efforts to mitigate the disaster, as well as response and recovery. They then show how social marketing programs can be used to encourage both preparation and recovery, to reduce the loss of lives and property, and to reestablish normal functioning quickly and efficiently.

Chapter 5 deals with a very different issue, but one that affects every resident in America and influences the distribution of tax revenue to cities and communities for health, safety, education, and recreational services, among others. In the United States there is a constitutional mandate that the population be counted every ten years. The Decennial Census is a huge endeavor that costs billions of dollars. It also requires the cooperation of every person, who must be counted whether they wish to be or not. The Census Bureau employs numerous social marketing programs to increase cooperation and to reduce the cost of the count. The authors of Chapter 5 describe the social marketing efforts related to the 2010 Decennial Census. These efforts were informed by an enormous amount of research related to awareness, attitudes, and behavior toward the Census. These efforts also had to deal with the enormous diversity of the population of the United States and the differences in propensity to respond to different types of marketing appeals. However, even as the marketing efforts had to accommodate differences within the population, they also had to be reasonably consistent and coordinated.

One significant health problem is substance abuse. People smoke, abuse both legal and illicit drugs, and misuse alcohol and a variety of other substances. An enormous amount of social marketing has been directed at preventing and reducing substance abuse. Chapter 6 provides a summary of these efforts. The authors provide a helpful description of the size and scope of the problems of substance abuse, then describe various efforts at intervention and the relative success or lack of success of these interventions. In developing the chapter the authors also demonstrate why an understanding of the world of the substance abuser is an important element in the design of any successful intervention program.

Another area where very significant numbers of social marketing programs have been applied on a global basis is family planning. Much of this

effort was originally focused on birth control but in recent years has been expanded to include the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, the health of mother and child during pregnancy, and family planning. This is another area that illustrates how problems may be redefined over time as one specific issue is recognized as part of a much larger issue. Chapter seven describes the considerable efforts to use social marketing to change behavior related to sex and family planning. These efforts have been genuinely global and therefore provide unique insights into the problems, opportunities, and issues related to applying social marketing on a global scale.

Chapter 8 shifts focus from health and family planning to money and financial planning. The Great Recession of the mid-2000's brought into stark relief the number of people who do not have the most basic financial literacy or financial planning skills. It has long been known that some people have difficulty managing their finances, but the events of the last several years have brought the problem and its social consequences into the public consciousness. Part of the policy solution to this problem has been greater regulation, but there have also been efforts to employ social marketing programs that both educate consumers and encourage responsible financial management. The authors of Chapter 8 describe these efforts as well as the challenges that the complexity of financial management poses for educating consumers and for encouraging responsible financial behavior.

Financial resources are not the only resources in need of good management. As awareness of the need to preserve the planet has grown and greater focus has been placed on sustainability, there has been a growing use of social marketing to encourage such behaviors as recycling, efficient energy and water use, and environmentally friendly behavior. Chapter 9 chronicles a series of case studies where social marketing was employed to encourage environmentally responsible behavior. The chapter illustrates that creativity is no stranger to social marketing.

The last two chapters of this volume move to a decidedly more strategic level. Consistent with the ideas in Chapter 10 of the second volume of this set related to balancing mission and margin as a means for doing well by doing good, these chapters focus on making the business and even the general economy social marketing entities. The perspective of both of these chapters is that economic development when done well can solve many social problems. It can lift people from poverty, improve the quality of life, and improve access to health care, nutritious foods, and other resources necessary for living well. Here we see the convergence of commercial marketing and social marketing. The always artificial distinction

between the profit-driven world of the commercial marketer and the social marketer disappears within this perspective. The firm and its products and services are instruments of social good and economic prosperity.

Chapter 10 addresses social entrepreneurship. Simply defined social entrepreneurship is about pursuing innovative and sustainable solutions to social problems. Such a pursuit requires the creativity and willingness to take risks that characterize entrepreneurs. It also requires seeing problems and potential solutions in new ways—redefining the problem when necessary. The "sustainable" part of the definition requires accessibility to a recurrent stream of resources. This is a difficult requirement because neither governments nor not-for-profit organizations are generally able to develop independent and sustainable sources of income. Only the firm can do so, and even for the firm the capricious nature of markets and competition may limit sustainability. Nevertheless, the enlightened firm is likely to be the best hope.

Chapter 10 provides an overview of the social entrepreneurship movement, its characteristics, and its successes. The chapter also offers a discussion of what is required of the successful social entrepreneur and the enterprise he or she develops. It makes the point that social entrepreneurship is an approach to social marketing that focuses on the creation and sustainability of a mission-driven organization. In contrast, Chapter 11 focuses on the larger community and economy. This chapter describes the use of social marketing to mobilize a financially distressed community to reinvent itself and its economy.

The Marketing Mix

Each of the chapters in this volume provides a detailed discussion of how marketing mix planning plays a role in successful social marketing. The marketing mix consists of the traditional "4 Ps": product, price, promotion, and place (a distribution channel). Much is often made of the differences between the "Ps" in social marketing and the "Ps" in commercial marketing. However, these differences are probably exaggerated. There are many commercial products that are intangible, and many social marketing programs involve tangible products. Commercial products carry monetary costs but increasingly also include costs associated with time and effort. Time and effort may be the major costs associated with many social marketing program offerings, but there are often real monetary costs as well. Promotion is clearly very similar for both commercial products and social marketing. Place, or distribution, may differ between commercial marketing and social marketing, but there remains a need to get the necessary

information, products, and services to recipients. Commercial marketers deal with retailers and wholesalers. A reading of the chapters in this volume and in the other two volumes makes clear that the distribution channels in social marketing programs are partners. These partners may be corporations, governments, community, churches, civic organizations, volunteers, or any number of other organizations and individuals. Whoever the partners might be, a critical element in the success of any social marketing program is the identification and cultivation of these partners. These partners are usually not paid for their assistance, so identification and communication of other benefits is an important component of the success of social marketing programs. This difference in distribution channels may be the largest difference between commercial marketing and social marketing.

The lessons of the chapters in this volume are that commercial marketing and social marketing are very much alike. Each can learn from the other. The chapters in the present volume have much to say about social marketing, but there are also lessons for commercial marketers.

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CHAPTER TWO

Social Marketing and Healthy Behavior

Punam A. Keller

Health providers, companies, and governments use a variety of health promotion initiatives to improve health outcomes and reduce health costs. Health providers have been experimenting with shared decision-making to incorporate patient-centered goals. Several companies are using financial incentives to encourage employees to enroll in wellness programs. Additionally, government health agencies are ramping up social media efforts to disseminate health education.

The broad scope of health promotion objectives presents an enormous challenge for basic and applied disciplines alike. Although public health research has identified important factors that contribute to successful health behavior changes, such as access to health care, parks, and healthy food, the success of these initiatives depends on individual participation. The psychological processes underlying health-related decisions can reveal how individuals make tradeoffs when choosing between advocated health actions and status quo behaviors. Research in the areas of consumer behavior, behavioral economics, and psychology has the potential to identify new behavioral levers to encourage individuals to adopt healthy actions.

This chapter makes the case for ENABLE, a new health intervention tool. ENABLE is an acronym for efficient, novel, active, behavioral levers. ENABLE interventions combine health communication, marketing, and choice architecture to increase active participation in initiating healthy behaviors. The

ENABLE guidelines can be used with or without financial incentives to encourage enrollment in health programs. Support for ENABLE has been obtained from six field studies. Three studies demonstrate how ENABLE can enhance enrollment in programs that do not offer financial incentives. Three additional studies show how ENABLE can increase enrollment in programs without adding to existing financial incentives.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section describes the economic, health, and legal climate responsible for the growth in corporate wellness programs. The second section examines the role of financial incentives in enhancing healthy behaviors. The third section contains an analytic review of research from multiple academic disciplines that was used to inform ENABLE. The chapter ends with concluding remarks on the benefits of ENABLE and opportunities for ENABLE extensions in non-enrollment contexts.

Workplace Wellness Programs

Broadly, a workplace wellness program is an employment-based activity or employer-sponsored benefit aimed at promoting health-related behaviors (primary prevention or health promotion) and disease management (secondary prevention). Wellness programs have become very common; 92 percent of employers with 200 or more employees reported offering such a program in 2009 (Mattke et al., 2012).

However, a formal and universally accepted definition of what a workplace wellness program is has yet to emerge, and employers define and manage their programs differently. Such programs may include a combination of data collection on employee health risks and population-based strategies paired with individually focused interventions to reduce those risks. Programs may be part of a group health plan or may be offered outside of that context; they may range from narrow offerings, such as free gym memberships, to comprehensive counseling and lifestyle management interventions.

Wellness programs are viewed as instrumental in reducing company health care costs. An annual survey by PricewaterhouseCoopers' Health Research Institute (2013) indicated that U.S. employers can expect to see health care costs rise by 6.5 percent in 2014. The survey showed that 89 percent of employers will likely increase their health and wellness efforts to offset an almost certain rise in health care costs. Three factors are responsible for the increase: (1) the formation of accountable care organizations, which are predicted to reduce competition among providers and drive up payment rates; (2) an expected decline in Medicare and Medicaid payment rates relative to private payment rates, and (3) higher claims for

stress-induced illnesses, which are highly correlated to unhealthy behaviors and adverse health conditions, such as heart disease.

To manage the increase in health costs, employers are using high-deductible health plans to shift the burden of medical costs to employees through increased cost-sharing. The new plan designs make it far less attractive for workers to use the services of physicians and hospitals that are out of their plan's network. In some markets, employers are becoming more selective about which providers are in the network, choosing to exclude high-cost and premier hospital systems.

The most proactive employers are planning for future scenarios and making incremental changes now. Their vision is aligned with transformational changes in the way health care is delivered and paid for and looks to a more collaborative and integrated model focused on health and wellness in which the insured bear more responsibility for their own health. Companies use a variety of methods to encourage their employees to become healthier, including health risk appraisals, counseling, educational materials, and disease management and weight loss programs. Survey data indicate that the most frequently targeted behaviors are exercise, smoking, and weight loss, addressed by 63 percent, 60 percent, and 53 percent of employers with programs, respectively (Keller & Lehmann, 2009). Increasingly, companies provide financial incentives for participation (Haisley, Volpp, Pellathy, & Loewenstein, 2012; Linnan et al., 2008). The next section examines the nature and effectiveness of financial incentives to increase participation in corporate wellness programs.

Financial Health Incentives

The Affordable Care Act allows companies to increase financial incentives for employee well-being. Existing regulations developed under the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) permit wellness incentives of up to 20 percent of the total premium, provided that the program meets certain conditions. The Affordable Care Act increases the amount of the potential reward or penalty to 30 percent of the premium, with some leeway for federal agencies to increase that amount after they have conducted a study on wellness programs. In addition, the law creates a $200 billion, 5-year program to provide grants for comprehensive workplace wellness programs to employers with fewer than 100 employees. The grants will go to small employers that did not have wellness programs when the law was enacted.

A survey of 147 large and mid-sized companies conducted by Fidelity Investments and the National Business Group on Health (2013) found

that the amount of wellness incentives is increasing nationwide. The survey results indicated that U.S. companies offered incentives averaging $430 per employee in 2010, a 40 percent increase from the $260 per employee offered in 2009. Employers indicated that just as they did in 2011, they planned to spend, on average, 19 percent of each employee's salary on voluntary benefits and 18 percent on mandatory benefits in 2012. Strong incentives include money, time off from work, reduced copayments, a point system in which points accumulate to greater and greater values to be exchanged for merchandise, lottery tickets, and reduced health care premiums (Haisley et al., 2012; Linnan et al., 2008).

Despite the generous rewards, employers remain uncertain regarding the effectiveness of financial incentives in actually influencing behavioral changes. Unless employees are interested in participating in workplace wellness programs, such programs will not be effective in reducing corporate health care costs. A Rand Health 2010 report revealed that fewer than 20 percent of eligible employees typically participate in wellness interventions (Mattke et al., 2012). A Buck Consultants 2009 report indicated that more than half of surveyed employers thought incentive rewards were moderately effective (33 percent), minimally effective (24 percent), or not effective (4 percent).

Yet many employers plan on increasing the annual value of the rewards they offer in upcoming years, according to the survey. Analysts at Buck Consultants indicate the rise in use reflects a belief in the need to continue to increase the size of the incentive and/or experiment with differing approaches and types of incentives, in order to find the optimal motivational mix. Accordingly, companies are actively seeking new ways to enhance healthy employee lifestyles and reduce direct (cost sharing) and indirect (lower productivity) costs.

In summary, the extant evidence on financial incentives indicates they have a role, but they are costly, and they often are not sufficient to achieve the desired level of participation. The next section introduces a new tool to increase participation in wellness programs. ENABLE can be used with or without financial incentives. The evidence on ENABLE indicates that it goes beyond financial incentives to produce measurable, cost-effective results.

Research Support for ENABLE

ENABLE is based on critical analyses of research on the effects of fear arousal, message framing, decision-making models, and choice architecture. The findings from these studies form the theoretical base for the

Table 2.1 Comparison of the ENABLE and Conventional Dimensions for Six Health Applications

Conventional Dimensions	ENABLE Dimensions	Well-Being Application
High Fear Arousal	Low Fear Arousal	Biometric Screening (see Brief 1)
Threat Appraisal	Coping Appraisal	Biometric Screening (see Brief 1)
Loss Frames/Loss Aversion	Mixed Frames/Regret Aversion	Flu Shot (see Brief 2)
Impersonal	Personal	Prescription Automatic Refill (see Brief 3)
Low Commitment	High Commitment	Prescription Automatic Refill (see Brief 3)
Deliberation Mindset	Implementation Mindset	Health and Wellness Assessment (see Brief 4)
Context Independent	Context Dependent	Health and Wellness Assessment (see Brief 5)
No Deadline	Deadlines	Health and Wellness Assessment (see Brief 5)
Health Benefits	Status Quo Costs	Prescription Automatic Refill (see Brief 6)
Opt-In	Enhanced Active Choice	Prescription Automatic Refill (see Brief 6)

ENABLE tool. ENABLE contains 10 features that diverge from traditional health tools (Table 2.1). The theoretical rationale for each ENABLE feature is described in this section.

ENABLE Reduces Fear Arousal and Increases Self-Efficacy

According to conventional practice, individuals are motivated to enroll in corporate health programs if they are afraid of the consequences of being unhealthy. In contrast, ENABLE encourages employees to enroll by increasing their self-efficacy or confidence in undertaking healthy actions. Extant evidence on two popular fear-based models, the health belief model (HBM) and protection motivation theory (PMT), supports the premise that fear can deter health behavior changes whereas an increase in self-efficacy encourages such undertakings.

Rosentock's (1974) HBM and Ronald Rogers's (1975) PMT are influential frameworks for explaining and predicting acceptance of health and medical care recommendations. According to the HBM and PMT, individuals are more likely to enroll in health programs if they perceive an increased health threat as well as an increase in their ability to cope with or reduce that health threat. Medical consequences (e.g., death, disability, pain) and social consequences (e.g., effects of a condition on work, family life, and social relations) increase perceptions of a health threat. When individuals believe that there is a feasible and effective means of removing the impediments to undertaking a recommended healthy behavior, their motivation and ability to undertake the behavior also increase.

The HBM and PMT both recommend health communications that increase perceptions of threat and the ability to cope. Unfortunately, most health communications increase threat perceptions by arousing fear without increasing beliefs about coping. Moreover, it is unclear whether fear arousal is necessary. A recent paper reported the results of a critical reanalysis and extension of previous meta-analyses on studies using fear appeals (Peters, Ruiter, & Kok, 2012). The evidence clearly indicates that under low efficacy conditions, where there is no information about coping, threatening information may actually boomerang and cause people to engage in health-defeating behavior.

The undermining effects of fear arousal on behavior change are in line with four other meta-analyses. Albarracín and colleagues (2005) found "no threat-inducing argument had any positive behavioral effect whatsoever" (p. 882). Earl and Albarracín (2007) found that fear is not an effective way to promote HIV-relevant learning or condom use, either immediately following an intervention or further in the future. Keller and Lehmann's (2008) meta-analysis of health communications found that fear is not a significant predictor of intentions to adopt a variety of health behaviors. Finally, Janz and Becker's (1984) analyses of 34 HBM studies indicated that perceived susceptibility or beliefs about the severity of the consequences of a health behavior are the least important variables for influencing perceived threat. Instead, perceived barriers to taking action or the extent to which treatment or preventive measures are perceived as inconvenient, expensive, unpleasant, painful, or upsetting proved to be the most powerful HBM dimensions across various study designs and behaviors.

One reason for a lack of health behavior change may be that people are not sufficiently motivated by a sense of guilt, fear, or regret. Experts who study behavior change agree that long-lasting goal attainment is most likely when it is self-motivated and rooted in positive thinking. In October 2006 the Economic and Social Research Council, a British research group,

released findings on 129 different studies of behavior-change strategies. The survey confirmed that the least effective strategies were those that aroused fear in the person attempting to make a change.

Keller and colleagues identified several reasons why fear arousal does not motivate healthy behavior change (Block & Keller, 1998; Keller, 1999; Scammon et al., 2011). First, the perceived probability of an event's occurrence is lowered as the level of fear arousal is increased (Block & Keller, 1998). Second, lower values on coping appraisals can reduce threat appraisals. In other words, people are more likely to accept that they are at risk when they believe they can do something to reduce the risk. For example, graphic images of health consequences are effective only when individuals believe they can successfully reduce the threat or when they have high self-efficacy (Block & Keller, 1997). Thus, fear arousal does not produce healthy behavior change when the health message does not also increase coping appraisals.

Along these lines, Keller (1999) indicated that the conventional wisdom for designing fear appeals—based on high fear arousal and placing consequences ahead of recommendations—is more persuasive for those who are already following the advocated recommendations. In contrast, for those who are not adhering to the recommendations, lowering the level of fear arousal and communicating recommendations before consequences is more effective because it makes it easier for people to follow the recommendations and makes them less likely to refute the message claims. In summary, we cannot simply scare individual employees into action; instead, we must empower them to act.

The literature cited above highlights the risks of using fear-arousing health education materials without empowering employees to change their health-related behaviors. Of all the antecedents in health behavior models, self-efficacy has the highest positive correlation with intentions to engage in the advocated health-related behaviors. Important insights for ENABLE's intervention design are obtained from extant research on fear appeals. To effectively change health-related behaviors, ENABLE interventions need to induce a low level of fear arousal and address any barriers that reduce self-efficacy. The first brief describes an ENABLE application to increase self-efficacy by removing barriers and lowering fear arousal.

Brief 1: ENABLE intervention to reduce fear arousal and increase self-efficacy

Background. An educational institution wanted to increase employee participation in biometric screening. Despite various attempts, benefit fairs, brochures, emails, face-to-face department visits, and a $50 financial

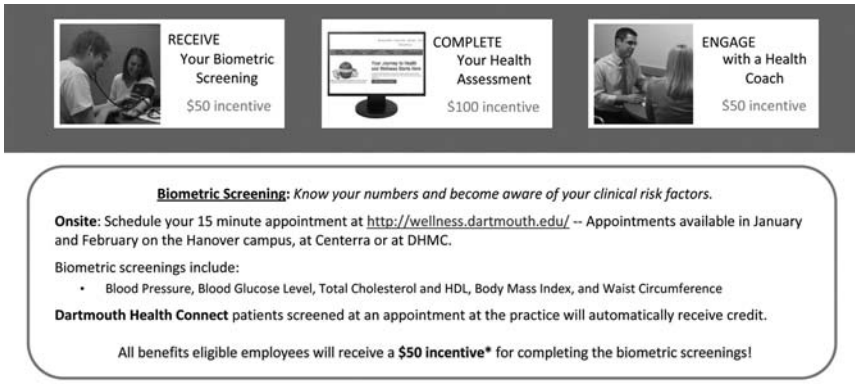


Figure 2.1 Original biometric screening enrollment message.

incentive to be added to the next paycheck, only 30 percent of employees took advantage of the free biometric screening. The low participation rate motivated the educational institution to reconsider the appeal displayed in Figure 2.1.

ENABLE intervention. The ENABLE message identified three barriers: insufficient time, privacy concerns, and lack of clarity/ease of making an appointment. Each of the barriers was acknowledged and addressed in a single-page email. Health issues were not mentioned, to keep the level of fear arousal low. Instead, the focus was on increasing employees' ability to get the biometric screening.

Results. To compare the effectiveness of the ENABLE tool, a study compared enrollment rates for employees after they received the first communication with enrollment rates after the same employees received the ENABLE message (n = 4,300). The ENABLE message resulted in a 70 percent increase in the number of employees who completed the screening, from 30 percent to 51 percent. This result was even more impressive because there was no change in financial incentive and there were only two opportunities to get screened.

ENABLE Uses Mixed Frames to Prompt Regret Aversion

Health communications typically use either gain-framed information (i.e., how behavior change will result in positive outcomes or avert negative outcomes) or loss-framed information (i.e., how a lack of behavior change will prevent positive outcomes or result in negative outcomes; Rothman, Stark, & Salovey, 2006). In general, most health messages use

loss frames. Although reminding people of what they will lose if they choose the non-preferred alternative may appear to be stating the obvious, it is persuasive because people often ignore self-evident information (Schwarz & Hippler, 2004), especially if it evokes negative emotions such as anxiety and regret (Luce, 1998; Schuman & Presser, 1977). Averting regret by highlighting a missed opportunity to undertake a healthy behavior is an effective method to create behavior change (Keller & Lusardi, 2010).

The framing literature suggests that it is worthwhile to consider the type of health issue involved as well as individual differences before deciding on the message frame. Rothman and colleagues (2006) argued that the influence of a given frame on behavior depends on whether the behavior under consideration is perceived to reflect a risk-averse or risk-seeking course of action. Because detection behaviors such as biometric screenings are considered risk-seeking (i.e., individuals may learn that they have a disease), Rothman and colleagues (2006) recommended using a loss-framed health message for detection behaviors.

In contrast, a gain-framed message is recommended for preventive behaviors such as weight loss, because such behaviors are construed as promoting risk aversion. For example, a communication regarding enrollment in biometric screening would best be accomplished with a loss-framed appeal (e.g., "If you do not get screened, you may have a heart attack"), whereas a communication regarding enrollment in an exercise program would benefit from a gain-framed appeal (e.g., "Join this exercise program to increase your stamina and strength").

Individual perceptions of health risks influence frame effectiveness. The framing literature indicates that one frame does not have an advantage over another when the perceived risk is low. Gain and loss frames are equally effective when individuals believe the message recommendation, such as getting a mammogram, is likely to lead to desirable health outcomes, such as catching breast cancer at an early, curable stage (Block & Keller, 1995). Loss frames are only more effective than gain frames when response efficacy is low or it is uncertain that the health recommendations will lead to the desired outcome (Block & Keller, 1995; Meyerowitz & Chaiken, 1987; Rothman, Salovey, Antone, Keough, & Martin, 1993). For example, either a gain or a loss frame could be used if the audience believes the biometric screening program is efficacious, whereas a focus on what they will lose by not participating is more likely to encourage individuals to consider a less efficacious weight loss program.

The framing literature identifies two additional individual characteristics for selecting a health message frame: level of recipient involvement

and regulatory focus. The framing literature recommends gain-framed messages if the audience members exhibit low involvement with their health (Maheswaran & Meyers-Levy, 1990). Low motivation to process messages often prevails in health contexts because people in denial about their health problems typically engage in defensive tendencies to avoid such messages (Luce, 1998; Ray & Wilkie, 1970). Negatively framed messages or loss frames increase people's motivation to avoid health messages.

Regulatory focus refers to whether an employee is generally motivated by accomplishment (promotion focus) or safety and security (prevention focus), and it can also influence the persuasiveness of message frames. In a meta-analysis of health message effects, Keller and Lehmann (2008) found higher intentions to follow health recommendations when gain frames were paired with a risk-seeking promotion focus and loss frames were paired with a risk-averse prevention focus. Tailoring the message frame might be worth the cost if data on regulatory focus were readily available. Without knowledge of an employee's regulatory focus, it would be difficult to appropriately match the message frame to the employee.

When the audience exhibits low involvement with health goals and health action planning, selecting one frame for different types of health issues presents a significant challenge. For example, Rothman, Stark, and Salovey (2006) have recommended using a loss frame when there is a high probability that the outcome from following the recommended health behavior will be unpleasant. Thus, individuals with previous health risk indicators, such as obesity or high blood pressure, are predicted to be more likely to be persuaded to get a cholesterol test if the persuasive message is framed as a loss (e.g., "If you do not get a cholesterol test, you may have a heart attack") than a gain (e.g., "If you get a cholesterol test, you will be able to detect heart problems early"). However, the framing literature recommends using a gain frame because it is highly likely such individuals will be less involved with their health than those without previous health risk indicators. The conflicting frame recommendations further support the rationale for using mixed frames.

In the absence of data and in light of conflicting theoretical recommendations, gain and loss frames are employed in combination as ENABLE behavioral levers. ENABLE interventions are designed to increase the regret an individual may feel for not taking action (e.g., missing a short-term opportunity to undertake a healthy behavior; Keller et al., 2010). Brief 2 describes an ENABLE application with mixed frames to increase regret aversion.

Brief 2: ENABLE intervention on mixed frames that create regret aversion

Background. A hospital wanted to increase the effectiveness of the flu shot reminders it sent to its employees. Hospital employees seemed to be inoculated against pleas to get a flu shot despite the opportunity to save $50. Emphasizing the dangers of getting the flu and passing the virus on to vulnerable patients was also not persuasive.

ENABLE message. Employees in the ENABLE condition were asked to choose between two options by checking the box next to one of the following statements:

- "I will get a Flu Shot this Fall to reduce my risk of getting the flu and I want to save $50" or
- "I will not get a Flu Shot this Fall even if it means I may increase my risk of getting the flu and I don't want to save $50."

The ENABLE message used a combination of a loss frame ("I will get a Flu Shot to reduce my risk of getting the flu") and a gain frame ("I will not get a Flu Shot even it means I may increase my risk of getting the flu") to accommodate differences in employee involvement. Employees also rated why they wanted to get a flu shot on several 7-point scales, including one asking whether they would regret it later if they did not get a flu shot (regret aversion).

Results. To gauge the effectiveness of the ENABLE message, flu shot intentions were compared for employees who were simply encouraged to get a flu shot (n = 30) versus those who received the ENABLE mixed-frame intervention (n = 30). The ENABLE intervention resulted in significantly higher intentions than the conventional health message (25 percent versus 67 percent). Employees who received the ENABLE message also expressed more concern about regretting not getting a flu shot (mean = 4.95) than those who received the conventional health message (mean = 3.53).

ENABLE is Personal and Increases Commitment

Despite the consensus that people may need strategies to shift their focus to long-term costs from short-term costs (Thaler, 1980), most health communication is based on the premise that once individuals comprehend the message, they will act in their own best interest by following the recommendation to reduce their health risk. By contrast, the behavioral economics literature indicates that most individuals will not opt to follow health recommendations because they believe there is no cost if they stick with

their status quo behaviors (Batra, Keller, & Strecher, 2011; Keller & Lipkus, 2010). A review of the literature indicates that two main communication shortcomings are responsible for reducing audience motivation to follow health recommendations: (1) Individuals do not believe the message is for them, and (2) the message does not enhance a commitment to change behavior. To overcome these shortcomings, ENABLE uses first-person singular ("I") pronouns to increase personal relevance and asks individual message recipients to make a commitment to changing their behavior.

Beliefs that health risks are not imminent may be a necessary coping strategy for individuals to get through the day. However, such beliefs may become the basis for an optimism bias that reduces personal relevance and commitment to undertaking healthy actions (Weinstein, 1987). Individuals exhibiting an optimism bias in their decision-making often see themselves as better than the average person and often hold overly optimistic views of their health futures (Folkes & Kiesler, 1991; Keller, Lipkus, & Rimer, 2002; Weinstein, 1987). Optimism bias often results in self-serving denials (e.g., positive self-illusions, rationalizations, excuses, displacement thoughts) and lower perceived vulnerability (Block & Keller, 1998). The literature on tailored communication described in the following section provides valuable insights on increasing personal relevance to reduce optimism bias.

There is substantial evidence that tailoring health messages increases personal relevance, persuasion, and behavior change. For example, Block and Keller (1997) found that a condom message tailored by gender (e.g., "Women and Safer Sex") was deemed more relevant and more persuasive than an untailored brochure (e.g., "Safer Sex"). Three studies provide strong evidence for the positive effect of message tailoring on health behaviors. First, Brinberg and Axelson (1990) found that tailored health messages significantly increased fiber intake for individuals who received them (59 percent) as compared to individuals who received an untailored message (46 percent). Second, Strecher and colleagues (1994) found that smoking cessation rates were higher with a tailored message than with a standard message (30.7 percent versus 7.1 percent). Finally, Marcus and colleagues (1998) found that participants exercised more when they received tailored communication than when they received untailored communication (151 minutes/walk versus 98 minutes/walk).

Unfortunately, tailoring poses many challenges to practitioners, the biggest of which is collecting data on relevant ways to segment the audience (Keller & Lehmann, 2008). Segmentation criteria such as decision stage (Brinberg & Axelson, 1990; Marcus et al., 1998; Keller, 1999), attributions for past failure (Strecher at al., 1994), prior behavior (Keller, 1999),

prior emotional states (Keller, Lipkus, & Rimer, 2003), and regulatory focus (Keller, 2006) are difficult to collect because of time, cost, and the privacy considerations imposed by HIPAA regulations. Even when segmentation data are available, the costs of tailored communication are generally higher than for untailored communication, because different creative strategies and methods of dissemination may be necessary to reach distinct target audiences.

An alternative, less costly strategy to increase personal relevance is to increase self-referencing via the message content. For example, a health message can increase personal relevance by asking message recipients if someone they are close to has had breast cancer. Self-referencing has been described as a cognitive process whereby individuals associate self-relevant incoming information with information previously stored in memory (self-concept) to give the new information meaning (Bellezza, 1981, 1984; Kuiper & Rogers, 1979; Markus, 1977, 1980; Rogers, 1981; Keller & Lehmann, 2008; Yalch & Sternthal, 1984). Individuals who self-reference information are more likely to remember that information and respond to it in a favorable way. Studies have documented that self-referencing results in more effective health communications, since it leads to enhanced recall, learning, and memory (Bellezza, 1981, 1984; Bower & Gilligan, 1979; Keenan, Golding, & Brown, 1992; Kuiper & Rogers, 1979; Lord, 1980; Rogers, Kuiper, & Kirker, 1977).

One successful self-referencing strategy is for the experimenter to instruct subjects to relate the stimulus information to themselves (Bellezza, 1984; Lord, 1980; Shavitt & Brock, 1984; Yalch & Sternthal, 1984). For example, Shavitt and Brock (1984) found that when they instructed subjects to relate an advertisement to their own experiences, subjects in the self-relevance condition elicited more self-originated thoughts and more thoughts focusing on the self as a target than subjects who were told only to recall the message. First-person sentences beginning with "I" can also be used to gain access to an individual's self-concept (Rogers, 1975) or to measure whether the self-concept has been accessed. The use of first-person singular language in "I"-related statements is commonly used by researchers to measure the extent to which people self-reference by analyzing their cognitive responses and the frequency of occurrence (Davis & Brock, 1975; Shavitt & Brock, 1984). Accordingly, ENABLE uses first-person singular language to increase personal relevance by gaining access to an individual's self-concept.

Inability to make a commitment is another major barrier to enrollment in health programs. The word *commitment* is typically accompanied by a statement of purpose or a plan of action, and it is commonly used to make

proclamations about the seriousness of a relationship. Commitment interventions have been shown to be effective at increasing recycling (Bacamotes et al., 2013; Wang & Katzev, 1990), safety belt usage (Geller, 1989), solar protection to reduce skin cancer (Lombard, Neubauer, Canfield, & Wineett, 1991), and weight loss (Black & Scherba, 1983), and also at reducing unnecessary medical imaging (Brink & Amis, 2010). The theory behind commitment is that it has the potential to elicit personal reasons to participate, which may activate intrinsic motivation, which, in turn, is more likely to cause the desired behavior to continue after the commitment period is over. Prior research has suggested that written commitment is generally more successful than verbal commitment (Burn & Oskamp, 1986).

Health communication can be viewed as preachy even though it often does not explicitly ask individuals to take healthy actions. Public service announcements are viewed as providing information for the public to know rather than for individuals to act upon. The literature cited above indicates that people do not know how to translate general health education information into personal actions, nor do they know how to commit to taking health-related actions. Important insights for ENABLE's intervention design have been obtained from extant research on self-referencing and commitment. To effectively change health-related behaviors, communication cues must personally engage message recipients and inspire a commitment from them. The third brief describes an ENABLE application to increase personal relevance and commitment to engage in a health-related behavior.

Brief 3: ENABLE intervention to increase personal relevance and commitment

Background. A pharmacy benefit manager (PBM) wanted to increase enrollment in an automatic prescription refill program. On its ordering website, the PBM invited members who were receiving their maintenance prescription drugs via mail to join its free automatic prescription refill program, ReadyFill@Mail, by simply clicking on each prescription or on the red box labeled "Enroll me in ReadyFill@Mail" to enroll for all eligible drugs. Enrolled members do not need to call their doctors for prescription refills. The main health advantages for enrollees are convenience and a lower likelihood of drug noncompliance because of gaps in supply.

ENABLE intervention. ENABLE required members to question whether they liked managing their own prescriptions. This intervention was designed to prompt self-referencing and make the message more personal. Specifically, members were required to select one of two options—"I prefer

to manage my own refills" or "Enroll me in ReadyFill@Mail"—before they could complete their mail prescription drug requests on a subsequent web page.

Results. To compare the effectiveness of the ENABLE message with the previous message, enrollment rates were compared for those who received the traditional invitation (n = 4,232) and those who were given the ENABLE message (n = 6,950) and could not navigate further within the website without making a choice. To assess commitment, disenrollment rates were compared for the two conditions.

The ENABLE message resulted in significantly higher member enrollment in the automatic prescription refill program than the conventional message (21.9 percent versus 12.3% percent. Interestingly, those who received the ENABLE message also filled more prescriptions (mean number of prescriptions = 2.12) than those who received the conventional message (mean number of prescriptions = 1.78). The ENABLE message did not result in lowering commitment. Members in both conditions could disenroll at any time. The mean time to withdraw was 12 days. Of the members who received the ENABLE message, 84.8 percent remained enrolled whereas 89.8 percent of the members who received the conventional message remained enrolled. This difference is statistically significant although not quantitatively very large. High rates of disenrollment are mainly owing to discontinued prescriptions.

ENABLE Focuses on Implementation Mindsets and Plans

Health communicators often assume that forming a health plan is as natural and ubiquitous as making vacation plans. The result is that health communication designers are often content to raise awareness of health risks and leave the implementation of plans in the hands of the message recipients. In contrast, ENABLE encourages employees to enroll by providing them with implementation plans. Extant evidence on two popular models, the transtheoretical model (TTM) and the model of action phases (MAP), support the premise that the absence of implementation plans can impede health behavior change.

DiClemente and Prochaska's (1998) TTM and Gollwitzer's (1993) MAP are influential frameworks for explaining different decision-making phases and the challenges people face when attempting to move from one stage to the next. The main organizing construct of both models is the stage of change. TTM identifies six stages: precontemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, maintenance, and possible relapse. In TTM the decisional balance construct reflects the individual's relative weighing of the pros and

cons of a possible behavior change. For example, in the precontemplation stage, the pros of smoking far outweigh the cons. In the contemplation stage, these two weights are more equal. In the advanced stages, preparation and action, the cons of smoking outweigh the pros (Prochaska, DiClemente & Norcross, 1992).

Gollwitzer (1993) identifies four MAP stages: pre-decisional goal setting, pre-actional goal striving, actional, and post-actional goal achievement. MAP identifies four tasks that must be completed to achieve goal fulfillment: (1) feasibility and desirability assessment to select which goals are to be pursued, (2) development of implementation intentions of what, where, when, how, and with whom the actions will be undertaken, (3) responses to situational opportunities and demands, and (4) evaluation of performance and reassessment of goal desirability and feasibility.

MAP also describes how individuals function in different stages; a deliberative mindset is used to select goals in the pre-decisional stage, whereas an implemental mindset is more useful in forming implementation intentions for pre-actional and actional goal striving. Compared to a deliberative mindset, which weighs the balance of pros and cons, an implemental mindset prompts immediate action initiation and strengthens resolve and persistence (Beckman & Gollwitzer, 1987; Gollwitzer & Kinney, 1989).

Alternatively, goals are abandoned if the individual does not form a plan to undertake new behaviors. New behaviors may require the acquisition of new skills and routines to deal with internal challenges, such as altering personal habits, and external challenges, such as time constraints. The most effective implementation intentions are those that link behavior to situational cues. Gollwitzer (1993) and Gollwitzer, Heckhausen, and Ratajczak (1990) suggested that forming a specific implementation plan would overcome volitional self-control problems and make behavior changes more automatic as the new behavior is activated in response to cues in the environment.

The literature cited above highlights the advantage of an implemental mindset that promotes movement from contemplation to preparation and also increases an individual's resolve to attain health goals. To effectively change health-related behaviors, communication cues must suppress a deliberative mindset and instead prompt an implemental mindset by providing an implementation plan for the target behavior. An implemental mindset will be even more effective among employees who are motivated but who lack the ability to change their behavior. Accordingly, ENABLE's objective is to shift away from the deliberation of pros and cons to a more positive, self-enhancing implementation motive to undertake the target health-related behavior.

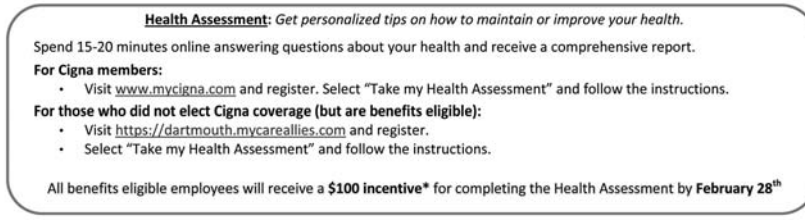
Briefs 4 and 5 describe two ENABLE applications designed to increase the number of employees who complete a health and wellness assessment (HWA). Brief 4 demonstrates how a step-by-step enrollment aid increased enrollment without increasing the financial incentive. Brief 5 demonstrates the effectiveness of bundling health enrollment with the HWA.

Brief 4: ENABLE intervention to facilitate an implementation mindset

Background. An educational institution wanted to increase employee participation in an HWA for a new insurance carrier. An ENABLE intervention with implementation guidelines was used because several employees expressed frustration with the existing online registration and completion process. This typical response reflected unfilled desires: "I wanted to but could not get past registration." Employees were ignoring requests to call the help line if they had any trouble. Figure 2.2 shows a copy of the invitation prior to the ENABLE intervention.

ENABLE intervention. The ENABLE message consisted of six webpage screen shots with a red circle around the main challenge in each enrollment step. For example, the identification number request was circled on the registration page to help members anticipate where they might get stuck. Solutions were provided for each of the six pages; for example, employees were told they could use their Social Security numbers instead of their employee identification numbers.

Results. Participation rates before and after implementation of the ENABLE message were used to test the effectiveness of the intervention. The ENABLE message significantly increased the number of employees who participated in the HWA (30 percent versus 58 percent). These results were especially impressive because employees had previously not responded to either nonfinancial or financial appeals to complete the assessment. Additionally, the participation increase was observed a mere 2 weeks after the ENABLE intervention.


Health Assessment: *Get personalized tips on how to maintain or improve your health.*

Spend 15-20 minutes online answering questions about your health and receive a comprehensive report.

For Cigna members:

- Visit www.mycigna.com and register. Select "Take my Health Assessment" and follow the instructions.

For those who did not elect Cigna coverage (but are benefits eligible):

- Visit https://dartmouth.mycareallies.com and register.
- Select "Take my Health Assessment" and follow the instructions.

All benefits eligible employees will receive a **$100 incentive*** for completing the Health Assessment by **February 28th**

Figure 2.2 Original health and wellness assessment enrollment message.

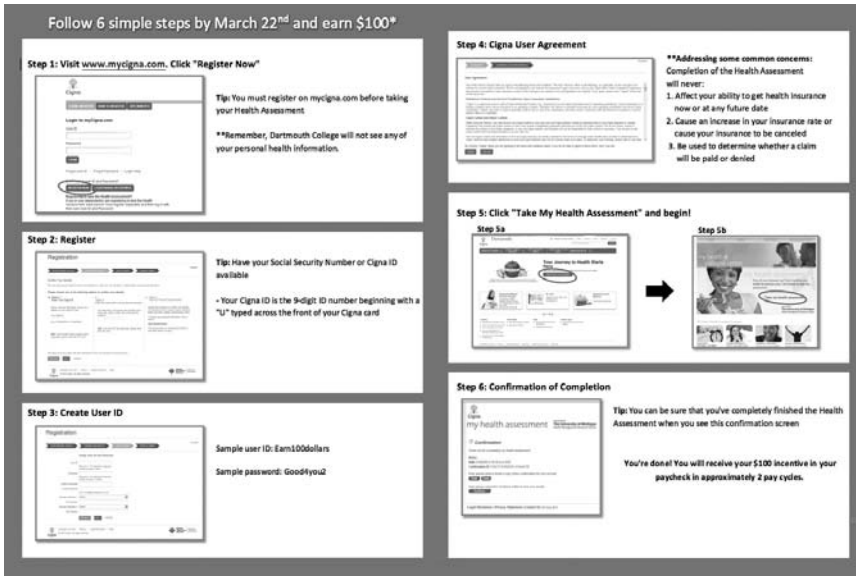


Figure 2.3 ENABLE health and wellness assessment intervention.

Brief 5: ENABLE intervention to take advantage of context and deadlines

Background. A hospital wanted to increase the number of employees who completed an HWA. Despite a number of messages on the importance of understanding personal health issues and an opportunity to save $200 on their health insurance contributions by completing the assessment, only 37 percent of approximately 5,000 employees did so.

ENABLE Intervention. The ENABLE intervention was bundled with the annual health benefits enrollment at the hospital. Hospital employees had to make a commitment to either complete or not complete the HWA before they were able to access the benefits enrollment site. Employees were asked to choose one of two options:

- "I prefer to take advantage of this free tool to maintain or improve my health and save $200" or
- "I prefer not to take advantage and decline this opportunity to get help in maintaining or improving my health and well-being."

The annual benefits enrollment context and the deadline for enrolling in medical benefits were expected to increase employee HWA completion by making it more difficult for employees to disregard the request.

Results. After receiving the ENABLE message, an additional 30 percent of hospital employees (n = 1,500) completed the HWA within 5 weeks. This result was even more impressive because there was no change in the financial incentive and the same employees had already rejected previous pleas.

ENABLE Uses Forced Choice to Highlight Status Quo Costs and Reduce Procrastination

The convention in traditional health communication is to provide compelling information to persuade individuals to reconsider their status quo behavior in light of a more favorable option. In most cases, respondents are encouraged to implicitly or explicitly opt for the advocated behaviors. The failure of target audience members to opt in has resulted in alternative defaults such as opt-out or an automatic enrollment default. Given the resistance to change and the planning difficulties that employees face, some employers believe it may be best to take the planning decision out of the employees' hands and rely on employer benefit plans. Recent examples include automatic employee enrollment from brand to generic prescription drugs and requiring hospital employees to get flu shots. However, there are limits to using automatic enrollment; it is not legal or ethical to use automatic enrollment in some cases, such as requiring people to complete an HWA. Second, some researchers have questioned the long-term effectiveness of automatic enrollment on responsibility and commitment (Lusardi, Keller, & Keller, 2009). ENABLE uses an alternative choice format, enhanced active choice, which is designed to increase volitional control to enable individuals to actively choose the healthier option.

Failure of audience members to opt in has resulted in growing support for alternative enrollment defaults such as opt-out or automatic enrollment. Participation rates for enrollment defaults are significantly higher in domains such as organ donation (Johnson & Goldstein, 2003) and 401(k) plans (Choi, Laibson, Madrian, & Metrick, 2003, 2004). Based on the initial success of automatic enrollment, Section 1511 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act requires employers with 200 or more employees to automatically enroll employees in health benefit plans or pay a fine.

Opt-out policies that automatically assign people to carefully selected default choices are effective for a number of overlapping reasons. Loss aversion encourages people to stick with the default because moving away from the default typically involves both losses and gains, and losses receive disproportionate weight (Johnson & Goldstein, 2003; Park, Jun, & MacInnis, 2000; Samuelson & Zeckhauser, 1988). The effect of loss aversion is further exacerbated by present-bias—the inordinate weight people

place on costs and benefits that are immediate (Akerlof, 1982; O'Donoghue & Rabin, 1999a). Deviating from the default often incurs immediate, small costs that are compensated for only by long-term benefits that, according to present-bias, are sharply discounted.

Procrastination also works in favor of opt-out policies, again because deviating from the default often involves positive action, which people commonly procrastinate in taking. People procrastinate for a variety of reasons, including present-bias (Akerlof, 1982; O'Donoghue & Rabin, 1999b), as a way of coping with anxiety and fear (Luce, 1998), and in part because they are unrealistically optimistic that they will have more time in the future to make a more informed decision (see incentives for procrastinators, Ariely & Wertenbroch, 2002; Dhar & Simonson, 2003). Procrastination is in part a manifestation of the age-old adage that the best (in this case, making an informed decision in the future) is the enemy of the good (making an adequate, if not perfectly optimal, choice now; Mukhopadhyay & Johar, 2005; Lynch & Zauberman, 2006). Finally, opt-out policies exert such a strong influence on behavior in part because people assume that the defaults have been selected for a reason—that they constitute implicit recommendations of specific courses of action (McKenzie, Liersch, & Finkelstein, 2006).

Despite automatic enrollment's promising results, it is prudent to examine choice structures that do not contain enrollment defaults. From a public policy perspective, it is illegal or unethical to use automatic enrollment in some cases, such as requiring people to receive health screenings. From an individual's perspective, the shared optimum inherent in an automatic enrollment plan may be inappropriate or unsustainable, highlighting the need for education, individual responsibility, and commitment. Putting aside the potential limitations of automatic enrollment for individuals and for society, employers need nondefault choice structures to persuade people to act in their own best interest after they have been enrolled. For instance, in a health and wellness context, employers might want employees to sign up for online health coaching to improve their health.

Active choice is an alternative, no-default, choice approach. Unlike defaults such as opt-out or opt-in, the "required choice" approach does not have a default; indeed, the key element of the policy is to require decision-makers to make an explicit choice. Instead of waiting for people to opt in, Spital (1993, 1995) found support in public opinion surveys for the idea of forcing people to choose whether they want to donate their organs. Out of a random sample of 1,000 adults in the United States, 63 percent said they would support mandatory choice (Spital, 1993). In a subsequent national survey, of the 30 percent of those who had previously decided to

donate, 95 percent said they would still do so under mandated choice (Spital, 1995). Spital (1996) recommended using a mandatory plan in which all adults would be required to record their wishes about organ donation and all wishes would be considered binding.

Enhanced active choice is an extension of active choice; instead of forcing people to answer yes or no, enhanced active choice urges or requires people to make a choice by highlighting the status quo costs and benefits of the socially desirable option. Enhanced active choice is best used in situations in which policymakers have evidence that one option is generally superior. Although it may appear obvious, reminding people of what they will lose if they opt for the nonpreferred alternative can have a powerful impact on choice because individuals are unlikely to seek out information about the costs of remaining with the status quo when unprompted (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008), especially if such thoughts evoke negative emotions such as anxiety and regret (Luce, 1998; Schuman & Presser, 1977). Dislike for the nonpreferred alternative is more marked when the costs of noncompliance are highlighted in the choice format. Accordingly, ENABLE's objective is to shift away from an opt-in, opt-out, or automatic enrollment default option to a more empowering, self-enhancing, forced-choice format that gives employees control. Brief 6 describes an ENABLE-enhanced active choice application to prompt enrollment.

Brief 6: ENABLE intervention on status quo costs in an enhanced active choice format.

Background. A PBM wanted to increase enrollment in its trademarked automatic prescription refill program, Readyfill@Mail. The PBM invited members who were receiving their maintenance prescription drugs via mail to join the free program. Enrolled members do not need to call their doctors for prescription refills. The main health advantages for enrollees are convenience and a lower likelihood of drug noncompliance because of gaps in medication supply.

ENABLE intervention. Prior to the ENABLE intervention, the PBM was using an automatic phone service to invite members to join the ReadyFill@Mail program. Unfortunately, rather than pressing 1 to be transferred to Customer Care and enroll in ReadyFill@Mail, members were either hanging up or declining by pressing 2. A new phone message implemented an ENABLE intervention, providing the following options to customers:

- "Press 1 if you prefer to refill your own prescription by yourself each time" or
- "Press 2 if you prefer us to do it for you automatically."

In contrast to the webpage study (Brief 3), there was no forced choice in this study. The emphasis on "each time" was used to motivate members to deliberate on status quo costs.

Results. All members who chose to enroll were transferred to the PBM's customer service representative. To compare the effectiveness of the ENABLE message with the original message, a study was designed to compare enrollment rates among members who did not receive the ENABLE intervention (n = 5,491) with members who did receive the ENABLE intervention (n = 4,459). To assess commitment, members in both conditions were given a toll-free number to call if they wished to discontinue enrollment at any time.

The ENABLE intervention resulted in significantly higher member enrollment than the conventional phone message (32.0 percent versus 15.7 percent). The ENABLE intervention did not result in lower commitment. Members in both conditions could disenroll at any time. Disenrollment was virtually identical for members who experienced the ENABLE intervention (21.4 percent) and those who did not (22.1 percent).

Conclusion

Workplace wellness programs have achieved a high penetration rate in the United States, and most observers expect that adoption of such programs will continue to increase, especially because the Affordable Care Act will increase employment-based coverage and promote workplace wellness programs through numerous provisions. Although employer sponsors are generally satisfied with the results of their wellness initiatives, in a recent survey, more than half stated that they could not quantify their health programs' return on investment. The use of incentives to promote employee engagement, while increasingly popular, remains poorly understood, and it is not clear how the type (cash or noncash), direction (reward versus penalty), and strength of incentives are related to employee engagement and outcomes (Keller & Lehmann, 2009). There are also no data on potential unintended effects, such as discrimination against employees based on their health or health behaviors (Mattke et al., 2012).

This chapter identifies 10 new guidelines for designing more effective health interventions in a tool called ENABLE. The advantage of ENABLE is that it gives individuals control by placing them, rather than the health issue, at the center of the intervention. Unlike traditional health messages, which leave it up to each individual to identify options and/or urge individuals to take healthy actions, the enhanced active choice format gives

individuals options and control. Voluntary change in behavior is enhanced by highlighting status quo costs. In contrast to the common view that inaction has no cost, ENABLE encourages employees to recognize the costs associated with inaction, something most people are unlikely to do as a matter of course. ENABLE also entails commitment to a course of (in) action rather than the suspension of a viewpoint, which is typically responsible for procrastination. ENABLE interventions employ a choice architecture that presents simple, accurate choices to enhance commitment and prompt immediate action.

ENABLE guidelines are firmly grounded in the literature of behavioral economics, consumer behavior, and psychology. The literature indicates a variety of discounting strategies in response to fear-arousing health appeals. In addition, individuals tend to underestimate opportunity costs and place too much emphasis on managing potential losses and accompanying regret. Moreover, research on decision stages has highlighted the challenge of goal formation and implementation plans. Given these odds, it is not surprising that employees are unwilling or unable to participate in corporate wellness programs, especially if they are asked to undertake behaviors that exact immediate or short-term costs in exchange for long-term gains.

Currently, attempts to inform individuals about the seriousness of long-term consequences are not motivating them to choose healthy options over their relatively unhealthy status quo behaviors. The convention in health communication is to provide fear-arousing information to motivate individuals to reconsider or change their status quo behavior for a healthier option. These communications do not empower recipients by increasing personal relevance, confidence, or commitment to undertake recommended healthy actions. They also exert no pressure to take immediate action or to take advantage of other imminent enrollment decisions. The six field tests discussed in this chapter provide strong evidence that ENABLE's combination of health messages, financial incentives, and choice architecture are an effective low-fear-arousal method that can increase the relevance and immediacy of, commitment to, and participation in health programs.

We recommend combining gain and loss frames when using the ENABLE approach. Individual characteristics can make it difficult to align message frames with health behaviors because the framing literature provides conflicting evidence on frame selection. The literature is equivocal as to which frame is most effective when the perceived risk is low for a detection behavior (or high for a prevention behavior). For example, both gain and loss frames may be ineffective for individuals who do not view choles-

terol tests as risky because they are not overweight and have no history of heart problems.

ENABLE guidelines are a clear departure from extant practice in corporate wellness programs. Although several ENABLE guidelines were followed in each of the featured field studies, we selected the studies to highlight unique ENABLE features. The first field study demonstrated how an ENABLE intervention that overcomes compliance barriers—for example, by indicating the length of the screening test—increases self-efficacy and participation in biometric screening without increasing the financial incentive ($50). The second field study showed the value of mixing message frames to increase regret aversion for not getting a flu shot. The third study highlighted how to increase personal commitment for a prescription drug refill program. The fourth and fifth studies indicated how a combination of implementation plans, benefits enrollment, and deadlines increased employee participation in HWAs without changing the financial incentive. The sixth study provided strong support for enhanced active choice to increase enrollment in a prescription drug refill program.

Although ENABLE can be used in different contexts, this chapter has highlighted the effectiveness of ENABLE to enhance employee participation in corporate health programs. The key effectiveness metric is program participation level. New evidence is needed to test whether the 10 ENABLE features can be used to design weight loss and smoking cessation health maintenance programs. For example, ENABLE could be applied to create new worksite environments that promote healthy behaviors, with on-site fitness facilities or subsidized gym memberships, healthy food in common areas, and fitness breaks during the day. ENABLE could also be used to promote the use of health coaches and other similar cost-effective health interventions. Corporations are encouraged to use these cost-efficient, effective behavioral levers to motivate and empower employees to improve their health and adopt healthy lifestyles.

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CHAPTER THREE

Social Marketing to Advance Food Well-being

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Deciding what food to eat, how much food is needed, and what we can do to encourage consumption of healthy foods and minimize consumption of less healthy alternatives are topics of much debate. In addition, deciding what policies, regulations, and initiatives will help ensure that consumers throughout the world have access to sufficient, safe, and sustainable supplies of food is a complicated problem that researchers, governments, and nonprofit organizations across the globe struggle with each day. While many fight to reverse the obesity epidemic, hunger is also on the rise, and evidence of a connection between poverty, hunger, food insecurity, and obesity grows (Dinour, Bergen, & Yeh, 2007; Scheier, 2005; Tanumihardjo et al., 2007). For these reasons, researchers and public policy advocates are working to shift the discussion toward a focus on Food Well-being (FWB) as a holistic and positive path toward developing a healthy relationship with food at both the individual and the societal level (Block et al., 2011).

The objective of this chapter is to identify how social marketing techniques can be used strategically to advance FWB. It is our hope that by integrating these two bodies of research, we can motivate additional comprehensive social change that uses marketing to promote the long-term wellness of our society and our global food resources. In undertaking this analysis, this chapter used two frameworks to select, analyze, and present cases. Specifically, it examined programs that incorporate Andreasen's

(2002) six benchmarks of a social marketing campaign and also span the five dimensions of FWB.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of Food Well-being. Then it presents four comprehensive cases and highlights how each specific program works to advance FWB, using the benchmarks of social marketing campaigns as an organizing framework. It should be noted that the programs analyzed might not have started with the specific intent of creating a social marketing campaign, so we apply a broad interpretation of Andreasen's (2002) dimensions of social marketing to assess how individual efforts advance not only the objectives of each program but also FWB on a broader scale. Next, the chapter discusses three other social marketing campaigns that are working to enhance FWB on a more limited scale, with an eye toward suggesting how expanding their efforts to incorporate other dimensions of FWB and social marketing might enhance program outcomes. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research directions that might help us to better use social marketing to advance FWB.

The Food Well-being Paradigm

Food Well-being is defined as a positive psychological, physical, emotional, and social relationship with food at both the individual and societal levels (Block et al., 2011; Bublitz et al., 2013). In framing the FWB construct, researchers hoped to shift the nation's food discussion from an emphasis on restraint and restriction toward a more positive, holistic understanding of the role of food in a person's overall well-being. Each dimension of FWB incorporates a broad range of influences that together help us to better organize the complexity of food decisions and food's ability to contribute to our social, psychological, and physical well-being. Figure 3.1 examines how the dimensions of social marketing intersect with the five domains of FWB: food socialization, food literacy, food marketing, food availability, and food policy.

Food socialization examines how individual factors such as parents, peers, and the environment, as well as the broader culture in which we live, influence our patterns of food consumption (Block et al., 2011). How we learn about foods and what we know also influences our food choices. Examining the food literacy of individuals and groups may help us to better understand not only why consumers make certain food choices but also how to leverage food literacy skills in a way that helps advance FWB (Bublitz et al., 2013). Importantly, food literacy is more than simply the possession of knowledge about food; it also involves the motivation to act on that knowledge and apply it to one's food choices. Food marketing, or the use of

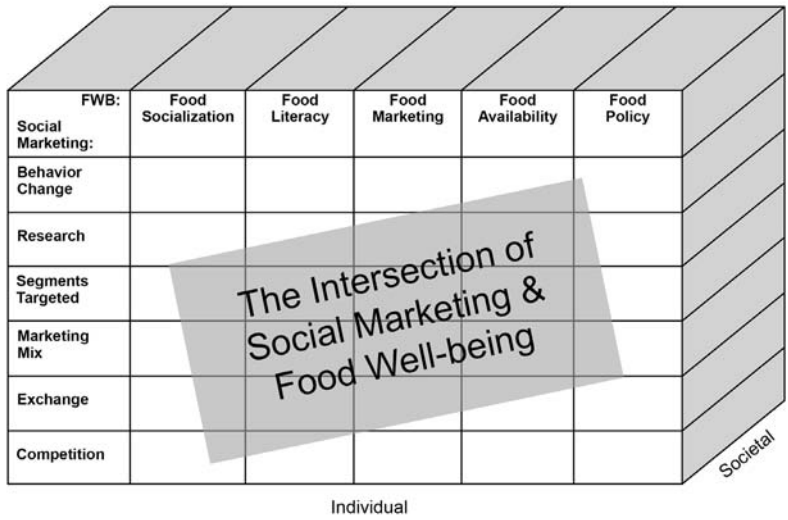

Figure 3.1 The intersection of social marketing and Food Well-being.

the traditional marketing mix to influence consumers' attitudes and behaviors toward food, is often thought of in a negative light; consumers envision advertisements designed to entice them to indulge in unhealthy foods. However, throughout this chapter's case presentations, we explore how elements of the marketing mix are also essential to promoting positive change.

Food Well-being also involves structural and food policy issues. Food availability, including accessibility, affordability, and food security, is a pressing social problem that plagues rich and poor nations alike. Ensuring that people the world over have enough food, variety in their diet, and safe food to eat is fundamental to the FWB framework (Block et al., 2011). Lastly, FWB is governed by agricultural, nutrition, food safety, and labeling policies. In shaping the future, food policy at all levels of government is an important tool that allows us to use our knowledge about how consumers make choices to promote individual and collective FWB.

The Intersection of Food Well-being with Social Marketing

Many groups, governments, and organizations currently use social marketing principles in efforts designed to increase affordable access to fresh foods, as well as in programs working to decrease the prevalence of obesity. In an effort to articulate a growth plan for social change efforts, Andreasen (2002) outlined a systematic approach, focusing on behavior change driven by consumer research and effective market segmentation

that implements a specific marketing mix to create an attractive exchange and reduce the competitive market forces working against the behavior change sought. We chose the cases presented in this chapter strategically to highlight social marketing efforts that reflect a wide range of strengths across the unique dimensions of FWB and social marketing efforts on local, national, and global scales, as well as to encompass all four P's (product, price, place, and promotion) of the marketing mix. Specifically, we selected four comprehensive cases, each of which represents dominance along at least one dimension of the marketing mix.

Jamie Oliver's Food Revolution relies heavily on promotional tools to motivate, organize, and persuade families and school officials to change their school and home food environments to incorporate freshly prepared meals. The Marine Stewardship Council case demonstrates how a focus on the product source and packaging elements of the marketing mix can be used strategically to create demand for sustainable seafood. The Food Mail Program emphasizes the use of distribution channels and pricing considerations to increase access to healthy and affordable foods. Finally, the Let's Move! initiative harnesses the Internet to connect people to a comprehensive set of resources in their communities designed to promote healthy and active lifestyles.

Following the discussion of these four cases, this chapter also presents three smaller cases that utilize social marketing tools in a more limited fashion. These smaller cases illustrate opportunities to expand the use of social marketing to advance FWB and enhance the outcomes of individual programs. The Nashville Mobile Market provides affordable access to healthy and fresh foods at the local community level. Save the Crabs uses a humorous ad campaign to encourage consumers to consider the environmental consequences of their lawn fertilizers. Finally, Admongo is a website specifically designed to educate children on the effects and pervasiveness of advertising in an effort to increase persuasion knowledge and media literacy. The cases presented throughout this chapter demonstrate the power of the marketing mix to advance FWB initiatives in both local and global marketplaces. Taken together, these cases outline a systematic approach to guide change agents at every level on how to use social marketing practices to advance FWB across the globe.

Promoting Health: Jamie Oliver's Food Revolution

Jamie Oliver is a chef with a reputation as both an activist and an innovator in the fight against childhood obesity. One of his missions is to revolutionize school lunch programs across the globe by encouraging schools to

prepare and cook fresh food, replacing the processed foods many schools currently serve. Jamie Oliver began his "Food Revolution" by replacing traditional lunch food with fresh foods cooked on site daily—all within the school's budget—in a test school in Greenwich, England, throughout the 2004-2005 school year (Belot & James, 2011). These efforts, as well as the challenges and struggles of implementing such a dramatic change, were documented and broadcast publicly on television. Soon, menu changes as well as policies limiting access to junk food in schools were changed at 81 schools in the area (Belot & James, 2011). Later, Oliver took on schools in the United States using a similarly televised intervention approach, first in Huntington, West Virginia, and then in Los Angeles, California.

Currently, Oliver is working on an expanded mission to "create a strong, sustainable movement to educate every child about food, inspire families to cook again and empower people everywhere to fight obesity" ("Starting a Revolution," 2010, para. 6). The Food Revolution works to organize resources and mobilize parents, health advocates, and cooking professionals as well as school and government officials at all levels to advance the fresh lunch movement. Table 3.1 provides an overview of how the Food Revolution works to advance food well-being within a social marketing framework.

Defining the behavior and motivating the exchange. Food socialization is at the foundation of the change championed by the Food Revolution. Increasingly many families rely on fast food and takeout food for a significant portion of their intake. Families who rely on fast food consume a higher percentage of fat, sodium, and carbonated beverages and lower levels of milk, fruits, and vegetables than those who do not rely on fast food (Paeratakul et al., 2003). By contrast, research investigating the dietary habits of adolescents found that the frequency of eating family meals at home was positively associated with the consumption of fruits, vegetables, grains, and protein, along with specific nutrients such as calcium, iron, and fiber, whereas it was negatively correlated with soft drink consumption (Neumark-Sztainer et al., 2003). The Food Revolution strives to help families learn how to incorporate fresh and seasonal foods along with small indulgences into a diet that uses common sense and achieves balance (http://www.jamieoliver.com).

The Food Revolution emphasizes teaching children and families to demand, cook, and eat freshly made foods at lunch in their schools and also in their homes. Recent research shows how involving kids in cooking not only increases their preference for fruits and vegetables but also their confidence in their own ability to make nutritious choices (Chu et al.,

Table 3.1 Jamie Oliver's Food Revolution

FWB:	Food Socialization	Food Literacy	Food Marketing	Food Availability	Food Policy
Social Marketing:					
Behavior Change	Cooking meals in home/schools	Food/cooking knowledge, skills	Generate demand for fresh foods	Seasonally available foods	
Research				Lunch changes reduced absenteeism, improved academic performance	
Segments Targeted	Children, families	Teachers, school staff, students			Local, state, national government
Marketing Mix	***Place:*** Students are a captive audience	***Product*:** Education to increase nutrition knowledge	***Promotion*:** Communications promote acceptance of menu changes	***Price*:** Sourcing seasonal foods makes fresh affordable	
Exchange	Behavior change in schools and homes			Investment in facilities and staff training required	
Competition			Limit competition (vending, fast food) in schools		Subsidies for fresh and local foods

2013). By teaching children and families to cook and exposing them to fresh foods, the Food Revolution creates opportunities for children to practice healthy eating habits in the presence of their peers and works to create similar opportunities at home. Programs designed to teach food basics along with cooking skills are delivered in a variety of formats, including a traveling cooking truck, community cooking classes, and online videos and recipes designed to help families learn to make healthy, cost-effective meals (http://www.jamieoliver.com). The Food Revolution website is designed to provide a comprehensive set of resources to build food and cooking knowledge in a way that empowers and facilitates healthy choices. By targeting behavior changes in both the school and the home environment, the movement tries to reinforce positive changes designed to improve the diets of children and families.

Another way to encourage students and families to accept changes to their lunch menus is to utilize competitions and incentive programs at the start of the change movement. Research has demonstrated how pledges, competitions, and incentives work to increase the consumption of healthy fruits and vegetables among different age groups (Raju, Rajagopal, & Gilbride, 2010). Short-term incentives increase the value proposition of the intended behavior change by rewarding healthy behaviors. In addition, making change "fun" for students throughout the school may help encourage positive attitudes toward what will be a difficult change for some constituents. As organizations work to design social marketing programs aimed at advancing FWB, change agents should draw upon the consumer research on food decision-making to increase their chances of success.

Selecting and understanding targeted segments. School administrators, staff, and key institutional food decision-makers (e.g., local school boards) are among the primary targets of the Food Revolution. The social change effort employs resources designed to motivate change from within the school as well as at legislative levels to garner the support required to implement lasting change. A strong commitment from the staff and school as well as its funding partners is important because significant investments may be required to enable the necessary changes. In schools, facilities investments as well as staff training are an essential requirement for implementing a successful change in the school lunch program. At home and at school, persistence is required to make progress in turning the dietary preferences of today's children away from convenience and processed foods and toward fresh and healthy foods. Without an extended commitment of time, money, and effort by parents, school officials, and the governments that fund lunch programs, lasting change may not be possible.

On a broader scale, Oliver has turned his attention to advocating and organizing support for legislative policies designed to change the food environment in schools. Galvanizing support within the Food Revolution community, more than 7,000 events in over 120 countries took place on "Food Revolution Day" on May 16, 2014 to promote efforts to get kids excited about cooking and eating fresh, healthy food (http://www.foodrevolutionday.com). In conjunction with this challenge, the Food Revolution website devotes significant information and resources to helping parents and school officials work with local, state, and national governments to secure funding and legislative support for implementing the systemic changes required to transition to healthy lunches.

Critical to encouraging children to accept menu changes is an educational component teaching children about fresh foods and why they are an important part of daily food consumption. Specifically, the vast resources available through the Food Revolution website include not only classroom resources to increase food literacy but also a wide array of social media sharing tools, recipe ideas, lists of seasonal foods by region, and customizable support materials to facilitate change within individual communities (http://www.jamieoliver.com).

Increasing children's food literacy is an important part of equipping them to confront the complex media environment they face each day as they are bombarded with a plethora of messages in which food marketers promote both healthy and less healthy alternatives. Navigating healthy packaging cues and product claims in the marketplace is a challenging task. Even knowledgeable consumers sometimes make flawed product judgments and calorie estimation errors when exposed to healthy product cues (Chandon & Wansink, 2007a, 2007b). The teacher toolkit provided on the Food Revolution website suggests a variety of ways to engage students in learning about food by getting them involved in growing and cooking the food they eat. Curriculum links provide lessons that range from the very basics of food and nutrition that help young children identify specific foods and food groups, to lessons that encourage high school students to tackle more complex issues such as learning about sustainability in agriculture. Although education is a critical component of changing the school lunch environment, it is also an important part of informing parents about the real food environments their children face each day. Learning about food and how to prepare it not only increases acceptance of the menu changes schools make but also empowers families to change their home food environments.

One key to success highlighted by the Food Revolution is the importance of engaging community partners that can help schools obtain local

foods at reasonable prices. Specifically, experts on the resource network recommend menu suggestions that can be customized to incorporate local and seasonal foods as a way to help keep prices low and make fresh foods accessible on a budget. This is another example of how the movement recognizes the important monetary challenges schools face as they incorporate healthy and fresh foods into their lunch menus. From local farmers to local chefs, the Food Revolution encourages schools to look within their own communities for partners that can help support the change movement.

Applying the marketing mix to promote change. The Food Revolution website serves as a social media hub, using tools such as Twitter, Facebook, Google, and Pinterest to facilitate grassroots campaigns to improve access to fresh foods. For example, the website offers a series of toolkits to guide motivated constituents through a process to change their school's food environment (http://www.jamieoliver.com). In addition, parents and students can post pictures of school lunches via social media sites where those active in the Food Revolution web community vote for the best- and worst-looking lunches. This form of sharing informs parents about what children are eating in different schools on a day-to-day basis, but it can also be used by parents and school officials as a source of ideas for improving school lunches. The social pressure to enhance healthy offerings can provide the motivation to change if the constituencies served by the school community demand change.

However, what parents, teachers, and school officials determine is best for children may not always align with children's taste preferences and acceptance of healthy options. Some worry that the implementation of radical changes may compound hunger problems as some children opt out of menu items with less appeal or are just served less food in districts that aggressively cut calories in an effort to make their lunch menus more healthy (Baker, 2012). Suggestions of price incentives for healthy foods in the lunch line and ways to reduce competition from less healthy choices make the Food Revolution efforts a robust example of using social marketing techniques to engage consumers.

The public forum chosen to document how difficult the transition can be for schools highlights many of the potential challenges faced by schools that choose this path. Providing access to fresh and healthy foods in the lunch line doesn't automatically eliminate competition from less healthy food alternatives. Children may be tempted by other food sources, including vending machines, fast food suppliers, school fundraisers, and foods brought from home, just to name a few. In 2005 vending machines could be found in an estimated 17 percent of elementary schools, 82 percent of

middle schools, and 97 percent of high schools in the United States (Finkelstein, Hill, & Whitaker, 2008). However, research has suggested that progress is being made on reducing the competition from these sources of tempting and often less healthy alternatives as more states move to limit access to competing food sources (Kraak, Story, & Wartella, 2012). Kraak and colleagues reported that in 2010, 29 states (versus 20 in 2005) limited access to competitive food sources in schools.

The Food Revolution website contains resources to help schools audit the competitive food sources children are exposed to daily (http://www.jamieoliver.com). Identifying the problems within the school environment that may impede the change process is critical to implementing a successful social marketing campaign to change school lunch programs. However, without persistent vigilance, changes designed to create an environment to encourage consumption of healthy foods may be difficult to maintain over the long term. A survey of schools with junk food bans in the United Kingdom revealed that 35 percent of the schools admitted to selling banned items, including chips and soft drinks (Poulter, 2012).

Conclusion: Social marketing can advance FWB through healthy eating. Jamie Oliver's Food Revolution draws upon research and practice to encourage and promote behavior change in the school lunch environment. The Food Revolution incorporates different elements of the marketing mix to elicit the support of children, families, school leaders, and policymakers throughout the change process. This comprehensive movement reflects a broad social marketing effort that organizes resources to encourage and facilitate systemic change in the lunches children eat each day.

In the United States, the National School Lunch Act of 1946 was enacted for two primary purposes: to "provide a market for agricultural production" and to "improve the health and well-being of the nation's youth" (U.S. Department of Agriculture [USDA], 2013a). However, the lunches many students eat today fail to meet either of these honorable goals. By providing tools to start, along with resources and support along the way, Jamie Oliver has created a comprehensive program to empower and facilitate the change he works so hard to promote.

Follow-up research based on the first set of schools that implemented Oliver's approach, in Greenwich, England, showed improved academic performance in math, English, and science as compared to surrounding schools that did not implement similar lunch menu changes (Belot & James, 2011). In addition, the program is credited with reducing absenteeism by an average of 14 percent (Belot & James, 2011). This research demonstrated that efforts targeted at helping schools redesign their menus and retrain their employees to cook and serve fresh meals can positively affect student

achievement. However, more rigorous research is needed to determine if and how these types of social marketing campaigns can achieve their goal of reducing the prevalence of childhood obesity (Grier & Bryant, 2005). While more outcome-oriented research is needed, Jamie Oliver's Food Revolution provides one example of how the key principles of successful social marketing campaigns can be used to advance food well-being.

Product and Packaging: Marine Stewardship Council

For many consumers, the idea of a renewable resource may conjure up images of solar panels and wind farms, but in 1996 Unilever and the World Wildlife Fund joined forces to spearhead an effort to "promote environmentally responsible stewardship of the world's most important renewable food source: fish" (Grier, Masserang, & Tinter, 1999, p. 1). The result was the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC), a nonprofit organization that sets standards for sustainable fishing practices and is recognized as a leader in sustainable seafood labeling (http://www.msc.org). As a membership organization, the MSC provides fisheries throughout the world with an opportunity to have a voice in fishing policies and standards as new problems arise and industry best practices evolve. The organization also works to educate consumers, fisheries, environmental groups, and governments on the benefits of sustainable fishing practices to give them a better understanding of how their support of these standards not only protects fish habitats but also ensures a safe and steady supply of this healthful food source.

Scientists "estimate that 90 percent of the big ocean fish are gone—eaten by people," and they predict that by 2048 the fishing industry will collapse (Bowman, 2009, "Consumers, Speak Out," para. 2). In 2004 researchers examined data from more than 230 species and estimated a median reduction of 83 percent of fish large enough to breed, with some species, such as the North Atlantic cod, having declined at a rate of more than 99 percent in heavily fished areas since the 1960s (Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada [COSEWIC], 2003; Hutchings & Reynolds, 2004). It was in this environment of concern over the world's fish population that the MSC was born.

In addition, two public controversies in the late 1980s and early 1990s propelled fishing practices and the impact of fishing on the environment into the spotlight. Specifically, tuna fishing practices that resulted in the unintentional deaths of dolphins were secretly filmed, resulting in a boycott designed to change industry practices. Then, in the late 1990s, the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) sought the support of

27 prominent chefs to support their "Give Swordfish a Break" pledge after years of overfishing, prompting restaurants, hotel chains, cruise lines, and retailers to stop serving the depleted fish to allow time for the species to recover (NRDC, 2009). These events increased consumer awareness of the environmental impact of fishing practices at a time when the MSC was developing standards as well as a logo to help consumers identify suppliers of sustainable seafood. Table 3.2 provides an overview of how the MSC draws upon social marketing practices in its continued efforts to promote sustainable sources of seafood and protect this valued food source.

Behavior shift: Creating demand for sustainable seafood. The MSC uses a consumer-driven approach to encourage fisheries to adopt protective fishing practices and become certified suppliers of fish and seafood. One way to drive change is by utilizing a traditional pull strategy, promoting the benefits of sustainable fishing practices to consumers and encouraging them to use their purchasing power to create demand for certified seafood products. In addition, the MSC educates consumers on the importance of consuming fish harvested in a sustainable fashion, working to shift cultural, social, and family consumption norms toward a preference for sustainable seafood. Specifically, the MSC monitors and tracks regional consumption of certain species to identify how consumer demand for particular seafood products influences harvesting and fishing practices.

When a particular species faces low population numbers, the MSC and its partner organizations work to promote consumption alternatives. For example, when the numbers of Atlantic cod became depleted, MSC arctic cod and Alaskan pollack were suggested as comparable alternatives that were more widely available (http://www.fish2fork.com). Within cultures that traditionally consume high volumes of fish and seafood, promoting sustainable practices and creating demand for certified sustainable products today will help shape the purchasing and consumption practices of the next generation, as well as the shopping and cooking norms they pass from one generation to the next.

The MSC has reported that a critical part of its mission is to educate and influence global consumption practices in a way that "transforms the seafood market to a sustainable basis" to protect seafood resources for future generations ("Vision and Mission," para. 2). These efforts increase food literacy by helping consumers understand the ecological impact of the consumption decisions they make. Increasing consumers' knowledge about the sources of the seafood they purchase and changing social consumption norms helps to advance food well-being.

Key to the MSC's efforts is the right of certified fisheries and processors to use the MSC logo on their product packages. Through the education of

Table 3.2 Marine Stewardship Council

FWB:	Food Socialization	Food Literacy	Food Marketing	Food Availability	Food Policy
Social Marketing:					
Behavior Change	Sustainable fish preferences in the cultural, social, and family norms	Educate; fish as a renewable source of fresh, healthy food		Promote sustainable, ecofriendly fish harvesting practices	Market-based solutions to protect global fish populations
Research		Research to create demand as well as willingness to pay (WTP) for MSC-certified seafood products			
Segments Targeted		*Fisheries*: Pursue the certification *Consumers*: Create demand and WTP for certified product			Nonprofits, governments: concerned about overfishing and other practices that threaten fish populations
Marketing Mix	**Pricing**: Market demand for certified, sustainable seafood creates an incentive for fisheries to pursue and maintain certification	**Product**: Independent certification to increase consumer belief in the credibility of the claim and WTP for sustainable fish	**Promotion**: Public controversies increase attention to practices; Packaging logo, online, and industry self-promotion	**Product/Place**: 2,500 MSC-labeled products available in 52 countries around the world (MSC, 2009)	

(*continued*)

Table 3.2 (*Continued*)

FWB:	Food Socialization	Food Literacy	Food Marketing	Food Availability	Food Policy
Exchange		Consumer choices advance health and protect the environment			Governments incentivize/require sustainable practices
Competition			Alternative certifying bodies and marketing messages compete with MSC label	Vendors not certified, other protein sources	States and countries offer alternative certifications

global consumers, the MSC has successfully promoted its logo as a signal that the products bearing it were harvested in a sustainable way. A 2010 consumer survey conducted by Albemarle Marketing Research on behalf of the MSC in six different countries revealed that an estimated 23 percent of consumers recognize the logo; awareness was highest in Germany at 36 percent (http://www.msc.org). Gaining recognition in the marketplace lends marketing support for the products sold by certified fisheries and producers across the globe. In addition, certified sellers are allowed to use the MSC logo on their websites to help promote their seafood products to wholesalers and consumers alike.

The MSC utilizes its own website to advocate for certification and to help consumers understand why buying fish that is certified is an important part of protecting the world's oceans. The website not only helps identify fish species that are in danger from overfishing but even provides consumers with recipes and menu swaps to encourage sustainable consumption. Combining key elements of the marketing mix ranging from product packaging to communication and promotions, the MSC works with its members and partner organizations to create demand for sustainable seafood.

Raising consumer concern over fishing practices and increasing the food literacy of customers may help increase consumers' willingness to pay more for sustainable seafood products. For the certification system to be desired by producers and processors, they have to gain a market advantage over competitors who choose not to spend the time and money to pursue certification. Ultimately, market demand and willingness to pay more for sustainable products is the economic engine behind demand for the certification process. By using consumer research, the MSC can better understand which consumer segments are willing to pay more for certified seafood products and learn how to better promote to those market segments.

Targeting segments throughout the distribution chain. In addition to targeting the final consumer, the MSC works with fishers to develop best practices that not only protect fish and the environment but also their own livelihood. The MSC also targets groups and organizations that demonstrate ecological concern for fish and their habitats. Nonprofit partners as well as government entities can provide both funding and policy support to help encourage those in the fishing industry to pursue certification. In marketing to global consumers, the certification logo that verifies sustainable practices may carry weight not only among those with ecological concerns but also with governments and regulatory bodies that govern which food products may be imported. The MSC works with multiple

segments, ranging from producers to consumers and from nonprofit organizations to government bodies, to promote the credibility of its certification and products sold under the MSC logo.

The MSC also works directly with large retail partners and collections of wholesale suppliers to encourage them to both sell and promote certified products. Increasing consumer demand as well as securing retail and wholesale partner support helps provide incentives and market assurances for fisheries that choose the sustainable path. In recent years, the MSC has worked to increase the value of its ecolabel by developing joint marketing campaigns with big brands such as SeaPak, restaurant chains such as McDonald's, and retail partners such as Wal-Mart (http://www.msc.org). Target Corporation has pledged to carry only sustainable seafood by 2015 (Jung, 2011). In progressing toward this pledge, Target stopped carrying farm-raised salmon and in 2011 dropped "all orange roughy and Chilean sea bass from its fresh and frozen seafood selection" (Albright, 2011, para. 1). This type of marketing support has helped make more than 14,700 product lines of sustainable seafood available in 84 countries, generating an estimated $3.2 billion annually (MSC, 2012). By marketing sustainable choices, the MSC not only increases consumer choice but makes sustainable alternatives more widely available, which is a critical element of FWB.

Facilitating the exchange: Competitive pricing. To be successful, prices for MSC-certified products must be competitive with other seafood products. One way to level the competitive playing field is to expand the global reach of the organization and increase membership. Some governments and countries require imports to provide proof of sustainable harvest practices. Decreasing the number of suppliers that use less sustainable practices in an effort to supply product at a lower price helps the whole industry. However, as more consumers and distribution partners demand seafood from sustainable sources, the MSC has faced criticism over a dramatic increase in the number of certified suppliers and concerns that the standards as applied to fishing practices might not be protecting certain species from overfishing or bycatch (Zwerdling & Williams, 2013).

The MSC also faces competition in the area of seafood labeling as more countries, companies, and nonprofit groups have raised concerns about elements of the MSC certification process and seek to develop their own labelling systems to help consumers identify sustainable sources of food. One example is the environmental organization Greenpeace and the scoring system it uses to grade and rank retailers on the sustainability of the seafood products sold in their stores. Specifically, Greenpeace evaluates each retailer's policies regarding product choice, transparency in sharing information about fishing practices and food sources with customers, and number of

products sold that are on the "red list" because of low population numbers or destructive fishing methods (Greenpeace, 2012). Some retailers, such as Whole Foods, work with partner organizations, including the MSC and others, to develop their own product grading systems designed to help consumers make sustainable choices (Environmental Leader, 2010). Although efforts throughout the retail channel may increase consumer awareness of and demand for sustainable seafood products, direct competition for the MSC ecolabel, along with retailer specific grading systems, could create consumer confusion about which certifications or labels are most credible.

Conclusion: Social marketing can advance FWB through sustainable food sources. From the start, the MSC has sought to protect the world's natural resources—specifically, fish and the environments in which they live. As a standards-setting organization, the MSC continuously strives to understand industry practices and their impact on fish populations and the environment. By working with industry, nonprofit organizations, and governments throughout the world, the MSC is in a position to accumulate knowledge, share best practices, and continuously push for improvements in industry standards. During its first 10 years, the MSC promoted sustainable harvest practices that helped the New Zealand hoki, North Atlantic cod, Australian rock lobster, and North Eastern sea bass recover, but it has also helped in other ways by encouraging safe fishing practices that reduce bycatch and protect other animals, such as birds, from being unintended casualties of the fishing process (MSC, 2009).

What the MSC works to promote to all the segments it serves is the idea that protecting fish populations and their habitats is good for all constituents. It is good for the health of the people that consume the fish; it ensures that fisheries, producers, and processors will have a healthy bottom line well into the future; and it is good for the health of the oceans. In exchange, consumers, organizations, and governments alike may be willing to support sustainable fishing practices. Governments can enact policies that encourage producers to fish sustainably. Producers, processors, and retailers can work in good faith to protect the seafood populations and their habitats. Finally, if consumers reward these efforts by selectively purchasing certified sustainable products and are willing to pay a little more for those products, price incentives exist to encourage fisheries to implement changes designed to ensure the future of global fish populations.

As the MSC has grown, its ability to influence food policy has increased. With that power comes criticism from other organizations as well as individual companies that seek certification. As previously mentioned, there is growing competition for the MSC ecolabel, which will likely influence the future of the organization's role in global seafood markets. However, the

MSC's efforts over the past 15 years have revolutionized the seafood industry and helped advance FWB on a global scale.

Place and Pricing: Canada's Food Mail Program (1993–2011)

In the rural northern communities of Canada, the growing season is short and food transportation costs are high. Over the years, Aboriginal communities and other citizens who reside in the far northern regions have moved away from the traditional country foods that were once part of their cultural diet. Traditional food sources have been replaced with an overreliance on high-carbohydrate, high-fat, and highly processed foods. Although foods have been shipped via air to the northern communities for many years, in the early 1990s concerns about the disproportionate rise in obesity and nutrient deficiencies in the north prompted an organized effort designed to positively influence the accessibility and affordability of healthy foods in the region. In a collaborative effort, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC), Canada Post, and Health Canada developed the Food Mail Program (AANDC, 2014). The primary goal of the Food Mail Program was to make fresh fruits and vegetables, healthy grains, fresh meat, and fresh dairy products accessible and affordable by subsidizing the Canada Post to fly in perishable goods to local retailers each week. Table 3.3 highlights the social marketing strategies utilized to encourage a healthy shift in the diets of Aboriginal people in isolated northern Canadian communities, thus enhancing their FWB.

Making healthy foods accessible and affordable. The modern diets of Canada's Aboriginal people have evolved into a reliance on frozen and processed foods. Examples of diet staples include the food category the Canadian Health Survey labeled "sandwiches," which includes hamburgers, hot dogs, pizza, and submarine sandwiches. A survey of Canada's eating habits estimates that the sandwich category "contributed more fat to the Canadian diet than any other category" and an estimated "11% of the total daily sodium intake" (Health Canada, 2012, pp. 3–4). In many northern communities, the growing season averages only 40 to 80 days with a mean daily temperature above 42°F (5.6°C) (Natural Resources Canada, 2012b), which is not adequate to grow most fresh fruits and vegetables. Moreover, transporting perishable goods by truck to these distant communities is neither cost-effective nor timely enough to prevent spoilage. However, a 2003 survey of northern Aboriginal populations found that high cost was the main barrier to purchasing healthy foods (Health Canada, 2012). The primary goal of the Food Mail Program was to overcome the economic barriers that limited access to fresh and healthy foods.

Table 3.3 Food Mail Program

FWB:	Food Socialization	Food Literacy	Food Marketing	Food Availability	Food Policy
Social Marketing:					
Behavior Change	Shift diets of Aboriginal people from processed to fresh foods	Nutrition knowledge and language barriers		Climate and distance create barriers to growing/delivering fresh food	Subsidies to lower the price and transportation costs
Research		Vitamin and nutrient deficiencies, high obesity rates	Transportation adds 70 percent to 80 percent to the cost of fresh food	Economic barriers created by the higher cost of fresh foods	
Segments Targeted	Families in northern communities	Education and health care providers		Retailers in northern communities	Aboriginal people in northern Canada
Marketing Mix	**Product**: Fresh vegetables, fruits, grains, meat, and dairy	**Promotion**: Tasting, cooking classes, nutrition education	**Promotion**: Posters, brochures, retailer promotions	**Place**: Fresh foods mailed to retailers in rural communities in northern Canada	**Price:** Subsidies reduce retail prices 15 percent to 20 percent; 25 percent direct to consumers
Exchange	Trading cultural tradition for foods available in program				Community and retailer must support program
Competition	Comfort foods still cost less, conveniently available	Low program awareness		Frozen/processed foods easier to transport/store	Transportation, food costs continue to rise

In 1993 Canada began to subsidize the shipping of an approved list of foods through the Canada Post to retailers in remote northern communities to increase affordable access to fresh and healthy foods (AANDC, 2014). To overcome the barriers to access and ensure a steady supply of healthy food, Canada's Food Mail Program implemented a system of checks and balances to help refine the program and related policies in an effort to meet consumer needs and program challenges. For example, food price surveys were conducted to assess the cost of a healthy food basket in isolated northern communities (Hill & Fitzgerald, 2012). Inspections of food quality and safe handling practices helped ensure that a high percentage (estimated at 90–95 percent) of food reached recipients before it had the opportunity to spoil—a low spoilage rate compared to "similar programs in operation around the world" (Majid & Grier, 2010, p. 85). In addition, subsidies targeted the high cost of transporting food to these rural communities, reducing overall prices for eligible food items purchased through retailers by an estimated 15–20 percent and by up to 25 percent when consumers purchased directly from the Food Mail Program (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2009). The products subsidized consisted mainly of perishable items such as fresh fruits and vegetables, grains, eggs, dairy products, and meat (AANDC, 2014). The subsidies targeted the transportation and distribution costs paid by suppliers and retailers; these costs drive up the price of perishable foods, putting them out of reach for many consumers.

Promoting healthy choices and changing consumption patterns. The Food Mail Program partnered with retailers, educators, and health providers to promote the program and increase demand for fresh and healthy foods. Educational materials were created and distributed in many different languages because Canada's Aboriginal people speak more than 50 languages in more than 11 different language families (Natural Resources Canada, 2012b). The materials used to promote the program and educate consumers included posters, brochures, and flyers designed to inform consumers about the foods available through the program. In addition, on-site promotions worked to increase food literacy and offered cooking classes to encourage consumers to incorporate program-supplied foods as a regular part of their diets.

A key criticism of the Food Mail Program has been that the foods included and the promotions designed to educate were based on the consumption patterns and taste preferences of southern Canadian consumers and did not try to incorporate the country foods that were part of the traditional culture and diet of Canada's Aboriginal people (Majid & Grier, 2010). For example, recipes provided by the program often used lean

turkey or beef as the base source of protein rather than seal meat or fish, which are cultural staples in the Aboriginal diet. One critical component of the socialization dimension of FWB is to consider the broader cultural and subcultural influences on diet while encouraging families and individuals to make healthy choices. By taking cultural influences into account when designing social marketing programs, change agents might increase the acceptance of change within the target population.

In addition to targeting those who reside in northern Canada, the Food Mail Program also targeted food retailers and community health providers with the ability to educate consumers and promote the program. Despite the efforts designed to promote healthy choices, an inspection of the program in 2008 cited low awareness of the Food Mail Program and limited visual evidence of the promotional materials in many of the communities being served (Dargo, 2008). In addition, more than 30 communities eligible for participation in the program did not participate (Dargo, 2008).

Conclusion: Social marketing can advance FWB through increased affordable access. There is conflicting evidence regarding the impact of the Food Mail Program on the health and FWB of northern Canadian communities. Although shipments of food increased availability and access, consumers' perceptions of food security and their ability to feed their families decreased during the 1990s, which might have been a direct result of subsidies not keeping pace with rising transportation costs (Lawn & Harvey, 2001). A 2008 review of the Food Mail Program estimated that 62 percent of the savings from the transportation subsidies were passed on to local consumers in the form of lower prices (Majid & Grier, 2010). However, one key criticism has been that the subsidy amounts paid did not change much over the 18-year life of the program (Hill & Fitzgerald, 2012), a span of time during which wholesale fuel costs more than doubled (Natural Resources Canada, 2012a). To ensure long-term success, price subsidies designed to expand affordable access must keep pace with increases in transportation costs, product costs, and inflation to sustain the goal of making healthy foods more accessible in Canada's rural north.

In addition, the health benefits anticipated from changing the diets of Aboriginal people never materialized. Specifically, a 2004 survey of the nutrition and eating habits of Canadians revealed that despite 10 years of the Food Mail Program increasing access to more nutritious fresh foods, Aboriginal people still lagged in their consumption of key nutrients such as iron, calcium, vitamin A, and vitamin D, and that these same consumers were still relying on processed foods such as frozen pizza as staples in their diet (Health Canada, 2012). In the case of the Food Mail Program, competing forces, including rising food and transportation costs, low program

awareness, limited incorporation of foods commonly consumed in the region (e.g., seal meat, fish, bannock [a traditional bread]), and continued access to competitively priced less healthy foods may have undermined the program's potential to succeed.

In April 2011 Canada worked to address the challenges faced by the Food Mail Program and began transitioning to a new program called Nutrition North Canada (AANDC, 2014). Although the goals of the old and new programs are the same—increasing access to affordable and nutritious food in Canada's rural northern regions—the execution details have changed. First, Canada Post is no longer the primary distribution partner. Instead, three retailers were chosen as the primary distributors of the food. Less healthy frozen or packaged items that were part of the Food Mail Program, such as frozen pizza, now receive lower subsidy levels as organizers shift the subsidies to foods with higher overall nutritional value (Nutrition North Canada, 2012). In addition, country foods such as Arctic char, musk ox, and caribou have received added prominence in promoting a healthy diet (Nutrition North Canada, 2012).

The policies that govern the program now dictate that retailers pass the subsidy on to consumers who buy eligible items in retail stores; subsidy levels by community are publically available to consumers in stores and on the Internet. However, critics worry that the lack of inspection and oversight may reduce the quality of food and create opportunities for distributors to focus more on profits than on accessibility (Hill & Fitzgerald, 2012). Only time will tell if the revised program will improve the accessibility and affordability of fresh and healthy food to Canada's Aboriginal people. However, by continuously examining the effectiveness of its programs and working to address the barriers that arise, Canada continues to strive to enhance FWB in its northern communities.

Promoting Behavior Change: Let's Move!

First ladies have a long history of adopting and promoting causes during their tenures in the White House. The influential role enjoyed by the wife of the U.S. commander-in-chief has been used for good by first ladies as far back as Dolly Madison, who from 1908 to 1915 worked to support the development of the Washington City Orphan Asylum to help poor children without homes. Similarly, Lou Henry Hoover was a strong advocate for and was actively involved in the Girl Scout movement of the 1920s and 1930s (Gilmore, 2012). In the 1980s Nancy Reagan was instrumental in promoting the "Just Say No" campaign designed to prevent drug abuse (Gilmore, 2012). Michelle Obama launched the Lets Move! campaign in

2010, with an ambitious but important goal: "Put our country on track to solving the problem of childhood obesity" (Barnes, 2010, p. 1).

Let's Move! encompasses five central themes designed to (1) create a healthy start for children, (2) empower parents and caregivers, (3) provide healthy food in schools, (4) improve access to healthy, affordable foods, and (5) increase physical activity. Unlike the other cases discussed in this chapter, the main focus of Let's Move! is not food itself; instead, this social marketing campaign is designed to encourage families and children to get active and eat well with the help of the communities that educate and support them. Table 3.4 highlights the key social marketing strategies used by the campaign to advance well-being.

Connecting families to resources that promote well-being. The Let's Move! campaign is a collection of hundreds of ideas and opportunities for children, families, schools, and community groups to make changes, both small and large, to advance well-being. From specific tools such as healthy menu plans and searchable databases that identify safe walking and biking paths in an individual's community to broader tips and suggestions every family can browse to test out new healthy habits, the Let's Move! website is a gateway to a wealth of information and research that consumers can leverage to help implement change.

Harnessing organized connectivity, the Let's Move! website links families to a wide variety of resources to help them learn more about eating well. Examples include links to the 2010 dietary guidelines and the "my plate" resources designed to help even young children understand the recommended makeup of a well-balanced meal (USDA, 2013c). There are resources for children, parents, families, schools, and communities. Children are encouraged to do jumping jacks during television commercials, try new fruits and vegetables, and to create and share their own recipe ideas with the web community. Families are encouraged to cook together at home, try new foods and new recipes, and to get active together.

Many of the same resources available to help parents and families socialize children to food and activity in a way that promotes health and well-being can also be used by educators and health providers to teach children about food and encourage healthy family lifestyles. Lessons for preschool children help them learn about food and incorporate movement into their daily routines, and more detailed planning guides and checklists can help older children grow a garden or participate in the Presidential Fitness Challenge (http://www.letsmove.gov). Many of the resources available on the Let's Move! website are also available in Spanish, expanding the interactive tool's reach.

Table 3.4 Let's Move!

FWB:	Food Socialization	Food Literacy	Food Marketing	Food Availability	Food Policy
Social Marketing: Behavior Change	Resources for parents/schools, activity ideas, healthy eating	Menu plans, food tracking, education materials			Promotes community structures that facilitate active lifestyles
Research		Connected to USDA guide, tools, research on healthy eating			
Segments Targeted	Families, parents, children	Educators, faith leaders, health care providers	Chefs, food manufacturers		Community leaders, elected officials
Marketing Mix	**Place/Distribution**: Ideas for growing and sourcing healthy foods for families and schools	**Product**: Information, resources, organized activism to promote change	**Promotion**: Comprehensive web marketing tool: inform, educate, share resources, and track success	**Price**: Tools to plan, purchase, prepare meals on a budget	
Exchange		Contests, challenges, school programs to promote active, healthy lifestyles		Resources for community leaders, making food accessible	Organizes communities for idea sharing; promotes social change
Competition	Children as contributors submit recipes and activity ideas to engage the audience		System-level pressure of manufacturers, schools, toward healthy choices		Healthy Hunger Free Act changes school lunch landscape and competitive foods

Learning healthy habits by observation, participation, and discussion at home is one method the Let's Move! campaign encourages families to make wellness a family priority. Parents can use the campaign's online calendar tool to set healthy goals, plan and track activities, and plan weekly menus. The Let's Move! website also links to the USDA's SuperTracker, an online tool for learning more about foods, comparing nutritional information, and directly tracking food intake and activity levels (USDA, 2013d).

In addition, the Let's Move! website encourages families to get cooking. When families cook together, children develop taste preferences for fruits and vegetables (Chu et al., 2013). For adolescents, there is a strong relationship between the availability of unhealthy foods and soda in the home environment and the consumption of snack foods and sugary beverages (Campbell et al., 2007). Children may also derive psychological benefits from spending time with their parents, because parents in general—and mothers in particular—have a strong influence on the diets of their children (Campbell et al., 2007). By providing targeted resources drawn from available research for different constituents ranging from children and parents to schools and community leaders, the Let's Move! website aims to motivate and promote healthy lifestyle changes that advance well-being.

The website also includes resources designed to educate parents, administrators, and school leaders on the National School Lunch Program and School Breakfast Program guidelines, and to incite behavior change regarding school environments. School leaders can find links to help them assess the safety, walkability, and food environments of their schools, along with checklists for creating a healthy learning environment. Community organizations can use the website to share ideas such as how to start a summer food program to ensure children have access to healthy foods all year long, and to share resources that help improve accessibility to affordable healthy foods. In addition, pediatricians and other health care providers are encouraged to use the website's resources to help them connect with families and promote wellness practices. The website also serves as a tool to obtain and share powerful success stories about how other organizations, such as the Girl Scouts, 4-H, and faith-based groups, are using Let's Move! to make a difference in their communities.

Creating healthy competition: Rewarding innovative ideas. In any social marketing campaign, the dimension that is probably the most difficult to achieve and sustain over the long term is an exchange strong enough to motivate lasting change. Let's Move! uses contests, challenges, and competitions to motivate individuals, families, and schools to make healthy eating choices and become more active. Individuals and schools can join the President's Fitness Challenge. Schools can compete for cash prizes

through the Child Obesity 180 Active Schools Acceleration Project, a national competition to "find innovative, impactful solutions that could be adopted by many more schools across the country" (Innovative Competition, 2014, para. 1). As part of the Healthy Lunchtime Challenge, students submitted healthy recipes for the chance to win an invitation to a state dinner where the winning recipe was one of the featured entrées. All the winning recipes were compiled into a cookbook and are available on the Let's Move! website. These are just a few examples of the incentives designed to motivate children, families, schools, and communities to participate in Let's Move! programs and make changes to live healthy and active lives. Recently, educational researchers have shown that leading change by modifying behaviors first may produce better results than more traditional approaches, such as informing people about the benefits of change followed by action steps to help implement changes (Hamre et al., 2012).

The Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act of 2010 (Pub. L. 111-296) challenges schools to examine their environments for access to less healthy foods that compete with more nutritious offerings and might undermine efforts to promote a healthy lunch. Such foods might be available in vending machines, school stores, and concession stands that sell packaged snacks and sweets, as well as through fundraisers that encourage the consumption of less healthy alternatives. Let's Move! encourages schools to act as facilitators, organizing farmer's markets on their campuses and distributing community-supported agriculture (CSA) shares on their sites. Let's Move! also encourages schools to be proactive and creative in designing strategies to increase access to healthy foods in their communities.

Conclusion: Social marketing can advance FWB through community collaboration. By challenging children, families, and schools to implement changes in their diet and become more active, Let's Move! works to address the obesity problem from both the energy intake and expenditure sides of the equation. From a social marketing perspective, one way to strengthen the Let's Move! campaign would be to broaden the marketing mix. The campaign's central web resources provide a wide array of tools to help families, schools, and communities implement change. With the influence of her position as first lady, Michelle Obama has a unique promotional platform from which she can continue to promote Let's Move! to encourage families to make healthy changes. Using social media and other web tools, Let's Move! demonstrates how to harness the connectivity of the web to collect and share resources, ideas, and tools to help promote active and healthy families. However, to retain its position as a valuable web tool, it is essential for the Let's Move! site to keep the topics current

and continuously evolving through continuous posts, updated tools, and resource sharing, so families will stay focused and motivated to change.

Let's Move! also has opportunities to strengthen other dimensions of the marketing mix, such as pricing and place (distribution). One key goal of the campaign is to increase the accessibility and affordability of healthy foods. Let's Move! can further leverage the connectivity of its website to connect consumers to community programs in their areas that provide access to food. In addition, educators and health care providers may be able to identify families in need and connect them to community resources that can help them obtain food. Making the website a one-stop shop for resources to advance all dimensions of FWB would strengthen the efforts of the Let's Move! campaign.

Building partnerships and connections, the Let's Move! social marketing campaign focuses on tapping into a broad array of efforts, both small and large, throughout the country to share all kinds of ideas for helping to advance the health of children and families. By connecting families to community partners that make healthy foods available, encouraging active lifestyles, and rewarding creativity, Let's Move! is working to influence healthy choices and well-being. By providing resources and education materials to support changes made at the individual, organizational, and community levels, Let's Move! may well be on a path to achieving its goal of reversing the obesity trend.

Expanding Social Marketing Programs to Advance FWB

The four cases discussed so far represent comprehensive efforts that apply social marketing principles to advance FWB. In the next section, we introduce three campaigns that are working on a more limited scale. These campaigns demonstrate the power of smaller initiatives to influence FWB and highlight further opportunities to use social marketing to enhance outcomes.

Place and Pricing: The Nashville Mobile Market

Food accessibility is a growing area of concern in many communities; often, high-poverty districts have limited access to fresh food at reasonable prices. Such communities, labeled food deserts, usually rely on small retailers and convenience stores where food prices are higher and the quality of fresh foods offered is often lower than in suburban and higher-income neighborhoods (USDA, 2013b). The Nashville Mobile Market (NMM) was an outgrowth of the research, experiences, and entrepreneurial ideas of students at

Vanderbilt University. Using funding provided by the Frist Foundation to convert a 28-foot trailer into a retail store, the NMM launched an effort to carry fresh foods into food desert communities in Nashville (Issar, 2011). The NMM now visits community centers, health centers, urban parks, and housing complexes in 11 different neighborhoods once or twice each week, selling fresh produce, dairy, and meat products at or below market prices.

In addition to increasing food accessibility, the NMM seeks to educate consumers about the importance of a healthy diet to overall health and well-being. The communities served by the NMM are not only plagued by high levels of poverty but also by a high prevalence of diabetes and cardiovascular disease (http://www.nashvillemobilemarket.org). The NMM actively recruits student volunteers with training in the areas of health, nutrition, medicine, and social justice to provide specialized consultations to clients. While visiting the NMM, clients receive the opportunity to purchase fresh food at reasonable prices and can also learn a new, healthy recipe for an item available at the market that day.

Although the NMM touches most of the critical FWB dimensions, one key way in which the NMM can advance its initiatives is through food policy. Specifically, on the streets of Nashville, the NMM is in a unique position to share the stories of those in the community who benefit directly from it and to promote policy changes at the city and state government levels. In 2010 a bill to create a Metro Nashville Food Policy Council to consider tax incentives to increase food accessibility in Nashville was deferred (Wright, 2012). The NMM has the ability to give a voice to and put a face on the problem of food deserts in a way that might turn public sentiment into support for this type of policy initiative.

There is evidence that the initial step of providing access to affordable fresh foods has increased fruit and vegetable consumption among program participants by approximately 25 percent (Issar, 2011). The next big step toward advancing FWB involves increasing the demand for fresh and healthy foods among a wider array of families and individuals within the communities already served by the NMM. In some of the communities that the NMM initially visited, demand was not strong enough to justify continued inclusion on the schedule. There could be a number of different reasons why the NMM did not meet sales targets in those locations. One reason might be that members of those communities do not perceive benefits to changing their consumption patterns. Another reason might be that the market times offered did not align well with residents' work and school schedules. Education and outreach in new locations such as day care centers and schools may help the NMM to expand its reach within younger target audiences.

A further reason for the NMM's failure to attract significant numbers of consumers in certain areas could be that the program's benefits and the food and payment options offered were not promoted as successfully in those locations. Finally, personal safety concerns might have created obstacles to access for some residents. To overcome these barriers, the NMM might consider turning once again to its partners at the Vanderbilt Owen Graduate School of Management for consumer and market research that could enhance the NMM's marketing activities and advance its mission.

In looking at the competitive food environment within the food deserts served by the NMM, it is clear that for many neighborhoods, the market truck might be residents' only choice for fresh and healthy foods. The NMM might want to reach out to food retailers and convenience stores with permanent locations in those communities to show the demand potential for healthy foods and to make supplier connections for those willing to carry healthy foods and further increase affordable access in their communities. Using the network of partnerships the NMM has established in individual communities, there are likely to be other organizations that are willing and able to expand access to fresh and healthy foods throughout Nashville's food deserts.

In a short period of time, the Nashville Mobile Market has not only attracted attention to and support for advancing FWB in food deserts; it has developed a creative solution and a successful model for mobilizing a community to advance FWB. The NMM is well positioned to share its expertise with other communities and to discover and promote continued creativity in the public sector. Addressing other dimensions of FWB using proven social marketing strategies may help expand the NMM's effectiveness and its reach into the communities it serves.

Promotion: Save the Crabs

In 2007 the Chesapeake Club sponsored the development and expansion of a humorous ad campaign targeted at a serious problem. When lawn chemicals from suburban Chesapeake Bay neighborhoods wash into the bay, algae blooms have a negative impact on the habitat and, subsequently, the populations of blue crabs and oysters in the area. So the Chesapeake Club organized funding to create an ad campaign targeted at changing the lawn care practices of both homeowners and businesses in the area. The tag line "Do your part to help save the crabs . . . then eat 'em" encourages homeowners to avoid spring fertilization of their lawns in an effort to save one of their regional delicacies (http://www.chesapeakeclub.

org). The centerpiece of this social marketing effort is a creative ad campaign that has been successful in attracting attention to the problem lawn chemicals create for the habitat and populations of blue crabs and local oysters. Using humorous tag lines such as "No appetizers were harmed in the making of this lawn," "Protect the crab cake population," and "The lunch you save may be your own," the print and television ad campaign successfully shared with consumers how their lawn care practices influence the seafood habitat in their communities.

Follow-up surveys measuring the impact of the initial 7-week ad campaign that ran in the Washington, D.C., area in 2005 reported that "72 percent of those contacted had seen the campaign, and 44 percent remembered its key message" (Blankenship, 2005, para. 7). In addition, the survey reported modest reductions in the number of homeowners planning to fertilize in the spring (Blankenship, 2005). After running a successful campaign in the D.C. metro area, in 2007 the Chesapeake Club obtained additional funding to target a wider audience and ran ads in coastal communities in Maryland and Virginia as well as in West Virginia.

By connecting consumer practices to their impact on the local environment and building a sense of community, a cause becomes more personally relevant. Research indicates that consumers might be more likely to act when pro-environmental behaviors are perceived as directly affecting their own consumption (McKenzie-Mohr, Nemiroff, Beers, & Desmarais, 1995). Restaurants where consumers can dine on crab and oysters are also highlighted on the Chesapeake Club's website. Finally, nontraditional media, including T-shirts, hats, bumper stickers, and other merchandise, share the humorous tag line with neighbors as well as the tourists who visit the Chesapeake Bay watershed each summer. By integrating an environmental message into the successful ad campaign and relating lawn care to the regional seafood residents love to eat, the Chesapeake Club has helped advance FWB in the Chesapeake Bay region.

The Save the Crabs social marketing campaign focuses on the marketing dimension of FWB but also touches on socialization and literacy as more consumers learn about the direct connections between their lawn care practices and the impact those practices have on water resources and seafood populations. In its work to promote alternative lawn care strategies, the Chesapeake Club needs to continue to update local residents on new lawn care methods and practices that reduce the need for chemicals. A review of studies that promote pro-environmental behaviors found that ensuring commitment, setting goals, and showing progress can be more effective in changing behavior than just informing consumers and providing justification (Osbaldiston & Schott, 2012).

Beyond communicating with residents, the Chesapeake Club might consider working with specific lawn care vendors that are also committed to environmentally safe practices. Because most businesses contract their lawn service, the Chesapeake Club could help connect business owners to service providers that offer chemical-free alternatives. In addition, the Chesapeake Club could help organize the voices of concerned citizens, because policymakers in local and state government are being encouraged by a wide range of advocacy groups to ban certain lawn chemicals and fertilizers. By working with a broad array of organizations (e.g., pet organizations, environmental groups, and other water recreation associations) the Chesapeake Club can help shift the policy discussion toward safe lawn care practices that advance the causes of all concerned organizations.

Promoting Ad Literacy: Admongo

In 2013 the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) introduced upgrades to a web-based gaming site designed to teach children about advertising and to provide parents and teachers with resources to help "*ad*ucate" children (http://www.admongo.gov). The goal of the website is to help children understand the underlying motives behind advertising, including who is responsible for the ad and what the sponsor is trying to persuade them to buy, think, or do. Increasing ad literacy not only prepares children for the barrage of media messages they face each day but might encourage them to become smarter consumers.

The food and beverage industry is the second largest advertiser in the United States (Story & French, 2004). An analysis of advertisements that appeared on television in 2004 revealed that 21.6 percent of ads directed to children promoted food products, with restaurant/fast food, cereal, sweets, sugary beverages, and snack foods topping the list of food products advertised (Desrochers & Holt, 2007). In addition, nontraditional marketing efforts to promote packaged foods and snack foods to children include a wide array of web, mobile, gaming, and social media marketing efforts (FTC, 2012). For these reasons, using an interactive gaming website such as Admongo to increase persuasion knowledge (i.e., how consumers "interpret, evaluate, and respond to influence attempts from advertisers"; Friestad & Wright, 1994, p. 1) may help advance the FWB of children who are exposed to ads for such foods. One sample module of the game has children interact with front-of-package product claims related to "whole grains" on a cereal box and demonstrates how promotional toys are used to make cereals attractive to children in the grocery store. Another

section of the web game demonstrates how an ad uses puffery to suggest that the promoted soda product provides energy. By helping children decipher the intentions of the advertiser, the Admongo site arms children with knowledge to help them sort through the confusing world of advertising and product claims.

In addition to games targeted at children, the Admongo site offers resources, examples, and lesson plans for parents and teachers. By providing creative and interactive educational materials, the Admongo site also has the potential to help advocates increase children's persuasion knowledge. However, to truly exploit the power of the web to create a social marketing program that advances persuasion knowledge, more dimensions of FWB need to be addressed. Given that its goal is to increase persuasion knowledge, the Admongo site could consider promoting actual behavior changes that might reinforce this newfound knowledge and help children apply it. For example, one module teaches children about how online profile information and search histories are used by advertisers to target consumers. Beyond providing that information, the game could go further by helping children turn on privacy settings within the social media and websites they use, thus limiting their ad exposure. In addition, teacher and parent resources could encourage parents and children to actively apply the knowledge gained in the Admongo game the next time they go to the grocery store. Finding the product claims of items they typically buy and actively seeking out product alternatives might help both parents and children shop more wisely.

Because food advertising comprises a significant portion of the ads to which children are exposed, more dimensions of FWB might also be addressed as the FTC works to enhance the Admongo website. For example, the game uses a question-and-answer format to engage children and teach them about advertising. The FTC could consider gathering the answer results on an aggregate basis and using that information as input into the debate regarding policies and legislation to address children's exposure to advertisements. One module asks questions designed to teach children to recognize product placements in a video game as advertisements. Understanding which forms of advertising children least recognize might also be useful in guiding policy initiatives in the future. While broadcast media has limits, the new media environment in which today's children live presents many ad opportunities that are not currently regulated. In addition to teaching children to recognize the motives of advertisers through the Admongo gaming website, the FTC can use social marketing principles to help ensure that evolving media provide safe interactions for the youngest consumers.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The cases presented in this chapter demonstrate the use of social marketing principles to advance FWB by changing a variety of behaviors. Jamie Oliver's Food Revolution specifically targets schools and families to motivate them to cook fresh, healthy foods rather than relying on less healthy, processed foods. The Let's Move! campaign tries to encourage families to make changes in what they eat and in their activity levels, adopting a broader goal of wellness. Both of these programs use education extensively to socialize families and children toward healthy food options and to increase food literacy. Admongo targets advertising and media literacy to help increase children's persuasion knowledge and better prepare them for the commercialized world they are exposed to every day.

Several of the cases discussed programs focused on influencing food accessibility. The Food Mail Program used subsidies to the distribution network to make foods more affordable and available in an effort to improve the diets of Canada's Aboriginal people, and the Nashville Mobile Market is a new retail environment that is changing the way people living in the food deserts of Nashville shop. Two other cases described programs that seek to advance FWB by influencing individuals and society to take actions that will help maintain a healthful and sustainable food supply. The Marine Stewardship Council works to create selective demand for seafood from sustainable fisheries and to increase consumer willingness to pay more for the product. The behavior change targeted by the Save the Crabs campaign focuses not on the food itself but on the lawn care practices of homeowners with the power to prevent chemical runoff from destroying the habitat of a regional food source.

Comprehensive use of the marketing mix is an essential element of both social marketing initiatives and the FWB construct. The cases presented in this chapter demonstrate how social marketing can be used strategically to advance the FWB of specific audiences and motivate social change. The audiences targeted range from children and families to specific neighborhoods, communities, and schools.

For social marketing to be successful, consumers must be willing to make the tradeoffs that are critical to promoting lasting change. Specifically, if consumers do not perceive value—that is, that the benefits of making the change outweigh the costs of doing so—they are not likely to make lasting changes that advance FWB. These benefits may be tangible, such as increased accessibility of healthy foods at reasonable prices, or they may be intangible, such as healthy family relationships. The costs may be direct, such as paying more for sustainable seafood, or indirect, such as sacrificing

an immaculate lawn for the sake of the seafood habitat. Over time, if these social marketing efforts can convince consumers that the changes being promoted have value, the likelihood of long-term success is greater.

In addition to demonstrating the value of making behavior changes, organizations need to carefully consider the competitive forces that can interrupt good intentions. Admongo seeks to educate children about the multifaceted and multimedia approaches used to target them with persuasive messages. When consumers learn about these marketing techniques, they may be better armed to navigate the conflicting media messages and make better choices.

More research is needed to determine if the social marketing efforts featured in this chapter will produce measurable and sustainable results that advance food well-being at both the individual and societal levels. Several of the efforts presented in the cases are still in the early stages, when enthusiasm for the movement can keep motivation high. But over time, activity and participation may wane. The sustainability of these efforts over the long term will likely depend on continued funding and creativity to keep their audiences engaged. It is our hope that by highlighting how these social marketing movements can directly influence FWB, we will empower the social change agents of tomorrow with a toolkit designed to promote their success and advance food well-being.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Disasters and Social Marketing

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> Human societies worldwide have much to learn about the actions to take and to avoid in order to reduce the likelihood that hazardous conditions will result in disaster. . . . Topics related to mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery should be at the forefront of these social science investigations to not only produce knowledge that is of interest to the research community but also to provide the basis for science-based decision making by planners, emergency managers, and other professionals. (Anderson, 2007, p. vii)

Disasters are not isolated "events"; they are best understood as a dynamic series of interactions between stakeholders and the ecological environment that defines the resilience of individuals and society. Disasters are precipitated by a potential or realized hazard event (e.g., wildfire, drought, tornado, pandemic, terrorist activity) that disrupts normal routines (Quarantelli, 2005). But it is the interaction of the hazard event with the social and environmental context in which it occurs that creates the disaster. From this perspective, the stakeholders of interest include the populations affected by a disaster, the agencies with responsibility for managing resources for dealing with disasters, the media, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

Adopting this perspective on disasters reveals a broad set of behaviors by a diverse set of stakeholders. This perspective embraces the typical phases of a disaster—mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery—but

diverges from mainstream disaster management thought (e.g., Mileti, 1999) because we conceptualize these phases as dynamic, fluid, and cyclical, rather than linear. The hazard event is a defining moment in a disaster, but it is not the only event that engenders behavioral responses (Baker & Mason, 2012). The present focus is on influencing collective responses to diminish the impact of hazardous events.

This chapter applies social marketing concepts to the disaster cycle. Social marketing imposes an exchange perspective on understanding how individuals and organizations will respond to a disaster. This compels a consideration of how stakeholders will perceive the benefits and costs of various potential responses, which in turn provides a means for identifying how the costs associated with undertaking mitigative or recovery actions can be reduced, thus enhancing resilience at all stages of the disaster cycle (National Academies, 2012).

Given that the ultimate outcome of social marketing is to influence behavior, this chapter focuses on behaviors during the disaster cycle. In social marketing, changing current behaviors to prevention-oriented behaviors may be the goal (e.g., instead of storing wood near the home, move the wood pile away from the home), or the goal may be to prevent people from engaging in behaviors that can result in negative outcomes (e.g., building a home on a flood plain). The focus is on both natural and human-induced disasters through the lens of social marketing as a way to mitigate future risk and build resilience in individuals, communities, society, and the environment.

In some cases, social marketing is used in part to counter the potentially negative consequences of certain behaviors for individuals and society, such as building a wooden deck attached to a home in a fire-prone area. In other situations, social marketing may be used in support of policies unrelated to commercial marketing, such as encouraging vulnerable populations (e.g., children, elderly, those with compromised immune systems) to get flu shots before the beginning of flu season or recommending that consumers living in communities in which there has been a flu outbreak wash their hands frequently. Social marketing efforts can be conducted by various entities, including commercial companies (e.g., Home Depot providing disaster-preparedness kits, businesses in communities providing educational support for disaster preparedness during Hurricane Preparedness Month); NGOs (e.g., the American Red Cross using social media to provide vital support information, such as where to go for disaster relief); and government agencies (e.g., the Federal Emergency Management Agency [FEMA] ensuring that trailers or other forms of infrastructure are available to communities that have been devastated).

The social marketing process must include both upstream and downstream stakeholders to be effective at influencing knowledge, attitudes, and behavior across the disaster cycle. Downstream marketing directs marketing and education efforts at the group whose behavior is the target of an influence attempt (e.g., linking individuals through Facebook to provide support and help to their community members in need, providing incentives that increase perceived benefits or decrease perceived costs from behaviors that have positive social consequences). Upstream marketing targets lawmakers, the media, and others to persuade them that a particular public policy issue is sufficiently important to take action (e.g., mandating high-risk insurance for those who do not engage in defensible space behaviors, changing zoning regulations to restrict building in flood-prone areas). Social marketing can also be a useful tool for disaster relief organizations by identifying the vulnerable population segments most in need of subsistence supplies and replacement of material possessions lost during a disaster. It can identify and aid in the development of needed infrastructure to ensure recovery from a hazard event.

This chapter is organized as follows. First, we discuss what disasters are and are not as well as how social marketing can use the full extent of its influence tools to build resilience before, during, and after a disaster. We illustrate ways in which the tools from social marketing—research, targeting, segmenting, positioning, communication, and delivery—can be applied throughout the four phases of the disaster cycle. We demonstrate that, from a social marketing perspective, knowledge of social and historical factors, stakeholders' beliefs, and policies and regulations can be helpful in understanding, predicting, and influencing behavior. We close the chapter with recommendations for future research and a discussion of policy implications for marketers and public policy stakeholders.

The Impact and Concept of Disaster

Material, social, and ecological devastation from natural disasters occurred at an unprecedented rate in the first decade of the 21st century. Worldwide, fewer disasters were reported in 2011 than in any year in the previous decade, yet disaster losses were more extensive than in any other year during the same time period (Information Week Government, 2012). A total of 336 events cost more than $365.5 billion, with more than half of those losses attributed to the earthquake and tsunami in Japan in March 2011. Between 1980 and 2012 the United States experienced 144 weather disasters where costs reached or exceeded $1 billion (adjusted to 2012 dollars; National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 2013). In 2012 the

highest-cost events came from the years-long drought in the southern United States and Hurricane Sandy. The largest annual loss was in 2005, largely attributable to Hurricane Katrina, considered to be the costliest Atlantic hurricane in U.S. history, with losses of $81.2 billion and more than 1,800 fatalities (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 2013; Guion, Scammon, & Borders, 2007). The growing impact of these events, ironically, may be a simultaneous consequence of greater poverty and greater affluence (Bankoff, 2001).

Such devastating events call into question the long-term viability of certain communities, such as the Ninth Ward in New Orleans; Greensburg, Kansas; Bay Head, New Jersey; Porte-au-Prince, Haiti; and Natori, Japan. The well-being of residents living in these communities was threatened or destroyed, and the fabric of community life was changed forever. Hurricanes, tornadoes, earthquakes, school shootings, acts of terrorism—these events leave us all with questions about how we can manage and protect our lives and communities. What have we done to prepare ourselves for such events? What should we do during the onslaught of these disasters? What can we do to recover if such events transpire in our lives and communities?

Scholars in a variety of disciplines (e.g., anthropology, economics, engineering, geography, public health, psychology) have debated for years how to conceptualize and define disasters. In the social sciences, there is general agreement around three fundamental criteria: (1) a disaster is a social phenomenon, meaning that a natural or man-made event (hazard) is the source of the damage, but the disaster occurs in the social processes around the event; (2) disasters are rooted in the social structure of the affected community, meaning that the hazard exposes previous social problems or builds social cohesion; and (3) the internal capabilities of an affected community are overwhelmed in a disaster, making the community and its members dependent on external resources (Baker, 2009; Perry, 2007).

Traditionally, the disaster literature has considered the various stages of a disaster as discrete steps in a linear process that evolves from stage to stage, as an event progresses from the risk mitigation phase into a warning that a disaster is approaching, then the arrival of the event, followed by recovery. Once the recovery phase is completed, the linear process begins again with mitigation occurring during the "quiet time" to help reduce the risk from the next event.

More recently, the process has been considered in a dynamic context (de Smet, Plessers, Letens, and Leysen, 2012). This is important because it provides a more integrated systems view that allows for continuous

feedback loops in the disaster cycle. Each type of natural disaster has a unique set of characteristics that can be captured in such a process. For example, wildfires and floods generally allow for a warning period that permits those potentially affected to evacuate or take other preventive measures during the preparation phase. In contrast, an event such as an earthquake can occur without warning, so any preparation has to be done during the mitigation phase of the cycle. The following figure illustrates the dynamics of the disaster cycle, with the various arrows reflecting the options for moving between the stages of the cycle.

As the figure illustrates, the dynamics of a wildfire event allow for the possibility that during the mitigation phase, homeowners are actively undertaking risk-reduction behaviors such as trimming trees and clearing brush. This is then followed by a red-flag warning that a fire has started or conditions are prime for an event to occur, so homeowners should begin preparations for evacuation, if necessary, or to stay and defend, if that is their choice. Next, the wildfire arrives, and homeowners must implement their response plans of either evacuating or staying and defending. After that, as the figure shows, two alternative scenarios are possible. Following the event, there may be another impending disaster, such as a flood, as was the case with the 2002 Hayman Fire in Colorado (Martin, Martin, & Kent, 2009). Homeowners would then move back to the preparation phase to get ready for the potential flood and then on to the response and recovery phases before beginning the cycle again.

The dynamics of an earthquake would follow a different path in the figure. The science of earthquake prediction is still evolving. A recent earthquake in southern California was predicted 30 seconds prior to the event, which is hardly enough time for the preparation phase of the cycle to be applicable to the analysis. Therefore, the dynamics of such an event would be a direct path from the mitigation phase (e.g., having water supplies, a first-aid kit, a contact plan, and an evacuation plan) to the response phase and then to the recovery phase.

A recent article in *The New York Times* (Wald, 2013) clearly demonstrated the dynamics of the disaster cycle. The article discussed the response to the Fukushima nuclear accident in northern Japan. The discussion of the damage to the Fukushima nuclear plant from the March 2011 earthquake and resulting tsunami clearly demonstrated the dynamic feedback structure illustrated in Figure 4.1. For example, during the mitigation phase, plans for evacuation were developed that were implemented following the earthquake. Following the response to the earthquake, the system moved to the preparedness phase because a second disaster, the tsunami, was imminent. Immediately after the response to both of these

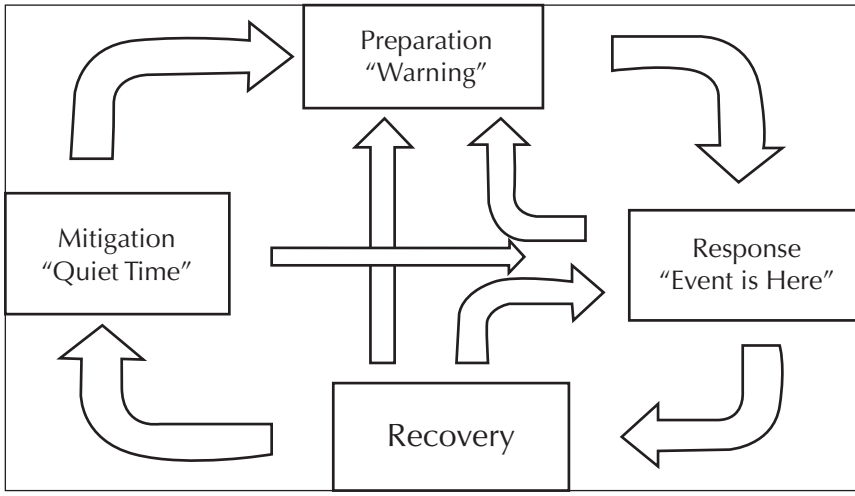

Figure 4.1 The disaster cycle.

events, the recovery phase began. Concurrent with the recovery was a reevaluation of existing action plans for both types of disasters. This was evident in a recently released draft report by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) that proposed changes to existing implementation plans. This demonstrates that the positive and negative feedback loops inherent in a dynamic system are fully captured in Figure 4.1 and are evident in what has become known as the Fukushima disaster.

The disaster cycle focuses on preparing, preventing, and responding to problems associated with the occurrence of an event that affects members of social groups, the economy, and the physical environment. In each of these scenarios, social marketing strategies should reflect the dynamics of the natural disaster. The strategy for wildfires will likely be very different than the strategy for an earthquake or a pandemic.

For example, Guion and colleagues (2007) presented a case study of Hurricane Katrina, parsing out roles and responsibilities across the four phases of the disaster cycle. The authors proposed a shift away from a focus on specific hazard events (e.g., tornadoes, hurricanes) to a focus on particular experiences and activities that are manageable. They suggest a social marketing approach in which human and consumer needs serve as the foundation for management solutions at the economic and physical (e.g., infrastructure, naturescape) levels.

By taking a social marketing perspective in this chapter, we strive to increase awareness of and facilitate the reduction of gaps in the social,

economic, and physical structures of society. Harwell (2000) argued that a focus on economic estimates of damage often causes us to overlook the experiences of the actual victims and to disempower their voices in the management of their daily lives, affecting the community's resilience. Communication must be spontaneous, dynamic, and organic rather than top-down or controlled by the speaker if it is to preserve the nature and the integrity of the affected stakeholders. A social marketing approach uses the voices of the affected publics as a guide for offering solutions that embrace the historical, ecological, social, and economic realities of people's lives. Disaster planners can increase community resilience by leveraging the skills of marketers through the use of both traditional and new social media strategies.

The National Academies (2012) defines resilience as the process of preparing, planning, adapting, absorbing, and recovering from adverse events. The concept of adaptation transforms resilience into a dynamic process rather than an end point; thus, the disaster cycle can benefit from the upstream (e.g., agencies) and downstream (e.g., individuals, communities) integration of social marketing strategies to promote and enhance resilience in all phases of the cycle. Social marketers need to work with policymakers, all levels of government, NGOs, communities, and other stakeholders to determine what needs to be anticipated and planned for in a disaster. This means developing strategies to communicate what needs to be done across this dynamic process and to influence behavior at all phases so that stakeholders will engage in risk reduction, thus resulting in a new status quo.

Integrating Social Marketing into the Disaster Cycle

Social marketing can be integrated with legal and educational mandates to provide incentives for individuals to act in ways that minimize individual risks and social costs (Rothschild, 1999). These tools can be helpful in developing and addressing marketing and public policy strategies. Through the use of social marketing strategies, any individual or organization that is trying to help a community through the disaster cycle explicitly adopts a segmentation perspective. By identifying "teachable moments," marketers can effectively and efficiently communicate and develop strategies for both upstream and downstream stakeholders (Andreasen, 2006).

Traditionally, the teachable moments occur immediately after the disaster has struck, as communities are pulling themselves out of the rubble and searching for the path toward recovery. This type of learning must occur for all stakeholder groups. Marketers argue that both upstream and

downstream approaches must be integrated to ensure that all groups are aligned to work cooperatively and effectively to enhance the resilience of the community. A similar philosophy has been prevalent in on-the-ground recovery actions. For example, the decision to build a new levee system around New Orleans was made after the devastation of Hurricane Katrina, even though the Army Corp of Engineers knew before the hurricane that the levees were not the solid structures needed to protect the communities in that area. We believe there is a need to link the feedback loops of the disaster cycle with opportunities to teach stakeholders how to cope with and prepare for any eventuality.

Using social marketing strategies can be an effective way of directly influencing behaviors across all phases of the disaster cycle to mitigate future risks and support the recovery and resilience of communities. Another important tenet of social marketing is segmenting the population and developing programs targeted specifically to the identified segments. For instance, with regard to an influenza pandemic, several segments can be identified within the general population. At-risk groups might be identified, for example, by age, chronic disease status, or pregnancy status. Messages instructing at-risk individuals to obtain vaccinations might help increase risk-protective behaviors in this segment. Individuals likely to be exposed to the flu because they work in densely populated environments might be encouraged to wash their hands frequently. The existence of a pandemic could also be looked at as a teachable moment for members of the general population, who might be more sensitive to the value of risk-protective behaviors and could be encouraged to consider vaccinations and personal hygiene behavior changes in advance of future, predictable seasonal flu epidemics.

In contrast, upstream social marketing tactics target a completely different set of stakeholders, including lawmakers, the media, disaster relief agencies, and other critical groups, to persuade them that a particular public policy issue is sufficiently important to take action. One example of this is mandating high insurance rates for those who build their homes in flood plains. A recent example involving the use of a social marketing message is the offer by New York's Governor Cuomo in January 2013 to buy property along the coast where Hurricane Sandy victims had lost homes and suffered property damage (NYT.com, 2013). It is in the recovery phase when such a social marketing strategy is most likely to be accepted.

Another example of a teachable moment that applies to upstream stakeholders comes from Hurricane Katrina. Many residents of New Orleans were pet owners, and many stayed behind and did not evacuate the city because there was nowhere for them to take their pets; some individuals

who relied upon service animals were not accommodated in evacuation centers because their companions were not accepted. The spotlight on this issue led to changes in the legal definition of service animals, the requirement that evacuation centers establish accommodations for service animals, and a number of other changes in laws (Leonard & Scammon, 2007).

In essence, this becomes a framing issue. How do we frame each phase of the disaster cycle so that the tripartite classification of education, law, and social marketing can be integrated to guide effective downstream and upstream strategies (Rothschild, 1999)? Social marketing recognizes that a one-size-fits-all approach is likely to be less effective than one tailored to the unique needs of specific segments. A social marketing approach can help identify what to say, when to say it, how to say it, and where to say it across the entire disaster cycle, much like marketers do with a brand's marketing plan (i.e., the 4 P's—product, price, place, and promotion). As marketers, we bring special skills to creating and influencing continued behavioral change. The challenge for policy analysts is to determine effective ways to use the power of marketers for social good beyond the marketplace—to provide improvements for individuals, communities, regions, and society (Andreasen, 2006).

No matter how much individuals act to reduce the risks of disasters across the disaster cycle, there is no guarantee that their actions will protect them sufficiently from the uncontrollable effects of a disaster. Understanding the relationship between outcome uncertainty and how stakeholders evaluate risk based on controllability, voluntariness, and catastrophic potential should guide policy choices (Martin et al., 2009; Slovic, 1987). Integrating all stakeholders into the process in a systematic manner can be facilitated through the tools available to us as marketers. What social marketers can add to the study of disasters is an understanding of what different segments of stakeholders need and want (i.e., customer centricity) and how to communicate, influence change, and build resilience at the individual, community, and societal levels.

Next, this chapter discusses the influences of social marketing across the disaster cycle, paying special attention to three key issues. First, whose responsibility is it when it comes to protection from disaster events? The examination of this issue includes a focus on the well-being of communities, vulnerable groups, and the physical environment. The literature on disasters has found that some people in most disasters and most people in some disasters are more passive, especially during the mitigation and recovery phases of the disaster cycle. Second, how do social and historical factors guide stakeholders through the disaster cycle? What are the

underlying beliefs that guide the various stakeholder groups, and how does trust of others influence these beliefs? Finally, should policy decisions be made in a top-down process driven by experts and authorities, or should they be made in a bottom-up process guided by the experiences and needs of individual stakeholder groups? Or is there a role for both of these processes in the disaster cycle?

These questions include some basic assumptions, such as "one size does not fit all," consistent with the tenets of social marketing (Andreasen, 2006). Individuals, communities, and agencies have different characteristics, resources, and objectives that guide their knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors. We use these three key issues as a way to frame how social marketing can be integrated into the four phases of the disaster cycle.

Phase I (Mitigation or Quiet Time)

Mitigation or the "quiet time" is the phase of the disaster cycle during which stakeholders take stock of what needs to be done to prepare for an eventual disaster. Social marketing efforts can be effective in maintaining social memory to promote community and individual resilience during this planning phase. Using creativity and targeted approaches, social marketers can act as educators and communicators to draw attention to past experiences and point out lessons to be learned for the future. An example is the inclusion of local disaster histories and narratives in school curricula in California, where earthquakes, wildfires, and landslides are a way of life. The mitigation stage is the point at which significant investments in disaster preparedness should be made. The timeframe allows for the discussion, evaluation, and development of long-term investments to build community resilience for facing future disasters.

During the quiet phase, the primary focus is on assessing what needs to be done and the resources available to meet those needs, as well as actually undertaking the investment in infrastructure and other capacity-building actions. Unlike the mitigation phase, the preparation phase doesn't allow for the implementation of major investments. In the preparation phase, people are warned that the event is coming and must implement the plan and use the investments made during mitigation. In other words, there is no time to build a levee during the preparation phase.

The primary objective of the upstream process is to create and implement significant mitigation investments so that communities and individuals are prepared for any type of disaster, thus building community resilience. These investments require both time and resources and thus must be planned with both short- and longer-term horizons. For example,

if a storm surge is expected in 72 hours, boarding up windows is a feasible short-term strategy. In contrast, building a levee is a long-term investment strategy requiring the buy-in of upstream stakeholder groups. The assessment of what needs to be done upstream is an example of social marketing's reliance on market research. The assessment will be driven by the technical analysis of the physical effects of a disaster on a community (e.g., which low-lying land will be flooded or which buildings cannot withstand a 7.0 earthquake).

Social marketing can contribute by providing a realistic understanding of how stakeholders will respond to a disaster. For example, a technical needs assessment may reveal that if a tornado strikes in a certain location, many people will be at risk unless they take shelter. It may reveal that a person in a public storm shelter is safer than a person in the basement of a school, and that a person in the basement of a school or in a home storm shelter is safer than a person covered by blankets in a bathtub.

The local and federal agencies in Ruidoso, New Mexico, developed a crisis management organization with the goal of engaging the community in mitigation activities prior to a hazard event. This included preparedness workshops that employed demonstrations and on-the-ground activities such as illustrations of how to develop defensible space strategies around a home. These demonstrations provided a picture of what happens when homeowners clear away flammable material as opposed to not clearing it away (Martin, Martin, & Raish, 2004). These are the types of strategies that social marketers can publicize through YouTube videos, Facebook sites, blogs, microblogs, and other forms of social media to influence stakeholder behaviors.

Finding ways to support consumption behaviors among vulnerable communities and individuals is an important role for social marketers in the mitigation phase. For example, in Ruidoso, New Mexico, the U.S. Forest Service will partner with local logging companies to provide wood chippers and places to dispose of flammable material. Organizing these types of community events can aid vulnerable individuals (e.g., disabled homeowners, low-income residents, part-time residents) in reducing their risks while also helping the community develop "hardiness" as a pathway to resilience (Maddi, 2012).

Social marketing can help predict how people will actually behave when there is a disaster warning. A common finding is that people tend to greatly underestimate their personal risk from threats related to disasters and delay taking protective actions (Slovic, 1987). This suggests that when a community's needs are assessed, the analysis must take into account more than just whether people will take cover and the resources needed to

provide the greatest level of protection if people act in a timely manner. The assessment must also consider the barriers to individuals and groups taking action and ways that those barriers can be minimized.

An upstream effort requires a large array of resources that can be provided by a wide variety of sources. During the quiet phase, social marketing can be used to assess the organizational resources that might be deployed to support an effort to make a substantive public mitigation investment. The key contribution that social marketing can make is to provide insight into what might motivate each targeted stakeholder. To some degree, they will all be motivated by a desire to minimize community loss—that is, the totality of the harm that the community would suffer from a disaster if mitigation investments were not made. Social marketing augments this perspective by viewing the willingness of organizations or individuals to support an upstream effort as a function of their evaluation of the benefits and costs associated with doing so (Andreasen, 2006). This leads to two new considerations.

Social marketing's focus on segmentation suggests disaggregating the totality of harm into those aspects that will affect specific components of the community that are of particular concern to the organizations and individuals who control resources. An organization's level of concern reflects its core mission, which might be defined in terms of representing a particular geographic or demographic constituency (e.g., the Ninth Ward, the elderly, African Americans). The core mission could also be defined in terms of advancing a particular public goal (e.g., public health, economic growth, the natural environment). Often, core missions are very specific (e.g., protecting endangered birds, alleviating hunger among children). Individuals' passions are also likely to be highly focused; in the case of politicians, such passions probably reflect what is important to their constituents.

During the quiet phase, it is also imperative to map the downside of not investing in disaster mitigation infrastructure. This cost-benefit analysis allows the organizations and individuals who control resources to determine what is most efficacious. For example, if a storm surge will primarily destroy low-lying neighborhoods where poor African American people live, the initial assessment could be that the primary resources available are those in the vulnerable community, organizations that represent that community, and organizations that take a holistic view of the community. The process of disaggregation might identify additional organizations and individuals who would be highly motivated to invest resources in the mitigation phase. For example, there are organizations focused on the health and welfare of children, education, pets, the elderly, historic structures, flora, and fauna that might lie in the surge's path.

A second way that a social marketing perspective can be useful is in identifying the segments (or stakeholders) that might benefit from mitigation actions. Mitigation investment itself will typically be associated with significant benefits for some organizations. These benefits are independent of the actual loss-mitigation properties of the investment. The primary potential beneficiaries of such investment are private companies that build or sell investment-related products and services; professional associations and unions that can provide the human resources to build, sell, or staff the investments; government agencies that could receive increased resources or authority to build or manage the investments; and the chairs of legislative committees whose power will increase when the budget (and level of control) increases for the agencies under their purview. For example, building a levee provides profits for construction companies and jobs for construction workers, increases the budget of the Army Corp of Engineers, and provides politicians with a pot of money to be allocated among supporters.

During the quiet phase, different possible investments will be considered and compared to determine which is the "best" investment of resources. Social marketing suggests that investments should be evaluated on more than a strictly economic basis (i.e., the extent to which they provide community loss prevention on a per-dollar basis). Political feasibility should also be considered, and this should take into account the political power of the organizations that will benefit from the investment.

The substantive mitigation investments that are the product of the upstream process can prevent or reduce the physical toll exacted by a disaster. In addition, there are many other factors that can influence the degree of harm caused by a disaster and the ability of a community to recover. We focus on three such factors: communicating, deploying resources, and building mutual trust. We do so because the resources required to be effective cannot be created quickly during a time of need—that is, during the disaster preparation and response phases.

Preparing to Communicate

From a social marketing perspective, effective communication requires making people aware of the message and persuading them to engage in the desired behavior. Social marketing focuses on behavior change in addition to information dissemination; knowledge can be an instrumental—but not the terminal—objective (Andreasen, 2006). This approach was exemplified in 2002 when public meetings in Minnesota and Washington began the process of disseminating information about the potential for an

influenza pandemic. This included a discussion of how to ethically distribute scarce, life-saving medical resources if a crisis did emerge (National Academies, 2012). The process included informing stakeholders and developing a method to engage in action through a collaboration of various stakeholder groups.

Communication must be tailored both in terms of sources and content. Efficacy will be driven by the receiver's characteristics rather than the source's intent. How stakeholders respond will be strongly influenced by their past experiences with prior disaster events, communication regarding those events, and the sources of that communication. A critical step in the communication process is identifying the most effective information source.

Social marketing can make three contributions to the problem of identifying effective sources. The first is to remind all stakeholders that a disaster is a problem that requires long-term investment and preparation. For example, the ubiquitous emergency broadcast system alert that breaks into media programming is only effective if the target market is watching or listening to the programming. It is well established that the sources used by different stakeholders will vary dramatically by stakeholder characteristics (e.g., socioeconomic, demographic, psychographic) and their motivating goals. Recent research has found that in a disaster, the sources used will vary with both the stage of the disaster and the nature of the individual's concern (Guion et al., 2007).

The second contribution social marketing can make is the use of conventional marketing research tools to either identify a set of sources that are capable of reaching at-risk segments both upstream and downstream or to identify the "best" set of sources as well as specific segments that cannot be reached by extant channels of communication. Prior research has demonstrated that the way in which people respond to a message is strongly influenced by source characteristics, the message, and the recipients' extant beliefs (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984). Important source characteristics include expertise, likeability, and trustworthiness.

The initial contribution marketing makes to disaster management is conceptual, because social marketing uses a receiver perception-based definition of source credibility rather than an objective expert-based definition. Thus, how a segment assesses a source's credibility is a question that must be answered by social marketers. Expert authorities, such as the National Weather Service (NWS), and political authorities, such as mayors and governors, should not simply assume that they are credible. Their trustworthiness and credibility is linked to their past behavior during crises. For example, the credibility of FEMA dropped dramatically when director Michael Brown failed to prepare for the onslaught of Hurricane

Katrina, whereas Governor Chris Christie's immediate and nonpartisan approach to getting the needed resources for New Jersey before, during, and after Hurricane Sandy immediately raised his credibility (and political popularity).

Social marketing can use research tools to identify the sources that a target segment views as being credible and the factors that contribute to source credibility or the lack thereof. This is a dynamic process because people's knowledge about sources is dynamic. For example, when storm surge warnings are issued and there is no storm surge, or tornado sirens sound and there is no tornado, the veridicality of the source may diminish. More important, though, is knowing which sources various stakeholders find useful and credible. Providing information about the actions that various stakeholders can take to mitigate risk through sources that are not used will not be effective no matter how creative the message. For example, a message targeted to a Spanish-speaking segment that is placed in a newspaper with an English-speaking audience may never reach the intended recipients.

Assessing underlying factors such as expertise, likeability, and trustworthiness should be part of the marketing research. Only by assessing these factors can any reasonable direction be given to the tasks of choosing sources and crafting messages that are both useful and persuasive. In developing the Great California Shakeout (a large public earthquake drill), research conducted by planners from numerous upstream agencies found that downstream individuals and communities were less interested in the probability of an earthquake and more interested in learning what concrete risk-reduction actions they should undertake and how to accomplish those tasks.

Social media strategies should be integrated with traditional media and educational endeavors to engage individuals and communities in the mitigation of risks, thus calling them to action. This integration will be most effective when the different needs of specific segments are clearly elucidated by social marketers.

The third contribution that social marketing can make is in augmenting or taking advantage of the credibility of sources employed across the stages of the disaster cycle. In a recent study of consumers' searches on the Internet for information related to the flu, Liang and Scammon (2013) found that searching for information about prevention strategies was positively correlated with the availability of primary care providers in a state. The authors speculated that primary care providers are perceived as a highly credible source for health information and that they play an important role in encouraging individuals to use the Internet to increase their knowledge about what they can do to protect themselves from flu outbreaks. Identifying and/

or establishing such influential sources can be an effective way of ensuring that messages will be received and reinforced.

Preparing to Deploy Social Marketing Strategies

During all phases of the disaster cycle, resources are critical. Broadly, these fall into three categories: public, private, and those controlled by NGOs (e.g., the Red Cross). During the preparation phase, these resources can make individual disaster mitigation investments and/or provide political support for collective investments to build societal resilience. Both during and after a disaster, such resources are critical for survival and recovery. During the quiet time, the issue is needs assessment; it is also necessary to lay the groundwork for resource coordination for vulnerable stakeholders. For example, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) must research and develop plans to engage stakeholders in the prevention of pandemics. The CDC has developed a variety of resources, which are available on its website (www.CDC.org), that can be used by local health departments and schools. Examples include plans for storing and distributing vaccines and programs for educating children and engaging their parents in planning for protection from communicable diseases.

Assessing the available resources and how to deploy or allocate them is critical in the mitigation phase. First, upstream stakeholders must assess the resources that different organizations can bring to the table. Second, the upstream stakeholders must be motivated to act or engage in developing an effective strategy to deploy those resources. The core of the social marketing approach to assessing motivation is the assumption that organizations will act in their own self-interest. They will evaluate the benefits and costs associated with providing resources and act if the benefits exceed the costs. Of course, each organization will be concerned with its own physical well-being (i.e., structures, employees, etc.).

When assessing an organization's motivation to contribute resources, is important to consider the extent to which the mitigated harms tie into the organization's core mission. For example, if the potential disaster is a storm surge, environmental groups should be a resource for preserving natural barriers, local health care providers should be a resource for caring for vulnerable segments of the population, and community organizations that represent particular geographic areas or demographic segments should be resources for communicating with their constituents and helping them respond in the initial stages. The role of national relief organizations such as the American Red Cross includes planning and communicating their roles and available resources in the event of a disaster.

To demonstrate their commitment to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) as part of the "triple bottom line," many commercial companies include social good as part of their core mission. An example is the partnership between Dell and the American Red Cross to develop the Social Media Digital Operations Center for Humanitarian Relief (American Red Cross, 2012). This partnership brings together a for-profit company and a relief agency to create the social media infrastructure needed to aid in communication across the disaster cycle. Dell brings expertise and a commitment to its core mission of CSR to the partnership, which aims to provide resources that leverage both partners' standard business practices.

For upstream stakeholders, the social marketing challenge in the mitigation phase of the disaster cycle is threefold. The first challenge is to view a potential disaster from the perspective of organizations that have significant resources. The task here is to identify the negative outcomes or mitigation activities tied to each organization's core mission. The second challenge is to communicate to stakeholder groups the negative consequences of the disaster and how each organization can mitigate these consequences. The third challenge is to lay the groundwork for coordination across stakeholder groups in preparation for the next phase of the disaster cycle, thereby continuing the process of building resilience into the system.

An integral part of the mitigation phase is the creation of multi-organizational plans that guide coordinated actions during the disaster cycle. It is during the quiet time that relationships and trust can be built and enhanced among organizations. Prior research has demonstrated that an effective way to build relationships and trust is through interaction and communicating a common fate (Ostrom, 1998; Wiener & Doescher, 1991, 1994). This suggests the importance of bringing together the leaders of important organizations to focus on the mitigation phase of the disaster cycle. Such collaborations could focus on participating in the creation of a community event that encompasses the entire community, such as a music festival to raise money for a tornado shelter in an underprivileged neighborhood. Research has found that joining together for a simple "risk-free" purpose has positive effects on the willingness of people to join together for a more significant "high-risk" activity (Ostrom, 1998). Such willingness is also based on the development of mutual trust among stakeholder groups.

Mutual Trust between Individuals

By definition, a disaster is a collective event. The community is warned; the community is struck; the community must recover. At all phases of the disaster cycle, there are potential tensions between short-term individual

self-interest and the collective good. Actions (individual or organizational) will reflect both self-interest and self-assessment of each individual's situation. Self-interest is a narrower focus than community loss mitigation or recovery. For example, when a storm is coming, a common problem is hoarding. Store shelves are stripped bare as early arrivers end up with a surfeit and late arrivers get nothing. When the storm strikes, some people will refuse to evacuate, and others will wait until the last minute and create human or auto traffic jams. In the immediate aftermath, some people might return to loot. During recovery, conflicts often arise over how relief supplies are distributed.

A challenge is to either broaden perceived self-interest or construct an effective response by integrating multiple individual relief efforts. This is a challenge at the upstream level, where significant investments must be the product of a coalition of diverse interest groups. This challenge is also found at the downstream level, where so many situations are social dilemmas. Social dilemma theory suggests that how a party will act in a dilemma setting is strongly influenced by the degree to which that party trusts others to behave cooperatively and the party's confidence that if all do behave cooperatively, all will do well (Wiener & Doescher, 1991, 1994). During the quiet time, developing plans for future disasters requires the trust and confidence of stakeholder groups as they come together to move the community toward preparedness and resilience.

Marketing research tools, both quantitative and qualitative, can be used to gauge extant levels of mutual trust and confidence. It is particularly important to adopt a holistic approach to understanding trust. The level of trust that exists in a community may well reflect historical events (e.g., does one group view another as having exploited it?) as well as current living patterns (e.g., the degree of segregation by race or class). The looting that follows disasters, as happened after the 1992 Los Angeles riots and Hurricane Katrina, is often portrayed as members of a class who feel exploited taking from those who represent the exploiters. The level of trust among community members may reflect the community's shared self-image, either as a strong community of people who pull together in a crisis and help one another or as a city of strangers pursuing their own individual self-interests. For example, the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing ignited a sense of commonality rooted in the shared myth of being settlers who helped one another survive.

Prior to the 1994 Northridge earthquake in Los Angeles, community preparedness was achieved through neighborhood clusters. These clusters were encouraged to prepare family communication plans, emergency lighting, and other readiness actions during the mitigation phase.

For example, in the Bel Air neighborhood, during the mitigation phase, neighbors came together and made sure that each home had a red flag and a green flag to indicate its status following an earthquake. During the recovery phase, designated neighbors checked houses displaying red flags, which signaled that help was needed. These neighbors essentially were on their own during this time, but they came together as a community to help each other. Social marketers can provide support to communities like Bel Air to help them prepare for an eventual (or immediate) hazard event. For example, hardware stores provided the flags that community members could purchase for their preparedness packages. Alternatively, cities or communities could provide the flags for use in preparedness kits free of charge or for a minimal fee.

Although trust levels have long roots into the past, research has suggested that actions can be taken to enhance mutual trust. During the quiet phase, the most important trust-building actions are communication and the creation of a sense of common fate. Communication involves bringing people together so that they can see and perhaps meet others who are not like themselves. Social marketing can be used to develop creative means of building ties between community members. For example, social media may provide a very effective means for facilitating both communication and the construction of online communities that cut across traditional boundaries.

Phase II (Preparation)

The fundamental attribute of all disasters is loss. The goal of preparedness is to minimize the loss of life and property and maximize the resilience of people, property, and nature. At the preparation stage of the disaster cycle, there is a sense of preparedness as stakeholders begin to think about the impending disaster and what needs to be done to reduce the risk of negative outcomes. This is the point at which all stakeholders need to decide what immediate behaviors to actively engage in as the disaster nears. During the preparation phase, government agencies and NGOs pull out their disaster plans and start the coordination effort across agencies and communities. These coordinating agencies determine which actions will be immediately implementable and which ones will continue into the response and recovery phases of the disaster cycle.

Research has shown that people are more likely to focus on being prepared when they can understand the potential for loss and see how they can either prevent or minimize this loss (Paton, McClure, & Burgelt, 2006). Thus, social marketers should focus on communicating the types

of risk-reduction behaviors that individuals and communities can engage in. By providing easy-to-implement behaviors and actions along with the support needed to carry them out, communities can begin to effectively reduce the potential devastation from a disaster.

For example, although the tsunami that followed the 2011 earthquake in Japan was devastating, agencies and individuals were able to reduce the magnitude of the damage by using social media to communicate messages about the impending tsunami, even though the earthquake had severely damaged much of the local infrastructure. That earthquake and the subsequent tsunami provide a clear example of the dynamics of the disaster cycle: first, the earthquake occurred; then, the population immediately moved into the preparation phase for the tsunami; after that, everyone cycled back to the response phase. The dynamics of the two events are further captured by the movement from the mitigation phase to the response phase for the earthquake, and then following the earthquake, to preparation for the impending tsunami (see Figure 4.1).

Understanding the direct and indirect experiences of all stakeholders is an important starting point, because it allows social marketers to better pinpoint how to communicate and what to communicate to the target populations. Disaster expertise includes both direct experience with past disasters as well as subjective knowledge of the particular category of risk involved. In a study on wildfire risks, Martin and colleagues (2009) found that in preparing for an event, personal experience (both individual and community) can have a powerful impact on the recognition of risk and the willingness to protect oneself from that risk by reducing vulnerability.

Social marketers have the expertise to conduct the research needed to determine what and how to communicate and the most effective time to communicate to ensure that different stakeholder segments are receptive to and integrate the necessary information into their actions during the preparation phase. For example, in Australia, the severe bushfires that preface the increased risk of flooding have provided an opportunity for the media and government agencies to prepare individuals and communities. One means of achieving this was demonstrated by the Queensland Police Service (QPS), which used its social media engagement tools as a way to reach target segments. The result was an increase from 20,000 "likes" on the QPS Facebook profile to more than 160,000 likes in 3 days (Taylor, Wells, Howell, & Raphael, 2012).

Disaster subcultures emerge when repeated occurrences of a risk create a sense of vulnerability in communities (e.g., earthquakes and wildfires in California, tornadoes in Kansas and Oklahoma, hurricanes in the Gulf states). Research has shown that people in disaster subcultures tend to

accept particular risks as a part of life and are not as likely to adopt risk reduction strategies as others who do not belong to the same subculture (Tierney, 1994).

This was exemplified in the movie *Beasts of the Southern Wild* (Gottwald, Janvey, Penn, & Zeitlin, 2012) in which a southern Louisiana community was cut off from the rest of the world by a levee. The people in this community believed that they had to "stay the storm," and in preparing for its onslaught, they were driven by the fatalistic belief that although they would lose the battle against Mother Nature, it would be a battle well fought. When FEMA agents and rescue workers arrived and attempted to evacuate the residents, the rescuers were unprepared for the deep cultural bonds within the community and between the community and the land. The result was disastrous as the "government" attempted to "hunt down" and forcibly move community members into safe places; as people were brought in, others escaped through the "back door." This type of clash between downstream communities and upstream agencies can be minimized or mitigated through education efforts and work with community leaders. This is consistent with research by Guion and colleagues (2007), who found that the focus of preparation and response is often based on the needs of the responding agencies (e.g., FEMA) rather than the needs of the victims and survivors.

How can social marketers influence communities to prepare for and effectively reduce their level of vulnerability to an impending disaster, whether natural or man-made? When consumers are in a distressed state, they are motivated to get more information on the impending risks and to reduce the risks that they face (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984). People's beliefs about how capable they are of organizing and implementing the actions needed to manage a high-risk situation can be supported and enhanced through social marketing efforts. For example, providing information through government agencies on how to "stay and defend" property successfully during a wildfire event is an active strategy used by the Australian government. How this information is communicated is critical to the success of the strategy. Communication must be customized to fit the target audiences so that the intended audience not only attends to and understands the message, but acts upon it.

When individuals and communities perceive self-efficacy and believe that they are prepared to undertake risk-reduction actions, they are more likely to seek out information and be receptive to learning how to act. This is when social marketers can be the link that creates and communicates effective information to guide individuals through the preparation process.

What happens, though, when individuals or communities do not have the required infrastructure to take advantage of social media networks? This was the case in a northern California retirement community that lacked the communication infrastructure to support smartphone use, thus removing social media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, blogs) from the available communication choices (Martin, Martin, Horne, & Sutton, 2012). Social marketers are well equipped to understand and work within different segments when it comes to testing and refining messages and educational materials that can be actionable, memorable, and also speak the language of different cultures, subcultures, and educational levels.

Research on locus of responsibility has demonstrated repeatedly that individuals' beliefs about their personal responsibility to protect themselves and their property are correlated with their willingness to adopt and actual adoption of risk-reduction behaviors (Weinstein, 1989; Lindell & Whitney, 2000; Mulilis & Lippa, 1990). There is a strong cultural belief in the United States and other parts of the world that self-reliance means resistance to government actions that can interfere with individual rights. Research has consistently shown that individuals believe it is not the responsibility of the public sector to reduce the risks or the consequences of disasters; rather, they strongly believe in an individual sense of responsibility to protect their property and themselves (McGee & Russell, 2003).

Two important parts of an individual's relationship to the community are trust and responsibility. Trust is critical when the personal consequences of one's actions are contingent on the actions of others. Responsibility is critical because a disaster's potential and actual consequences are uneven (Winter & Fried, 2000). Whether people see the fate of others as their responsibility is influenced by their connection to the afflicted community.

In a study on wildfires in the western United States, Martin and colleagues (2009) found that individual and community risk perceptions mediate the relationship between people's sense of personal responsibility to protect themselves (and their property) and their probability of mitigating that risk. Thus, individuals living in high-risk areas are less likely to work together in a community to undertake risk preparation actions; instead, they determine in isolation what they are willing or not willing to do to protect themselves.

Martin and colleagues (2009) found that vacation homeowners were less likely than full-time residents to take an active role in reducing the vulnerability of the communities in which they lived because they believed that they were sufficiently insured. Also, these part-timers did not keep their family treasures and valuables in their vacation homes; instead,

these homes were viewed as a place to relax and enjoy being away from the "rat race." Thus, spending time developing defensible space around their homes was not high on their list of critical actions. These individuals did not feel as if their fates were tied to the fates of others in their vacation community and therefore lacked a sense of social responsibility within that community. This type of situation raises the dilemma of how social marketing efforts can be effectively used to ensure that such individuals do not create negative externalities for others and the environment.

By influencing people's subjective and objective knowledge of how to stay safe, social marketing strategies can encourage communities to protect themselves in preparation for an impending disaster. First, educating individuals and communities about the risks associated with a hazard will affect their perceptions of vulnerability, leading them to protect themselves and their property (Bandura, 1977, Martin, Bender, & Raish, 2007). For example, the city council in Ruidoso, New Mexico, runs a defensible space tutorial on the local television channel during the preparation phase of the disaster cycle to remind, teach, and encourage community members to take steps such as cleaning up their yards to eliminate material that poses a fire hazard. A second critical social marketing goal is motivating target segments to act to reduce their vulnerability.

Using targeted one-on-one information designed to encourage communities to be prepared for disasters has become a social marketing strategy used by both downstream and upstream stakeholder groups and implemented through the active use of social media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, blogs). This is evidenced by data collected online by researchers in Australia and New Zealand during the "summer of disasters 2011" (Taylor et al., 2012). Social networks can facilitate the provision of support and information to individuals within and across communities to help them prepare for the response phase (Martin et al., 2012). As mentioned previously, after the 2011 Japan earthquake and prior to the tsunami, microblogging through Twitter and Facebook became the easiest and most effective way for many people to communicate with family, rescue workers, and vulnerable members of communities in the stricken areas.

Because of the potential negative externalities or spillover effects created by individual actions or lack thereof, policymakers need to know the most effective policy tools and means to quickly motivate risk-reduction behaviors on private lands. One example is providing resources to agencies that can facilitate disaster preparedness in communities and regions. Another example is identifying and working with community gatekeepers such as the teacher in *Beasts of the Southern Wild* (Gottwald et al., 2012), who was a trusted member of the community and organized the evacuation of

children prior to the hurricane. In this instance, social marketers need to focus their efforts on the messages transmitted to policymakers in an upstream (pull) strategy.

Research based in protection motivation theory and decision stage theories (specifically, the transtheoretical model) has demonstrated that consumers' readiness to act to reduce risk varies based on the market segments to which they belong (e.g., Martin et al., 2007; Horwath, 1999). By eliciting protection motivation for vulnerable groups of individuals as well as communities, risk information can arouse, sustain, and direct activities for self-protection. The psychological risk paradigm has shown that consumers have a difficult time understanding and integrating risk probabilities, biased media coverage, and misleading personal experiences, which leads to either overestimation or underestimation of the level of risk (Slovic, 1987).

Social marketers can provide the framework, information, and infrastructure needed to help people take steps toward being prepared for an impending disaster. For example, using social marketing strategies to communicate the likelihood of an event arriving within the next two days along with recommendations for what should be done, such as boarding up windows, evacuating, and moving into a shelter, can provide vulnerable segments and communities with the information they need to protect themselves and their property from the disaster. In times like this, the most effective way to communicate can be through social media.

Another important factor in determining the degree of preparedness involves the impediments faced by consumers and communities at the onset of the disaster. For example, Martin and colleagues (2007) found that three different communities at high risk for wildfires were affected by both voluntary risks (e.g., past experience with wildfires, knowledge that insurance will replace property losses) and involuntary risks (e.g., the denseness of vegetation in the surrounding area, the belief that "lightning does not strike twice" or "Mother Nature is uncontrollable," neighbors' and agency inactions or actions). This is an area where social marketers can step in to move individuals toward understanding the importance of taking precautionary measures and toward actually taking action. For example, as an event is approaching, social marketers can use Facebook and Twitter to encourage people using these social networks to move to shelters, board up their homes, get flu vaccinations, and implement other preventive strategies. Most importantly, people need to feel that they have the knowledge, ability, and resources to deal with the risk at hand and that their actions will be efficacious. This will reduce their vulnerability as they move into the response phase and will prepare them to meet the disaster in an optimal manner.

Various stakeholder groups (e.g., policymakers; county, state, and federal disaster agencies; NGOs; insurance companies) have the difficult task of communicating the appropriate risk information and providing the needed infrastructure to facilitate mitigation of impending risks while also considering diverse constituent segments of the population. Establishing appropriate building codes for homes, shelters, and large public buildings in areas at high risk for earthquakes, tornadoes, hurricanes, or flooding; promoting stronger building codes to protect at-risk communities; improving communication, including social media use; ensuring that there are evacuation plans in place; and developing "telephone trees" and reverse 911 plans are all examples of actions that need to be taken by upstream stakeholders during the mitigation phase. Social marketing strategies can be used during the preparation phase to encourage implementation of such risk-reduction behaviors.

Decreasing the cost of self-protection can increase the likelihood that people will expand their set of risk-reduction behaviors and in turn build their resilience to face an impending disaster. It is important that upstream policymakers realize that not all stakeholders have the same level of risk tolerance. So, for example, to prevent an influenza epidemic, the CDC, medical facilities, and NGOs must tailor a set of options to engage different segments in risk preparedness. For example, the Red Cross and other NGOs can use social media to influence risk-reduction behaviors. Many stakeholders get their information from Facebook sites and use these sites to communicate the need for behaviors such as hand washing, getting vaccinated, and using hand sanitizer; such communication can influence people to adopt these preventive behaviors.

To get emergency managers to effectively use communication channels, especially social media, requires an "evangelist" who motivates them to adopt the needed tools (Natural Hazards Observer, 2013). Evangelists are key to the adoption of social media use during a crisis. A new social networking site, Nextdoor.com, is gaining in popularity as a way to connect people with similar needs and wants who live in close geographic proximity to each other. This tool could be used to create private social groups whose members are connected based on neighborhood or region; such groups could be focused on enhancing social cohesion and preparing for impending disasters.

Another way in which the Internet can serve as an important tool for emergency managers is as a bellwether of public risk perception. Consumers search the Internet for information about a variety of risks, and an analysis of these search queries can reveal how the public perceives a particular risk. Search terms related to different stages of the disaster cycle,

such as prevention and response, may reveal different levels of interest among the public regarding the various actions they might take. Using Internet searches as a proxy, Liang and Scammon (2013) found that risk perception was related to factors in the social environment. The volume of flu-related queries was predicted by the incidence of the flu and by social factors of the environment within which consumers searched the Internet, including media attention; private resources (e.g., income, education, life quality); and public resources (e.g., number of hospital beds, public resources spent on the risk). Web search volume data can inform policymakers and health professionals about the likely response of a population to current and emerging threats.

At the preparation stage of the disaster cycle, all affected stakeholders are faced with implementing the plans they developed in the mitigation phase to prepare for the impending event and then responding to the disaster as it hits the communities at risk to minimize loss of life and property. This is not always the case, though. In a *New York Times* article, tornado historian Thomas P. Grazulis stressed that "what shocked them about the powerful storm that struck Joplin, Missouri, was the toll in lives—more than 125 and counting. We thought we were done with the '100+ dead' tornadoes! With warnings and Doppler radar, there was strong feeling that we were done with this stuff" (Fountain, 2011).

One of the most common comments made about a disaster is surprise at how devastating it was or astonishment that it actually happened at all, even when all the prognosticators had predicted its eventuality. For example, tornado forecasting is an inexact science, and the NWS has a false alarm rate of 70 percent, which influences community willingness to respond. The NWS decided to change the wording of its warnings to include terms such as "unsurvivable," "mass devastation," and "catastrophic," reasoning that such terminology would motivate people to respond to the impending disaster and find shelter. Such motivation is especially important for at-risk populations such as disabled people, homeless individuals, the elderly, and those living in trailers or other inadequate structures.

Phase III (Response)

One issue of concern is the effect that strong terminology such as "unsurvivable" will have on the future credibility of those issuing the warnings when the forecasted destruction once again fails to materialize and the targeted audience tires of false alarms (Breznitz, 1984). Social marketers can help avoid this possibility by crafting effective messages, using appro-

priate channels of communication, and timing messages to move stakeholders from inaction to action during the response phase.

In 2011 Hurricane Irene devastated much of the infrastructure in Vermont, Massachusetts, and upstate New York. It was difficult to know which roads were open and which were closed. Within 24 hours of the hurricane, the Vermont Transportation Agency had a map on the Internet that showed which roads were closed and which were navigable. This type of real-time information allowed motorists and businesses to identify where they could travel and where they could not.

Using social media is an effective way to alert individuals and communities as to what is occurring in real time and to keep rumors from spreading. Patrick Meier, director of crisis mapping at Ushahidi, described how social media tools were able to control potentially damaging rumors during unrest in Kyrgyzstan (Stephens, 2012). The rumors included claims that humanitarian aid supplies were poisoned and that cross-border attacks were being led by various ethnic groups. To control a possible human disaster, aid workers used Skype to verify and dispel rumors; such trusted individuals are the gatekeepers who can help keep disasters from spreading (Whipple, 2011). As described earlier, Nextdoor.com is another social media tool that can be very effective at enhancing communication between members of social networks who are in close proximity and have similar needs.

Many times, public communication during a disaster tends to be disjointed, disordered, inconsistent, and rapidly changing, resulting in confusion and sometimes chaos (e.g., Hurricane Katrina; the Christchurch, New Zealand, earthquake). The message that the public receives is not just a matter of language; its meaning and impact are affected by the circumstance in which it is delivered, including who delivers it (source) and how it is delivered (channel). What social marketers bring to the table during the response phase is the ability to target messages in an effective way, through the most effective channels, and to time those messages so that they reach individuals while they are making choices about how to respond. This is especially critical for impending disasters that involve high levels of uncertainty and ambiguity, such as tornadoes and earthquakes.

For example, during the first few hours and days of a wildfire's approach toward a community, people's risk perceptions, sense of community and individual vulnerability, and behaviors are all in constant flux, because people are changing their perspectives in real time, much like the erratic behavior of the wildfire itself. Determining whether to act and what actions to take to respond to the threat are not one-time decisions but ones that can change instantaneously as the event unfolds and the available

information also changes, possibly dramatically. This is when social media, guided by the talents of social marketers, can be most effective. By taking advantage of the ability to provide constant readiness updates and focusing on the relationship between the intensity of the disaster and the characteristics of the target segments, social marketers can influence behaviors more effectively than ever before.

The choice of where to allocate resources during a disaster (e.g., buses to evacuate residents during a hurricane, plowing roads during a blizzard) is a critical decision for emergency managers. Communicating this information to other stakeholders is the flip side of the coin, with social marketers developing, integrating, and using both social and traditional media to complement each other.

For example, the American Red Cross's social media crisis monitoring center provides a link between upstream and downstream stakeholders (Information Week Government). The Red Cross has found that Americans are becoming more reliant on smartphones during emergencies to share information, including letting loved ones know where they are and that they are safe. This same behavior was used during the Japanese tsunami, with Twitter becoming the easiest and most reliable way of keeping in touch with relatives and also providing emergency information and phone numbers to isolated areas. Relief agencies used Twitter to post information for non-Japanese speakers and lists of shelters for those left homeless. Likewise, the Red Cross also has on-the-ground relief workers and volunteers who help disseminate relief information to ensure that victims and survivors have access to the products and services they need to decrease their risk of being further harmed.

We are seeing a basic change in how communities, governments, and NGOs are communicating during crises. During the Japanese tsunami, the U.S. State Department used Twitter to publish emergency phone numbers and to tell Japanese residents in the United States how to contact relatives in Japan. In the United States, FEMA has developed the "Whole Community" approach, which encourages participation, engagement, and communication from all stakeholders, including communities and individuals. The objective of this approach is to effectively leverage available resources and relationships in a stakeholder network that is based on knowledge and trust. These actions must continue throughout the disaster cycle rather than being confined to any one phase.

Social marketers can work to build public trust that relies on personal relationships in a fashion similar to customer relationship management—by connecting stakeholders and constantly ensuring that they are satisfied with the messages, outcomes, and resources being provided. Building public trust also means understanding differences in risk perception,

vulnerability, location, and other important attributes across the various target segments. Demonstrating an in-depth understanding of these differences through the messages being sent and the way they are communicated facilitates social marketers' ability to develop and enhance public trust in order to safeguard against disasters.

Phase IV (Recovery)

In the recovery phase of the disaster cycle, the risks discussed in the first three phases have materialized; the focus is now on long-term adaptation to community devastation (Baker, 2009; Cardona, 2004). To adapt, people try to make sense of what or who caused the devastation. In other words, they try to pinpoint the source of their actual vulnerability so that they can respond appropriately, positively adapting to the adversity they are experiencing. The adversity may come from simultaneous devastation and losses in ecological, material, and social environments, as well as people's interpretations of those losses (Baker, 2009).

One framework that may prove useful to social marketers in this stage is vulnerability analysis (Baker, 2009; Baker & Mason, 2012; Cardona, 2004; Wisner, 2004). Vulnerability analysis provides a theoretical lens through which to view hazardous situations, social injustices, and/or at-risk groups. The current trend in disaster studies is to conceptualize vulnerability as situational (Wisner, 2004), implying that individuals and groups can, and do, often move in and out of states of vulnerability. This perspective is consistent with Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg (2005), who define consumer vulnerability as

> a state of powerlessness . . . [that] occurs when control is not in an individual's hands, creating a dependence on external factors (e.g., marketers). . . . The actual vulnerability arises from the interaction of individual states, individual characteristics, and external conditions within a context where consumption goals may be hindered and the experience affects personal and social perceptions of self. (p. 134)

To adapt positively to losses (i.e., to display resilience), people must have an understanding of what they have lost and what they hope to regain (Baker & Hill, 2013). They must recognize that their losses coincide with, but are distinctly different from, losses experienced by their neighbors, and they must also recognize and creatively draw upon social and material capacities both within and outside the boundaries of the affected group (Baker & Mason, 2012).

The community must depend upon outside resources (human, material) for recovery because disasters exceed the capacity of the local community to respond. It is here—in the assessment of material needs, individual and community capacities, and accessibility of human and material resources—that social marketing plays a critical role in recovery. Social marketing can be employed to mobilize resources, both from within and outside of the impacted community. After a hazard event, the needs of the affected residents are immense, complex, and dynamic. In some cases, these needs may entail health care services, removal of damaged structures and possessions, and restoration of subsistence and material need structures. Research techniques from social marketing can provide insights on the material needs of different population segments to avoid the pitfall of allowing some segments to slip through the cracks. For instance, Klein and Huang (2007) showed how marketing research could and should have predicted the unique needs of teens after the tsunami in Southeast Asia. In that case, resource distribution appeared to address the consumer needs of children and adults, but failed to address the needs of the teenage population. For example, toys and play structures were built for younger children, and household goods were supplied for adults to rebuild their homes, but possessions that appealed to teens' needs over time (books, sports equipment, clothing) were not provided. In this context, social marketing could have greatly assisted in diagnosing and providing relief for consumption needs.

Social marketing further offers the potential to guide individual and collective behavior simultaneously. Exchange processes—and the material or intangible products of exchange—serve as a mechanism by which the balance between individual and collective interests is actively negotiated (Baker & Hill, 2013). Three key questions in the negotiation between individual and collective interests are: (1) whether responsibility for recovery rests with the individual, the group, or both; (2) how the community can draw upon and appropriately use community resources and historical strengths; and (3) the appropriate role for policy and organizational practices.

Whose responsibility is it to provide reparations for disasters? Who should take responsibility for meeting the needs of individuals, families, institutions, and the broader community? Like all relationships, but especially connections that involve addressing need structures (Vargo & Lusch, 2009), exchange is fraught with harmony and conflict. In social marketing, the conflict that arises during the recovery period is linked to the differing and sometimes competing needs of individual and community stakeholders. This conflict between upstream and downstream

stakeholders concerns the resources and objectives for facilitating recovery after a disaster.

Consider, for example, how FEMA delivers mobile homes to provide temporary shelter for people living in areas affected by disaster. Governmental policy for the provision of equitable, standardized housing to residents rests on a shared sense of responsibility for the reparation of communities. Upstream needs require equitable distribution of resources. However, such standardized housing conflicts with downstream desires to recreate a sense of community via non-uniform housing structures that meet residents' individual needs (Baker & Hill, 2013). Furthermore, the institutionalized movement into FEMA trailers rests on the assumption that efficient, rational distribution and consumption is a path toward recovery. This activity preempts other types of production and allocation strategies, such as individuals taking responsibility for personal housing or engaging in reciprocal relationships with neighbors for shared resources and labor.

Conflict is inevitable when the institutional (upstream) perspective is juxtaposed against beliefs about individual responsibility and identity reconstruction. For example, corporate donations of food, clothing, tools, and toys flow into disaster-struck communities in an effort to meet the needs of the communities and the individuals living there. However, the allocation of these donations is often determined by agencies that focus on community-level needs rather than individual needs; for these agencies, equitable distribution is paramount. The inherent problem with this strategy is that products intended for personal consumption may not be matched to the individuals who need them most (Baker, Hunt, & Rittenburg, 2007; Klein & Huang, 2007; Marshall, 1979). Here again, social marketing, with its sophisticated methods for understanding need structures, offers tremendous potential for discerning needs and transferring resources to the appropriate targets.

How can a community draw upon and appropriately use community resources and historical strengths? A social marketing approach would begin with an assessment of the recovering community's resource strengths and deficits. With an understanding of community resources (e.g., money, knowledge, experience, social capital), a social marketing approach to recovery could be crafted to draw upon resource strengths and bolster recovery by determining deficits and filling in gaps.

Finally, should policy decisions be top-down or bottom-up? We know that the way in which issues are framed guides the actions taken to address problems. A social marketing approach requires familiarity with individual and collective needs and results in tradeoffs between the two

(Rothschild, 1999). Individuals living in affected communities are the experts on their community assets, the kind of community they wish to create, and their personal need structures. Communities and individuals have different characteristics as well as varying historical-social experiences and narratives (i.e., resilience capacities). Social marketing's emphasis on identifying segments with unique needs facilitates attention to these features during recovery.

Where Do We Go From Here?

The disaster cycle provides a framework for understanding disasters as dynamic systems. It can also be used to frame future research on social marketing as a tool throughout the disaster cycle. A social marketing perspective provides a rigorous and systematic way to understand the phases of a disaster from the victim's or potential victim's perspective. Social marketing compels a segmentation approach that focuses on the experiences, perceptions, needs, and behaviors of stakeholders. Explicitly understanding and recognizing the diverse needs of different segments ensures that vulnerable consumers are not marginalized (Baker et al., 2005; Guion, et al., 2007). Stakeholders are interconnected and their relationships to one another should be taken into consideration when developing and customizing social marketing strategies to use throughout the disaster cycle.

Ecological systems theory provides one way to frame these relationships (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). From the ecological systems perspective, members of a specific population are all influenced by the same sociocultural factors. Thus, their collective behavior is shaped by common factors. The behavior of individuals is shaped in part by the interactions they have with other people who are close to them (e.g., families, neighbors) and the personal resources to which they have access (e.g., education, income, possessions). People in the same ecological system are all influenced by the same social circumstances (e.g., media coverage of a disaster, culture and values, public resources). The interaction of these social/environmental factors and the people within an ecological system influences the opportunities for various behaviors. Understanding these connections can go a long way toward informing social marketing actions.

Although, as the cyclical nature of disasters implies, there is no "beginning" or "end" to a disaster, the recovery phase is often singled out as a teachable moment. The practice has generally been to wait until after the disaster to determine what could have been done better, but the strategy should instead be one of being proactive and preparing through long-run and short-run investments to avoid the cataclysmic devastation of past

disasters (e.g., Hurricane Katrina, the 2011 Japanese tsunami, the 2009 Black Saturday bushfires). This is the basic premise of this chapter.

When a disaster strikes, risk awareness is raised and sensitivity to solutions is heightened. Research is needed to explore whether and how the urgency experienced during the recovery phase can be extended to other phases of the disaster cycle to build resiliency in communities. First and foremost, government and nongovernmental agencies must understand the value that social marketers add to the process of building resiliency in communities. Social marketing includes the fundamental tools needed to research, segment, position, communicate, and facilitate delivery of the resources needed to reduce the risks and vulnerability level of downstream stakeholders.

In addition to finding ways to create or leverage teachable moments through all phases of disasters, identification of similar "galvanizing" aspects of the other phases can be helpful. Research has demonstrated that the mitigation phase can be relatively removed in time from the response and recovery phases (Halpern-Felsher et al., 2001; Weinstein, 1989). That distance is often viewed as a barrier to effective public participation in mitigation planning. With a social marketing perspective, though, the assessment that there is a low level of involvement by stakeholders might actually present an opportunity. During a period of low involvement, the absence of the emotionalism that accompanies the experience of a disaster may create an opportunity to encourage stakeholders to take a more rational approach to planning. Research is needed to determine what types of communications and intervention strategies work best when emotions are at low ebb. For example, how can rural communities engage part-time vacation homeowners during the mitigation phase to protect their homes?

Social marketing's exchange perspective could be useful in considering how individuals and stakeholders might respond to incentives designed to motivate self-interested behavior. Different incentives might have different levels of impact on different stakeholders. It would be helpful to know which incentives are most effective in stimulating behaviors that benefit others and society at large. How might perceptions of self-interest be broadened? Future research should address how motivational goals influence the way in which different incentives can motivate stakeholders to change their focus from individual self-interest to a broader sense of community and cooperation.

Incentives that encourage desirable behaviors can be refined based on a clear understanding of how various stakeholders perceive the costs and benefits of those behaviors. For example, tax credits might be used to encourage community residents to make needed investments in protective

infrastructure around their homes (e.g., creating defensible space, building emergency shelters, building sea walls). Insurance companies, through their rate structures, can encourage builders to use fire-retardant materials in new building projects and renovations. Public funding and the availability of human and mechanical resources to assist with clearing brush may further support mitigation efforts in areas prone to wildfires.

During the preparation phase, personal experience with disasters is linked to people's willingness to take precautionary measures and their likelihood of doing so (Martin et al., 2007, 2009). Less is known about the effect of vicarious experience. Research could explore the motivational impact of vicarious experience and how such experience can be effectively communicated. Research on patients' participation in health-related forums has suggested that personal experiences shared by "like others" represent a key benefit to participants (Liang & Scammon, 2011). In fact, the experiences of other discussion forum posters may influence participants more than the advice of health care professionals (Eichhorn, 2008). With this in mind, future research could explore how strategies aimed at building social connections and facilitating the sharing of personal experience and narratives could be used to increase protective behaviors during the mitigation and preparation phases.

When it comes to response, we know that "practice makes perfect." Research is needed to identify more ways in which stakeholders can practice response behaviors prior to a disaster striking. One innovative way to capture the attention of at least one potentially vulnerable segment of the population (teenagers) could be to develop video games that let consumers "participate" in a disaster by responding to the game scenario. Another example is the Great California Shakeout earthquake drill discussed earlier.

A very visible phase of the disaster cycle is the recovery phase. During recovery, the availability and sharing of information represent a key focus of social marketing. The way that communities acquire information has been profoundly changed since 2007 as social media has become integral to all phases of the disaster cycle. Social networks can now instantly access information from friends and strangers who may be separated by long distances. This provides a sense of community that may have little or nothing to do with the physical proximity of the individuals. Such communities are known as communities of interest as opposed to communities of place. These networks have a very important role in strengthening and expanding the resiliency of communities by enhancing the ways that interactions take place. Research has found that social network sites such as Craigslist can play a valuable role in helping communities that are going

through the recovery phase of the disaster cycle (Torrey et al., 2007). For example, the use of Craigslist to share information about the skills, resources, and assets available in the community can speed up recovery by enabling individuals to work together.

These social marketing strategies in turn reduce vulnerability among certain segments (e.g., low-income residents, immigrant communities) by providing them with a network of resources. With the support of networks of upstream and downstream stakeholders, the social system is able to adapt and emerge stronger for the next round of adversity, resulting in a hardier community that is on the pathway to resilience (Maddi, 2012).

Beyond research that focuses on tactical issues, there is also an opportunity to obtain a greater understanding of the dynamic nature of the disaster cycle by applying systems theory. As our disaster cycle model emphasizes, disasters are truly complex systems that involve multiple stakeholders and multiple contextual factors that interact in nonlinear ways over time. Research using systems models and analyses that incorporate all of these factors is needed to support the design of strategies and public policies to deal with disasters.

Disasters are extreme contexts that reveal people's dependence on external organizations, the environment, and the economic and social structure of a community. Systems theory focuses on the complexity and interdependence of relationships to help identify subsystems and explain how they relate to and affect each other. Thus, a systems dynamics approach could help map the connections between actors and reveal interdependencies that could be used to create positive change. Applying systems theory requires the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods to facilitate a deeper understanding of the context within which a disaster is experienced.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Marketing the 2010 Census: Meeting the Challenges of Persuasion in the Largest-Ever Social Marketing Campaign*

Jerome D. Williams, Nancy Bates, Michael A. Lotti, and Monica J. Wroblewski

For the 2010 census, the U.S. Census Bureau conducted a massive social marketing campaign designed to increase awareness and participation. The campaign consisted of paid media, public relations, a partnership program with national, state, and local community organizations, and a Census in Schools program. The campaign was one of the most far-reaching social marketing campaigns ever conducted in the United States. It included promotional materials and advertising produced in 28 languages and leveraged multiple media channels, including television, radio, newsprint, and social and digital media. This effort was known as the 2010 Census Integrated Communication Program (ICP).

This chapter begins with a discussion of the changing marketing and media environment in which the ICP was conducted. The first section provides background on the advent of integrated marketing communications strategies and why they are especially important for the ICP. Also, it particularly notes the challenges of conducting a social marketing campaign in this

climate in terms of reaching hard-to-count and hard-to-persuade segments, along with the challenges of linking the ICP to research and identifying some of the applicable theories of persuasion and attitude change as they relate to the campaign.

The bulk of the chapter is the middle section, which describes in detail what the ICP entailed. It emphasizes the research underpinnings of the ICP, with a detailed description of the qualitative, quantitative, attitudinal, and behavioral initiatives that guided and informed the ICP. We also describe the various elements of the ICP, with an emphasis on the paid advertising, earned media, partnership program, and education initiatives. Finally, the middle section highlights the monitoring and evaluation activities used to measure the success of the ICP.

This chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the hits and misses—what worked and what did not work. It highlights the key takeaway from this chapter—the lessons learned as we look forward to preparing for a successful social marketing campaign for the 2020 census.

Background

Meeting the Challenges of the ICP in a Changing Marketing and Media Environment

Over the past half-century, marketing has undergone several paradigm shifts. In the 1950s and 1960s the emphasis was on selling products. As markets became more competitive in the 1970s and 1980s, the emphasis shifted to a focus on consumers. More recently, in the 1990s and 2000s, marketing has sought to build relationships with customers. These changes have paved the way for the emergence of integrated marketing communications (IMC). As noted by Harrison and Jackson (2013), several attempts have been made to define IMC, with results that vary in complexity (see definitions provided by Duncan & Caywood, 1996; Keller, 2001; Kitchen & Schultz, 2009; Shimp, 1997; and Smith, Pulford, & Berry, 1999). The definition of IMC adopted by the American Association of Advertising Agencies, and consequently one of the most frequently cited by academic and marketing industry professionals in the decade following its development, was devised by Duncan and Caywood in 1996 (Kliatchko, 2005). This definition states that IMC is

> a concept of marketing communications planning that recognizes the added value of a comprehensive plan that evaluates the strategic roles of a variety of communication disciplines—general advertising, direct response, sales

> promotion, and public relations—and combines these disciplines to provide clarity, consistency, and maximum communication impact. (Duncan & Caywood, as cited in Kliatchko, 2005, p. 14)

Harrison and Jackson (2013) described the development of several other definitions of IMC. However, despite the various theoretical challenges in defining IMC, they concluded that IMC has been embraced by marketing practitioners as a paradigmatic shift in the way marketers view marketing communications (Gould, 2004). In the context of marketing communications, IMC has been declared "the major communications development in the last decade of the 20th Century" (Kitchen, Brignell, Tao, & Jones, 2004, p. 20). What this means, as noted by Harrison and Jackson (2013), is that individual communications tactics no longer stand alone but become part of a broader, synergistic communications whole designed around the consumer, with the selection of the best combination of different tactics to achieve maximum effect. This enables marketers to more effectively reach audience members—combining the unique advantages of different communications media to achieve different objectives (Kitchen, 2005, p. 74).

It is in this marketing and media environment that the ICP was developed. However, despite the promise of a social marketing campaign built around IMC, the Census Bureau faced some significant challenges in implementing the campaign. Here, we will highlight two main concerns related to persuasion and social marketing: (a) reaching the hard-to-count and hard-to-persuade, and (b) tapping into the most appropriate theories of persuasion and attitude change to maximize the impact of the ICP and achieve success with the massive census campaign.

Reaching the Hard-to-Count and Hard-to-Persuade

Unlike a sample, which focuses on getting responses from only certain members of the population, typically using a random sample for greater generalization, a census focuses on attempting to get every available member of the population to respond. Therefore, in a census, there is a significant likelihood that there will be certain segments of the population that are much more difficult to reach—and, therefore, count—than other segments. In addition, with most social marketing campaigns, the benefits for the typical target audience are fairly salient (e.g., reducing automobile fatalities through increased seat belt usage, improving health by reducing tobacco usage and encouraging more responsible alcohol consumption, combating obesity by eating healthier foods and increasing

exercise). In contrast, census takers often encounter segments of the population who do not see the obvious benefit of completing the census form. Such people may believe that filling out the census form is more of a benefit to others than to themselves. These segments, which are challenging to reach, are identified as the hard-to-count and the hard-to-persuade.

Olson, Vargas, and Williams (2014) discussed in detail the many challenges of mobilizing hard-to-survey populations to participate fully in censuses and surveys. They point out that conducting an accurate census or survey requires active public participation, but without complete participation from all population segments, particularly those that are hard to count, the results will be skewed and will not reflect the population's reality. For censuses, hard-to-count populations often include immigrants, those who speak a language other than the nation's dominant language, renters, people or households living in poverty, and people who feel marginalized or abused by the prevailing society or government.

In addition to discussing hard-to-count segments, Olson and colleagues (2014) also noted the difficult task of reaching resistant audience segments—that is, those considered hard to persuade. Both the hard-to-count and the hard-to-persuade are overrepresented by members of racial and ethnic minority groups. Therefore, understanding the role of cultural nuances in communicating with these groups is paramount. For example, Olson and colleagues noted that the preferred sources of information for these segments tend to be different than for the general population. Accurately identifying the appropriate sources of communication for each segment can be highly effective in overcoming resistant attitudes, because people in these segments tend to make greater distinctions between insiders and outsiders than people in the general population (Williams & Tharp, 2002).

In addition, members of the hard-to-count and hard-to-persuade segments frequently have faced incidents of racial prejudice and discrimination in the marketplace (Williams & Henderson, 2012). As a result, a public communication campaign that treats these segments with dignity and respect and has a grassroots appeal by including credible sources can have a significant positive impact on message receivers. Olson and colleagues (2014) concluded that the general population may be more inclined to view a social marketing campaign as a public service, in which the goal of high participation by all segments of society is a laudable one, whereas a significant percentage of the hard-to-count segment may be skeptical about the benefits of participating in a census and hence may also be hard to persuade.

Linking the ICP to Research and Appropriate Theories of Attitude Change and Persuasion

According to Rice and Atkin (2013), public communication campaigns are purposive attempts to inform or influence the behaviors of large audiences within a given time period using an organized set of communication activities and featuring an array of mediated messages in multiple channels to produce noncommercial benefits to individuals and society. In assessing the impact of public communication campaigns, Rice and Atkin noted that most experts have concluded that such campaigns tend to have a modest rather than a strong impact, especially when it comes to health-related behaviors. Although they discussed a multitude of factors that contribute to the limited impact of these campaigns, they particularly noted the unsophisticated application of theory and models as being among the key contributors. Andreasen (1997) echoes this sentiment by asserting that sophisticated social marketing managers are well aware of theories of behavior change but that the design and execution of social marketing programs is seldom driven by underlying theoretical models. He acknowledges the advantage of a grounding in such theories by emphasizing that strategies designed by social marketers who are guided by a mental roadmap or social science model of the potential effects of their efforts have a higher probability of succeeding.

Unfortunately, many social marketing efforts have been implemented without a strong research foundation; hence, they have had limited success. For example, reviews of the public health campaign literature showed that in the United States, the typical campaign succeeded in constructively changing only 5 percent to 8 percent of the targeted population's behavior. Specifically, Snyder's (2007) meta-analysis of the effectiveness of health campaigns found that on average, health campaigns affect the intervention community by only 5 percent, and Snyder and Hamilton (2002) reported an 8 percent positive change in behaviors.

Although these social marketing campaigns have had some positive impact on public health behaviors, by most accounts the recorded effects have been small. Yeo (2013) built on the observations of Rice and Atkin (2013) and Andreasen (1997), noted above, suggesting that one possible reason is that many of these campaigns were carried out without empirical evidence provided by established health communication theories. She also notes that more recent health campaigns have focused on segmenting the audience using message tailoring theory, and that this tailoring has enhanced the relevance of the health information to individuals, thereby leading to more positive responses to the communication.

The Census Bureau has followed this model by basing the ICP on a strong research foundation, which is described in detail in the next section,

and by considering applicable theories of attitude change and persuasion to drive the development of the campaign. The remaining part of this section focuses primarily on theories of social influence as one example of linking the ICP to theory-driven implementation. It then briefly mentions a few other theories that are highly relevant to the ICP and hence were considered instrumental in contributing to the success of the 2010 Census social marketing campaign.

Theories of social influence are highly relevant to the success of the ICP. It is well established that susceptibility to social influence varies across people (McGuire, 1968). Two types of social influence, informational and normative (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955), seem to be particularly relevant to the ICP. With informational social influence, people are persuaded to accept information from a credible source, whereas with normative social influence, people are persuaded to comply with the expectations and norms of a referent or reference group (Burnkrant & Cousineau, 1975). As noted by Olson and colleagues (2014), the information sources preferred by the hard-to-count segments targeted by the ICP tend to be different than those of the general population. For the hard-to-count segments, members and leaders of the community tend to be the sources with especially high credibility, and grassroots efforts can be highly effective by tapping into these leaders. Using such sources to communicate with these segments was a key strategy of the ICP, as we will describe.

Following this same theoretical underpinning of interpersonal influencers, Olson and colleagues (2014) suggested that celebrities may be much more effective than other sources in reaching some hard-to-count segments. For example, Williams and Qualls (1989) pointed to research by ethnic and social psychologists that characterized the cultural script of racial and ethnic minorities as being largely influenced by interpersonal interaction, affiliation, group orientation, peer acceptance, and feeling orientation. These characteristics suggest that hard-to-count members may be more responsive to individuals who are perceived as likable and attractive (normative social influence) as opposed, for example, to individuals who are perceived as experts (informational social influence). For this reason, the ICP tapped into the power of celebrity spokespeople. Williams and Qualls further suggested that celebrity advertising is generally associated with referent social power, and referent social power is closely associated with the characteristics of the cultural script of racial and ethnic minorities, who are heavily represented in hard-to-count population segments.

This chapter will not elaborate in detail on the other theoretical foundations that contributed to the success of the ICP because of space

constraints. However, it will briefly identify several that are considered highly relevant. For example, understanding the difference between high self-monitors and low self-monitors is important, because high self-monitors are extremely sensitive to social pressure and act in accordance with their reference group to receive positive feedback, whereas low self-monitors are not concerned with social appropriateness and act in accordance with their own beliefs and attitudes, regardless of what others may think of them (Snyder, 1974). Also, understanding research related to persuasion knowledge (i.e., knowledge that enables people to cope with persuasion attempts) is critical (Friestad & Wright, 1994).

Finally, understanding psychological reactance theory (Brehm, 1966) may also play a role. This theory posits that when people believe that their freedom is constrained, they try to regain that freedom. This can occur when people feel forced to adopt a particular opinion or behavior, such as filling out a census form. The desire to maintain freedom (i.e., psychological reactance) could lead to reactions opposite to those the communicator intended, also known as the boomerang effect. In a social marketing campaign to get everyone to complete the census form, it is possible that feelings of reduced freedom might lead people to develop attitudes in opposition to the objectives of the Census Bureau.

These are just a few of the many theoretical constructs that were reviewed and considered in developing the ICP. Additional theoretical linkages were considered by the Academic Assessment Panel, an independent academic advisory group established by the Census Bureau. This chapter will provide additional background on the makeup and tasks of this panel in the Conclusion.

Research Underpinnings of the 2010 Census ICP

Geographic Audience Segmentation

The Census Bureau conducted and oversaw a series of qualitative, quantitative, attitudinal, and behavioral research initiatives to guide and inform the 2010 ICP. The primary goal was to make the campaign as data-driven as possible. Knowing which segments of the population were predisposed to mail back a form was essential in developing methods to maximize participation and plan for and monitor the areas least likely to respond.

The first step was to segment the audience to understand which populations needed the messages most and where to deliver them. The campaign leveraged socioeconomic, demographic, and housing indicators

from census tracts to understand propensities for self-response. Such an approach builds on the conceptual framework for survey cooperation described in Groves and Couper (1998), whereby the population's social environment and both household and householder characteristics are hypothesized to influence survey participation. Elements under these two constructs include economic conditions, neighborhood characteristics, household structure, and sociodemographic characteristics.

ICP researchers performed a census-tract-level cluster analysis to devise a comprehensive geographic-based segmentation. The Census 2000 Planning Database (PDB), a tract-level database containing social environment, household, and householder characteristics for the entire U.S. population, served as the data source.[1] The PDB also contained the mail return rate for each tract in the 2000 Census, which yielded a macro-level indicator of census self-response by tract.

In addition to housing and socioeconomic indicators, the PDB also contained a "hard-to-count" (HTC) score. Census Bureau demographers developed this score after the 1990 census as a way to profile census tracts according to mail response propensity (Bruce, Robinson, & Sanders, 2001; Robinson, Johanson, & Bruce, 2007; Bruce & Robinson, 2003). The HTC score for each census tract is based on 12 variables[2] that are inversely correlated with census mail response.

Taken alone, HTC scores are effective for seeing where difficult tracts (i.e., tracts with low mail return rates) are located. However, the Census Bureau was interested in the underlying constructs for the tracts with below-average mail return rates. Consequently, Census Bureau researchers sought to uncover fundamental differences between HTC areas as a way to inform the campaign and better target messages, public relations activities, media, and advertising.

Using data from the PDB, a cluster analysis was used to group each tract into mutually exclusive clusters.[3] This created a classification typology reflecting the different self-response propensities and categories of the 12 HTC variables. The Census Bureau imposed several requirements on the cluster analysis. First, each cluster needed to be large enough to enable further study for the purposes of the 2010 ICP regarding media preferences, communication habits, response barriers, and 2010 Census motivators. Second, the clusters needed to be easily interpretable by those who were involved in implementing various aspects of the 2010 Census, such as staff in the field and in the communications program.

The analysis produced eight clusters. In three instances, pairs of clusters were closely related to one another, with home ownership/renter status as the distinguishing feature. This variable was deemed an important

characteristic by which to delineate segments, because owner/renter status has historically proven to be a very strong predictor of census mail participation and census undercounts (Hogan, 1993; Stackhouse & Brady, 2003; Word, 1997). The largest of the eight segments represented 35 percent of all occupied housing units; the smallest represented only 2 percent (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Mail Return Rate, Number of Tracts, and Occupied Housing Units by Segment

Segment	Census 2000 mail return rate	Total occupied housing units	Number of tracts	Number (in millions)
All-around average I (homeowner skewed)	77.3%	36.5	35%	21,174
All-around average II (renter skewed)	74.2%	16.5	16%	8,957
Economically disadvantaged I (homeowner skewed)	66.5%	6.6	6%	5,230
Economically disadvantaged II (renter skewed)	58.0%	3.0	3%	2,574
Ethnic enclave I (homeowner skewed)	69.8%	3.4	3%	2,440
Ethnic enclave II (renter skewed)	63.6%	2.5	2%	1,754
Single/ unattached/ mobiles	67.1%	8.0	8%	4,073
Advantaged homeowners	83.2%	26.8	26%	16,506
Total	75.4%	103.3	100%	62,708

Note. The mail return rate is the percentage of occupied housing units eligible to receive a mail form that returned a mail form.

Source: Tract Level Planning Database with Census 2000 Data. (http://www.census.gov/2010census/partners/research/)

Based on the PDB variable tract mean values, HTC scores, and other variables merged with the segments from the American Community Survey,[4] the audience segments were labeled and described as follows.

All-around average I & II. Together, these two segments represent the largest number of occupied housing units and the second highest self-response rate in the 2000 Census (74–77 percent mail return rate). Tracts in this cluster are close to average on the HTC variables. In these segments, unemployment, poverty, education, and mobility levels are all close to the national averages, and the tracts are fairly representative of the national racial breakouts except for an above-average percentage of non-Hispanic whites. These clusters have the largest percentage of rural tracts.

Economically disadvantaged I & II. These clusters reflect households in tracts where a high percentage of the population are poor, are on public assistance, and/or are adults without a high school education. Above-average unemployment and nonspousal households are also characteristic of these segments. In addition, blacks are overrepresented in these segments, and households in these segments have above-average numbers of children. Together, these segments are relatively small, representing approximately 10 percent of all occupied units. The overwhelming majority of tracts in these segments are urban and had mail return rates in the 2000 Census that were well below average.

Ethnic enclave I & II. These clusters represent approximately 6 percent of occupied housing units and are characterized by above-average levels of crowding, poverty, and families receiving public assistance, high levels of limited English proficiency and unemployment, and low levels of education. However, these clusters also contain a below-average percentage of nonspousal households and an above-average percentage of children. These segments are skewed toward Hispanic and Asian populations and have below-average census self-response rates.

Single, unattached mobiles. This segment had a similar mail return rate to some of the economically disadvantaged and ethnic enclave segments, but upon closer inspection, looks very different from those segments. The overwhelming majority of households in this segment are nonspousal renters in multi-unit structures, especially structures with at least 10 units. The people residing in these tracts have higher than average education levels along with very high mobility. The tracts are densely populated and almost exclusively urban. These tracts also have a below-average percentage of children and are skewed toward a younger-than-average population. These tracts may include a disproportionate share of younger singles who are in school or who are just out of school and have recently entered the workforce for the first time. This cluster is racially diverse,

with a slight majority of non-Hispanic whites, followed by blacks and an above-average percentage of Asians.

Advantaged homeowners. The tracts in this segment had the highest mail return rate (83.2 percent) in the 2000 Census. These tracts have a very low percentage of renters, few multi-unit structures, very low levels of poverty and unemployment, low mobility, and few nonspousal households. This segment is characterized by stable homeowners who reside in spousal households in single-unit houses, about one-quarter of which are located in nonurban areas. This segment of tracts is the least racially diverse of all clusters, with 85 percent of people identified as non-Hispanic white. It is also the least densely populated cluster as measured by population per square mile. This segment is the second largest, comprising 26 percent of all occupied housing units.

Geographically speaking, the advantaged homeowners were particularly noticeable in the Midwest and along the North Atlantic seaboard whereas clusters of the economically disadvantaged were apparent in the South along the Arkansas/Mississippi border. As might be expected, some of the ethnic enclave clusters were predominant in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. This geographic representation helped inform media buys across different designated marked areas (DMAs). For example, the DMA that included the city of Boston skewed high on single, unattached mobile tracts compared to the DMA that included Philadelphia, which skewed more toward the economically disadvantaged. In contrast, the Sacramento/Modesto/Stockton DMA skewed high on ethnic enclave segments.

To summarize, the cluster analysis revealed eight audience segments, five of which exhibited a lower propensity to self-respond in the previous census. Among these five, three distinct profiles emerged: (a) an underserved segment containing economically disadvantaged households; (b) a more densely populated segment containing ethnic minorities; and (c) a segment that skewed toward unattached, younger, mobile singles. From these descriptions, the Census Bureau could begin to hypothesize different reasons for lower response; for example, ethnic enclave segments contain newly arrived immigrants likely to have language barriers, unfamiliarity with the U.S. census, and perhaps fear of government, especially among the undocumented. In contrast, people in the young, highly mobile segment may also be unfamiliar with the census (having been too young to participate previously) but harder to contact because they are seldom at home. They may also be more likely to discard a mail form because they rarely use the postal mail to communicate, favoring mobile technologies instead.

Attitudinal Segmentation

The audience segmentation formed the framework for the communication plan and provided insight into the size, location, and underlying characteristics behind the easy-to-count and hard-to-count populations. In short, the segmentation described what the target populations looked like for the campaign and, to some extent, where they were located. However, it did not provide much-needed insight as to why certain segments might not participate in the census.

To fill this gap, in the summer of 2008 the Census Bureau commissioned a household survey of U.S. residents. The survey, known as the Census Barriers Attitudes and Motivators Survey (CBAMS), was designed to uncover the barriers and motivators underlying different mindsets. The CBAMS was a multimode survey (phone and in-person) that oversampled hard-to-count populations and measured constructs such as census knowledge, attitudes and awareness, self-reported propensity to participate in the census, ranking of potential census messages, barriers and motivators to participation, and consumption of mass and social media.

Based on the responses to these items, the ICP conducted an attitudinal segmentation using factor analysis to group survey participants with similar responses into five mindsets (for details, see Bates et al., 2012, and Macro International, 2009). Using telephone area code information obtained in the survey, each respondent was assigned to a census tract and mapped back to the respective audience segment. This allowed the research team to align the five mindsets with the geographic audience clusters. Table 5.2 shows the distribution of the five attitudinal segments.

The leading edge. The leading edge segment comprised just over one-quarter of the population. Members of this mindset are connected with their communities and exhibit a high degree of civic involvement. They also tend to be affluent, with high home ownership rates and long tenures at their current residences. They are typically white and between the ages

Table 5.2 Final Distribution of Segments

Segment	Weighted	Percentage
Unacquainted	297	7.3
Head nodders	1,651	40.6
Leading edge	1,076	26.5
Cynical fifth	779	19.2
Insulated	261	6.4
Total	4,064	100

of 35 and 54. Members in this segment demonstrate high awareness and a high degree of knowledge and understanding of the census and are positively predisposed toward the census, viewing it as a benefit to the community rather than to themselves personally. Members of the leading edge tend to believe that the census is confidential. This mindset aligns most closely with the advantaged homeowner and all-around average clusters from the audience segmentation. Based on these data, we drew the following creative insights for this mindset.

Core characteristic. Members of this segment tend to be especially committed.

Attitude/barriers. Leading edge members understand and value the census and believe that participation is crucial. They will respond to news, up-to-date information, and messages that create conversations. They can become advocates, orchestrating trusted conversations for the census. There are no apparent barriers for this segment.

Challenge. The challenge with this segment is to keep the positive momentum going. Given that members of this group probably will not be mailed replacement forms, it is important to encourage them to mail the form back early.

Potential messages. Messages likely to resonate with this group involve receiving their fair share of $300 billion in federal funds, maintaining their representation in Congress, and mailing early to save taxpayer dollars.

Communication strategy. Appropriate strategies for communicating with this group are turning the individuals most likely to respond into advocates through targeted activism programs, empowering them with more information, and providing concrete examples of census benefits.

The head nodders. The head nodders are the largest population segment. They are demographically diverse with average incomes and educational attainment. They include a slightly higher percentage of women (59 percent) than men (41 percent). The head nodders demonstrate high awareness of the census and believe they are knowledgeable about it. However, they lack a good understanding of the purpose and intent of the census. People with this mindset maintain a high positive predisposition toward the census and view it as having both positive community and individual benefits. They consider census participation to be a responsibility, and they are proud to be counted. They believe the census is confidential and do not have great concerns that it is an invasion of privacy. Members of this mindset reside mostly in the all-around average and advantaged homeowner clusters.

Core characteristic. Members of this segment tend to be particularly impressionable.

Attitude/barriers. Head nodders tend to believe anything and everything about the census, respond to what they are told, and act on what they perceive to be right (even though it may be incorrect). They express their intention to participate in the census, but are unreliable because negative media messages might sway them in the other direction.

Challenge. The challenge with head nodders is to constantly move them in the right direction, because they are quick to get on (and off) the bandwagon, depending upon their current sense of what is best. It is important to shore them up to safeguard against any negative publicity.

Potential messages. Messages likely to resonate with head nodders are (a) if they don't fill out the census form, they might not get their fair share of $300 billion in federal funds, and (b) early mailing saves taxpayer dollars.

Communication strategy. The overriding strategy for communicating with this segment is to overcome distractions with frequent reminders.

The insulated. The insulated mindset has fewer members than the other mindsets. The members of this segment have lower education and income levels than the members of other segments. In addition, this segment is racially and ethnically diverse, with high percentages of Hispanics and blacks. Many members of this segment do not speak English at home. The insulated are aware of the census but admittedly "don't know" when asked about its purpose and intent. They have long tenures in their neighborhoods, yet they question the impact of the census because they do not see the results in their neighborhoods. They are more interested in the individual benefits of the census than the community benefits. The insulated can be found in the all-around average, economically disadvantaged, and ethnic enclave clusters.

Core characteristic. Members of this segment are generally indifferent.

Attitude/barriers. Individuals with this mindset are unfamiliar with the census, and although they may be open to it, they are focused more on their own daily needs and the needs of their long-term neighbors. Since they tend to have lived in their neighborhoods a long time and have never really seen the impact of the census on their communities, they are skeptical of it.

Challenge. The challenge with this segment is to personalize the census for its members by making the impact of the census more relevant to their daily lives and reassuring them that it is safe.

Motivator. To motivate individuals with this mindset, explain that the census is a tool that can help make life better for them and their neighbors. Emphasize that completing the form will not take long.

Potential messages. Messages likely to sway the insulated involve the relationship of the census to health care, community centers, day care for children, and care for the elderly.

Communication strategy. When communicating with the insulated, it is important to use educational programs to overcome their lack of familiarity.

The unacquainted. The unacquainted comprise another small mindset segment. People with this mindset are completely unaware of the census and how or why it is conducted. They also report a low likelihood to participate in the census. This segment has a large percentage of minorities, including Hispanics, Asians, American Indians, and blacks. Over 40 percent of the segment is foreign born, and many members speak a language other than English at home. This segment is bimodal in terms of age, with many younger and older members but fewer in the middle age groups. Many of the unacquainted are not married, and they tend to be renters. Household sizes in this segment tend to be larger than those in other segments, and a higher percentage of those households have children at home than in other mindset segments. Members of this segment have lower educational attainment and income levels than those in other segments. The unacquainted also have a low level of civic engagement and do not tend to be community oriented. People with this mindset are located primarily in the ethnic enclave, all-around average, and economically disadvantaged clusters.

Core characteristic. The unacquainted tend to be peripheral members of their communities.

Attitude/barriers. Totally unaware of the census, individuals with this mindset are often linguistically isolated and uninvolved in their communities. Their unawareness combined with their lack of knowledge about the census mean they have no real reason to participate.

Challenge. The challenge in reaching the unacquainted is to embrace them as part of the count, giving them a sense of being part of the population and the process. Members of this segment need reassurance from trusted sources that it is safe and easy to participate.

Potential messages. Messages to the unacquainted should stress that the census is their tool for making a difference and that everyone is important, including them. Messages to this group should also emphasize that completing the form will not take long.

Potential support. Methods of providing support to help the unacquainted respond to the census include bilingual questionnaires, language guides, information centers, and using census takers from the community during nonresponse follow-up (NRFU). Another way to reach this segment is through the Census in Schools campaign.

The Cynical fifth. The cynical fifth mindset closely resembles the general population with respect to race, gender, age, educational attainment, and income. Members of the cynical fifth claim unfamiliarity with the census but actually demonstrate a relatively high level of knowledge about its intent and purpose. Individuals with this mindset are more negative toward the census than those in other segments and maintain high skepticism and mistrust, yet they recognize that the census is better if everybody is counted. People in this group are concerned that collecting census data is an invasion of privacy and that the information collected will be misused. This mindset shows up primarily in the all-around average and advantaged homeowner clusters.

Core characteristic. Individuals with the cynical fifth mindset are resistant to responding to the census.

Attitude/barriers. Those in the cynical fifth believe the census is misused, not used, or redundant (e.g., because the government has already collected the information through other sources, such as the Internal Revenue Service). These individuals are suspicious, jaded, anti-institution, and uncommitted to the census.

Challenge. The challenge with members of the cynical fifth is to inspire them to think beyond themselves. The campaign cannot rationalize with them or confront their beliefs head-on.

Potential message. One message that may persuade members of the cynical fifth is that the census is a tool they can use to help make a better future for the common good and for future generations.

Potential support. Human interest stories can help support the message to the cynical fifth.

Copy testing the creative executions. The CBAMS attitudinal segmentation was instrumental to the census campaign as a means to develop and test messaging that could overcome known barriers and leverage motivators. Participants in ad messaging copy tests were recruited based on their mindsets to ensure that the messages were believable, convincing, and resonated with their intended targets. The team conducted 115 focus groups in 23 languages and gave special attention to recruiting participants who reflected different races and ethnicities, as well as hard-to-count and undercounted populations. The composition of the samples successfully captured all the targeted audiences; the tests exposed 1,714 participants spanning 17 different audiences to 192 messages in focus groups conducted in 36 cities across the United States and in Puerto Rico, as shown in Table 5.3. Through copy testing and focus groups, we obtained a clear picture of which messages would be more successful than others; we also incorporated improvements after testing.

Table 5.3 Creative Copy Testing Focus Groups by Phase and Audience

	Phase 1		Phase 2	
Audience	**Number of groups**	**Number of participants**	**Number of groups**	**Number of participants**
Black	14	224	2	19
Diverse mass	13	266	6	44
Hispanic	13	252	8	67
Puerto Rican	2	46	3	30
NHOPI	4	39	0	0
AIAN	8	136	0	0
Legacy	6	62	0	0
Asian	18	375	0	0
Bangladeshi	0	0	2	17
Hmong	0	0	2	19
Laotian	0	0	2	17
Thai	0	0	2	18
Pakistani	0	0	2	18
Armenian	0	0	2	18
Iranian	0	0	2	15
Greek	0	0	2	14
Portuguese-speaking	0	0	2	18
Totals	78	1,400	37	314

Note. NHOPI = Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islanders; AIAN = American Indian and Alaska Native. Compiled from Copy Testing Phases 1 and 2 Summary Reports. Phase 2 tested creative development as a result of funds received from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009.

Source: 2010 Census Bureau Integrated Communications Program Research Assessment Report (pp. 18), Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/2010census/partners/pdf/C2POMemo13.pdf and http://www.census.gov/2010census/partners/pdf/C2POMemoNo16.pdf

Elements of the ICP

Paid Advertising

The U.S. Census Bureau strategically designed the 2010 Census ICP to build upon the Census 2000 Partnership and Marketing Program (PMP). The available evidence suggests that the Census 2000 PMP, along with other efforts aimed at improving census participation, succeeded in reversing a three-decade decline in mail response rates (especially in traditionally hard-to-count areas). However, the 2010 Census had unique challenges to overcome, including the struggling economy and distrust of the government.

For the 2010 campaign, the Census Bureau contracted with the advertising firm DraftFCB.

The Census Bureau built the 2010 Census communications campaign upon a solid foundation of research, which was addressed earlier. The creative executions and promotional materials were based on validated communications strategies, ensuring that the overall intended messages were clear, compelling, persuasive, and—more important—culturally relevant and sensitive. Additionally, audience segmentation research enabled the campaign to funnel messaging and resources to each audience cluster based on each cluster's propensity to respond.

The paid advertising campaign consisted of three phases: awareness, motivation, and support. Phase 1, the awareness phase (January–February 2010), aimed to build awareness and familiarity with the upcoming census. Phase 2 was the motivation phase (March–April 2010), when the campaign encouraged individuals to complete the census form and mail it back. Phase 3 was the support phase (April–July 2010), in which the campaign supported NRFU efforts to educate nonrespondents about the enumerators who were traveling door-to-door to obtain responses from households that did not participate during the mail-back period. The paid advertising campaign officially launched on January 17, 2010, and ran through July 4, 2010.

Additionally, the campaign had reach and frequency targets for each phase of the paid advertising campaign. During the awareness phase, the media plan was to reach 97 percent of the population at least 17 times through paid advertising in measured media. In the motivation phase, the media plan was to reach 97 percent of the population at least 24 times, and for the follow-up phase, the paid advertising plan was to reach the lowest responding populations at least 5 times.

The Census Bureau media reached every market in the United States and Puerto Rico; however, we skewed the paid media plan toward the harder-to-count populations. The advertisements appeared in all types of media, including television, radio, print, interactive, and outdoor. The messages revolved around three key points—that the 2010 Census is easy, safe, and important. "It's in Our Hands" and "We can't move forward until you mail it back" were two 2010 Census taglines.

Table 5.4 illustrates the media outlets favored by each segment.

The Census Bureau developed a total of 452 advertisements, broken down by media vehicle as follows:

- Television: 62
- Radio: 97

Table 5.4 Favored media outlet by audience segment

Audience Segment	Favored Media Outlet*
Advantaged Homeowners	More TV, Internet, magazines, and lifestyle outdoor (mall advertising)
All-Around Average I	No significant mass media skews
All-Around Average II	Slightly heavier users of most mass media including Internet
Single Unattached Mobiles	More Internet, radio, and place-based media where young adults congregate (cinema, concerts)
Ethnic Enclave I	More in-culture TV/newspaper/radio, neighborhood outdoor
Ethnic Enclave II	Underconsume traditional mass media; more in-culture newspaper and radio, neighborhood outdoor
Economically Disadvantaged I	Heavier users of cable TV
Economically Disadvantaged II	Heavier users of broadcast media

* Place-based and community events, outreach, and public relations apply to every segment.

- Print: 159
- Out-of-home: 79
- Digital (online): 55

We developed advertising in 28 different languages:

- English
- Spanish
- Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese for oral media, Simplified Chinese for print media)
- Vietnamese
- Korean
- Hindi
- Tagalog
- Russian
- Polish
- Arabic
- Haitian Creole (French)
- Japanese
- Cambodian (Khmer)
- Hmong
- Laotian

- Thai
- Pakistani
- Bangladeshi
- Portuguese
- French
- Italian
- German
- Iranian (Farsi)
- Armenian
- Greek
- Yiddish
- Ukrainian

Earned Media

Earned media and public relations, a component of the 2010 Census ICP, complemented the paid advertising by ensuring that positive and educational stories about the census received broad coverage through broadcast, electronic, and print media. The Census Bureau supplemented its own internal and external communication tools with the outside expertise of DraftFCB, through its public relations subcontractor and its race and ethnic media subcontractors. The internal tools included talking points, toolkits for field media specialists, media training, and a crisis management plan. The Census Bureau delivered external communication tools via a dynamic 2010 census website, news releases, news conferences, media interviews, videos, blogs, and social media vehicles such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and Flickr.

Over the course of the campaign, there were more than 17 billion news "impressions"—potential readers and viewers—about the 2010 Census in the news media. Some of the highlighted earned media and public relations events for the 2010 Census are described in the following section.

2010 Census Road Tour. The road tour brought the census message into the community. At each road tour stop, specialists arranged events and coordinated with local partners to generate media coverage. The tour launched on January 4, 2010, featuring a Today Show tour of the vehicle with the U.S. secretary of commerce and the U.S. Census Bureau director. These outreach efforts netted 102 million media impressions during the first week and a total of 217 million media impressions during the 18-week tour.

Census launch. The launch of 2010 Census operations was marked by an event in Noorvik, Alaska, on January 25, 2010, with the U.S. Census Bureau director delivering the first census form to a remote Alaskan village via dogsled.

Take 10 campaign. The Take 10 campaign inspired mail participation by giving the public real-time access to daily 2010 Census mail participation rates. The Census Bureau's Public Information Office released daily news updates highlighting states that had met or exceeded their mail participation rates from the 2000 Census. The viral nature of the campaign resulted in more than 20 million views of localized, daily rate "widgets." By empowering the nation, the Take 10 Campaign drove home the point that the success of the 2010 Census was literally in their hands.

Partnership Program

The 2010 Census ICP also included a partnership program with both a national and regional focus that built partnerships with state, local, and tribal governments; community-based organizations; and the private sector. Census Bureau staff also established partnerships with national nongovernmental organizations such as community action/advocacy groups, chambers of commerce, foundations, labor unions, religious organizations, and youth organizations.

The national partnership program strove to (a) make contact with national organizations representing various target populations, (b) get national partners to sign the partnership agreement form or verbally commit to assist in the 2010 census campaign, and (c) get national partners to mobilize local affiliates. We encouraged national governmental and nongovernmental organizations to mobilize their local affiliates and chapters to support the 2010 census at the local level through completed partnership outreach activities.

The Census Bureau asked its partners to assist in three major areas: data collection support, recruitment, and promotion. National partners rose to the challenge through a variety of activities. Partners assisted in recruiting millions of individuals to conduct various census operations and make public endorsements of the 2010 Census. Partners put drop-in articles in their newsletters and other publications, developed cobranded products using 2010 Census logos and messaging, distributed and displayed 2010 Census promotional materials, and included 2010 Census messages on their websites. Partners also translated products prepared by the Census Bureau into a variety of languages other than English and included the Census Bureau on the agendas of their national and regional annual meetings, speaking to their constituencies during plenary sessions and reaching them through workshops. Census Bureau employees also staffed exhibits during national conferences to promote awareness about the census among attendees.

The 2010 Census regional partnership program took a multilingual and multicultural approach to community education and outreach, combining it with local communications, grassroots-style organizing, and special initiatives to promote census participation among hard-to-count populations. More than 257,000 governments, organizations, groups, and businesses partnered with the Census Bureau during the 2010 Census operations. (U.S.Census Bureau, 2012b)

For more information about the partnership program, see Olson and colleagues (in press).

Highlights of the regional partnership program

Education initiatives. More than 30,000 regional education partners conducted census education and outreach activities. The largest education initiative was the Census in Schools program, which created census maps, lesson plans, and other resources for children in kindergarten through high school. The second-largest education initiative was the regionally created Census on Campus program, which became a national model for college and university student outreach (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012b).

Complete Count Committees. Complete Count Committees were volunteer groups facilitated and trained by partnership staff to conduct census education and outreach. We established Complete Count Committees with tribal, state, and local governments as well as community organizations. The committees typically included a cross-section of representatives from government agencies, educational institutions, businesses, community groups, and religious groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012b).

Faith-based outreach. The objective of faith-based outreach was to provide faith leaders with materials to conduct census education and outreach with their congregations and among hard-to-count populations. Faith leaders are also trusted voices and gatekeepers of certain hard-to-count populations. Often, non-English speakers and new immigrants obtain food, clothing, and other services from faith-based organizations. More than 34,000 places of worship and faith-based groups partnered with the Census Bureau during the 2010 Census campaign; most were in hard-to-count areas (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012b).

Foreign-born/immigrant outreach. The goal of the 2010 Census Foreign Born/Immigrant Outreach Program was to promote census participation among non-English speakers, recent immigrants, refugees, and unauthorized residents. The Census Bureau partnered with organizations that work with immigrant populations—specifically with migrant and seasonal farm

workers—to conduct census education and outreach. The Census Bureau also partnered with more than 250 embassies and consulates to promote the 2010 Census. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012b)

Monitoring and Evaluating the Campaign

Monitoring

Once the elements of the ICP were under way, the Census Bureau established a number of activities designed to monitor the campaign and allow for real-time interventions should they become necessary. One such example was a daily poll that tracked campaign awareness of messages, census attitudes, and intent to participate in the census (Miller, Bates, & Walejko, 2010). The survey measured beliefs and attitudes that might be susceptible to change during the months leading up to Census Day and that could have an effect on census participation, thereby documenting the evolution of intended census participation. This information was reported on a weekly basis to census officials in charge of decennial data collection and communication with the public. Communication tactics were modified, in part, based on these reports.

The poll was conducted by the Gallup Organization as part of its daily Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index (G1K) survey. From December 3, 2009, through April 24, 2010, 10 questions were added to the G1K and approximately 200 census interviews were completed each day. The interviews were conducted by phone, including both landlines and cell phones. This data collection was referred to as the census continuous tracking survey (CCTS). Questions included self-reported intention to participate in the census and a proximal predictor of intention: general awareness of the census.

Tracking residents' response to the impending 2010 census begins with a look at the most important item in the CCTS: intention to participate in the census. Figure 5.1 displays responses from early December 2009 through late April 2010 to the question of how likely respondents would be to fill out and mail in a census form. Each date on the x-axis of the figure represents a rolling week (approximately 1,400 respondents). The figure shows that at the beginning of the tracking period, before any communication efforts were launched, 50 percent of respondents reported that they would "definitely" participate in the census. Thus, there was a fairly high base of diffuse support at the outset. By late April, more than 90 percent of respondents reported that they had already mailed in the census form or definitely would do so.

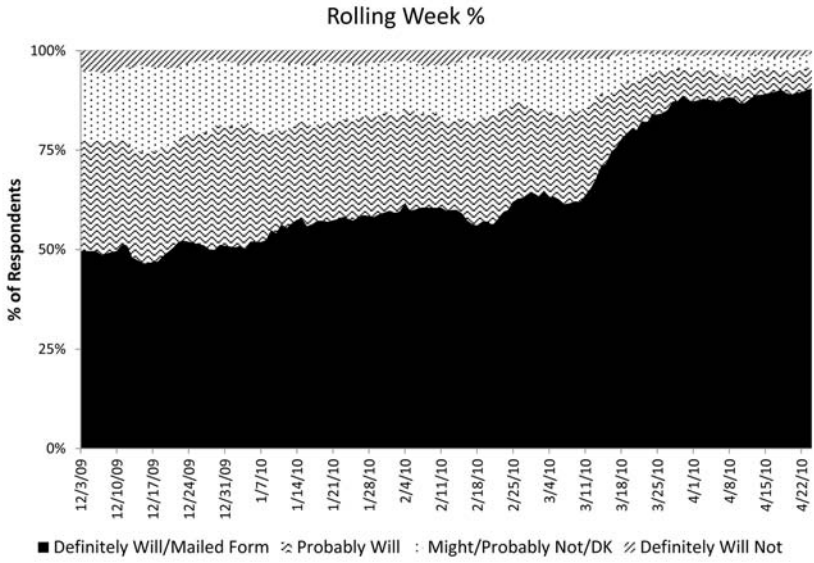

Figure 5.1 "How likely are you to participate in the 2010 Census? By participate, we mean fill out and mail in a Census form."

(From "A tracking study of attitudes and participation in the 2010 Census" by P.V. Miller, N. Bates, and G. Walejko, 2010, (p. 12) Chicago, IL.)

Pronounced subgroup differences emerged when intention to participate was broken out by age, as shown in Figure 5.2. The older two age groups tracked fairly closely together throughout the study, with the 25- to 44-year-olds somewhat lower. The obvious outlier is the 18- to 24-year-old group, which operated on a lower plane from the beginning of the tracking period, with a spike beginning in mid-March. The disjuncture between the youngest age group and the others, replicated with other key tracking variables, was a source of worry and led to redoubled targeted communication efforts in the census's campaign to encourage response.

In addition to the focus on intention to participate, the study sought to track the gross public awareness of the decennial count over the months leading up to it. The measure we employed, focusing on the previous week, was intended to capture very recent movement in information available in the media and elsewhere. Figure 5.3 shows the pattern of awareness during the study period. Although fewer than 40 percent of early-December respondents reported having heard anything about the census in the previous week, by the period around Census Day, nearly all

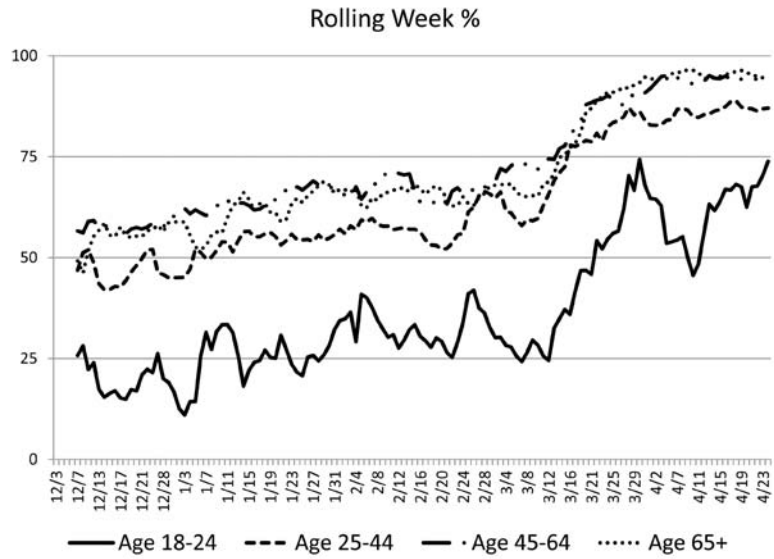

Figure 5.2 "How likely are you to participate in the 2010 Census? By participate, we mean fill out and mail in a Census form." Response: Definitely Will/Already Mailed Back.

(From "A tracking study of attitudes and participation in the 2010 Census" by P.V. Miller, N. Bates, and G. Walejko, G., 2010, (p. 14) Chicago, IL.)

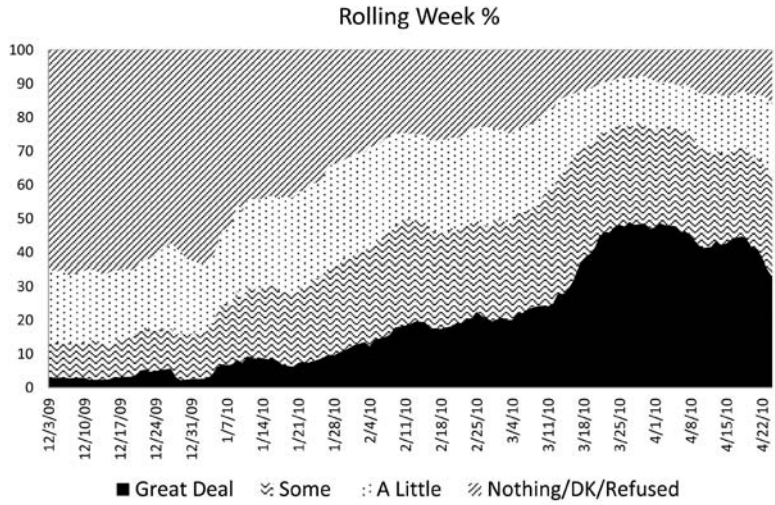

Figure 5.3 "How much have you seen or heard recently—within the last week or so—about the 2010 Census?"

(From "A tracking study of attitudes and participation in the 2010 Census," by P.V. Miller, N. Bates, and G. Walejko, G., 2010, (p. 16), Chicago, IL.)

respondents reported having heard something (i.e., a great deal, some, or a little). The growth in awareness in the heard-something categories was fairly steady from the first of the year (when the census public relations and advertising campaign began) through April 1, with an acceleration around mid-March, when census letters and forms were mailed. After Census Day, the level of awareness tapered off, reflecting the decline in publicity.

Evaluation of the Campaign

The Census Bureau contracted with the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago to conduct an independent and comprehensive evaluation of the 2010 campaign. The 2010 Census Integrated Communications Program Evaluation (CICPE) focused on understanding the extent to which the 2010 Integrated Communications Campaign (ICC) achieved its goals of increasing mail returns and increasing cooperation with enumerators.

The main data collection mechanism in the CICPE was a series of three waves of household surveys designed to use a nationally representative sample and to oversample hard-to-count populations. The NORC constructed the surveys to determine knowledge about and attitudes toward the census, self-reported exposure, and reaction to the ICC. The first wave was conducted during the early phase of the partnership program (mid-September 2009 to mid-January 2010) and prior to the start of paid advertising; the objective was to assess near-baseline levels of census awareness, knowledge, and intent to participate. The second wave took place from January 19 through March 18, 2010, during the peak of the paid media campaign and partnership activities. The third wave was conducted from mid-April through mid-July 2010, when door-to-door enumerators were conducting NRFU interviews for those households failing to complete and return a census form.

The oversampled groups included individuals from the five hard-to-count populations (Hispanic, non-Hispanic African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander). Table 5.5 following provides unweighted, completed case counts by race/ethnicity and wave. (See Datta et al., 2012, for details of the sample design and data collection methods.)

The CICPE was a large and complex undertaking. For the discussion here, we have extracted a limited portion of the analyses. For an in-depth discussion of the results and conclusions of the CICPE, see Datta and colleagues (2012).

Table 5.5 2010 CICPE Completed Cases by Race/Ethnicity Group

Race/Ethnicity	Total cases completed		
	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 3
Hispanic	461	369	539
Non-Hispanic African American	377	384	526
Non-Hispanic Whites[1]	404	358	472
American Indian	457	392	529
Asian	542	410	548
Native Hawaiian	430	350	494
Total	2,671	2,263	3,108

Note. [1] This category includes all non-black, non-Hispanic individuals in the nationally representative core sample, including Asians, Native Hawaiians, other Pacific Islanders, American Indians, and Alaska Natives. For ease of interpretation, we label the category "non-Hispanic white" to reflect the most numerous group within the category. The results shown for American Indians, Asians, and Native Hawaiians are from samples supplemental to the nationally representative core sample.

Source: From Final Report: 2010 Census Integrated Communications Program Evaluation (CICPE) (pp. 23), by R. Datta, T. Yan, D. Evans, S. Pedlow, B. Spencer, and R. Bautista, 2012, Chicago, IL: National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.

Quoting from the CICPE report, the main findings were:

- Knowledge of the census increased significantly for the U.S. population as a whole and among key subgroups from fall 2009 to late spring 2010. Attitudes toward the census also became more favorable during that period.
- Exposure to the 2010 ICC was quite high for the population as a whole and for key subgroups, particularly through paid media broadcast on television. On average, a national sample of Americans recalled seeing census-related communications about once a week during the spring of 2010.
- A consistent finding of this evaluation . . . is that different subgroups vary in their responses to the different components of the campaign. Aside from word of mouth, statistically significant associations between campaign exposure and mail return promote rather than depress mail return. (Datta et al., 2012, pp. xi–xii)

The CICPE questionnaires explored the self-explicated recall of exposure to the various components (paid media, earned media, partnership, and Census in Schools) and subcomponents (e.g., TV, radio, print, online within paid media). Here, we discuss some selected key findings.

Between Waves 1 and 3, the CICPE observed large increases in exposure across all sample types and in all the components of the ICC. As might be expected, the largest recall of exposure was to paid media, mostly television ads. However, each of the components of the ICC showed increases in estimated exposure frequency over the time frame of the ICC.

Table 5.6 Frequency of Exposure to 2010 ICC by Sample Type and Wave

Sample Type	Frequency of total exposure to 2010 ICC: Past 30/90 days		
	W1 (SE)	W2 (SE)	W3 (SE)
Hispanic	1.3 (0.4)	$4.5^{G\ T}$ (0.4)	$22.9^{G\ T}$ (3.0)
Non-Hispanic African American	1.3 (0.4)	4.2^{T} (1.0)	14.7^{T} (2.2)
Non-Hispanic White	0.9 (0.2)	$3.0^{G\ T}$ (0.2)	$13.6^{G\ T}$ (1.4)
National Estimate	1.0 (0.1)	3.3^{T} (0.3)	14.8^{T} (1.6)
American Indian	0.8 (0.1)	3.7^{T} (0.5)	13.6^{T} (2.1)
Asian	0.4^{G} (0.1)	3.5^{T} (0.5)	11.1^{T} (1.6)
Native Hawaiian	0.3^{G} (0.1)	2.8^{T} (0.3)	16.2^{T} (1.9)

Note. W = wave; SE = Standard error. SE were properly adjusted for the complex survey design. For comparisons across groups, ^{G} indicates $p < .05$, and g indicates $p < .10$ (but $p > .05$). The significance testing conducted compares each subgroup with a reference category as follows: Hispanics versus non-Hispanic African Americans + non-Hispanic whites; non-Hispanic African Americans versus Hispanics + non-Hispanic whites; non-Hispanic Whites versus non-Hispanic African Americans+ Hispanics; American Indians versus the National Estimate, Asians versus the National Estimate; Native Hawaiians versus the National Estimate. For comparisons across waves (time), ^{T} indicates $p < .05$, and t indicates $p < .10$ (but $p > .05$). If there is a significant change between W1 and W2, the letter is placed in the column for W2. Similarly, if a significant change is detected between W1 and W3, the letter is placed in the column for W3. Statistical significance tests were adjusted to account for the panel component of the survey. The significance tests were not adjusted for multiple comparisons.

Source: From Final Report: 2010 Census Integrated Communications Program Evaluation (CICPE) (pp. 91), by R. Datta, T. Yan, D. Evans, S. Pedlow, B. Spencer, and R. Bautista, 2012, Chicago, IL: National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.

As an example, Table 5.6 shows the self-estimated frequency of exposure to any component of the ICC in the previous 30 and 90 days. The frequency of exposure rises significantly between Waves 1 and 2, where the reference time period was exposure in the last 30 days. The average frequency for the recalled exposure in the national estimate was 14.8 for a recall period of 90 days, or approximately once per week.

One basic indicator of the ICC's impact is the extent to which it is associated with changes in the public's awareness and familiarity with the census. The CICPE assessed awareness and familiarity using the following three survey questions:

1. "Have you ever heard of the census?"
2. "The census is the count of all the people who live in the United States. Have you ever heard of that before?"

3. "In general, how familiar are you with the way census data impact you and your community? Would you say very familiar, somewhat familiar, not very familiar, or not familiar at all?"

Table 5.7 shows the percentages of those who had heard of the census (question 1), the total of those indicating that they had heard of the census based on their responses to either question 1 or question 2, and those who answered that they were very familiar with the census (question 3).

Table 5.7 Awareness of the Census by Sample Type and Wave

	Heard of Census			Very familiar with Census		
Sample type	**W1 % (SE)**	**W2 % (SE)**	**W3 % (SE)**	**W1 % (SE)**	**W2 % (SE)**	**W3 % (SE)**
Hispanic	83.6^{g} (4.7)	91.7 (3.8)	95.9^{T} (2.2)	18.2 (3.6)	26.3$^{G\ T}$ (5.5)	29.7^{t} (6.0)
Non-Hispanic African American	77.1 ^{G} (8.3)	87.5^{G} (4.8)	94.6^{T} (2.4)	17.0 (6.1)	18.3 (4.3)	27.5^{t} (4.0)
Non-Hispanic White	92.8^{G} (2.3)	97.7^{G} (0.9)	96.6 (1.4)	12.6 (2.1)	16.1^{g} (2.5)	25.3^{T} (2.0)
National Estimate	90.0 (2.0)	95.9^{T} (1.1)	96.3^{T} (1.3)	13.7 (1.7)	17.4 (2.4)	26.0^{T} (1.7)
American Indian	77.8^{G} (2.5)	90.1$^{g\ T}$ (4.4)	98.2^{T} (1.0)	10.1 (2.1)	17.2 (4.3)	25.6^{T} (2.7)
Asian	65.9^{G} (3.0)	84.9$^{G\ T}$ (3.7)	90.8^{T} (4.5)	8.2^{g} (1.9)	15.7 (2.2)	19.0$^{G\ T}$ (2.2)
Native Hawaiian	73.4^{G} (4.8)	87.9$^{G\ T}$ (3.7)	91.9^{T} (3.4)	6.8^{G} (1.0)	11.9 (2.9)	16.6$^{G\ T}$ (2.4)

Note. W = Wave; SE = Standard errors. SE were properly adjusted for the complex survey design. For comparisons across groups, ^{G} indicates $p < .05$, and g indicates $p < .10$ (but $p > .05$). The significance testing conducted compares each subgroup with a reference category as follows: Hispanics versus non-Hispanic African Americans + non-Hispanic whites; non-Hispanic African Americans versus Hispanics + non-Hispanic whites; non-Hispanic whites versus non-Hispanic African Americans + Hispanics; American Indians versus the National Estimate, Asians versus the National Estimate; Native Hawaiians versus the National Estimate. For comparisons across waves (time), ^{T} indicates $p < .05$, and t indicates $p < .10$ (but $p > .05$). If there is a significant change between W 1 and W2 the letter is placed in the column for W2. Similarly, if a significant change is detected between W1 and W3, the letter is placed in the column for W3. Statistical significance tests were adjusted to account for the panel component of the survey. The significance tests were not adjusted for multiple comparisons.

Source: From Final Report: 2010 Census Integrated Communications Program Evaluation (CICPE) (pp. 101), by R. Datta, T. Yan, D. Evans, S. Pedlow, B. Spencer, and R. Bautista, 2012, Chicago, IL: National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.

The level of awareness and familiarity generally grew over the life of the ICC across all sample types. Starting from a high baseline level, the percent having "heard of the census" does not show a significant increase for non-Hispanic Whites over the waves of the survey. Although the Asian and Native Hawaiian samples showed significant increases in familiarity with the census across the waves, they still had a lower level of being very familiar with the census when compared to the national estimate.

Similar to the Gallup daily tracking survey, in Waves 1 and 2, the CICPE measured respondents' intentions to participate in the census (see Table 5.8). By Wave 3, the window for mail response to the census before a visit from an enumerator had already passed. The stated intention to participate increased between Waves 1 and 2 for all sample types. There were group differences in the Wave 1 baseline between non-Hispanic whites and the combination of Hispanics and non-Hispanic African Americans. American Indians, Asians, and Native Hawaiians all had lower intentions than the national average in Wave 1. These gaps were closed for most

Table 5.8 Intent to Participate in Census by Sample Type and Wave

Sample type	Definitely would participate in the Census	
	W1 % (SE)	W2 % (SE)
Hispanic	38.5^{g} (9.4)	61.7^{T} (7.1)
Non-Hispanic African American	37.6 (7.3)	55.0^{T} (6.8)
Non-Hispanic White	52.7^{G} (4.1)	63.7^{T} (2.4)
National Estimate	49.7 (4.1)	62.6^{T} (1.7)
American Indian	40.4^{g} (2.9)	53.7^{T} (5.6)
Asian	33.8^{G} (3.6)	53.7$^{g\ T}$ (4.8)
Native Hawaiian	36.8^{G} (2.0)	43.7$^{G\ t}$ (3.3)

Note. W = wave; SE = standard error. SE were properly adjusted for the complex survey design. For comparisons across groups, ^{G} indicates $p < .05$, and g indicates $p < .10$ (but $p > .05$). The significance testing conducted compares each subgroup with a reference category as follows: Hispanics versus non-Hispanic African Americans + non-Hispanic whites; non-Hispanic African Americans versus Hispanics + non-Hispanic whites; non-Hispanic whites versus non-Hispanic African Americans + Hispanics; American Indians versus the National Estimate, Asians versus the National Estimate; Native Hawaiians versus the National Estimate. For comparisons across waves (time), ^{T} indicates $p < .05$, and t indicates $p<0.10$ (but $p>0.05$). If there is a significant change between W1 and W2, the letter is placed in the column for W2. Statistical significance tests were adjusted to account for the panel component of the survey. The significance tests were not adjusted for multiple comparisons.

Source: From Final Report: 2010 Census Integrated Communications Program Evaluation (CICPE) (pp. 105), by R. Datta, T. Yan, D. Evans, S. Pedlow, B. Spencer, and R. Bautista, 2012, Chicago, IL: National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.

groups by Wave 2, but for the Asian and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander subsamples, the intention to participate remained lower than the national estimate in Wave 2.

The CICPE survey contained a series of questions that measured respondents' favorability toward and opinions of the census. Some attitude questions were framed in a positive light, for example, "Answering and sending back the Census matters for my family and community." Others were framed negatively, such as, "The Census is an invasion of privacy." For the analysis, the strongly agree and agree responses were combined into an agree category. The counts of agree category responses for both the positive and negative attitudes were then presented as summary metrics across the waves of the study and sample types. There were five positive and six negative attitude items in the survey. The full battery of items and a further discussion of the scoring metric are available in the report by Datta and colleagues (2012).

Table 5.9 presents the average number of agree responses for both positive and negative attitudes. All sample types showed a statistically significant increase in the count of agree responses to positive attitude items over the waves of the CICPE. The trend for decreased agreement with negative attitude items (i.e., becoming more favorable toward the census) was more mixed. Three groups showed decreased agreement with negative attitude items: Hispanics, non-Hispanic whites, and Asians. The other three groups were statistically unchanged.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we would like to focus attention briefly on a few areas that reflect some of the hits and misses and what worked and did not work in the ICP. For example:

- The Census Bureau achieved its targeted mail participation rate of 74 percent.
- There was some evidence that the ICP may have been oversaturated. For example, between January and July of 2010, the ICP ranked in the top five advertisers, behind only leading advertisers such as McDonalds, Walmart, and GEICO.
- The ICP had a goal of 46 total exposures through measured media for its nationwide media plan. The GRP audit indicated that the ICP came close. On average, the media audience received 42 measured campaign exposures. The ethnic media campaigns and selective media such as newspapers, online, and out-of-home provided additional unmeasured exposures for hard-to-count audiences.

Table 5.9 Positive and Negative Attitudes toward the Census by Sample Type and Wave

Sample type	Count of agree responses to positive attitudes			Count of agree responses to negative attitudes		
	W1 (SE)	W2 (SE)	W3 (SE)	W1 (SE)	W2 (SE)	W3 (SE)
Hispanic	3.4 (0.3)	3.9 (0.2)	$4.4^{G\ T}$ (0.3)	1.1 (0.2)	1.1^{G} (0.2)	0.8^{t} (0.1)
Non-Hispanic African American	3.0 (0.3)	3.5 (0.3)	3.8^{T} (0.3)	1.1 (0.2)	0.8 (0.2)	0.9^{G} (0.1)
Non-Hispanic White	3.4 (0.1)	4.0^{T} (0.1)	4.0^{T} (0.3)	0.9 (0.1)	$0.6^{G\ T}$ (0.1)	$0.5^{G\ T}$ (0.1)
National Estimate	3.4 (0.1)	3.9^{T} (0.3)	4.0^{T} (0.3)	1.0 (0.1)	0.7^{T} (0.1)	0.6^{T} (0.1)
American Indian	3.1 (0.1)	3.8^{T} (0.2)	3.9^{T} (0.3)	0.9 (0.1)	0.8 (0.1)	0.8^{g} (0.1)
Asian	2.5^{G} (0.2)	$3.5^{G\ T}$ (0.2)	$3.5^{g\ T}$ (0.3)	1.1 (0.1)	1.1^{g} (0.2)	0.8^{T} (0.1)
Native Hawaiian	2.9 (0.3)	3.9^{T} (0.1)	3.8^{T} (0.3)	0.9 (0.1)	1.0^{G} (0.1)	0.9 (0.2)

Note. W = wave; SE = standard error. SE were properly adjusted for the complex survey design. For comparisons across groups, ^{G} indicates $p < .05$, and g indicates $p < .10$ (but $p > .05$). The significance testing conducted compares each subgroup with a reference category as follows: Hispanics versus non-Hispanic African Americans + non-Hispanic whites; non-Hispanic African Americans versus Hispanics + non-Hispanic whites; non-Hispanic whites versus non-Hispanic African Americans + Hispanics; American Indians versus the National Estimate, Asians versus the National Estimate; Native Hawaiians versus the National Estimate for comparisons across waves (time), ^{T} indicates $p < .05$, and t indicates $p<0.10$ (but $p>0.05$). If there is a significant change between W1 and W2, the letter is placed in the column for W2. Similarly, if a significant change is detected between W1 and W3, the letter is placed in the column for W3. Statistical significance tests were adjusted to account for the panel component of the survey. The significance tests were not adjusted for multiple comparisons.

Source: From Final Report: 2010 Census Integrated Communications Program Evaluation (CICPE) (pp. 111), by R. Datta, T. Yan, D. Evans, S. Pedlow, B. Spencer, and R. Bautista, 2012, Chicago, IL: National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.

As noted previously, the Census Bureau also formed the Academic Assessment Panel in April 2009 to review the paid advertising campaign independently while the creative executions and media implementation plans were still in development. In particular, the Census Bureau wanted to obtain an objective assessment of how Team Census's (i.e., Census Bureau decennial staff, DraftFCB, and subcontractors) processes for developing and implementing the communications strategy, creative messaging, and media plan compared with industry best practices. The panel consisted of five distinguished university scholars from around the country—including one of the co-authors of this chapter—with research interests in the fields of communications, advertising, and marketing. The panel's task was to make specific recommendations to address any shortcomings identified during its assessment, both to refine the 2010 campaign in the short term and to shape the 2020 campaign in the long term.

Overall, the Academic Assessment Panel praised the census's fundamentally sound, research-based campaign for the 2010 Census. When possible, the Census Bureau used the panel's recommendations. Examples of this include plans to increase exposure to single, unattached mobiles outside of digital media; reviewing and reexamining allocation across channels; and establishing a contingency plan for the campaign in case of a crisis situation. In certain cases, however, the Census Bureau was not immediately able to employ the panel's recommendations because they were longer-term suggestions (e.g., developing a campaign based on attitudinal mindsets versus race/ethnic segments). The long-term suggestions were documented and are being incorporated into the 2020 Census research plans. The key takeaways from this chapter are the lessons learned that will help going forward in preparation for a successful 2020 Census social marketing campaign. It is our hope that these lessons will guide and inform the development of the 2020 campaign by building on the 2010 campaign as described in this chapter, just as the success of that campaign was built upon the research and outcomes of previous census communications efforts.

Notes

* *The views expressed in this chapter are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the U.S. Census Bureau.*

1. The source of the data used in the analyses is the U.S. Census Bureau 2000 Planning Database (PDB), which is populated by the 2000 Census long-form data. The PDB is a tract-level database that is publicly available and contains a range of housing, demographic, and socioeconomic variables correlated with

mail response (Bruce & Robinson, 2006; Robinson et al., 2007). The 2000 PDB contains all tracts with population and housing units in the 2000 Census mail-out/mail-back universe. After excluding nonrepresentative tracts, our data set for analysis contained 62,708 tracts within the 50 states.

2. The 12 variables that comprise the score are: % vacant units, % nonsingle family attached/detached units (density of housing units), % renter-occupied units, % units with >1.5 persons per room (crowding), % nonspousal units, % units without phone, % people below poverty level, % units receiving public assistance, % people unemployed, % linguistically isolated households, % moved within last year, and % adults without high school education.
3. See Bates and Mulry (2012) for a more detailed description of methodology.
4. The American Community Survey is an ongoing national survey that samples a small percentage of the population every year and provides community-level profiles, including the age, education, household composition, and race and ethnic distributions, in a geographic area.

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CHAPTER SIX

The Role of Social Marketing in Preventing and Reducing Substance Abuse

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Substance Abuse: Its Magnitude and Effects

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the substantive, theoretical, and methodological contributions of social, regulatory, and counter-marketing efforts in helping to prevent and reduce substance abuse and addiction. We will limit our study of such contributions to work conducted in three primary areas: alcohol, drug, and nicotine (tobacco) addictions. Nevertheless, we recognize the existence of comorbidity across a wide array of other compulsive and addictive behaviors (e.g., gambling, binge eating, sexual disorders, criminality, online addictions). Based on our review, we offer recommendations and conclusions for the many researchers seeking to more fully understand what "works" in such social marketing and counter-marketing programs and what may offer some hope to the many who are struggling with addictions on a daily basis.

To accomplish these objectives, we first document the magnitude and effects of various forms of substance abuse. Then, we provide definitions for addiction and substance dependency (including a discussion on the new definitions in the fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders [DSM-5]*). This section concludes with an examination

of the different models and approaches used in the study of alcohol, drug, and nicotine dependencies.

The Prevalence, Magnitude, and Effects of Substance Abuse

Alcohol addiction. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC, 2013a), long-term, excessive alcohol use can lead to the development of chronic diseases, neurological impairments, and a variety of social problems. These include but are not limited to neurological problems (e.g., dementia, stroke, neuropathy); cardiovascular disease (e.g., myocardial infarction, cardiomyopathy, atrial fibrillation, hypertension); psychiatric problems (e.g., depression, anxiety, suicide); social challenges (e.g., unemployment, lost productivity, family issues); cancer of the mouth, throat, esophagus, liver, colon, and breast (with the risk of cancer increasing with greater amounts of alcohol); liver diseases (e.g., alcoholic hepatitis, cirrhosis, worsening of liver function for those with hepatitis C); and other gastrointestinal problems, including pancreatitis and gastritis (CDC, 2013a). All told, excessive alcohol use is directly attributable to 80,000 deaths in the United States each year, making it the third leading cause of preventable death in the nation. The yearly economic costs are estimated at $223.5 billion (CDC, 2013a).

Drug addiction. A drug is defined as an illicit drug, prescription drug, or over-the-counter drug, excluding alcohol. Drug-induced deaths include all deaths for which drugs are the underlying cause, including drug overdoses and deaths from medical conditions resulting from chronic drug use (Paulozzi, 2011). In 2009, the highest rates were for non-Hispanic, white males (Paulozzi, 2011), and the number of deaths overall (37,485) surpassed those from motor vehicle accidents (Moisse, 2011). Although drug use by high school students is still problematic, the CDC (2013b) reports the following encouraging changes in the percentage of high school seniors using various illicit drugs: marijuana (1980: 33.6 percent; 2010: 21.4 percent), cocaine (1980: 5.2 percent; 2010: 1.3 percent), inhalants (1980: 1.4 percent; 2010: 1.4 percent), and ecstasy (2000: 3.6 percent; 2010: 1.4 percent). The good news is that illicit drug use/abuse appears to be decreasing; however, prescription drug abuse is the fastest growing drug problem in the United States. More specifically, since 2003, a greater number of overdose deaths involving opioid analgesics (14,800 per year) have occurred than overdose deaths from heroin and cocaine combined (CDC, 2013b). Yet heroin deaths have increased recently because of restrictions on prescribing painkillers (Seelye, 2013).

Nicotine addiction. In the case of nicotine dependency, the focus on adolescents is important because every day in the United States approximately 3,800 young people try cigarettes for the first time, with an estimated 1,000 of these youth becoming daily cigarette smokers (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA], 2010). For every three young smokers, only one will quit, and 50 percent of those who continue to smoke will die from tobacco-related causes. Thus, smoking has been described accurately as a pediatric disease, because over 88 percent of current adult smokers begin their habit before age 18 (Surgeon General Report, 2012; Kessler et al., 1997). Moreover, once people become addicted, they find it hard to stop, and 67 percent of current smokers who want to quit completely are unable to do so (CDC, 2012a). Smoking is linked directly to at least 13 types of cancer and is responsible for an estimated 90 percent of lung cancer deaths in men, 80 percent of lung cancer deaths in women, and 90 percent of all deaths from chronic obstructive lung disease (CDC, 2014). In the United States, more deaths are caused each year by tobacco use (because of nicotine dependency) than by the HIV virus, illegal drug use, alcohol use, motor vehicle accidents, suicide, and murder combined (CDC, 2014). The end result is that smoking results in more than 480,000 U.S. deaths each year and more than 5 million annual deaths worldwide (CDC, 2014).

Definitions of Addiction and Substance Dependency (Including DSM-5)

Over the years, there have been several definitions, processes, inclusion criteria, and applications of the term *addiction*. One such view is that addiction is the continued use of a mood-altering substance or behavior despite adverse dependency consequences (Angres & Bettinardi-Angres, 2008). Alternatively, as part of the 2011 Transformative Consumer Research Conference, addiction is defined as "a learned excessive habit which is difficult to change despite its negative consequences" (para. 1). More recently, addiction has been viewed as a primary, chronic disease of brain reward, motivation, memory, and related circuitry, with dysfunction in these circuits leading to biological, psychological, social, and spiritual manifestations (American Society of Addiction Medicine [ASAM], 2013). As such, addiction is characterized by (1) an inability to consistently abstain, (2) impairment in behavioral control, (3) craving or increased hunger for drugs or rewarding experiences, (4) diminished recognition of significant problems with one's behaviors and interpersonal relationships, and (5) a dysfunctional emotional response (ASAM, 2013).

Thus, habits associated with addiction usually display a combination of immediate gratification (short-term reward) and delayed negative effects (long-term costs; Marlatt, Baer, Donovan, & Kivlahan, 1988). The progression usually follows a three-stage process of use, abuse, and then dependence (Institute of Medicine, 1996). Physical dependence develops from addiction when people incorporate the use of the substance into their daily functioning or routine (Torres & Horowitz, 1999). In turn, this can lead to repeated patterns of tolerance and withdrawal. Tolerance is characterized by the body's ability to adjust to the substance, requiring increasingly greater amounts to produce the original effects. Withdrawal refers to the physical and psychological symptoms (e.g., anxiety, irritability, cravings, headaches, sweats, tremors) experienced when a person reduces or stops using a substance on which that person's body has become dependent.

As directly related to the field of marketing, external cues are argued to often trigger cravings and drug use, as well as increasing the frequency of engagement in other addictive behaviors (ASAM, 2013; DePaulo, Rubin, & Miller, 1987). This occurs through the involvement of the hippocampus region of the brain with memories of previous euphoric or dysphoric experiences, with the amygdala playing a role in directing motivation to concentrate on behaviors associated with these past experiences. Of course, our chapter also examines the positive role of social marketing efforts in reducing such cravings and addictive behaviors.

The "gold standard" for classifying those addicted with substance use disorders is the DSM, published by the American Psychiatric Association (APA). The DSM-IV-TR (fourth edition, text revision) was in use until the fifth edition (DSM-5) was released in May 2013 (APA, 2013). Approximately 8.9 percent of the U.S. population (22.5 million individuals) was classified with substance abuse or dependence problems based on the DSM-IV-TR (SAMSHA, 2011). The annual total estimated societal cost of substance abuse in the United States is $510.8 billion (Miller & Hendrie, 2009).

In the latest revision, the DSM-5 eliminated the previous separate categories for substance abuse and substance dependence and replaced them with a single category of substance use disorder (APA, 2013; APA, 2000; Jones, Gill, & Ray, 2012). Under the previous DSM-IV-TR, a diagnosis of substance abuse was given to a person who might use a substance and suffer adverse consequences, yet does not show dependence (Jones et al., 2012). Currently, the DSM-5 recognizes substance use disorders resulting from the use of many separate classes of drugs: alcohol, caffeine, cannabis, hallucinogens, inhalants, opioids, sedatives, hypnotics, stimulants (including amphetamines, cocaine), tobacco, and other or unknown substances. Also, gambling disorder is included as a sole condition in a new

category of behavioral addictions, yet some public health experts feel this new category might be used (perhaps too often) to diagnose addictions to various other activities, including shopping, video games, sex, and Internet use (*New York Times* Staff, 2012). Each specific substance (other than caffeine) is addressed as a separate use disorder, but nearly all substances are diagnosed based on the same overarching criteria (APA, 2013).

Specifically, the DSM-5 diagnostic criteria for a substance use disorder cover eleven different symptoms: (1) using larger amounts than needed; (2) unsuccessful attempts to stop or control the substance use; (3) spending substantial time obtaining, using, or recovering from the effects of the substance; (4) having cravings and urges to use the substance; (5) failure to fulfill major role obligations at work, home, or school; (6) continued use despite recurrent substance-related social or interpersonal problems; (7) giving up or reducing time on important activities because of substance use; (8) use in physically hazardous conditions (e.g., drunk driving); (9) continued use despite substance-related physical or psychological problems; (10) needing more of the substance to get the desired effect (tolerance); and (11) development of withdrawal symptoms that can be relieved by taking more of the substance (APA, 2013). As listed previously, the DSM-5 includes a new diagnostic criterion (cravings and urges), yet it eliminated another criterion (legal problems) from the DSM-IV-TR because of low discrimination values and factor loadings (APA, 2013; Jones et al., 2012). The severity of the DSM-5 substance use disorder is based on the number of criteria endorsed: 2–3 criteria indicate a "mild" disorder; 4–5 criteria suggest a "moderate" disorder, and 6 or more criteria is labeled as a "severe" disorder (APA, 2013).

In general, the DSM is important because it determines whether insurers (including Medicare and Medicaid) will pay for treatment and whether schools will finance specific special education services. Also, the legal system uses the DSM to evaluate whether criminal defendants are mentally impaired. Moreover, pharmaceutical drug manufacturers rely on the DSM when making decisions about research. Some economists predict that the new definition of addiction could add 20 million people to the number of those diagnosed with the condition, leading to hundreds of millions of dollars in additional costs (*New York Times* Staff, 2012). Only time will tell if this occurs, but it represents the first major revision to the DSM in nearly 14 years.

Models of Addiction in Studying Alcohol, Drug, and Nicotine Dependencies

In the examination of the etiology (i.e., causation) of substance dependencies and addictive behaviors, there have been a variety of competing models or approaches offered (cf. Andrews & Netemeyer, 1996; Institute of

Medicine, 1996; Marlatt et al., 1988; Peele, 1988). The following section presents the more prevalent models.

Medical/disease model and extensions. One of the first approaches to the etiology of substance abuse and alcoholism was the medical ("disease") model (Marlatt et al., 1988). In general, this model predicts an underlying disease process focusing on genetic predispositions, physical dependency, and the progressive nature of the disease. One depiction of the disease model can be found in Figure 6.1, as developed by Alexander (1988). In this model, genetic predispositions and faulty upbringing (e.g., psychological damage during childhood) are predicted to affect an individual's susceptibility to addiction, substance abuse, and the negative outcomes that eventually result from these conditions. The primary drivers in this model are genetic predispositions and childhood damage as opposed to external factors (e.g., environmental stress, drug exposure), which can serve as contributing factors midway in the model. The major criticism of this approach is that it does not account for inadequacies in an individual's environment (e.g., living in areas where gang/drug activity is prevalent), commonalities in behaviors across addictions, and the situational context (Alexander, 1988; Marlatt et al., 1988; Orford, 1985). Moreover, it has been argued that the model suggests that affected individuals are not responsible for the disease or for changing their behavior.

In light of this criticism, Alexander (1988) presented the competing adaptive model (see Figure 6.2), in which environmental inadequacy is

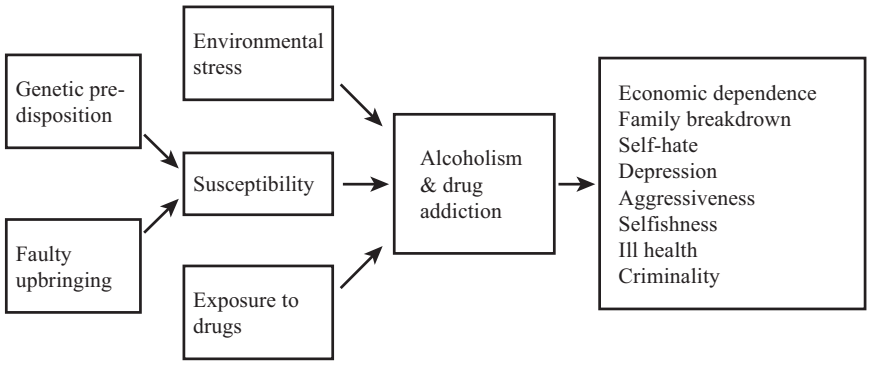

Figure 6.1 Disease model.

(Reprinted from "The Disease and Adaptive Models of Addiction: A Framework Evaluation," by B. K. Alexander, in S. Peele (Ed.), *Visions of Addiction: Major Contemporary Perspectives on Addiction and Alcoholism* (p. 46), 1988, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books. Copyright 1988 by Lexington Books. Reprinted by permission.)

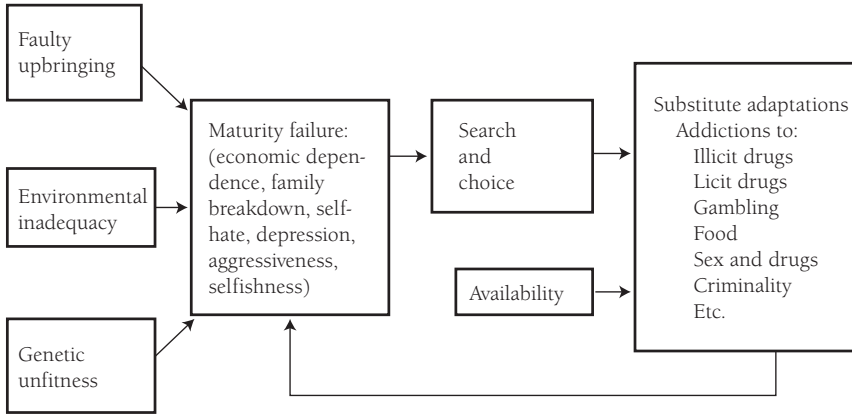

Figure 6.2 Adaptive model.

(Reprinted from "The Disease and Adaptive Models of Addiction: A Framework Evaluation," by B. K. Alexander, in S. Peele (Ed.), *Visions of Addiction: Major Contemporary Perspectives on Addiction and Alcoholism* (p. 46), 1988, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books. Copyright 1988 by Lexington Books. Reprinted by permission.)

added to genetics and childhood upbringing as a precondition to failure to integrate into society as an adult (i.e., maturity failure), subsequent poor choices, and addiction. These broader perspectives are a key feature of the competing models described below.

Biological/genetic model. The examination of family history is an important aspect of identifying an individual's genetic (biological) vulnerability to addiction. For example, there is a direct relationship between parental drug use or abuse and offspring use or abuse (Merikangas, Rounsaville, & Prusoff, 1992). Also, sons of alcoholics have a "decreased intensity of reaction to modest doses of alcohol," placing them at greater risk of alcohol abuse than sons of nonalcoholics (Schuckit, 1987). Other research has shown that children of alcoholics are up to four times more likely to become alcoholics as children of nonalcoholics (Marlatt et al., 1988).

Studies of twins have provided useful insight into the genetic factors leading to substance abuse (Institute of Medicine, 1996). For example, Cloninger, Bohman, and Sigvardsson (1981) found that monozygotic (identical) twins are almost twice as likely as dizygotic (fraternal) twins (of the same sex) to suffer from alcohol dependency. Similarly, Pickens and colleagues (1991) showed that the rate of drug abuse is significantly higher for monozygotic male twins than for dizygotic male twins, but the same was not true for females. Finally, cross-adoption rates of children of alcoholics who were raised by nonalcoholic adoptive parents show a 3 to 4

times greater risk for alcohol abuse and dependence compared to adoptees whose biological parents were not alcoholics (Bohman, Sigvardsson, & Cloninger, 1981; Cadoret, Cain, & Grove, 1980; Cloninger et al., 1981; Goodwin et al., 1973; Schuckit et al., 1972). Thus, genetic/biological factors can explain some of the variance in vulnerability to drug abuse and the development of behavioral problems (Institute of Medicine, 1996).

Personality model. Considerable research exists on the relationship between personality traits and drug use, especially in adolescents (Brook & Brook, 1990; Clayton, 1992; Hawkins, Lishner, Catalano, & Howard, 1985; Institute of Medicine, 1996; Jessor, Jessor, & Finney, 1973; Jessor & Jessor, 1975; Kandel, 1980). The most powerful predictors of frequent drug use are rebelliousness, tolerance of deviance, and low school achievement (Brook, Whiteman, Gordon, & Cohen, 1986). Sensation seeking and enjoyment of risky behaviors also are linked with adolescent drug use (Palmgreen et al., 1995). Interestingly, nonuse can be linked (e.g., in media campaigns) with affirmation of personal identity, aspirations, and autonomy in teens (Slater & Kelly, 2002).

With regard to alcohol abuse, several personality links have been identified, including impulsivity, nonconformity, and reward seeking (Cox, 1987). The onset of drinking has been linked to an array of personality traits, such as devaluation of academic achievement, more tolerant values toward deviant behavior, lower levels of religiosity, lack of a focus on hard work, greater rebelliousness, rejection of parental authority, negative beliefs about the harms of drinking, and greater positive beliefs about the social benefits of drinking (cf. Institute of Medicine, 1996; Jessor & Jessor, 1975; Margulies, Kessler, & Kandel, 1977).

Psychological model. Although antisocial and deviant behaviors represent risk factors for drug abuse, the two most common psychopathologies (i.e., dysfunctions of the mental processes) linked to drug abuse are depression and an antisocial personality (Cadoret et al., 1980; Institute of Medicine, 1996). As with drug abuse, Jones, Cheshire, and Moorhouse (1985) found a higher level of depression in alcoholics than in the general population. A tie to depression has also been found with other addictive behaviors, such as compulsive spending and pathological gambling (Raviv, 1993). Furthermore, anxiety and low self-esteem have both been strongly linked with alcoholism (Jacobs, 1989; Marlatt et al., 1988).

Sociological model. No doubt, addiction may be the result of socialization with family, peers, and the environment when young. As noted by Glantz and Pickens (1992), a poor-quality parent-child relationship, family disruptions (e.g., divorce, acute or chronic stress), poor parenting skills, parent and/or sibling drug use, parental attitudes sympathetic to

drug use, and social deprivation all can be associated with drug use and abuse. Among older adolescents, peers can have a greater effect than parents on drug use and abuse across many sociodemographic groups (Newcomb & Bentler, 1986). Clearly, sociocultural factors, such as community drug use patterns (Robins, 1984) and neighborhood disorganization (Sampson, 1985) also can have an impact on drug use and abuse.

With respect to alcohol abuse, evidence suggests that children can acquire beliefs and expectations about alcohol well before they begin to drink (Marlatt et al., 1988). As noted by Goldman, Brown, and Christianson (1987), this acquisition can occur through the processes of causal attributions (e.g., experiencing an alcohol-related event), vicarious learning (e.g., observing the behavior of others), and/or via classical conditioning (through symbolism paired with alcohol). Symbolic appeals in alcohol advertising and promotion have long been cited as positioning alcohol as a reward for overcoming challenges (Strate, 1991). Others have examined the role of cues in marketing communications in affecting trial, relapse, and cessation behavior in alcoholism and other addictions (DePaulo et al., 1987; Martin et al., 2012). Thus, the sociological model argues that society and culture (via socialization) are important factors in the development of substance use, abuse, and addictions.

Finally, it is worth noting that many researchers have advocated the consideration of various combinations of the preceding models to more fully understand substance use, abuse, and addictive behaviors—including genetics, biological dysfunction, family environment, cultural impact, and personality (Alexander, 1988; Jacobs, 1989; Marlatt et al., 1988; Peele, 1985, 1988). We concur with this view, which has been referred to as the biopsychosocial approach (Marlatt et al., 1988). Thus, there are many different models of addiction with which the impact of social marketing and counter-marketing programs can be studied and tested in attempting to reduce substance abuse.

The Role of Social Marketing and Counter-marketing Programs in Reducing Substance Abuse

Social Marketing and Different Program Types

For decades, those studying social marketing have lamented the challenges of the field with the question, "Why can't you sell brotherhood like soap?" (Wiebe, 1951). No doubt, marketing and behavioral researchers have much to offer in addressing problems faced by society because of unfortunate "choices" people make in their everyday lives (Petty & Cacioppo, 1996). Yet what exactly is social marketing? (Alan Andreasen

devotes an entire chapter of this handbook to the question, so the discussion here will be brief.)

The first formal definition of social marketing, proposed by Kotler and Zaltman in 1971, stated, "Social marketing is the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research" (p. 5). Over time, others argued for improvements and changes to how social marketing is defined, as evidenced by Andreasen's (1994) proposed definition, which stated, "Social marketing is the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part" (p. 110).

Perhaps the key element of this new definition of social marketing is the emphasis on *influencing voluntary behavior* rather than just influencing the acceptability of social ideas. As argued by Andreasen (1994), sometimes the target audience's education, knowledge, and values deficiencies are such that social marketing programs do not have the opportunity to succeed in influencing behavior. Also, his point on "influencing" (versus "changing") behavior is well taken, given that prevention may be the ultimate objective in reducing long-term rates of alcohol, drug, and tobacco (nicotine) addiction.

As noted by Kotler and Zaltman (1971), the application of sound marketing strategy through the analysis, design, implementation, and control of such social marketing programs has not always been a priority. Moreover, designing effective social marketing programs to address substance prevention, use, and abuse problems is often "messy," complicated by funding issues; lack of appropriate evaluation tools (e.g., control groups) and expertise; uncontrolled variables; target patient relapse and comorbidity; the fallibility of patient/consumer recall of stimuli exposures; multiple disciplines involved in the development, implementation, and evaluation of programs (e.g., medicine, social services, marketing research, ad agencies); different evaluation outcomes preferred by different disciplines; and so on. Also, as suggested by Kotler and Zaltman (1971, p. 12), "social advertising" or simple social promotion of a cause may be the focus rather than true "social marketing campaigns" or programs with design and evaluation components. The latter first require adequate planning as to the environment, change agents, appropriate strategy, channels, and markets (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p. 10).

There are different program types and a variety of choices for assessing the overall impact of social marketing programs, as noted in Table 6.1. In

general, and across research on social impact evaluations, there are four main types of methodological designs for studying the behavior in question: (1) quasi-experimental field settings, (2) experimental field settings, (3) quasi-experiments in lab settings, and (4) experiments in lab settings (Pechmann & Andrews, 2010; Cook & Campbell, 1979; Hornik, 2002).

The field setting is a more realistic environment for testing the effects of a program such as a mass media anti-tobacco campaign; whereas the lab setting is more artificial, but might be more appropriate in situations such as mall research testing, middle school classrooms, and for online research. Quasi-experiments preclude a randomized control assignment because comparisons are often made between subgroups into which subjects are born (e.g., gender, race) or for which there is no manipulation of the test stimuli versus control. A true experiment, by contrast, involves randomized assignment to a test condition (e.g., exposure to the social marketing campaign or program) or to a control condition (e.g., without exposure to the test campaign or program). Table 6.1 depicts these different research approaches for social marketing efforts and is more fully discussed later in this chapter.

Organizing frameworks. Perhaps one of the most fruitful and productive frameworks to help organize research in social marketing (and for social science in general) is Brinberg and McGrath's (1985, p. 22) Validity Network Schema (VNS) System. Validity refers to whether measures and programs assess what they are intended to assess. As noted by Brinberg and McGrath, this is thought to be a concept that is pursued, but is not always attainable with 100 percent certainty.

There are three key domains in Brinberg and McGrath's (1985) VNS system: the substantive domain, the conceptual domain, and the methodological domain. The substantive domain contains the "phenomena, processes, or focal problems of interest" (p. 25). For example, a study in the

Table 6.1 Four Main Types of Designs for Evaluating Social Impact Programs

Field setting		**Lab setting**	
Quasi-experiment	**Experiment**	**Quasi-experiment**	**Experiment**
Design 1: Full-scale evaluation	Design 2: Partial evaluation or field test	Design 3: Audience subgroup copy test	Design 4: Message or situational copy test

From "Methodological Issues and Challenges in Conducting Social Impact Evaluations," by C. Pechmann and J. C. Andrews, in P. N. Bloom and E. Skloot (Eds.), *Scaling Social Impact: New Thinking* (p. 221), 2010, New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. Copyright 2010 by Palgrave Macmillan. Reprinted by permission.

substantive domain might involve examining the behavior of alcoholics who continue to abstain versus those who have relapsed for ideas on testing different campaigns to reduce alcohol abuse. The conceptual domain contains "ideas, concepts, and their relations as well as the philosophical assumptions underlying them" (p. 25). For instance, theory based on the processing of fear appeals (Witte & Allen, 2000) and/or the protection motivation model (Rogers, 1975) has offered a solid basis for testing the effectiveness of graphic visual warnings on tobacco packages. Finally, the methodological domain includes "methods, designs, and research strategies to examine concepts and phenomena" (p. 26). In the case of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign (NYADMC; 2001), an ad development/research testing protocol involving both qualitative and quantitative approaches (copy testing and tracking) was formulated, as depicted in Figure 6.3. The ad stimuli, platforms, and measures for the campaign were grounded in social cognition theory, peer modeling, sensation seeking behavior, the elaboration likelihood model, attitude accessibility theory, and attitude-toward-the-ad research (Worden & Slater, 2004). Although it can be challenging to focus on all three domains simultaneously, the consideration and interaction of these domains has been argued to aid the development of study designs to be implemented, hypotheses to be tested, and sets of observations to be interpreted (Brinberg & McGrath, 1985, p. 23).

We will now apply each of Brinberg and McGrath's (1985) three domains to examine contributions to research addressing alcohol, drug, and tobacco addictions as well as substance abuse.

The Substantive Domain: What Does the Research Evidence Tell Us?

What does the research evidence suggest about the effectiveness of social marketing media and ad campaigns in reducing substance abuse? Overall, the effects of counter-marketing tobacco, drug, and alcohol campaigns can best be characterized as somewhat positive, with some "mixed" results, as well. Yet, as is discussed later in this chapter, it is important to discuss methodological design issues and problems before rushing to such an overall assessment.

Tobacco

In general, ad campaigns targeted at tobacco use have been more successful than those targeted at drug and alcohol use. For tobacco, some large-scale field studies have shown that mass media campaigns are associated with both decreases in adolescents beginning smoking and increases

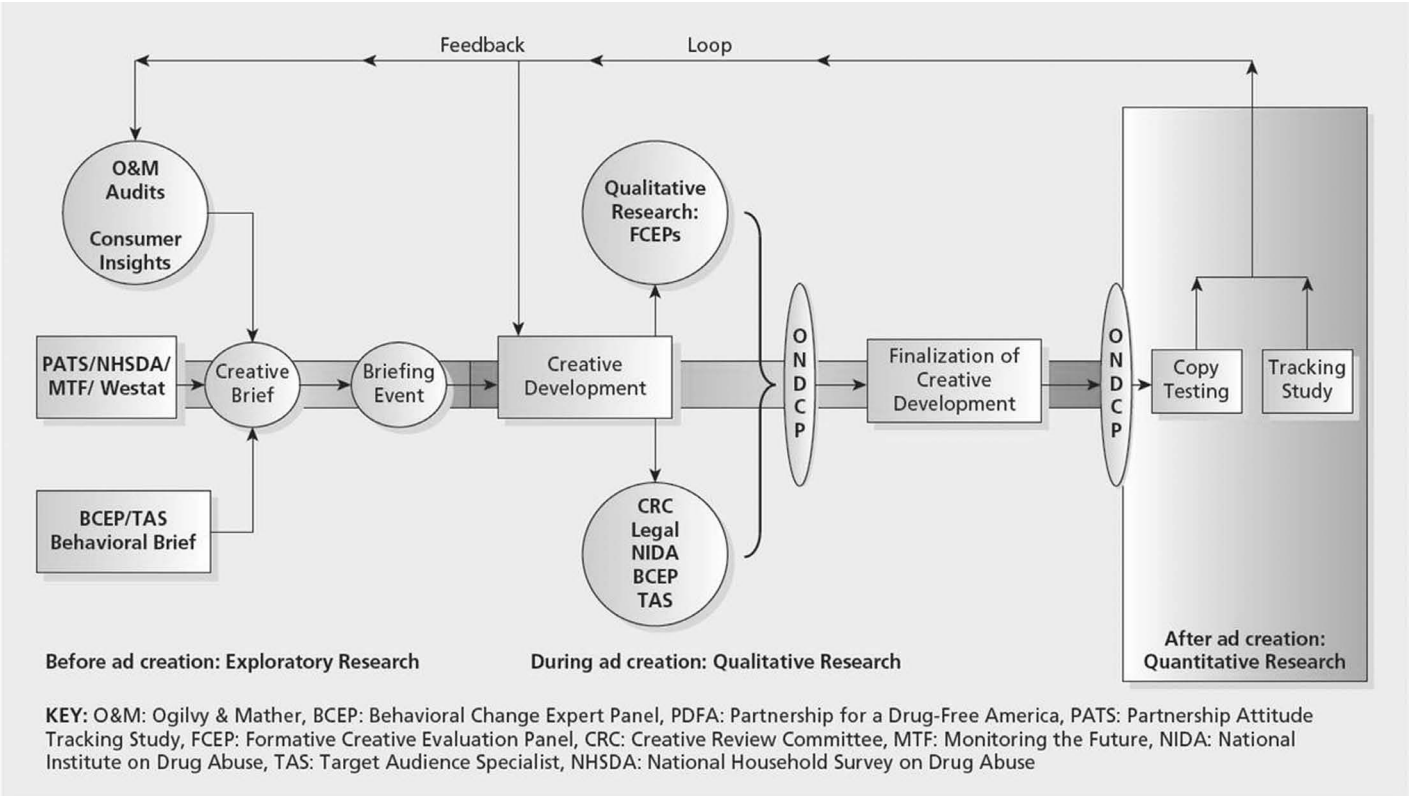

Figure 6.3 The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign advertising development and research process.

(Reprinted from National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign: Communication Strategy Statement (p. 22, Supplement), August 2001, Washington, DC: Office of National Drug Control Policy. Copyright 2001 by Office of National Drug Control Policy.)

in adults quitting smoking (Bala, Strzeszynski, & Cahill, 2008; McAfee et al., 2013; National Cancer Institute, 2008; Wakefield, Loken, & Hornik, 2010). Still, these studies have also suggested that the most effective positive results are found when mass media campaigns are conducted in conjunction with other tobacco control strategies, such as increases in tobacco taxation, smoke-free policies, or school intervention programs (see reviews by Pechmann & Reibling, 2000; National Cancer Institute, 2008; Wakefield et al., 2010). And there lies the rub—with these confounding variables, it is difficult to disentangle how much of the positive effects is a result of the media campaign vis-à-vis other tobacco control strategies (cf. Cohen, 1990). Yet large-scale, natural field experiments have been conducted that help to alleviate such confounds. For example, Wakefield, Durkin, and Spittal (2008) and Durkin, Biener, and Wakefield (2009) were able to adjust for exposure to other tobacco control policies and found lower rates of adult smoking prevalence and adolescent initiation of smoking.

Lab-based experimental studies also show some positive effects. For example, Pechmann and Ratneshwar (1994) found that middle school students who viewed antismoking ads had less favorable evaluations of smokers than a control group, and Pechmann and Shih (1999) showed that antismoking ads shown before a feature film diluted the impact of pro-smoking imagery in the film among high school students. With large samples of ninth graders, Pechmann and colleagues (2002, 2006) conducted lab-based experiments with random assignment of subjects testing various antismoking ads. They found that antismoking ads used in conjunction with cigarette ads evoked negative smoker stereotypes and negative thoughts about peers who smoke (Pechmann & Knight, 2002), and that ads that evoked the emotion of disgust lowered adolescent intention to smoke by portraying young adults as victims of disease and suffering because of tobacco use (Pechmann & Reibling, 2006). Finally, it has been shown that when antitobacco campaigns are terminated or reduced, there is a subsequent decline in their beneficial effects (e.g., National Cancer Institute, 2008; Niederdeppe, Farrelly, Hersey, & Davis, 2008; Wakefield et al., 2008). In sum, the results have been favorable regarding the effectiveness of ad and mass media–related tobacco campaigns.

Finally, how effective are tobacco company–sponsored campaigns in suggesting to young people that they should not smoke? "Not very much" is the general consensus (National Cancer Institute, 2008). A tobacco industry campaign directed at youths was associated with a stronger intention to smoke in the future, and a campaign directed at parents showed a decreased belief in harm from smoking and increased the risk of current

smoking behavior (Wakefield et al., 2006). Such campaigns tend to suggest to youth that smoking is an adult behavior, sending a message (perhaps unintentionally) that tobacco is "forbidden fruit," thus actually increasing its attractiveness to youths.

For those campaigns that do work, what types of themes and messages are most efficacious? Numerous studies have suggested that campaigns targeted at youths stressing the emotions of disgust and/or fear may be the most effective. For example, Durkin and colleagues (2009) suggested that both of these emotions have positive effects for youths from lower socioeconomic segments, whereas Pechmann and Reibling (2006) and others (e.g., Marzillier & Davey, 2004) have suggested that disgust is *the* most important emotion to evoke in designing antismoking ads. Pechmann and Reibling (2006) also have suggested that fear appeals may actually have the unintended consequence of portraying smoking as "forbidden fruit," increasing smoking's attractiveness to youths. Further, they found that disgust motivates people to act (e.g., to stop smoking or to not begin smoking), whereas fear is associated with a desire to hide or escape. In general, though, messages, themes, and pictures evoking negative emotions (e.g., fear, disgust, sadness) have been the most effective in reducing smoking initiation among youths (Andrews, Netemeyer, Kees, & Burton, 2014; Biener, Ji, Gilpin, & Albers, 2004; Kees, Burton, Andrews, & Kozup, 2010; National Cancer Institute, 2008; Peters et al., 2007; Romer, Peters, Strasser & Langleben, 2013). Future studies would do well to test the relative effectiveness of these emotions in both deterring smoking initiation and encouraging smoking cessation.

Drugs

Although the evidence on the effectiveness of antidrug campaigns is somewhat positive, it is nonetheless limited and not without design issues, particularly in some national campaigns (as noted later). Further, most research on antidrug campaigns has been conducted solely in the United States (Wakefield et al., 2010). This section discusses the findings of note, some of which are from large-scale studies.

Block, Morwitz, Putsis, and Sen (2002) analyzed data from 1987 to 1990 from the Partnership Attitude Tracking Study (PATS) conducted by the Partnership for a Drug-Free America. They found that recall of antidrug ads was associated with a lower probability of marijuana and crack cocaine use. However, they also found that recall of antidrug ads was not associated with the amount of marijuana or crack cocaine being used by those already using each drug. Consistent with this latter result,

Erceg-Hurn (2008) found any positive effects to be overstated for an antimethamphetamine ad campaign in Montana. University of Kentucky researchers conducted a 32-month antimarijuana pretest-posttest campaign with funding from the National Institute of Drug Abuse (Palmgreen, Donohew, Lorch, Hoyle, & Stephenson, 2001) that showed a significant decline in self-reported marijuana use. However, when the template of this study was used for the large-scale Office of National Drug Control Policy study, the campaign results were not as effective (Hornik et al., 2008).

Several researchers evaluated tracking data from the National Youth Anti-Drug (antimarijuana) Media Campaign (cf., Carpenter & Pechmann, 2011; Hornik et al., 2008)—a large-scale quasi-design study. The first part of the study (phase 1, 1999 to mid-2004) was evaluated by Hornik and colleagues (2008). Unfortunately for the researchers, no baseline (beginning) control measures specific to the campaign were taken because experts were not assigned to the campaign until after it had started. So the "next best" measure to use was self-reported ad recall—separating those with high and low ad recall scores as a proxy for ad exposure. In the study, the same 6,000-plus adolescents were interviewed in their homes over a 4-year period, and 94 percent of those adolescents reported that they recalled seeing the ads. The outcome measures were antimarijuana beliefs, intent to use, and self-reported use of marijuana over several points in time.

The overall results were mixed. As the campaign progressed, antimarijuana beliefs increased, but in some cases, higher recall of ads actually strengthened the intent to use and pro-marijuana normative beliefs one year later. However, without a baseline control, it is unclear whether these negative effects can be tied to the campaign itself. For example, ad effects usually occur within days or a few months—not a year later (Clarke, 1976; Koyck, 1959). More importantly, reverse causality is likely, as adolescents who had already formed an intent to use (or were using) paid more attention to the antidrug ads (Pechmann & Andrews, 2010; Hornik, 2002).

Separately, Carpenter and Pechmann (2011) evaluated the behavioral effects of the National Youth Anti-Drug (antimarijuana) Media Campaign from 2006 to 2008 with a representative sample of eighth-, tenth-, and twelfth-grade students, and assessed drug-, alcohol-, and tobacco-related outcomes. They found that the campaign was associated with lower self-reported marijuana use for 8th-grade girls, but the effects for other groups were not significant. In addition, some geographically-centered parts of the study showed positive effects for youths high in sensation seeking (Palmgreen et al., 2007). Also, adolescents that were part of a school-based drug prevention program combined with the campaign showed positive synergistic effects (Longshore, Ghosh-Dastidar, & Ellickson, 2006; Slater

et al., 2011). Finally, the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign contained a lab experiment for copy testing of national campaign ads to ensure that the ads were effective and not counterproductive versus control groups on antidrug beliefs and intention-to-use measures (Foley & Pechmann, 2004; Pechmann & Andrews, 2011).

Alcohol

The research findings on media and ad campaigns to reduce alcohol intake (i.e., drinking behavior) are fewer than those relating to tobacco and drug use, and ambiguous at times. Still, there has been some success for those campaigns designed to decrease drunk driving rates. The following section briefly reviews some of the more important findings.

Most alcohol consumption campaigns have been targeted toward young people (Spoth, Greenberg, & Turrisi, 2008; Wakefield et al., 2010), yet the general pattern of findings suggests mixed results. For example, Spoth and colleagues conducted a systematic review of 127 intervention studies with alcohol-specific outcome measures for three age groups (<10, 10 to 15, and 16 to >20 years of age). Only 12 interventions were classified as "most promising" (positive evidence), whereas 29 were classified as "mixed" evidence, and the rest showed "insufficient evidence or no evidence of effects" (p. S311).

Anderson, Chisholm, and Fuhr (2009) conducted a literature review of the effectiveness of programs and campaigns designed to reduce the harm caused by alcohol in the areas of education, community action, alcohol marketing, and drunk driving. They concluded that policies regulating the environment in which alcohol is marketed are somewhat effective in reducing alcohol-related harm. That is, making alcohol more expensive and less available as well as banning alcohol advertising may be cost-effective strategies to reduce harm. However, the researchers also concluded that school-based education does not reduce alcohol-related harm. It is possible that the null effects found in the reviews from Spoth and colleagues (2008) and Anderson and colleagues (2009) may be a result of the widespread acceptance of drinking as a social norm and generally unrestricted alcohol marketing strategies (Wakefield et al., 2010).

Further, and in an interesting analogy with tobacco company–sponsored messages to discourage youths from smoking initiation, alcohol company–sponsored responsible drinking campaigns geared toward youths have not been effective in changing drinking behavior. In fact, Smith, Atkin, and Roznowski (2006) suggested that such campaigns send messages that are purposefully and strategically ambiguous, thus subtly

advancing alcohol sales and the public relations interests of alcohol companies and actually encouraging drinking among young people.

Finally, and as noted previously, although the effects of alcohol intake reduction programs and campaigns have shown mixed results, drunk-driving campaigns have fared much better. Two recent reviews suggest overall positive effects. For example, Elder and colleagues (2004) examined the effectiveness of mass media campaigns for reducing alcohol-impaired driving and alcohol-related crashes. The researchers looked at eight studies published between 1975 and 1998 that showed that mass media campaigns that were carefully planned, well executed, and that attained adequate audience exposure were associated with a significant reduction in the number of alcohol-related accidents, with anxiety- and fear-inducing appeals being most effective.

In a qualitative review of 25 anti–drunk driving programs or campaigns in English-speaking countries, Cismaru, Lavack, and Markewich (2009) showed that campaigns stressing elements of Protection Motivation Theory (PMT; e.g., threat severity, perceived vulnerability) and anxiety and fear (graphic hospital pictures of drunk-driving crash victims in the "Artists Against Drunk Driving" and "Keep Your Dreams Alive—Don't Drink and Drive" campaigns) were effective in reducing drunk driving. Overall, these two review papers demonstrated that mass media campaigns, combined with increased media attention, are effective in reducing the number of alcohol-related vehicle crashes, with PMT and fear/anxiety appeals being the most effective approaches.

As a final note in the review of major anti-substance-abuse campaigns and programs, we should mention that occasionally null or negative ("boomerang") effects appear to be detected, but other confounds in the study design first should be excluded. These can include uncontrolled variables, lack of appropriate time frames, lack of control groups, partial/non-comprehensive interventions, trying to assess change with a few starters or quitters when the majority of the population continues to use and is not the target of the campaign, and other methodological problems (e.g., reverse causation; Cohen, 1990; Cook & Campbell, 1979; Hornik, 2002; Pechmann & Andrews, 2010). A subsequent section examines some of these issues again.

Conceptual Domain: Theoretical Support for Research Programs

The second Brinberg and McGrath (1985) domain is the "conceptual domain," which involves providing a solid theoretical framework for the testing of research programs. Several important theoretical frameworks

have been offered as support for research on social marketing programs attempting to reduce substance abuse. (Some of these have been noted earlier in this chapter.) For instance, PMT (Rogers, 1975, 1983; Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1997; Tanner, Hunt, & Eppright, 1991; Milne, Sheeran, & Orbell, 2000) provides a particularly important framework for testing programs whose intent is to reduce alcohol, drug, or tobacco use/abuse. PMT has been widely applied to social marketing initiatives over the years (cf. Cismaru et al., 2009; Tanner et al., 1991). For example, the primary focus of decades of research on the effectiveness of warnings and threats in reducing substance use/abuse has been on fear appeals—important elements in PMT (Andrews, 2011).

As depicted in Figure 6.4, when an individual faces a threat (e.g., addiction and counter-information to reduce dependence), that individual will appraise the information available about the perceived severity of the threat, the perceived probability that the threat will occur, the perceived ability of a coping behavior to remove the threat (response efficacy), and the individual's perceived ability to carry out the coping behavior (self-efficacy) (Rogers, 1983; Tanner et al., 1991). One possible outcome of threat appraisal (severity and occurrence probability) is evoked fear, which may serve as a driver for adaptive or maladaptive behavior, depending on the PMT variables of coping response efficacy and self-efficacy. Of note, PMT has served as a key theoretical basis for assessing the impact of antidrug and anti-tobacco campaigns (cf. Block et al., 2002; Romer et al., 2013).

In other research, fear appeals—as part of warning and other countermarketing programs—have been used quite often in combination with an individual's own observed learning and experiences to initiate the protection motivation process. In their meta-analysis of more than 100 fear appeals studies, Witte and Allen (2000) found that highly vivid and graphic pictures are often used to evoke fear, with higher levels of fear associated with greater persuasion. Indeed, Kees and colleagues (2010) showed that the more graphic the visual health warning on cigarette packages, the greater the evoked fear and subsequent intentions to quit are for adult smokers.

One other related theoretical model that actually predates PMT is the Health Belief Model (HBM; Rosenstock, 1974). The HBM was developed in the 1950s by researchers who worked for the U.S. Public Health Service and were conducting screenings for tuberculosis. The HBM was designed to predict behavioral responses to treatment received by ill patients. Its major components include individual perceptions (perceived susceptibility and seriousness of disease), modifying factors (demographics, perceived disease threat, cues to action), and likelihood of action (based on

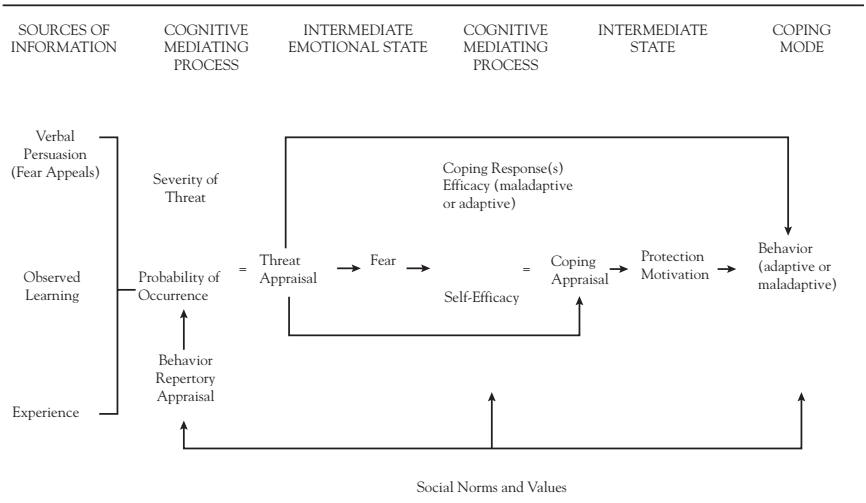

Figure 6.4 The protection motivation model.

(Adapted from "The Protection Motivation Model: A Normative Model of Fear Appeals," by J. F. Tanner, Jr., J. B. Hunt, and D. R. Eppright, 1991, *Journal of Marketing*, 55, p. 39. Copyright 1991. Adapted by permission. See also "Cognitive and Physiological Processes in Fear Appeals and Attitude Change: A Revised Theory of Protection Motivation," by R. W. Rogers, in J. Cacioppo and R. Petty (Eds.), *Social Psychophysiology*, 1983, New York, NY: Guilford Press.)

perceived benefits/costs; Ashford & Blinkhorn, 1999). Of importance to this chapter, cues to action represent an important moderator influencing the likelihood of taking action; they include mass media campaigns, advice from others, social media/online information, a family/friend illness, and other educational literature. Thus, if an individual feels susceptible to a serious disease, then such cues to action are likely to "nudge" or prompt that individual to take action. Of course, such campaigns, information, and/or education should be perceived as being credible, understandable, and accessible to those in need. For example, health literacy can represent an important barrier to health behavior changes (Wolf, 2011).

Perhaps one of the more practical theoretical frameworks for studying an individual's *progression* in dealing with substance abuse is the Transtheoretical Model, more commonly known as the "Stages of Change" (SOC) Model (Prochaska, Norcross, & DiClemente, 1994). In the SOC model, a certain behavior is targeted (e.g., smoking, drug abuse, drinking) and through a series of responses to questions, the individual is classified according to the following stages of change: (1) precontemplation, (2) contemplation,

(3) preparation, (4) action, (5) maintenance, (6) termination, or (7) relapse/recycling. For example, Question 1 (Q1) might be, "Do you seriously intend to quit smoking in the next 6 months?" and Question 2 (Q2) might ask, "Do you plan to quit in the next 30 days?" A "no" answer by a smoker to both Q1 and Q2 would place that person in the precontemplation stage, a "yes" to Q1 and a "no" to Q2 would mean the person is in the contemplation stage, and a "yes" to both Q1 and Q2 would mean the person is in the preparation stage. Different behaviors and treatment types are argued to work better depending on the stage of change.

Alternatively, marketing cues (e.g., alcohol, drug paraphernalia, and tobacco in ads) are argued to affect individuals differentially (in a negative sense) in cueing certain behaviors depending on the following transition stages, which are similar to the SOC model: (1) trial, (2) light use, (3) transition to addictive use, (4) addictive use, (5) cessation of addictive use, (6) postcessation, or (7) relapse-repeat dependence stages (DePaulo et al., 1987).

Another important model offering theoretical support for substance abuse campaigns involving persuasion and behavior change is the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). In the ELM, if an individual has the motivation, ability, and opportunity to process information from campaign messages, then that person's elaboration likelihood is said to be high (under the central route), and subsequent scrutiny of the message and enduring attitude change is likely. However, if one precondition (motivation, ability, or opportunity) is absent/low, then the individual's elaboration likelihood on the message will be low. Nevertheless, under low message elaboration, peripheral cues (e.g., attractive/likeable sources) accompanying the message may lead to temporary attitude change. As an application, the ELM has served as a basis for studying the effectiveness of alcohol warning labels on message believability and attitude change (cf. Andrews & Netemeyer, 1996).

One other persuasion theory that has been applied to problem behaviors (such as smoking) in substance abuse programs is the Theory of Reasoned Action (TORA; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). In essence, TORA predicts behavior (intention) change as a function of the product of one's personal beliefs about performing an action and the consequences of this action (attitude-toward-the-action), and the product of normative beliefs about the referents involved and one's motivation to comply with these referents (subjective norms). More recently an extension of TORA, the Theory of Planned Behavior (TOPB), also has been used as a promising framework in studying substance abuse and maladaptive health behaviors (Ajzen, 1991). TOPB adds a perceived behavioral control component to TORA that is similar to

self-efficacy in predicting (or preventing) substance abuse and health-related behaviors (Ajzen, 2011; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2005).

Finally, a useful framework to help organize anti-abuse campaign impact and persuasion is McGuire's (1980) communication-persuasion model. In this model, input variables (source, message, channel, receiver, and destination) are mapped across output variables (exposure, attention, affective reaction, comprehension, yielding, information storage and retrieval, decision, behavior, and post-behavior stages) for the campaign. McGuire cites several public health applications of the model (e.g., gauging the effectiveness of antismoking campaigns and warnings).

Methodological Domain: Challenges and Issues

Persuasive media campaigns and interventions can produce positive changes or prevent negative behaviors relating to tobacco, drug, and alcohol use (Wakefield et al., 2010). Still, and as noted throughout this chapter, methodological challenges remain that can inhibit the effectiveness of or lead to questions regarding the results of such campaigns and interventions. The following section reviews briefly some of the major intertwined methodological issues facing scholars, practitioners, and public policy officials in designing effective promotional campaigns and interventions.

Methodological Issues: Research Design, Testing, Controls, and Measures

Much empirical research has been conducted assessing the effects of antitobacco campaigns. Assessing the effects of anti-alcohol and anti–drug abuse campaigns has not been as prevalent, but the design/method issues involved in anti-alcohol and anti–drug abuse campaigns are quite similar to those of antitobacco campaigns (Wakefield et al., 2010). Thus, the discussion that follows is largely relevant to all antitobacco, anti-alcohol, and anti–drug abuse campaigns and interventions.

As discussed recently, choosing a research design to evaluate the causal effects of a campaign or intervention remains difficult and is likely to involve many tradeoffs (Pechmann & Andrews, 2010). Clearly, the "gold standard" for establishing causal inferences is to conduct tightly controlled lab-based experiments (see Table 6.1). Given the processes and logistics involved in media and intervention campaigns, as well as the behaviors being studied, conducting such lab studies is extremely difficult. Thus, the discussion will be limited to actual field experiments and full-evaluation, quasi-experimental designs, because these have been the most prevalent in studying the effectiveness of antitobacco, antidrug, and antialcohol

campaigns. Some of these designs have shown that media campaigns are associated with a decline in youth smoking initiation and an increase in adult smoking cessation. There are some positive effects but some null and negative effects, as well, for campaigns and interventions aimed at reducing alcohol and drug abuse among youths (Block et al., 2002; Hornik et al., 2008; Longshore et al., 2006; National Cancer Institute, 2008; Slater et al., 2011; Spoth et al., 2008; Wakefield et al., 2008).

Field Experiments

In field experiments, exposure to a campaign/intervention is manipulated in the sense that a campaign is conducted in some areas during a given time frame (experimental group), but not in others (control group). Thus, it is important that the control group has the same characteristics (as comparable as possible on a host of background and demographic variables) as the experimental group.

It is well known that field experiments face methodological challenges. As noted earlier, after-only field experiments lack true control groups and have the potential for reverse causality (e.g., higher prior intention to use drugs may lead to a greater awareness of antidrug campaigns, but not vice-versa; Hornik, 2002; Pechmann & Andrews, 2010). Pretest-posttest designs are complicated by the potential for alternative explanations, confounds, and the time needed between the campaign itself and the assessment of its effects (Pechmann & Reibling, 2000), and longitudinal designs can suffer from history and maturation effects. Further, with field experiments, there is always the question of whether the results will generalize to a full-scale campaign. Two examples highlight some of the methodological challenges associated with field experiments.

University of Kentucky researchers conducted a 32-month antimarijuana pretest-posttest campaign with funding from the National Institute of Drug Abuse (Palmgreen et al., 2001). The study randomly selected 100 adolescents each in two counties and self-reported marijuana use (the dependent variable of interest) was assessed at 30-day intervals. The study showed a signifcant decline in marijuana use. However, when the initial template of this study was used for the large-scale Office of National Drug Control Policy study, the campaign results did not follow (Hornik et al., 2008), leading to modification of the template in the hopes of improving it (Carpenter & Pechmann, 2011). Of course, reverse causality and the timing of ad effects are limitations in the study data.

In another field experiment conducted by University of Vermont researchers and funded by the National Cancer Institute, more than 5,000

fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade students were interviewed annually for a 5-year period to assess the effects of an antitobacco ad campaign. An antismoking school-based program was simultaneously conducted. Two test communities were chosen that were matched on a host of demographic and market-based characteristics. One community was exposed to the ad campaign and the school program (experimental group); the other community was exposed to just the school program (control group). The primary dependent variable was, "Did the ads help deter smoking initiation?" The results were promising. By the final year, the experimental group reported a 12.8 percent smoking prevalence rate and the control group reported a 19.8 percent rate (Flynn et al., 1992). Still, several method-related caveats were noted: (1) The unique effects of the ad campaign are unknown because the subjects in the experimental group were also exposed to the school-based intervention; (2) though measured, demographic covariates were not used in the statistical models estimating smoking prevalence; and (3) some of the students exposed to the ad campaign also were used in pretests to help design the ads, thus potentially influencing their views on smoking (Flynn et al., 1992). These two studies highlight both the positive effects of conducting field experiments and some of the methodological challenges, as well, leading to some simple and well-known suggestions. First, if a no-exposure control group is used, it is strongly recommended that researchers try to establish the equivalence of the groups (geographic areas) prior to conducting the study. Second, it also is recommended that researchers assess and statistically control for as many covariates as possible, even if randomization and/or matching of experimental and control groups can be accomplished. Third, large sample sizes and fully pretested study templates that can generalize to full-scale evaluations are highly desirable.[1]

Field Quasi-Experiments

Large-scale, full-evaluation, quasi-experimental designs are often preferred and even demanded for studies being funded by government or nonprofit groups. These designs allow a full-scale evaluation of a campaign intervention in its final form under realistic conditions over an extended period of time. Quasi-experimental designs typically preclude true random assignment (e.g., no manipulation of exposure, no real control group, subjects born into a group) and thus true causal inferences are not possible. Attempts to statistically control for third-variable explanations are most often done by using covariates. Thus, various pre- and poststudy steps must be taken to increase the validity of the results. Two key exam-

ples illustrate the advantages and challenges of large-scale, full-evaluation, quasi-experimental designs.

The first example is the full-scale evaluation quasi-field experiment conducted by the National Youth Anti-Drug (antimarijuana) Media Campaign, as previously reviewed (cf. Carpenter & Pechmann, 2011; Hornik et al., 2008). Several researchers evaluated various phases of this study. The first part of the study (phase 1, 1999 to mid-2004) was evaluated by Hornik and colleagues (2008). The same 6,000-plus adolescents were interviewed in their homes annually over a 4-year period, and 94 percent of these adolescents self-reported that they recalled seeing the ads. The outcome measures were antimarijuana beliefs, intent to use, and self-reported use of marijuana over several points in time. Because experts were not assigned to the campaign until it started, a prestudy baseline (control group) for these outcomes was not set up, and the campaign aired in every market, precluding the assessment of a low-exposure group. Still, numerous covariates (demographic and individual difference variables such as prior marijuana use and risk propensity) were used in the statistical models to assess campaign effectiveness.

As is evident then, this first phase of the study had numerous favorable features: a large representative sample, a longitudinal design assessing the same subjects at several points in time, reliable belief and intent measures, and numerous covariates (Pechmann & Andrews, 2010). Nevertheless, the overall results were mixed, most likely because of methodological design problems. As the campaign progressed, antimarijuana beliefs increased, but in some cases higher recall of ads actually strengthened the intent to use and promarijuana normative beliefs one year later. As noted previously, given the level of ad exposure and that recall was a self-reported measure, a reverse causality issue arises: Did ad exposure lead to intent to use or vice versa? That is, subjects with higher prior intentions may have paid more attention to the ads and therefore recalled them better (Pechmann & Andrews, 2010).

Carpenter and Pechmann (2011) also evaluated the behavioral effects of the National Youth Anti-Drug (antimarijuana) Media Campaign from 2006 to 2008 using targeted rating points (TRPs) to form measures for assessing ad campaign exposure. They also used the Monitoring the Future (MTF) survey to assess marijuana use. MTF is a large-scale, annual, school-based survey of a representative sample of eighth-, tenth-, and twelfth-grade students assessing drug, alcohol, and tobacco-related outcomes. Although the researchers surveyed more than 130,000 students from the MTF survey, they did not assess the same students over time as Hornik and colleagues (2008) did in the phase 1 evaluation. Numerous demographic and

market-level characteristics were included as covariates. Carpenter and Pechmann found that the campaign was associated with lower self-reported marijuana use for eighth-grade girls, but the effects for other groups were not significant.

The second example is the Truth antismoking ad campaign, which was conducted from 2001 to 2002 (Farrelly et al., 2005). It aired in all U.S. markets with varying degrees of exposure across markets. The primary research question assessed was, "Did the campaign reduce adolescent smoking?" In general, the campaign was effective—the higher the exposure level, the lower the smoking rate. The study had many method-based advantages. First, it used secondary/pre-existing data to establish a baseline measure of adolescent smoking. This data was obtained from the MTF survey of more than 50,000 students to assess smoking trends three years prior to the campaign. Second, ad exposure (recall) was measured by gross rating points (GRPs) rather than by self-reports from the study participants, greatly reducing the possibility of reverse causality. Furthermore, the low-GRP markets were used as separate control groups to examine the effects of the ads as GRPs increased. Third, numerous other covariates also were assessed and used in the analysis (e.g., demographics such as market ruralness and associated lower income and education levels, market population size, cigarette prices, and tobacco control spending). These advantages strengthened the validity of the findings.

One common, method-based disadvantage of the study was that the smoking rates measured by the MTF survey could have been affected by many other variables besides the ad campaign. For example, (1) numerous individual difference variables (e.g., sensation seeking, peer pressure) can affect smoking rates; (2) MTF does not assess the same set of students at different points in time (or prospectively), although the sophisticated cross-sectional sampling used by Farrelly and colleagues (2005) lessens this as a caveat; and (3) even though preferable to self-reports of ad exposure/recall, GRPs are still imprecise because they cannot determine if subjects actually viewed the ads that aired. Yet, this is true in most studies.

The primary methodological challenges noted in these studies suggest the following recommendations. First, if possible, set up a low-exposure control group for each evaluation. One possible solution, as used in the Truth campaign, is to use an independent measure of ad exposure, such as GRPs or TRPs (Carpenter & Pechmann, 2011) in an effort to uncorrelate levels of the outcome variables with ad campaign exposure. Another possible solution is to include a true no-exposure baseline group that is matched to the test group on prior intent, other outcome variables, and covariates. Second, establishing baseline measures for the outcome variables of interest is highly

desirable. Third, irrespective of the design, it is important to statistically control for as many relevant covariates as possible, including demographic, market-level, and exposure factors, as well as the individual difference variables most pertinent to the sample(s) at hand.

Summary of Methodological Challenges and Issues

As previously noted, choosing a research design to evaluate the effectiveness of a campaign or intervention remains difficult and involves many tradeoffs (Pechmann & Andrews, 2010). Field experiments have been reported to have positive effects that are even more pronounced when the campaign is combined with in-school programs and other programs (e.g., increasing tobacco taxes; Longshore et al., 2006; Slater et al., 2011; Wakefield et al., 2010). However, this makes it highly difficult to assess the unique effect of the campaign vis-à-vis the other programs. After-only field experiments may lack true control groups (Hornik, 2002; Pechmann & Andrews, 2010), pretest-posttest designs have the potential for alternative explanations and confounding variables (Pechmann & Reibling, 2000, 2006), and longitudinal designs may suffer from history and maturation effects. For quasi-designs to show valid results, unbiased baseline measures of the outcome variables are needed, measures of ad exposure/recall not subject to reverse causality (e.g., GRPs, TRPs) should be considered, and control of numerous potentially confounding covariates must be accounted for and included in the study and the analyses.

In some cases, researchers are not able to use a control group in field research. For instance, it might not be feasible politically to omit a portion of the country from a national antidrug campaign. Or, in an evaluation of a state antitobacco campaign, a matched control state might refuse to participate in the survey measurement. In such cases, insights may still be derived by studying key relationships affecting intent or behavior and possible moderating and mediating effects (e.g., see the evaluation of a statewide, adolescent antismoking campaign by Andrews et al., 2004).

Finally, implicit in the above discussion is the issue of measurement of the behaviors being studied. Self-reported tobacco, drug, and alcohol use has been the norm in both field and quasi-experiments. Although such self-reports likely suffer from both cognitive (memory accuracy) and social desirability biases (Murphy et al., 2010; Ramo, Hall, & Prochaska, 2011), they often are the only feasible methodology for assessing such behaviors without resorting to peer/family checks or biomarkers of substance use. Thus, cross-validating self-report measures with one another over time and with the same respondents is highly recommended (e.g.,

convergent validity), with accompanying checks on reliability and nomological and predictive validity (Rosenbaum, 2009). For example, Ramo and colleagues recently showed that online surveys with young adults yielded reliable and valid measures of smoking behaviors. They examined two measures of smoking prevalence that showed high degrees of convergent validity as well as expected patterns of correlations with other constructs (nomological validity) and smoking stage of change (predictive validity). Further, they showed that "cigarettes smoked per day" for their measures were comparable (slightly higher) to those reported by the face-to-face National Survey on Drug Use and Health (SAMHSA, 2009), suggesting that their online surveys were less tainted by social desirability bias.

These methodological issues and recommendations lead us to one more important closing thought. The time and resources required to conduct large-scale studies (field experiments or quasi-experiments) often involve input from a variety of stakeholders, including funding agencies, government agencies, schools, advocacy and public policy groups, marketing research firms, and consultants. Although we have offered some conventional wisdom regarding methodology for increasing the validity of results, dealing with stakeholders can affect the degree to which these suggestions are heeded. As numerous scholars have noted, it is imperative that academics seriously studying the issues of tobacco, alcohol, and drug abuse "get in on the ground floor" of the campaign/intervention design to increase the validity of the design a priori (Carpenter & Pechmann, 2011; Pechmann & Andrews, 2010; Pechmann et al., 2011; Wakefield et al., 2008). As such, it is our experience that academic researchers are less likely to be biased and generally have far greater training on issues of study design, measurement, and analytical skills than other constituencies involved in the studies.

Recommendations for Social Marketing Programs in Reducing Substance Abuse

This chapter concludes with several important recommendations for conducting social marketing programs aimed at preventing and/or reducing substance abuse. We believe that it is essential to take the necessary time and have the needed experts to adequately plan, design, implement, and evaluate the program (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971). Methodological design and measurement evaluation are probably the most important features to include to enhance the success of such programs in a world that focuses on accountability for the funds and efforts devoted to such endeavors. Tradeoffs in study design choice (e.g., internal and external validity,

sampling, causality issues, lack of control groups) should be weighed carefully, because they can have serious implications when it comes to independent campaign evaluations and further funding of programs.

Other campaign considerations include matching the potential appeals/messages/stimuli with the right target markets and using pretests (e.g., qualitative approaches) to correctly gauge exactly how users in different key segments might respond when the program is taken to full scale (see Fischhoff, Riley, Kovacs, & Small, 1998, for suggestions on assessing priors and "what they already know"). Copy testing stimuli, ads, and other program materials (with control groups) is also important before going to full scale (Pechmann & Andrews, 2011). Then, with adequate baseline (control) measures, longitudinal tracking of key outcomes of the campaign or program can be conducted (Cook & Campbell, 1979; Hornik, 2002; Pechmann & Andrews, 2010).

Of course, campaigns and other interventions for preventing and reducing substance abuse can be fraught with funding problems (e.g., the 2012 budget for the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign was $0), and patience is essential in understanding the nature of treatment, relapse, recycling, and low health literacy that is likely with key patient segments. Taking a multidisciplinary approach is a wise decision, using experts from many different fields, such as the Behavior Change Expert Panel (BCEP) working with the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign (Worden & Slater, 2004), or the Food and Drug Administration's (FDA) and Institute of Medicine's independent advisory committees.

We also suggest that the principles of successful integrated marketing communications campaigns be noted. That is, we recommend that program designers: (1) start with the "customer or prospect" (i.e., understanding the user segment), (2) use any form of relevant contact, (3) achieve synergy with the messages (speak with a single voice), (4) build relationships, and (5) try to affect behavior (Shimp & Andrews, 2013). On this point, Andreasen (1994) noted that many social marketing programs ultimately fail because of a lack of focus on behavior. Also, depending on the agency and its mission, regulatory initiatives may focus only on prevention or awareness whereas cessation programs, education, or holistic approaches may consider behavior to a greater extent. Thus, it is important to specify the objectives of the social marketing intervention up front.

We also believe that it is important to note certain "principles for success" that have been cited for social marketing programs in general: (1) model prior successful campaigns or programs, (2) start with target markets ready for action, (3) promote single/simple/doable beliefs and behaviors (e.g., Hornik and Woolf 1999), (4) identify and remove barriers to behavior

change, (5) make the real benefits and costs of the advocated behavior change vivid, (6) highlight the costs of competing behaviors, (7) promote tangible goods/services to help target markets better perform the behavior (e.g., offer a quit line to aid self-efficacy), (8) consider nonmonetary incentives as a reward, (9) make access easy, (10) be creative and have fun with campaign messages, and (11) use proper media channels at the point of decision-making (Kotler & Lee, 2008, pp. 51–66).

Even with the best planning and program design, researchers should be prepared for unintended consequences, such as potential ineffectiveness of stimuli, warnings, and other educational appeals as a result of frequent (substance) use and prior defenses; reactive behavior; and even poor message design (Stewart & Martin, 1994). Yet, with proper testing and empirical research, many of these issues can be assessed and handled successfully.

Conclusions

Being addicted to prescription (or street) drugs, alcohol, and/or nicotine is a dangerous path for any individual to experience—fraught with relapses, enablers, comorbidity, lack of proper diagnosis and monitoring, and sometimes false hope. In a recent and prominent national case, even an addict's parents' best efforts could not stop the flow of an attention-deficit drug that eventually killed a recent college graduate (Schwarz, 2013). The free flow of such (legally prescribed) drugs on college campuses has been described as an epidemic, along with increases in opioid-related deaths (Schwarz, 2013). Public testimony (e.g., before the FDA's risk communication advisory committee) from parents who have lost loved ones because of prescription drug abuse is a tragic reminder of the challenges that public health and social marketing professionals face in trying to help prevent and reduce this problem. No doubt, the more than 480,000 smoking-related deaths and 80,000 deaths as a result of alcohol-related abuse in the United States each year should be enough to motivate better efforts at preventing and reducing substance abuse.

With this in mind, we have attempted to present (1) the magnitude of substance abuse problems, (2) recent changes in the definitions of addiction and substance abuse, (3) the role of social marketing and other countermarketing efforts in helping to prevent or reduce substance abuse, (4) research conducted on programs addressing nicotine, alcohol, and drug abuse problems, (5) theoretical foundations for such research, (6) methodological issues and challenges in the design and implementation of such research, and (7) recommendations for successful social marketing programs to prevent and reduce substance abuse. We hope that this review of research,

theory, and methodological issues will aid the more effective design and implementation of social marketing programs that may help those who courageously battle addiction and substance abuse on a daily basis.

Note

1. It is highly desirable to pretest materials in a lab setting that will be used in subsequent large-scale field evaluations. For example, many researchers have used controlled lab experiments as a valid and cost-effective means to copy test ad stimuli, simulate interventions, and/or test message themes to assess their suitability for large-scale field studies (Pechmann & Andrews, 2010, 2011). For a thorough review that includes advocated copy-testing procedures for social marketing campaign programs via lab designs, see Pechmann and Andrews (2010).

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Social Marketing and Family Planning: Family Planning Issues around the World

Ruby Roy Dholakia and Nikhilesh Dholakia

Family planning has been one of the prime targets of social marketing activities ever since the broadening of the marketing concept (Kotler & Levy, 1969; Levy & Kotler, 1969). This move resulted in programmatic marketing elements—such as plans, research techniques, methods, and strategies—being applied to fields outside the core business domains (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971), including family planning. In the early years, family planning was synonymous with birth control in developing countries (Freeberne, 1964; Tabbarah, 1964), with particular focus on condom use (Harvey, 1999). Demographic changes around the world necessitated a broader view (N. Dholakia & Dholakia, 1984; R. Dholakia & Dholakia, 2000; Kumcu & Firat, 1989), and social marketing agencies began to emphasize the key concepts of *family* and *planning* rather than focusing only on birth control.

This chapter reviews some social marketing programs around the world to reflect on the challenges that arise when the concept of family planning is broadened beyond birth control. The change in focus has been accompanied by different demographic dynamics across the world, intensifying religious campaigns (usually against family planning) in some cases, struggles for women's rights, and changes in program participants; this chapter explores some of the limitations and contradictions of social marketing in such dynamic settings.

Population Control Issues

For a long time, the term *family planning* really meant birth control. Predictions of population explosions and resource constraints (Ehrlich, 1968) led experts to identify birth control as the primary means of addressing the perceived global problem of overpopulation. Because scholars and agencies from rich Western nations dominated the family planning narratives, funding from development agencies was channeled aggressively into birth control rather than into poverty-reduction programs. This dominant focus crowded out alternative social science voices (Mamdani, 1973; Nag, White, & Peet, 1978) who pointed to poverty as the cause of high birth rates in developing nations, where the poor depended on large families to provide productive labor and possible old age security.

Beginning in the 1970s, social marketing approaches were advocated as more effective methods to meet population control targets than bureaucratic approaches (El-Ansary & Kramer, 1973; Farley & Leavitt, 1971; Roberto, 1975). As recounted in R. Dholakia (1984), the traveling mass family planning camps in India utilized market research, multiple communications media, and both individual and group incentives to mobilize large numbers of men to undergo vasectomies in rural India. Use of condoms was promoted by advertising agencies and through the distribution channels of established, private sector consumer goods companies (R. Dholakia & Dholakia, 2000). Family planning programs in Sri Lanka (Fox & Kotler, 1980), Bangladesh (Amin, Mariam & Faruquee, 1987; Brown, Waszak, & Childers, 1989), and other countries relied on similar KAP models—increasing knowledge, reshaping attitudes, and promoting birth control practices (Black & Harvey, 1976; Rangan, Karim, & Sandberg, 1996).

According to the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID, 2013), these population control measures have been largely successful, and many developing countries have "graduated" from the family planning assistance programs provided by the U.S. government. These countries have "reached high levels of modern contraceptive use (ranging between 51 and 70%) and low levels of fertility (ranging between 2.3 and 3.1 children per woman)" (USAID, 2013, p. 1) and are no longer in need of family planning aid and assistance from agencies such as USAID.

In countries such as the United States, birth control programs are focused on specific demographic groups, particularly teenagers and low-income women, because unwanted pregnancies are significantly higher among these groups. According to Sonfield (2013, p.10), "women with incomes below the federal poverty level have more than five times the unintended pregnancy rate of women at 200% of poverty and greater."

Furthermore, unwanted pregnancies have been found to seriously hinder maternal and child health as well as economic well-being across generations. The Personal Responsibility Education Program (PREP) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (Health and Human Services) has been designed to

> educate young people on both abstinence and contraception to prevent pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS. The program targets youth aged 10–19 who are homeless, in foster care, live in rural areas or in geographic areas with high teen birth rates, or come from racial or ethnic minority groups. The program also supports pregnant youth and mothers under the age of 21. (HHS, 2013, Purpose section, para. 1)

Population Growth Issues

In economically advanced countries, the family planning issue gets turned on its head. Although the specific term *family planning* is often not used, the behavior change challenge is still to alter conception and contraception behaviors, but the goal is to raise rather than lower birth rates. With rising affluence, there is a historic decline in births per woman, with a strong correlation between gross domestic product per capita and total fertility rate (TFR). Table 7.1 shows the dramatic shifts that have taken place over the past several decades. When TFR drops below the population replacement rate of approximately 2.1, the population declines, creating the specter of ever-fewer workers to support a rapidly aging population and the danger of population collapse.

Concern over declining birth rates is evident not only in long-established economically advanced countries that have seen dramatic declines in population growth rates, such as Japan (Oliver, 2012) and

Table 7.1 Total Fertility Rates for Selected Developed Countries

Country	1951–55	1971–75	1991–95	1996–2000
United States	3.33	2.02	2.03	2.06
Canada	3.65	1.98	1.69	1.63
United Kingdom	2.18	2.01	1.78	1.88
France	2.75	2.30	1.72	1.97
Germany	2.13	1.71	1.30	1.36
Italy	2.36	2.35	1.28	1.39
Japan	3.00	2.13	1.48	1.34

Note. Total fertility: children per woman. Selected statistics from UN (2013) World Population Prospects 1950–2100 (2012 revision).

Germany (Moore, 2010), but also in countries that have climbed the economic progress ladder relatively recently, such as South Korea and Singapore. Discussions, policies, and programs in such countries have been initiated in an attempt to increase the birth rate. In Japan, for instance, billboards from Japan Agriculture attempt to encourage higher birth rates. Hiroshi Yoshida, an economics professor at Tohoku University, has created a clock that shows the population falling as the clock ticks down, and he projects that by 3011 there will be no one under the age of 15 left in Japan (Oliver, 2012).

In Russia, September 12 has been declared the National Day of Conception. Incentives such as refrigerators, money, and cars are being offered to couples who deliver a child exactly 9 months later, on June 12 (McRobbie, 2013). An increase in the birth rate in the Ulyanovsk region of the country has been attributed to these incentives (Associated Press, 2007). In Laviano, a town in southern Italy, a "baby bonus" has been offered to any mother—single or married, local or immigrant—with the incentive distributed over several years to improve not only the birth rate but also the residency period, a measure that has reportedly met with some success (Shorto, 2008). However, in general, Italy has been less consistent, offering and withdrawing incentives with changes in political leadership.

The high economic costs of raising a family, work-family-life balance issues, and gender equity all pose structural barriers that limit the attractiveness and effectiveness of such incentives (BBC, 2007). Because female labor participation rate is strongly correlated with birth rates, economically advanced countries with state-supported child care tend to have somewhat higher birth rates (Billari & Kohler, 2004; McDonald, 2000). Sweden and other Scandinavian countries offer more comprehensive and integrated policies that truly attempt to promote gender equity in the form of paid maternity and paternity leave, subsidized child care, and cash incentives (Thorvaldson, 2012). In countries where such integrated support services are not available—such as Japan (BBC, 2007), Italy, and Germany—cash or product incentives alone have not succeeded in boosting birth rates (Schoppa, 2010; Thorvaldson, 2012). Even France, with a less comprehensive program than the Scandinavian countries, has a prochild incentive policy that is considered to be a "permanent public investment to facilitate conciliation between work and child-care responsibility" (Shorto, 2008, para.39).

Promoting higher birth rates is not confined to countries with a long history of economic development such as Japan and Germany. Newly rich countries such as South Korea and Singapore, faced with declining birth

rates, are also attempting to reverse the trend. South Korea, for instance, has instituted Family Day to "help staff get dedicated to childbirth and upbringing," in addition to cash gifts and incentives to staff (employees) who have more than one child (McRobbie, 2013, para.13). With support from candy maker Mentos, Singapore has similarly promoted National Night, "a campaign meant to encourage Singaporean couples to let their 'patriotism explode' and help the nation increase its 0.78 children per woman birth rate" (McRobbie, 2013, para. 6).

Population Balancing Issues

In addition to incentivizing higher birth rates among the population in general, some countries are enacting policies to increase the population among selected groups. Such policies often concern immigration (Lopez, 2012). For example, Fudge (2012) reports that Italy is trying to attract ethnic Italians from North and South America; "Italians don't want to rely on immigration to bolster their population because Italy is one of many countries that see blood ties as the foundation of their citizenship and national identity" (para. 13). Russia's immigration policies attempt to address the country's labor shortages through their focus on ethnic Russians; since June 2007 Russia has been trying—with cash, social benefits, and government support—to lure compatriots (ethnic Russians) living abroad to return to Russia to regain their Russian citizenship (Banjanovic, 2007). These efforts have met with some success, but there are not enough compatriots living abroad—and willing to return—to fully solve Russia's declining population problem.

A second approach to balancing the population is to selectively foster birth rates. In Singapore, the emphasis is on encouraging "financially secure adults in stable, committed long-term relationships" to have more babies (https://www.facebook.com/MentosSingapore/app_459870760713486e), and the candy brand Mentos has bankrolled the ads for this campaign (Cullers, 2012; Smithsonian, 2012). In China, some exceptions to the government's one-child policy have started to emerge. Declining birth rates in urban areas and a rapidly aging population have led Chinese authorities to selectively encourage higher birth rates among eligible couples in cities such as Shanghai (Barboza, 2009).

In the United States, where the overall birth rate is not as difficult an issue, population balance advocates take somewhat different positions. Some have advocated connecting population changes to resource use and framing the problem as a global rather than a local one. For instance, in 2007, the total U.S. population represented only about 5 percent of the

world's population but accounted for more than 20 percent of world energy consumption (see Table 7.2). This mismatch calls attention to the need for greater conservation of resources and also raises population and family planning issues. The Center for Biological Diversity created a condom campaign that was started on college campuses in order to make a direct connection between population growth and environmental problems (Navarro, 2011). The organization Population Connection (formerly Zero Population Growth), founded by Paul Ehrlich, author of *The Population Bomb*, has been advocating population stabilization; its emphasis is to

> ensure that every woman around the world who wants to delay or end her childbearing has access to the health services and contraceptive supplies she needs in order to do so. (Population Connection, n.d., para.3)

This position is supported by extensive research indicating when women have access to affordable birth control, they have fewer children, regardless of income or educational levels.

Negative Population Growth (NPG), an organization that believes in reversing the population growth (as its name implies), advocates a policy for the United States that includes stricter limits on immigration, discouraging women from bearing more than two children, eliminating tax benefits beyond the second child, and funding population control programs overseas to limit the pool of possible immigrants into United States (NPG, 2006). The higher fertility rates among recent immigrants and the Hispanic population (as compared to the rest of the U.S. population) appear to be driving this group's emphasis on immigration policies to limit population growth in the United States.

Social Marketing Approaches to Family Planning Behavior Changes

The population changes around the world have elicited different approaches to advocating modifications to family planning behaviors. In the late 1970s India, one of the first countries to actively formulate a policy for family planning, moved from a bureaucratic approach to a social marketing approach. The Indian government adopted an integrated approach using the 4 P's—product, price, place, and promotion—to bring contraceptive services to the population. This approach has been widely followed by other emerging countries, with financial and technical support from governmental aid agencies in economically advanced countries, such as USAID and the Canadian International Development Agency.

Table 7.2 Population and Resource Consumption

Country (Reference country is USA)	Ratios (USA: Listed Country)		Percentage (of listed countries plus USA)	
	Population	Energy Consumption Per Capita	Population	Energy Use
Bangladesh	2:1	57:1	4.30	0.30
India	1:4	20:1	33.03	7.18
China	1:4	6:1	38.58	29.29
Brazil	3:2	6:1	5.50	3.83
France	5:1	2:1	1.81	4.20
Germany	4:1	2:1	2.39	5.43
U.K.	5:1	2:1	1.78	3.55
Japan	2:1	2:1	3.74	7.79

Note. Selected statistics from World Population Balance (nd).

As population issues have evolved, economically advanced countries have had to address concerns within their own national boundaries. While still attempting to use an integrated approach, given the different nature of the challenge—boosting conception, not contraception—bureaucratic agencies have had to play a greater role. Communication and incentive strategies have always played a very important role in "birth boosting" family planning programs. In Italy, as in Russia, incentives for larger family sizes have been administered through government agencies. Incentives have included short-term rewards (e.g., cash, cars, other consumer products) as well as long-term benefits (e.g., citizenship, residency status). Efforts that have not used an integrated approach, such as those in Japan, have not made a dent in the family planning problems they were designed to alleviate. Table 7.3 compares, in a broad-brush fashion, the approaches and characteristics of family planning programs in developing and economically advanced countries.

In addition to differences in focus and target audiences, the family planning initiatives in emerging and developing countries have mostly been funded by external agencies—primarily the aid-giving arms of Western governments—even when the need has been articulated by local agencies. Park (2003) noted that when Taiwan and South Korea had birth control programs in force, "foreign and domestic technocrats were responsible for implementation of global capital's fertility control agenda" (p. 66). Lacking communications and distribution infrastructures, birth control–oriented family planning programs have relied on a large number of for-profit and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), as well as private firms,

Table 7.3 Comparing Family Planning Approaches in Developing and Economically Advanced Countries

Family Planning Aspect	Emerging and Developing Countries	Economically Advanced Countries
Focus and Goal	Birth control	Mostly birth increase or balance (e.g., racial, socioeconomic)
Target Population	Large majority; mostly low education, married	Targeted; lower income, younger ages, mostly single
Goals	Knowledge, attitudes, practices	Practices (contraception, even abstinence until marriage)
Primary Initiator	Local and international agencies	Mostly local government agencies
Other Participants	NGOs and private firms (brand marketers)	Churches and other religious institutions (Mentos in Singapore being a notable exception)
Major Barrier	Communication and distribution infrastructure	Political infrastructure
Effects	Lowering of birth rate, use of contraceptives	Limited effects

for creation and implementation. In India, for instance, consumer goods companies such as Hindustan Lever (now Hindustan Unilever), Union Carbide, and Coca-Cola—all with extensive distribution networks—co-operated in the distribution of condoms, while private communication agencies created effective billboards and other advertising programs for the Nirodh brand of highly subsidized condoms.

In economically advanced countries, though, the family planning programs that emphasize births (rather than their control) rely on a more complex set of initiatives—tax considerations, subsidized or free child care, and maternity and paternity leave—that can only be planned and implemented by government agencies. In Japan, a variety of governmental and quasigovernmental agencies, such as Japan Agriculture, have helped promote the message of the need for increased birth rates. From time to time, particularly when it comes to communications strategies and tactics, private companies participate. In Singapore, for instance, the Mentos candy company promoted National Night on its Facebook page.

In general, the results of family planning programs in emerging countries have yielded better results than those in economically advanced countries. Although surveys in both groups of countries suggest that

women want children—fewer than they actually have in emerging countries and more than they actually have in affluent countries—it has been easier to bridge the gap between the ideal and the actual in developing nations but not in the more developed ones. In Taiwan and South Korea, for example, target birth control rates were reached and exceeded (Park, 2003), but now these same nations, facing the opposite challenge of boosting birth rates, have found that inducing change is much more difficult. Large international donors such as USAID (2013) have declared many developing countries to have "graduated" from its family planning assistance programs because of lower birth rates and high rates of contraception use. In the United States, one of the very few economically advanced countries where birth control has been advocated (among certain population groups such as teenagers), the family planning programs emphasizing birth control have shown some degree of success. According to data released by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, teen pregnancy rates fell between 1991 and 2011, with a brief interruption between 2006 and 2007 (Hamilton, Matthews, & Ventura, 2013).

Because most economically advanced economies focus on increasing the population through higher birth rates or by balancing the population, the barriers to success tend to be political. There is little or no consensus regarding the role and place of women and motherhood in society. This is clearly demonstrated by the debate regarding the funding of Planned Parenthood in the United States (Roberts, 2011) and incentives that have been offered and withdrawn by different political leaders in Italy (Shorto, 2008). Issues regarding national identity, economic growth, and environmental resources are also complex, with different degrees of political support. Often, in affluent nations, ideological positions on such issues are diametrically opposed—for example, prochoice versus anti-abortion, procontraception versus anticontraception, progrowth versus antigrowth (viz., "steady state" economics; see Daly, 1991; McKibben, 2011), aggressive resource hunting versus responsible resource conservation, racial-ethnic-religious unity versus racial-ethnic-religious diversity, and so on. All these factors have created difficulties in developing and maintaining continuity in birth rate–boosting family planning policies and programs, leading to weak or ineffective results.

Critical Perspectives on Social Marketing and Family Planning

Both social marketing and family planning have come under scrutiny; varied experiences and changing times have provided additional perspectives on the relevance and appropriateness of theory and practice. According to

some proponents, social marketing itself requires marketing to overcome the major barriers to its growth (Andreasen, 2002; Lindenberger, 2011). In assessing social marketing programs, Smith (2002) noted that nonprofits and NGOs, such as the American Cancer Society and AARP, are more effective than governmental agencies at creating and managing such programs.

Many other authors have called for changes in the direction of social marketing and its approach to solving social problems. Hastings (2003) has urged social marketers to adopt the relational rather than the transactional paradigm of marketing. This would require that the interests of recipients supersede those of funders, to ensure freedom from pressures to produce short-term behavioral results. Because social marketing programs deal with high-involvement decisions (Lefebvre & Flora, 1988), often made by needy and hard-to-reach groups (ARHP, n.d.; Harvey, Henderson & Casillas, 2006; Whitehead, 1992), relationships would be "a more convincing articulation of the marketing concept than the transaction and the toolbox" (Hastings, 2003, p. 8). Peattie and Peattie (2003) went even further, suggesting that social marketing can be improved not by a more rigorous application of conventional marketing principles but by a "more thoughtful and selective application that emphasizes the difference between commercial and social marketing" (p. 367).

Fundamental to these arguments is the role and power of the recipients (e.g., targets, consumers, participants, users) in the decision-making process. In commercial marketing, where money is the primary basis of defining the buyer-seller exchange relationship, consumers with money have the power to opt in or opt out of the relationship even if they play a passive role in the decision-making process. In social marketing, though, money is rarely a component of the exchange relationship, and the application of the core marketing concepts is likely to "bypass normal rights relating to participation and self-determination" (Peattie & Peattie, 2003, p. 380). In terms of Hirschman's (1970) "exit, voice, and loyalty" paradigm, in social marketing programs the "exit" option is often missing and the "voice" option is highly muted. This is particularly problematic in social marketing programs, where the recipients are often vulnerable stakeholders. In family planning social marketing programs, women in particular have played a minimal role; at the most, they have been "mobilized for street-level social marketing as family planning field workers" (Park, 2003, p. 66). From a critical perspective, this shows the sharp contrast between commercial marketing, where the presumption is that the consumer knows best, and social marketing, where the program creator and implementer (the marketer) supposedly knows best. Thus, social marketing

involves deliberate disempowering of targets because they are presumed not to know what is good for them.

The negative consequences of a transactional paradigm and the application of the marketing toolbox were clearly evident in the mass vasectomy camps that operated in India. The program adopted an integrated marketing mix approach (R. Dholakia, 1984) and made the male-oriented birth control program conveniently available at times and places where maximum results could be achieved. The incentives attracted all types of men—even unmarried men and older men not married to childbearing women—to undergo the operation. Since the population was largely rural and agricultural, the low season in the agricultural cycle was chosen for the mass vasectomy camps to facilitate participation by men who were extremely busy during the high agricultural season. But it was also the season when incomes, savings, and food stocks were low in the villages, and people saw the local vasectomy camp as a way of getting extra money or food. When some of the men later wanted to reverse the procedure, no clinics were available because the camps and the doctors had moved on to other locations.

Another stream of thought advocates that the direction of theoretical and conceptual flow should be from social marketing to commercial marketing. Hastings and Saren (2003) argued that the maturity of social marketing means it is now capable of contributing to the parent discipline of commercial marketing. The context within which social marketing exists and flourishes has many distinctive features that make social marketing uniquely positioned to address some of the contemporary issues that are complex, contentious, and have negative externalities. This is particularly relevant for traditional marketers, who struggle with trust and commitment deficits among their customer constituencies.

Social marketing, though, is not free from the same negative consequences that plague traditional marketing. As Andreasen (2002) has argued, the ultimate objective of all social marketing programs is behavior change, and this is a common focus of traditional marketing, as well. Geller (2002, p. 15) is critical of social marketing when it takes the attitude change route of attempting to "think people into acting differently," rather than getting people to "act into thinking differently." The attitude change model is time-consuming and requires sustained funding. Because social marketing consumers are not moneyed, the focus on behavior change supports a transactional approach where short-term results become key requirements for continued financial support. This is the primary challenge faced by all social marketers—researchers as well as practitioners—and this challenge has yet to be adequately addressed. Even

advocating social capital theory (Glenane-Antoniadis, Whitwell, Bell, & Menguc, 2003) as an alternative does not address how the emphasis on behavior change can be accomplished without compromising the rights of the recipients.

Shifting to a larger theoretical canvas, the experiences of using social marketing programs for family planning point to an issue that marketing theories in general do not pay much heed to: the pervasive embeddedness of marketing activities in sociocultural and politico-economic contexts, the encompassing field in which the tools, techniques, and tactics of marketing are deployed. In family planning programs, given the nature of the issues being addressed—the very personal behaviors and decisions of intimacy, conception, and contraception—it becomes readily evident that transactional marketing actions are at best intrusive and at worst misleading or deceptive.

It also becomes quite evident that politics, ideology, morality, sociality, autonomy, and dignity overlap and intersect heavily with the social marketing methods of family planning campaigns. Indeed, in social marketing in general, such embeddedness and overlapping are transparent and easy to comprehend. Such embeddedness and overlapping are also present in commercial marketing, except that the very instrumental nature of regular marketing results in the creation of several fields for action and study: first, the focal fields of marketing management and consumer behavior, and also many peripheral fields, such as macromarketing, social responsibility, sustainability, cultural studies, and so on. Paradoxically, though, core insights—about what marketing is, how and why it works, and what consequences it has—can only be obtained by stepping out of the (artificially fenced) focal fields and casting a critical gaze on the embeddedness of marketing (Bradshaw, Campbell, & Dunne, 2013; Dholakia, 2012; Fırat, 2013).

Concluding Observations

Since the 1970s social marketing approaches to family planning have been implemented, especially in developing countries. Such approaches—when used with careful planning and good cooperative efforts among governments, private firms, and NGOs—have succeeded to a considerable extent in reducing birth rates, increasing the spacing of children, and improving the health and economic conditions of children, mothers, and families. While such successes are clearly visible, the sheer demographic size of many nations, especially in Asia and Africa, ensures that their national populations will continue to grow for some decades before the steady state

or nonreplacement birth rate conditions of the more economically advanced nations are realized.

Demography is, to some extent, destiny; but demography also requires a fine balance. Indeed, when government directives are used to control population—as in the one-child policy of China—the inflection point between population growth and the rapid graying of the population can be reached and crossed quickly. Social and economic adjustments may become very difficult in such cases, as is already evident in China (Ebenstein, 2010; Hesketh, Lu, & Xing, 2005). By way of comparison, social marketing approaches to population control are slow in their impact but allow time for adjustments in individual behaviors, social norms, and government programs.

In affluent nations, family planning (although this terminology is rarely employed) often entails efforts to reverse population declines by boosting conception and birth rates or by promoting racial preferences in immigration. The marketing approaches employed are often simple and crassly similar to commercial incentive marketing approaches: perform the indicated behavior and get rewarded. In such population boosting and balancing approaches, only incentive marketing approaches, similar to those used in the commercial domain, are evident; full-fledged and integrated social marketing programs of the type used to promote birth control in developing nations are not. Such incentive approaches often get layered with religious approaches that proscribe abortion—and even contraception or premarital sex in many cases—and seek to typify women as producers of babies and nurturers of families.

In all instances of applying some forms of social marketing to family planning—whether to control population growth or to boost or rebalance the population—the weight of evidence from across the globe and over many decades shows that: (1) Simple incentive-based programs ("sales promotion" type approaches) often do not work or (in some developing nations) have led to tragic results such as unwanted and unintended vasectomies and/or tubectomies; (2) integrated, well-designed, multi-element social marketing plans with cooperative endeavors among governments, private firms, and NGOs have worked better than simple incentive programs; and (3) the best results are obtained when integrated social policies—policies that take into account the short- and long-term welfare of the whole family—are employed, with social marketing programs playing only limited and selective roles consistent with other programmatic elements of the context.

On a wider canvas, this review of social marketing approaches to family planning points to the embeddedness of social marketing as well as of

marketing in general in the prevalent sociocultural and politico-economic contexts. When program success or failure is analyzed only from instrumental angles, the resulting explanations are often circular and dead-end, noting, for example, that the program succeeded (or failed) because it was well (or poorly) designed and/or implemented. Moving the discourse to the larger contexts in which programs are embedded helps researchers to understand not only why programs have succeeded or failed but also how and why the goals, strategies, and actions of the programs got formulated in the ways they did. Moreover, this revised approach may lead researchers to question whether the programs were consistent with the overall public policies relating to the program goals and, further, to critique the polity, ideology, and culture of public policy structures and processes in general.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

Social Marketing and Responsible Financial Management

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Over the past 20 years, household debt levels in North America have repeatedly reached record highs, leaving consumers increasingly vulnerable to economic shocks amid global financial uncertainty. Clearly, given the critical role of savings as a buffer against income shocks and as a facilitator for long-term planning (Modigliani, 1986), helping consumers increase their savings and effectively manage their personal finances has never been more important to governments, financial institutions, and consumers themselves. As noted in a recent article, effective financial management to achieve financial well-being requires three tools: knowledge, numeracy, and behavioral facilitation (Soman & Mažar, 2012).

Financial literacy provides the knowledge to make responsible financial decisions. Most people acquire informal financial knowledge from friends, family, and the media. However, professional advice is often needed for successful financial management. Numeracy goes beyond knowledge, requiring people to have a mental model to deal with nonintuitive mathematical relationships, such as compound interest rates. Behavioral facilitation, the third tool, is the conversion of intentions into actions. Many consumers who plan to save or would like to save more are often unable to do so (Thaler & Benartzi, 2004). Therefore, understanding consumers' psychology and identifying effective ways to nudge them to implement their savings plans are particularly important.

Given that these three tools are essential to achieving financial well-being, this chapter will review the relevant literature on financial literacy, behavioral economics, and social marketing. It will then summarize the major interventions, as identified by the literature, that have been used to nudge people to better manage their finances.

Although economic incentives can sometimes make the act of saving more attractive, consumers frequently behave irrationally (Kahneman & Tversky, 2000). Behavioral economics research has shown that changes in the environment disproportionately influence behavior. Rather than imposing restrictions or changing economic incentives, it is possible instead to change the way in which choices are presented in the environment and thus nudge people's behavior toward the desirable options (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008). Therefore, in reviewing interventions intended to improve financial management, this chapter will focus on insights from behavioral economics and choice architecture (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008) that encourage responsible financial behavior. It will conclude by making recommendations for ways in which both consumers and policymakers can improve consumers' financial well-being.

Financial Literacy and the Last Mile Challenge

Financial Literacy

Financial literacy refers to the understanding of financial concepts and broadly includes both basic financial knowledge and numeracy. In the literature, the extent to which people understand the concepts of compound interest, inflation, and risk diversification has been used as an indicator of financial literacy (Lusardi & Mitchell, 2011). Financial illiteracy, in particular, has been revealed as a widespread problem. For example, although 55.9 percent of participants in a study by Lusardi and Mitchell (2007) correctly answered a division problem involving a lottery prize, only 17.8 percent correctly calculated compound interest. More recent research involving different samples reported that 40 percent of respondents had a basic grasp of financial mathematical concepts but little understanding of financial products and risk diversification (van Rooij, Lusardi, & Alessie, 2011).

Many factors have been identified as having an impact on financial literacy. For example, previous studies have found evidence for a relationship between financial literacy and wealth (Lusardi & Mitchell, 2007). Researchers measured financial literacy using three questions—one on percentage calculations, one on dividing lottery prizes, and one on calculating compound interest—and found that the number of correct answers

was positively related to the extent of concern for retirement plans, which was, in turn, positively associated with higher total net worth. Other studies have suggested that numeracy and the ability to understand and apply mathematical concepts in financial decisions are strongly associated with the propensity to invest, such that high numeracy might be positively correlated with risk tolerance and the ability to process financial data, thereby increasing stock market participation (Christelis, Jappelli, & Padula, 2010; van Rooij et al., 2011).

How and why does financial literacy or illiteracy matter? Financial literacy can help people make well-informed decisions, including those regarding spending, saving, investing, and planning for retirement. Hastings and Tejeda-Ashton (2008) investigated precisely how an individual's level of financial literacy affects financial choices. Researchers presented information about investment funds with varying fees and asked participants to choose among the funds. The fees were expressed in either absolute value (pesos) or annual percentage rates. The results revealed that presenting the fees in absolute amounts led financially illiterate workers to focus more on the costs; therefore, they preferred funds with low costs, displaying high price elasticity.

Numerous financial educational events have been conducted to boost people's financial literacy. Financial education serves as the process by which financial consumers and investors improve their understanding of financial products and concepts. Through information and/or objective advice, they develop the skills and confidence they need to become more aware of financial risks and opportunities, to make informed choices, to know where to go for help, and to take other effective actions to improve their financial well-being. (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2006, p. 118) Such education aims to communicate the advantages and disadvantages of certain financial behaviors (e.g., savings) and provide guidelines for implemental steps (Lusardi, 2002).

However, several controversies have arisen regarding financial literacy education. Willis (2008) argued that the methodological weaknesses in previous studies, such as the self-selection problem, make it difficult to judge the effectiveness of financial literacy. Financial education can also make people overconfident about their actual knowledge and then lead them to make decisions without sufficient deliberation (Willis, 2008).

The third—and probably the most important—issue regarding financial literacy education is the difficulty of translating intentions into actions. Efforts to encourage financial well-being have focused primarily on knowledge dissemination and ignored the "last mile problem," or the gap between intention and implementation (Mullainathan, 2009). Because people are not

always rational and do not always act in their own best interests (Kahneman & Tversky, 2000), they sometimes get waylaid while trying to implement their best intentions (Huberman, Iyengar, & Jiang, 2007).

The Last Mile Challenge

The last mile problem is not a unique phenomenon in financial management; rather, it is common across a wide range of human behaviors such as saving money, maintaining a healthy lifestyle, and everyday task completion. The term is borrowed from the field of telecommunications, where it refers to the final leg of delivering connectivity from a communications provider to a customer. It is often considered to be the weakest link because of the complexities involved in physically reaching a vast and geographically dispersed body of end users (Mullainathan, 2009). A vast amount of existing research has shown the discrepancy between a goal intention and the actual implementation of the goal (Gollwitzer, 1999). People fail to adopt the positive behaviors necessary to achieve their goals not because of a lack of awareness of the goals' importance but because of myopia, self-control problems, perceptual errors, or distributed decisions (Ainslie & Haslam, 1992; Elster, 1979; Herrnstein & Prelec, 1991; Schelling, 1984). Visceral factors such as hunger, thirst, and pain can also exert a strong "uncontrollable" effect on an individual's immediate spending behavior that the person cannot foresee from a temporal distance (Loewenstein, 1996).

What can be done to help people translate their goals into actions? Literature from the field of psychology has suggested a number of different strategies for motivating action. These include precommitment (Thaler & Benartzi, 2004), decision points (Soman, Xu, & Cheema, 2010), partitions (Cheema & Soman, 2008), side bets, contracts, and avoidance of tempting stimuli (Hoch & Loewenstein, 1991). Other strategies include turning attention from the concrete qualities of the immediate spending temptation to its abstract qualities, making social comparisons, bundling the cost of giving in to the temptation, anticipating regret and guilt, and practicing different types of mental simulation (Ainslie, 1975; Hoch & Lowenstein, 1991; Zhao, Hoeffler, & Zauberman, 2007). Recent research has also differentiated between the deliberative and implementation mindsets and has demonstrated that forming implementation intentions produces more successful goal attainment than merely forming a goal intention across different domains (Gollwitzer, 1999; Gollwitzer & Brandstätter, 1997; Orbell, Hodgkins, & Sheeran, 1997).

As these research findings indicate, the discrepancy between intention and action is a universal problem caused by human psychology, and

behavioral economics research can offer great insights into reducing this gap. Therefore, the next few sections will summarize key behavioral economics concepts related to financial decision-making and social marketing. Then, we will systematically review the findings of behavioral economics and choice architecture research to see how to create an intervention that nudges consumers toward better financial management.

Key Concepts in Consumer Psychology and Behavioral Economics

Behavioral economics is a relatively new field in which psychologists, economists, brain scientists, and many other researchers have come together to better understand human behaviors. Contrary to the assumption that people make rational decisions guided by economic incentives, behavioral economics argues that individuals do not always act in ways that maximize their economic self-interests. Instead, many seemingly irrelevant factors in the choice environment can affect people's behaviors. This section briefly reviews the key concepts in behavioral economics and then discusses how to incorporate them into choice architecture in order to create interventions and nudge savings behavior.

Prospect Theory

Prospect theory describes how individuals make risk-bearing decisions based on the potential value of losses and gains (relative to a reference point) rather than the final outcome (Tversky & Kahneman, 1986). Prospect theory is characterized by three elements: loss aversion, the reflection effect, and nonlinear weighting of probability. Loss aversion describes the strong preference to avoid losses rather than to acquire gains. Thus, when comparing a loss and a gain of equal size, people ascribe a greater magnitude to the value of the loss. In other words, the magnitude of the pain associated with a $20 loss is greater than the magnitude of the happiness associated with a $20 gain. The reflection effect is the diminishment of the marginal utility of an outcome as the outcome deviates from the reference point. This effect is reflected in the preference reversal that can be seen when comparing the preferences in decisions between two gains with the same expected value to decisions between two losses with the same expected value. Finally, nonlinear weighting of probability is when people ascribe too much weight to small probabilities close to 0 and too little weight to large probabilities close to 1. For example, the probability of winning a lottery, which is nearly zero, is constantly overestimated.

The loss aversion tendency causes the status quo bias, an important principle of behavioral economics that describes a preference for the current state (Kahneman, Knetsch, & Thaler, 1991). Samuelson and Zeckhauser (1988) illustrated this phenomenon in an experiment in which participants were asked to imagine that they had inherited a large amount of money from their great-uncle and had to decide how to invest the funds among four options: a moderate-risk company, a high-risk company, treasury bills, and municipal bonds. When told that they had inherited cash and securities invested in a moderate-risk company, participants disproportionally favored investing in a moderate-risk company, maintaining the current status.

Mental Accounting

Mental accounting refers to the process that people use to categorize and record economic outcomes when making spending and saving decisions. This paradigm shows that rather than optimizing their spending decisions over the long term and over their entire holdings, consumers make decisions in the narrower context of specific product categories called mental accounts (Heath & Soll, 1996; Soman, 2001). A central claim of this model is that when expenditures are separated into categories such as food, clothing, and entertainment, the monies categorized into these different mental accounts will likely be spent and saved accordingly. People are reluctant to spend money in a specific mental account for other purposes. For example, money budgeted for entertainment will be more likely spent on entertainment than on clothing (Heath & Soll, 1996), and money earmarked for savings is more likely to be saved than money in a spending account (Thaler, 1999).

Another experiment by Heath and Soll (1996) demonstrated the phenomenon of the violation of fungibility. Participants randomly assigned to two groups were asked to indicate their willingness to buy a ticket to a play. The people in the first group were told to imagine that they had already spent $50 for a ticket to a basketball game, and those in the other group were told that they had received a $50 parking ticket earlier in the week. The people in both groups had spent the same amount of money, but the expenditures belonged to different budgets (entertainment versus a fine). In the results, the people who were told that they had already bought basketball tickets were significantly less willing to buy tickets to the play than those who were told they had received parking tickets.

Hyperbolic Discounting

The value of an outcome differs based on the time required to receive it. Individuals discount future monetary outcomes when considering the time they must wait for those outcomes. Classical exponential discounting theory assumes that individuals discount future outcomes by a fixed rate. For example, if the discount rate is 5 percent annually, an individual's preference to receive $100 today or $105 in a year should be the same, regardless of the time between the decision point and the time when the sooner option becomes available. However, evidence of preference reversal has frequently been reported (Thaler, 1981). For example, in a decision between receiving $10 now and $11 one day later, a substantial percentage of people preferred the former. However, when deciding whether to receive $10 a year later or $11 in a year and a day (366 days), no one chose the former. Even though both scenarios presented the same delay between two options (one day), the preference for the smaller-sooner option was reversed when there was a delay between the decision time ($t = 0$) and the time to receive the smaller-sooner option ($t = t_{SS}$). This time-inconsistent discounting model is called hyperbolic discounting.

The preference reversal owing to hyperbolic discounting is depicted in Figure 8.1 (Ainslie & Haslam, 1992; Soman, 2011). When the time to receive a smaller-sooner option (t_{SS}) and a larger-later option (t_{LL}) are both distant from the present moment ($t = 0$), the utility of the larger-later option is greater than that of the smaller-sooner option; thus, people tend to choose the larger-later option. However, as the current time approaches t_{SS}, receiving the smaller-sooner option becomes a proximal event after a certain point in time (t^*), and the utility of the smaller-sooner option becomes greater than that of the larger-later option. Thus, individuals switch their preferences to the smaller-sooner option in the period between t^* and t_{SS}, which is called the lapse zone. If an individual thinks the larger-later option is more desirable than the smaller-sooner option and intends to choose the larger-later option, then the preference reversal in the lapse zone reveals a self-control problem.

Social Marketing

Social marketing is defined as "the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part" (Andreasen, 1994, p. 110). The term *marketing*

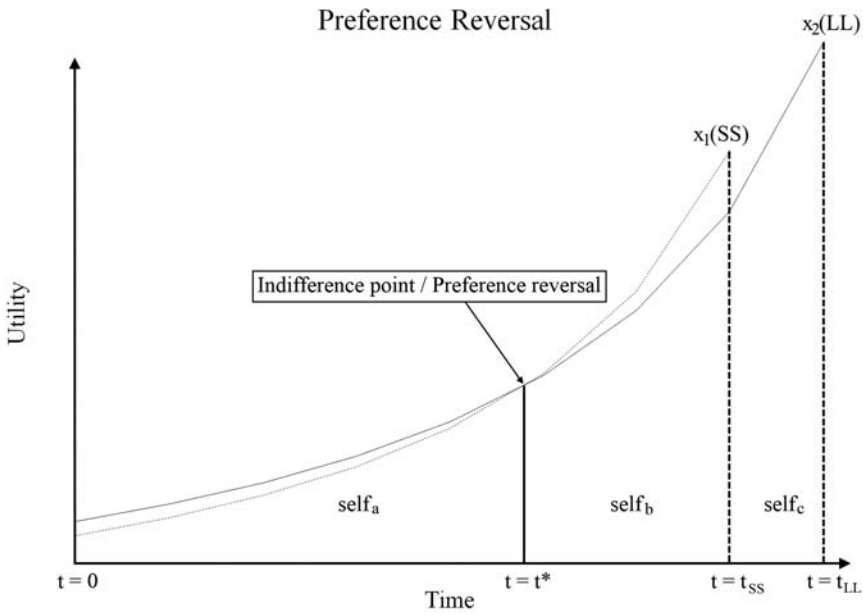

Figure 8.1 Hyperbolic discounting.

technology refers to strategies such as targeting, segmentation, and the 4 P's (price, product, promotion, and placement) of the marketing mix (Luca & Suggs, 2010). Based on that definition, Andreasen identified three criteria for social marketing: (1) applying commercial marketing technology; (2) influencing voluntary behavior; and (3) primarily benefiting individuals, families, or society rather than the marketing organization. That third criterion differentiates social marketing from commercial marketing (Andreasen, 1994). While the goal of commercial marketing is to increase sales, social marketing aims to influence behaviors so as to benefit society.

The social marketing approach has been applied widely in various domains, particularly public health. Programs have been conducted to promote healthy eating (Wechsler, Basch, Zybert, & Shea, 1998), smoking cessation (De Gruchy & Coppel, 2008), and disease prevention (Long et al., 2008). Recent research has also reported cases in which social marketing solutions were used to influence financial behavior (Lee & Miller, 2012). These solutions have varied from implementing innovative financial literacy education at road shows to designing unique savings accounts for people who want to quit smoking.

Behavioral Interventions to Nudge Responsible Financial Management

Based on the principles of behavioral economics and social marketing, recent research has attempted to increase understanding of consumers' financial decisions and to propose behavioral interventions to nudge people toward responsible financial management. In this section, we review prior research findings in consumer psychology, behavioral economics, and choice architecture that are related to saving, credit card use, investment, and debt management.

Consumer Saving and Behavioral Interventions to Increase Saving

According to the life cycle model, income is low for the young, increases from youth to middle age, and decreases from middle to old age, when it is low again. Income is likely to exceed expenditures during middle age, but expenditures are likely to be greater than income during the early and later stages of life. This life cycle model suggests that people should save excess dispensable income during middle age to prepare for future expenditures. However, many researchers report that the actual savings rate is much lower than recommended (Thaler & Benartzi, 2004). A lack of knowledge emerges as one reason for undersaving. For example, McKenzie and Liersch (2011) found that people underestimate the exponential growth of savings. More importantly, as discussed earlier, undersaving occurs because of the last mile problem—the discrepancy between saving intention and saving behavior caused by myopia, self-control problems, perceptual errors, hyperbolic discount, or other visceral factors (Ainslie & Haslam, 1992; Elster, 1979; Herrnstein & Prelec, 1991; Loewenstein, 1996; Schelling, 1984). Researchers have proposed strategies to nudge savings behavior by creating decision points (Soman & Cheema, 2011; Soman, 2010), increasing future orientation (Thaler & Benartzi, 2004), or emphasizing goal singularity (Soman & Zhao, 2011) and goal specificity (Ülkümen & Cheema, 2011). We will now discuss a few of these strategies.

Partition, earmarking, and decision points. Recent work (Soman et al., 2010) has shown that individuals who want to control consumption—but are unable to—could be prompted to control their consumption behavior by providing partitions and, thus, decision points. For example, consider two moviegoers who buy identical quantities of popcorn. One gets a large bucket of popcorn whereas the other gets the same quantity of popcorn in four separate bags. Because the second person encounters a decision point after finishing each bag of popcorn, that person eats less

than the first person because of the need to pause and think about the consumption at each decision point. In contrast, the first consumer simply consumes the entire large bucket of popcorn (Cheema & Soman, 2008; Soman et al., 2010). A similar partitioning effect for curbing consumption has been found with regard to other resources, including food, international calling cards, and gambling tokens. Extending these findings to a field setting in rural India, Soman and Cheema (2011) found that when receiving cash income, those workers who received cash divided roughly equally into four sealed envelopes saved significantly more than those who received the same amount of cash in one envelope. The act of tearing open an envelope to dig into the spending money clearly worked as a decision point that tempered spending and increased saving.

Another approach to creating the intervention of a decision point is earmarking: labeling money for a specific use in order to solve the last mile savings problem. Earmarking is conceptually similar to budgeting or mental accounting as described by Heath and Soll (1996) and others (Thaler, 1985; Shefrin & Thaler, 1988). Although consumers can allocate money toward various purchase categories using a computer application, earmarking often takes on a more tangible form to keep some money distinct from other monies, either through physical segregation or other forms of categorization (e.g., separate bank accounts). When money is earmarked, it becomes less fungible. That is, although any of the money can be traded for any kind of product, subjective restriction of its use through earmarking makes people reluctant to spend it for other purposes, because breaking a self-imposed spending rule may lead to guilt (Thaler & Shefrin, 1981) and a feeling of failure (Bénabou & Tirole, 2004). For example, Soman and Cheema (2011) showed that using earmarked money for another purpose violates a rule and thus elicits guilt.

Similar effects have been demonstrated in rural India: Workers who received weekly wages were given cash in two sets of envelopes, one with money earmarked for savings and one with the rest of their wages. Over a period of 15 weeks, these workers achieved a much higher savings rate than those in the control condition, who received all their wages in a single envelope. Further, this effect was strengthened by placing a photograph of children on the top of each earmarked envelope and sealing it. When the photographs were present (rather than a plain white envelope), the likelihood of opening the earmarked savings envelopes decreased dramatically.

Follow-up research has shown that although specific savings goals are generally helpful (Ülkümen & Cheema, 2011), focusing on too many goals at once results in a deliberative mindset and delays actual saving behavior. Counter to the common wisdom that more is better, this

research indicates that focusing on one goal at a time can more effectively facilitate implementation intention and increase saving behavior than focusing on multiple savings goals (Soman & Zhao, 2011).

Saving more tomorrow. Thaler and Benartzi (2004) designed a financial program named Save More Tomorrow (SMarT) that incorporates behavioral economics findings and choice architecture into a precommitment device. The purpose of the program is to reduce the gap between the amount people should save and their actual savings rate. Basically, SMarT is a savings plan that automatically saves a portion of participants' wages at a specified rate. The savings contribution rate automatically increases at each scheduled raise until it reaches a specified maximum.

A number of the program's features address the intention-action gap reported in behavioral economics research. Consider hyperbolic preference: When the choice outcome is immediate, people prefer smaller, quicker rewards, so an immediate start-up date might result in a low rate of sign-ups. Therefore, the time between the sign-up date for SMarT and the start-up date of the program was kept as long as was feasible. Second, the savings rate increased when employees received a raise, to mitigate loss aversion from a decrease in take-home pay. Third, recognizing the status quo bias, employees were enrolled in the program until they chose to opt out.

Three methods were used to enroll employees in the SMarT program. Employees were offered an opportunity to join SMarT through a one-on-one financial consultation, a letter, or a letter and an opportunity to attend an educational seminar on retirement savings and meet one-on-one with a financial planner. The program resulted in dramatic changes in the savings rate for participants enrolled through each method.

The average savings rate of employees who joined after a financial consultation demonstrated an increase of 10.1 percent at the time of the fourth pay raise, higher than the savings rate of people who received the same offer but did not join SMarT, who had a decreased savings rate of 0.1 percent for the same period. Looking at the second method, the average savings rate of the SMarT employees who joined after receiving a letter showed a savings increase of 2.28 percent compared with an increase of 0.26 percent for those who did not join the SMarT program after receiving the same letter. A similar pattern emerged with the third method; employees who joined the SMarT program after receiving a letter and offer to attend a seminar and consultation showed an average increase in their savings rate of 5.03 percent after four months, which was higher than the average savings rate of 1.55 percent for those who did not join after receiving the same letter and offer.

Commitment savings account. In another approach to increasing precommitment to saving, Ashraf, Karlan, and Yin (2006) designed a commitment savings account called Save, Earn, Enjoy Deposits (SEED) that restricted account holders' access to their funds until reaching a specified goal. SEED clients could choose to restrict their right to withdraw funds until either a specific date or the time at which their funds reached a certain amount. There was no compensation for the restriction; the interest rates for a SEED account and a regular account were the same. Working with a rural bank in the Philippines, researchers offered the SEED account to 710 clients, 202 of whom accepted the offer and opened the SEED account. To control the effect of gaining encouragement from the face-to-face visit, researchers added a "marketing-treatment," in which marketers visited and encouraged clients but did not offer the SEED account. The effect of simply being offered a commitment savings account on people's saving behavior was measured by changes in total savings held at the bank after 12 months.

The results indicated that customers offered a commitment account were 10.2 percent more likely to increase their savings than the control group and 5.6 percent more likely to increase their savings than the marketing treatment group, with no significant difference between the control and marketing treatment groups. These findings imply that the impact on saving was owing to precommitment and not solely to knowledge of the benefits of saving. In addition to the overall treatment effect on saving, the authors also reported individual characteristics related to saving behaviors. For example, women who exhibited hyperbolic preferences were more likely to open commitment savings accounts than women who did not exhibit such preferences, but such a trend was not observed among men. Finally, the study found that a commitment savings account with restricted access helped inactive savers more than active savers. These findings suggest that different types of interventions might be needed based on the target population's current level of engagement. Restricting access to funds until a specified date has been also used in other cases, such as the Committed Action to Reduce and End Smoking (CARES) program in the Philippines (Lee & Miller, 2012).

Peers as a commitment device. Prior research has indicated that peer evaluations of a product or event can impact an individual's decision (Gino & Moore, 2007; Shugan, 1980; Yaniv, 2004; Zhao & Xie, 2011). Extending these findings, Kast, Meier, and Pomeranz (2012) examined the use of peers as a commitment device. Specifically, they tested whether goal monitoring by a peer and text messaging with a peer could increase saving. In two field experiments in Chile, 2,700 microentrepreneurs were randomly

assigned to three groups, and each received an offer to open a savings account. Those in the control group were offered a basic account with 0.3 percent interest. Those in the self-help peer group received the same offer but had to attend a weekly meeting where group members had the option of sharing their weekly savings goals and discussed their progress toward achieving those goals. Those in the high-interest group received an interest rate of 5 percent but otherwise followed the same process as the control group. After 12 months, the peer-group participants had deposited 3.5 times more often than the control group, and their savings balance was about twice that of the control group. Those in the peer group also saved more than those in the high-interest group.

In a follow-up study to assess the savings of the self-help peer group after 12 months, the researchers compared the results from participants who exchanged weekly text messages with their peers to those who did not use any text messaging service. The follow-up study revealed that the people who used the text messaging service made deposits more often and in greater amounts than the control group members, who had no text messaging service, indicating that receiving a reminder and being informed about other participants' achievements both influence saving behavior. Consistent with these findings, other research has shown that regularly receiving information about others' or one's own progress toward a savings goal is an effective, cost-efficient way to ensure that individuals meet their goals (Kast et al., 2012).

These findings stem from various approaches to help consumers avoid the immediate temptation in the lapse zone to forgo a larger-later reward and instead act in accordance with their long-term interests. These behavioral interventions include using partitioning or earmarking to create decision points for individuals to pause and think (e.g., Cheema & Soman, 2008; Soman & Cheema, 2011; Soman et al., 2010; Soman, 2010), spacing the time between the time of decision and the time of expense (Thaler & Benartzi, 2004), restricting the right to withdraw funds (Ashraf et al., 2006), and utilizing peer pressure to create precommitment (Kast et al., 2012). In addition, other factors based on behavioral economics and choice architecture could encourage goal implementation by making it easy and simple. For example, in developing countries, limited accessibility to financial institutions and products is a major barrier to using financial services (Giné, 2011). WIZZIT, a mobile company that provides basic banking services through mobile phones, is a good example of a method for improving savings in the face of such challenges (Lee & Miller, 2012).

Consumers' Credit Card Use and Behavioral Interventions

Since their introduction in the 1920s, credit cards have become an essential payment tool in everyday transactions. Because of their flexibility and convenience, credit cards are used in more than 170 countries around the world. Despite these benefits, growing credit card debt has been identified as a new financial problem, and concern has grown that credit card use negatively influences spending behavior, potentially increasing spending. In this section, we first review research on how credit cards change spending behavior. Then, we focus on literature exploring the factors that account for different spending patterns when using credit cards. Third, we discuss behavioral interventions designed to promote responsible credit card use.

Credit cards and consumer spending. Concerns have been raised about the facilitating effect of credit card use on spending. Based on a survey of customers in department stores, Hirschman (1979) found that shoppers spent more money when making a purchase with either a bank card or a store-issued credit card than when using cash. Feinberg (1986) reported that restaurant customers left a larger tip when paying by credit card than with cash. In a subsequent laboratory study, he also demonstrated that willingness to pay for products increased when a credit card insignia was displayed on the door of the retail store in the lab. Prelec and Simester (2001) reported that credit cards had the same effect on spending in a lab study involving a substantial (more than $1) transaction. These studies showed that willingness to pay and the total purchase amount were higher when a transaction was made using a credit card or when a credit card stimulus was present.

The effects of credit cards on consumer decisions extend beyond the monetary domain. In a recent study (Chatterjee, Rose, & Sinha, 2013), participants were told that the Office of University Welfare was looking for volunteers and were asked how much time they were willing to volunteer. Participants exposed to credit-card-related words (e.g., *Visa*) before filling out the volunteer questionnaire were willing to volunteer for more time than participants exposed to cash-related words (e.g., *ATM*). This finding suggests that more so than cash, credit cards can lead people to think less about cost in general, whether the cost is monetary or based on another resource.

Credit cards can also change what consumers buy. Recent research by Thomas, Desai, and Seenivasan (2011) reported that purchases of unhealthy (vice) foods such as cookies increased when consumers paid by credit card or debit card compared to when they paid in cash.

The researchers further showed that participants who read that the store accepted all major cards placed more vice products in their shopping baskets than participants who were informed that the store accepted only cash. These findings suggest that increased spending on vice products stems not from consumers' financial status or the delay of payment but, rather, factors irrelevant to financial considerations. In addition, these findings show that merely using a different physical payment method can trigger different spending patterns.

Underlying mechanism of credit card use. Why do different modes of payment influence consumer spending? To answer this question, we turn to four factors that have been identified in the literature as potentially contributing to excessive spending when using credit cards instead of cash: pain of paying, traceability of previous expenses, immediacy of wealth depletion, and misperceptions of personal wealth.

One of the major differences between cash and credit card payments is the time at which consumers transfer money from their banking accounts to cover the cost. At the time of purchase by credit card, the consumer promises to pay the cost to the card issuer, and the seller charges the cost to the card issuer. The consumer later pays all the accumulated costs from a billing period. The delay between the time of purchase and the time of transferring the cost (the time when wealth is depleted) weakens the link between the benefit and the cost of the purchase. The degree to which consumption and payment are linked in the consumer's mind is referred to as *coupling* (Prelec & Loewenstein, 1998), and the coupling or decoupling of these two actions influences hedonistic consumer decision-making (Gourville & Soman, 1998; Soman & Gourville, 2001).

People often immediately experience the pain of paying when they make payments. With cash payments, the moment of purchase and payment occur at the same time and are tightly coupled (Prelec & Loewenstein, 1998). In contrast, when paying with a credit card, the actual transfer of money from the consumer's account occurs after the purchase, so purchase and payment are decoupled, and this delay lowers the payment transparency at the time of the purchase (Soman, 2003). The level of decoupling is high for credit card payments and thus reduces the pain of paying at the time of purchase.

Some researchers have suggested that the pain of paying decreases as the payment mechanism becomes less transparent (Raghubir & Srivastava, 2008; Soman, 2003). In addition, prospect theory holds that the aggregated pain of paying for all expenses incurred during a typical credit card billing period is lessened when the expenses are paid for by credit card (Soman, Cheema, & Chan, 2011) because the credit card issuer charges

users the accumulated expenses only at the end of the billing period. Because of the diminishing (dis)utility of purchases, the pain from the sum of the accumulated losses is less than the sum of the pain from each individual loss in the accumulated expenses. The pain of paying mechanism also explains why consumers buy more healthy products when using cash but more unhealthy products when using credit cards; the pain of paying curbs impulsive, indulgent behavior and mediates the vice-regulation effect of cash (Thomas et al., 2011).

In addition to the pain of paying, increased spending by credit card users is also related to the memory of expense, the immediate depletion of wealth, and the misperception of personal wealth. Soman (2001) found that consumers who make payments with credit cards cannot recall the price of the products they purchased as clearly as those who paid by check. Additionally, when consumers' wealth was depleted immediately, greater recall of past expenses reduced their future purchase intentions.

A misperception of personal wealth is also related to credit card use. Soman and Cheema (2002) showed that a credit limit can influence individuals' propensity to spend by affecting their estimations of their future earning potential. That is, people often use the size of their credit limit as a heuristic for predicting their future income potential. The relationship between an individual's credit limit and that person's expected future income is moderated by credibility—the degree to which consumers believe their credit limits truly predict their future income. Soman and Cheema (2002) found that the propensity to spend and expectations of future salary increased along with credit limits, but this effect was lessened among people who expressed low levels of credibility.

Behavioral interventions to improve responsible credit card use. Credit card debt in the United States totaled $680 billion in the fourth quarter of 2012, amounting to 6 percent of all debt in the country (Federal Reserve Bank of New York, 2013). Although the portion of total debt accounted for by credit cards is small, their wide use makes it worthwhile to investigate responsible management of credit card debt. Recent research by Wilcox, Block, and Eisenstein (2011) highlighted the importance of credit card debt management, showing the devastating consequences of increased spending by consumers carrying unresolved credit card debt. This finding is consistent with earlier research on goal violation showing that violation of a goal (e.g., an outstanding balance) reduces subsequent efforts to achieve the initial goal and that credit card users spend even more than they did before having an outstanding balance (Soman & Cheema, 2004). All these findings indicate the importance of responsible credit card usage.

Next, we examine two research projects that demonstrate how behavioral interventions can reduce the adverse influence of credit cards on spending. First, Raghubir and Srivastava (2008) found that decomposing future expenses curbed the tendency to spend more. Study participants were asked to estimate the budget for a Thanksgiving party. In the holistic estimation condition, participants were told to estimate only the total amount based on the items needed for the party. In the decomposition condition, participants were told to estimate the cost of each item separately and then add up the total estimated cost. Decomposition of expenses significantly reduced the estimated amount of total expenses by strengthening the link between the payment and the specific instance of consumption (Raghubir & Srivastava, 2008).

Second, Soman and Cheema's (2002) findings have many implications for financial literacy education. Inexperienced credit card users' greater tendency to think that their credit limit predicts their future income suggests that knowledge can control increased spending by affecting credibility. In Soman and Cheema's (2002) studies, credibility was influenced by reading information about the relationship between credit limit and future income. Participants in the high credibility condition read that the credit union used scientific methods to estimate consumers' future income and form a basis for determining credit limits, while participants in the low credibility condition read that the credit union's methods were not very scientific. Merely reading a short paragraph questioning the reliability of credit limits as a predictor of future income eliminated the main adverse effect of credit limits, significantly decreasing the propensity to spend. The interaction between credit limit and education (years of schooling) was significant, again highlighting the role of financial literacy in spending control.

Investor Decision-Making and Behavioral Intervention

This section discusses the problem of suboptimal decisions by investors, focusing specifically on stock market participation and the purchase of insurance. As in previous sections, we first review investor behaviors and their underlying mechanisms. Then, we discuss behavioral interventions to facilitate sound investment decisions.

Investor behavior. When and what to buy or sell are important decisions that determine investment behavior. Here, we focus on four behavioral patterns related to investors' buying and selling decisions: myopic loss aversion, overconfidence, the disposition effect, and insufficient diversification.

Myopic loss aversion. Researchers have identified a fascinating phenomenon called the equity premium puzzle, which refers to low participation in the stock market even though stocks offer greater annual returns than low-risk assets, such as savings accounts. Although stocks carry higher risks than these other assets, the average long-term return of stocks is likely to be larger than that of low-risk assets.

Benartzi and Thaler (1995) turned to loss-aversion tendencies and narrow framing to explain this discrepancy. When stockholders evaluate their stock holdings daily, sometimes they observe gains and other times losses. Under the principle of loss aversion, the pain of interim losses might be greater than the pleasure of interim gains. Thus, even when the value of a stock increases over the course of a year, investors might rate the stock as an overall loss because of the losses they experienced in the interim. Frequent evaluation combined with loss aversion can make risky assets unattractive.

Overconfidence and excessive trading. Excessive trading is another cause of suboptimal investment, and there is evidence that the individual investors who trade the most earn smaller returns (Barber & Odean, 2000; Odean, 1999). Trading data on 66,465 households over a period of 5 years revealed that the annual return for the investors who traded most often was 11.4 percent, lower than the average market return of 16.4 percent (Barber & Odean, 2000). It has been proposed that overconfidence leads to excessive trading, because overconfident people believe that they have enough useful information even when they do not (Odean, 1999). Barber and Odean (2001) supported this explanation in a study on investment behavior among men and women. Assuming that, in the financial domain, men are more likely to be overconfident than women, the researchers found that men traded 45 percent more often than women. Although men and women had similar net returns, men reduced their returns by trading more than women. In light of the finding that aggressive orders were responsible for most individual trading losses (Barber, Lee, Liu, & Odean, 2009), the issue of excessive trading in and of itself is not as troublesome as it might otherwise appear.

Disposition effect. Another frequently studied behavioral pattern is the disposition effect (Shefrin & Statman, 1985; Odean, 1998)—investors' tendency to sell stocks that have appreciated ("winners") more readily than stocks whose values have decreased ("losers"). Shefrin and Statman explained that disposition is driven by multiple factors, including mental accounting and regret aversion. According to Shefrin and Statman, investors are reluctant to sell depreciated stock because they do not want to close their mental account for the original stock purchase with a loss,

which could induce negative feelings such as regret. The regret associated with buying and selling influences not only decision-making but also subsequent purchasing decisions. Once a stock is sold for a loss, investors are less willing to repurchase it because of the negative emotion experienced during the earlier transaction involving that stock (Strahilevitz, Odean, & Barber, 2011).

Insufficient diversification. Research has uncovered evidence of insufficient diversification and naïve diversification among investors. Investors' diversification is often less than optimal (Thaler & Bernartzi, 2004), and although investors diversify, they often do so in a naïve way (Benartzi & Thaler, 2001). It has been reported that investors tend to concentrate their assets in options familiar to them (Thaler & Benartzi, 2004). For example, investors are more likely to invest in geographically close firms than in distant ones (Grinblatt & Keloharju, 2001). Thaler and Benartzi (2004) pointed out that ambiguity aversion and familiarity preference could cause insufficient diversification. Naïve diversification describes diversification based on heuristics. For example, in 1/n heuristics, investors divide assets evenly among the available options. Although some empirical evidence of naïve diversification has been reported (Benartzi & Thaler, 2001), its relative inefficiency compared to optimal diversification is unclear.

Behavioral interventions to improve responsible credit card use. The literature suggests that financial literacy education plays a role in helping investors make better decisions. As an example, we first describe the case of a financial education program run by Gaurav, Cole, and Tobacman (2011) and then discuss additional issues related to financial education.

Gaurav and colleagues (2011) focused on the problem of the low purchase rate of insurance in emerging markets. The adoption rate of financial products in Africa, India, and several countries in East Asia is low, even though some financial products such as rainfall insurance could help households relying on farming to prepare for losses owing to bad weather. Gaurav and colleagues examined whether financial education increases rainfall insurance purchase among farmers. The study was conducted in 15 rain-fed villages in the state of Gujarat in India. Participants were farmers who cultivated cotton and groundnuts. Their profitability depended greatly on the weather; crop yields were significantly reduced when the monsoons provided inadequate rainfall.

The researchers randomly selected 600 households for the field experiment. Half of them received financial literacy education before rainfall insurance was marketed to them, while the other half did not get financial literacy education. Trained nongovernmental organization employees ran

the financial literacy education sessions. In the first half of each session, the presenter provided general lessons on financial management, saving, and insurance using various materials, including posters, charts, and videos. In the second half of each session, participants played a simulation game designed to increase their understanding of the benefits and limitations of insurance. The game taught that crop and rainfall insurance could help farmers manage the income shock caused by adverse weather conditions and also reviewed the limitations of insurance. Financial education significantly affected purchase decisions for rainfall insurance, increasing the take-up rate from 8 percent to 16 percent.

The prevailing low understanding of financial concepts such as compound interest and the characteristics of various investment options (Lusardi & Mitchell, 2007) presents opportunities for financial education to make a significant difference in the investment domain. In addition to improving knowledge, financial education can help investors avoid behavioral patterns that may lead to suboptimal investments. Dhar and Zhu's (2006) research produced promising indications that learning may help investors reduce the disposition effect. The researchers investigated whether the degree of the disposition effect varies according to individual differences, such as demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. They found that in addition to educational level, learning from trading experience can reduce the disposition effect among investors.

Debt Management and Behavioral Intervention

The Federal Reserve Bank of New York (2012) reported that consumer debt in the United States reached $11.38 trillion in the second quarter of 2012, and nearly one in five households (19 percent) had outstanding student debt or loans in deferment in 2010 (Marklein, 2012). According to Freeman (2013), Statistics Canada reported that in 2012, household debt in Canada rose to 164.6 percent of disposable income, indicating that Canadians owed $1.65 for every $1 in income. The adverse consequences of debt extend far beyond the financial domain. Debt is obviously the leading cause of personal bankruptcies and reduces people's sense of personal well-being (Brown, Taylor, & Wheatley Price, 2005). In this section, we review research on preventing consumers from becoming indebted and helping them to resolve debt.

Consumer behavior in debt management. Lusardi and Tufano's (2009) investigation of the relationship between financial literacy and debt loads found two key results: First, debt literacy, measured by the level of understanding of such concepts as compound interest or the way credit

cards work, was low. Second, debt literacy and debt loads are strongly related. These results indicate that low numeracy skills may be related to low understanding of the consequences of borrowing at a high interest rate, which in turn may lead to overindebtedness.

Recent research has found that consumers often make suboptimal decisions about repaying debt (Amar et al., 2011). Amar and colleagues investigated how people decide when and how to repay multiple debts, and they found that consumers repay small debts first, even when larger debts have a higher interest rate. In their study, participants played a 25-round monetary game. They were told that they had six debts to repay. The smallest debt was $3,000 with an interest rate of 2.50 percent, and the largest debt was $60,000 with a 4 percent interest rate. Participants received $5,000 cash each round and decided how to spend it. They could repay the debt or keep the money in a cash account. The investigators recorded the number of rounds it took for participants to fully repay their debts. The best economic decision was to repay the debt with the highest interest rate first, which in this case was the largest debt. If consumers did so, the largest debt could be repaid in the twelfth round. However, the average number of rounds to close the debt was 23. Overall, consumers tended to repay the smallest debt first. The authors argued that people prefer to close smaller debts first because smaller tasks seem more manageable, and by closing the easiest debts first, consumers could reduce their number of debts more quickly.

Behavioral interventions to improve debt management. While Lusardi and Tufano's (2009) research emphasized the need for financial literacy education, recent research by Bolton, Bloom, and Cohen (2011) sheds light on the best direction for financial literacy education. Their findings raised the concern that education focused solely on improving numeracy may lead to unintended, undesirable effects.

Bolton and colleagues (2011) tested the effect of financial literacy intervention on consumers' responses to loan advertisements. The authors hypothesized that both loan and lender literacy would improve consumer understanding of marketing for debt consolidation loans and reduce favorable attitudes toward debt consolidation loan programs. Loan literacy refers to knowledge about loans whereas lender literacy refers to consumer knowledge about lenders, such as their motivation and behavior. In the study, the researchers provided different types of financial education to three groups: a control group that received no information or education, a group that received basic information about numeracy, and a group that was exposed to basic information about numeracy, loans, and lenders. The researchers found that the consumers who received both numeracy and other financial literacy education had less favorable attitudes toward the debt consolidation program

than those in the numeracy-only group. Understanding loans and lenders' motivation helped consumers behave in a more financially protective way.

Recommendations and Conclusions

In this chapter, we have reviewed the literature on social marketing as it relates to financial literacy, behavioral economics, and choice architecture, and described specific examples of findings and interventions that foster responsible financial management. Still, a number of key questions remain in terms of how these findings can best be harnessed by policymakers, innovators, and consumers in an efficient manner. These questions include discussions about the relative role of financial knowledge versus choice architecture, the manner in which financial well-being interventions are structured, and how new insights from research could play a role in the design of these solutions.

Financial Literacy and Choice Architecture

One of the more recent issues in the area of improving financial well-being is the debate over which of two approaches to use—financial literacy on the one hand, or choice architecture to nudge people toward specific outcomes on the other (Financial Consumer Agency of Canada [FCAC], 2011). Proponents of the former approach typically argue that education is empowering, but nudging is demeaning. Meanwhile, those supporting the latter approach point to evidence suggesting that financial education does not often result in changes in downstream behavior (Willis, 2008). Our own position in this debate is that the trade-off between financial education and choice architecture is not really an either/or question. Rather, we believe that the more appropriate question is: What is the best framework in which both financial education and choice architecture can be employed to result in better financial outcomes (Soman & Mažar, 2012).

In a recent report entitled *A Practitioner's Guide to Nudging*, Ly, Mažar, Zhao, and Soman (2013) recommended that the first stage in designing interventions to improve well-being should be to map out the consumer's decision-making process. In the case of financial well-being—for example, retirement planning—the various steps in the process might include: (1) need recognition, (2) an action to initiate the process of retirement savings (e.g., opening a retirement account), (3) decisions about how much and what to invest in, and finally, (4) ongoing evaluations of the account and any resulting changes. Ly and colleagues argued that bottlenecks in this process could be created by small transaction costs or frictions in the environment that make it difficult to close the intention-action gap. For

instance, no amount of rational thinking and financial education is guaranteed to make people realize the need for retirement planning and get them to open relevant accounts; these are areas where a suitable nudge might help consumers get started. However, once they have accounts, financial literacy is key to helping them optimize the returns from their investments. In other words, we believe the best solution is a hybrid approach incorporating elements of choice architecture to nudge people into recognizing the need and initiating an action, as well as financial literacy and education to guide people toward making the best choices. In addition to providing education and choice architecture, we also believe it is important to use technology and tools to help people build stronger numeracy skills.

Heuristics for Using Insights from Behavioral Economics

As discussed earlier, there are several specific findings from the behavioral economics literature that are relevant to the goal of aiding responsible financial management. However, there are a few simple heuristics that could help practicing managers better employ these principles in designing products and services. The first heuristic involves the role of transaction costs and can be phrased as, "If you want to encourage a specific consumer behavior, make it easy by minimizing transaction costs." Transaction costs that typically cause consumers to stumble in trying to achieve their desired outcomes include (a) the need to make a trip or invest a block of time to visit a bank or meet with a financial adviser, and (b) the need to provide copious (often redundant) information on application forms. Consistent with this principle, prior research has shown that if enrollment in retirement plans is made easy, consumers are more likely to enroll (Johnson et al., 2012).

The corollary to the first heuristic is, "If you want to discourage a behavior, insert small frictions into the process." For instance, making it marginally harder to reach out for junk food in a cafeteria reduces its consumption (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008), and placing paper cups beyond the easy reach of cafeteria patrons increases the likelihood that they will take reusable glasses instead (Soman et al., 2010).

A second heuristic has to do with the fact that consumers with good intentions are willing to commit to prudent decisions in the future (Thaler & Benartzi, 2004). We therefore recommend devising mechanisms that "allow consumers to precommit to responsible financial decisions in the future." However, recognizing that a mere statement of intent is not enough, we further recommend that the policymaker or manager also

design "locking mechanisms that ensure that the consumer follows through on the precommitted behavior." These mechanisms could range from contractual-type arrangements regarding behavioral interventions to "out of sight, out of mind" product designs and the use of peers to add a social cost of deviating from the behavior.

A third heuristic we propose is the creation of decision points (Soman et al., 2010). This heuristic is based on the observation that consumers start off in a deliberative mode, in which they actually think explicitly about the pros and cons of a consumption decision, but quickly move to an automatic mode, in which continued consumption becomes mindless and habitual. The provision of a decision point allows the individual to snap back to a deliberative mode; for a consumer who is trying to control consumption, this typically entails a call to vigilance.

A decision point is any intervention that is designed to get an individual to pause and think, and it can be created in several ways. These include inserting transaction costs, which work on the premise that requiring individuals to take a positive action makes them deliberate about the consumption decision; providing reminders, which work on the premise that drawing attention to a neglected activity can provide the impetus to get it done; and creating interruptions to the consumption activity, which work on the premise that the interruption allows the individual to pause and think.

Challenges and Opportunities

Going forward, we expect that responsible financial management is likely to get even more difficult for a number of reasons, largely because of the advent of technology, social networks, and mobile/electronic money. Research suggests that consumers have considerably more difficulties managing electronic money relative to cash (Soman, 2001) because the pain of payment associated with electronic money is lower than the pain of spending cash. Further, electronic money leaves behind a weaker memory trace than cash, resulting in consumers being less tuned in to their financial status when they use electronic money. With the increasing adoption of electronic and mobile wallets, it is likely that some of the money management issues highlighted in this chapter will get even worse. However, although electronic money poses challenges, it may also create opportunities. Consider for a moment the following scenario: Mr. A uses his mobile phone to make payments, but has a smartphone app built into the phone that tracks his payments, categorizes them, and retrieves them as needed. Mr. A could now check his smartphone app to get a complete

log of his payments, which could allow him to make better-informed spending decisions in the future. Likewise, Ms. B's smartphone might have an app that allows her to compare two mortgage or loan products by simply scanning in the relevant QR codes. The app could then return a range of recommendations that might differ based on Ms. B's goals in making the choice (e.g., minimize total payments versus minimize monthly payments). While these scenarios might appear futuristic, they are certainly within the realm of today's technology.

A second area where we expect to see rapid development is in the use of gamification techniques to teach consumers financial concepts and skills. The term *gamification* refers to the use of game thinking in a non-game context to engage and educate users and solve problems (Zichermann & Cunningham, 2011). Gamification is based on simple principles of psychology, which suggest that consumers are best engaged and learn the most when their needs of competition, achievement, status, and closure are satisfied. A number of such initiatives have already been developed in this domain. The first example is a project called xDelia (www.xdelia.com), which has been set up with the goal of evaluating the potential of games, game technologies, and sensors as components in learning support environments and as tools to conduct experimental and field research. The second example is an online financial literacy game built for children and parents called PlayMoolah (www.playmoolah.com). The early success of these Internet and technology-enabled projects suggest that new and unconventional ways of delivering financial literacy might yield better results than the mixed outcomes of earlier efforts (Willis, 2008).

Finally, we note that the entire universe of financial literacy, social marketing, and choice architecture interventions discussed in this chapter is large in both scope and size. Whether they be financial advisers, community workers, or representatives of government agencies, it is important for advocates of financial well-being to be able to put a framework around this universe of techniques to better help consumers relate appropriate techniques to their financial goals.

One compelling example of thinking through various financial decisions as a series of "life events" is provided by the FCAC, a Canadian federal agency (see http://www.fcac-acfc.gc.ca/eng/consumers/lifeEvents/index-eng.asp). This framework divides financial decisions into nine life events: (1) paying for university education, (2) moving out and living on one's own, (3) starting a first job, (4) living as a couple, (5) having children, (6) teaching children about money, (7) owning a home, (8) planning for retirement, and (9) dealing with debt. By creating these categories, the FCAC has made it easy for each consumer to identify with one of these

stages; the agency can then direct consumers toward the most appropriate education and skills. While we hold up this example as a best practice, our point is not that a life event approach or a nine-category framework is the most appropriate method. Rather, we believe that the body of available information, tools, and skills is vast, and unless consumers have help navigating to the most appropriate tools for the situations they face, we fear that they may become lost and disengaged from responsible financial management.

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CHAPTER NINE

Social Marketing Environmental Case Studies

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Most, if not all, environmental programs require some type of behavior change to achieve their end goal (e.g., reducing miles driven, moderating electrical or water usage). Behavior change can be achieved through various methods—conservation psychology, behavioral economics, environmental literacy, or social marketing. Each of these methods has shown the ability to modify behavior with measurable, positive environmental outcomes. Social marketing takes commercial marketing concepts and techniques and tweaks them for use in achieving societal good. Social marketing strategies that have been utilized by the public health sector for years are now being adopted by environmental "practitioners."

When working on interventions, practitioners know it is important to segment the audience to determine the barriers and benefits that will move different groups to action. In 2011 Ogilvy and Mather created a report titled *Mainstream Green* to categorize people and their environmental behavior tendencies (Bennett & Williams, 2011), putting the United States population on a "continuum of green" (p. 26). This scheme effectively categorized Americans into groups based on their environmental motivations, decisions, and actions. The report authors found that 16 percent of Americans were "Super Greens," 18 percent were "Green Rejecters," and

the remaining 66 percent were "Middle Greens" (a group that was then further segmented into "Upper Middle Greens" and "Lower Middle Greens"). They found that Upper Middle Greens are more motivated by altruistic and future benefits whereas Lower Middle Greens are motivated by personal and immediate benefits.

Another topic of interest for practitioners is the knowledge-deficit model. Research by Wes Schultz, a leading academic expert in environmental behavior, has shown that providing more information about a subject is generally not sufficient to change individual behavior (Schultz, 2011). Schultz argued that although knowledge is often correlated with behavior, and education and information can increase knowledge, simply increasing knowledge will not typically result in behavior change. We must do more, and that is where social marketing comes in.

Many of the academics contributing to this handbook have been working to build a body of knowledge around long-term environmental behavior change. This chapter highlights a variety of recent social marketing environmental campaigns. Each case study is divided into six sections: background, target audience, formative research, objectives, marketing strategy, and program evaluation. The specific topics addressed include recycling, litter prevention, sustainable fishing practices, and energy conservation.

Keep America Beautiful's Approach to Increasing Recycling and Reducing Litter

From the iconic Iron Eyes Cody public service announcement in the 1970s to its *2009 National Visible Litter Survey and Litter Cost Study* and its forthcoming 2013 public service announcement on recycling, Keep America Beautiful (KAB) has been promoting environmental behavior change for generations. KAB's programs aim to change both attitudes and behaviors by building and sustaining vibrant communities. KAB believes that individuals should be encouraged to make responsible decisions and take action to protect their communities' environments. In the 1980s KAB worked with Robert F. Allen of the Human Resources Institute to create a five-step attitude change system, developed through research and field testing by his team of behavioral scientists. This five-step process is an invaluable tool for planning. Its components follow.

1. Get the facts. Research the needs of the community, and then assemble all the data to help target an approach.
2. Involve the people. Identify the people who have the most influence and involve them in the planning stage.

3. Develop a plan. The plan should address who, what, where, when, and why. Identify applicable resources.
4. Focus on results. The goal is to achieve measurable community improvement.
5. Provide positive reinforcement. To sustain environmental and quality-of-life changes in the community, provide regular feedback.

In the 2000s KAB complemented this five-step attitude change framework with the following three "pressure points":

1. Tools and resources (in social marketing terms, the "product"). Tools and resources for changing behavior may include such tangible things as litter pickup tools, sanitation collection vehicles, graffiti removal equipment, litter receptacles, and recycling bins.
2. Ordinances and enforcement ("price"). Every community has codes, laws, or ordinances that affect the quality of life. Changing public policy is one way to change behavior. These policies might include incentives or disincentives. However, it is important to reinforce the desired behavior with consistent and effective enforcement of existing codes, laws, and ordinances.
3. Education ("promotion"). Public attitudes about community improvement are affected by education. Education and awareness are bedrock tools of behavior change. Education includes school programs, training seminars, workshops, new media, public relations, traditional media campaigns, and community-based social marketing.

A mixture of the five steps and the three pressure points are used in program development. The "place" element of the 4 P's of marketing is not specifically addressed in KAB's pressure points change process at this time.

Recycling Barriers

Recycling is considered to be one of the easiest environmental behaviors to adopt and is one of the more commonly promoted behaviors. However, there are some behavioral barriers to the act of recycling. The most common and important barrier is convenience; this factor has an incredibly strong influence on recycling behaviors at home, at work, in schools, and in public places.

The issue of convenience has received much attention over the past several decades, and efforts have been made to facilitate the collection of recyclables. Since the 1990s many communities have provided curbside recycling for their residents. The number of such communities has grown exponentially in the 2000s, along with the number of drop-off centers; according to some surveys, almost 90 percent of households now have

access to recycling options (Moore Recycling Associates, 2011; R.W. Beck, 2009; American Forest and Paper Association Community Survey, 2010).

Recycling in the commercial sector has also been growing as businesses have begun to realize that recycling makes economic sense, often saving money or even, in some cases, generating revenue. Unlike in homes and businesses, recycling options are woefully insufficient in public spaces, including parks, malls, and streetscapes, to name a few. This is largely because of the fact that there is an absence of infrastructure for on-the-go recycling and because implementing recycling in such locations may present operational costs that are sometimes difficult to overcome.

According to a national study conducted by KAB in 2009, only 12 percent of the public spaces within the study's sample had recycling bins (Action Research, 2009). However, if providing recycling bins increases recycling participation, it would follow that the waste disposal costs for public spaces that have recycling bins would decrease. Thus, it is likely that a community would receive a favorable return on investment by providing recycling bins.

Just how convenient does public space recycling need to be? If it isn't economically feasible to put a recycling bin next to each trash can, what ratio of recycling bins to trash cans is needed? In other words, how many trash cans will people pass, looking for a recycling bin, before they ultimately throw their recyclable items away? The North Carolina Department of Environmental Assistance and Outreach asked this very question of state fair goers in 2010. Of the 1,868 respondents, 41 percent reported that they would hold on to a recyclable item indefinitely—until they got home or found a bin. A further 37 percent indicated that they would pass one to three trash cans before throwing the item away, and 18 percent percent reported that they would be willing to pass four to six trash cans before discarding the item (North Carolina Department of Environmental Assistance and Outreach, 2010). Because not all public space trash cans are currently paired with recycling bins and not all individuals will carry their recyclables indefinitely until they find a bin, it is important to continue to address this barrier of convenience.

To improve recycling participation, organizations and municipalities need to make recycling convenient. One way of doing so is to provide recycling bins, but not all bins are created equal. Various attributes—such as color, lid type, labeling, and shape—can help facilitate the use of a recycling bin by drawing attention to the container and/or decreasing confusion regarding how to use it.

One study conducted by the University of Michigan in 2012 looked at visual salience and its impact on recycling participation. The researchers

found that bin color influences recycling rates; all else being equal, people recycled more frequently when the available recycling bin was green rather than gray. Notably, the results of a pretest that was administered as a survey showed that green was the most memorable color for recycling bins, even compared to the blue typically used (Montazeri, Gonzalez, Yoon, & Papalambros, 2012).

In 2008 a study regarding recycling bin lids was conducted at Rutgers University. The results indicated that the presence of specialized recycling container lids increased the recycling rate by 34 percent, which suggests that specialized container lids improve recycling compliance (Duffy & Verges, 2009). These results demonstrate that recycling bin design is an important factor to consider when administering programs that attempt to improve recycling-related behaviors.

In the context of the 4 P's marketing mix often used by social marketing practitioners, providing a recycling bin is the product. Price relates to the time spent separating recyclable materials and the cost of the bins and/or a collection service. The place could be home, work, school, or out in the community. Finally, promotion involves prompts such as decals and signs, feedback with or without incentives, norms, and even new media. In summary, one social marketing technique to improve recycling behavior by decreasing the convenience barrier at away-from-home locations is the use of appropriately designed bins.

KAB works to build solutions to address the issue of recycling convenience and also to overcome other barriers such as knowledge of what is recyclable, apathy, and cost. KAB has an array of programs to address these issues among various audience sectors. The following case studies discuss the issue of convenience and, more specifically, the importance of providing recycling bins and how bin design affects participation.

Case Study 1: Use of Eco-Feedback for On-the-Go Recycling

Background

In the fall of 2011 the University of Georgia (UGA) undertook a study in which the researchers designed, utilized, and measured the usage of a "smart-bin" with "eco-feedback"—a recycling bin that lit up and displayed a count of the number of items that had been deposited (Reyes, 2012). UGA ran two experiments (macrosocial and microsocial) and collected both quantitative and qualitative data.

The macrosocial experiment. UGA researchers set up baseline and experimental scenarios by comparing the rate of recycling in a smart-bin

with eco-feedback to the rate of recycling in the same exact bin without the eco-feedback mechanism during two separate football games. The location of the two different bins—inside the student center—was kept constant; the regular bin was simply replaced by the smart-bin for a subsequent football game. Because UGA was able to determine the number of people in the student center, the amount of material recycled in the bins was converted into a per-capita rate.

The microsocial experiment. In the semester preceding the macrosocial intervention, UGA researchers studied recycling rates between bins in what they called a microsocial environment. As in the macrosocial experiment, the bins were placed in the student center, but in this case they remained in place for periods of 28 consecutive days. The first phase of the experiment utilized a regular recycling bin. The second phase used a regular recycling bin with a recycling-related poster and a whiteboard with the message, "What do you know about recycling?" The third phase of the experiment used the smart-bin in place of the regular bin, with no accompanying signage.

Target Audience

In both the experimental and baseline scenarios for the macrosocial study, the audience that was exposed to the bins consisted of students and other individuals who entered the student center where the bin was located. Most of these people were football game attendees. During the microsocial study, the audience exposed to the bins again consisted of those who entered the student center (students, staff, etc.); however, in contrast to those exposed to the bin on football game days, the individuals exposed to the bin in the microsocial study did not tend to be socializing in groups.

Formative Research

As part of its formative research review before conducting its micro- and macrosocial studies using the smart-bin, the UGA team extensively researched theories such as feedback, stimuli, reward/penalty, human-computer interaction, and goal setting. Feedback can be defined as providing information about the level of success or need for improvement in response to a behavior (Kelly, Little, Phelps, & Roble, 2012). The following list summarizes relevant feedback best management practices:

1. Provide individual feedback rather than group feedback when possible.
2. Give feedback frequently and immediately after the behavior is performed.

3. Make feedback as personalized as possible.
4. Make sure the feedback is clear and concrete. (Kelly & Phelps, 2013)

To inform their study, the UGA investigators also researched the fun theory, along with some of the current methods being used and social experiments that had already been conducted using this theory. They noted that their goal was to provide immediate, positive, informative, and "fun" feedback so that people would feel good about recycling in the eco-feedback bin, thus increasing recycling participation and overall recycling rates.

Objectives

The objective of designing the smart-bin with eco-feedback was to create an interactive recycling bin that was low in cost and that could be made widely available to help increase recycling participation. To keep the bin's cost low compared to other initiatives and more expensive commercial bin models, the researchers aimed to find the minimum amount of feedback required to get people to engage with the bin and react to its feedback.

Marketing Strategy

The researchers' strategy was not only to provide a recycling bin but to provide one that was engaging and fun, to help increase recycling participation. The bin was an outdoor style recycling bin with four holes in its top and a circuit board with a sensor that detected when an item was successfully dropped into the bin. Once the sensor was triggered, running lights around the top turned from red to green when an item was recycled, and a numerical display on the face of the bin changed with every item added to show a constant tally of the number of items in the bin (see Figure 9.1).

Program Evaluation

Macrosocial. Quantitatively, the researchers at UGA saw a statistically significant greater number of items recycled in the eco-feedback bin (0.45 kg per-capita recycling rate) than in the regular bin (0.30 kg per-capita recycling rate) during the macrosocial study. Qualitatively, they observed group/collective recycling efforts around the smart-bin as well as intrigue/interest in the eco-feedback. They saw people observing and learning from others who were willing to recycle items in the bin. At times, people in

Figure 9.1 The eco-feedback bin at the University of Georgia includes LED lights and a counter.
(Original photograph. Courtesy of Janna Jambeck.)

groups gathered around the bin and cheered when it lit up and updated its count of recycled items. The researchers also observed instances in which people were initially opposed to using the bin but later began using it after watching other groups of people using it. One notable incident involved a person who, upon seeing other people using the bin and observing its feedback mechanism, said, "I'm not touching that." Moments later, though, the individual went over to a table, picked up an item that wasn't his,

walked over to the smart-bin, recycled the item, and watched the bin's reaction. In the macrosocial environment, the researchers saw people immediately interacting with each other about the bin.

Microsocial. Quantitatively, the researchers found no statistically significant difference in the amount of material recycled in the regular recycling bin during the first and second phases of the experiment, but they did find a statistically significant increase in the amount of material recycled in the smart-bin with eco-feedback during the third phase. Qualitatively, the researchers began to notice social interactions between students regarding the bin and its feedback within the vicinity of the bin and while using it to recycle items. Toward the end of the 28-day experimental period, the researchers began to see people bringing others to the bin. This suggests that the socialization aspect of the collaborative/group recycling efforts around the smart-bin was much slower in the microsocial environment than in the macrosocial environment, but it was still present (J. Jambeck, personal communication, November 28, 2012).

The data indicate that the smart-bin was successful in increasing recycling rates in both the microsocial and macrosocial environments.

Case Study 2: Use of Prompts for On-the-Go Recycling

Background

From May to September of 2010, the City of Hamilton's Public Works Department in Ontario, Canada, kicked off a social marketing program to improve recycling and trash disposal behavior in city parks. With the sponsorship of Pioneer Petroleums, the Department of Public Works was able to develop and apply new prompts consisting of vinyl decal wraps with messaging about appropriate recycling and trash disposal on bins in 28 parks in Hamilton. With a citywide population of 520,000 and only one landfill, Hamilton's residents seemed to share the department's goals of taking care of the city's waste locally, reducing the flow of recyclable materials to the landfill, and preserving the city's environment. The barrier preventing the achievement of these goals in public parks was a lack of information on what to recycle and how to do so appropriately.

The program, which was initially conducted in city parks and later spread to public curbside bins, aimed to reduce cross-contamination of recyclables and waste through effective bin prompts—in the form of instructive labels—and the appropriate placement of bins. Before the program was introduced, the signage at park entrances consisted of long lists of prohibited activities (e.g., "Do Not Litter"). Green barrels for waste were

already in place in the parks, and in 2005 the parks added blue recycling barrels, each with a small hole in the lid. The color of these barrels was selected to be consistent with Ontario's association of the color blue with recycling. The recycling bins also contained decals on their lids indicating what types of materials were acceptable for deposit. The color differentiation and initial recycling prompt were helpful; however, by 2010, when there was renewed interest in improving the park recycling program, many of the decals had rubbed off or had not been applied to newer containers, and this absence of instructive information was believed to be the main reason for the observed higher-than-desirable levels of cross-contamination between the waste and recycling bins.

Target Audience

The primary target audience was park users, and the secondary audience was Recreation Department staff. While park users were accustomed to recycling at home and would find it a natural extension to do so in the outdoors, a lack of clarity about what materials could be recycled and which container materials should be placed in made it difficult for people to perform the correct behavior, even with the requisite intent. Before the start of the program, preliminary research was conducted to determine how best to reach park attendees. The City of Hamilton's Public Works Department collaborated with its Recreation Department to learn about park users by examining park bookings and then classified groups by user type (e.g., recreational, sports teams, day camps). This helped the Public Works Department determine how to best target primary park users with its Put Waste in the Right Place program. The intervention team also provided information about the program and recycling-related activities to Recreation Department staff members, who lead summer children's programs. In this way, the Public Works Department was able to lay the foundation for Recreation Department staff to be knowledgeable about what could and could not be placed in the recycling bins.

Formative Research

Waste audit. A waste audit conducted in the fall of 2007 across three Hamilton city parks revealed that 14 percent of the waste stream consisted of recyclables and that the recycling stream was contaminated with 43 percent nonrecyclable waste. The fact that people attempted to recycle incorrect materials at almost three times the rate that they threw away recyclable materials indicated that there was a strong interest among city

residents to recycle. Knowing this led the Public Works Department to understand the problem as a lack of proper signage.

Prompts. Before implementing any changes to its outdoor bins, researchers working for the City of Hamilton conducted a literature review to determine best practices for away-from-home recycling and the use of prompts. They found that blue recycling containers (blue being the customary color for recycling bins in Ontario) needed to be placed adjacent to waste containers to most effectively decrease contamination. The researchers also found that prompts could be effective in reminding people to engage in the desired behavior. The use of a visual prompt on a park recycling bin would need to be (1) noticeable, (2) self-explanatory, with pictures and words, (3) presented in close proximity to the target behavior, and (4) done in a positive manner (McKenzie-Mohr, 1999). The researchers knew that this strategy could be a useful facilitator to improving recycling participation and decreasing contamination.

Objectives

The primary objective of the Put Waste in the Right Place program was to reduce cross-contamination of city park recycling bins through the use of prompts. The fact that contamination was high before the program was implemented meant higher citywide operating costs, because more items were going to the landfill than necessary and more sorting out of nonrecyclables from the recycling stream was required. Thus, the main driver of the program during its initial stages in city parks was to decrease contamination. However, the Put Waste in the Right Place program has now extended beyond the parks. The prompts are now replicated on sidewalk recycling containers, and a local petroleum company is also sponsoring implementation of the program in local gas stations in Hamilton. Since this shift, the program has begun to focus more on the long-term goal of increasing the recycling rate in the city overall.

Marketing Strategy

The City of Hamilton's Public Works Department determined that the main barrier to achieving the desired behavior (during the first phase of the program in city parks) was that the containers were improperly labeled. In order to correct this problem, city workers applied vinyl wrap labels on both the waste and recycling barrels displaying images and text instructing users about what items should be placed in the bins. The labels on both of the bin types also included the campaign's motto in an attempt

Figure 9.2 Original park recycling bins in Hamilton, Ontario, before implementation of the Put Waste in the Right Place program.
(Original photograph. Used by permission of the City of Hamilton.)

to motivate park users to "Put Waste in the Right Place." The Public Works Department also focused heavily on bin placement. In addition to pairing the recycling bins with waste bins, the department made efforts to place the bins in areas that were more convenient for park users (i.e., closer to visible and frequently used main areas) instead of in driveways where it was easier for trucks to pick them up (see pre- and postintervention recycling bins in Figures 9.2 and 9.3).

Program Evaluation

While no actual weights of contaminants were measured, because park material is mixed with other residential material in the collection trucks, multiple reports did show a decrease in overall contamination from 43 percent in 2007 to 32 percent in 2010. For instance, after the program was implemented, Public Works staff members reported seeing less contamination in the recycling bins prior to emptying them into the collection truck. Material in highly contaminated recycling bins is redirected to the waste (landfill) stream. This practice decreased after program implementation. In addition, Public Works staff also received fewer complaints about contaminated bins. These observations were confirmed by Hamilton's material recovery facility

Figure 9.3 Park recycling bins with new decals in Hamilton, Ontario, after implementation of the Put Waste in the Right Place program.
(Original photograph. Used by permission of the City of Hamilton.)

(MRF), which noted a decrease in recycling stream contamination during its postseason visual waste audit. From these visual checks, it was apparent that the blue bins with proper labeling had much lower levels of contamination than bins without proper coloring and labeling.

The City of Hamilton was unable to test the visibility and effectiveness of the message "Put Waste in the Right Place" but hopes to do so in the future (P. Homerski, personal communication, November 14, 2012).

Case Study 3: Using a Normative Campaign to Prevent Litter

Background

Is there a way to stop someone from discarding a bottle, a bag, or other item on the side of a road or in a vacant lot? Keep America Beautiful (KAB) has focused on the issue of littering since 1953. Initially KAB's litter prevention efforts were concentrated on public awareness campaigns. Commercials in 1963 and 1964 shared tips and ways to prevent litter. In the commercial "Susan Spotless" (Keep America Beautiful, 1961), a young girl saw her father littering and commented, "Every litter bit hurts." Since

the presence of litter in an area conveys a norm that littering is acceptable, the commercial had her model good behavior by picking up the litter and properly disposing of it in a trash can. In 1971 the "Crying Indian" commercial (Keep America Beautiful, 1971) created a movement with the message, "People start pollution. People can stop it" (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lR06-RP3n0Q).

KAB began broadening its litter prevention efforts in 1973 with the creation of a grassroots or affiliate network to mobilize individuals to take responsibility locally and to develop a system to change people's attitudes and behaviors about littering. Based on the fundamentals of a normative system, KAB has identified situations in which people feel that littering is acceptable: where someone else cleans up, where there is no sense of ownership, and/or where litter has already begun to accumulate.

Because norms are learned behaviors, they can be changed. Understanding what norms exist has assisted KAB in developing methods to change attitudes and behaviors using a combination of education, ordinance and enforcement, commitment, communication, incentives, and technology, among other techniques.

In 2010 KAB built a new antilitter campaign called Littering Is Wrong Too. The purpose of the campaign was to create a shift in the public's perception of littering such that people would believe that littering is not just bad—which few argue against—but that it is socially unacceptable. The campaign was designed to engage the target audience in a dialogue, both online and at public events, about littering. Norms and commitment were utilized via social media, traditional media, and street teams.

Target Audience

A KAB research study titled "Littering Behavior in America" was conducted by Action Research in 2009. The research reemphasized that changing individual behavior is key to preventing litter. While people litter for different reasons and at all age levels, the research showed that age was strongly related to littering behavior, with older individuals littering less than younger individuals (Action Research, 2009). Using this information, KAB worked to build a normative campaign that would be engaging and fun for the 18-to-34-year-old demographic.

Formative Research

Littering behavior. In 2009 Mid Atlantic Solid Waste Consultants conducted a National Visible Litter Survey and Litter Cost Study for KAB. The

study included an evaluation of the composition of litter across America, the quantity and locations of litter, and the direct and indirect costs of litter. A comparative analysis of the 2009 and the 1969 national litter research found that education, ongoing cleanup efforts, and changes in packaging are having an impact, with visible litter on the nation's roadways decreasing by approximately 61 percent and paper, metal, glass, and beverage container litter decreasing by 74.4 percent (Mid Atlantic Solid Waste Consultants, 2009).

While the environmental impact of litter may be visible, the costs may not be visible. The National Visible Litter Survey showed that by a very conservative estimate, littering behavior costs the United States more than $11.5 billion each year. The researchers also analyzed indirect costs of litter by interviewing homebuilders, homeowners, realtors, and property appraisers. Both the real and perceived costs of litter are considerable. For example,

- there is a 7 percent decrease in property values in a littered community, according to the National Association of Home Builders hedonic pricing model;
- 40 percent of homeowners surveyed believe litter reduces home values 10 percent to 24 percent; and
- 55 percent of realtors surveyed estimated that litter reduces property values by 9 percent (Mid Atlantic Solid Waste Consultants, 2009).

With the knowledge that, under established norms, litter attracts more litter, it is important to figure out how to stop the cycle. Looking for answers, KAB commissioned the 2009 "Littering Behavior in America" study. Using a strict research protocol, the observers randomly selected individuals in 130 public locations nationwide. Highlights from these observations include that

- 85 percent of littering is the result of individual behaviors (e.g., individuals not properly handling or disposing of waste);
- 81 percent of littering behavior occurred with notable intent; and
- of all disposals observed in public spaces, 17 percent were littering. The remaining 83 perccent were proper disposals in trash or recycling receptacles.

Through intercept interviews, the researchers found that

- 43 percent of participants indicated that they had littered in the past month;
- the most commonly reported littered items were cigarette butts, food wrappers, and paper; and

- statistical analyses showed that a personal obligation not to litter was significantly related to lower rates of observed littering behavior (Action Research, 2009).

Normative messaging. Incorporating normative messaging into communication campaigns can be effective. As public opinion against littering grows, studies show that activating norms about littering can change a person's littering decision. For example, seeing a person litter or seeing a person pick up litter is a pattern of behavior that can be accepted, expected, and reinforced when others behave in the same manner. Seeing such behavior can also lead an observer to act similarly. Such situations can trigger a person's normative beliefs and result in feelings of shame for violating a social norm and guilt for violating a personal norm (Action Research, 2009).

Social norms demonstrate the importance of a behavior to others by describing the behavior as common (descriptive norms) or socially acceptable (injunctive norms; Kelly et al., 2012). Through the Littering Is Wrong Too campaign, KAB sought to use negative injunctive norms by relating the act of littering to other existing unacceptable social norms.

Multiple studies support the use of social norms to motivate environmentally responsible behavior. In 2005 Cialdini studied the use of various messages to encourage hotel room towel reuse. He compared the effects of four different messages: one showing the current level of hotel guest behavior (descriptive norm), one offering a future donation in exchange for action, one consisting of an environmental plea, and one describing a partnership with the hotel to act on an important issue and repay an environmental donation (injunctive norm). The two messages that included either a descriptive or an injunctive norm led to an increase of towel reuse behavior of up to 12 percent more than the other messages. Overall, this example demonstrates how minor changes in word usage can produce significantly different results by applying normative messaging for behavior (Kelly & Phelps, 2013).

Picking up litter or disposing of trash appropriately in the first place is a good example of a behavior that can be promoted through social norms, because it is often a visible behavior. KAB built upon this idea when creating the campaign. The use of street teams made up of peers from the target audience to forward the message and model socially normal behavior is a similar tactic sometimes used in communities via block leaders. A 1991 study by Hopper and Nielson (as cited in Kelly & Phelps, 2013) compared the effects of using neighborhood leaders, prompts, and informational pamphlets to motivate recycling behavior. They found that one-third of

households with neighborhood leaders recycled regularly, while only one-fifth of households that received prompts or pamphlets recycled regularly.

Commitment. Another social marketing strategy that was included in the Littering Is Wrong Too campaign was commitment. Commitments are often incorporated into social marketing campaigns as a tool for invoking behavior change. Research shows that obtaining commitments from individuals can lead to change; however, a number of conditions can improve the effectiveness of this approach, such as making the commitment specific in nature, public, and written (Schultz, 2011).

KAB's use of commitment included publically written statements both at events and online. Another component to the commitment strategy is the self-perception theory, which says that once someone publicly gives a commitment to not litter, it creates internal pressure to behave consistently with that commitment (Bem, 1972). KAB's extensive research into littering behavior paired with social marketing helped create the Littering Is Wrong Too campaign.

Marketing Strategy

Working with an agency, KAB conducted four focus groups to test messages and attitudes and to develop a benchmark survey for comparison after a 3-month pilot. During the focus group discussions, a majority of respondents expressed the sentiment that littering was wrong. The participants initially responded that they did not litter, but before the end of the focus group, most participants admitted that they did litter at times. The examples of littering they gave included a piece of paper flying out of the window accidentally or having something fall out of a car when the door was opened. The qualitative study suggested that a campaign could succeed in raising awareness that littering is wrong by using funny and compelling messages.

The Littering is Wrong Too campaign takes a lighthearted approach to attract attention and inextricably links littering with wrongdoing. At www.LitteringIsWrongToo.org, Americans everywhere are encouraged to "write" their wrongs directly, pledge their support, and add their own voices and creativity to the campaign. Visitors can share their own "wrongs," including uploading photos and videos, which helps create a dialogue about the problem of litter. This simple premise is illustrated with outrageous wrongs and totally contrived wrongs. Examples include "BREAKING UP ON VALENTINE'S DAY," "NETWORKING AT FUNERALS," CARRY-ON BAGGAGE FEES," and "YOUR MOM FRIENDING YOU ON FACEBOOK"

(www.litteringiswrongtoo.org). The campaign utilizes a variety of vehicles to reach the target audience, including the campaign website, social media, billboard templates, radio public service announcements, posters, merchandise artwork (e.g., T-shirts, drink koozies), and a street team how-to for events such as football tailgate parties and concerts (see samples in Figures 9.4 and 9.5).

The use of negative injunctive norms involves inviting event attendees or online participants to "write your wrong" by completing this sentence: "_____ and littering is wrong too." Participants think of ways to tie littering to other socially unacceptable behaviors. Online, users have the option of sharing their wrongs with others via their social network and/or voting on their favorite wrongs listed on the site. At events, the use of public commitment involves having participants write their wrongs on a wipe board, after which street team members take a picture of them for display on the Littering Is Wrong Too website or at the event. This allows participants in the target demographic to share with their online peers the pictures of themselves with the wipe board listing their creative socially unacceptable wrongs.

Pilot. A pilot was conducted in Cincinnati, Ohio, from July 15 to October 15, 2010, in cooperation with Keep Cincinnati Beautiful. Training was conducted on implementation strategies with affiliate staff and volunteers. The pilot included a combination of all the techniques listed above. To broaden the campaign reach beyond the work of the affiliate, outside

Figure 9.4 Sample billboard ad used in the Littering Is Wrong Too campaign. The campaign plays off other things that are wrong.
(Copyright Keep America Beautiful (2010). Used by permission.)

Figure 9.5 Sample Littering Is Wrong Too promotional item used by street team members. Keeping the target audience in mind, these koozies are distributed by street team members at community events.

(Copyright Keep America Beautiful (2010). Used by permission.)

groups or third parties were engaged to help with social diffusion. Nine local groups utilized the campaign, including Heidelberg, the University of Cincinnati, Procter & Gamble, Lebanon Ford, and Give Back Cincinnati. Some groups promoted the campaign to their members or customers, and others, including the Lebanon Ford car dealership, created incentives such as T-shirts. Traditional media used during the pilot included

- 16 billboards per month for 3 months;
- 100 posters inside 50 bar and restaurant restrooms for 3 months; and
- 15-second PSA spots airing on 18 radio stations with high ratings in the 18-to-34-year-old demographic.

The pilot also engaged street teams (trained people in the 18-to-34-year-old target audience demographic), who brought the campaign to the streets at popular Cincinnati events. Some of the wrongs created in the pilot include "Tailgating, littering is wrong too," "Breaking up with someone in a text message, littering is wrong too," and "Liking the Steelers, littering is wrong too." The street teams participated in 20 events, engaging 847 members of the target audience. Of those engaged, 822 submitted a "wrong" via video or camera. These were then posted to the website for voting and sharing by others.

Program Evaluation for Pilot Community

Attitudes and awareness. At the conclusion of the pilot, one out of three people in Cincinnati recognized the campaign name "Littering Is Wrong Too." Of Cincinnatians surveyed, 40 percent reported awareness of their littering behavior and of littering by others. The percentage of the target audience who considered reducing litter to be extremely important increased from 19 percent to 32 percent after the campaign. The pilot demonstrated clear evidence that the campaign was noticed. The results indicate that peer pressure regarding litter reduction increased and that the campaign affected behaviors.

Community Appearance Index. KAB strives to provide metrics to determine the impact of community appearance on quality of life. One of the tools used for measurability and accountability is the Community Appearance Index. The Community Appearance Index includes the Litter Index, a visual assessment of litter conditions in a community, and optional indices for graffiti, abandoned/junk vehicles, outside storage, and illegal signs. The Litter Index is conducted as a baseline at the time of KAB affiliation, and then affiliates conduct the Litter Index annually at

approximately the same time of year as the baseline. The Litter Index is conducted by driving through the community and evaluating the amount of litter on the same streets each year. This provides affiliates with information that helps them to monitor educational efforts and determine if littering behavior is changing.

The Litter Index starts by dividing the community's total geographic jurisdiction into 5 to 15 areas in order to break down the work into manageable units. Within each area, 10 to 20 sites, each 0.5 to 1 mile in length, are selected for scoring using a four-point Likert scale to estimate the presence of litter. A minimum of 50 sites must be scored. Most importantly, the sites selected should represent the community demographics and all types of neighborhoods. Clean and dirty parts of the community should be selected. The selected sites should include a fair representation of the land uses within the area (e.g., residential, commercial, educational, recreational, industrial, and agricultural). The index is flexible and may be adapted to meet local needs. Areas should remain the same but may be changed after 3 to 5 years if the community has experienced significant growth or considerable redevelopment since the baseline index.

For scoring, KAB recommends three to six individual scorers for the index, a scoring leader, and a driver who does not score. Scorers receive training on the day of the index, which includes a video showing the scoring process and examples of each of the four rating scores. The trained scorers give each site a score depending on the amount of litter observed as they drive along the site. The scores are defined as follows:

- 1: Minimal or no litter
- 2: Slightly littered
- 3: Littered
- 4: Extremely littered

After completing the Litter Index, the affiliates set goals to reduce litter through education, enforcement, and use of resources and tools (e.g., communications, incentives, technology).

While it is not possible to correlate the impact of the Littering Is Wrong Too campaign to the results of the Litter Index, a review of the Keep Cincinnati Beautiful Litter Index does show that a significant reduction occurred in the year after the campaign was implemented. For the index, Keep Cincinnati Beautiful uses the city limits as boundaries and the five police districts as areas. Organization members compare the results annually and make observations based on scoring. Prior to the intervention, the Litter Index scores were 1.82 and 1.81 in 2008 and 2009, respectively.

Table 9.1 Keep Cincinnati Beautiful Litter Index Scores—Pre- and Postintervention.

Police District	2008	2009	2010	2011
1	1.80	1.73	1.48	1.41
2	1.44	1.33	1.40	1.23
3	2.28	2.38	1.98	2.07
4	2.02	1.83	1.49	1.49
5	1.56	1.78	1.52	1.54
Average	**1.82**	**1.81**	**1.57**	**1.55**

Note: Keep Cincinnati Beautiful Litter Index scores show a reduction in litter after the 2010 intervention. From Keep Cincinnati Beautiful Annual Reports (2008, 2009, 2010, and 2011). Adapted by permission.

After the intervention in 2010, the Litter Index scores dropped by 0.25 points—a 19 percent decrease.

Website analytics. The campaign continues to drive traffic to the www.LitteringIsWrongToo.org website for continued online participation even when affiliates are not conducting events. The website analytics show the campaign is reaching its target audience—36 percent of users are between the ages of 18 and 24, and 28 percent are between the ages of 25 and 34. The website is a fun and social way to interact with the campaign while simultaneously showing commitment for proper trash and recycling disposal.

Conclusion

The purpose of the Littering Is Wrong Too campaign is to show, through the use of norms and commitment, that littering is socially unacceptable. The campaign has now expanded to KAB's network of more than 1,200 affiliates and partners. While the campaign is fun and engaging and changes the attitudes and behavior of some, KAB knows that no one method will reduce litter and littering behavior; a systematic approach is needed. The Littering Is Wrong Too campaign and Community Appearance Index results in Cincinnati further support the results of national KAB research. Litter reduction programs require

- convenient and accessible disposal receptacles for trash, ashes, and recyclables;
- consistent and ongoing cleanup efforts to decrease the amount of existing litter;

- use of landscaping and improvements to the built infrastructure with ongoing maintenance to set a community standard that promotes a sense of personal responsibility not to litter; and
- campaigns using messaging that highlight social disapproval for littering and a preference for clean, litter-free communities.

By keeping the focus on individual responsibility, KAB and its affiliate network are showing significant and sustained reductions in litter.

Case Study 4: Building Engagement for Low Priority, Ongoing Behaviors: The Team Power Smart Experience

BC Hydro's Team Power Smart is a great example of applying the "loyalty group" approach to progressively engage participants in changing behaviors, using formative research to select target behaviors and design an effective strategy, monitoring effects on an ongoing basis, and using a carefully-matched comparison group (quasi-experimental design) group to substantiate program results. It appears that the low electricity rates in British Columbia (BC), which are "among the lowest in North America" (BC Hydro, 2012), serve as a barrier to electricity conservation, in part because a sense of urgency is lacking. BC Hydro therefore connects energy conservation (low priority) to things that people care about (high involvement) through an opt-in loyalty model and a focus on storytelling, cocreation, challenges, and individualized feedback. Regular communications repeatedly drive participants back to their online Members' Tool Box. Ultimately, the product mix is designed to increase participant engagement levels on three dimensions: enjoyment (e.g., "I like this"), affiliation (e.g., "This is who I am"), and resonance (e.g., "This is right for me").

Background and Behavior Selection

BC Hydro is a Crown corporation that provides electricity to about 1.6 million residential customers in Canada's most western province, British Columbia. The province requires the corporation to meet 66 percent of incremental electricity needs through efficiency and conservation by 2020 (increased from an original target of 50 percent, set in 2007). This case study covers the behavioral component of the corporation's residential energy efficiency program.

Research to uncover potential opportunities for energy conservation had traditionally focused on one-time, product-focused actions that residential customers could take, such as getting rid of a second refrigerator,

insulating a home, or buying more energy efficient appliances. In 2007 BC Hydro conducted a conservation potential review (CPR) identifying potential electricity savings over a 20-year time horizon in the residential, commercial, and industrial sectors. Repetitive, ongoing behaviors that people could take to habitually save energy within their daily routines without sacrificing their "lifestyle quality" were included for the first time. Examples of these opportunities include maintaining weather-stripping, setting heating and appliance temperatures appropriately, hanging laundry out to dry rather than using an electric dryer, and turning devices off when they are not being used.

First, a long list of potential energy conservation actions was generated. The potential savings from each over the time period was then assessed, taking into account (1) an engineering (technical) estimate of resulting savings; (2) an assigned probability of uptake, estimated through a review of international case studies, a customer survey, and a panel of stakeholders and experts; (3) current penetration/opportunity, based on survey data; and (4) likely growth curves for uptake over the time period, based on expert opinions.

In this way, BC Hydro identified and ranked the likely impact of 25 key ongoing behavior groups. The list was later refined into specific, nondivisible, end-state behaviors such as closing window coverings at night to keep in heat, turning off the water heater when away for more than 2 or 3 days, and consistently using a cold water wash and rinse when doing laundry.

The CPR estimated the "achievable potential" for residential behavioral energy savings at 720 to 1,377 GWh per year by 2026, and BC Hydro initiated three main measures to tap into this potential. These measures are described in the following section.

Conservation rate. A new two-step rate structure replaced the flat rate that BC Hydro had charged for many years. Under the new structure, a lower price is charged for electricity up to a certain consumption threshold during a billing cycle, and a higher price is charged for electricity used above that amount.

Energy visualization. The corporation introduced smart meters, allowing it to provide residents with richer and timelier feedback on their consumption through an online Energy Visualization Portlet, thus helping to increase customers' understanding of their consumption patterns. The Energy Visualization Portlet was launched in November 2012.

Power Smart residential behavioral program. This demand-side management program was added to the residential marketing portfolio and is marketed under the Team Power Smart banner. By establishing a

long-term relationship with participants and increasing their engagement levels through a loyalty approach, it helps program participants (known as Team Power Smart members) establish and maintain new energy-conscious behaviors and habits.

Target Audience

Although Team Power Smart is available to all British Columbians, BC Hydro has implemented a psychographic segmentation framework and focuses predominantly on the segment identified as Stumbling Proponents, which encompasses about 20 percent of the BC population. Stumbling Proponents have a disconnect between their positive attitudes and opinions regarding energy conservation and their actual behavior; as a result, their savings potential is much more substantial than that of Devoted Conservationists (26 percent of the population) and Cost-Conscious Practitioners (22 percent of the population), who are already practicing more of the desired conservation behaviors.

Formative Research

When developing its behavioral program, BC Hydro relied on its experience delivering successful energy conservation programs focused on one-time, product-oriented behaviors. It also studied initiatives by other electric utilities and governments in Canada and the United States to influence repetitive energy conservation behaviors. However, except for a small number of programs such as California's 20/20 campaign and the Government of Canada's One Tonne Challenge, these initiatives were small scale and short term. To learn more about inspiring long-term behavior change and habit formation, BC Hydro looked beyond the utility industry and studied programs such as Weight Watchers and Alcoholics Anonymous.

Through surveys, BC Hydro established baselines and identified the key barriers and motivators for each of the targeted actions. By 2007 the corporation had tested the premise of its loyalty approach through a year-long pilot with about 500 participants. The pilot test found a strong correlation between a household's recent energy savings and its level of engagement with the pilot's dedicated website. Participants who visited the website more frequently saved more electricity than those who visited less frequently. This finding substantiated taking a loyalty group approach that first gets customers to join and then involves them in repeated interactions that deepen their engagement over time.

Barriers. BC Hydro continued conducting research that revealed additional information about the key barriers and benefits to energy conservation. Three levels of barriers were identified, as detailed in the following section.

Lifestyle/values decisions. Convincing audiences across British Columbia of the need for energy conservation is a focus of the Power Smart umbrella (brand) campaigns, which lay the groundwork for uptake of the various Power Smart programs, including the behavioral program. The main barrier to adopting an energy-efficient lifestyle is complacency (sometimes referred to as "consumer indifference"), because British Columbians have some of the lowest electricity rates in North America as well as a sense of entitlement to cheap electricity. An abundance of hydroelectric resources in British Columbia and a perception among residents that they are already doing a lot, and/or a misunderstanding of how energy-efficient their households actually are, also contribute to this complacency. As a result, there is a relatively low appetite for energy conservation.

Program participation decisions. The three main reasons why people do not join Team Power Smart are that they do not know about it, they perceive the value proposition as unattractive, and/or they may not want to practice energy conservation through an organized program.

Behavioral decisions. Table 9.2 provides some examples of barrier data for individual behaviors from a 2012 member survey. As this table shows, each behavior has different barriers that must be addressed in the strategy.

Motivators and benefits. Although some of the factors that motivate action are specific to each of the targeted behaviors, the main benefits cluster into a few key categories. These are

- tangible benefits, such as increased comfort (e.g., if there are existing drafts from air leaks), and lower energy costs from energy savings;
- norms, such as "doing the right thing" and "friends and family do it"; and
- pride in the province and its natural heritage (e.g., saving the environment close to home, leaving a legacy for next generations, electricity self-sufficiency).

Understanding and building engagement. BC Hydro worked with Tools of Change and Cullbridge Marketing & Communications to explore the key elements of engagement and how to build them. A literature review revealed that engagement involves three main subcomponents: affiliation, enjoyment, and resonance (Blackwell, Miniard, & Engel, 2005; Cialdini, 1985; Greenwald & Leavitt, 1984; Haven, Bernoff, &

Table 9.2 Top Barriers for Selected Behaviors

Behavior	Top 5 Barriers
Draw window coverings at night to keep in heat	1. I don't have window coverings (35 percent) 2. I've never thought about doing it (27 percent) 3. I forget to do it (18 percent) 4. The savings are too small to make it worthwhile (12 percent) 5. I get lazy about doing it (8 percent)
Dress more warmly in cold weather and reduce temperature to 20°C or below	1. I don't want to sacrifice home comfort (32 percent) 2. I find it uncomfortable to dress more warmly indoors (32 percent) 3. My home gets too cold (27 percent) 4. Other family members/children don't do it (14 percent) 5. The savings are too small to make it worthwhile (9 percent)
Hang clothes to dry rather than machine dry	1. The weather isn't nice enough (48 percent) 2. I don't have a clothesline or drying rack (44 percent) 3. I don't have the space for a clothesline or drying rack (41 percent) 4. My landlord/strata does not permit outdoor clothes lines (27 percent) 5. It takes too much effort/time to do (11 percent)
Use cold water wash and rinse when doing laundry	1. Cold water doesn't clean as well as warm/hot water wash (81 percent) 2. My laundry detergent does not come in a cold water version (10 percent) 3. I've never thought about doing it (5 percent) 4. Heating/hot water/electricity is included in our rent (4 percent) 5. I forget to do it (4 percent)
Turn off computer & printer when not in use	1. The computer takes too long to power up (39 percent) 2. It is often downloading while I'm doing other things (27 percent) 3. Continually turning it on and off will shorten its life (22 percent) 4. I forget to do it (11 percent) 5. It would be an impediment/inconvenience to my lifestyle (8 percent)

Note: Because of multiple response possibilities, the top five barriers can exceed 100 percent. Each behavior has different barriers that must be addressed in the strategy.

Source: From Sparolin and Pederson, 2012. Adapted by permission.

Glass, 2007; Lefebvre, 2010; McKenzie-Mohr & Smith, 1999; Neuberger, 2008).

Enjoyment or feeling good comes in many flavors. Most people enjoy receiving rewards such as cash bonuses or interesting gifts, but emotional satisfaction is often just as likely to influence behaviors.

Affiliation is the sense of feeling related to something—the understanding that "this is who I am." For example, people are affiliated with their families, their hometowns, the schools they have attended, and professional guilds. People make efforts to help other people and causes with which they are affiliated, even when it causes some sacrifice or discomfort.

Resonance is the sense that "this is right for me" or "this is relevant to my life and I would like to be involved with it." People are resonant with their social causes and passionate hobbies. Usually, resonance includes a sense of shared values and an interest in learning more about the topic of attraction.

Objectives

Each demand-side management program at BC Hydro develops a business case that predicts participation, expected energy savings, and the budget required to accomplish those energy savings. Each business case needs to meet a series of cost-effectiveness measures. The business case for the behavioral program was based on the following targets:

- Program uptake (participation): to attract 60,000 member households over 5 years, broken down into yearly targets using the Bass Diffusion methodology (Bass, 1969).
- Challenge performance: to accomplish a breakdown of 17 percent of program participants who participate in a yearlong energy reduction challenge to reduce their consumption by 10 percent or more (weather-normalized) and become eligible for a cash incentive, with another 24 percent to accomplish savings of less than 10 percent.
- Energy savings: 19 GWh over 4.5 years, with specific targets per year.

Marketing Strategy

BC Hydro designed its behavioral program using an opt-in loyalty group model to engage customers increasingly over time and drive long-term behavior change. This model allows for communicating with program participants on a regular basis while complying with strict privacy

rules and regulations. It also makes individual billing and actual consumption analysis possible on a participant basis.

Residents can join Team Power Smart on the BC Hydro website. Every program participant is recognized as a Team Power Smart member. Membership has its privileges, including the following product components:

- Convenient access to an online Members' Tool Box with exclusive online home analysis tools and consumption tracking graphs (including comparisons with other, similar homes).
- Members-only contests and special offers. One example is Earthopoly, a custom-developed family board game based on the well-known Monopoly game, but featuring BC properties, questions about energy use, and conservation tips.
- Regular communications, including various email alerts, a monthly eNewsletter and a member magazine (printed and inserted in a complimentary consumer magazine with newsstand value).
- Invitations to occasional members-only events. For example, members who reduced their energy use by at least 10 percent were invited to come to Science World for a day with their families and a celebrity VIP meet-and-greet. To raise visibility and build norm appeal, BC Hydro provided invited members with badges identifying them as Team Power Smart members.

Overcoming barriers. The program uses a number of tools and approaches to overcome the critical barrier of complacency or low involvement.

Loyalty group model. Regular member communications and contests repeatedly drive participants back to the Members' Tool Box. Exclusivity is highlighted. Tools and perks are designed to overcome barriers, to develop conservation habits over time, and to increase engagement levels with the program.

Cocreation opportunities. These opportunities require varying degrees of effort by members. One example is the annual members-only photo contest, which one year generated motivational photographs illustrating why members joined Team Power Smart. Submitted entries are used in collateral, member publications, advertising, and exhibitions. By participating, members are making a public commitment, saying both that they're willing to get personally involved with conservation as a cause (resonance) and that they're willing to have their images associated with the product (affiliation). Cocreation is also applied when creating stories for member publications and in testimonial advertising campaigns.

Financial incentives, challenges, goal setting, obtaining a commitment, norm appeals, feedback, and recognition. The program offers participants the

Figure 9.6 Use of challenges and incentives to promote energy conservation. Participants can participate in 12-month challenges and earn a $75 reward if they reduce their energy consumption by 10% or more.
(Copyright Cullbridge Marketing and BC Hydro [2013]. Used by permission.)

opportunity to participate in 12-month challenges and earn a $75 reward if they reduce their energy consumption by 10 percent or more. Participants are also invited to member-only events that recognize and celebrate the success of individual and group energy reductions and accomplishments.

In one pilot campaign, participants in a postal code area with a high density of Team Power Smart members were sent a sticker to apply to their blue recycling boxes by a target date. After that date, a team of "mystery shoppers" followed the garbage/recycling collection trucks and left behind a surprise thank you note for those who had applied the stickers and identified their households as Team Power Smart members. More than 50 percent had applied the sticker to their blue boxes, thus creating—literally—a real on-street presence.

Partnerships. The program is executed with the help of many different partners, including manufacturers, retailers, the Royal BC Museum, Science World, and the Vancouver Aquarium. These partners contribute,

Figure 9.7 Use of norms to promote energy conservation. Team Power Smart members were sent a sticker to apply to their recycling boxes. This raised the visibility of participation, thus strengthening norm appeal and word-of-mouth communication.

(Original photograph. Used by permission.)

among other things, contest prizes, discounts, venues, and joint promotions, identifying themselves with Team Power Smart and thus endorsing the program. The program is also endorsed by a roster of local celebrities.

Storytelling and other forms of vivid, personalized, credible, empowering communication; connecting with things that people really care about. Electricity is a dissatisfier—something that people miss when it is not available—and electricity conservation tends to be a low-involvement product. Program design and messaging therefore emphasize connections with people and things that participants already care about, including celebrity spokespeople, home comfort, saving money, British Columbia's natural heritage, food and cooking, and family and friends. A message planning grid was developed to highlight, for each targeted behavior change, the opportunities for making these high-involvement connections as well as the key barriers to taking action. This grid is used for developing stories for newsletters and magazines.

Figure 9.8 Use of celebrity to gain attention for energy conservation. At home with his family, hockey star Ryan Kessler talks about energy-conserving refrigerator behavior.

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For similar reasons, and also to provide feedback and strengthen norm appeal, the program emphasizes the sharing of personal energy conservation stories by both average participants as well as celebrity members. These stories are used in testimonial campaigns, collateral, and various publications.

The members-only magazines have coffee table functionality and high pass-along rates, so they increase the visibility of participation (norm appeal) and word-of-mouth communication. The "hosting" magazines (in which the Team Power Smart member magazines are inserted) are selected based on high-involvement topics. For example, *British Columbia Magazine* was chosen to tap into existing interests in enjoying and preserving BC's natural heritage; *BC Home & Garden* was chosen to tap into interests in interior design. Each insert contains "lifestyle" stories with built-in energy efficiency components.

The program addresses the "lack of knowledge" barrier by making that knowledge widely available and accessible through these engaging communication vehicles; for example, the monthly eNewsletter, which scores well above industry standards in terms of open and click-through rates,

contains stories and tips about energy conservation, and the member magazines address how energy conservation fits in with various lifestyle topics. In addition, those who are actively searching for information (for example, to score better on a challenge) can quickly and conveniently find it using the program website.

To overcome the barriers related to comfort, time, and inconvenience, the program stresses in all its communications that most of the desired behaviors are relatively easy to do and don't require significant lifestyle changes. Increasingly, the program provides member offers that further reduce these barriers to taking action. For example, to promote lowering one's home temperature, the program offered discounts on sweaters in support of National Sweater Day. To lower the barriers to hanging out one's clothes to dry, the program offered discounts on clothes racks and free (Team Power Smart–branded) clothespins.

To overcome the barrier of forgetfulness, the program sends out a stream of prompts to action through its ongoing member communications. The recycling box stickers have served as an ongoing prompt. Another example is the Team Power Smart–branded clothespins that were given to select participants. The clothespins were wrapped in a backing card with an endorsement by a local weatherman, a well-known personality in British

Figure 9.9 Sample energy saving prompt. When members hang out their laundry, they are reminded of their membership and challenge goals.
(Original photograph. Used by permission.)

Figure 9.10 Team Power Smart communications focus on the key motivators identified through formative research.
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Columbia. Every time members hang out their laundry to dry, they are reminded of their membership and challenge goals and that participating makes them feel good because they are performing specific behaviors they were requested to do and may have committed to doing.

Emphasizing motivators and benefits. In addition to reducing key barriers, BC Hydro uses its message planning grid to keep communications focused on the key motivators identified through its formative research.

Following the 4 P's. Table 9.3 shows how the program strategy addresses each of the 4 P's of the traditional marketing mix.

Building engagement over time. The loyalty group model illustrated in this case study is all about building and maintaining consumer engagement over time. Once participants join Team Power Smart, the program offers ongoing opportunities and encouragement to continually dive deeper. Each commitment is followed by an opportunity for a more demanding commitment. For example, the program invites participants to

Table 9.3 Team Power Smart Marketing Mix (The 4 P's)

Product Mix	Price Mix	Place Mix	Promotion Mix
Core Product (the benefits from doing the desired behaviors, i.e., what participants are "buying") • Intangible benefits covering enjoyment, affiliation, and resonance: norm/group appeal (doing the right thing, not being alone); preserving BC heritage; a more comfortable home; and "hidden benefits" such as admiration, fun, humor, peace of mind, popularity, and recognition. • Tangibles such as incentives and special offers, bill savings, and other tangible, member-only benefits	Lifestyle Decisions • Overcoming barriers to choosing to conserve through Power Smart umbrella brand activities	Member Acquisition • Easy and painless to join online	Member Acquisition • Direct advertising and promotion • Partner promotions • Celebrity endorsements
Actual Product (the desired behavior changes/ program objectives, i.e., what the program is "selling") • Program participation (join and then participate) • Specific behavior changes • Energy use reduction targets	Program Participation • Overcoming barriers to program participation through value proposition of the product mix • While charging for membership might have increased engagement, membership is free to maximize participation	Engagement • Members get ongoing opportunities to do more, delivered through Members' Portal and emails. • Tactics focus on the times and places where members do the targeted behaviors (under development)	Engagement (member communications) • Website, including Members' Tool Box • Emails • Storytelling

Augmented Product (communication products and other objects and services that support the behavior changes) • Access to Members' Tool Box on bchydro.com with comparison tool and consumption tracking graphs • Energy reduction challenges • Members-only special offers and contests, invitations to special events • Regular member communications by email and mail, including a member magazine	Behavior Change • Overcoming complacency through a loyalty group model, cocreation opportunities, challenges, etc. • Tools specific to each behavior (e.g., a how-to video when people don't know how to do the behavior, a prompt when people forget, correcting misconceptions)

take an energy reduction challenge; those who have completed the challenge are encouraged to take further challenges to reduce their energy use even more and earn additional rewards.

The program offers a wide range of participation opportunities at varying levels of engagement, from visiting the program website (more passive) to contributing personal stories, photos, and original marketing ideas, or hosting events at home (more active).

Each program activity is designed to increase enjoyment, affiliation, and/or resonance and lead to further action. Some enjoyment components involve functional benefits, such as increased comfort and cost savings, cash rewards for successfully completed challenges, and member benefits such as free tickets to museums, family attractions, or sports events. Other elements involve fun activities, such as mingling with celebrities, gaming, film screenings, and the enjoyment of taking on a challenge and succeeding.

A sense of affiliation with the program has been established over time through the loyalty group model and membership exclusivity. Affiliation is further heightened through norm appeals and word-of-mouth promotion from friends and family (for example, by sending members magazines with coffee table functionality and high pass-along rates). In addition, the program's messaging plays to and reinforces pride in the province and its natural heritage by emphasizing results such as saving the environment close to home and leaving a legacy for future generations. For example, some photo contests, celebrity endorsements, and advertisements have focused specifically on preserving BC's natural heritage.

Team Power Smart activities and communications also build resonance with the program by promoting energy conservation and the importance of doing one's part. Some celebrity endorsements and advertising, as well as the energy reduction challenges and home assessment tools, focus specifically on energy conservation and related values. Participants receive online individual and group feedback, including consumption comparisons with similar households and reports on progress toward reduction targets. Participants also get group feedback by post and email. In addition, they have opportunities to meet with and be recognized in front of others who are successfully reducing their energy use.

Program Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring. BC Hydro monitors the program at monthly intervals. Each month, a spreadsheet "dashboard" is updated, providing a high-level overview of monthly activity and performance indicators. Each quarter, a

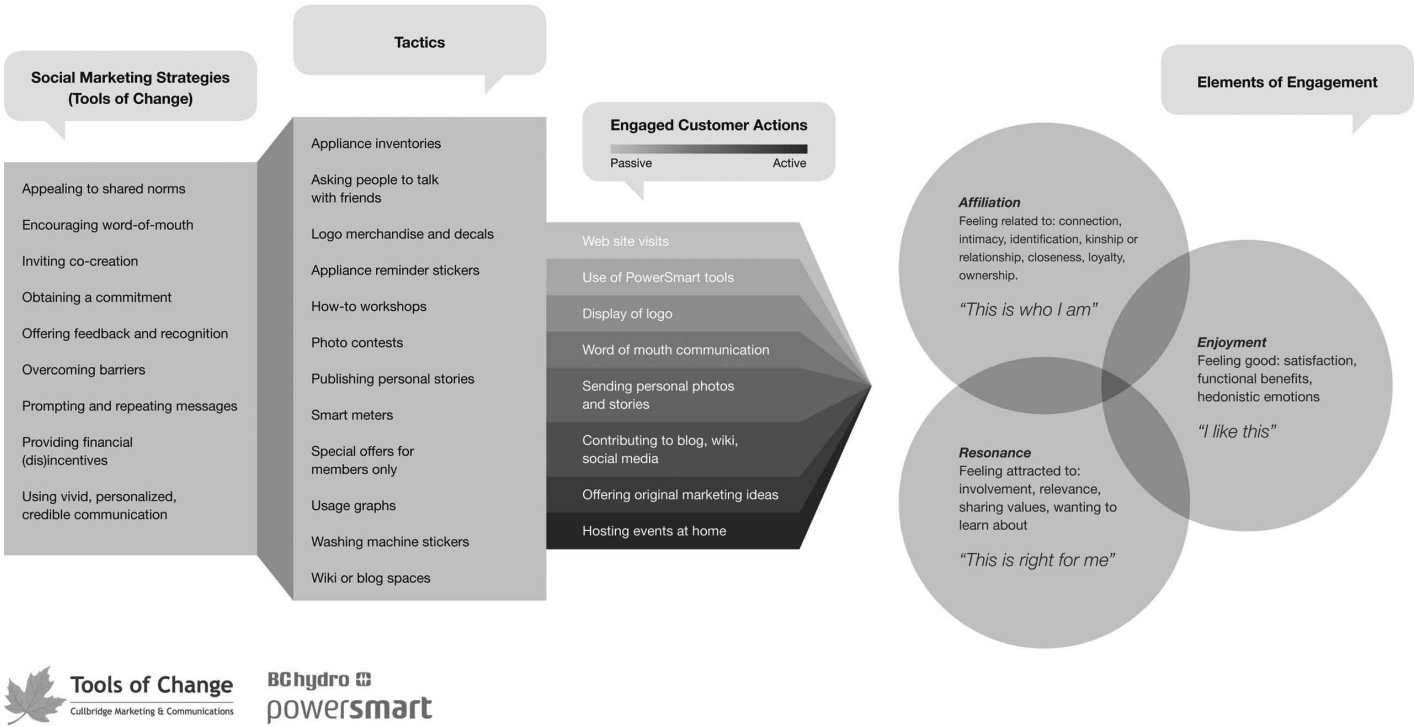

Figure 9.11 How Team Power Smart invites customer engagement. The program offers a wide range of participation opportunities at varying levels of engagement.

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report is prepared that analyzes trends for all of the key performance indicators. Ad hoc surveys and focus groups are used to develop and refine specific program components.

Following are listed several examples of monitoring data as of the end of 2012.

Membership growth. Membership grew from 23,000 in September 2008 to more than 160,000 participating households in December 2012.

Psychographics. The composition of the program participant group has changed over time. The program initially "preached to the choir" by predominantly attracting Devoted Conservationists, who were keen but were already practicing most of the desired behaviors. Over time, the program began attracting more Stumbling Proponents, whose positive attitudes and opinions regarding conservation were not reflected in their behavior. This is an early indicator that the program may be moving from attracting early adopters to engaging more mainstream participants, as predicted by Rogers' diffusion of innovation curve (Rogers, 1962).

Challenge participation. Each year, an increasing number of challenges were completed, with a total of about 46,000 challenges completed by the end of 2012.

Challenge performance. BC Hydro's initial business case for the behavioral program had predicted that 17 percent of challenges would be completed successfully (requiring annual energy savings of 10 percent or more). By the end of 2012, 28 percent of challenges had been completed successfully, and an additional 27 percent showed savings up to 10 percent.

Energy savings. Energy savings is reported monthly.

Financial performance. Financial performance is reported monthly.

Engagement. BC Hydro monitors challenge participation as well as use of the program's various value proposition elements, such as visits to the Members' Tool Box, entries in member-only contests, redemption of trial offers, and readership of eNewsletters and member magazines. Through surveys, BC Hydro also asks Team Power Smart members to rate individual elements of the program and the impact each has had on their conservation efforts, as well as how members feel their participation is valued. As Table 9.4 shows, many of the people who had previously participated in challenges went on to try further challenges, and an increasing proportion did so each year. For the fiscal year 2012, 39 percent of all challenges were repeat challenges, and 17 percent were third or subsequent challenges.

In addition, participants became more successful at reducing their energy use through these challenges. In the first year of the program, 41 percent of households saved money during their challenges (with 17 percent saving at least 10 percent.) By the end of 2012, 57 percent of all chal-

Table 9.4 Challenge Participation by Fiscal Year

Fiscal Year	Challenge #1	Challenge #2	Challenge #3+	Total
2009 (Q3+4)	6,091 (80%)	1,480 (19%)	43 (1%)	7,614 (100%)
2010	6,869 (75%)	1,431 (16%)	839 (9%)	9,139 (100%)
2011	6,559 (64%)	2,508 (25%)	1,143 (11%)	10,210 (100%)
2012	12,860 (61%)	4,646 (22%)	3,492 (17%)	20,998 (100%)
Total over 3.5 years	32,379 (68%)	10,065 (21%)	5,517 (12%)	47,961 (100%)

Note: From Cullbridge Marketing and BC Hydro [2013]. Adapted by permission.

lenges to date had saved energy (with 28 percent saving at least 10 percent). Note that second and subsequent challenges require participants to further reduce energy use relative to what was achieved through previous challenges.

Member experience. Overall satisfaction was high at program inception and has remained steady since, with between 71 percent and 78 percent of participants rating their experience with the program as excellent or good. In the first 6 months, 5 percent rated their experience as poor or very poor, but this number has remained below 3 percent ever since.

Program evaluation. The Power Smart Evaluation Department conducts formal evaluations of the Team Power Smart Program on an annual basis. These impact evaluations consist of the following components:

- *Strategic concept evaluation*. The Academy for Educational Development, an independent third party in Washington, D.C., confirmed the premise of designing Team Power Smart as a loyalty program.
- *Billing/statistical analyses*. BC Hydro's evaluation department uses a quasiexperimental design and matches each program participant to a nonparticipant based on annual consumption in a baseline period and on observable parameters such as region, dwelling type, space heating fuel, and rate code. A difference-of-differences method is used to measure energy savings attributable to the program intervention.
- *Participant/nonparticipant survey.* Participant/nonparticipant surveys (usually n = 2,500 completes) have indicated that program participants consistently outperformed nonparticipants. For example, participants switched off their lights more often than nonparticipants, hung out their clothes more often, and used cold water for washing clothes more often. Although the changes were sometimes relatively small in percentage points, they were always statistically significant and together represented a sizeable energy savings. To help attribute observed changes to the program itself, the billing data were compared to a nonparticipant group that acted as a control group.

BC Hydro attributed the electricity savings of its behavioral program at 18 GWh for the fiscal years 2010, 2011, and 2012 combined.

Conclusion

By using the loyalty group approach and social marketing's methodology and tools, Team Power Smart has been successful at progressively engaging participants in adopting energy-conserving behaviors despite widespread consumer indifference to energy conservation. To do this, it has been crucial to understand how to build engagement over time. The engagement model that was developed—with the main components of affiliation, enjoyment, and resonance—has been helpful in both planning and execution and has been at the heart of Team Power Smart's behavior change strategy.

Behavior change and habit formation require stamina; a long-term vision is necessary, and there is no "silver bullet." Bringing about sustainable behavior change requires hard work over an extended period of time using a variety of tactics and tools. However, by equipping itself with strong consumer research and program impact data as well as a solid understanding of how to build engagement over time, BC Hydro has been able to design and implement an energy conservation program with a track record of success and a bright future.

Case Study 5: Rare Social Marketing Campaign in Inabanga, Philippines, for Sustainable Fishing

Background

The Rare Inabanga Pride campaign for sustainable fishing is a social marketing behavior change program in the Philippines. It was a part of a cohort of 12 similar sustainable fishing campaigns all using a unique blend of social marketing and community mobilization to bring about sustainable behavior change through the use of no-take zones (NTZs) in marine protected areas (MPAs) in the Philippines. The Rare model for community mobilization involves creative citizen participation campaigns to support the social marketing behavior change and increase the likelihood of that change being sustained.

This sustainable fishing campaign was conducted through a partnership between the international conservation organization Rare and the local government unit of Inabanga in the Philippines. The campaign focused on the Hambongan Marine Sanctuary, which was essentially a "paper park," and used social marketing to change the behavior of fishers. The

problem was that although this MPA and its NTZ were set aside to create the opportunity for fish stocks to replenish themselves, the restrictions were not respected nor were they working. The site of the campaign is a five-hectare dry island with a population of 364 whose existence is dependent on fishing. As such, it is typical of many communities in the Philippines, a country of 100 million people who depend on the sea for 67 percent of their protein (Walters, Maragos, Siar, & White, 1998). The site is located in the southern part of the Danajon Double Barrier Reef, one of the major ecosystems in the Coral Triangle, argued by many to be the most important, biologically diverse marine ecosystem on the planet (Australian Governmnet, AusAID, 2013; and Conservation International, 2013).

Target Audience

The campaign aimed to reach three audiences: local fishers, community residents, and fishers in nearby coastal communities. The local fishers were the prime target audience, and the bulk of the intervention was directed toward them. The community was mobilized to be supportive of the desired behavior change and to generate interpersonal communications praising the local fishers' new behavior. The nearby community fishers were primarily meant to get "overflow" messages because of their proximity to the location where the campaign was being conducted.

The overfishing situation faced by this target audience is not unique in the Philippines, as Figure 9.12 illustrates (Green et al., 2003).

Rare and its partner organizations work in cohorts of approximately one dozen campaigns focused on similar problems. In 2012 the organization completed 12 campaigns; it launched 14 new ones in 2013, as illustrated in Figure 9.13. This is Rare's first marine-themed cohort. Rare's approach is to identify a successful example of the applied methodology—one that has resulted in a reduction of conservation threats and a high likelihood of measurable conservation results—and use it elsewhere. This approach or methodology is referred to as a bright spot, and this pilot is meant to be multiplied to significantly reduce the time needed to bring about the desired conservation results. The bright spot for this cohort of campaigns was located in Dauin, also noted in Figure 9.13.

Formative Research

Rare and its partners' research methodology uses a theory of change model to reduce threats for increased conservation results. The structure of the Rare Pride campaign theory of change is shown in Figure 9.14.

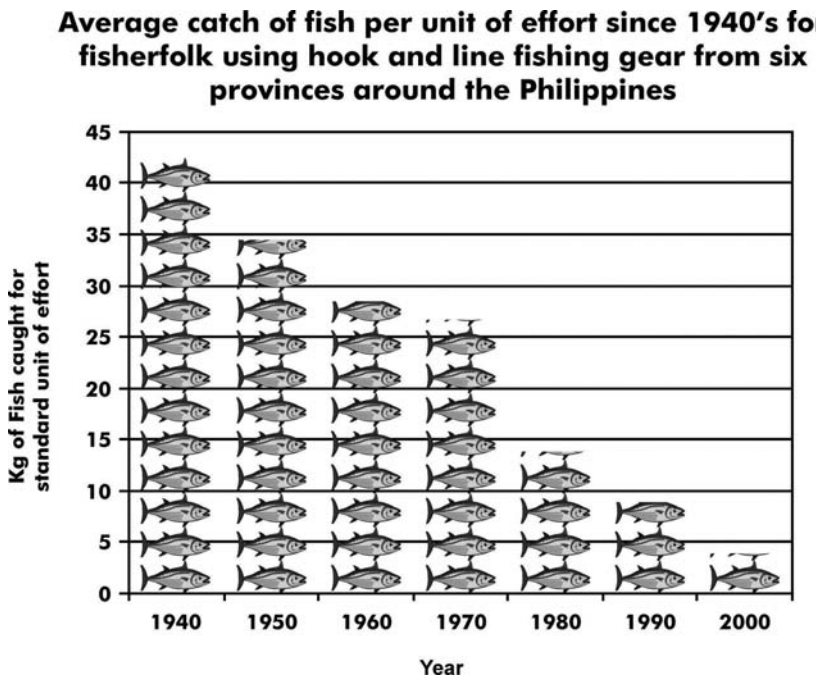

Figure 9.12 Average catch of fish per unit of effort since 1940s for fisherfolk using hook and line fishing gear from six provinces around the Philippines. (Green, White, Flores, Carreon, & Sia, 2003. Reprinted by permission.)

To facilitate the impact assessment of program efforts, every Rare Pride campaign conducts a pre- and postcampaign survey of knowledge, attitudes, and practices (KAP) with measures of knowledge, attitude, interpersonal communication, and behavior change. Ordinarily, Rare's partner conducts the measurement of threat reduction.

Extensive qualitative research is conducted to identify the target audience's barriers to and benefits from the new behavior. The qualitative formative research provides key insights about where the members of the target audience look for information and for validation on changing their fishing behavior. The researchers also aim to identify trusted sources that can be used to communicate the campaign's messages. After conducting the qualitative research and an extensive precampaign KAP survey, it is possible to design a marketing strategy directed specifically at the fishers with the aim of changing their behavior. In addition to the materials designed to bring about behavior change, further materials are developed to mobilize the community in support of the fishers' new behavior.

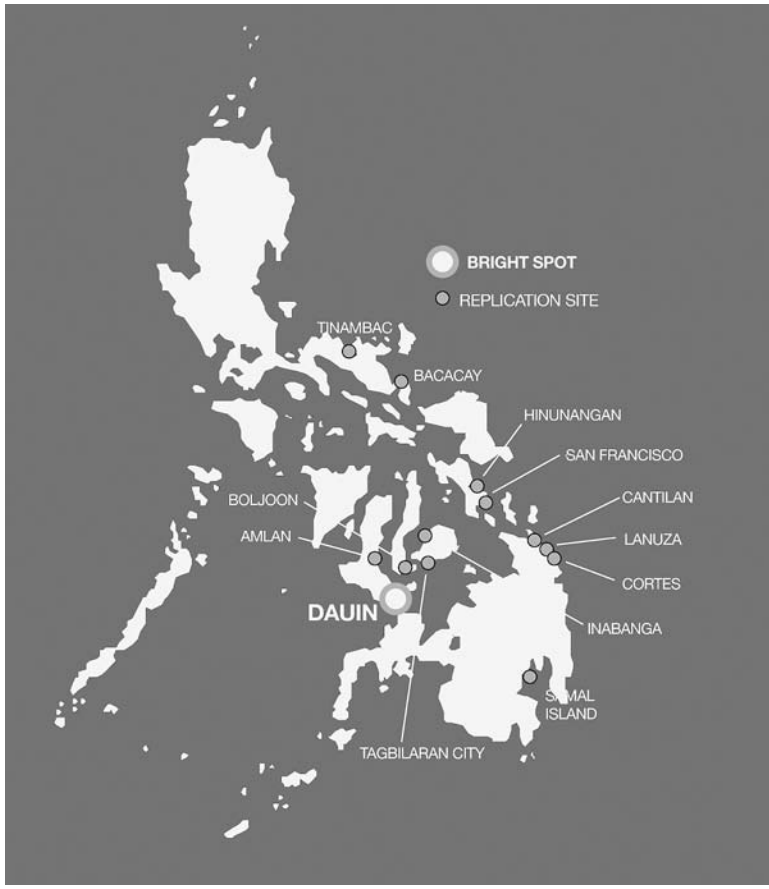

Figure 9.13 Map of Rare's 12 cohorts and the bright spot.
(Copyright Rare [2013]. Reprinted by permission.)

Figure 9.14 Rare's Pride campaign theory of change methodology aims to reduce threats.
(Copyright Rare [2013]. Reprinted by permission.)

Objectives

The campaign aimed to eliminate the principal threats of overfishing and destructive fishing and to build governance and enforcement infrastructures for the NTZ in Inabanga. Rare and its partners used a process involving proven self-assessment and planning tools, including the Participatory Coastal Resources Assessment (PCRA).

Marketing Strategy

Rare's social marketing strategy involves partnering with a local nongovernmental organization or local government unit to provide a staff person for 2 years to serve as a campaign manager. In partnership with the University of Texas, El Paso, Rare provides a 2-year master's program in communications for the campaign manager. This is an applied program aimed at providing the specific campaign skills needed to change behavior in order to bring about conservation results.

For more than 25 years, Rare has employed a unique strategy—community mobilization—using pride of place as a major community motivator. It is why Rare calls its programs "Pride campaigns." This strategy involves selecting a flagship species and then developing a costumed mascot and a full-scale communication program. The mascot is used to help inspire community pride with the goals of supporting and sustaining behavior change. The flagship species for the Inabanga campaign was the panther grouper (see Figure 9.15).

This species was chosen to symbolize the people's pride and courage, because it is aggressive and is designated as "vulnerable" or "nearly endangered" based on the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species/International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (CITIES/IUCN) red list of endangered species (2013).

The campaign's key target audiences were local fishers and gleaners, the local community, the MPA enforcement team, and municipal officials. The social marketing campaign planners focused their research and behavior change efforts solely on these audiences. These efforts were complemented by community mobilization, which indirectly promoted the benefits of the NTZ, the rules of the sanctuary, and the processes for becoming more engaged in the sanctuary management committee.

The community mobilization process connected to the values of the community, including food security, by generating pride in the uniqueness of the local community and its MPA. The community was encouraged to become directly involved in reporting intrusions into the NTZ. The

Figure 9.15 The Inabanga Sustainable Fishing Campaign was launched with a parade featuring Meloy, the panther grouper mascot.
(Original photograph. Used by permission.)

mascot generated enthusiasm and interest, opening the opportunity for community education, as shown in Figures 9.16 and 9.17. The community's support of the fishers' changing their behaviors was critical to the success the program.

Program Monitoring and Evaluation

Knowledge. Knowledge among the Hambongan and adjacent coastal community fishers about the benefits of having an NTZ nearby, including more and bigger fish and a place for fish to reproduce, was already high (> 76 percent) before the campaign, so large increases in knowledge in the postcampaign survey were not expected. Indeed, differences pre- and postcampaign were statistically indistinguishable (< 2.6 percent difference). Although this was lower than similar past Rare Pride campaign averages (usually 13.9 percent), this was likely because of the high starting level of knowledge.

Attitude. Building on the foundation of existing knowledge, the campaign focus to shift attitudes was clearly a success. The percent of Hambongan fishers who agreed that the NTZ provides important benefits

Figure 9.16 In Inabanga, the mascot Meloy often carries a very enlarged cell phone to encourage the community to report fishing boats that are illegally in the NTZ.

(Original photograph. Used by permission.)

Figure 9.17 Community support multiplies. The pride of place generated throughout the community by the mascot created such good will that even the unveiling of a billboard brought crowds to be a part of the campaign.

(Original photograph. Used by permission.)

for their community increased 19.5 percent, from 70 percent to 89 percent, between the pre- and postcampaign surveys. In addition, adjacent fishing communities showed a significant increase in positive attitudes about the important benefits of the NTZ. The difference between the pre- and postcampaign surveys for these fishers was 12.7 percent (68 percent to 81 percent). Both of these results were higher than past Rare Pride campaign averages at similar baselines (4.6 percent). Changes in attitudes pre- and postcampaign among Hambongan and adjacent community coastal fishers were statistically significant.

Behavior change and threat reduction. One of the most important threats to the MPA had been the ongoing incursions into and fishing within the NTZ. In the 2-year time frame of the Rare Pride campaign, of which one year was used for instruction, research, and campaign material design, organizers saw behavior change results and a reduction in threats to biodiversity. There was a statistically significant decrease—from 33.7 percent to 21.5 percent—in fishers reporting seeing members of their own community fishing in the NTZ.

People in the community are now more involved and engaged in management and enforcement activities. This involvement improves the feeling of ownership and increases buy-in to the benefits of the MPA, and specifically the NTZ, for food security. The coordinated efforts of the barrier removal program and the social marketing strategies have resulted in an increase in the number of community members involved in management (from 23 to 36), as well as the training of police enforcement officers to coordinate with the Bantay Dagats (sea patrol officers). A summary of these campaign performance metrics is shown in Table 9.5.

Perceptions of the health and financial benefits of the fisheries are very important. There is still a need to follow up on these perceptions with quantitative data collection to verify their validity. Furthermore, biophysical results are unlikely to be observed until the NTZ has been protected for 2 to 3 years. However, there are some very encouraging results from the biophysical reef monitoring survey within and outside of the Hambongan MPA. Fish biomass estimates were conducted both inside and outside of the Hambongan NTZ. Between March 2011 and June 2012, data were collected using transects and visual observations pre- and postcampaign by the Marine Environment and Resource Foundation of the University of the Philippines. The trends observed in this data can only be considered preliminary, because there have been only two points in time that have been tested, so there is no way to attribute the causality of the results to the behavior change campaign. However, biomass did increase measurably (> 433 percent) inside the NTZ. This increase may have been owing to fish

Table 9.5 Summary of Campaign Performance Metrics

Item tested	Pre-Intervention	Post-Intervention	Number in Survey	Confidence
Knowledge	76%	78.6%		
Attitude of Hambongan fishers	70%	89%	n = 177	< .05 chi-square test (95% confidence that the difference is real)
Attitude of other community fishers	68%	81%	n = 308	< .01 chi-square test (99% confidence that the difference is real)
Fishers reporting members of their own community fishing in the NTZ	33.7%	21.5%		
Number of community members involved in management	23	36		

Note: The campaign had multiple successes, from attitudes to community involvement.
Source: From Rare. Adapted by permission.

populations moving into the more protected area, so the results cannot be fully attributed to the campaign.

Conclusion

The long-term benefits exchange for the fishers must provide sustainable increases in fish catches, which will in turn provide the community with increased food security, increased community pride, and stronger financial stability. The reason Rare partners with local people in all of its campaigns is to ensure that it leaves improved capacity on the ground, helping to sustain long-term behavior change and resulting conservation successes. Rare's involvement is aimed at building the capacity of its partners to change behavior. Therefore, campaigns can continue until the new social norm is reached and the long-term gains are realized, increasing the likelihood of sustainability. These long-term objectives cannot be fully

attained in the 2-year time frame of a typical Pride campaign. Rare does provide alumni grants where necessary to allow its partners to keep campaigns going. Because a local nongovernmental organization or governmental unit already employs the campaign manager, the likelihood of achieving the desired long-term gains is highly increased. Many Rare campaigns around the world have resulted in increased populations of endangered species, long-term protection of endangered habitats, and ongoing partner involvement.

Note

1. Special thanks to Amielle DeWan, Ph.D. for statistical analysis, Pride Program manager Fel Cadiz, and campaign manager Renante Cempron.

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CHAPTER TEN

The Role of Social Entrepreneurship in Successful Social Marketing

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The field of marketing in general, and social marketing in particular, is shifting mightily as a result of the massive changes in the way people think about innovation, generational differences in preferences for connection to each other, and the ability of media to meet people's immediate needs for information with interactivity. For example, the rise of the social and entrepreneurial firm—or enterprise—has given birth to an organizational form that combines an interest in the common good with the capitalistic spirit of making a profit. Additionally, the two generations that are now beginning to exert their influence in the marketplace—Y and Z—are demanding attention but also require an individual focus on their needs. As a consequence, social media, with their ability to provide personal attention and immediacy, are filling the space formerly occupied by the impersonal channels of communication that were once the mainstay of media usage.

The next several sections explore each of these pieces of the proverbial puzzle. They open with a discussion of the meaning of social entrepreneurship that emphasizes the need for both social concern and innovative solutions. One without the other does not make sense and fails to provide all that is necessary to understand and solve intractable societal problems. Of course, central to this changing landscape is the rise of generations that have been raised on new media with a closely matching set of unique

characteristics. Thus, we move to a description of social marketing and social media that considers how these cohorts are developing over time. The chapter closes with a look at how this unique combination has come together, and it provides a brief examination of its strengths and limitations as a tool for meeting our future needs.

The Importance of Social and Entrepreneurship

While the field of entrepreneurship is relatively young compared to most other social sciences, the area of social entrepreneurship is even younger (see Newbert & Hill, 2010, for a more extensive discussion). In fact, it was not until 1991 that the term *social entrepreneur* was first introduced into the academic literature (Waddock & Post, 1991). Since that time, scholarly interest in social entrepreneurship has significantly increased, but there has been limited progress in additional theory explication. To that end, Short, Moss, and Lumpkin (2009) addressed several areas in which scholars could advance relevant theoretical and empirical research on social entrepreneurship. Although the areas identified and the related research questions proposed are certainly both relevant and important to increasing the rigor and validity of what we know about social entrepreneurship, their focus on firm and individual levels of analysis ignores what we know to be an important issue at the dyad level of analysis regarding conflict.

Before engaging in an exploration of the manner in which conflict might complicate our understanding of social entrepreneurship, a definition of the phenomenon is essential. Unfortunately, there is little consensus in the literature on what social entrepreneurship is or even what it means to be a social entrepreneur. Amid this lack of agreement, we define social entrepreneurship as a "process involving the innovative use and combination of resources to pursue opportunities to catalyze social change and/or address social needs" (Mair & Marti 2006, p. 37), which is in turn carried out by social entrepreneurs, defined as those "who play critical roles in bringing about 'catalytic changes' in the public sector agenda and the perception of certain social issues" (Waddock & Post 1991, p. 393).

These contributions suggest that the unifying element of social entrepreneurship should be positive societal change. In contrast with traditional definitions of entrepreneurship that include "the scholarly examination of how, by whom, and with what effects opportunities to create future goods and services are discovered, evaluated, and exploited" (Shane & Venkatraman, 2000, p. 218), a process carried out by individuals working independently or as a part of existing firms (Guth & Ginsberg,

1990), the significance of distinctions between entrepreneurship in general and social entrepreneurship in particular becomes clarified. While entrepreneurship focuses on processes by which opportunities to create and/or fulfill needs occur, social entrepreneurs focus on the subsector of opportunities that, by way of their solution, may bring about some increase in the collective welfare or common good.

Based on this nuance, Dees (1998, p. 2) contended that "social entrepreneurs are one species in the genus entrepreneur." While we concur that social entrepreneurs often play a unique and developmental role in their communities, we also contend that social entrepreneurship need not and should not necessarily emanate from a specific individual type or organizational form. The global economy manifests a variety of complex organizations that cannot easily be labeled as either socially or commercially oriented, because they pursue both sets of goals. Gone are the days when social change was enacted solely by philanthropic individuals, activists, community firms, government agencies, and nonprofit organizations. Today it is apparent that many self-interested individuals and for-profit organizations are highly alert to the social and economic value that can be gained by solving social problems.

If we are correct that social entrepreneurs are not different from many of their profit-seeking counterparts (i.e., both seek to create economic value), then why do most social entrepreneurs fail to deliver social value on a scale commensurate with the problems they seek to solve? As anecdotal evidence of the premise, consider that entrepreneurs such as Henry Ford, Ray Kroc, Sam Walton, Bill Gates, and Steve Jobs, to name but a few, have addressed opportunities at levels that have affected (for better or worse) the lives of hundreds of millions of people. Yet, there are few, if any, similar champions in the social sector. Indeed, of those entrepreneurs who have succeeded in creating social value, arguably none has scaled impact to an appreciable level.

We contend that at least one contributing factor to the failure by social entrepreneurs to scale impact is their inability to develop an efficient business model. Scaling impact requires, at a minimum, sizable financial resources; thus, to the extent that social entrepreneurs pursue the creation of social value without regard for the creation of economic value, they are hindering their ability to generate the types of resources necessary to implement social innovation on a large scale. These types of smaller, ineffective efforts to improve social conditions suggest a flaw in business processes that can be broadly construed to reflect an inefficient use of resources. Such a condition is particularly problematic for social entrepreneurs because these operational inefficiencies generally reflect high opportunity

costs, suggesting that the manner in which the resources in question are used is actually bad for society at large. Additionally, if these resources were directed toward other ends, they likely could be put to more efficient use, which would have the ironic effect of actually increasing social welfare.

Unfortunately, adoption of profit-seeking goals is not a panacea for social entrepreneurs. In fact, by assuming profit-seeking motives, social entrepreneurs establish a misalignment between their interests and those of the parties with whom they will likely ally in addressing a particular social opportunity. As suggested earlier, social entrepreneurs do not necessarily pursue purely altruistic goals; rather, many pursue them in combination with economic goals. Therefore, it is important for social entrepreneurs not merely to do good, but also to do well in the process. The institutional challenges they tend to face in the markets in which they operate, though, may lead social entrepreneurs to find themselves entering into alliances with partners from the public sector, including community organizers, nonprofit organizations, governmental agencies, and activist collectives. Although these arrangements can provide benefits to social entrepreneurs, such as knowledge about and expertise in navigating local environments, social capital and legitimacy within the local community, and links to important community players (Kanter, 1999), they also create important challenges for social entrepreneurs. For instance, partners operating in the public sector are unlikely to be governed by typical profit-seeking motives. Thus, they seek only to do good, even at the expense of doing well. To use Maddy's (2000) terminology, whereas most social entrepreneurs tend to be, in part, "do-wellers," their partners tend to be solely "do-gooders."

This disparity in agendas between social entrepreneurs and their partners is likely to manifest itself in some level of conflict regarding what successful social change looks like. It seems, then, that in remedying one problem, social entrepreneurs may unwittingly create another. Given this potential for disagreement, we contend that social entrepreneurs must carefully weigh the costs and benefits of joining with public-sector organizations so as to minimize the propensity for conflicting agendas. Fortunately for social entrepreneurs, there is a rich literature that has emerged from the management field that can inform social entrepreneurs on how to both preempt the potential conflicts prior to partnerships and establish mechanisms for resolving such conflicts (cf. Gulati, 1998). Thus, we believe that by applying good business practices to the alliance selection and management processes, social entrepreneurs may improve their ability to scale social impact.

Understanding Social Marketing

Social marketing is described as the "design, implementation and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research," and the "explicit use of marketing skills to help translate present social action efforts into more effectively designed and communicated programs that elicit desired audience response" (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p. 5). The discipline is founded on the belief that marketers can sell "brotherhood like soap" (Wiebe, 1951) and that the same tactics and strategies employed to market goods and services can be used to sell pro-social ideas, values, and behaviors. Since the principal bases of social marketing are the theories and practices of commercial marketing, most key marketing theories traditionally hold true for social marketing, as well.

For instance, social marketing is premised on exchange theory, and the central strategy of social marketing efforts focuses on creating motivating connections with targeted subpopulations (Andreasen, 2002). Therefore, the principal audiences of social marketing campaigns must perceive the benefits of changing their behaviors and adopting the desired (marketed) behaviors, and these benefits must be perceived by the audiences to outweigh the costs of changing their ways (Kotler & Lee, 2007). Social marketing campaigns also should employ the fundamentals of successful commercial marketing campaigns—research on the target market to gain proper understanding of behaviors, segmentation of the audience using specific strategies designed to uncover nuances unique to selected segments, application of the 4 P's from the marketing mix (price, product, promotion, and placement) to fit these wants and needs, and measurement of all results or the desired impact of the final marketing campaign (Kotler & Lee, 2007).

Despite these similarities, there are distinctions that arise because of differences in each field's overarching goals. For example, commercial marketing campaigns aim to increase profits through enhanced sales, while social marketing's primary motivation is to change behavior with the cumulative effects of modifications resulting in an end benefit for society (Andreasen, 2003). The nature of the competition also varies; the rivalry for commercial marketers is primarily similar goods and services, but social marketers are competing against unwanted behaviors as well as social motivations, organizations, and other factors that reinforce those actions (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971). Finally, social marketing extends beyond exchanges dealing with discrete costs and benefits, and it may require greater

learning and self-efficacy by individuals regarding intimate and complex behaviors (Andreasen, 1995; Obermiller, 1995).

To realize its ambitious goals, social marketing practice has gone through a series of necessary adjustments during the last several decades to become an effective mechanism for societal change. However, in the past, many social marketing campaigns did little more than broadcast "social advertising" that spread messages encouraging alternative behaviors without providing the necessary ingredients for long-term modifications to occur (Fox & Kotler, 1980). Thus, a major milestone for social marketing theory and practice involved the shift in focus from selling an idea or belief to providing impetus and pathways for meaningful change (Andreasen, 2002). As an example, tobacco use reduction programs do more than merely provide revised beliefs that smoking is harmful to people's health; they also ensure that adequate means for changing behavior (e.g., nicotine replacement options) are readily accessible.

Additionally, since the 1970s, social marketers have given considerable attention to making campaigns more strategic in their approaches to targeted segments by using highly crafted and focused messages. This reflects the shift in commercial marketing toward improving customer loyalty, as demonstrated by emergence of relationship marketing (Peattie & Peattie, 2003; Morgan & Hunt, 1994). Social marketers, given that they aim to alter high-involvement and ingrained behaviors, have moved away from an information dissemination model to a consumer perspective that seeks to understand individuals as they perceive themselves (Andreasen, 2002; McGovern, 2007). Case studies from the 1980s and the early 1990s support this assertion and indicate that social marketers have become more sophisticated in their techniques (Malafarina & Loken, 1993).

Social marketers also have learned to increase the likelihood of message acceptance by paying special attention to how information is communicated. This includes identifying the proper communication channels to use and the necessary socialization agents who can help influence others toward desired behaviors; successful case studies in recent years have shown that more and more social influences are being used to help reinforce message acceptance (Pechmann, 2002; Stead, Gordon, Angus, & McDermott, 2006). These tactics have led to the creation of social marketing campaigns using upstream and downstream marketing as well as the emergence of more community-based models of social marketing (Merzel & D'Afflitti, 2003). This use of integrated marketing campaigns, requiring a variety of communication channels simultaneously, has become a standard best practice for social marketing campaigns, once again reflecting a very similar shift among commercial marketing practitioners (Duncan & Everett, 1993).

Thus, social marketers today have a better understanding of the various "touch points" through which they can reach their targets. Looking at this evolution, social marketing as a branch of the larger discipline of marketing seems to trail in practice if not theoretical development, but it has slowly matured and now is more likely to employ recent trends such as integrated marketing campaigns and relationship marketing within a social marketing framework. This progress may portend a readiness to embrace the interactive media commonly used for promotions that have permanently changed the media landscape for other marketers.

This advancement notwithstanding, social marketing has historically struggled with how to reach and motivate targeted audiences (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971). The need for a clear and updated definition of social marketing is addressed at length by Andreasen (2002, 2003), and the current lack of consensus is compounded by the fact that social marketing often fails to follow strategies consistently and/or to implement those strategies properly (McDermott, Stead, & Hastings, 2005; Stead et al., 2006). Besides such issues, additional problems arise from ambitious agendas. Campaigns may be deployed in spurts, with large amounts of information forced into single messages, affecting the audience's ability to understand and internalize the associated ideas and/or beliefs (Obermiller, 1995). Although the more successful campaigns clearly show how individuals will benefit from behavioral changes and present information in a way that is acceptable and easily understood, this is not a simple task when addressing complex, high-involvement behaviors.

A further nuance involves people's underlying and very personal rationales for change. Beyond providing clear and useful behavioral alternatives, social marketers also must create individual rewards or incentives to ensure that intentions lead to actions, an undertaking that remains a continual struggle (Malafarina & Loken, 1993; Kotler & Zaltman, 1971). This task is daunting because social marketers may face audiences who are resistant to altering their problem behaviors, and social marketers often fail to provide sufficient incentives to interest these subpopulations (Malafarina & Loken, 1993). Therefore, despite evidence of successful outcomes, the Social Marketing Institute has identified the field's inadequate track record of success as a continuing challenge, particularly in assessments of long-term impact versus sporadic or temporary effects (Andreasen, 2002).

Message communication plays a key role in these challenges and is vital to the success of any campaign. Although appropriate channels that social marketers may use in certain situations have been identified (Kotler & Lee, 2007), generalizations regarding which media to use for different behavioral expectations are sorely lacking. Given the impact of new media

technologies on search, information gathering, and actions in general, communication decisions involve a new layer of complexity. Recent social marketing studies have noted that nonmainstream types of promotion will be more important given the changing environment (Kotler & Lee, 2007; Peattie, 2007), but how they affect the challenges discussed above, and how they create additional challenges and opportunities, has not been fleshed out. Nevertheless, some researchers have delved deeply into the new media environment and marketers' reactions to it, which may provide insights into social marketing's future.

New "Social" Media

Over the past 20 years, technology has evolved in ways few marketing scholars or practitioners could have anticipated. The culture of technology has grown so rapidly in our society that its impact is difficult—perhaps impossible—to ignore, regardless of one's focus (see Postman, 1992). Technological advancements have fundamentally altered the ways in which most individuals conduct business, make buying decisions, communicate personally and professionally, and spend their leisure time, and this impact continues to grow and morph into almost every aspect of daily life (see Hill & Stephens, 2005). Given that a discussion of the impact of technology on today's world could be quite broad, our focus is limited to the factors that have the greatest influence on consumer behavior and marketing practice—media fragmentation, increasing media usage, and the rise of new digital technologies with unique functionalities.

Before discussing interactive media, a historical perspective that delineates the traditional media they replace, in part, may help to explain the characteristics that make today's environment so radically different. For instance, little more than a half-century ago, media outlets were limited to radio, TV, and various print formats, which were able to dominate the public's attention. The consolidation of major TV networks and newspapers made it relatively easy to reach a "mass audience" through these channels (Rust & Oliver, 1994). However, by the mid-1980s, competition within these markets had grown because of the emergence of cable television and new print outlets, among other factors, and the existing media began to lose power over large populations. Thus, in today's marketplace, reaching a significant percentage of the populace with general programming is next to impossible because of the plethora of media options widely available to consumers.

Not surprisingly, as media options have proliferated, the absolute amount of time consumers spend engaging with media in general has risen

dramatically. The typical American home now has more than 26 media devices, and the average U.S. consumer spends more time using these devices (televisions, radios, computers, iPods, cell phones, etc.) than any other activity (Ransford, 2009). Along with new media, the movement toward greater portability allows for accessibility without regard to location, situation, or time of day (Hill & Stephens, 2005). More than 60 percent of U.S. consumers are now part of a mobile subpopulation that participates in digital activities away from home or work (Horrigan, 2008). Finally, individuals today engage in media multitasking, which also contributes to the increase in overall media usage.

This new media environment is driven by widespread Internet adoption across cultures, populations, and international boundaries (Hill & Dhanda, 2004). By 2006, more than 70 percent of U.S. citizens had Internet access, compared to 16 percent in 1996, and nearly 90 percent of teens in the United States reported using the Internet (Rainie, 2006). Such rapid adoption over a 10-year period is remarkable, as is the range of associated online activities and uses that affect everyday events and important life decisions alike. The majority of users spend at least 5 hours a week connected to the Internet, and this time commitment is significantly higher for young adults, who seem to have traded their static television viewing for interactive and online forms of entertainment (Ransford, 2009).

These major changes make it clear that social marketers need to understand how interactive media are fundamentally different from more mature technologies such as radio, TV, and newsprint. One big distinction between the new and the old involves different functionality. For instance, unlike watching TV or listening to radio, with new media consumers can be more than just passive recipients of stimulation. Interactive media have evolved to provide individuals with much greater access to information than the older media did, and they also support interactivity, stimulation, control, and involvement by users (Fiore, Kim, & Lee, 2005). As a result, individuals tend to spend more than a quarter of their online time involved in communication activities (e.g., email, instant message chat, and social networking), which is equivalent to the total time they spend on leisure and entertainment (Riegner, 2007). In recent years, social networking sites have become so pervasive that they are now the most popular Internet destinations (Burmaster, 2009).

Additionally, consumers of new media engage in development of online content, creating or cocreating everything from simple websites to interactive blogs. More than 64 percent of U.S. teens have reported such online activities (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008), by which they enlarge collaborative sites such as YouTube, Flickr, and Twitter. Individuals participate in online

dialogues in myriad ways, and opportunities for peer-to-peer communications are expected to grow because of the implementation of Web 2.0. This movement from one generation of web-based services to the next involves a novel combination of strategies, technologies, and social trends, which have combined to better harness the potential of the web in a more interactive and collaborative manner than ever before (Murugesan, 2007).

Interactive media technologies have grown in popularity primarily because of their functionality, as described previously. Moreover, the benefits of use continue to reinforce that use, thus increasing interactive media's staying power. A recent report showed that interactive media users most value (1) the opportunity to express their identity, (2) social interactions, (3) the immediacy and constancy of entertainment, and (4) the ability to create something unique (Arthur, Sherman, Appel, & Moore, 2006). This is similar to the rationale for participation in online communities put forth by Kollock (1999), which includes anticipated reciprocity, increased reputation, and greater sense of self-efficacy. Consumers can also do things at their own speed and have more control and choice over the media used, because the technology allows content to be shared and modified in real time, facilitating communication and customization (Fiore et al., 2005; Arthur et al., 2006).

Consistent with this discussion, strategy-focused research has concentrated attention on the expanded use of new media and the functionality associated with that utilization (see Sultan & Rohm, 2008). This scholarship has posited that marketers must recognize that such changes represent more than a shift to new media but also require a novel set of principles and practices to succeed in technology-centric marketplaces. The literature involving relationship marketing anticipated this evolution and has emphasized the need to ensure customer loyalty at a time when consumers have much more control as well as many more buying options (Garbarino & Johnson, 1999). Yet the emergence of new media technologies takes relationship marketing to the extreme; companies now are enablers, relying upon customers to not only inform but, in a sense, to help create what they consume (O'Reilly, 2005).

Increasing consumer control and involvement has been a mixed blessing for marketers, considering that consumer demands have risen while simultaneously yielding much more meaningful associations. Therefore, the long-term perspective of interactive marketing is as a customer-driven strategy helping to create value that ultimately results in greater consumer trust and loyalty (Curran & Meuter, 2007; Kirca, Jayachandran, & Bearden, 2005). Technological savvy through the implementation of interactive media and Web 2.0 tactics demonstrates to consumers that their needs matter

and is an effective way to attract customer attention in a cluttered and competitive environment. Wikipedia, Google, Amazon, and eBay are a few examples of companies with major web presences that have exploited these opportunities and have thereby changed the face of marketing.

The power of the new media environment and its growing impact on consumer behavior is particularly evident when considering differences across age cohorts (Hill & Stephens, 2003). Research has resoundingly confirmed what has already become common "knowledge"—that people from different generations have radically dissimilar media habits, with older individuals having less time for and less interest in new media (Rainie, 2006). Importantly, exploration of the media preferences and utilization patterns of Generation Y, the first generation of people raised with most of this technology at their disposal, will help marketers understand not only the behavior patterns of younger consumers but also patterns that may become the norm for generations to come. Scholars have already uncovered some unique characteristics of this cohort concerning learning styles, diversity, and ideals (Hill, 2002) and have noted that because individuals in this age group split their time between old and new media, they are harder to reach than older consumers (Martin & Turley, 2004).

From a marketing perspective, research indicates that those in Generation Y are more skeptical of traditional advertising than those in older generations (Wolburg & Pokrywczynski, 2001), while at the same time they are more responsive to promotions perceived as innovative and stimulating (Sultan & Rohm, 2008). Generation Y's formal and informal education also is likely to occur online, leading to radically different learning patterns than previous generations (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008). Furthermore, the relative ease with which those in Generation Y find peers with habits and interests similar to their own has led to a surge in the popularity of movements with origins in online discussions. Generation Y's conceptions of privacy and identity are also unusual, and people in this group tend to reveal much about themselves online and likewise see less distinction between in-person and online identities (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008). These trends show that in addition to influencing choice behavior, new media may actually reorganize how people think, modify important motivations, and create alternative self-identities.

Bringing It Together

This chapter provides a template for understanding social entrepreneurship, social marketing, and social media. Social entrepreneurship is differentiated from traditional entrepreneurship primarily by its mission-driven

focus on serving the common good. Yet it has many similarities with traditional entrepreneurship, including the use of novel and innovative means to accomplish a larger mission. Thus, social entrepreneurship seeks to solve intractable problems that plague communities—such as drug addiction, the spread of communicable diseases, and disparities in access to education—by offering and operationalizing new ideas. In the final analysis, social goals will guide strategic intent, and entrepreneurship must dominate strategic action. This combination yields an important new way of considering how social marketing issues and problems may be tackled using technologies steeped in social media as a way to influence younger generations.

Social marketing suffers from some of the same definitional problems as social entrepreneurship, which may be responsible, in part, for the lack of scalable progress in the efforts to solve many societal problems. The notion that many standard marketing theories and practices should also work in social contexts with little modification may be one reason for this suboptimal level of effectiveness, particularly given the vast differences inherent in trying to get people to buy a different toothpaste versus trying to get them to change their sexual behaviors. Nonetheless, the task is rather straightforward; the people targeted by social marketers are asked to think and behave in ways that are not necessarily consistent with their current set of preferences. For the most part, such requests are about ways of approaching the world that have consequences beyond the individual, such as when smokers negatively affect the well-being of the people around them with secondhand smoke. While traditional media and tactics may still have value, the innovative use of new, interactive technologies is the way of the future.

These new media opportunities have both strengths and weaknesses that are tied to the specific generations social marketers are trying to influence. For instance, social media often have an interactive dimension that allows for a deeper commitment and relationship between the user and the medium. As a result, more information and more powerful influence attempts are possible. However, those in older generations are much less likely to desire or have access to platforms such as Facebook, and those in younger generations tend to give partial attention to virtually everything in their media landscape. Thus, for social media to have the desired impact, especially in social marketing contexts that require significant efforts, it is important that the messaging be perceived as individually focused as well as personally relevant (Moran & Hill, 2011). To meet such demands, social marketing and social media will need the support of social entrepreneurs.

This combination of "socials" will need to harness the best of each to meet the goal of having a greater, scalable impact on particular populations. Consider that social entrepreneurs should possess the innovation skills necessary to move beyond ordinary practices and come up with novel ways of influencing individuals in need. It may be that they are capable of perceiving subtle differences in the ways that those in the younger and more tech-savvy generations are "hard-wired" by their continuous connection to media devices, allowing for regular and timely interactive messaging that captures their attention at the point of decision-making regarding targeted behaviors. In this way, social marketing goals may remain the same over time while the tactics employed and the expected outcomes are modified significantly. In other words, innovation is less about what social marketers want to happen and more about how they cause change to occur and extend its reach into the market.

Nonetheless, social entrepreneurs may have different ideas about what social marketing means and can accomplish, particularly with the use of new media. One possibility involves the way in which members of younger generations define intimacy and personal connections. Much as the Baby Boomers came home from school and talked on the phone for hours, and those in Generation X went to the mall and walked for hours, those in Generations Y and Z are following a similar pattern, using social media to create the foundation of their relationships. This change in contact has modified what we mean by "being a friend," demonstrating that technology is no longer an impediment to our coming together but a possible conduit. As a consequence, the development of social marketing tactics that provide for similar kinds of associations with "real people" experiencing similar issues may be viewed as providing a legitimate source of information and conversation even if those "people" are, in truth, avatars.

Of course, much of our conversation so far has been based on a number of assumptions. First, we have assumed that social entrepreneurs are interested in applying social marketing solutions to the problems they typically tackle. It may be that they only need to be informed about how such methods operate, but their level of interest should not be taken for granted. Second, we have assumed that social marketers are interested in new and novel ways of looking at and solving the societal issues within their purview. Clearly, as is true of many organizations, those willing to change from familiar to alternative perspectives and tactics may be few in number. Finally, we have assumed that new and interactive media are widely available and effective. As noted earlier, older generations are less likely to be constantly online, and some within our society and across the

world have limited or no Internet access. For these individuals, alternative means of influence will be necessary but may still require new and novel forms.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

Social Marketing in the Service of Economic Development: A Case Study at the Epicenter of the Housing Crisis

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The notion of applying marketing to economic development is not new. Scholars (Bartels, 1977; Cundiff, 1982; Dixon, 1981; Drucker, 1958; Rostow, 1965; Slater, 1977) have examined marketing's role in fostering economic development since the 1950s. Drucker (1958) defined marketing as "the most effective engine of economic development, particularly in its ability rapidly to develop entrepreneurs and managers" (p. 252). Earlier in the same decade, Wiebe (1951) asked "Why can't you sell brotherhood like you sell soap?"—a foreshadowing of the future role of marketing in social change campaigns, which was the precursor to formal social marketing (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p. 3). Similarly, Drucker also emphasized marketing's social role, describing it as "a dynamic process of society through which business enterprise is integrated productively with society's purposes and human values" (p. 252). Later work by Kotler and Levy (1969) concluded that marketing is not only pervasive at all organizational levels, from the private to the public sector, but that the

transfer of marketing's principles to organizations, people, and ideas is inevitable.

Bartels (1977) posited that marketing stimulates rather than adapts to economic behavior by influencing values and behaviors. Similarly, Slater (1977) suggested that social marketing at the macro level could change societal behaviors and attitudes. Cundiff (1982) also emphasized the role of macromarketing but concluded that micromarketing inputs were necessary for economic development plans to achieve optimal results. Layton (1985) asserted that regional marketing systems play pivotal roles in economic development, from increasing per capita income to improving productivity and innovation. Certainly, economic development and growth of the right type improves social welfare. Innovation brings new and better products to consumers. Development of market demand adds jobs, creating economic opportunities for individual members of society. The linkages between employment and public health are well-documented (Witters, 2012; Burgard, Kalousova, Kristin, & Seefeldt, 2012), as are the associations of higher quality employment and quality of life as reflected in financial, social, physical, and emotional well-being (Johnson & Krueger, 2006; Fernandez-Ballesteros, Zamarron, & Ruiz, 2001). Thus, although marketing is often considered to be part of an economic activity, the outcomes of such economic activity can also produce positive social outcomes.

Social marketing, in contrast, is generally defined as the application of marketing tools and techniques to achieve specific socially desirable outcomes. For example, Kotler, Roberto, and Lee (2002) defined social marketing in terms of selling behavior, stating, "Social marketing is the use of marketing principles and techniques to influence a target audience to voluntarily accept, reject, modify or abandon a behavior for the benefit of individuals, groups, or society as a whole" (p. 5). Kotler and Lee's (2004) research suggested that corporate social marketing techniques—defined as "a powerful, if often misunderstood, strategy that uses marketing principles and techniques to foster behavior change in a target population, improving society while at the same time building markets for products or services" (p. 1)—offer a measurable method for making an impact on social issues.

It is probably useful to maintain a distinction between commercial marketing activities, where the primary intent is an economic outcome, and social marketing, where the primary intent is a social outcome. Nevertheless, it is also helpful to recognize that these two types of marketing are not mutually exclusive. Both employ similar tools, such as advertising, personal selling, pricing, and distribution. But it is also true that

commercial marketing may have important social consequences and social marketing may have important economic consequences. Indeed, in some settings, there is a convergence of the two such that they become indistinguishable.

One setting where social marketing and commercial marketing converge is economic development. Economic development has been defined as "part of a larger process of community development through which a community provides its citizens the institutions and amenities they need to live in comfort and security" (MDC, Inc., 2001, p. 1). To the extent that economic development creates resources for a community and its individual citizens, it also produces a host of other positive outcomes, ranging from better health and education to lowered rates of poverty and crime.

It is important to distinguish the notion of economic growth, which may advantage a few individuals and entities, from economic development, which has broader effects on the community at large (Todaro & Smith, 2011). Inherent in successful economic development is the mobilization of a community, within the private sector as well as the public sector, around a shared vision for the future of the community. This begins with the creation of a shared value proposition that is ultimately manifested in a more detailed description of a desired end state, the product of the development efforts. These activities involve the creation of a value delivery system—that is, an organization and resources in service of economic development. Obtaining community buy-in and participation requires communication of the vision, of what is needed to create the vision, and of successes as they are achieved. The remainder of this chapter describes a case study of the application of social marketing principles in the context of economic development.

Background

Riverside, California, is a beautiful city about 50 miles east of Los Angeles. It has a short but rich history, first as the birthplace of the American citrus industry and later as a military manufacturing center. During the latter part of the 20th century and the early years of the 21st century, the city and the surrounding region became a bedroom community for commuters who worked in the neighboring coastal counties, as well as a logistics and supply chain center that supported the nearby ports, rail heads, interstate highways, and airports as a gateway to a majority of the continental United States. In 2008, after 7 years of explosive growth—the fastest in California and one of the most rapid growth rates in the nation as a whole—the bursting of the housing bubble hit the region hard.

In a state where the effects of the nation's economic downturn were especially pronounced, Riverside County and neighboring San Bernardino County—known collectively as California's Inland Empire—had the dubious honor of being the epicenter of the housing crisis. As foreclosure rates ballooned and commercial real estate vacancies soared, the region's economic engine ground to a halt. Unemployment in the city and surrounding region exceeded 14 percent, and 1 in 12 houses was in foreclosure. Construction permits dropped by 60 percent (Public Policy Institute of California, 2008). Riverside's economic development model was obviously overdue for a comprehensive overhaul.

The economic model at the foundation for much of the region's recent growth had been snidely referred to by some as "cheap dirt"—the availability of relatively inexpensive land for residential and commercial construction. Such construction brought with it jobs in construction itself, in infrastructure development to support an expanded population and commercial base, in warehousing, and in retailing. This economic model served the region well for a number of years, and between 2000 and 2007, more than 40 percent of all of the jobs created in California were created in the Inland Southern California area (Ford, Henry, & Beltzer 2011).

The weaknesses of this model are obvious in hindsight. Construction jobs are temporary by definition; when a project is finished, there is no longer a need for workers, and they must move on to the next project, if it exists. The more permanent jobs in retailing and warehousing do not tend to be high-wage jobs. As a result, by 2010 the region of 4.3 million people had more than 700,000 residents who commuted long distances to better paying jobs in the coastal counties. Ironically, for a region long known as being business-friendly and a bastion of Republican Party support, much of the construction activity was funded—directly or indirectly, in part or in whole—by the government. Thus, when the economic downturn began in early 2008, the region was poised for a dramatic fall as the construction industry collapsed, government funding diminished, and the economy at large contracted.

As the economy worsened and calls for a new vision for the future intensified, a group of community leaders from the City of Riverside's public and private sectors convened to develop an economic model that would take the city in a new direction. Riverside was only one part of a much larger region in distress, but as the largest city in the region, its economic model could influence the region as a whole. The new model applied proven social marketing strategies to the goals of spurring economic growth and improving Riversiders' quality of life. As noted by Gordon (2011), such models have the power to sustainably improve

livelihoods and affect financial behavior through an approach that is at once market-driven and responsive to community-specific needs. The agenda for a new economic strategy that emerged—known as Seizing Our Destiny—exemplifies an effective use of social marketing to influence economic and social behaviors.

When seeking to spur growth, many economic development organizations turn to models with a focus limited to attracting and retaining employment, residents, and development. Unfortunately, if not properly managed, such models can promote growth at the expense of a community's quality of life (International Economic Development Council, 2006).

In contrast, models that incorporate a social marketing perspective and "smart growth" techniques—such as encouraging collaboration; leveraging existing resources and infrastructure; and addressing the needs, perceptions, and behaviors of the community—can lead to both economic growth and an increased quality of life. This case study details how social marketing drives economic transformation and serves as an illustration of the intersection of marketing and public policy. In the case of Riverside, an economic development plan based on grassroots leadership and social marketing techniques transformed the city from a victim of economic recession and outdated economic development policies into the recipient of honors such as the Intelligent Community of the Year 2012 (Intelligent Community Forum, 2012) and third place on *Newsweek's* 2011 list of the nation's "Can-Do" cities (Merrefield & Streib, 2011). The case also illustrates the importance of leadership in transforming a community.

However, the case is not about one leader but about many leaders. A key determinant of transformative success in communities is their number of community leaders (Kettering Foundation, 2008; Mathews, 1996). The story of Riverside offers further support for this observation and the impact of collaboration among those leaders.

Prosperity and Decline

Riverside's unenviable position at ground zero of the U.S. housing crisis came at the end of more than a decade of reliance on an abundance of undeveloped land to drive the economy. For years, commercial and residential construction, infrastructure, and related industries such as mortgage origination dominated the region's economic base. When the recession hit, this model proved unsustainable, and the need for a new direction became clear. Fortunately, Riverside's latest transformation rebuilt its base with innovative, progressive ideas that stretched back to the city's early days.

In the early 1870s, forward-thinking settlers envisioned the agricultural potential of the hills bordering the Santa Ana River. After the development of a canal system that brought irrigation to the already rich land, the Riverside area became home to an agricultural empire known as "California's other Gold Rush": citrus. By 1882 almost half of California's citrus trees grew in Riverside. As the trade in oranges, lemons, and limes boomed over the next decade, further advances in irrigation, refrigeration, and transportation combined by 1895 to make Riverside the wealthiest city in the United States, on a per capita basis (City of Riverside, 2009a).

The tourism industry grew along with the citrus industry, and Riverside's economy soon benefited from a stellar reputation among Hollywood stars, politicians, and royalty alike. A number of historic buildings from the city's tourism heyday—including the Mission Inn (the country's largest Mission Revival–style building), the Culver Center for the Arts, the Riverside Art Museum, and the Fox Performing Arts Center—still draw visitors today.

The citrus boom led to the founding of the University of California Citrus Experiment Station in 1907. Local civic and business leaders lobbied the state for an expansion of the University of California (UC) system into the region, and UC Riverside (UCR) opened its doors in 1954 as a land-grant college. Today, Riverside is also home to two highly regarded private institutions, La Sierra University and California Baptist University, as well as Riverside City College. Other forward-thinking decisions by local leaders—construction of the March Joint Air Reserve Base in 1917; consumer-owned water and electric utility since 1895 with comprehensive control over local aquifers and water rights; and a focus on bringing entrepreneurs and corporations to the region—all contributed to Riverside's prosperity. After World War II, the story changed.

Once considered a boon, Riverside's 55-mile proximity to Los Angeles eventually led to a host of problems. Southern California's urban sprawl encroached on the region's once-idyllic orchards and agricultural fields. The Inland Empire's vacationland reputation, once characterized by images of lush orange groves and sparkling swimming pools, began to disappear, only to be replaced by perceptions of traffic, congestion, urban blight, and smog. During the same period, several military bases in the area closed, exacerbating the economic distress. The City of Riverside, and the region as a whole, seemed paralyzed by a lack of leadership and a pervasive sense of parochialism.

Starting in the 1980s, Riverside underwent a renaissance of sorts. The state passed a number of air quality regulations and the region's notoriously poor air quality began to improve (California Environmental Protection Agency, 2012). At the local level, city leaders focused on urban

renewal and infrastructure improvement projects. In 2006 the city council approved a $1.5 billion initiative that focused on improving the physical environment of the city, including improving traffic flow; replacing aging electric, sewer, and water infrastructure; and expanding and improving libraries, parks, fire and police stations, and other quality-of-life-enhancing facilities. Overall, the city completed more projects between 2006 and 2011 than in the previous 3 decades combined (City of Riverside, 2009b).

Between 2000 and 2007, both Riverside and the Inland Empire experienced unprecedented growth rates. In fact, the region was the fastest growing in California and one of the fastest in the country as a whole; during this time period, 42 percent of all jobs created in California were created in Riverside and the surrounding areas. High-tech and biotech companies began moving into the area, the supply chain industry boomed, student enrollment at local colleges and universities increased, and the construction industry exploded.

Thanks to Riverside's proximity to the coastal region, as well as an abundance of relatively inexpensive land, families seeking more affordable housing and businesses seeking cheaper office space flocked to the area. From 2000 to 2010 the population in the region grew by 41.7 percent, reaching 4.3 million by the end of the decade—a population larger than that of 25 states in the country (Southern California Association of Governments, 2011). As Riverside became a bedroom community for Los Angeles, Orange County, and San Diego counties, about 40 percent of the city's population commuted to these coastal communities to work, a figure that translates into 700,000 people commuting every weekday. Along with the increased traffic and congestion, the quality of life also suffered, as Riverside struggled to expand services and infrastructure to keep up with its increased population and with the challenges posed by increasingly diverse economic and ethnic demographics.

Then, in 2007, the bubble burst. As economic growth ground to a halt, home prices plummeted. Median home sale prices, which had increased by 206 percent between 2000 and 2006, fell from a high of $420,000 in 2006 to $180,000 in 2009. The construction industry crashed, as well; the number of residential unit permits issued per year decreased from 2,066 in 2003 to only 79 in 2009 (Southern California Association of Governments, 2011). The number of homeowners with "underwater" mortgages skyrocketed along with foreclosure rates.

As real estate tanked, it took businesses and jobs down along with it. At the height of the downfall, unemployment increased to 15 percent, a figure that might have actually been as much as 10 percent higher if it included the number of people who had given up searching for employment

and left the workforce. This dearth of employment opportunities exacerbated an already-existing situation: although Riverside's colleges and universities produced significant numbers of graduates each year, these young people often left the region to seek better employment in Southern California's coastal communities.

City leaders knew fundamental change was necessary. Riverside needed to reinvent its future by moving away from a reliance on "cheap dirt" and developing a new, sustainable economic model. These realizations begged a number of questions: Could Riverside shift from a focus on construction and logistics to more value-added industries, such as high technology, biotechnology, clean manufacturing, automated distribution, and business services? Could the city move away from reliance on blue-collar muscle and focus more on knowledge workers? Finally, and perhaps most significantly, could Riverside act proactively and engage in a coordinated economic development effort? The answers to these questions lay in an economic development process that melded public policy with marketing techniques.

A Changing Vision

In the spring of 2009 the City of Riverside's two economic development groups, the Council of Economic Development Advisors (CEDA) and the Workforce Advisory Panel (WAP), came together to discuss the need for a new vision for the city's future. Composed of local business leaders, civic officials, community leaders, and members of the education community, this group was tasked by Riverside's mayor with the rapid development of a strategic, forward-looking, and highly inspirational economic development agenda for the city.

Riverside's previous economic initiatives emphasized infrastructure as a means to economic growth, with less focus on quality of life. This time, city leaders decided to emphasize quality over quantity, a major paradigm shift. Instead of solely measuring economic growth with quantitative metrics such as per capita income or number of jobs, measures such as poverty rates, life expectancy, environmental quality, and literacy rates were also used. Quantitative metrics do not always present a realistic picture of quality of life; for instance, a record number of jobs may be created, but if they all pay minimum wage, the overall quality of life in the community doesn't improve. Similarly, if Bill Gates or Warren Buffet moves to town, the average income certainly increases, but that doesn't translate into a better life for most residents.

An analysis of quality of life indicators revealed the existence of a number of challenges in areas such as health and education. A CEDA/

WAP subcommittee determined that the key to promoting the city's agenda lay in the answers to two questions: What do we want the city to be and how do we want to change the city? In response, the committee developed a list of 10 far-reaching, aspirational statements to guide the strategic vision process and serve as a touchstone for change. Less than a month later, in May 2009, the Riverside City Council approved *A Vision for Riverside*, which included the following 10 bold—some even said audacious—statements that would guide the city's economic development plan:

1. **A city of dynamism** at the hub of the global economy where business is promoted and recognized as a powerful engine for both economic growth and for its contributions to the quality of life.
2. **A city of the future** with deep historical roots that it celebrates and cherishes as a foundation for growth and future development.
3. **A city of international reach** that celebrates, promotes, and seeks advantage in the diversity of its people.
4. **A city of inspiration** that is the center of a vibrant arts and cultural community that contributes to the quality of life of its own residents and attracts visitors from the region and the world.
5. **A city of ideas** that is a center of world-class education, drawing on its history, culture and location as a living laboratory for the development of minds, for fostering innovation, and for improving the quality of life.
6. **A city of innovation** that encourages and promotes the development of new technologies and the industries and individual businesses that create and commercialize these technologies.
7. **A city of health** that is home to leading institutions and industries that promote the health and welfare of its own residents and contributes to the well-being of all residents around the globe.
8. **A city of the earth** that is committed to a clean and sustainable environment and creating solutions to global problems.
9. **A city of freedom** to enjoy life in peace and safety.
10. **A city of community** that includes a vibrant urban city center, exciting neighborhoods and a commitment to the responsible use and development of the extraordinary outdoor resources that surround us (City of Riverside, 2009a,b,c, p. 46).

Guided by Ronald O. Loveridge, Riverside's mayor at the time, the city council stipulated that development of an economic development plan based on these aspirations must include a significant amount of community input. A steering committee that included 12 community leaders from the private and public sectors was formed, and the city embarked on a social marketing experiment.

Gathering the Data

Over the next 6 months, the private sector–led steering committee shepherded a process of data gathering and synthesis to answer "What does Riverside want to be?" The committee used an asset-based community development approach that focused on finding the existing assets of the city and improving quality of life from this base. Acknowledging Riverside's pioneering and prosperous beginnings, the committee reclaimed a history of being ahead of its time and ahead of the curve. One community leader described the new efforts as a way to "seize our destiny"—an inspiring phrase that was later adopted as the plan's title.

From surveys to focus groups, vision labs to public forums, the committee invested 315 hours of its members' expertise into overseeing the process of engaging more than 460 Riverside community members (City of Riverside, 2009c). The steering committee sponsored 10 focus groups—all designed to get Riverside residents and workers talking about their community—that uncovered both assets and challenges to fulfill the 10 aspirational statements. Twenty-six community leaders attended a half-day visioning lab to elevate visionary ideas and draft provocative propositions that described a Riverside where the aspirational statements had come to life. A brief online community survey yielded 335 responses, and steering committee members spent hours in dialogue with a diverse cross-section of the community, from residents of assisted living facilities to chambers of commerce members, and from college students to representatives of faith-based organizations.

All of these data gathering activities were driven by four guiding questions that draw on the facilitation approach of Appreciative Inquiry to intentionally bring forward the best of Riverside:

1. What makes you proud of your city?
2. What are the current strengths that make Riverside an attractive place to live, work, visit or locate a business?
3. What aspects of Riverside unify the city?
4. What would propel Riverside to become a world-class city?

Defining the Destination

In contrast to Riverside's previous development goals, quality of life—as opposed to infrastructure or improvement projects—took center stage. Specifically, the steering committee's recommended plan stated:

> Using modern economic development in this Agenda, we believe that by increasing the community's quality of life we will fuel intelligent growth, encourage innovation, position Riverside as the location of choice for diverse and dynamic people, and attract desirable businesses and jobs to the region. This is the way we will seize our destiny. (City of Riverside, 2009c)

To organize the recommendations of the plan, the steering committee adopted a travel metaphor. The Seizing Our Destiny agenda was a journey, and journeys require maps. In this case, the map contained a description of the current landscape as well as the elements and resources already in place that would help ensure future success. The destination described where, what, and how the city wanted to be in the future, whether 10, 15, or 20 years down the road.

Rooted in the social marketing idea of influencing attitudes, the destination was defined in terms of what people would believe about Riverside in the future. Specifically, the destination represented a Riverside that would be perceived as expressing four aspects of a unified vision:

1. An Outstanding Quality of Life;
2. A Catalyst for Innovation;
3. A Location of Choice; and
4. A Unified City for the Common Good (City of Riverside 2009c, p. 5).

The first aspect specified that people would believe that Riverside promotes an outstanding quality of life for all through intelligent growth. This characteristic exemplifies the intersection of economic development and social marketing, as it focuses on economic expansion that doesn't occur at the expense of quality of life but rather enhances it. In a social marketing context, this statement defines the product—present and future—that was to be the focus of development efforts. In fact, this part of the destination describes a Riverside that both embraces and directs economic growth so that policies serve to maintain and improve the quality of life. The steering committee defined intelligent growth as "growth that matters," a phrase that included expanding the economy, raising the standard of living, and managing a growing population.

Intelligent growth required the city to use structures and land in ways that contribute to the community by supporting businesses, providing excellent jobs, and engaging in stewardship of Riverside's natural beauty and historic sites. In addition, the city must reduce land, building, and development costs; lower the cost of municipally owned utilities; and leverage its regional competitive advantages, including the amount of space

available for adaptive reuse. Finally, the city must maximize its position as a gateway to the United States and the world by further developing trade and transportation networks (City of Riverside, 2009c, p. 13).

The second aspect of the vision or destination stated that people would believe that Riverside catalyzes profound discoveries and creativity in the arts, technology, research, and business innovation. This outlines a future in which collaboration by Riverside's community leaders results in innovative, multidisciplinary approaches that transcend traditional boundaries. In line with the community involvement focus, this characteristic posited that both Riverside's residents and its educational institutions would support and cultivate research, products, scholars, businesspeople, artists, and useful or beneficial ideas, leading to a community permeated by creativity and innovation. This, in turn, will make Riverside a trendsetter in the region, in the state of California, and, over time, in the rest of the world. This characteristic also builds on Riverside's existing resources, from its colleges and universities to its high-tech industries and its extensive legal infrastructure as home to federal, state, and local courts.

The third aspect positioned Riverside as a location of choice that attracts diverse, creative, dynamic, and entrepreneurial individuals as residents, business owners, workers, students and visitors. Transforming Riverside into a location of choice meant both revitalizing Riverside's once-thriving tourism industry and enticing new residents by emphasizing the city's many attractions, facilities, and resources, from year-round outdoor living and an abundance of recreational opportunities to diverse cultural offerings and a range of educational options.

Riverside's central location—between Los Angeles, Orange County, San Diego, and Palm Springs—means that residents live within an hour's drive of beaches, mountains, world-class shopping, and big-city arts and culture. Becoming a location of choice also meant decreasing the "brain drain" to coastal cities by generating more high-skilled employment opportunities, as well as more jobs for less-skilled workers.

The fourth aspect of the destination emphasized the unification of Riverside's diverse community in order to accelerate the common good. Over the years, the region's historically diverse demographics have led to people from many backgrounds, cultures, and interests living and working together, a track record that bodes well for unification. In fact, in the 1960s the Riverside school district was one of the first of its size in California to voluntarily desegregate without government intervention. The unification characteristic also focused on the need to bring people together around common interests and concerns while proactively engaging citizens across historical dividing lines. Neighborhoods, communities

and individuals are to be valued for their rich heritage, distinct needs and cultural diversity.

These four aspects of Riverside's vision—or destination—represented a clearly articulated statement of the ideals the steering committee and its many collaborators wished to enact through community acceptance and engagement. In marketing terminology, this was the product concept to be developed and carried out. The vision itself was applauded (including a regional Urban Land Institute Best of the Best Award for Vision), but enacting the aspirations and making the product real required the aforementioned map.

Routes to the Destination

The map identified 11 strategic routes, each of which represented a possible path to reach the desired destination. All were based on the underlying goal of improving the overall quality of life while pursuing smart economic growth, and each provided an opportunity for greater community participation. These strategic routes were:

- Route 1: Strong, Innovative Economy That Builds Community;
- Route 2: A Well-Developed, Highly Sought-After Workforce;
- Route 3: Lifelong Learning for All;
- Route 4: Home of Next-Century Healthcare;
- Route 5: Becoming a Green Machine;
- Route 6: Around the City, Around the Year, Around the Clock;
- Route 7: Transforming Spaces into Places;
- Route 8: Big City Recreation with a Hometown Feel;
- Route 9: Creativity Central;
- Route 10: Collaborating to Build Community; and
- Route 11: Telling Our Story (City of Riverside, 2009c).

Influenced by the intention of social marketing to change behaviors and generate positive social outcomes, the steering committee illustrated each of these 11 strategies—or strategic routes—with specific potential projects, policies and programs. Each exemplary initiative reflected the most promising and prevalent ideas suggested by community participants during the data gathering process. To be included, each strategic initiative had to meet the following set of criteria to propel Riverside forward toward its chosen destination:

- Capitalize on existing assets that can be combined to create something uniquely Riverside, reflecting the asset-based approach of the long-term planning;

- Result in impact with a potentially significant magnitude or scope, as opposed to a multitude of small projects;
- Integrate economic development and community development efforts, fostering synergistic collaboration between two forces that had historically remained separate;
- Serve as a potential model for other cities;
- Foster collaboration across diverse entities with complementary strengths;
- Allow Riverside to distinguish itself from other cities vying for similar reputation, investment, or resources;
- Support and enhance other strategic routes reinforcing the focus toward achieving the shared vision;
- Build a unique marketable brand that supports Riverside's "City of Arts and Innovation" moniker (City of Riverside, 2009c, p. 15).

Each of the exemplary strategic initiatives highlighted here has been accomplished since implementation began in January 2010. Strategic route 1—creating a "Strong, Innovative Economy That Builds Community" (City of Riverside, 2009c, pp. 18–19) —articulates the integrated goals of economic and community development. Exemplary initiative 1.1, "Riverside will actively recruit companies within five desirable industries" (p. 18), brought together the chambers of commerce, the city, and community leaders in collaboration to identify the five most desirable industries to retain and attract to Riverside. All were chosen for their potential to attract clean, green businesses; create high-paying jobs; attract knowledgeable workers; meet market demand; and take advantage of Riverside's existing infrastructure. These criteria rallied influencers around a shared agenda of smart growth, leaving "cheap dirt" in the dust. The initiative also emphasized the need for coordinated and focused efforts, with city economic development staff participating in and networking with local trade organizations and including both academic representatives and business executives in meetings with targeted companies.

Initiative 1.2 stated that "Riverside will incubate, support and help entrepreneurs grow their businesses" (p. 18). This initiative took advantage of existing infrastructure and recommended expanding and improving the facilities at the existing University Research Park to make the space more functional and more attractive to entrepreneurs. This initiative also suggested taking advantage of recommendations previously developed by the private-sector Riverside Technology CEO Forum, which included developing support for entrepreneurs and an incubator program.

The third initiative for this strategic route focused on the economy, to "create sustainable funding mechanisms and attract investment to support business innovation" (City of Riverside, 2009c, p. 16), is

another example of emphasizing collaboration between the public and private sectors. Thus, to produce maximum impact, the initiative suggested pooling public and private funds through the creation of enterprise or venture capital funds or through the development of an Innovation Economy Center that would centralize services for new businesses and entrepreneurs in one location. Other initiatives suggested enhancing both public and private stakeholders' relationships with March Air Reserve Base to leverage its cutting-edge high-tech and health programs, its white-collar job creation, and its status as a magnet for well-educated people.

Strategic route 2—a "Well-Developed, Highly Sought-After Workforce" (City of Riverside, 2009c, pp. 20–21)—emphasized the development of diverse, highly trained employees who embrace the entrepreneurial spirit and take full advantage of the skill-building opportunities necessary to compete in the five industries identified in the first strategic route. Route 2's four exemplary initiatives all involved leveraging existing educational, training, vocational, and professional programs, whether offered by the city's schools, universities, community college, nonprofits, businesses, or government. For example, initiative 2.1 focused on utilizing these resources to prepare residents for the workforce and to prepare all levels of employees for careers. Specific suggestions included enhancing collaboration between educational and training institutions, developing public-private partnerships, identifying the workforce skills needed for the five most desirable industries, and taking inventory of both the number and types of degrees being earned, as well as the gaps in skills and degrees that need to be filled. Initiative 2.2 asserted the value of enhancing and supporting undergraduate and graduate professional degree programs at local universities though the creation of private sector internships and mentoring and shadowing programs, as well as the expansion of continuing education programs to help managers grow into industry leaders.

Strategic route 3—"Lifelong Learning for All" (City of Riverside, 2009c, pp. 22–23)—emphasized that Riverside would value and prioritize education by supporting an inclusive, comprehensive educational culture that ensures a passion for learning, job prosperity, and an increased quality of life for all. Exemplary initiative 3.1 focused on providing opportunities to learn at all ages by utilizing a full spectrum of educational resources such as traditional degree programs, online education, university extensions, city-sponsored programs at community centers and parks, for-profit academic programs, and programs for seniors. Significantly, the initiative specified that learning opportunities should not only support career enhancement but also enhance personal growth and development. Another

initiative involved expanding the reach of the SmartRiverside program, an existing digital inclusion program that provides wireless access, refurbished hardware, and computer training to low-income residents.

Two initiatives focused on collaboration to merge the achievement gap. To support students' transitions from secondary and postsecondary education into employment, exemplary initiative 3.3 proposed linking and coordinating resources offered by schools, employers, government, and the community that facilitate student success. Exemplary initiative 3.4 suggested increased collaboration between Riverside's two public school districts—which together serve more than 60,000 students speaking more than 50 languages—to improve achievement at all grade levels and increase the number of students who continue on to college.

Strategic route 4 positioned Riverside as a "Home of Next-Century Healthcare" (City of Riverside, 2009c, p. 24), with an emphasis on research as well as device and pharmaceutical development and manufacturing. The strategy posited that the city would be home to diverse and highly skilled medical professionals, a combination that attracts patients, retirees, students, and workers committed to wellness. The three proposed exemplary initiatives all centered on collaboration with the UCR Medical School, which opened its doors in 2013 after tremendous cross-sector advocacy. The plan underscored the medical school as a linchpin in the long-term strategies for both economic development and quality of life for the city and region. Initiative suggestions included forming a task force to most effectively leverage the many benefits of a local medical school community-wide and to integrate other local educational and research institutions and projects with universities and colleges, creating allied health care programs and cohesive health care education and practice.

Strategic route 5—"Becoming a Green Machine" (City of Riverside, 2009c, p. 25)—positioned Riverside as both a magnet and a model for sustainable business, environmental innovation, and green living through a synergistic partnership of industry, city leadership, and residents. This route's four exemplary initiatives included coordinating private and public sector efforts to fully implement the existing Green Riverside Action Plan, a set of goals and actionable steps to conserve energy and water, reduce greenhouse gas emissions, reduce waste, promote environmentally friendly design and products, protect and extend open spaces, improve transportation systems, and ensure healthy communities.

Initiative 5.2 suggested the creation of a "Green Business District" (p. 25) with a focus on attracting companies and entrepreneurs in the five desired industries listed previously. Similarly, initiative 5.4 focused on leveraging Riverside's reputation as a green leader—the city advised Beijing,

China, on smog reduction techniques for the 2008 Olympic Games and was designated California's first Emerald City in 2009—to develop and implement an awareness campaign and action plan to recruit international green business.

Strategic route 6—"Around the City, Around the Year, Around the Clock" (City of Riverside, 2009c, pp. 26–27)—emphasized providing a mix of venues that would attract people of diverse lifestyles, interests, and age groups. The five exemplary initiatives for this route included establishing walkable destinations throughout the city—all of which would include venues for shopping, dining, socializing, and entertaining—to highlight Riverside's distinctive districts while leveraging existing locations. Another initiative focused on creating an array of fun, edgy, and safe venues for music, theater, dance, and art, tailored to younger residents. The strategy aimed to enhance the cultural scene and also to leverage the buying power of Riverside's more than 50,000 college students and make the city more attractive as a long-term residence.

Two initiatives capitalized on previous investments in the historic Fox Theater (a performing arts space) and the city's convention center. By modernizing and expanding the convention center and creating an action plan for a thriving arts and culture district centered on the Fox Theater, both venues would attract more events, activities, and guests to ensure that Riverside's downtown area would thrive. Riverside has long drawn visitors from around the region to attend its many festivals; initiative 6.4 suggested holding one signature festival per season, each highlighting the city's geography, history, or human and social capital—such as universities, cultural monuments, ethnic communities, or architecture—and appealing to all age groups.

Strategic route 7—"Transforming Spaces into Places" (City of Riverside, 2009c, p. 28)—sought to define Riverside as a city that has respectfully developed its historical heritage and spaces into inviting places, making it a highly desirable place to live, work, and play. Exemplary initiative 7.1—creatively showcasing Riverside to residents and visitors—suggested creating self-guided walking tours, physical markers, and online and printed marketing materials that highlight the city's rich history and architectural legacy. The second initiative emphasized using public policy to encourage development that both creatively reuses and respectfully adds value to the city's historic core. The third initiative focused on collaboration with other cities to co-market Riverside's recreational, cultural, and historical attractions.

Strategic route 8—"Big City Recreation with a Hometown Feel" (City of Riverside, 2009c, pp. 30–31)—capitalized on Riverside's year-round temperate climate, miles of connected trails, and many parks and recreational

centers. Exemplary initiatives featured many of the local outdoor assets: community and recreational spaces along the Santa Ana River; 200,000-tree urban forest; 54 parks; and miles of trails. One initiative positioned Riverside as a home and training ground for world-class athletes by providing state-of-the-art training facilities and athletic centers that can attract high-level amateur and professional sports teams to the city. One manifestation of this initiative is the Riverside Aquatics Complex that has become a swimming and diving destination for training, competition, and even filming.

Strategic route 9—"Creativity Central" (City of Riverside, 2009c, pp. 32–33)—focused on ways to develop an oasis of cultural opportunity that both promotes and values its artists, galleries, and performance venues. Initiatives suggested the development of more performance and exhibition venues; the creation of free or lower-cost venues to enhance public participation; emphasizing the city's existing historical structures through an architecture-as-art approach, and making public transportation an easier option for participating in the arts, which also promotes environmental stewardship.

The final two strategies supported the aspirations of the other 9 strategic routes. Strategic route 10—"Collaborating to Build Community" (City of Riverside, 2009c, pp. 34–35)—fully embodied the "Unified City for the Common Good" aspect of the vision. This route emphasized connections among government, academic institutions, for-profit businesses, nonprofit and community-based organizations, faith congregations, philanthropy, and civic and community leaders, both in Riverside and in the Inland Empire region. This route's five exemplary initiatives ranged from building relationships among the area's 250 faith-based organizations to strengthening philanthropic giving with a focus on local issues. Exemplary initiative 10.1 sought to provide opportunities for Riversiders to develop a shared and measurable understanding of "the common good" and then create the mechanisms and partnerships necessary to work toward it. Other initiatives promoted more diversity—socioeconomic, age, geographic and ethnic—in civic leadership and suggested convening leaders from the educational, business, and civic sectors to develop methods to spur achievement and improve access to high-paying employment.

Finally, strategic route 11—"Telling Our Story" (City of Riverside, 2009c, pp. 36–37) — stressed promoting Riverside in local, regional, and national media as a city known for its innovative businesses, dynamic people, and exciting events so as to attract more visitors and potential residents. The recommendations were for a multi-pronged effort to support the overarching social marketing goal of shifting behaviors and attitudes.

During the data gathering process, the sense of pride in the city and community of Riverside was consistently and passionately expressed by both new and lifelong residents. However, this pride was coupled with disappointment that Riverside's reputation—tainted by the housing crisis and other issues—did not reflect the unique spirit and award-winning strengths that they treasured. Exemplary initiative 11.1 recommended creating a destination marketing and promotional campaign full of key messages to be used by local government, businesses, educational institutions, and citizens to tell the Riverside story. The second initiative focused on sending a positive physical message about Riverside through welcoming billboards, neighborhood signage and markers, and attractive entrances to the city. Other initiatives capitalized on existing local print, broadcast, and online media to present information on upcoming events, attractions, and Riverside news; another proposal involved developing a media access center using local leaders as spokespeople for the Inland Empire region.

Together, the strategic routes and their exemplary initiatives formed an aspirational image of the city Riverside wanted to become. The map, destination, and routes were compiled into a glossy brochure that served as both a strategic plan and a marketing document.

Steps Toward Destiny

Once the Riverside City Council approved the vision and strategies at the end of 2009, the task at hand shifted to making progress toward the destination. While the steering committee's initial aim was to create a shared vision for the community that would guide the direction of change, innovative ideas needed to be turned into implementation results. As one Riversider wrote in response to the original community survey: "Don't put this plan on a shelf. Make it a LIVING DOCUMENT. HEAVILY involve the private sector for success." Therefore, the next imperative was to create a sense of collective contribution to and ownership of change within the community at large. The project that had started as an agenda for Riverside's economic development morphed into a community-driven campaign to build upon the city's existing strengths and emphasize collaboration.

Committee members faced the daunting task of ensuring that the implementation process was evergreen, with the ability to incorporate new routes, initiatives, and ideas for change in the future. Using a fourfold framework of "Accelerate Momentum," "Reach Farther," "Choose Wisely," and "Involve Everyone" (City of Riverside 2009c, p. 39–40), the committee set out to:

- ensure forward movement on the sweeping positive changes envisioned for the city;
- promote a sense of ownership within the larger community;
- facilitate cooperation between community volunteers and city staff members;
- build-in accountability; and
- provide for measurement of change, both in activities and in outcomes.

To launch implementation, the Offices of the Mayor and City Manager took the lead in augmenting the steering committee and reorganizing it around the strategic routes. Two or three route champions—volunteer community members who had a passion for or expertise in certain routes or initiatives—were recruited to take the lead implementing each strategic route. For instance, several who had a deep interest and expertise in environmental issues and felt strongly about being an exemplary sustainable community served as route champions for strategic route 5, "Becoming a Green Machine."

To ensure implementation was organic yet professionally managed, each strategic route team was assigned a senior staff person from the city to serve as a liaison. The route teams were empowered to act in what they believed were the best interests of their particular route; if they developed what they thought was a more effective action plan, they were encouraged to make it a high priority. In this way, exemplary initiatives were presented and perceived as examples or suggestions rather than as a checklist of actions to complete. To complete each public-private route team, elected city council members served as advisers to at least one strategic team. The steering committee met regularly, providing opportunities for champions to learn from other route teams, celebrate successes, and make suggestions to refine and revamp initiatives.

To support communication and coordination, city staff developed a Seizing Our Destiny website so that the route teams could share their priorities and progress. Staff also started a blog to record successes in implementation and other Riverside victories called "weekly wins." The Seizing Our Destiny theme was used at several city events. Soon, the phrase entered the city's collective vocabulary and became a code name for a dramatic process of change and a collaborative way to achieve economic development.

Over time, the teams moved from exemplary initiatives to actions and then milestones. From the founding of an annual summer jazz festival to the establishment of financial literacy classes in public schools, from hosting a green jobs summit to refurbishing the historic Fox Theater, many city and community projects supported and promoted the agenda. Seizing Our Destiny's steps and successes were shared with the public through a digital

marketing campaign and other venues, such as the Mayor's State of the City address and neighborhood conferences.

People were taking notice of the changes, both in and outside of Riverside. Seizing Our Destiny accelerated a turning tide. From 2009 to 2011 the city received a spate of honors and awards, including a multi-year, multi-million-dollar Communities Learning in Partnership grant from the Gates Foundation. The city's Arts and Cultural Affairs Division and Riverside Metropolitan Museum were chosen by the Smithsonian to develop a formal affiliation, and the city received the Playful City USA award for making innovative play for children a community priority. Riverside was also honored on several "best of" lists, including:

- "America's Best 100 Communities for Young People," America's Promise Alliance;
- "Most Intelligent Tech Cities in the World" for technology infrastructure, Smart21 Communities Awards;
- "Top 13 Livable Communities," Partners for Livable Communities;
- "Top Ten Digital Cities," Digital Cities Survey;
- Ninth on *Forbes'* list of hot spots for technology jobs;
- First for sustainability on *Newsweek's* list of the 200 largest U.S. cities; and
- Third place on *Newsweek's* "Top Can-Do Cities in the U.S."

By 2011—less than 2 years after Riverside officially adopted its agenda—a number of initiatives had already been accomplished. The city was tracking 40 initiatives, along with more than 150 other related activities. Unemployment was down, student test scores were up, and the dropout rate was falling. Change was underway, and many positive outcomes were already visible. It was time to determine if Seizing Our Destiny's aspirational marketing and on-the-ground activities were actually moving the quality of life needle in an upward direction.

Measuring Success

In Fall 2011 the steering committee focused on answering a key question: Were the Seizing Our Destiny activities and initiatives actually improving Riversiders' quality of life? In keeping with the social marketing approach of influencing both behaviors and attitudes, the Riverside Quality of Life Index's (RLQI) methodology incorporated both facts—quantitative economic and demographic indicators—and feelings, as measured by a qualitative survey of 1,450 residents, business owners, and employees (City of Riverside, 2012).

The RQLI aimed to measure progress toward an improved quality of life by providing:

- an overall quality of life score for Riverside based on a total of 474 indicators, 331 of which were objective and 143 subjective;
- a score for each of the four aspects of Riverside's self-described destination—its shared vision for the future of the community: intelligent growth, catalyst for innovation, location of choice, and unified city; and
- scores for four data segments within each of these, for a total of 16.

The RQLI's objectives included:

- strengthening and advancing the public-private partnership that characterized Seizing Our Destiny;
- measuring Riverside residents' and workers' subjective perceptions about the city;
- serving as a community indicators report to be revisited at least annually; and
- monitoring the impact of Seizing Our Destiny and progress toward the community's strategic vision.

While the RQLI was robust and tailored to the homegrown vision, the tool proved to be too complex to meet the steering committee's desire to track the score over time. In 2013 Riverside leaders turned to the STAR (Sustainability Tools for Assessing and Rating) Community Rating System as the main source of metrics that could be monitored locally and benchmarked internationally. They also established a valid random sample baseline for perceptions (through the second Riverside Community Quality of Life Survey). Still, the first quality of life index was a step in the right direction to measure progress toward Riverside's chosen destination, highlight areas of strength and need, and sensitize the community to the breadth and depth of Seizing Our Destiny.

Evaluating the Destination

The 2011 RQLI results revealed a number of insights to the Seizing Our Destiny steering committee by measuring a multitude of demographic, economic, and psychometric factors. The RQLI was based on the Thousand Point Strength Index, a proprietary market measurement tool created by Competitive Analytics. Scores ranged from 0 to 1,000; a score of 500 represented mathematical stabilized equilibrium. Scores above 500 represented relative strength, while scores below 500 represented relative weakness. Overall, Riverside's composite quality of life score was 561.9,

which can be appreciated as a very positive score when viewed like a batting average on a thousand-point scale. This figure represents the average of scores for the four identified aspects of the destination: intelligent growth (538.6), catalyst for innovation (648.7), location of choice (554.4), and unified city (505.7).

Each of these subscores reflects clusters of relevant data. For instance, data clusters for the intelligent growth aspect of the outstanding quality of life characteristic included economics data, such as unemployment rate, office lease rate, and average wage per job; demographic data, such as number of residents below the poverty line, education levels, and total housing units; sustainability data, such as air and water quality and number of polluting facilities; and transportation data, including average commute time, ease of travel, frequency of carpooling, and use of transit options such as buses and trains. To produce these scores, city staff and consultants gathered quantitative data from hundreds of data sets and sources, ranging from the Federal Bureau of Economic Analysis and the Bureau of Labor Statistics to the State of California Air Resources Board and the Departments of Education and Employment Development. Other data sources included trade associations such as the California Association of Realtors and the National Association of Home Builders; nonprofit organizations such as Healthy City, kidsdata.org, League of California Cities, and the Milken Institute; and private sources.

The destination scores seemed to reflect both the efforts of the Seizing Our Destiny agenda and many of Riverside's already existing strengths. Not surprisingly, the highest score of 648.7—for the catalyst for innovation destination characteristic—reflected Riverside's many high-tech and biotech firms as well as the city's three research-based universities. However, these obvious advantages were only a few of the data clusters used to measure the characteristic.

Many other factors contributed to the high score, such as RQLS respondents' scores for wireless connectivity (831.2) and reliance on access to computers (876.8). These exceptionally high rates of Internet connectivity boost student achievement and life/work mobility, all of which have been affected by the city's investment in SmartRiverside. This initiative provides free Wi-Fi to all city residents as well as computer hardware and training for low-income residents. In fact, Akamai Technologies' *2011 State of the Internet* report ranked Riverside as the best-connected city in the United States—and 39th in the world—based on connection speeds (Akamai Technologies, 2011).

Data sets analyzed for the catalyst for innovation score also included student achievement—measured by Academic Performance Index scores

and graduation rates—as well as the number of credentialed teachers in the city's two school districts, SAT scores, and average parental education level. All of these measures showed improvement over time. On the qualitative side, the RQLS suggested that residents have a high opinion of the city's universities and community college, as indicated by a score of 807.1.

The intelligent growth score of 538.6 reflected progress with room for growth. This score was averaged from four data segments: economics (with a score of 417.0), people (471.1), sustainability (736.2), and transportation (530.3). The economics score included data such as the unemployment rate, average wage per job, and office lease rates. Although the economics score of 417.0 fell on the negative side of stabilized equilibrium, it still indicated that the economy was trending upward, a positive sign in the midst of a recession in a region profoundly affected by the housing bubble's burst.

The next lowest score was in the people data segment. It included data such as total housing units, number of people below the poverty line, and number of people with a college degree. Although the results indicated a clear trend toward lower home prices, reflecting overall negative economic conditions, housing in Riverside had grown more affordable. At the height of the housing boom, the combined principal and interest on a median-priced home was 52.4 percent; in 2011, that number had fallen to 18.8 percent. A more affordable housing market is a key to maintaining the standard of living for Riversiders; more affordable housing prices also accommodate first-time home buyers, an attractive characteristic for companies and younger professionals seeking to relocate to Riverside.

The transportation segment contained data such as average commute time, ease of travel, and use of buses, trains, and carpools. The positive score of 530.3 reflects Riverside's previous investment in the Riverside Renaissance initiative, a $1.5 billion project that decreased congestion, improved traffic flow, upgraded streets and sidewalks, created pathways, and widened streets. Despite objective data showing that city residents experience shorter commute times and less congestion than previously, survey responses highlighted traffic as a significant detractor from the perceived quality of life.

The segment with the highest subscore for the intelligent growth characteristic was, unsurprisingly, sustainability. Objective data such as air and water quality, solar output, and number of polluting factories reflected substantial improvement over the past decade. However, as with the disconnect between actual traffic and perceived amounts of traffic, survey results indicated that many Riverside workers choose not to live in the city because of perceived poor air quality.

The location of choice destination characteristic scored 554.4, the average of the scores for its four data segments: public health (575.5), culture (540.7), recreation (691.9), and neighborhood (409.2). At the low end, the neighborhood data segment, which included data sets such as foreclosures and homeless populations, reflected both room for improvement and positive indicators. The RQLS results suggested that Riversiders valued the diversity of the city's 26 distinct neighborhoods. In addition, 374 neighborhood watch groups and improvements in policing have led to a historically low crime rate. Despite these statistics, many RQLS respondents noted that they felt Riverside was unsafe because of crime and gang activity.

With a score of 540.7, the culture data segment reflected positively on the City's diverse arts, dining, shopping, and entertainment offerings. Although younger RQLS respondents tended to indicate that they felt there was "nothing to do" (City of Riverside 2012, p. 26) in Riverside, the city actually issued 108 special event permits in 2011 alone, a 20 percent increase over the previous year. Overall, though, Riverside's cultural venues commanded high scores on the RQLS.

The public health data segment scored 575.5 and included objective data such as fitness test results and percentage of adults with diabetes. Again, the perception of air quality was an issue, with this particular indicator scoring a low 354.9. Other health indicators scored higher, such as doctors and medical facilities (700.8), preventative health education (595.1), and fitness programs and facilities (678.5). Another quantitative indicator, health insurance coverage, declined steeply during the recession; however, during the same period, children's fitness test results improved.

The highest scoring data segment, recreation (691.1), was measured using objective data such as sports participation and park attendance. The RQLS results indicated that Riversiders held positive opinions of the city's recreation facilities, parks, and athletic fields. Other indicators included increased participation in sports leagues across age groups. Adding external validation, the American Planning Association named Riverside's Fairmount Park one of the "Top 10 Great Public Spaces for 2011."

The lowest scoring of the four destination characteristics was unified city. The score of 505.7 represented the average scores of giving (336.2), engagement (435.6), diversity (586.7), and pride (664.2). The giving data segment scored the lowest of any in the RQLI and was based on information that included the number and assets of nonprofit organizations, volunteer hours per month, and annual charitable giving. RQLS results revealed that 90 percent of Riverside's charitable organizations had annual

budgets of $25,000 or less. The RQLS also indicated that Riversiders were donating more money to causes and organizations outside the city than within the city. These two factors, combined with a lack of collaboration between organizations, led the steering committee to conclude that the city's nonprofit sector was disjointed and therefore less effective than it should be.

The engagement data segment included factors such as voter turnout and the number of fans on the Riverside Facebook page. Although some indicators, such as voting in elections, earned high scores, participation in community meetings and projects was relatively low. In fact, the RQLS revealed that people were devoting more time to activities outside the city than ones inside the city. The steering committee postulated that the large number of residents who worked outside the city contributed to this lack of engagement.

The diversity data segment score, 586.7, was higher than the score for engagement. The data contributing to this score included a range of demographics. The RQLS results indicated that Riversiders think of themselves as inclusive; RQLS respondents scored 778.5 when asked to rate their level of comfort with people of different political views and 824.4 for comfort with those holding different religious beliefs. Further, the question "Riverside is a good place for . . ." garnered a range of positive responses for "families with children," "minorities," "creative people," "college graduates," "adults without children," "gays and lesbians," and "senior citizens" (City of Riverside 2012, p. 56).

The highest scoring data segment, pride, was the only segment based on purely qualitative information from the RQLS. Of those surveyed, 84 percent indicated that they were proud to live and/or work in Riverside, and 77.8 percent said that they would recommend the city to others.

As intended, the RQLI revealed Riverside's strengths: its vibrant neighborhoods, diverse population, thriving arts scene, commitment to sustainability, and rich educational opportunities. The RQLI also highlighted the challenges facing the city: the devastating impact of the recession on businesses, families, and schools; the need to attract recession-proof industries; and a lack of opportunity that drains talent away from the city.

The RQLI also underscored the interconnected nature of the problems facing the city. Many of Riverside's challenges, such as lack of employment, produce ripple effects that resonate throughout the community. When residents have to leave the city to work each day, they have less time to spend working with their children to ensure school success, to attend neighborhood meetings, to volunteer, and to truly engage with their community. Commuting to locations outside of Riverside draws residents' attention—and their

shopping, recreation, entertainment, and philanthropic dollars—elsewhere. The Seizing Our Destiny steering committee realized the importance of making the connections that tie these issues together—a system of value chain analyses that could help the committee develop solutions and create strategies for the future. Ultimately, they focused in on the highest scoring segments of the vision—to continue to tout strengths such as sustainability—and the lowest scoring—which led to new activities such as Give Big Riverside, a 24-hour online giving day to cultivate more donors and donations for nonprofits serving Riverside and to build the capacity of local nonprofits for fund development.

As Seizing Our Destiny moved into 2012, city elections, staff changes, and lessons learned led to shifts in the map and new initiatives; however, the underlying commitment to coordinated action and leveraging existing resources remained strong. The agenda had taken on a life of its own, independent of those who first drafted it. Significantly, when candidates running for city office spoke in public venues, audience members consistently asked what the candidates thought about Seizing Our Destiny.

Seizing Our Destiny 2.0

As the steering committee adjusted to the changes that were taking place, some began referring to the next phase of the campaign as "Seizing Our Destiny 2.0." In line with the consistent focus on cross-sector collaboration that had defined the agenda from its start, the committee started to evaluate itself in terms of the success factors of a collective impact approach. Collective impact refers to the broad coordination across sectors that is required for large-scale change (Kania & Kramer, 2011; Hanleybrown, Kania, & Kramer, 2012). This type of strategic collaboration, in which government, businesses, nonprofit organizations, and the public tackle a multifaceted social issue, is defined by "a centralized infrastructure, a dedicated staff, and a structured process that leads to a common agenda, shared measurement, continuous communication, and mutually reinforcing activities among all participants" (Kania & Kramer, 2011, p. 38). In this case, the city staff and consultants served as the centralized infrastructure or supportive "backbone" that managed the collective effort.

To constitute Seizing Our Destiny 2.0 and incorporate collective impact best practices, the committee tasked itself with defining what it called the "five F's": focus, function, form, folks, and funding. The 2.0 planning process confirmed that "Seizing Our Destiny" continued to be a compelling

rallying cry and the four aspects of the original vision—the product in this social marketing effort—still had a high degree of resonance as the chosen destiny. The focus was to be steadfast advocates for the vision and do what only Riversiders could do for themselves. The function reaffirmed the social marketing mission to influence what Riversiders believe, say and do. In addition, three core functions were identified to enable the cultural shift: communicate (diligently tell Riverside's positive story, originally Route 11); connect (collaborate in innovative ways, originally Route 10); and measure (marking progress through the quality of life survey and index).

Following this refined function, the form made explicit the public-private partnership at the heart of Seizing Our Destiny through a new executive committee, called the Leadership Core, consisting of some of the most powerful and influential leaders in the city: the mayor; city manager; and one leader each representing business, education, and the community. A key to sustaining and better coordinating Seizing Our Destiny has been the visibility and commitment of these central leaders. The other major change to form was releasing the strategic routes as the organizing structure. Instead, all champions were invited to join a successor to the steering committee; the new Champions Council was charged with communicating, connecting, and measuring in support of the vision. In marketing terms, champions were asked to fully endorse the product (the vision), integrating it into places throughout the city (their spheres of influence), promoting Riverside and Riversiders (via the channels and personal selling that reach their tribe), and minimizing the perceived price (by emphasizing how many were already part of the movement as active champions for quality of life in Riverside).

An intentional effort was made—and continues to be made—to expand and diversify folks to better represent Riverside. There continue to be many unintended positive benefits of connecting leaders who might otherwise not know each other or might not be cognizant of their shared goals. As for funding, although alternatives were considered, to date the city continues to finance the backbone support through the City Manager's Office of Economic Development. As it reflected on the progress that had been made during Seizing Our Destiny 1.0, the steering committee concluded that the agenda's success was most evident in three areas: significant improvement in the city as revealed by objective data; an increased sense of civic pride and collaborative participation among Riversiders; and a shift in dialogue away from a narrow focus on economic growth and toward an improved quality of life through intelligent growth.

Celebrating Progress and Refocusing the Agenda

After almost a year of implementing 2.0, champions were challenged to be marketers for participation in the 2nd Riverside Community Quality of Life Survey. A phone survey conducted by the Institute for Applied Research and Policy Analysis (IAR) at California State University, San Bernardino, provided a statistically valid snapshot of Riversiders' perceptions of quality of life. The top headline was that Riversiders have tremendous pride in their community: over 90 percent strongly agreed or agreed that they are "proud to live in Riverside" and almost 85 percent "feel a sense of belonging to their community." Other strong positive feelings about Riverside were: it is a good place to raise a family and prosper; the full educational pipeline and opportunities for youth are also good; it is an active and healthy place with vibrant arts and culture offerings; and it is a welcoming and affordable place to live (making it a destination for young and first-time buyers and attractive for businesses to locate).

The Leadership Core seized upon the value of this data to set its priorities for 2013–2014. While they celebrated the positive results, they honed in on the perceptions that revealed needed improvement in quality of life, including:

- Most Riversiders feel safe walking in their neighborhoods or near workplaces, but perceptions of safety vary greatly by age and area of the city;
- Just over half of residents see Riverside as a good place to find a job;
- Only about half of residents feel satisfied with the progress made so far in addressing homelessness in the city;
- Riversiders believe the city is a good place to own or operate a business or nonprofit organization and that the workforce is properly trained and educated, but support available for entrepreneurs and employees is not widely known;
- Riversiders report generosity and volunteer commitment to local causes and faith-based institutions, but the need in the region has skyrocketed;
- Residents feel they have supportive neighbors, but connections among neighbors is not higher than a national average; and
- Negative perceptions about air and water quality persist despite dramatic improvements in air quality and a stellar track record of exceeding water quality standards.

Keys to Success

The lessons learned from Seizing Our Destiny's first 4 years bring to the surface some fundamental keys to successful social marketing in the service of economic development.

- Early wins were critical to momentum. For example, co-opting existing popular initiatives into the long-term vision created the perception that Seizing Our Destiny was immediately influencing action and making progress. It also signaled that a plan that had been created by private sector leaders was aligned with public sector policies and programs, while also stretching beyond them. In addition, attaching high profile leaders to the strategic route teams added a patina of importance to the new campaign.
- Throughout implementation, Riverside leaders have accepted that flexibility and fluidity are necessary. "Collective impact success favors those who embrace the uncertainty of the journey, even as they remain clear eyed about their destination" (Kania and Kramer, 2011, p. 7). City leaders and other champions have been willing to be reflective about what is working and not, to learn from other public-private partnerships, and to allow the process of collective effort to become the solution (Kania and Kramer, 2011, p. 6). Achieving a common agenda outside of the typical scope of economic development took far more communication, coordination, and backbone support than the traditional approach of city government. While the methods to develop the vision reflected an intuitive knowledge that the community would be essential partners to drive change, the initial planning was about ideas, not collaborative implementation. Over 4 years, the 5 essential conditions for effective collective impact have been progressively established. High quality shared measurement of both facts and feelings remains the most important element to engage city leaders in the value of the long-term vision and social marketing efforts. Choosing powerful and elegant measures for a comprehensive vision remains a work in progress.
- To affect positive social outcomes, the passions and preferences of people (the target audience) must be at the center of the marketing efforts. Both the value proposition and the value delivery system evolved over time as more Riversiders were more fully engaged. This lesson is illustrated over the 4 years as the original plan, entitled "Seizing Our Destiny: The Agenda for Riverside's Innovative Future," was dubbed "The Campaign for Riverside's Innovative Future" to stress the importance of promotion, and later was reframed as "The Movement for Riverside's Prosperous Future" to put Riversiders at the center of the effort. Although original steering committee members anticipated "the agenda" would be the shorthand for the vision, this impersonal reference had no appeal; it was the stirring main title "Seizing Our Destiny" that entered the vernacular immediately, but nothing short of a movement could affect such visionary change. While the original exemplary initiatives focused on policies, projects, and programs—which were critical to traditional economic development gains—the value delivery system for the movement to tell Riverside's story relied on 21st-century channels: after 3 years of implementation Seizing Our Destiny had produced almost 400 blog posts of Riverside successes and boasted more than 1,300 total blog subscribers, Facebook fans, and Twitter followers who were absorbing and sharing the story.

- Perhaps the most essential key to success has been collaboration, whether between the public and private sectors, between organizations, or between diverse interest groups within the community. Leaders at the nexus of these varied entities have had pivotal roles in sustaining and advancing the effort. A social movement with such a comprehensive vision to uplift quality of life cannot be successful without such collaboration.

To illustrate the keys to success of an inclusive and collaborative movement, consider for example Riverside's educational institutions. They played a significant role in the economic development process—once their leaders began communicating. Riverside's two public school districts are adjacent to one another and share important demographic and educational challenges, yet historically, district leaders didn't share their innovative, effective programs with each other. Similarly, the city's universities and colleges weren't regularly communicating with the K-through-12 school systems. Seizing Our Destiny was able to facilitate dialogue between these groups.

The school districts quickly discovered that they shared many commonalities, including a sense of being characterized as "failing" by various external forces. Through collaboration, educators were able to shift the dialogue, reframe the notion of "failure," and focus on relative success, especially given the specific environment in which they operated. In the Riverside public schools, 75 percent of students speak English as a second language. When the city's educational challenges were reframed within the context of local circumstances and local resources rather than by comparison to other municipalities, Riverside's education system began to seem much more successful.

Since early implementation, progress with the two strategic routes for workforce development and lifelong learning was catalyzed through the creation of an Education Roundtable. By connecting the chiefs of each of Riverside's major educational organizations at all levels, this unprecedented collaborative became a significant tool of social marketing in service of economic development. Not only are these educational institutions economic developers in terms of preparing the workforce and producing innovation, but they are also among the largest employers in Riverside.

Some Riverside leaders had a difficult time embracing the idea of collaborative economic development. Because the vision was designed to be customer-focused and inclusive from its inception, some constituencies felt threatened. The chambers of commerce were initially skeptical about the value of the plan and worried about duplication of effort. Some elected officials and city staff didn't necessarily want to be associated with certain

actions or initiatives that had the potential to be unpopular with constituents. However, the private sector partnership actually offered welcome cover in an "It's not our idea—the public is forcing us to do it!" sense. Similarly, once business leaders realized that the economic development plan wasn't attempting to replace them but rather wanted to include them through better coordination, communication, and unification, they were willing to get on board, as well.

Another key to collaborative success was the strategic recruitment of the right person in the right role. To be effective, the original steering committee needed to be visible within the community, possess credibility, and have a deep sense of connection to the city. Strategic route leadership choices were also strategic; for instance, the athletic director at UCR brought his passion for sports and recreation—and his connection as a board member of the Boy Scouts and many other high profile organizations—to bat for a location of choice route; the president of one of the chambers of commerce served as a route champion for intelligent growth, along with two local businesses owners; and a prominent local physician volunteered as champion for the health care route. Particularly as the campaign evolved into a movement, including community-based leaders who were fully bilingual and bicultural was recognized as a glaring need in a city that is approximately half Latino. Being connected to the marketplace in this kind of social marketing effort requires inclusivity. Future mobilization will require more and more leaders who are recognized tribal leaders who can—in the words of the vision—unify the city for the common good.

Summary

With Seizing Our Destiny as a guiding force, Riverside is making strides toward becoming the city that its residents and its civic and business leaders want it to be. The vision's focus on intelligent growth, a clear community vision, and a strong public-private partnership, all imagined through a social marketing approach, are moving Riverside toward its desired status as both an economic engine in the region and a unified city that offers a high quality of life to its residents.

Note

1. Gina Airey Consulting served as the strategic facilitators for both the development and implementation of the vision known as Seizing Our Destiny. Gina Airey and Amy Sausser were senior consultants. Tricia Braun was the

Director of Economic Development during much of the work described in this chapter. David W. Stewart was chair of the steering committee for the project.

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About the Editor and Contributors

Editor

David W. (Dave) Stewart, Ph.D., is President's Professor of Marketing and Law at Loyola Marymount University. He earned his B.A. in psychology from Northeast Louisiana University (now University of Louisiana, Monroe) and his M.A. and Ph.D. in psychology from Baylor University. Dr. Stewart has held faculty and administrative appointments at Vanderbilt University; the University of Southern California; and the University of California, Riverside. He currently serves as editor of the *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* and has previously served as editor of the *Journal of Marketing* and the *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*. Dr. Stewart has authored or co-authored more than 250 publications and 10 books. His research has examined a wide range of issues including marketing strategy, branding, the analysis of markets, consumer behavior, marketing communications, public policy issues related to marketing, and methodological approaches to the analysis of marketing data. In 2007 Dr. Stewart was awarded the Elsevier Distinguished Marketing Scholar Award by the Society for Marketing Advances, and in 2006 he received the Cutco/Vecto Outstanding Marketing Educator Award from the Academy of Marketing Science. He has also been awarded the American Academy of Advertising's Ivan Preston Award for Outstanding Contributions to Advertising Research for his long-term contributions to research in advertising. Dr. Stewart has been an officer in a number of professional organizations including the American Marketing Association, the American Statistical Association, the Society for Consumer Psychology, and the American Psychological Association. He has consulted for a wide variety of business, government, and not-for-profit organizations and has offered executive education programs and management briefings in more than 25 countries on 5 continents.

Contributors

Regina M. Airey, M.B.A., is a consultant and leads her own firm, Gina Airey, MBA, as a strategic planner and leadership consultant. Her approach to consulting is influenced by years of supporting leaders as they navigated periods of growth. Her deep experience includes Accenture/Andersen Consulting's Organization and Human Performance Practice, a group that brought "change management" to the global consulting marketplace during her six-year tenure. While there, she excelled as a manager and successfully served clients ranging from Fortune 50 to Silicon Valley dotcom start-ups. In the chapter of her career with Accenture she expanded her understanding of the interplay of strategy, people, process and technology. And she discovered her passion for facilitation and its power to catalyze change. Airey refined her skills in strategic planning and competitive market assessment as Vice President of Consulting with McMorrowSavarese, which serves managing partners of the AmLaw 100 (the legal industry's revenue ranking). She developed new consulting services, advised law firm leadership on their growth strategies, and co-wrote articles about the complexities of leading change in law firms. Airey's commitment to working with visionary leaders across sectors, industries, and disciplines is rooted in her education in liberal arts, public affairs, and strategic management.

J. Craig Andrews is Professor and Charles H. Kellstadt Chair in Marketing at Marquette University. He received his Ph.D. in marketing from the University of South Carolina in 1985. His research focuses on consumer and public health issues. Andrews currently is on sabbatical serving as a Senior Scholar at the U.S. Food & Drug Administration (FDA) in Washington, D.C. He has served on the FDA's Risk Communication Advisory Committee, on the Behavior Change Expert Panel for the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, was editor of the *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, and Consumer Research Specialist in the FTC's Division of Advertising Practices in Washington, D.C. His work has appeared in the *Journal of Marketing*, *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, *Journal of Advertising*, *Journal of Current Issues & Research in Advertising*, *Journal of International Business Studies*, *Journal of Retailing*, and the *American Journal of Public Health*, among others. Andrews is the co-author of the text *Advertising, Promotion and other Aspects of Integrated Marketing Communications*, and currently is a member of the *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, *Journal of Advertising*, *Journal of Current Issues & Advertising*, and *Journal of Marketing Communications* editorial boards.

Stacey Menzel Baker, PhD, is Professor of Marketing & Sustainable Business Practices at the University of Wyoming. Dr. Baker studies consumer attachment, vulnerability, and resilience in contexts such as disaster recovery and disability. Her research has been published by journals such as *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *Journal of Macromarketing, Journal of Retailing*, and *Journal of Advertising.* This work has informed business practices, such as the promotion of products and the design of accessible servicescapes for people with disabilities; helped shape civil rights policies; and been used by scholars outside of her discipline, including those interested in global environmental change and disaster management. She serves as an associate editor for the *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* and is on the editorial review boards of four journals in her field. She also is a member of the Association for Consumer Research Advisory Committee on Transformative Consumer Research.

Nancy Bates, M.A., is the Senior Researcher for Survey Methodology at the U.S. Census Bureau. During the 2010 Census, Bates served as the Lead Researcher for the Census Integrated Communication Campaign—a multi-million-dollar social marketing campaign aimed at increasing census participation among racial and ethnic minorities and other hard-to-count populations. In 2012 she served as Co-Chair of the American Statistical Association International Conference on Methods for Surveying and Enumerating Hard-to-Reach Populations and was a co-editor of the conference monograph. Bates has served on the Executive Council of the American Association for Public Opinion Research and as President of the Washington Statistical Society. Bates has co-authored book chapters and published in a variety of social science journals including *Public Opinion Quarterly, Contexts, Survey Methodology, Survey Practice, Journal of Economic and Social Measurement*, and *Journal of Official Statistics*. Bates also is an associate editor of the *Journal of Official Statistics* published by Statistics Sweden.

Lauren G. Block, PhD, is the Lippert Professor of Marketing at the Zicklin School of Business, Baruch College. She received her PhD in marketing from Columbia University and her MBA from Emory University. Prior to Baruch, Dr. Block was on the faculty of New York University's Stern School of Business. Dr. Block's work is primarily in areas of health-persuasion, health-goal achievement and food well-being. Her research examines how social marketing programs and communications can be most effectively utilized to change consumer health-related attitudes and behavior. Current

research focuses on how best to use marketing tools, like food labeling and product packaging, to facilitate healthier food and lifestyle decisions. Her work in these areas has been published in major journals such as *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, *Journal of Marketing Research*, *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, and *American Journal of Public Health*. Dr. Block is a current associate editor for the *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* and the *Journal of Consumer Research*. She also serves on the Ad Council Research Committee. Dr. Block serves on the Transformative Consumer Research Advisory Board and the AdCouncil's Advisory Research Committee. She was the recipient of the 2008 Richard W. Pollay Prize for Intellectual Excellence of Research on Marketing in the Public Interest.

Tricia (Hinckley) Braun, B.S., is the Director of Regional Development and Business Attraction for the Wisconsin Economic Development Corporation. In addition to her current role managing a dynamic team of professionals that help to spur business activity throughout Wisconsin, Braun has been leading economic development programs and staff that served small (under 5,000) and large communities (300,000+) since March 1998. Her significant assignments included business attraction, retention, and expansion; marketing and public relations efforts; site-selection assistance; financial deal structuring; community general plan and zoning ordinance development; strategic visioning and program implementation; entitlement assistance; and the coordination of several new development projects. Braun approaches economic development with the philosophy that every region or community is unique and therefore requires a solid understanding of its strengths and complexities in order to create solutions that will be embraced and supported by decision-makers and stakeholders, all while having a positive long-term impact on the region. She earned her BS in business administration with a minor in land use from the University of Wisconsin–River Falls in 1997 and her economic development finance professional certification in 2001.

Melissa G. Bublitz, PhD, is an Assistant Professor of Marketing at the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh. Her research examines the intersection of marketing and public policy in the areas of food decision-making, environmental sustainability, financial decision-making, and employee health and wellness. Dr. Bublitz co-chaired the *Food for Thought: Transforming Research into Actionable Information for Consumers* session of the *2011 Transformative Consumer Research Conference*. Her current research is designed to help consumers navigate the complicated consumption

environment in which we all live, seeking to empower choices that facilitate health and well-being. Her research work has appeared in the *Journal of Consumer Psychology,* the *Journal of Business Research,* and the *Journal of Research for Consumers.* Dr. Bublitz received her PhD in marketing from the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; she received her MBA and BBA in marketing from the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh.

Cecile Carson serves as the Keep America Beautiful Senior Director of Affiliate Development and has been involved with KAB for more than 20 years at the local, state, and national levels, serving as the first Executive Director of Keep Denton Beautiful and Director of Affiliate Services for Keep Texas Beautiful. In her position with KAB, Carson participated in the analysis of the National Litter Research Study, and she supervised the revision of the *Waste in Place* youth resource guide and creation of the Municipal and County Litter Cost Study. Carson is the principal author of KAB's affiliate training materials, including the *Community Appearance Index: State of the Community* book. Carson has more than 19 years of experience in municipal government, including urban planning, economic development, solid waste management, and code enforcement. Carson coordinated the first Denton Independent School District (Texas) recycling program, developed a composting bin evaluation, and then authored a research report *Bins, Bins, Bins* evaluating the use of different types of compost bins. She has served as an adjunct Professor of History and Government. Her volunteer roles include serving as the North Central Texas Council of Governments–Resource Conservation Commission Vice Chair. She is a recipient of the Leadership Denton Alumni award, graduate of Leadership Texas, and received the KAB Professional Leadership Award.

Brian A. Day, M.S., is Director of Social Marketing at Rare, an international conservation organization. Day directed the global USAID project in environmental social marketing called GreenCOM, which worked in more than 30 countries. He is founding editor of *Applied Environmental Education and Communication*, a quarterly, international, peer-reviewed journal. He teaches a graduate introduction to environmental social marketing for Duke University's Nicholas School. Day has worked for EDF, WWF, NAAEE, and taught for the University of Michigan, American University, and others, and is a frequent contributor to books and journals. A special thank you to Amielle DeWan, PhD, for statistical analysis; Fel Cadiz, Pride Program manager; and campaign manager Renante Cempron for their assistance on this project.

Kelley Dennings graduated from North Carolina State University with a bachelor's of science degree in eco-system assessment and started her environmental career working in the recycling industry. She became a local recycling coordinator, which included an operational, educational, and policy component. She then worked for the state's recycling office, where she conducted various social marketing, social media, and traditional advertising projects. In 2010 she received her project management certification and joined the Keep America Beautiful organization in their Washington, D.C., recycling office. There she continued to build the industry's body of knowledge around recycling behavior change. Most recently, Dennings joined the American Forest Foundation to help build the Center for Woodland Owner Impact. The Center's goal is to motivate unengaged landowners to take conservation actions on their forested land. Dennings's recycling case studies have been published in, *Social Marketing Quarterly*, and presented at various state and national conferences. In her spare time she enjoys taking pictures of water towers.

Nikhilesh Dholakia, PhD, is Professor of Marketing and International Business at the University of Rhode Island. His research deals with selected aspects of globalization, technology, innovation, market processes, and consumer culture. In many of his writings, he strives to bring in critical and non-mainstream perspectives, especially from a macro angle. Among his books are *Consuming People: From Political Economy to Theaters of Consumption* (Routledge, 1998, with A. F. Fırat), and *Toward a Metatheory of Economic Bubbles: Socio-Political and Cultural Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, with R. V. Turcan).

Ruby Roy Dholakia, PhD, is Professor of Marketing at the University of Rhode Island. Her first research on family planning occurred in 1971 when she participated in a survey on family planning practices in Orissa, India. In addition to her interests in marketing and development issues, she is currently engaged extensively in research projects on technologies for the home and the transformations of the retail environment and marketing practices. Her recent books include *Technology and Consumption: Understanding Consumer Choices and Behaviors* (Springer, 2012) and *Marketing Practices in Developing Economy: Cases from South Asia* (Prentice-Hall India, 2009). Her research has appeared in several international journals. She served on the Editorial Policy Board of the *Journal of Macromarketing* and was the first President of the International Society for Markets and Development (ISMD).

Sonya A. Grier, PhD, is an Associate Professor of Marketing at the Kogod School of Business, American University. Her interdisciplinary research examines topics related to the social impact of commercial marketing efforts and social marketing using a diversity of methodological approaches. Her current research investigates the relationship between marketing activities and consumer health, with a focus on social marketing for obesity prevention among high-risk groups. Prior to joining American University, she was a member of the first cohort of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Health & Society Scholar program at the University of Pennsylvania. She also spent two years as an in-house consultant at the Federal Trade Commission, where she provided consumer research expertise as part of a presidentially mandated team examining the target marketing of violent movies, music, and video games to American youth. Dr. Grier has published her research in leading marketing, psychology, public health, and health policy journals. She is a co-author of a review article on social marketing entitled "Social Marketing and Public Health" published in the *Annual Review of Public Health*. She is also the recipient of multiple grants to examine issues related to social marketing and teaches a course entitled "Marketing for Social Change." Dr. Grier received her PhD in marketing, as well as her MBA from the J. L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management, Northwestern University. Her undergraduate degree is also from Northwestern University.

Dana Hecht earned her master's degree in public policy from the George Washington University in Washington, D.C. As a student, she served as a graduate research assistant to the Trachtenberg School of Public Policy and also interned as a program analyst for Keep America Beautiful's Recycling Department. At KAB she supported the work of the Recycle-Bowl program and helped to frame and compose an organizational plan aimed at improving metrics collection for all KAB programs.

Ronald Paul Hill, PhD, is the Richard J. and Barbara Naclerio Endowed Chairholder, Villanova School of Business. He has authored nearly 200 journal articles, book chapters, and conference papers on topics that include impoverished consumer behavior, marketing ethics, corporate social responsibility, and public policy. Outlets for this research are *Journal of Marketing Research*, *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Business and Society*, *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, *Human Rights Quarterly*, *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, *Harvard Business Review*, and *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*. His term as editor of the *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* extended from July 2006 until June 2012. His

recent awards include: 2012 Williams-Qualls-Spratlen Multicultural Mentoring Award of Excellence, 2012 Villanova University Outstanding Faculty Research Award, 2010 Pollay Prize for Excellence in the Study of Marketing in the Public Interest, and 2013 AMA Marketing and Society Special Interest Group Lifetime Achievement Award.

Jay Kassirer is a social marketing consultant and trainer, a global expert in community-based social marketing approaches, a founding Director of the International Social Marketing Association, and the driving force behind the Tools of Change Institute and its social marketing website and webinars (www.toolsofchange.com). Kassirer is President of Ottawa-based Cullbridge Marketing and Communications. He has contributed to the development of enduring outreach programs such as the Green Communities' home energy audit and well-aware programs, BC Hydro's Power Smart program, and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation's Healthy Housing and Sustainable Community Planning initiatives, and he co-led the formation and growth of Canada's multistakeholder Healthy Indoors Partnership.

Punam A. Keller, PhD, is the Charles Henry Jones Third Century Professor of Management at the Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth College. Professor Keller has degrees from Bombay University and Northwestern University. At Dartmouth she has held joint appointments at the School of Business, Norris Cotton Cancer Center, and Community and Family Medicine Practice. She teaches social marketing to the Tuck MBA students and strategic marketing to health practitioners getting a masters in the science of health care delivery. Professor Keller has developed several social marketing plans to improve individual and collective well-being. Her work focuses on two areas of well-being, wealth and health. She has worked with the U.S. Department of Treasury (OFEFA), Financial Industry Regulatory Authority (FINRA), Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, National Endowment for Financial Education, AARP, and Social Security Administration to improve financial fitness for Americans. Actively involved with the health industry, she serves on the CDC's cancer subcommittee and has partnered with CDC to create a marketing tool for customizing, defending, and measuring the effectiveness of health communications. The free online tool, MessageWorks, is available to the public at healthcommworks.org. She is a board member of PSI (Population Services International, the largest NGO providing health products and services to the poorest, most isolated people in the world). Through the years, she has served as a consumer research consultant and marketing trainer to

a variety of health providers, including CVS/Caremark, Humana, Blue Cross Blue Shield, Eli Lilly, Merck, and Aetna.

Joonkyung (Joon) Kim is a PhD student at the Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto. She received her bachelor's and master's degrees in business administration from the Seoul National University. She is interested in researching physical and psychological factors that can lead people to change their existing opinions, thinking, and behavior.

Arien Korteland gained extensive marketing and customer loyalty experience in the publishing and public broadcasting industry in Europe. For BC Hydro he developed Team Power Smart, which he still manages. He is currently working on the next generation of this successful behavior change program.

Michael A. Lotti, MBA, is the founder of Accretive Insights, a marketing and marketing research consultancy. During the 2010 Census Lotti was engaged as a consultant to the Census Bureau's Communications Directorate for the Census Integrated Communication Campaign. Prior to starting Accretive Insights, he was Director of Business Research, and Vice President of Corporate Marketing, at the Eastman Kodak Company. While at Kodak, Lottie held positions for both the U.S. and global markets in marketing management, advertising management, market research, advertising research, and manufacturing. He served as the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the American Marketing Association in the 2007–2008 fiscal year. He was a member of the Executive Committee of Trustees for the Marketing Science Institute and chaired its Finance & Audit Committee. He was a member of the Census Bureau's Advisory Committee of Professional Associations. Lotti has been a frequent speaker at conferences for the American Marketing Association, the Marketing Science Institute, ESOMAR, and the Advertising Research Foundation.

Ingrid M. Martin, PhD, is Professor of Marketing, California State University, Long Beach. Dr. Martin's published work has covered a range of social marketing topics including risk communication, maladaptive behaviors in the areas of disaster mitigation, and consumption practices. She has expanded her research to investigate the process of becoming addicted as a set of stages that lead consumers from normal consumption patterns to maladaptive, chronic consumption. Her work has been published in the *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, *Risk Analysis*, *Journal of Environmental*

Management, *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, *Journal of Business Research*, *Journal of Consumer Research*, and *Journal of Marketing Research*, as well as numerous book chapters. Dr. Martin is on the editorial review board of two journals in her field and she serves as a reviewer of numerous journals in marketing, public policy, and environmental management. The USDA Forest Service and the California State University Multidisciplinary grant program have funded her research. The focus of this research was to gain an understanding of how stakeholders act to mitigate risks in high wildfire risk areas, looking at various modes of risk communication. The latest extension is looking at the integration of social media as a way to better communicate across phases of the disaster cycle.

Wade E. Martin, PhD, is Professor of Economics, California State University, Long Beach. Dr. Martin's research is in the area of risk management and environmental policy. This work has focused on the human dimension of wildfire risk, the management of used oil in the state of California, climate change, and the economic value of health impacts from exposure to smoke from prescribed fire. His current research is focusing on risk communication using social media at various stages of the disaster cycle. He has published the results of this research in numerous peer-reviewed outlets, including *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, *Journal of Policy Modeling*, *Journal of Environmental Management*, and *Water Resources Research*, among others. He has also edited three books on environmental policy. Dr. Martin has been on the faculty at Colorado School of Mines and the University of Michigan-Flint, as well as visiting scholar at Harvard Institute for International Development and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. USDA Forest Service, Bureau of Mines, METRANS Transportation Center and the Bureau of Reclamation have funded his research.

Nora E. Moran, M.B.A., is a doctoral candidate in the Pamplin School of Business, Virginia Tech. After receiving her undergraduate degree in psychology, Moran spent several years working in program development and marketing in the education and nonprofit sector. She received her MBA with a concentration in marketing at Villanova University, where she also worked as a research fellow. In her research she investigates factors that underlie consumer aversions to behaviors that promote well-being, and how marketing tactics can be used to counteract these aversions and enhance welfare. In her current works she focuses on how perceptions of time and money can impact willingness to pursue personal and pro-social goals.

Richard G. Netemeyer, PhD, is the Ralph E. Beeton Professor of Free Enterprise in the Marketing Division and Senior Associate Dean at the McIntire School of Commerce at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville. He received his PhD in business administration with a specialization in marketing from the University of South Carolina in 1986. Professor Netemeyer's substantive research interests include consumer and organizational behavior, public policy and social issues, health/maladaptive behaviors, and employee well-being as it relates to a firm's financial outcomes. He is currently researching topics relating to financial literacy, smoking cessation, and well-being at work. His methodological expertise includes structural equation modeling, hierarchical linear modeling, measurement and psychometrics, and survey research methodologies. His research has appeared in the *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Journal of Marketing Research*, *Journal of Marketing*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *OBHDP*, *Marketing Science*, *Management Science*, *American Journal of Public Health*, *American Journal of Psychiatry*, and others. He is a co-author of two textbooks pertaining to measurement and psychometrics, and is a member of the editorial review boards of *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Journal of Marketing*, and the *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*.

Scott L. Newbert, PhD, is an Associate Professor of Management, the Harry Halloran Emerging Scholar in Social Entrepreneurship, and the Anne Quinn Welsh Faculty Fellow in Honors at Villanova University. He received his PhD in strategic management and entrepreneurship from Rutgers University. His research interests include the factors that enable individuals to succeed in creating new organizations, the processes by which existing and nascent firms create value through the entrepreneurial use of available resources and capabilities, and the interplay between the social and economic drivers and impacts of entrepreneurial activity. His research on these and related topics has appeared in many of the leading academic journals including *Strategic Management Journal*, *Journal of Business Venturing*, *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, *Journal of Business Ethics*, and *IEEE Transactions in Engineering Management*, and has been highlighted in several popular media outlets including the *Boston Herald* and *Inc*. He currently serves as a field editor for *Journal of Business Venturing*.

Mike Newton-Ward has worked with social marketing since 1997. He currently is the Social Marketing Consultant for the North Carolina Division of Public Health. He has consulted with state, federal, and international governmental and non-profit organizations on the incorporation

of a social marketing approach into their work, and has presented numerous trainings and conference offerings on social marketing. He has reviewed and contributed to social marketing textbooks and journals, and he teaches social marketing courses at the UNC-Chapel Hill Gillings School of Global Public Health. His current activities include building the capacity of public health systems to use Web 2.0 and e-Health Tool technologies, and developing the capacity of public health agencies to use best-practice social marketing.

Marc Pedersen is a Senior Evaluation Adviser for BC Hydro. He has overseen the primary research studies that inform residential, commercial, and industrial impact evaluations of the corporation's demand-side management programs as well as rates and codes and standards. Pedersen is also a published author on residential psychographic segmentation and has presented his work at energy marketing and evaluation conferences across North America.

Amy Sausser, M.A., is an independent consultant specializing in providing fundraising and communications services to nonprofit organizations in Southern California. Her consulting practice is focused on ensuring active community participation that advances the concerns of low-income and communities of color. Nonprofit clients have included advocacy organizations such as Good Food L.A. and sector intermediary organizations such as Community Partners and United Ways of California. Most recently she served as Director of Development & Communications at Advancement Project, a public policy change organization rooted in the civil rights movement. Before that, Sausser was the Director of Communications at Southern California Grantmakers, Deputy Director of Development at the Liberty Hill Foundation, Director of Communications for the California Association of Nonprofits, and Manager of Communications at the Center for Nonprofit Management. A native of Southern California, she earned an M.A. from UCLA in critical studies in film and television in 1991 and a B.A. from CSU Northridge in film and television.

Debra L. Scammon, PhD, is the Emma Eccles Jones Professor of Marketing and Director of the Masters of Healthcare Administration Program, David Eccles School of Business, University of Utah. Dr. Scammon's research focuses on consumers' ability to navigate complex and changing markets and strategies for supporting consumers' behavior change. Recent work examines consumers' use of the Internet during natural and health-related disasters/disruptions, and patients' engagement in decisions about their

health care, including their readiness for self-management of chronic conditions. She has also studied environmental marketing issues, including green marketing, stakeholder marketing, and marketing for sustainability. Her work has been published in *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, *Journal of Business Research*, *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, *Annals of Family Medicine*, *Journal of the American Board of Family Medicine*, *and Health Services Research*, as well as in *Oxford Handbook on Business and the Natural Environment*. She is a co-investigator on multiple projects funded by the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality and the Office of the National Coordinator of Information Technology.

Dilip Soman, PhD, is Professor of Marketing. He teaches and does research at the Rotman School of Management and the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto. He is interested in studying interesting human behaviors and further investigating how this insight could be harnessed to help people help themselves. When he is not working, Soman spends time with photography, watching masala Bollywood movies, his family, and with agonizing over successful Indian cricket teams.

Josh Wiener, PhD, is the Carson professor of business and head of the department of marketing at Oklahoma State University. Dr. Wiener currently serves as an associate editor of the *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*. He was the co-creator/co-chair of the initial Marketing and Public Policy Risk Workshop; co-chair of the 2000 Marketing and Public Policy Conference, and co-chair of the 2011 AMA-Sheth Doctoral Consortium. His published work has addressed a wide range of social marketing and public policy issues. It has been published in journals such as *Journal of Consumer Behavior*, *Journal of Marketing*, *Journal of Marketing Research*, *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, *and Journal of Macro-Marketing*. In addition, he has been the PI or CO-PI on grants from both state health agencies and federal agencies such as DOD, DOL, HHS, NSF, DOA, NIDA, and the Oklahoma Department of Tobacco Prevention. Prior work specifically investigating public support for legislation has used social dilemma theory to investigate support for environmental legislation, and agenda setting to investigate support for tobacco legislation.

Jerome D. Williams, PhD, is a Distinguished Professor and the Prudential Chair in Business at the Rutgers Business School–Newark and New Brunswick (RBS). He was a member of the Institute of Medicine Committee

on Food Marketing and Diets of Children and Youth that authored the book *Food Marketing to Children and Youth: Threat or Opportunity?* and was appointed by the U.S. Census Bureau to chair the 2010 Communications Contract Academic Assessment Team. He also is co-editor of two books, *Advances in Communication Research to Reduce Childhood Obesity* and *Diversity in Advertising: Broadening the Scope of Research Directions*, and co-author of a forthcoming book on diversity and inclusion in the marketplace and the fair treatment of customers from diverse backgrounds. He currently serves as an Associate Editor of *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*. Williams' current research interests cover a number of areas in the consumer marketing domain, with an emphasis on multicultural marketing. He has conducted research on social marketing communications and promotion strategies targeting multicultural market segments and consumer behavior of multicultural market segments related to public health communication issues. He has consulted as an expert witness in more than 100 court cases on social marketing issues related to consumer racial profiling. He currently sits on the Board of Directors of the American Marketing Association and is Chairman of the American Marketing Association Foundation.

Monica J. Wroblewski is a researcher in the Communications Directorate at the United States Census Bureau. She started her career at the Census Bureau in 2001. She contributed to research and in-market performance tracking followed by program assessments for the 2010 Census Integrated Communications Campaign. Wroblewski led the effort to conduct the second iteration of the Census Barriers, Attitudes, and Motivators Survey, a mindset segmentation scheme, and her current research interests include audience segmentation, attitudinal tracking surveys, and privacy and confidentiality research.

Min Zhao, PhD is Associate Professor of Marketing at Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto. She is interested in how contextual factors change consumers' mindset and reduce preference discrepancy over time in various consumer domains such as saving, waiting, and new product preferences. She has published in leading marketing and psychological journals including the *Journal of Marketing Research*, *Journal of Consumer Research*, and *Psychological Science*. Her research findings are featured in major media such as the *Wall Street Journal* and *Financial Times*.