Beyond the Four Ps: A Theoretical Explication and Research Agenda for Social Marketing.

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Beyond the Four Ps: A Theoretical Explication
And Research Agenda for Social Marketing

by

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Abstract

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In this paper, social marketing is defined as a theoretical metaphor. The theoretical base associated with the marketing discipline is the chief advantage of the social marketing approach. In addition, social marketing is advantageous because it offers an emphasis on research, an interdisciplinary perspective, a communication mix model, a theory of exchange, and a client orientation. The ethical implications of social marketing and other approaches to communication campaigns are discussed. Research is recommended in the following areas: information processing, emotional response, source credibility and organizational sponsors, campaign evaluation, and segmentation and the knowledge gap effect.
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Introduction

The "modernization" paradigm drove the study of communication campaigns in development contexts for decades. According to this paradigm, social change was best stimulated by one-way, mass media-centered campaigns promoting capital-intensive technological innovations (Rogers, 1989). As campaign researchers and practitioners became disillusioned with the dominant paradigm, it was replaced by a pluralistic mix of research perspectives which tend to emphasize cultural autonomy and grassroots participation. However, no perspective has emerged which replaces the dominant paradigm as a defining principle of the discipline. Some scholars in the tradition of communication campaigns lament the lack of theoretical grounding in campaign research and application (Rogers & Storey, 1987).

The social marketing approach is attractive precisely because marketing as a discipline has integrated and developed a substantial theoretical base.¹ Scholars in the marketing discipline have integrated theory from economics, psychology, sociology and other sciences, and have contributed to theory development for the purpose of selling products. While much of this theory will not be directly applicable to communication campaigns, some of it will be useful.

The term "social marketing" was coined by Kotler and Zaltman in 1971 to describe the application of marketing principles to the promotion of social ideas (Kotler and Zaltman, 1971). These
early advocates of social marketing rarely went beyond discussion of the marketing 4Ps (i.e., product, place, promotion, and price) and their application to case studies. For example, Fox and Kotler (1980), in their assessment of the "first 10 years" of the marketing of social causes, review cases where social marketing principles were successfully applied in development and health communication contexts.

After two decades of research on social marketing, some misunderstanding about the approach persists, and not enough research has been conducted which would contribute to a theoretical base for social marketing campaigns. In this paper, social marketing is defined as a theoretical metaphor, and its advantages and ethical implications are discussed. Several prominent research directions are identified: information processing in response to messages about social ideas, emotional response to messages about social ideas, source credibility and organizational sponsors, evaluation of the social marketing campaign, and segmentation and the knowledge gap effect.

The Social Marketing Approach to Communication Campaigns

"Social marketing" is a theoretical metaphor. Like literary metaphors, theoretical metaphors are comparisons of two ideas. At best, they are incomplete and partial truths. Theoretical metaphors should be treated as creative devices which stimulate research and theory generation (Arndt, 1985).

The metaphor associated with social marketing is that promoting social ideas is like promoting products. This suggests
that social ideas can be successfully "marketed" by systematic analysis of a situation, segmentation and targeting of the appropriate audience, and offering the target a benefit in exchange for supporting the social idea. Kotler and Roberto (1989) define social marketing as:

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. It utilizes concepts of market segmentation, consumer research, product concept development and testing, directed communication, facilitation, incentives, and exchange theory to maximize target adopters' response. (p. 24)

The substantial theoretical base associated with marketing is the chief advantage of the social marketing approach. In addition, social marketing is advantageous because it offers an emphasis on research, an interdisciplinary perspective, a communication mix model, a theory of exchange, and a client orientation.

The Advantages of the Social Marketing Approach

The social marketing approach includes an emphasis on research.

The marketing discipline is characterized by three types of research: market research or audience analysis, copy testing and test marketing, and theoretical research. In addition, case studies are conducted, but their primary purpose is as a pedagogical tool.

Market research is research into the knowledge, attitudes and behaviors of groups or publics in order to identify their needs and facilitate segmentation into target groups (Kotler &
Roberto, 1989). For example, a health agency might conduct a survey assessing knowledge about nutrition and dietary practices in order to facilitate targeting individuals who are most in need of information about nutrition.

Copy testing is research into the effects of a particular message on members of the target audience; test marketing is field research assessing the effect of a campaign or an aspect of a campaign. The primary goal of both is to obtain findings that can be applied directly to the situation of interest (Calder, Phillips & Tybout, 1981). For example, a health agency might conduct laboratory tests examining responses to two different public service announcements in order to decide which message to run in its nutrition education campaign.

Theoretical research is generally conducted by academicians. The goal of such research is to develop scientific theories that provide a general understanding of human behavior (Calder, Phillips & Tybout, 1981). For example, an academician might conduct laboratory tests examining responses to two different public service announcements in order to test a theory regarding the effects of humor in messages about social issues.

According to Kotler and Roberto (1989), research is what differentiates social marketing from other efforts to influence social change. The need for all three types of research should be considered.
The social marketing approach is interdisciplinary in its methodological and theoretical perspectives.

Recent publications in the marketing discipline indicate that marketing is interdisciplinary in its methodological and theoretical perspectives. For example, recent publications are influenced by anthropology (Belk, Wallendorf & Sherry, 1989) and literary criticism (Stern 1989; 1990). At least two recent works have discussed the contribution of critical research to the study of consumer behavior (Rogers, 1987; Murray & Ozanne, 1991; also see Heath, 1992).

Logical positivism is not the only perspective acceptable to social marketers. Like marketing researchers, social marketers should be willing to expand and/or modify their approach to integrate work from any perspective that provides insights which would improve the campaign process.

Social marketing recognizes the respective roles of mass media and interpersonal communication.

The "communication" or "promotion mix" which is determined for a given marketing or social marketing campaign is composed of both mass media and interpersonal channels. This mix traditionally comprises advertising, public relations, promotion, direct marketing and sales. The relative emphasis on any of these channels is determined by the situation. In some situations, the marketer may rely heavily on paid advertising in the mass media (e.g., detergent sales); in other situations, the marketer relies heavily on face-to-face contact with the consumer through salespeople (e.g., textbooks sales).
Many practitioners and scholars in the tradition of communication campaigns have noted that mass media messages are usually appropriate for increasing knowledge and sometimes for facilitating attitude change, but interpersonal messages are often necessary for stimulating behavioral change (Backer, Rogers & Sopory, 1992; Rogers & Storey, 1987). The communication mix can be applied in the process of selecting media channels in these situations.

The social marketing approach is based on a theory of exchange.

The fundamental principle of the marketing discipline has traditionally been exchange theory (Alderson, 1965; Bagozzi, 1978; Houston & Gassenheimer, 1987), and increasingly, relationship management (Webster, 1992). Exchange is the transfer of something of value between two or more social actors. Exchange theory assumes that humans are goal-seeking, and that exchanges are carried out in order to fulfill their goals. Relationship management emphasizes that need to maintain long-term relationships in order to facilitate multiple exchanges.

Viewing campaigns in terms of an exchange process is perhaps more appropriate than utilization of linear models which dominate the study of campaigns (Rogers & Storey, 1987).

The social marketing approach is client-oriented.

Some approaches to communication campaigns have been criticized for their heavy emphasis on the innovation or idea to be promoted (Rogers, 1983). In contrast, social marketing
efforts are always oriented to the clients' or customers' needs. This client orientation has been cited as "the most significant contribution that the marketing discipline can bring to any social program" (Novelli, 1990, p. 346; also see Wallack, 1990; Lefebvre & Flora, 1988).

The social marketing campaign begins with a systematic analysis of the situation and the audience or public to be served. This analysis can lead to identification of a need and subsequent development of an idea or product which serves that need (Kohli & Jaworski, 1990).

While the social marketing approach offers several advantages, it has been criticized on various counts. Discussion of selected criticisms, and discussion of the ethical implications of social marketing and other approaches to communication campaigns is presented in the following section.

Criticisms and Ethical Implications Of Social Marketing and Other Approaches To Communication Campaigns

Because the label "social marketing" is associated with profit-making motivation, it is the target of some criticism. Some have noted that the label is incompatible with the values of nonprofit organizations (Glanz, 1990).

Critics of social marketing regard the orientation toward potential clients as "markets" to be "segmented" as dehumanizing.
For example, Jones (1982) argues:

Labels such as target markets, product, price, and so on are frequently seen to dehumanize, and therefore devalue, the individuals who are to be cared for or helped, the values and services that are being offered, at the cost (or price) of immense caring, hard work, not to say frequent disappointments, on the part of the people involved. (p. 47)

Other approaches to communication campaigns, even those which seek only to stimulate participation in the media, can also be regarded as manipulative. Rakow (1989) argues that there is danger in "any institution’s taking it upon itself to determine the best interest of the rest of society, no matter how well-meaning that institution’s intentions" (p. 167). According to Pollay (1989), heavy ethical considerations are associated with communication campaigns because they "almost invariably involve far more than simple transmission of data or information but, rather seek to induce behavioral change of a more profound nature than the choice of a specific brand of a packaged good that the advertiser seeks" (p. 187).

In response to the accusation that social marketing is manipulative, Fox and Kotler (1980) argue:

If a cause is marketed openly with the purpose of influencing someone to change his or her behavior, then the process is not manipulative, any more than is the activity of a lawyer, religious leader, or politician trying to convince others. If the social marketer simply makes the strongest possible case in favor of a cause without distorting the facts, the approach is not manipulative. (p. 30)

Similarly, Lefebvre and Flora (1988) note that marketing facilitates "voluntary exchange between the consumer and the producer" (emphasis in the original, p. 303).
Paisley (1989) suggests that communities or societies operate with sets of values or social contracts which guide social change. Because campaigns which violate the contract are unlikely to be successful, the power of any campaign planner to manipulate behavior is limited.

Communication campaign efforts are value-laden activities. The decision to implement any campaign must be accompanied by examination of values it will inherently promote. According to Salmon (1989):

The manifest objectives of social marketing efforts, which are usually framed by their proponents as "prosocial" or "congruent with the public interest," must be examined in terms of their latent social functions and dysfunctions, as well as the values and interests which they supersede. Rather than passively accepting that all social engineering efforts described as in the "public interest" are actually so, one must examine the underlying assumptions of the campaigners as well as the values they are implicitly and explicitly promoting. (p. 20)

Salmon (1989) identifies self-determination or autonomy as an important ethical issue for communication campaigns. However, the relationship of groups participating in or promoting social change to the client community affects the magnitude of the threat to self-determination. The role of "marketer" and "client" can be played by various entities in a community. For example, Social movements are characterized by grassroots organization. The marketer is not institution or agency, but rather a loosely organized group of activists disseminating information (Stewart, Smith & Denton, 1984). For example, the
National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws leads the movement to legalize marijuana.

Alternatively, social causes are frequently promoted by government agencies or nonprofit organizations. Social causes are relatively uncontroversial, and are unlikely to stimulate opposition (Fine, 1981). For example, literacy is arguably a social cause.

Separate organizations promote different positions associated with a social issue (Fine, 1981). These organizations actively lobby legislative bodies as well as promote their position to the public. For example, the National Rifle Association is an organization which promotes a position associated with the social issue of gun control.

Social intervention occurs when an organization intervenes in a community for the purpose of affecting change within that community (Heller, 1990). For example, the Peace Corps is arguably an intervening organization.

In each of these situations, social marketing efforts can be conducted by groups seeking change. However, the ethical implications of each situation differ.

In the former three situations, the groups seeking change emerge from within the community. Although the autonomy of an individual within the community may be threatened, that individual is not an independent agent. Rather, individuals within the community are mutually interdependent, and therefore interest groups are "entitled" to seek change from others.
(Paisley, 1989). For example, interest groups are justified in seeking laws which restrict cigarette smoking because the action of smoking affects individuals other than the smoker.²

Since social intervention involves an organization from one community seeking change within another community, it can be threatening to the autonomy of the "client" community. The organization seeking change and the client community are not interdependent.³ Social intervention can be characterized as "social control" inasmuch as one group intends to affect the beliefs or behavior of another group (Paisley, 1989).

On the other hand, many of the problems which have led to social intervention in the past were so pressing and critical that abstention from intervention would have its own serious ethical implications. Problems like infanticide and genocide call for intervention despite threats to the autonomy of the client community.

This discussion suggests that the decision whether and how to implement a communication campaign should be made only after serious contemplation of its ethical implications. The respective roles of campaign planners and the client should be examined in the larger context, and the values which justify any intervention should be examined.

Prominent Research Directions

The social marketing approach is not a wholesale application of marketing principles to the promotion of social ideas. The theoretical metaphor of social marketing is useful for
stimulating theory and research, but if it is taken too literally, it becomes limiting and constraining (Arndt, 1985). Several researchers have argued that marketing principles must be adapted for social marketing (Bloom & Novelli, 1981; Buchanan, Self & Ingram, 1987).

Marketing is insightful as a metaphor because marketing already has integrated and developed a substantial theoretical base from which to draw. Theoretical research which is specific to promotion of social ideas is needed to advance a theoretical base for social marketing. Several directions for future research are discussed in the following sections.

Information Processing in Response to Messages about Social Ideas

One major stream of research on advertising response deals with consumer involvement. A popular definition of involvement, adapted from Engel and Blackwell (1982), is the extent of personal relevance associated with a concept in terms of basic values, goals, and self-concept.

The involvement construct is as important to social marketing as it is to product marketing. The level of involvement an individual experiences relative to an issue or product is thought to affect the individual’s motivation to seek and/or process information about that issue or product (Celsi and Olson, 1988).

Novelli (1990) predicted that involvement with social issues may be so low that potential clients are uninterested, or so high that attitudes will be particularly resistant to change (also see
Rothschild, 1979). In their 1971 study, Hupfer and Gardner found that social issues were more highly involving than products.

Ambiguous and two-sided messages are potential strategies for overcoming resistance to persuasion associated with high levels of involvement. Ambiguous messages encourage a message recipient to process a message and generate a conclusion on one's own. Ambiguous messages might include messages which present premises to an argument without presenting a conclusion (Kardes, 1988; Sawyer & Howard, 1991), or messages where the visual elements are incongruous with the textual or verbal elements (Houston, Childers & Heckler, 1987).

Two-sided arguments are those that present "both sides" of an issue. Previous research suggests that two-sided arguments are more persuasive than one-sided messages when message recipients experience high involvement (Percy & Rossiter, 1992).

Involvement associated with social ideas is one area related to information processing that may be examined in future research. If future studies replicate previous findings that suggest social ideas are highly involving, the utility of the strategies suggested for high involvement products should be assessed. Alternative strategies for persuasion in situations characterized by high involvement may also be developed.

**Emotional Response to Messages about Social Ideas**

Many social ideas are obviously emotionally-charged. Emotional experience is closely related to motivation to support many issues, such as Right to Life, gun control, or animal
rights. On the other hand, emotions may discourage individuals from supporting other social ideas. For example, emotional experiences or emotional needs may discourage an individual from asking his/her partner to wear a condom for protection from A.I.D.S.

Undoubtedly, individuals sometimes respond to messages about a social idea with feelings of guilt or anxiety driven by the serious consequences associated with the issue or cause. Often, this antecedent emotion state is heightened by the use of "fear appeals" in a messages promoting the social idea.

The "fear appeals" literature, while inconclusive, suggests that responses characterized by high levels of anxiety hinder persuasion (for reviews, see Leventhal, 1970; Rotfeld, 1988; Sutton, 1982). Research findings suggest that individuals who experience anxiety as an antecedent emotion state related to a social issue are less likely to communicate about or pay attention to messages about that issue (Sego & Stout, 1993).

Additional research examining emotional response to messages about social ideas is suggested. If high levels of anxiety is found to hinder the education and persuasion process associated with emotionally-charged social issues and causes, then strategies for overcoming the negative response should be explored.

Source Credibility and Organizational Sponsors

Research on source credibility within the psychology and communication disciplines typically examines the effect of
spokesperson credibility on message processing and persuasion. Not surprisingly, research suggests that high source credibility tends to produce more favorable attitude change than low source credibility. Additional findings include: (1) the higher the level of threat communicated in the message, the more critical source credibility is to persuasion; (2) a less credible source may be more persuasive than a highly credible source when the message recipient is positively predisposed to the issue; (3) a more credible source may be more persuasive than a less credible source when the message recipient is negatively predisposed to the issue; (4) source credibility does not appear to have a significant effect when message recipients are highly involved with the issue (Sternthal, Phillips & Dholakia, 1978) and (5) of the dimensions of source credibility, i.e., attractiveness, expertise and trustworthiness, only expertise appears to have an effect on persuasion (Ohanian, 1991).

Little research has been conducted regarding the credibility of organizational sponsors. Many social ideas are promoted by a variety of corporations, nonprofit organizations and/or government agencies. Lynn et al. (1978) found corporate sources were more likely to elicit a favorable evaluation of an issue-related messages than were nonprofit sources. However, Hammond (1987) found that a nonprofit source and a combination of profit and nonprofit sources were perceived as being more credible than a profit source for health-related issues. The discrepancy in these findings points to the need for future research.
As Rogers and Storey (1987) noted, the audience perceptions of the communicator and the institutional source combine to affect the credibility of the message. This is particularly relevant given that celebrities often offer their services as spokespersons for social issues or causes. Organizations supporting these issues need to evaluate the effect of such an association. Langmeyer (1993) found that celebrity spokesperson credibility has more effect on intention to donate than credibility of the organization receiving the donation. In addition, Langmeyer found that an organization with a positive image is likely to have its image damaged by association with a negatively-perceived endorser.

The few studies which have examined the effect of organizational credibility on response to issue-related advertising have been inconclusive. Very little is known about the dimensions of source credibility as they apply to organizational credibility. However, previous research does suggest that organizational credibility, and the combined effect of organizational credibility and spokesperson credibility significantly affect response. Future research should continue to explore these issues.

**Evaluation of the social marketing campaign**

Campaign evaluation is widely encouraged by scholars in the tradition of communication campaigns, and is required by many funding agencies. Evaluation takes place in three stages: (1) formative evaluation, which contributes to designing the
campaign; (2) process evaluation, which assesses the effects of a campaign in progress; and (3) summative evaluation, which assesses the level of success achieved by a campaign at its completion.

Campaign planners are sometimes resistant to evaluation research. Windsor et al. (1984) outline various sources of conflict between evaluation and other domains of the campaign. According to Windsor et al., campaign planners may resist evaluation because:

Most people believe that effort expended in the service of a worthwhile end will produce positive results. Agency people find it hard to accept evaluation findings that are predominately negative. Such findings threaten the self-esteem of all agency domains and may in fact threaten the financial security of particular projects. (Windsor et al., 1984, p. 35)

Many organizations sponsoring campaigns are resistant to evaluation simply because they are limited in funds. If campaign planners have funds for research at all, most prefer to spend it on formative research which potentially would improve the campaign before it is implemented.

Many campaigns are conducted as quasi-experiments in field settings. Evaluation is generally done by comparing pre- and post-campaign survey measurements of knowledge and/or behavior. Chaffee, Roser and Flora (1989) note that quasi-experimental studies involving campaigns suffer from selection bias (i.e., non-equivalence of experimental groups or test cities), history (i.e., events that occur during the study which are not related
to the study but which may affect results), and testing (i.e., effects of the measurement procedure itself).

Aside from pre- and post-campaign surveys, few methods of campaign evaluation have been introduced. Many alternative methods, such as focus groups, in-depth interviews and observation, are widely applied in the development stages of a campaign. Additional research could assess the utility of applying such methodologies in the later stages of a campaign for the purpose of process and summative evaluation.

Alternative methods may be necessary for evaluating the effects of campaigns involving certain issues. For example, the needle-sharing behavior of intravenous drug users would be difficult if not impossible to assess using surveys. Similarly, responses to surveys assessing sensitive or politically-charged information, such as sexual behavior or attitudes toward abortion, are likely to be inaccurate and incomplete. In these situations, qualitative methods may be more appropriate for evaluation at any stage of the campaign.

While campaign planners frequently disseminate the findings of summative evaluation research, they are less likely to disseminate findings of formative evaluation. However, the exploratory research and pretesting that is conducted during the design stage of a campaign can have implications beyond the specific campaign (McGrath, 1991). These findings should be disseminated as well.
Kiesler (1973) and Kotler and Roberto (1989) suggest that one approach to campaign evaluation is philosophical or ethical. Such evaluation includes contemplation of the moral implications of the social change affected by the campaign. Given the ethical implications previously discussed, campaign planners may consider including ethical evaluation in the formative, process and summative stages. Warwick and Kelman (1973) and Salmon (1989) offer suggestions as to what such an analysis should include.

Segmentation and the Knowledge Gap Effect

Audience segmentation, i.e., the strategy of dividing a heterogeneous mass audience into relatively homogeneous segments in order to target specific messages to specific segments, has been advocated by scholars in the tradition of communication campaigns. However, the application of this strategy by campaign planners appears to be relatively rare (Rogers & Storey, 1987).

Successful targeting relies on the selection of appropriate bases for segmenting the audience. Marketers generally segment on the basis on demographics, geographics, usage level of the product, and increasingly, on values and lifestyles (Murphy, 1984). For social marketing, the bases of segmentation might include risk behavior, ethnicity, levels of felt social responsibility, or existing attitudes toward the social idea. Grunig (1989) suggests that inferred variables (e.g., attitudes or beliefs) are more effective for segmentation than objective variables (e.g., age, income level). Lifestyle analysis has been
used successfully to segment audiences for various social causes (Lastovicka et al., 1987; O'Hare, 1988; Slater & Flora, 1991).

Many social marketing theorists have noted that an organization promoting social ideas must deal successfully with various "constituencies" in order to succeed. According to Gwin (1990), constituent groups which function for nonprofit organizations include five overall groups: resource generators, service users, regulators, managers, and staff members. Resource generators included taxpayers, donors, and third-party providers (e.g. insurance companies). Service users included non-revenue generating service users and revenue generating service users. Regulators included government regulators and advisory boards.

Gwin advised that each constituent group requires "a separate and distinct strategic approach" (p. 46). Gwin further suggests that an organization's management list each constituency and explore the needs of each group. However, he does not offer suggestions as to how the needs of these groups differ, or suggestions on how to meet those needs.

Scholars in the area of communication campaigns note that campaigns often contribute to "communication effects gaps," "knowledge gaps" or "information gaps" (Dervin, 1980; Tichenor, Donohue & Olien, 1970). When a message is disseminated to a mass audience, those individuals who are already better-informed about an issue are most likely to be reached with continued efforts. The gap in information levels between the informed and the uninformed increases as a result of the campaign.

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According to Rogers and Storey (1987), an information gap can result when an audience is not segmented and targeted properly. The information gap can be minimized if those who are least informed are segmented and targeted with educational messages.

This discussion suggests several directions for future research related to segmentation for social marketing campaigns: assessment of the relative utility of bases of segmentation, development of strategies for addressing various constituencies, and the testing of strategies for minimizing information gaps using segmentation.

Summary and Discussion

It has been argued here that "social marketing" is a theoretical metaphor, which is intended to stimulate theory generation. The social marketing approach offers several advantages, including a client orientation, emphasis on theory and research, an interdisciplinary perspective, and a communication mix model.

Also noted here are the ethical implications of communication campaigns, including those using a social marketing approach. Serious consideration, if not formal evaluation, of ethical implications is recommended before implementation of any campaign.

Future research is recommended in several areas: (1) development and testing of strategies for facilitating information processing in situations characterized by high
involvement; (2) development of strategies for education and persuasion in situations characterized by strong emotional response; (3) examination of the effects of organizational credibility on response to issue-related messages; (4) application of existing methods of campaign evaluation and development of alternative methods; and (5) identification of appropriate bases for segmentation and testing strategies for minimizing information gaps.

Social marketing is useful as a theoretical metaphor, which will stimulate theory and research. However, if taken literally, the metaphor will become limiting and constraining. Rather than applying marketing principles directly to communication campaigns, theory available from marketing should be adapted and integrated into an approach to communication campaigns. Additional research is needed to develop theory which is most applicable to communication campaigns. From the resultant theoretical base, the most appropriate methods for implementing communication campaigns can be selected.
1. Most of the theory used in the marketing discipline is not original to marketing, but borrowed from psychology, economics or other disciplines. However, marketing researchers have successfully integrated theory from these various disciplines and have conducted research which contributes to a theoretical base for marketing. This strong theoretical base is evident in the proliferation of academic journals for marketing, including Journal of Marketing, Journal of Marketing Research, and Journal of Consumer Research, among many others.

2. This is not to suggest that antismoking campaigns are not political. Salmon (1989) argues persuasively that antismoking campaigns are more political than substantive. He notes that antismoking legislation is promoted as a solution to air pollution, while restrictions on auto emissions or driving in congested areas, which would have a greater impact on pollution, are not legislated.

3. Environmental issues are arguably an exception to this generalization since certain actions have implications for the environment beyond the community in which the action occurred.
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