

Editorial

Wiebe's (1952) question: "Why can't you sell brotherhood like you sell soap?" prompted the examination of marketing's use as a tool that can affect social, rather than commercial, behaviours. Like commercial marketing, social marketing has the same fundamental aim of changing, modifying or reinforcing consumers' behaviour. Andreasen (2002) made the behavioural goal quite clear: "Social marketers, both scholars and practitioners, have come to accept that the fundamental objective of social marketing is not promoting ideas (as Kotler and Zaltman [1971] suggest) but influencing behaviour..." (p. 4). However, unlike commercial marketers, social marketers promote behaviours that result not in profit, but in the alleviation of social problems and a subsequent increase in societal well-being.

Social marketing thus involves promoting the acceptance of higher order goals and developing programmes that bring about alignment with these. In practice, this means implementing strategies that extinguish undesirable behaviours individuals may enjoy (such as promiscuous sexual practices), or promote behaviours they may rather not engage in (such as blood donation or breast screening). The rewards, or reinforcers, are typically not immediate, may not compare favourably with the original behaviour, and may fail to compensate for the physical or psychological discomfort associated with the replacement behaviour.

However, despite the different objectives of social and commercial marketers, many of the decisions they face, and the external constraints they work within, have much in common. Likewise, the debates documented in the advertising and consumer behaviour literature about the role of attitudes, values, and beliefs in behaviour change occur also in social marketing. The similarity of the issues faced by all marketers, irrespective of their domain, is clearly illustrated by the increased attention now placed on business ethics and the growing pressure

being placed on both social and commercial marketers to consider the wider ramifications of their decisions (Polonsky, Suchard and Scott, 1999).

Twenty-four manuscripts were submitted to this special issue of the *amj*. This reflects the growing interest in social marketing, and marketing ethics and regulation, in the Asia-Pacific region, and the need for rigorous assessments of the role existing marketing knowledge can play in informing, simplifying and improving social marketers' decision-making. The papers selected and published illustrate many of the themes that dominate the mainstream marketing literature, but also address issues that are arguably unique to social marketing. For example, within Australasia, the use of threats as aversive stimuli in smoking cessation, AIDS awareness and anti-drink-driving campaigns has prompted a questioning of the utilitarian logic that underpins the creative approaches used. Consumers and regulators alike have debated whether the argument that the ends justify the means is sufficient to outweigh increasing disquiet over the content and timing of these promotions.

In their paper, Arthur and Quester offer some insights into this question. Recognising the widespread use of social and physical threats, they explore whether perceptions of these differed, and how the reactions they identify related to different ethical frameworks. Their conclusions, that social threats are considered less ethical and appear to be less effective, have interesting implications for youth tobacco programmes, many of which use social threats. In particular, themes emphasising peer group rejection, assume this threat evokes stronger and more tangible fear than the prospect of developing a terminal illness in several years' time. Arthur and Quester also challenge the assumed homogeneity of social markets and note cultural differences in their respondents' behaviour. Given the diversity of ethnic groups in many countries, this finding highlights the importance of careful pre-testing to gauge

both the acceptability and likely effects of advertising material.

Quazi, Rugimbana, Muthaly and Keating explore this latter question in detail as they consider Australian and Bangladeshi managers' responses to social and ethical issues. The authors identify several variations in managers' views and predicted behaviour, and relate these to cultural and regulatory differences, as well as to the differing stages of development of the two countries. Like Arthur and Quester, Ali et al. also conclude by stressing the importance of considering macro-environmental factors, in their case, differences in regulatory, health and safety requirements. This paper illustrates the different ethical priorities of managers, and explains some of the contingencies that shape these.

Marketers have long recognised the need to contribute to regulatory and policy developments. Hastak, Mazis and Morris (2001) recently evaluated marketers' and regulators' use of consumer surveys in contributing to policy developments, and Rothschild (1999) had earlier discussed the use of policy as a "stick" in the repository of "carrots, sticks and promises" that social marketers may use to shape consumers' behaviour. Lee, Buchanan-Oliver and Johnstone explore a topic that has attracted intense research attention from marketers, psychologists, educationalists and lawyers: the regulation of tobacco promotions. Using a series of group discussions, Lee et al. discuss several themes that adolescents associate with smoking and suggest how these might better inform the current youth anti-smoking campaigns. Interestingly, they arrive at opposite conclusions to Arthur and Quester, and recommend a stronger emphasis on social rather than physical threats. Further testing of the recommendations advanced in both papers, and replication of the work undertaken, will help clarify the circumstances in which social and physical threats are best suited and any limits that apply to their use.

Lee et al's paper provides an important link between the current regulatory framework and the marketing campaigns designed to complement this. A related area, where some interest groups have advocated more regulation, concerns the use of stereotypes, particularly gender stereotypes, in marketing communications. Napoli, Murgolo-Poore and Boudville examine the argument that gender role stereotyping, especially the physical depiction of models, can contribute to wider social problems such as eating disorders. Although not attempting to identify causal relationships, they examine images of female models used in adolescent magazines

and consider whether these adequately reflect the variety of body shapes that exist. Their findings suggest that the images used reflect neither the ethnic diversity of Australian society nor the variation in body shape present. While not specifically calling for increased regulation, Napoli et al raise interesting questions about advertisers' responsibilities and whether these extend beyond their duty to promote clients' brands to include social considerations. Whether use of more realistic body shapes would promote greater commercial success also raises an intriguing question that highlights the overlap between social and commercial considerations, and that merits empirical study.

The remaining two papers also address an issue of interest to both social and commercial marketers: the prediction of consumers' behaviour. Srnka, Grohs and Eckler recognise that many marketers face increasing competition and need to consider how they define their market. They examine this problem in the context of fund-raising, where they document the increase in the number and range of charitable groups seeking financial support from the public. Their paper explores whether socio-demographic characteristics, often the only details available to fund-raisers, can assist them to identify potential donors. After combining these variables with behavioural information, Srnka et al. identified traits, largely centring on self-interest, that were highly correlated with the likelihood of donation. These findings raise many possibilities for further research in this field, including, as the authors note, an empirical test of the criteria they have advanced.

Holdershaw, Gendall and Wright have taken up the empirical challenge and their paper reports a comparison of two methods of predicting donation behaviour. Their comparison of the attitudinally based Theory of Planned Behaviour with a more explicitly behavioural approach developed by Patricia Labaw illustrates the range of theories on which marketers, social and commercial, rely. Although reporting a pilot scale study, the paper nevertheless provides evidence to support the greater use of environmental knowledge and behavioural variables, particularly where the outcome variable of interest is behaviour. This paper makes an important contribution to the broader attitude-behaviour debate occurring in marketing, and elucidates a specific instance of this debate in social marketing.

In summary, this issue of the *amj* continues the journal's tradition of publishing thoughtful, challenging and rigorous papers of interest to marketing academics and

practitioners. I would like to thank Professors Mark Uncles and Paul Patterson, who supported the special issue from the outset. Mark Uncles had particular responsibility for this special issue and I appreciated very much his advice, enthusiasm, and wise counsel. I would also like to thank the Department of Marketing at Massey University, which helped resource this initiative, and Anne Austin who carefully edited each manuscript. Finally, I am grateful to the thirty or so reviewers who provided authors with timely and constructive feedback. A full list of occasional reviewers will appear in the final issue of *amj* for 2003.

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Executive Summaries

The Ethicality of Using Fear for Social Advertising

Damien Arthur & Pascale Quester

In a quasi-experimental examination of the ethicality and effectiveness of physical and social threats in advertisements aimed at encouraging anti-smoking behaviour, a convenience sample demonstrated that social threats are perceived as less ethical than physical ones, even for socially beneficial aims. Moreover, social threats generally generated less fear than physical ones, making them potentially less effective. In addition, consumers' cultural background influences how fear appeals were perceived.

The results raise a number of implications for policy makers, marketing managers or advertising professionals involved in developing communication campaigns aimed either at fostering socially desirable behaviours or at discouraging undesirable ones.

First, they might refrain from resorting to social threats in preference to physical threats even if the latter are seen as more confronting and likely to create greater public awareness than the former. The research showed that subjects exposed to social threats saw them as more unethical and therefore might resent them more.

Second, social threats might also be less effective in that they generate less fear, a condition believed to be crucial for motivating behavioural change.

Third, and perhaps more importantly, decision makers who consider the use of fear appeals should consider the ethicality involved in such choices. The specific ethical philosophy one adopts greatly influences the degree to which a particular advertising message is acceptable by consumers individually as well as by society at large.

Finally, international marketers should be aware that different dimensions of ethicality are influenced differently by exposure to fear appeals, depending on the

cultural background of their target audience. Hence what may be perceived as ethical in one country may not be seen in the same way in another.

Corporate Social Action Patterns in Contrasting Market Settings

Ali Quazi, Robert Rugimbana, Siva Muthaly and Byron Keating

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has become a widely discussed issue in the contemporary business literature. While businesses are increasingly encouraged to respond to social demand in recent times, there has been considerable debate as to whether corporate social action follows similar patterns in countries with dissimilar socio-economic environments. Conventional wisdom suggests corporations are under less obligation to respond to social demand in developing countries where the community places economic imperatives before social demand and, as such, corporate social action is likely to be less visible. This research examined this proposition in the context of two industry sectors within Australia and Bangladesh. The corporate social actions considered in the study included the marketing mix variables of product, price, distribution, and promotion, as well as the organisational and specific social responsibility-related actions.

The current study reveals that corporate social action patterns vary significantly between Australian and Bangladeshi businesses in a number of key decision areas. Furthermore, Australian corporate managers tended to take a greater level of action in the core marketing mix areas of product, price, distribution and communication, whereas Bangladeshi managers displayed a greater inclination to take action on the wider social responsibility areas such as environmental pollution, community welfare, resource conservation, and corporate giving.

However, managerial social action was not found to vary significantly between the two countries surveyed in areas such as maintenance of product standards and quality, provision of authentic and factual information in advertising, and effective complaint handling. The greater level of willingness by Australian business to act in the marketing mix areas may reflect the more sophisticated marketing environment that exists within Australia. The finding may also suggest that environmental variables, such as competition and customer service, are likely to have a significant impact on managerial action in a market where socially responsible behavior is critical for survival in the marketplace.

A relatively low propensity on the part of the Bangladeshi managers to act on the core marketing mix areas is most likely a reflection of the lack of an adequate regulatory framework and market competition, coupled with a low level of consumer resistance to questionable business practices such as product piracy, deceptive advertising, warranty and guarantees, product quality and safety, and product labelling. The inclination of Bangladeshi managers to take action in the broader areas of social responsibility may reflect the typical expectation of firms within such societies to acknowledge their special needs. For instance, in a developing country, CSR actions may be influenced by such non-economic factors as poverty, hardship caused by regular disasters, and moral and theological obligations, rather than by economic rationalism. Businesses in a developing country that invest in moral capital are likely to gain social recognition and community support for their continued growth and development.

These findings could inform marketing practitioners intending to enter developing countries by providing insights into the CSR actions of firms in such countries. This study suggests that apart from market and economic conditions, other factors may also influence managerial commitment and willingness to act in a socially responsible manner despite the absence of a strict regulatory structure. These factors include, but are not limited to, religion, the physical environment (climatic condition), welfare policy and social structure.

New Zealand Adolescents' Perception of Smoking and Social Policy Implications

Christina Kwai-Choi Lee, Margo Buchanan-Oliver & Micael-Lee Johnstone

This exploratory study probed adolescents' thoughts and feelings about smoking, and identified some underlying

attitudes that may explain the relative ineffectiveness of some current anti-smoking programmes aimed at this group. Attitudes uncovered include feelings of infallibility (linked to respondents' age), the desire to experiment, which is linked to the desire to taste the forbidden fruit and curiosity, the importance of mixing with the "right" crowd for the development of their self-concept, and the strong influence of family on respondents' decision making. These insights provide social marketers and policy makers with some background knowledge on this cohort when formulating messages and designing educational programmes on smoking.

When communicating with the adolescent audience, there is potential for social marketers to use anti-smoking messages that emphasise social threats because of this group's general disbelief and dismissal of existing and previous physical threat messages. Social policy makers and educators need to consider earlier educational intervention programmes, starting at the primary level instead of concentrating on the secondary school level. The need for community consistency in communicating and endorsing anti-smoking behaviours is also indicated. For example, adults who have direct contact with adolescents, such as, teachers and youth workers, should be encouraged not to smoke. Social marketers should consider broadcasting messages in cinemas, in particular, when movies portray popular movie characters that smoke. There is also a need for more targeted media campaigns in both traditional and new forms of media.

Female Gender Images in Adolescent Magazine Advertising

by Julie Napoli and Marie Murgolo-Poore

Women's fashion magazines have been around for many years but recently publications targeting 5- to 15- year old females have emerged. This new breed of fashion magazines raises many business and social issues for advertisers and publishers alike. Two types of questions arise: the first encompass issues such as the kinds of images presented to this target audience, the ethnic and physical diversity of the images, and the level of stereotyping present. The second type of question relates to managerial issues, such as the effects the images have on readers and their subsequent behaviour.

Although the issue of gender portrayal in advertising has been examined for many years, the focus has been on women's magazines with target audiences of 18 year-

olds and above. More recently, detailed studies have been undertaken in the UK regarding men's magazines. But to date, very little research into the effects advertisements that target adolescent females through the pages of youth fashion magazines has been conducted. This study begins to address these issues by analysing the content of advertisements that appeared in the Australian editions of Barbie, Dolly, and Girlfriend from January 1999 to December 2000.

The research shows that female images show little diversity; the majority of are Caucasian, athletic or thin, and attractive. In addition, while the 'supermodel' image is prevalent, it becomes dominant as the females portrayed in the advertisements increase in age. Knowledge of the standard portrayal of gender and body image by advertisers to child and adolescent females highlights the importance of understanding what the impact of these images are on the target audience's mental, emotional and physical development, as well as their purchasing decisions. We conclude by calling for further research to examine how these images affect younger females relative to the more mature audiences exposed to similar images in women's magazines. Addressing these questions will enable advertisers to make informed decisions about the images they portray to this impressionable target group, and may well foster both their social responsibility and financial success.

Increasing Fundraising Efficiency by Segmenting Donors

Katharina J. Srnka, Reinhard Grohs & Ingeborg Eckler

In view of diminishing public support in a wide range of non-profit areas, private donations become increasingly relevant for fundraisers. Although readiness to donate is high among private individuals and seems to be further increasing, competition for support has become fierce in the voluntary sector. Thus, fundraisers need to select and approach their potential donors efficiently. In academic research most authors regard psychographic criteria as the basis for segmenting and targeting. In marketing practice, however, fundraisers are often confined to socio-demographic data on their target groups. However, simple socio-demographic characteristics are insufficient for an effective fundraising approach, although these are often the only variables available to fundraisers. We examine whether certain socio-demographic characteristics, when combined with behavioural aspects, can be traced back to fundamental dimensions that represent efficient criteria for predicting donation behaviour.

To identify basic dimensions determining charitable giving, the authors conducted an empirical study. Data on donor characteristics and behaviour were collected and individuals' donation behaviour was analysed by socio-demographic criteria, including age, gender, and social class (measured by education and income). Variations in two other behavioural dimensions neglected in earlier studies, the types of beneficiaries and the form of the donation, were also examined. The research also involved a qualitative dimension, where the data were analysed to examine the existence of fundamental dimensions in private individual giving.

Age and social class (income in particular) had a significant relationship with donor behaviour. These results add to extant theory on the determinants of charitable giving and reveal three basic conditions under which individuals are particularly prone to donate. First, when the purpose of the non-profit organisation (NPO) is perceived as relevant; second, when the person may benefit from the services of a charitable organisation; and, finally, when the donation does not represent a burdensome expense or effort. These conditions are proposed as fundamental dimensions for segmenting donors and targeting specific segments that may help NPOs increase their fundraising efficiency among existing donors and enable identification of potential supporters.

Predicting Willingness to Donate Blood

Judith Holdershaw, Philip Gendall & Malcolm Wright

There is a recognised shortage of active blood donors in New Zealand and other countries, and recent changes in blood collection policy have also tightened eligibility criteria for blood donation. This has led to further decreases in the volume of blood collected while demand for blood and blood products increases. As a result, blood collection agencies are faced with the dilemma of how to encourage new donors to donate for the first time, and how to encourage existing donors to donate more often. If a reliable method of predicting blood donation behaviour could be found, this would allow blood collection services to target promotional activities at people who have a higher probability of becoming a donor, or of donating more often.

Research on blood donation behaviour has been a major arena for testing attitude theory, particularly research using the Fishbein extended model of behavioural intentions. These studies have mostly investigated reasons why people donate, or do not donate blood,

while other research has investigated the use of motivational incentives and has attempted to develop profiles of donor categories. However, it is clear that these attitude models, though widely applied, have not been very successful in explaining what influences the blood donation decision.

The study reported here investigated an alternative approach to predicting willingness to donate blood.

Specifically, this study compared the predictive ability of Ajzen's theory of planned behaviour with Labaw's behavioural approach to predicting behaviour, in the context of blood donation. Tentative findings from the study suggest that Labaw's approach is better at predicting reported donation behaviour than Ajzen's theory of planned behaviour, and that further study of this alternative approach is warranted.

The Ethicality of Using Fear for Social Advertising

Damien Arthur & Pascale Quester

Abstract

While a substantial body of literature has examined the effect of fear appeals in advertising, few, if any, studies have looked into the ethicality of using such threatening messages, particularly for socially desirable outcomes. In this paper, a review of the different theories of ethics leads to the development of an empirical study where the effects of using both physically and socially threatening messages to encourage juveniles to develop anti-smoking behavioural intentions were tested. Using the data collected from a convenience sample of about 250 undergraduates from the University of Adelaide, the results show that fear appeals may indeed be perceived as unethical, even when used for socially desirable purposes. Moreover, social threats were perceived as more unethical and generated less fear than physical threat, suggesting that their use may be counter productive with this type of population. Finally, ethicality did not appear to relate necessarily to change in behavioural intentions.

Keywords: Fear appeal, Ethics, Anti-smoking advertisements

1. Introduction

Advertisements using threatening messages generally vividly display the consequence of not conforming to the sponsor's recommendations (Spence and Moinpour, 1972; LaTour, Snipes and Bliss, 1996). Many studies posit that these threatening messages will lead to a desired behavioural change (e.g. Leventhal, Singer and Jones, 1965; Dabbs and Leventhal, 1966; Rippetoe and Rogers, 1987; Quinn, Meenaghan and Brannick, 1992; Brouwers and Sorrentino, 1993; Bagozzi and Moore, 1994; Bennett, 1996; LaTour et al., 1996; LaTour and Rotfeld, 1997). Despite the extensive use of threatening messages in advertising, however, the marketing literature has paid very little attention to the ethicality of such persuasive devices (Duke, Pickett, Carlson and Grove, 1993). To date very few, if any, research studies have investigated the ethicality of fear appeals when used for socially beneficial causes. The empirical study reported in this paper aims to fill this void.

The use of fear appeals raises several ethical issues. First, the use of threatening messages can create unnecessary anxiety among audience members (Spence et al., 1972; Duke et al., 1993; LaTour et al., 1996). This

issue reflects a large variety of personally subjective, and culturally based values and attitudes, making it somewhat difficult to define (Boddeyn and Kunz, 1991). Second, many critics consider the use of fear appeals unethical if the advertised solution does not eliminate the threat (Spence et al., 1972; Boddeyn et al., 1991; Quinn et al., 1992; Treise, Weigold, Conna and Garrison, 1994; LaTour et al., 1996; Shiv, Edell and Payne, 1997). Furthermore, critics argue that the use of threatening messages shows a lack of societal responsibility from advertisers as advertisements contribute to the development of social norms (Duke et al., 1993; LaTour et al., 1996). According to Spence and Moinpour (1972), advertising establishes and perpetuates the existence of social norms by reinforcing current social values and by hastening the speed of emerging social changes. Hence, advertising using fear may cause the emergence of previously unknown problems such as fear of the social rejection portrayed in some advertisements for deodorants. Supporters of fear appeals, on the other hand, argue that advertising is not the cause of these social norms but that it merely reflects the attitudes society already holds (Duke et al., 1993). Therefore, society's norms in relation to body odours

would condition, and justify, the portrayal of social rejection as a legitimate consequence of not using deodorants.

This study examines whether, and to what extent, these issues are perceived by consumers and in particular, whether different people perceive alternative types of threat differently. More specifically, the two main types of threats used in advertising, namely physical and social, are examined in this paper in relation to their acceptance by consumers, when used in the context of a socially desirable campaign against smoking. The paper begins with a review of the literature regarding the controversial issue of ethics and advertisers' use of threat. It then defines five hypotheses that will guide the empirical examination of this issue, before detailing the method adopted for collecting pertinent data. The results of our tests, comparing the ethicality of different advertisements and their potential effect on behavioural intentions, are then described and discussed in detail. The paper concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the study and the provision of directions for future research.

2. Ethical Theories of Moral Philosophy

Whilst there is no simple explanation of why a particular advertisement is considered unethical, an examination of the ethical theories of moral philosophy is a good starting point. The numerous ethical theories in moral philosophy can be broadly grouped as teleology, deontology and relativism (Reidenbach and Robin, 1990; Boddewyn et al., 1991; Duke et al., 1993; Gould, 1994; LaTour et al., 1994; Snipes et al., 1999).

Teleological philosophies determine the moral worth of behaviour by its consequences. The moral weight of one's action is judged by the degree to which the result is the best result for all affected parties. The two most commonly discussed teleological theories are egoism and utilitarianism. The theory of egoism implies that individuals should focus solely on the consequences to themselves when making an ethical evaluation. If an evaluation considers all of society, then the theory is called utilitarianism (Reidenbach et al. 1990). Based on this approach to ethics, the 'end justifies the means', be it at the level of the individual or at that of society itself. A teleological examination of fear appeals used in anti-smoking messages, therefore, would suggest that they should pass the test of ethicality if they can be proved effective. If the fear is effective in stopping an individual from smoking, this individual will have benefited (by avoiding the health consequences of smoking) and so

will society (by saving the health costs associated with the treatment of this individual), and this should supersede any other ethical concern one may have against the use of fear appeals.

Deontological philosophies offer a contrasting view of moral reasoning. Deontology emphasises the importance of methods and intentions, ultimately judging individual acts by the nature of the act itself (Reidenbach et al., 1990; Boddewyn et al., 1991; Duke et al., 1993; Gould, 1994; LaTour et al., 1994; Snipes et al., 1999). This theory suggests that individuals have a duty to satisfy the legitimate needs of others. The use of fear appeals in advertising would be less likely to be considered ethical when using a deontological perspective. If the act of inspiring fear and anxiety is deemed harmful by its very nature and if the intrusive character of such messages makes it unacceptable by certain standards of common decency and respect for others, then fear appeals should not be used, regardless of their potential effectiveness in stopping some consumers from smoking.

The final category in this group of ethical theories is 'relativism'. The theory of relativism states that all normative beliefs are a function of a culture or individual and hence, no universal ethical rules exist that apply to everyone. Therefore, the values and behaviour of people in one culture would not necessarily govern the conduct of people in another (Reidenbach et al., 1990). According to this view, the use of fear appeals may be ethical in Western societies where familiarity with advertising would 'protect' smokers from the tacit aggression of the message but may not be in developing countries where the advertising message may be accepted less critically and therefore, cause greater amount of anxiety to smokers.

Of course, consumers are unlikely to refer to such conceptual frameworks when exposed to advertising messages. Indeed, Reidenbach and Robin (1988) found that individuals did not use clearly defined ethical theories in their evaluation of marketing activities. Hence, researchers should resist viewing teleology, deontology and relativism as mutually exclusive philosophies and, rather, should assume individuals use a variety of principles derived from these theoretical frameworks when making ethical assessments. Indeed, research should aim to identify whether these different approaches constitute so many dimensions of ethicality. This may be particularly useful when the object of the message is to foster a socially desirable behaviour such as quitting smoking.

3. Hypotheses

La Tour and his colleagues (1996) found that advertisements using threatening messages are more likely to be perceived as ethical when fear is relevant to the advertised product. Furthermore, there are some cases in which fear appeals are advisable for both the advertiser and the consumer, such as those used for socially beneficial causes (e.g. alerting people to the dangers of smoking) (Treise et al., 1994). In these cases, the advertiser's interests are congruent with public interest; therefore, if a utilitarian view of moral philosophy is taken, these advertisements should not be considered unethical, regardless of whether the threat is physical or social. Hence, our first two hypotheses state:

H1: Physically threatening advertisements will not be viewed as unethical when used for a socially beneficial cause such as quitting smoking.

H2: Socially threatening advertisements will not be viewed as unethical when used for a socially beneficial cause such as quitting smoking.

Snipes et al. (1999) suggested that the use of extremely threatening messages may not be perceived as unethical if consumers feel that the recommended coping response (i.e. to quit smoking) will effectively eliminate the posed threat, be it social isolation or physical harm. This notion has received further empirical support (e.g. Spence et al., 1972; Quinn et al., 1992; LaTour et al., 1996); hence our third hypothesis examines the link between ethicality and the provision of a suitable coping response and states that:

H3: Fear appeals will be considered more unethical if the recommended coping response is perceived as unable to eliminate the posed threat effectively.

This study also examined the differences in fear generated between those advertisements perceived as the least ethical and those perceived as the most ethical. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly from a marketing perspective, we examined whether the perceived ethicality of an advertisement influences behavioural intentions. Hence, our fourth and fifth hypotheses can be stated as:

H4: The advertisements perceived as most unethical will not generate a significantly different degree of fear than those advertisements perceived as least unethical.

H5: The advertisements perceived as most unethical will not generate significantly different behavioural intentions than those advertisements perceived as least unethical.

Finally, although results from previous cross-cultural studies of consumer ethics have been somewhat ambiguous, three recent empirical studies have suggested that differing cultures' perceptions of ethicality vary in strength (Small, 1992; Davis, Johnson and Ohmer, 1998; Rawwas, Patzer and Vitell, 1998). Hence, given that cultural background is believed to affect ethical sensitivity, we must test whether groups from different cultural backgrounds have different perceptions of ethicality, leading to our last hypothesis:

H6: There will be differences in perceptions of ethicality between individuals of contrasting cultural background.

4. Methodology

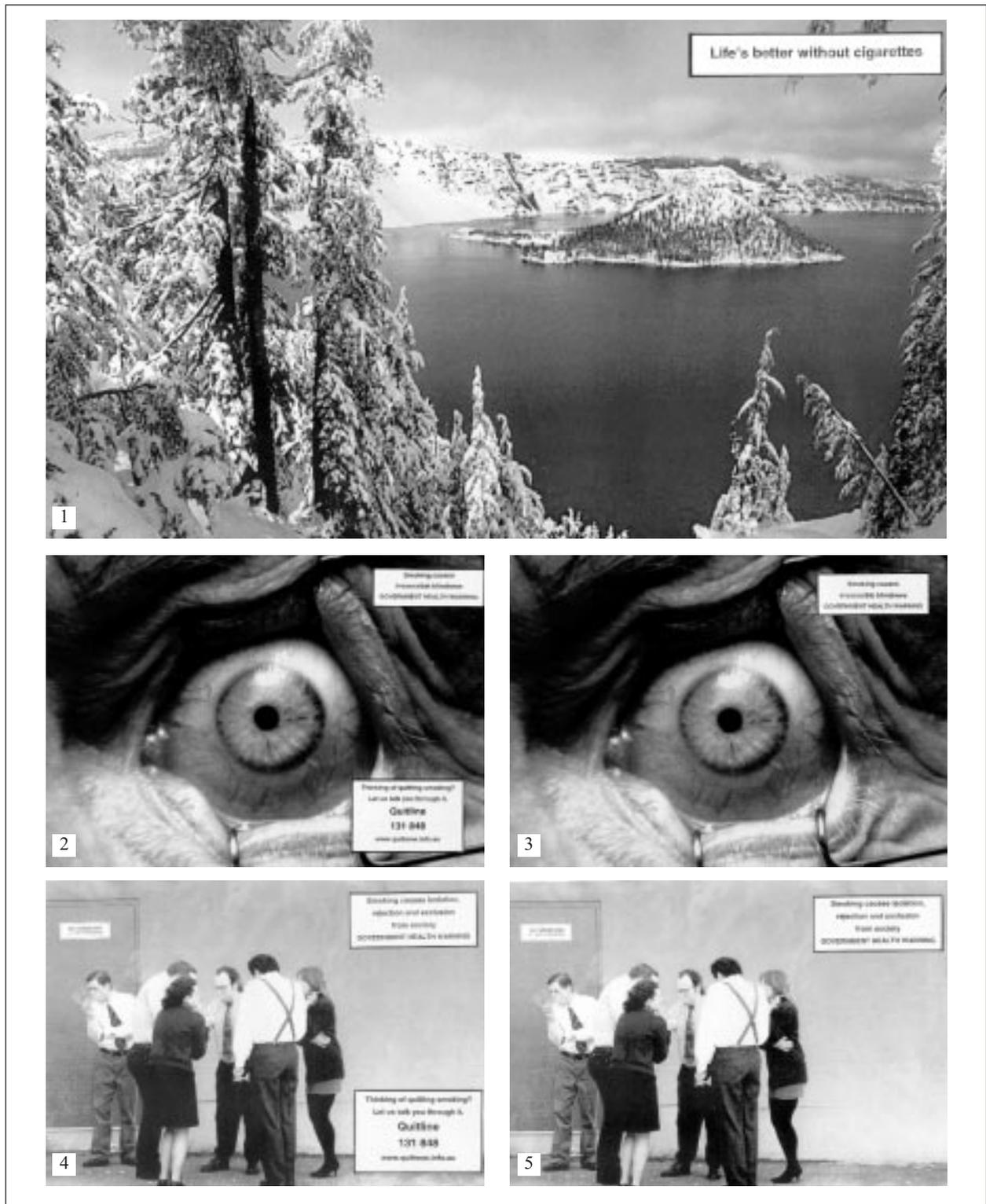
To test these hypotheses a quasi-experimental design was used. This consisted of participants randomly viewing one of six possible print advertisements, before answering a set of attitudinal questions.

4.1 Data Collection

A review of the marketing and psychology literature reveals that most research studies of fear appeals have been obtained through the use of a convenience sample (e.g. Maddux et al, 1983; Tanner, Hunt and Eppright, 1991; Brouwers et al., 1993). This has resulted in many samples that comprise American undergraduate college students. Although these are not probabilistic samples, convenience samples are often legitimised in marketing research if their results are not generalised beyond the boundaries of the subject profile (Zikmund, 1997).

The sample chosen for our study (undergraduates from the University of Adelaide) was also one of convenience, although the inclusion of primarily juvenile respondents is a valid choice given the importance of convincing them of the dangers of smoking before long-term health consequences occur. Moreover, the nature of the experimental design results in comparison being made between groups, which in part alleviates the need for samples to be representative (as demographic factors that are shared by the different treatment groups are secondary to the effects of the treatments). However, the nature of the sample used in this study will clearly demand that the results of this study be generalised only with great caution beyond the boundaries of the subject profile.

Questionnaires were shuffled before distribution, which resulted in random group assignments. The questionnaire was distributed during the first 15 minutes of a lecture and participants were requested not to answer it until



Figures 1 to 5: The ethicality of using fear for social advertising
(The authors gratefully acknowledge the use of the advertising material provided
by the National Tobacco Campaign of Australia for Figures 2 and 3, and by adbusters.org for Figures 4 and 5.)

instructed. Instructions stressed that all individual responses would be kept strictly confidential, for ethical reasons as well as to encourage honest and accurate answers. To simulate realistic conditions of exposure to the advertisements, respondents were informed to take only 15–20 seconds to examine the stimuli. Finally, the respondents were informed that they would be eligible to enter a draw to win \$50 after completing the questionnaire. This incentive was provided to encourage participation, to foster complete and accurate responses, and to offer a sign of appreciation.

A total of 248 questionnaires were completed, six of which were discarded because data that were considered crucial to the analysis were insufficiently provided. Within the remaining 242 questionnaires, there were 15 missing observations within multi-item measurement scales. To avoid the problems associated with missing observations, the missing values were replaced with estimates computed using the mean of the remaining items in the multi-item measurement scale. This was deemed appropriate since Cronbach's alpha, a measure of scale reliability, was relatively high for each scale concerned.

In terms of demographic profile, the age of our sample appeared typical of second and third year university students with 69% of the sample aged between 19 and 21. Forty-one percent of respondents were born overseas, the majority of whom came from an Asian country, and 15% of the sample indicated they smoked.

4.2 Stimulus Advertisements

A three (type of threat: control, physical, or social) by two (coping strategy: with or without) between subjects factorial design was used to test the five hypotheses previously listed. Despite the predominant use of television as the medium of choice for recent anti-smoking campaigns, print advertisements were used for this study as they could be cost-effectively replicated and manipulated for the experimental design. Print was also favoured because it permitted different treatments to be administered to individuals simultaneously. To avoid any preconceived attitudes about the advertisements used in the experiment, advertisements that had not been previously used in South Australia were selected.

By design, the advertisements for each treatment were as similar as possible, apart from the type of appeal used. This was to ensure that the attitudes measured were a response to the manipulations, rather than a response to the design of the advertisements. The stimuli used for

this study are shown in Figures 1 to 5. The control advertisement contained a scenic winter landscape, with the caption "Life's better without Cigarettes" in the top right hand corner. This advertisement was designed to arouse no emotion at all. The caption "Life's better without Cigarettes" was included to reduce any cognitive dissonance regarding the advertisement. Despite its use of a winter scenery featuring a lake and snow-covered trees, the control advertisement was not associated with the snowy mountain peaks of the Alpine brand by any of our pre-test subjects, probably because of the intrinsic difference between the types of landscape used as well as the relatively rare exposure of Australian consumers to Alpine promotional material.

The remaining advertisements all contained a Government Health Warning similar to those currently found on Australian cigarette packets and cigarette advertisements. An anti-smoking advertisement designed by the National Tobacco Campaign of Australia was manipulated for the purpose of developing a physically threatening advertisement. This advertisement stated, "Smoking causes irreversible blindness" and contained an extreme close up of a human eye. This picture was selected after pre-testing four available visuals provided by the Anti-Cancer Society of South Australia with a small group of undergraduate students who rated it as evoking greater fear. The physical threat with coping strategy was identical to the physical threat without coping strategy, apart from the inclusion of the coping information situated on the bottom right hand corner.

The socially threatening advertisements were developed by manipulating a parody of an existing cigarette advertisement obtained from the Adbuster website. These advertisements showed a small group of men and women forced outside to smoke and stated "Smoking causes isolation, rejection and exclusion from society." While this caption may be somewhat exaggerated and controversial, it was justified by the need to make the social threat as extreme as possible to match the level of the physical threat. The social threat with coping strategy was identical to the social threat without coping strategy, apart from the inclusion of the coping strategy information situated on the bottom right hand corner. Two experts in the field examined the appeals and agreed that all the treatment advertisements were believable and realistic. That is, the physically threatening advertisements posed a physical threat, and the socially threatening advertisements posed a social threat.

Table I: Measurement of Ethicality

When you viewed the previous advertisement, to what extent did you think the ad was:								
1) Fair	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	Unfair
2) Just	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	Unjust
3) Morally right	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	Not morally right
4) Acceptable to my family	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	Not acceptable to my family
5) Acceptable in my culture	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	Not acceptable in my culture
6) Traditionally acceptable	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	Not traditionally acceptable

4.3 The Questionnaire

The survey employed a self-administered questionnaire comprising many scales previously validated in research studies. The questionnaire was pre-tested with a convenience sample of 18 respondents representative of the final sample (the age of the sample ranged between 16 and 25, and 33% of the sample was Asian). The conditions under which the questionnaire was administered in the pre-test were very similar to those anticipated in the final experiment. As a result of the pre-test, however, the exposure time was increased to 20 seconds, scale anchors were standardised to use

‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’ throughout, and the demographic section was moved to the back to improve the overall flow and completion rate of the questionnaire.

4.3.1 Measurement of Ethicality

Traditionally, marketers have relied on a single-item measurement scale of ethics anchored by such phrases as ‘very ethical’ and ‘very unethical’. According to Herche and Engelland (1996), single-item measures may be adequate in measuring very specific and narrow constructs, but broad and complex constructs require

Table II: Rotated Component Matrix for Ethicality

	Component	
	1	2
Fair	0.151	0.907
Just	0.176	0.924
Morally right	0.490	0.632
Acceptable to my family	0.861	0.250
Acceptable to my culture	0.909	0.204
Traditionally Acceptable	0.854	0.155

Table III: Measurement of Fear

When you viewed the previous advertisement, to what extent did you feel:

	Not at all				Very much so		
a) Fearful	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
b) Tense	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
c) Nervous	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
d) Scared	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

more comprehensive measures. As the construct of ethics is complex in interpretation and not directly observable, multi-item measures were used in this study. As previously noted, Reidenbach et al. (1988) found that individuals use more than one ethical philosophy in making ethical evaluations of marketing activities. This finding led to the development of the Reidenbach-Robin multidimensional ethics scale which encompasses teleological, deontological and relativism philosophies. The scale is composed of three dimensions of ethical decision-making: a ‘moral equity’ dimension, related to issues of fairness and what is right and wrong; a ‘relativism’ dimension, concerned with social guidelines and influences as they impact on the individual; and a ‘contractualism’ dimension, concerned with the implied obligations (Reidenbach et al., 1990).

The moral equity dimension (consisting of the variables morally right/not morally right, fair/unfair, just/unjust, and acceptable to my family/ not acceptable to my family) comprises seven-point bi-polar adjective items and is based on lessons learned early in life from basic institutions (e.g. family and religion) (Reidenbach et al., 1990). The insights acquired from basic institutions are considered decisive in establishing what individuals consider to be decent or objectionable in advertising (LaTour et al., 1994). The moral equity dimension can be viewed as a composite dimension in the sense that it consists of variables based on all three philosophies used by Reidenbach and Robin.

The relativism dimension (consisting of the items culturally acceptable/not culturally acceptable, and traditionally acceptable/not traditionally acceptable) comprised seven-point bi-polar adjective items and

represented the guiding principles that influence the behaviour of society. Given the overlapping foundations of the ethical philosophy used in developing the scales, a high degree of correlation has been found between some dimensions. Indeed, the ‘moral equity’ and ‘relativism’ dimensions have also been shown to combine into a single comprehensive dimension in previous research (Reidenbach et al., 1988; Reidenbach et al., 1990). This suggests there is a relationship between what people see as culturally acceptable and what people see as just.

Reidenbach and Robin (1990) included a third dimension, ‘contractualism’, in their scale. This dimension (consisting of two bi-polar items ‘violates an unspoken promise/does not violate an unspoken promise’, and ‘violates an unwritten contract/does not violate an unwritten contract’) represents the notion of a social contract between an individual and society. Given that the Reidenbach–Robin multidimensional ethics scale was developed and validated using business practice scenarios, researchers have argued that the combined ‘moral equity’ and ‘relativism’ dimension is more suitable than the ‘contractualism’ dimension for use in an advertising study (LaTour et al., 1994; Snipes et al., 1999). For this reason, the ‘contractualism’ dimension was excluded from the current study.

Table I shows the items used in this study to measure the ethicality of advertisements. In previous studies, scales combining the moral equity and relativism dimensions have been shown to exhibit a relatively high correlation with a univariate measure of the ethical content of situations, indicating its relatively high degree of convergent validity (Reidenbach et al., 1988; LaTour et al., 1994; Stangor, 1998). Previous studies have also

Table IV: Measurement of Response Efficacy*

For a smoker, giving up cigarettes will eliminate the chance of suffering from irreversible blindness.

Strongly disagree	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	Strongly agree
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For a smoker, giving up cigarettes will eliminate the chance of suffering from isolation, rejection and exclusion from society.

Strongly disagree	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	Strongly agree
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* We used the first item here for respondents exposed to physical threats treatments and the second item for respondents exposed to social threat treatments

found that a single comprehensive scale has a high degree of reliability (Reidenbach et al., 1988; LaTour et al., 1994; Stangor, 1998).

Exploratory factor analysis was conducted to establish the validity and dimensionality of the ethicality scale. As indicated in Table II, Varimax rotation extracted two components consisting of all items. However, Component 1 was heavily weighted towards the relativism dimension (consisting of the items culturally acceptable/not culturally acceptable, and traditionally acceptable/not traditionally acceptable) and explained 59% of the variation in the data, while Component 2 was heavily weighted towards the moral equity dimension (consisting of the variables morally right/not morally right, fair/unfair, and just/unjust) and explained 21% of the variation in the data.

Interestingly, the item ‘acceptable to my family’ did not load on the moral equity dimension as in Reidenbach and Robin’s (1990) study, but loaded strongly on the relativism dimension. As Reidenbach and Robin (1990) indicated that a panel of three experts in moral philosophies defined the item ‘acceptable to my family’ to be a relativist item within the moral equity dimension, its inclusion as part of the relativism dimension seemed justified. Furthermore, as family plays a vital role in

many Asian cultures, and since Asians constituted some 31% of our sample, it seemed valid to include this item within our relativism dimension.

Cronbach alphas revealed the reliability for the relativism and the moral equity dimensions to be 0.83 and 0.89 respectively, indicating a high degree of internal consistency among the scale items and suggesting they belong to the same domain of content. As expected, the two dimensions were strongly and positively correlated; the correlation coefficient was 0.512 (p=0.000). Hence, an overall ethicality index was created for our initial analysis (H1 to H5) combining the scores for all 6 items. For H6, however, a closer investigation of cultural differences in perceived ethicality justified the use of the two latent dimensions of the ethicality construct when comparing samples of contrasting cultural backgrounds. Hence, individuals’ scores on each of the final three seven-point items were summed up to measure the relativism dimension. Similarly, individuals’ scores on the first three items were summed up to measure the moral equity dimension.

4.3.2 Measurement of Fear

The Maheswaran and Meyers-Levy (1990) index measurement scale was developed to measure the fear a

Table V: Measurement of Behavioural Intentions

Within the next two weeks I will quit smoking, or encourage a smoker to quit smoking.

Likely	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	Unlikely
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Table VI: Normality Tests for Ethicality

Treatments	Statistic	Sig.
Control advertisement	0.948	0.064
Physical threat	0.972	0.458
Physical threat w/ coping strategy	0.981	0.742
Social threat	0.948	0.058
Social threat w/ coping strategy	0.965	0.311

person reports feeling about some stimulus (cited in Bruner and Hensel, 1996). The validity and reliability of this scale was pre-tested with a sample of 47 commerce undergraduates from the University of Adelaide. Factor analysis indicated the reliability of the scale could be improved by removing ‘reassured,’ ‘relaxed,’ and ‘comforted’, the three reversed-mood adjectives. Table III indicates the items used to measure fear in this study. The level of fear a respondent felt was determined by compiling a ‘fear index’, calculated as the sum of their answers to the four seven-point response items. A high score on this index indicated that the respondent experienced a high degree of fear in reaction to the stimulus, a low score suggested the respondent felt no fear at all. A Cronbach alpha of 0.94 indicated a high degree of scale reliability.

4.3.3 Measurement of Coping Response Efficacy

The scale developed to measure ‘response efficacy’ was

adapted from Rogers and Mewborn’s (1976) study of fear appeals. Both questions were worded in an identical manner to reduce response error resulting from the wording of the questions. As indicated in Table IV, both questions began with, “For a smoker...” to meet the need of our sample that comprised both smokers and non-smokers. Respondents were required to give their answer on a seven-point response scale anchored by “strongly agree” and “strongly disagree,” and the answer coded was the one that addressed the threat the individual faced.

4.3.4 Measurement of Behavioural Intentions

The measurement scale constructed to measure behavioural intentions was adapted from Rippetoe et al.’s (1987) study. Again, as indicated in Table V, the wording of the question was adapted to account for both smokers and non-smokers. Respondents were required to give their answer on a seven-point response scale anchored by “strongly agree” and “strongly disagree.”

Table VII: Independent Sample T-Tests Significance Values for Ethicality

Treatments	Mean	Std. Dev.	(C1)	(P2)	(P3)	(S4)	(S5)
(C1) Control advertisement	17.37	6.96	-				
(P2) Physical threat	19.32	7.07	0.182	-			
(P3) Physical threat w/ coping strategy	18.63	6.14	0.351	0.610	-		
(S4) Social threat	21.00	7.08	0.013	0.246	0.079	-	
(S5) Social threat w/ coping strategy	20.45	6.84	0.032	0.428	0.169	0.697	-

Table VIII (a): Descriptive Statistics

Treatments	Fear		Response Efficacy		Behavioural Int.	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Control advertisement	5.13	2.75	-	-	3.13	2.13
Physical threat	12.89	6.25	3.70	1.93	3.51	2.18
Physical threat w/ coping strategy	12.49	6.78	3.84	1.70	3.04	1.81
Social threat	8.16	4.85	3.04	1.60	2.76	1.97
Social threat w/ coping strategy	8.16	5.63	3.33	1.63	2.98	2.18

5. Results and Discussion

The reliability of the overall ethicality measurement scale was examined using Cronbach’s alpha. Cronbach’s alpha was 0.86, which indicated a high degree of internal consistency among the scale items and suggested that they all belong to the same domain of content. In addition, this reliability measure compared favourably to those reliability measures obtained in other marketing research studies (Reidenbach et al., 1990; LaTour et al., 1994). Furthermore, as indicated in Table VI, Shapiro Wilk tests for normality were conducted and revealed all five treatments were normally distributed at the 95% significance level.

Independent sample t-tests were considered appropriate since different participants were exposed to only one of the different treatments and because the treatments were

normally distributed. For each treatment, the significance value for the Levene’s test ranged between 0.305 and 0.921. These are relatively high significance values ($p > 0.05$), allowing the assumption of equal variance to be made for all groups. Table VII displays the significance values for the independent sample t-tests. Significant differences were found between the control advertisement and both social threat advertisements ($p < 0.05$). Thus, according to the independent samples t-tests, we can reject Hypothesis 2, and conclude with 95% confidence that the social threat advertisements were viewed as more unethical than the control advertisement, even when used for socially beneficial causes. Since no other significant differences were found, we cannot reject Hypothesis 1, and must conclude that the physical threat advertisements were not viewed as more unethical than the control advertisement.

Table VIII (b): Mann Whitney U Tests Significance Values for Manipulation Checks

Treatments	Fear	Response Efficacy	Behavioural Intentions
Physical threat $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ Social threat	0.000	0.116	0.101
Physical threat $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ Social threat w/ coping strategy	0.000	0.399	0.193
Physical threat w/ coping strategy $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ Social threat	0.001	0.022	0.297
Physical w/ coping strategy $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ Social w/ coping strategy	0.000	0.138	0.545

Table IX (a): Multivariate and Univariate Analysis of Variance Results

95% Confidence Interval								
Dimension	Treatment	Birth	Mean	Std. Dev.	No.	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Moral Equity	Control advertisement	Australian	10.96	3.33	33	0.592	9.79	12.12
		Asian	9.33	3.55	12	0.981	7.4	11.27
		Total	10.52	3.43	45			
	Physical threat	Australian	9.85	3.19	27	0.654	8.56	11.14
		Asian	11.71	3.63	14	0.908	9.92	13.5
		Total	10.49	3.42	41			
	Physical threat with coping strategy	Australian	9.46	4.13	28	0.642	8.2	10.73
		Asian	9.28	2.92	17	0.824	7.66	10.91
		Total	9.40	3.69	45			
	Social threat	Australian	9.93	2.89	28	0.642	8.66	11.19
		Asian	12.80	3.44	16	0.85	11.13	14.47
		Total	10.97	3.37	44			
	Social threat with coping strategy	Australian	10.22	3.48	27	0.654	8.93	11.51
		Asian	12.06	3.23	16	0.85	10.39	13.74
		Total	10.91	3.47	43			
Total	Australian	10.12	3.42	143				
	Asian	11.09	3.56	75				
	Total	10.45	3.49	218				
Relativism	Control advertisement	Australian	7.33	4.24	33	0.72	5.91	8.75
		Asian	7.25	4.03	12	1.195	4.89	9.61
		Total	7.31	4.14	45			
	Physical threat	Australian	8.07	4.10	27	0.796	6.5	9.64
		Asian	11.93	4.08	14	1.106	9.75	14.11
		Total	9.39	4.45	41			
	Physical threat with coping strategy	Australian	7.93	3.99	28	0.782	6.39	9.47
		Asian	11.59	4.29	17	1.004	9.61	13.57
		Total	9.31	4.44	45			
	Social threat	Australian	8.04	3.28	28	0.782	6.49	9.58
		Asian	13.63	4.73	16	1.035	11.59	15.66
		Total	10.07	4.69	44			
	Social threat with coping strategy	Australian	8.15	4.50	27	0.796	6.58	9.72
		Asian	11.56	4.30	16	1.035	9.52	13.6
		Total	9.42	4.68	43			
Total	Australian	7.88	4.00	143				
	Asian	11.39	4.64	75				
	Total	9.09	4.54	218				

Table IX (b): Multivariate and Univariate Analysis of Variance Results for Ethics

Multivariate Tests				
	Effect	Pillai's Trace F Statistic	df	Sig.
	Treatment	3.15	8	0.002
	Birth	15.66	2	0.000
	Treatment * Birth	1.86	8	0.064
Tests of Between-Subjects Effects				
Source	Dependent Variable	Univariate F Statistic	df	Sig.
Treatment	Moral Equity	2.33	4	0.058
	Relativism	3.78	4	0.005
Birth	Moral Equity	3.83	1	0.052
	Relativism	30.66	1	0.000
Treatment * Birth	Moral Equity	2.71	4	0.031
	Relativism	2.31	4	0.059

Past researchers have indicated that fear appeals may be perceived as more unethical if consumers believe the recommended coping response will not effectively eliminate the posed threat (Snipes et al., 1999, Spence et al., 1972; Quinn et al., 1992; LaTour et al., 1996). An examination of the manipulation checks, shown in Tables VIII (a and b), reveals only one significant difference ($p=.022$) between the ability of the coping response to eliminate the threat of irreversible blindness (in the physical threat with coping strategy treatment) and the threat of exclusion from society (in the social threat without coping strategy). In all other cases, there was no significant difference between the perceived ability of quitting smoking to eliminate the threat of blindness and that of suffering social rejection or isolation. This result was unexpected as the threat of irreversible blindness can be backed by medical evidence, while the threat of rejection, isolation and exclusion from society could be argued. However, this provides support for Hypothesis 3, given that the social threat advertisement was perceived as significantly more unethical than the control advertisement (see H2), while the physical threat in coping strategy advertisement was not (see H1).

Furthermore, as shown in Table VIII (b), the social threat advertisements generated significantly less fear than the

physical threat advertisements, even though the social threats were viewed as significantly more unethical than the control advertisement ($p<0.05$). This provides support for Hypothesis 4 and suggests individuals consider other significant factors when making a moral judgement of a fear appeal. In today's egalitarian society, for example, it is possible individuals consider it unethical to persecute others by highlighting the social implications of their habit. On the other hand, it appears that highlighting the physical effects that smoking causes was seen as ethical, as these messages do not discriminate, and if used effectively, may save lives.

As also indicated in Table VIII (b), there was no significant difference in behavioural intentions between the physical threat and social threat advertisements, even though the social threat advertisements were viewed as significantly more unethical than the control advertisement ($p<0.05$) while the physical threat advertisements were not. This provides partial support for Hypothesis 5 and suggests the perceived ethicality of an advertisement is not necessarily related to a change in behavioural intentions.

To examine our last hypothesis, our data set was manipulated to provide only two distinct cultural sub-groups, Australian-born and Asian-born. While it is clear

that different Asian countries have a distinctive and unique culture, they also tend to rate similarly in terms of Hofstede's (1984) cultural dimensions, justifying a grouping of respondents from Asian countries into one single group for the purpose of comparison with the Australian-born subjects. Our Asian-born sample comprised a total of 75 respondents who indicated their country of birth as Malaysia (48), Singapore (11), Hong Kong, (9) Sri Lanka (4) or China (3). A further 24 respondents, who had indicated they were born in neither Australia nor Asia, were therefore excluded from the rest of the analysis, leaving a total usable sample of 218 respondents.

Before proceeding to any further analysis, the data set was once again checked for normality. Shapiro Wilk tests for normality revealed that all five treatments were no longer normally distributed at the 95% significance level. This suggests analyses that rely on the assumption of normality (including MANOVAs) should be used with caution. However, to address some of the potential problems associated with non-normal data, we used Pillai's Trace criterion, considered to be the most robust statistic against violations of assumptions.

To examine the nature of the influence of culture on perceptions of ethicality, we used the two latent dimensions of ethicality, namely relativism and moral equity, and undertook multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), the results of which are shown in Tables IX (a and b). We also examined the significance of the interaction between exposure to treatment and country of birth.

As can be seen from Table IX (b), significant multivariate effects were observed for treatment and country of birth, allowing us to interpret the univariate between subject effects also given in Table IX (b). An examination of the univariate F tests for each dependent variable indicates which individual dimension of ethicality contributed to the significant multivariate effect. To evaluate these effects, we used a Bonferroni-type adjustment to decrease the chance of type 1 error. The simple formula we applied is $\alpha/\text{number of tests}$; hence the adjusted alpha is equal to 0.025 (Coakes and Steed 2001). Using this alpha, a significant univariate main effect for the relativism dimension was found in relation to treatment and birth ($p < 0.025$). However, the relativism dimension was not found to be significant in relation to the interaction effect. No significant main effects were found for the moral equity dimension. As a result, we conclude H6, that culture influences perceived ethicality, is strongly supported by our findings. More

specifically, country of birth influences the relativism dimension of ethicality.

6. Conclusions, Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The results of this study suggest social threat advertisements may be considered unethical even when used for socially beneficial causes. This should act as a warning to marketers, cautioning them against the indiscriminate use of social threats in advertisements. This is particularly so, given the results of Shore and Gray's (1999) research, which found that social threats were no more effective than physical threats to discourage drink driving, questioning earlier findings by Schoenbachler and Whittler (1996) in the case of anti-drug messages.

Furthermore, our study did not find a relationship between the amount of fear an advertisement generates and its perceived ethicality. Hence, marketers should consider carefully the use of threat in general when designing their advertising, as it is difficult to identify which specific factors individuals will consider when making an ethical judgement. Finally, our results suggest that the relativism dimension of ethicality is more relevant than the moral equity dimension when trying to understand cultural differences in perception of ethics, a useful finding for international marketers seeking to pre-test their advertising messages. Indeed, our findings emphatically demonstrate the importance of pre-testing threatening messages before launching any advertising campaign aimed at combating undesirable behaviour.

As is often the case in studies of this kind, a number of limitations must be acknowledged. First, this study relied on a convenience sample of undergraduate students who are not necessarily representative of the broader population. While the focus on juveniles in previous research and the demographic profile of our sample made a comparison of our results with previous studies possible, future research should clearly aim to ensure that a broader and more representative sample of juveniles are included, possibly by using a snow-balling technique or random sampling at youth events. Second, the lecture theatre setting and experimental procedure may have produced a degree of 'forced exposure', even though they also allowed the researchers a degree of control unachievable in more realistic conditions. A third weakness of the current study is that the findings were based on self-reported measures of attitude change. Evans, Rozelle, Lasater, Dembroski, and Allen (1970)

suggested that actual behavioural change and reported behavioural intentions do not necessarily correspond. This may be partly explained by the fact that the effects of fear dissipate rapidly over time (Leventhal et al., 1965; Evans, et al., 1970).

Another possible methodological concern stems from the stimulus advertisements used. First, print may not be the most effective medium for generating an emotional response. Hence, the amount of fear generated by our treatments was limited. Future research should take advantage of other forms of communications that generate a greater amount of fear to determine whether they are still considered unethical. A second concern was the mention of isolation in the socially threatening advertisements used in the experiment, as these depicted a small group of smokers, which may not be congruent with isolation. Hence, an advertisement containing a single smoker standing outside should be used in any replication of this study.

Finally, cigarette smoking poses many threats, not just the two (irreversible blindness and exclusion from society) used in the study. As most individuals are already aware these threats exist, they may have already developed ways of coping, other than those proposed in our treatments. It is also likely that smokers perceived the threatening stimuli differently from non-smokers. Indeed, the smaller than expected number of smokers in our sample precluded any segmented analysis of their response to the treatments. For example, we were unable to split the sample between smokers and non-smokers as cell size became as low as 3 or 4. In any replication of this study, future research should address this area by ensuring a balance between smoking and non-smoking respondents. This may be achieved by targeting outdoor venues where smoking by juveniles may be prevalent (such as skateboard facilities, or alfresco meeting places).

Overall, our results indicate that fear appeals may be viewed as unethical by consumers, even when used for socially beneficial causes. Interestingly, the advertisements perceived as most unethical did not generate the greatest amount of fear, suggesting there are other significant factors that individuals consider when making a moral judgement of a fear appeal. Future research studies should investigate the relationship between the perceived ethicality of fear appeals and their capacity for persuasion.

Our finding that culture influences only one dimension of perceived ethicality is new and interesting for practitioners and academics alike. Whilst previous

research agreed that culture influences ethics, no attempt had been made to date to investigate specifically how the response to fear appeals by two different groups of contrasting cultural backgrounds would be affected. That only relativism, and not moral equity, was the source of significant difference between groups of different culture should act as a warning to organisations seeking to use 'imported' social marketing campaigns when only local pre-testing of such messages will allow the determination of whether the campaign is perceived as ethical by its intended audience.

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Corporate Social Action Patterns in Contrasting Market Settings

Ali Quazi, Robert Rugimbana, Siva Muthaly & Byron Keating

Abstract

This paper presents the results of a survey of Australian and Bangladeshi corporate managers' response patterns in the food and textile sectors to increasing demands for improved corporate social performances. Based on an analysis of six internal and external decision areas using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), significant differences were found in corporate action between countries and within selected industries. Australian managers were more likely to act on the internal marketing decision areas (product, price, distribution and communication), Bangladeshi managers tended to act on external environmental decision areas. The strategic implications of these findings are that macro- and micro-environmental variables and government and business capabilities in diverse settings significantly influence managerial actions on social responsibility pressures.

Keywords: Corporate Social Responsibility, Corporate Social Marketing Action, Cross-Cultural Marketing, Corporate Environmentalism, Comparative Marketing Ethics

1. Introduction

Academic debate on corporate social responsibility (here referred to as CSR), has centred around the question of whether corporations have any more responsibility to society, other than providing services or supplying products at a profit. Professor Milton Friedman (1970) triggered the debate over three decades ago by arguing against the involvement of business in social responsibility practices, labelling such practices as fundamentally subversive. One of his most controversial works was an essay titled "The social responsibility of business is to increase its profit" (Friedman, 1970), in which he made the following argument:

There is a very real social responsibility (of businesses), and that is to make as much money as they can subject to staying within the law and within the appropriate ethical standard ...because that will best serve consumers (Friedman, 1989, p. 14).

Friedman (1970, 1989) argued that the expectation of any wider social responsibility from a business executive is unfair, undemocratic, unwise, a violation of trust, and basically futile. Other authors, such as Gaski

(1985, p. 42), have presented arguments consistent with Friedman's position:

...the view that marketing has a greater social responsibility than just satisfying customers at a profit, is an erroneous and counterproductive idea. For marketers to serve the best interests of society is not only undemocratic but also dangerous ...

He contended that while government officials are responsible for making decisions that further the interests of their constituents, business executives do not qualify for this responsibility. Further, he argued that managers are neither empowered nor have the required expertise to determine what the public interest is, other than satisfying customers at a profit. It is, therefore, both an undemocratic and a dangerous step for marketers to extend themselves beyond their area of principal expertise.

Thus, the traditional view of CSR assumes that corporations are exclusively economic institutions directed towards protecting stockholder interests, and places less emphasis on satisfying wider societal (stakeholder) needs. This position contrasts with the

emerging emphasis in the social sciences, and marketing in particular, for corporations to adopt a more significant societal role. This new role posits that corporations are the most powerful institutions in society, enabling them to serve the greater interests of society while at the same time maximising profit. The underlying argument is that firms will achieve long-term financial benefits by caring for societal welfare. A number of authors and organisations endorse this emerging view by supporting the case for wider corporate social action (Drucker, 1984; Mulligan, 1986; Shaw, 1988; Samli, 1992; Sen, 1997; Polonsky, Suchard & Scott, 1997; Quazi & O'Brien, 2000; Cattai, 2001).

The current CSR literature suggests that the obligations, duties and responsibilities of societies and corporations are determined by the terms of a social contract, which is subject to change from time to time, depending on the changing expectations of society. Several authors have argued that the terms of the social contract are themselves undergoing a fundamental change, seeking to increase corporate social responsibility (Dunfee, Smith & Ross, 1999; Donaldson & Dunfee, 1999). The emerging literature also suggests a broad-based consensus among social and business theorists on this fundamental shift in attitudes and values. These include a greater emphasis on quality rather than quantity, a change from profligate use of resources to conservation, from more government regulation to responsible self-regulation, and from mastery over nature to existing in harmony with it (Steiner & Steiner, 1997).

It has been argued that if corporations choose to address the emerging social demands, in areas such as pollution control for example, the increased costs associated with compliance can be overcome by the development of alternative strategies based on innovation (Porter & Van der Linde, 1995). Responding to social demand could therefore generate a unique competitive advantage that could be profitable in the long run. Several researchers have reported a positive relationship between CSR and profitability (Simpson & Kohers, 2002; McWilliams & Siegel, 2000; Frooman, 1997; Waddock & Graves, 1997; Posnikoff, 1997; Stanwick & Stanwick, 1998).

The foregoing discussions indicate that a society's economic, social and regulatory environment could be expected to affect the actions taken by managers in response to social responsibility concerns. Whilst there is widespread belief that differences in business behaviour in developed and developing countries would arise in response to social pressure (Quazi, 2002, 1993;

Steiner & Steiner, 1997; Kaynak & Wickstrom, 1985; Kaynak, 1981), there is very little empirical evidence that tests this proposition. In addition, the setting for the two industries concerned (food and textiles) in Australia and Bangladesh, would be expected to have an impact on marketing and managerial actions taken, in response to social responsibility concerns.

The aim of this paper, therefore, was to examine the impact of the macro-environment variables of a country and industry on the action taken by managers in regard to social responsibility in the selected managerial decision areas. To this end the study sought to:

1. assess the differences in the pattern and extent of actions taken by managers in the countries selected.
2. examine the differences across national industries in terms of managerial decisions in the identified areas of social action of firms.

2. Review of the Literature

The question of whether corporations would behave in a similar fashion despite differing cultural environments (socio-economic, political and legal structures) has been raised in the CSR literature. In reference to thoughts on contemporary social contracts, some authors suggest that, in industrially advanced countries, corporations are likely to take greater responsibility than their counterparts in the developing world. This perspective is based largely on the belief that market conditions favouring the buyer, high competition, and strict regulatory frameworks, act as an incentive for firms in the developed world to behave in a socially responsible manner (Sriram & Manu, 2002).

A complementary position suggests that due to differing priorities in less developed nations, businesses are under far less pressure to adopt CSR (Khan & Atkinson, 1987; Negandhi & Prasad 1971). For instance, since economic growth is thought to be the main concern for less developed countries, business is perceived to have more impact in the economic sphere than in the social domain. This view is strengthened by the belief that in less developed societies, businesses are a key institution for the creation of employment that is considered vital for the survival of people in those societies (Steiner & Steiner, 1997; Austin, 1990; Khan & Atkinson, 1987; Teoh & Thong, 1984; Kaynak, 1981).

Unlike their industrially advanced counterparts, developing societies seem more ready to tolerate some negative by-products of development for the sake of

economic growth. As such, they are considered less critical of the potentially negative role of business in society, tending to appreciate their economic significance (Hudson, Ogbuehi & Kochunny, 1995). The social responsibility role of business in a developing country is asserted to change, depending on the firm's stage of economic development. This is reflected in an observation made by Khan (1985, p. 91) in a comparative study of corporate social responsibility in the U.K. and India, who notes that:

The relevance of social responsibility to the problems and aims of a developing society like ours is viewed differently ... consequently matters such as social justice or social accountability should wait until there is further economic growth and more wealth created; and that too much concern with these matters at the initial stage of economic development would only result in arresting the process of growth.

Khan argues that a cross cultural comparison of managerial attitudes and actions in different societies, characterised by varying socio-economic, cultural and political environments, and market settings, will contribute to a greater understanding of the true nature of business response and interaction with societal expectations.

3. Previous Empirical Research

A number of empirical studies have examined various aspects of CSR, mostly in reference to the western world. Some studies have found a positive relationship between social performance and profitability (Simpson & Kohers, 2002; McWilliams & Siegel, 2000; Frooman, 1997; Waddock & Graves, 1997), while others have found multiple dimensions in the corporate perception of CSR in regard to the changing management emphasis toward 'benefit driven social responsibility' (Quazi & O'Brien, 2000).

Additional studies have found that company size (Stanwick & Stanwick, 1998; Fombrun & Shanley, 1990; Lee, 1987; Aupperle et al. 1985; Ullman, 1985), product orientation, and environmental function (Labatt, 1997) are important determinants of corporate social performance. Further, some studies have revealed a statistically significant relationship between corporate commitment to CSR, and macro-environmental factors (including the cross-cultural context) in which businesses operate (Quazi & Cook, 1996).

In a comparative study of attitudes of British and Indian

managers, Khan and Atkinson (1987) found strong similarities towards a range of social responsibility issues and concepts. The study revealed that over 94% of Indian and British executives surveyed viewed social responsibility as an important and relevant issue to businesses. Similarly, 54% of British and 75% of Indian respondents believed both social and profit goals are an essential aspect of business practice.

A similar study of the attitudes of managers from the United States and South Africa towards CSR, found there were significantly more favourable attitudes among American managers towards social responsibility than among their South African counterparts (Orpen, 1987). The study also found that the South African managers held a more classic view of the social responsibility of business than their American counterparts: South African managers were less inclined to embrace a view of social responsibility extending beyond the narrow perspective of profit maximisation in the long term.

However, Schlegelmilch and Robertson (1995) found differences in the perception of ethical issues among senior business managers by country and industry across the United States, Europe and Australia. Likewise, Ali (1993) found statistically significant differences in the attitudes of 218 CEOs in the clothing and food industries in Australian and Bangladesh in their attitudes towards corporate social responsibility. The results indicated that although some differences were found, business attitudes towards corporate social responsibility in both the countries were quite similar, despite their socio-cultural and political differences.

In a comparative study of ethical management practices in Australia and Sri Lanka, Batten et al. (1999) found ethical management practices varied between the two countries. The specific issues examined in their research included written codes of ethics, a forum for discussing ethics, and environmental impacts on ethical practices in primary, secondary, and tertiary services sectors and construction and building industries in both countries.

Whilst numerous studies have examined managerial commitment to corporate social responsibility, relatively little research has been directed towards the nature and extent of managerial actions taken in response to increasing social demands. This is particularly true in cross-national and cross-cultural contexts. Clearly, if economic needs and the prevalent culture of a society affect societal demands, it would appear reasonable that

the social actions of corporations are likely to vary according to the countries, cultures and market settings in which they operate their businesses. Equally valid is the view that industry situation and competitiveness may also play an important role in the way managers respond to these social demands (Schlegelmilch & Robertson, 1995; Beneish & Chatov, 1993; Robertson & Nicholson, 1996).

The main proposition of this research was that inherent country and industry effects will produce significantly different managerial responses and actions to social demands.

4. Corporate Social Responsibility Actions

To ascertain whether environmental factors influence the corporate social responsibility actions of managers in Australia and Bangladesh, this study needed to identify measures for a number of outcome variables, and then assess whether there was a significant difference in the responses to these variables in the different countries and industries. For this research, the corporate social responsibility actions explored related to six broad decision areas: the marketing mix (product, price, promotion and distribution); organisational factors; and specific, social responsibility factors (Quazi, 1994):

- The marketing mix variables reflect the need for firms to be conscious of fulfilling consumers' desires for environmentally friendly products, transparent pricing policies, ethical advertising, and sustainable distribution systems (Varadarajan et al., 1991, 1994).
- The organisational action variable reflects the value management place on social responsibility, reflected

in the commitment of internal resources to staff development and dispute resolution (Barksdale et al., 1982).

- Specific social responsibility factors explored were intended to assess the firm's commitment to ethical standards, community care, philanthropy and environmental protection (Orpen, 1987).

It was envisaged that action or commitment to action in these decision areas could reveal important response patterns. For example, response patterns indicated whether managers were more or less likely to abandon a traditional outlook towards discharging their responsibilities to society. The extent to which a firm's response is action-oriented to any item indicates that firm's commitment to social responsibility in the context of that item.

5. Methodology

A uniform structured questionnaire was used to collect data from Australia and Bangladesh. The questionnaire comprised pre-validated measurement scales designed to assess the nature and extent of the CSR actions managers had taken or considered. A six-point scale was used for each area of possible action, ranging from 1 'action has already been taken', 2 'planning to take action in the future', 3 'attention should be paid to this issue', 4 'relevant but no action needed', 5 'irrelevant and no action contemplated', and 6 'not applicable'. Items relating to each of the decision areas were classified under the six headings of product, price, distribution, promotion, organisational initiatives, and specific social responsibility actions.

All scales were drawn from a previous study into social

Table I: Cronbach Alpha coefficients for the action variables

Variables	Cronbach Alpha coefficient	
	Australia	Bangladesh
Product	0.84	0.73
Price	0.86	0.55
Distribution	0.66	0.80
Promotion and communication	0.86	0.86
Organisational aspects	0.67	0.87
Specific social responsibility	0.72	0.65

responsibility, consumerism and corporate behaviour (Quazi, 1994), where the measures were reported to exhibit good factor structure and good internal consistency. To ensure the composite items reliably captured their respective action areas, each construct was assessed for internal consistency. The reported Cronbach Alpha coefficients for each action variable were reported to range from 0.66 to 0.86 in Australia, and from 0.55 to 0.87 in Bangladesh. The coefficients are presented in Table I.

It can be seen in the table that all but four of the scales met Nunnally's criteria for strong internal consistency ($\alpha > 0.7$); however, as the non-complying scales satisfied the criteria for moderate reliability they were considered adequate (Nunnally, 1978). Furthermore, the efficacy of the measures was also supported by an examination of the item-total correlations, with all correlations exceeding the minimum suggested value of 0.4 (Zaichkowsky, 1985). The strength of the observed communalities also supports the decision of this study to explore the variations in the CSR action variables according to the items rather than the constructs. Exploration of the items provides a more detailed and meaningful interpretation of the differences that exist across the countries and between industries.

6. Sample Selection and Justification

Questionnaires were mailed to all food and textile firms listed in the Kompass-Australia business directory that were based in Sydney (Australia), a total of 267 businesses. Surveys were sent to a randomly selected sample of 459 firms from 918 food and textile businesses based in Dhaka (Bangladesh). This sample was derived from the list of industries published by the Bangladeshi Department of Industries and the Garment Manufacturers' Association.

The survey was conducted simultaneously in Sydney and Dhaka. After two follow-up attempts, 102 questionnaires had been returned from the Australian sample, and 218 from the Bangladeshi sample, resulting in response rates of 38 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. While these response rates were considered satisfactory for a self-completed mail survey (Burns and Bush, 1998), the authors examined the influence of non-response bias by comparing the mean responses of the early and late respondents. While Armstrong and Overton (1977) asserted that non-respondents are more likely to be similar to late respondents than early respondents, the analysis revealed no statistically significant difference between the groups.

The decision to choose Australia and Bangladesh was made because of their distinct and contrasting cultural orientations (Hofstede, 1980, 1985 and 1993), and the varying levels of economic development (Batten, Hettihewa and Mellor, 1999; Rashid, 1990). These factors are hypothesised to affect managers' attitudes towards social vigilance and ethics (Batten, Hettihewa and Mellor, 1999). In addition, industries in both countries are viewed as being likely to produce culturally constituted products. Essentially, the cultural and industry effects are expected to impact differently on Australian and Bangladeshi managers' attitudes, and their resultant decisions on appropriate social actions. Therefore, the managerial actions in these two countries are expected to reflect accurately the contrasting market environments, rather than other unobserved variables. The two countries and the two specific industries have been selected to represent national and industrial culture in a developed and a developing country, where Australia and Bangladesh are viewed as existing at two extremes of the industrial development continuum.

Despite some similarities between the two countries, namely, that both are dependent on primary goods for export earnings, and are strongly influenced by a prolonged period of English colonial rule that left a strong institutional legacy of law and language, Australia is considered largely to be a buyers' market, whereas Bangladesh is viewed as a sellers' paradise, with a chronic scarcity of goods and services. Additionally, the regulatory structure is also different: Australia has a strong and established structure of market regulation, and Bangladesh is trying to develop an appropriate one (Layton and Quazi, 1997).

7. Results and Discussions

The major findings of the study will now be discussed under the principal decision areas mentioned earlier. Four of these areas of action are related to marketing mix (product, price, distribution and promotion); and the remainder are concerned with organizational actions and broad social responsibility-related issues. A two-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to test the differences between corporate social actions in the two survey nations and in their respective industries. However, before conducting this analysis, the assumptions of normality, homogeneity of variance and interactions were tested, confirming the suitability of the data for such analysis.

Differences in managerial action are first explored at the

country level followed by the industry level. We then comment on managerial actions that differ significantly between countries and between industries. While a number of items were considered under each of the six decision areas mentioned earlier, only those items showing statistically significant differences of action on CSR between the two countries and industries have been included in the discussion.

7.1 Product-related actions

Of the fourteen items considered, analyses revealed significant differences in six and three of the product-related items for the different countries and industries respectively. Table II indicates that Australian companies were significantly more willing to be involved in a greater level of commitment to social action in the areas of product recall, warranty and guarantee commitments, repair, replacement and refund areas, safety labelling and service benefit. This finding points to a strong policy of managerial response and action on the part of Australian firms in core product-related areas. Possible explanations for this finding could relate to the institutionalisation of consumer protection and fair trading regulation in Australia, including the introduction of the Trade Practices Act of 1974.

Corporate commitments to these issues are part of the day-to-day affairs of corporations in Australia. Furthermore, the highly competitive environment could influence managerial pre-disposition to taking greater care in product-related areas in the Australian market. Bangladeshi businesses, on the other hand, showed a greater level of commitment to managerial action on the environmental aspect of products by responding at a higher level to the issue of discontinuing the production of products that were not environmentally friendly. This finding seems to contradict the conventional belief that economic imperatives supersede social imperatives in developing countries, and that environmental issues would be of secondary importance in a society likely to accept some of the by-products of development to gain economic growth.

However, the positive response of Bangladeshi managers to this particular issue could be a reflection of special circumstances rather than a prevailing social responsibility. For instance, the regular incidence of environmental disasters in Bangladesh could have a bearing on the perceived importance of this issue. The business community is not immune from the impact of such disasters, and such a finding could reflect the desire of Bangladeshi business managers to play a role in

alleviating such problems. Further, these sentiments might have influenced the action to produce environmentally friendly products as a means of distancing themselves from the poor publicity associated with environmental issues.

Conversely, attention to the provision of professional after-sales services to customers, taking consumer opinion into consideration, and a readiness to withdraw questionable products from the market place are all very much a part of the more sophisticated marketing environment in Australia. The combination of the forces of competition, technological advancement, best practice, as well as consumerism, all play an important role in the maintenance of high product-quality standards.

Significant industry effects were reported in three action items, of which two are related to clothing and one to the food industry. This could suggest that the clothing industry is oriented towards customers and, as such, is more willing to use consumer opinion in designing and marketing its products, and in ensuring product safety. This finding could also reflect managers' awareness of the importance of safety and fashion sensitivity in the clothing and garment industry.

The identified difference in product action in the food industry was in the area of product quality. This finding is understandable, given high consumer sensitivity to the health considerations associated with food quality. The Australian legislative requirements regarding food marketing are also considered to be an important factor driving such corporate behaviour. Conversely, Bangladeshis perceive these factors as less critical.

7.2 Price-related actions

The analysis revealed that only one of the three price items showed a statistically significant country difference, while there were no observed differences across the industries (see Table II). The item identified related to the need to avoid misleading claims of discount pricing. Australian managers showed a significantly greater willingness to act on this sensitive issue, perhaps reflecting the strength of consumerism in the developed world, where failure to act would have a distinct impact on the goodwill of a firm. This difference in the level of action between the two countries is understandable from both a legal and marketing point of view. Under section 52 of the Trade Practices Act of 1974, it is unlawful for a business in Australia to be involved in practices involving misleading claims in discount pricing (Goldring et al., 1998).

In addition, given the high level of competitiveness in the Australian markets, it would be damaging to the reputation of a firm to indulge in such unethical and illegal practices, which might result in a negative impression of the firm in the marketplace. Action on this issue is also inevitable because of the high levels of awareness of customers, and the active role played by public consumer protection agencies, private consumer organisations, interest groups and media in detecting and fighting such deceptive practices. Furthermore, the finding also suggests that corporate social action in a particular society is linked to the level of consumer protection legislation in place, the level of competitiveness of the market, and consumers' awareness of their social rights.

7.3 Distribution-related actions

The two-way ANOVA showed that country effects contributed significantly to the difference in managerial action in two areas of distribution. These were a) reasonable mark up, and b) quick distribution of products during emergencies. Bangladeshi managers' willingness to take greater levels of action on these issues could be explained in the context of the prevailing marketing practices in Bangladesh.

For example, because of the chronic shortage of consumer goods, the price of essential commodities, including food and clothing, is highly regulated in Bangladesh. Price regulations require manufacturers to add a reasonable mark-up on the wholesale price to avoid exploitation of consumers, and to limit the impact of free-market pricing. This action prevents unwarranted price hikes in times of shortages and emergencies and is managed through the compulsory requirement for every Bangladeshi retailer to display their price lists prominently. The inclination of Bangladeshi managers to take action in this area could reflect their commitment to serve the social interest above the economic interest. This tendency also seems to have been accentuated by frequent emergency situations that arise from natural disasters such as cyclones, floods and droughts.

Once again, the findings tended to contradict the theory that businesses in developing countries place greater emphasis on economic imperatives; however, this contradiction is understandable given the special circumstances (in this case, humanitarian needs) that warrant a more socially responsible behaviour from businesses. In such cases, the societal expectations of business go beyond the traditional responsibilities of

business to maximise profit and provide employment, with failure to comply viewed as having a detrimental impact on their image in society.

The significant differences between Australians and Bangladeshi managers in regards to industry effects are apparent in the areas of delegation and mark-up. Overall, food industries in both countries indicated a higher level of action on these issues, reflecting the industry-specific issues concerning social action on this variable in both countries. For example, the existence of a longer channel of distribution in the food industry, and the perishable nature of food items, is considered to have led to a special climate of social responsibility. The need to delegate more power to the middlemen and supply chain partners is more likely to result in a greater level of flexibility in decision making, resulting in an improved level of customer service.

Likewise, the essential nature of the food industry has resulted in a proliferation of competition, where adding a reasonable mark-up may make the price more competitive and affordable to the general public and thereby benefit consumers in general. The greater level of willingness to take action on these issues in the food sector of both countries, suggests food companies are aware of their special obligation to society because of the very sensitive nature of the products and their special role in the day-to-day lives of consumers.

7.4 Promotion- and communication-related actions

Australian managers have shown a higher level of action than their Bangladeshi counterparts (Table II) in the following areas:

- Specific policy on deceptive/misleading advertising.
- Code of ethics in advertising and promotion.
- Staff training in good customer relations.

The greater level of action taken by Australian managers on these issues is attributed to the differences in the regulatory environment and market situation of the two countries. The Australian market is characterised by buyers' market conditions, with tougher regulations and higher level of market competition. For example, fairness in advertising is regulated in Australia by section 52 of the Trade Practices Act of 1974. Australian advertisers, through the Australian Advertising Authority, are also required to follow the organisation's code of ethics. Positive action on these issues may also stem from the possible fear of losing consumer confidence in a competitive marketing environment.

Table II: Comparison of Australian and Bangladeshi Managers' Actions

Element of Marketing Mix	Variables	Mean values		Source of variations ²	Significance (P <.05)*
		Australia (n=108)	Bangladesh (n=218)		
Product	Sorting out defective and below standard products before they are marketed.	4.68	4.73	Industry (F)	.000
	Recalling questionable products from the market.	4.20	3.56	Country (A)	.002
	Strict acceptance of warranty and guarantee commitments.	4.41	3.61	Country (A)	.000
	Ensuring repair, refund or a replacement of product.	4.64	3.51	Country (A)	.000
	Adequate product labeling emphasizing use, safety precaution and ingredients.	4.46	3.96	Country (A) Industry (C)	.000 .001
	Including the opinion of consumers in designing and marketing the products.	3.90	3.65	Industry (C)	.003
	Discontinuing environmentally unfriendly products.	3.01	3.61	Country (B)	.001
	Adding significant service benefit to the products.	3.61	2.74	Country (A)	.000
Price	Avoiding misleading claims of discount pricing.	3.31	2.70	Country (A)	.001
Distribution	Giving distributors and retailers more authority so they can provide quick, effective service to the consumer.	2.98	3.17	Industry (F)	.015
	Encouraging retailers to include only a reasonable mark up in the selling price.	2.81	3.20	Country (B) Industry (F)	.000 .005
Promotion	Specific policies for checking whether there is any deceptive/misleading element in ad.	3.47	2.66	Country (A)	.000
	Following industry code of ethics in ad and promotion.	3.57	3.0	Country (A)	.011
	Training of sales/service staff in good customer relations.	4.38	3.24	Country (A)	.000

Note: 1. Results obtained from sample ANOVA applied to each item separately.

2. The letter in brackets indicates which country or industry had the higher mean score on the item in question. A stands for Australia and B for Bangladesh. F stands for food and C for clothing.

3. *Denotes significant at 5 percent level (P <.05) after Benferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons

Conversely, the lower level of action on these issues initiated by Bangladeshi businesses can be linked to the absence of an adequate regulatory framework. The sellers' market conditions and the lack of adequate market competition are also responsible for this situation. Australian managers' willingness to initiate action in maintaining the code of advertising and promotion ethics may result from a perception that self-regulatory practices persuade the community that no further regulation will be necessary in this area.

This is primarily due to the industry itself seriously examining the situation and taking the necessary steps to implement the program. A relatively high level of competition has made the issue popular in many developed countries (including Australia), and as a consequence good customer service is a synonym for success in the market through the retention and enhancement of market share. An absence of industry effect in regard to action on advertising and promotional aspects suggests there are no industry specific social issues to be addressed by corporations in this area, and that actions on these issues are initiated irrespective of the industry environment in which firms operate and make decisions.

7.5 Actions related to organisational aspects

As shown in Table III, there are significant differences between Australian and Bangladeshi managerial social action on four items concerning organisational aspects. Bangladeshi respondents have taken greater action on one item, whereas Australian respondents recorded greater action on three items. Australian firms have taken significantly greater action in handling complaints, including:

- Training staff so they can properly handle corporate social responsibility.
- Involving senior staff (managers) in complaint handling process.
- Using complaint handling as a means of promoting the reputation of the firm.

Australian managers' enthusiasm in implementing these organisational issues is most likely associated with the rich national culture of consumer protection. This finding reflects the growth of consumer complaints, and the resultant development of a strict regulatory framework in this area. Further, since the resolution of these complaints by a government department is

Table III: Significant Differences in Action in Relation to Organizational Aspects

Variables	Mean values		Source of variation ²	Significance (P < .05)*
	Australia	Bangladesh		
Creation of a position of consumer affairs manager to monitor public issues and take appropriate company initiatives.	2.44	2.77	Country (B) Industry (F)	.000 .004
Staff training in the area of corporate social responsibility.	3.08	2.80	Country (A)	.001
Involving senior managers (e.g. Chief Executive Officer) in the handling of complaints.	4.34	3.76	Country (A)	.002
Treating effective complaint handling as a means of promoting goodwill of the firm.	4.52	3.78	Country (A)	.000

Note: 1. Results obtained from sample ANOVA applied to each item separately.

2. The letter in brackets indicates which country or industry had the higher mean score on the item in question. A stands for Australia and B for Bangladesh. F stands for food and C for clothing.

3. *Denotes significant at 5 percent level (P < .05) after Benferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons

perceived to be expensive (in terms of compensation) and embarrassing for businesses, adopting a proper complaint handling policy is viewed as a necessary organisational requirement.

This policy could also assist firms by preventing consumers from going elsewhere to solve their problems, and help management by providing important feedback regarding problem areas. Services marketing literature also suggests that a favourable (re)action is likely to create a positive impression in the mind of disenchanted customers about the level of customer service provided by a company, which ultimately promotes its reputation in the marketplace (Bitner, 1994). Furthermore, the finding could also reflect the importance of involving senior management in the complaint-handling process, where consumers may view this involvement as a demonstration of sincerity by the business, creating a sense of trust in the consumers about the company and its social responsibility.

Bangladeshi respondents showed a higher level of willingness to initiate action in the creation of a position for a consumer affairs manager to monitor public issues and take appropriate actions on behalf of the company. This finding may reflect the recent change in industrial policy in Bangladesh, in which greater emphasis has been placed on the involvement of the private sector in public issues, and in particular, in helping to address the continuous deterioration of the physical environment resulting from regular natural disasters. The creation of the position of consumer affairs manager could also reflect the changing attitudes of managers in the developing countries towards integrating social demand into their formal organisational structure.

Significant industry effects are apparent in two items, namely, concern with the establishment of a consumer affairs manager, and staff training in CSR. These industry effects were significantly higher in the food industry in both countries, and are most likely linked with the relatively high incidence of consumer sensitivity to food marketing, and the growing number of complaints in this area. An organisational action to create a managerial position to monitor the relevant issues, and promote consideration of CSR, seems to be an effective strategic move to tackle consumer grievances in the food industry. By training staff to handle social issues effectively, food industry businesses in both countries are more likely to generate efficiency in the process of managing social demand.

7.6 Specific social responsibility actions

The analysis identified significant differences between the actions of the two groups of managers across five of the specific social responsibility items (see Table IV). In every case, Bangladeshi firms were more likely to initiate action than their Australian counterparts. This tendency by Bangladeshi businesses could be largely attributed to the influence of broad environmental factors. As such, the difference in the level of corporate actions is most likely a reflection of the variance in the physical environment, social welfare situation, financial position of the government, religiosity, and regulatory environment of the two countries.

For example, Bangladeshi managers' action in the area of marketing ethics may seem to be contradictory to the popular belief that the ethical practices in the developing world are much lower than those of the developed world. However, a closer look into the macro-environment surrounding the industries on which this study has focused reveals that the higher level of ethical behaviour of managers could be linked specifically to the export orientation of the garment industry. Since international buyers may hesitate to import goods from a developing country such as Bangladesh because of perceptions of poor quality products and services, the provision of a written code of ethics can help break down such perceptions and build a favourable overseas image of the business.

This finding may also reflect the higher level of religious commitment among Bangladeshi managers. The linkages between religiosity and ethical business behaviour is well documented in ethics literature (Anusorn, et al., 2000; Weaver and Agle, 2002), suggesting that the high prevalence of religious belief in the majority of Bangladeshi managers (Quazi, 1995) influences their adoption of formal ethical practices (McNichols and Zimmerer, 1985). This finding also appears consistent with previous research, which has found a statistically significant relationship between religious (Islamic) belief and ethical practices in Bangladesh (Banu, 1992).

Table IV also suggests that Bangladeshi businesses have a higher level of involvement in community welfare and charitable activities. This finding would seem consistent with the differing social welfare system in Bangladesh. Unlike Australia, the government in Bangladesh does not have sufficient funds to provide welfare assistance (including unemployment benefits) to its vast poor

Table IV: Significant Differences in Relation to Action on Social Responsibility.

Variables	Mean values		Source of variation ²	Significance (P < .05)*
	Australia	Bangladesh		
Maintaining and upgrading a written code of marketing ethics.	3.38	3.53	Industry (F)	.000
Providing incentives to managers to establish high ethical standards in decision making.	2.91	3.58	Country (B)	.000
Allocating funds for philanthropic/charitable activities.	3.54	4.16	Country (B)	.000
Having a specific policy on community welfare.	2.90	3.70	Country (B)	.000
Supporting anti-pollution legislation.	3.52	4.09	Country (B)	.000
Specific policy on resource conservation (use of procedures that minimise wastage of natural resources).	3.75	4.09	Country (B)	.006

Note: 1. Results obtained from sample ANOVA applied to each item separately.

2. The letter in brackets indicates which country or industry had the higher mean score on the item in question. A stands for Australia and B for Bangladesh. F stands for food and C for clothing.

3. *Denotes significant at 5 percent level after Benferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons.

population and, as such, relies heavily on the private sector and non-government organisations (NGOs) to provide charitable services and activities. Further, the philanthropic activities could also reflect the prevalence of Islam, where Muslim managers are under an obligation to spend 2.5% of their disposable income on charity.

Incentives for greater involvement in these areas may also come from perceived benefits from gaining tax relief and increased customer support for a good record of community involvement. This is evident from the fact that in Bangladesh, a business can claim a considerable tax rebate on the amount of money spent on charitable purposes. While this tax incentive does exist in Australia, the relative benefit is much lower for Australian businesses than for their Bangladeshi counterparts. The comparatively lower level of religiousness of Australian managers may also have affected their action on charitable contributions.

Stronger support for anti-pollution legislation was also evident in Bangladesh. This finding is likely to stem from concerns about the comparatively high levels of pollution in the Bangladesh environment. As businesses are perceived as being largely responsible for this

problem, positive action in the area of pollution control could be expected to translate into a positive perception in the marketplace. This analogy also extends to the conservation of resources, where the issue of resource conservation in Bangladesh is viewed as having a significant impact on the economic well being of the country. For instance, Bangladesh has to spend the bulk of its scarce foreign earnings to import huge amount of fuels from overseas. Since fuel is very expensive in Bangladesh, resource conservation through the use of devices that minimise consumption is likely to help businesses and government in financial terms, while at the same time reducing negative environmental impacts.

Relatively higher levels of managerial action involving ethics are evident in the food industry. Once again, this finding is understandable and reflects the nature of products that comprise this industry. The direct impact on health and safety is viewed as necessitating higher levels of truthfulness in their production and marketing processes.

Greater levels of action on resource conservation in the food industry can be linked to the relatively high consumption of natural resources such as petroleum, electricity and natural gas at the various stages of the

food-production process. Greater willingness to initiate action in this area may have arisen from the realisation that these resources are limited, and that wise use of these resources will help sustain the long-term physical environment of the country.

8. Conclusion

The pattern and extent of corporate social action varied significantly between Australian and Bangladeshi businesses in a number of the decision areas tested. Australian managers were generally more willing to take action in the core marketing mix areas of product, price, distribution and communication. On the other hand, Bangladeshi managers took more action on environmental pollution, community welfare, resource conservation, and corporate giving.

The study revealed that in certain decision areas, maintenance of product standard and quality, provision of authentic and factual information in advertising, and effective complaints handling, managerial action did not vary significantly between the two survey countries.

In the industries surveyed, the findings were somewhat mixed. In Australia, companies in the food industry recorded a greater tendency to take managerial action on matters relating to ethics, compared with the clothing industry. In Bangladesh, the results were quite the opposite: within the Bangladesh clothing industry, the garment companies exhibited a greater readiness to respond favourably to corporate social responsibility than their food sector counterparts.

The main finding of this study was that, apart from market and economic conditions, other factors also greatly influence managerial commitment and willingness to act in a socially responsible manner, where diverse cultural environments are concerned. These factors include, but are not limited to, religion, physical environment (climatic condition), welfare policy and social structure.

The study also suggested that environmental variables such as competition and customer service have a significant impact on managerial action, most noticeably in the marketing mix areas, where socially responsible behaviour is critical for survival in the marketplace. The results suggest that forces in the external environment of business, such as consumerism, markedly influence corporate action in the area of social responsibility. This is reflected in the action taken in response to questionable business practices such as product piracy,

deceptive advertising, warranty and guarantee, product quality, safety, and product labelling.

The greater readiness of Australian business to act in the marketing mix areas seems to suggest that Australian business managers' behaviour is directed mostly towards the more tangible areas of business activity. As such, factors like customer satisfaction, competition and regulation have a relatively more visible role to play. Similarly, a greater willingness to act in the core mix areas may be a reflection of the more sophisticated marketing environment existing in Australia, which has the characteristics of a mature consumer society.

In the case of Bangladesh, the study found that corporate action is particularly prevalent in the areas of public relations, product piracy, specific social responsibility and, to some extent, in distribution. A relatively low propensity to act on the core marketing mix is probably reflective of the initial stages of the development and growth of consumerism in Bangladesh.

On the other hand, Bangladeshi managers show a greater inclination to take action in the broader areas of social responsibility such as ethical issues, environmental protection, community involvement and corporate giving. This may, however, be in response to the special needs of a developing country. Businesses are very powerful institutions, controlling the bulk of national resources in such societies, and would normally be expected to take greater roles in meeting the social welfare demands of their communities. Consequently, positive business responses towards social responsibility in many cases appear to be influenced by factors such as poverty, hardship caused by regular disasters, and moral and theological obligations, rather than economic rationalism. It is worth noting, however, that businesses that invest in moral capital are reported as more likely to gain social recognition and government sympathy in the form of tax relief.

9. Limitations of the Study

The findings of this research and the conclusions drawn need to be considered in the context of the following possible limitations. First, the present study is limited to a comparison of two industries within and between two countries. To broaden an understanding of the pattern of response actions of corporations at an international level, a wider spectrum of countries and industries could be considered in a future study. Second, the concept of CSR is susceptible to subjective and value-laden judgements. Thus, the responses of the managers could carry some

bias, particularly in verbal claims on levels of commitment towards social responsibility.

Lastly, the decision to use one particular methodology is always made at the expense of alternative methods. As such, the chosen method carries certain inherent limitations. For example, the decision to use a self-administered mail survey to capture the opinions of the two convenience samples carries the possible limitations of low-response and social desirability. A low response rate implies that those members of a sample frame who do not participate are viewed as having a significant impact on the findings, resulting in a non-response bias. Furthermore, the implications of social desirability suggest that respondents may reply in terms of their perceptions rather than reality, or in ways that are biased towards the views of the research managers.

10. Implications of the Study

The findings of this study have important implications for practitioners. This research could assist firms in the developed and developing contexts to address social demand effectively, and to meet their corporate social responsibilities. In a specific country-market, a foreign firm may use the findings to look more closely at the macro-environmental factors shaping the nature and intensity of social demand in the relevant setting. This is because the nature and intensity of the social pressures in a foreign environment are likely to differ significantly from those in the home country.

Specifically, these findings have important implications for those wishing to understand the drivers of social demand and the associated corporate responsibilities in different contexts. For instance, firms desiring to form partnerships with businesses in Bangladesh need to understand the implicit role of such firms within the social fabric of their societies, and the importance of factors such as religion and poverty. Likewise, firms considering an involvement with businesses in Australia need to recognise the explicit role of regulatory frameworks in driving CSR in such environments. Firms need to appreciate the special considerations that are inherent within certain industries, particularly the health and safety concerns of the food industry. It follows, therefore, that a full assessment of the patterns and impacts of the social demands needs to be thoroughly undertaken before designing any public policy strategy.

While this study has found that firms in different development contexts tend to emphasise either macro- or micro-strategies in reaction to social pressures, firms

within each of these contexts could also benefit from a more holistic approach. For example, when firms from the developed world take socially responsive action by making decisions based on micro-environmental issues, which involve the elements of the marketing mix, it may be prudent to also take into account macro-forces such as competition, regulation, social welfare situation and the vagaries of nature.

Conversely, when firms originating in the developing world target a developed-country market, they should avoid restricting their actions to the macro-environmental factors alone, and also give due consideration to the micro-factors that contribute to shaping social pressures, and to the resultant action in those markets. This is true partly because most of the social issues in the latter environs have already been institutionalised in the form of regulations, which make it mandatory for firms to comply with the social regulations in force. In addition, in such environments consumers are typically aware of their rights, and enjoy much more power than their counterparts in the developing countries.

11. Future Research

This study explored the possible impact of some of the macro-environmental factors on the behaviour of managers in different cultural environments and the industries within. However, no attempts were made to develop a specific set of variables to assess their impact on corporate action. Future research could therefore be directed towards developing a set of environmental variables and a model for assessing the causal relationship between these macro-environmental variables and corporate social behaviour in an international context.

While the findings revealed important differences between the developed and developing worlds, as represented by Australia and Bangladesh respectively, future research could explore whether these differences hold in other representative nations. Furthermore, the extent to which these findings are synonymous with the developmental phase of the countries, or the different industries within these countries, could also be explored in greater detail using a range of alternative methodologies.

Likewise, future research could also consider the similarities that exist between countries and industries, as well as the inner dynamics of decision-making processes and their impact on managerial action on societal issues in unlike environments. Since company

managers selected in this study were from urban areas only, further studies could include non-business, semi-urban and rural/regional samples in order to enhance the applicability of the results to a broader context.

Notes

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New Zealand Adolescents' Perception of Smoking and Social Policy Implications

Christina Kwai-Choi Lee, Margo Buchanan-Oliver & Micael-Lee Johnstone

Abstract

The aim of this paper was to explore the attitudes and associations of smoking among adolescents to highlight the implications for the development of social policy. We report the results of a study based on a series of in-depth focus group discussions among school children. Several themes are identified, providing some indication of the susceptibility factors that can lead to smoking behaviour: the perception of infallibility despite knowledge of smoking related diseases; social influences from friends and family; the desire to experiment; and stress. The social policy initiatives recommended include the creation of anti-smoking messaging for cinema audiences in order to counteract the effect of aspirational role models. Targeting anti-smoking education programmes at the primary school level, extending current initiatives addressed at Maori and Pacific Island populations to pre- and primary-school education, and encouraging family involvement in these education programmes are also recommended. The reframing of current physical threat-themed media communication to focus more on social threat themes, and the widening of the media mix to reflect adolescent audience use are believed to be effective.

Keywords: Smoking, Adolescents, Social policy

1. Introduction

The debate concerning smoking among adolescents continues to mount. A New Zealand study by an anti-smoking group, Action on Smoking and Health (ASH), revealed that in 2001 28 percent of 14-15 year old girls and 21 percent of boys smoked (ASH Media Release 7 May 2002), and that 34 percent of youth smokers are Maori females. The New Zealand Government has made a significant attempt to curb this trend by introducing hefty fines on those caught selling tobacco to minors, a twenty-percent increase in cigarette pricing, a restriction on cigarette advertising, the creation of a national call centre: 'Quitline', health classes in schools, television campaigns, and billboards. While there has been some improvement in the overall statistics, with smoker numbers now at the same level as 1992, overall these efforts have not stemmed the adoption of smoking among New Zealand school children.

The aim of this paper was to examine New Zealand school children's attitudes and associations with smoking in order to highlight implications for the

development of social policy initiatives. We found evidence to support existing research (e.g. Smith and Stutts, 1999; Stacy et al., 1992) concerning adolescent susceptibility to social influence, and confirmed these researchers' conclusions that smoking is stimulated by a perception of infallibility, social influences, self-concept, stress and pressure, experimentation and curiosity.

This is an intentionally contextualised study. Our assertion is that an understanding of the reasons and issues regarding a New Zealand adolescent's desire to initiate or not to initiate the smoking habit, informed by existing theory, can provide New Zealand policy makers with insights to develop countermeasures against smoking by New Zealand school children.

The goal of this study was to uncover relevant issues relating to smoking associations, attitudes and habits by drawing themes from the data and then linking them back to the literature. The insights discussed are based on consistent patterns of responses obtained from 28 focus groups representing various ethnic and school age groups. The following section describes the research

Table 1: Sample Composition

Gender	Ethnicity	Smoker	Age Group	Social Class
Male 61	European 90	Regular 26	11-12yrs 40	Upper 39
Female 99	Polynesian 36	Casual 24	13-15yrs 95	Middle 79
	Maori 26	Nonsmoker 110	16-18 25	Lower 42
	Asian 8			

Note: regular smokers are defined as those who smoke at least one cigarette per day, while casual smokers do so occasionally and mostly in a social situation.

method used, before discussing the findings and linking these to the relevant literature. Finally, we examine the implications of our findings for social policy and possible future research initiatives.

2. Research Method

The primary objective of this study was to elicit greater understanding of the attitudes and associations of smoking among New Zealand school children. While previous research primarily utilised quantitative research methods, that is, survey questionnaires (e.g. Ford et al., 1995; Laugesen, 2000; Laugesen and Scragg, 1999a; Laugesen and Scragg, 1999b; Schofield et al., 2001; Smith and Stutts, 1999) or experiments (e.g. Beltramini and Bridge, 2001; Pechmann and Shih, 1999), they are not intended to capture and cannot present rich insights into participants' thoughts and feelings. Some qualitative research methods have been used to explore smoking behaviour (e.g. Allbutt, 1995; Fergusson et al., 1995; Michell, 1999; Michell and Amos, 1997; Morrison et al., 1998; Reeder, 2001; Taylor et al., 1999). However, as many of these qualitative studies were conducted in the United States or the United Kingdom, we believe this area to be under-explored in New Zealand, and sought to extend the existing research by uncovering young people's thoughts and feelings. The research design was based on focus group discussions with the intention of generating qualitative data that enabled a deeper understanding of youth smoking.

While the aim of qualitative research is not to produce generalisable results, steps must still be taken to ensure research trustworthiness (Lincoln and Guba, 1986; Morse, 1994; Wallendorf and Belk, 1989). For example,

in this study, credibility was ensured by using two independent coders to analyse the data, while a third researcher commented on the plausibility of the interpretation of the data to ensure dependability. In order to reflect the opinions of different demographic groups to ensure transferability there was a mix of gender, ages, and ethnic backgrounds, and the sample included both smokers and non-smokers. The integrity of the data (i.e. data do not contain false information) was ensured by safeguarding the participants' identity, and using good interviewing techniques. Only two trained moderators were involved in the data collection, and pre-tests were carried out to ensure the questions were appropriate. Finally, in order to ensure that the research had rigour, we continued to collect data until we felt that the themes gained from the focus groups became repetitive (Glaser and Straus, 1967).

2.1 Data Collection

The study is based on 28 in-depth focus group discussions among school children in the Auckland (New Zealand) area. A total of 160 students, aged between 10 and 17 years, took part in the study, representing a cross-section of the population in terms of socio-economic status, ethnicity and academic levels (Table 1). The focus groups ranged in size, from 3 to 8 participants. The 45-60 minute discussion was both audio and video taped.

We took an inductive approach, with no predetermined hypothesis, and discussions were relatively unstructured. Although there were no specific questions, the moderators were familiar with the objective of the study, and were provided with broad discussion topics to ensure

that all relevant issues were covered (Malterud, 2001). The question guidelines probed respondents' thoughts and feelings about smoking, their perceived negative and positive aspects of smoking, their feelings about friends and family who smoked, and their own smoking behaviour. These discussion topics were pre-tested on the target audience to ensure flow and relevance.

When it was important to gain personal views without the influence of other members, each individual member was asked to write down their thoughts, and speak about what he or she had written, before a general discussion ensued. These written thoughts were collected at the end of the session to crosscheck with the recorded tapes to ensure reliability.

2.2 Data Analysis

The purpose of the data analysis was to identify themes from the group discussions. A descriptive coding scheme was used to examine these themes (Miles and Huberman, 1994), whereby transcripts were organized

by topics (based on the research questions), and the key expression or phrases were then identified within each topic. Iterative reviews of the key expression employed by participants for each topic led to the definition of the classes of themes. The goal of the coding process was not to gain consensus or identical interpretations, but rather for coders to supplement and contest each other's statements, thereby strengthening the results of the study (Malterud, 2001).

Two researchers were involved in the identification of themes. We did not seek to identify a "single truth"; the goal was rather to ensure the plausibility of the researchers' interpretation and the adequacy of the data (Wallendorf and Belk, 1989). The two coders discussed and resolved issues of disagreement and discovery of themes not identified by the other coder, and where appropriate, these new themes were included. Once the themes were agreed, QSR.NUD*IST, a computer programme for analysing textual units (Richards and Richards, 1991; <http://www.qsrinternational.com>), was

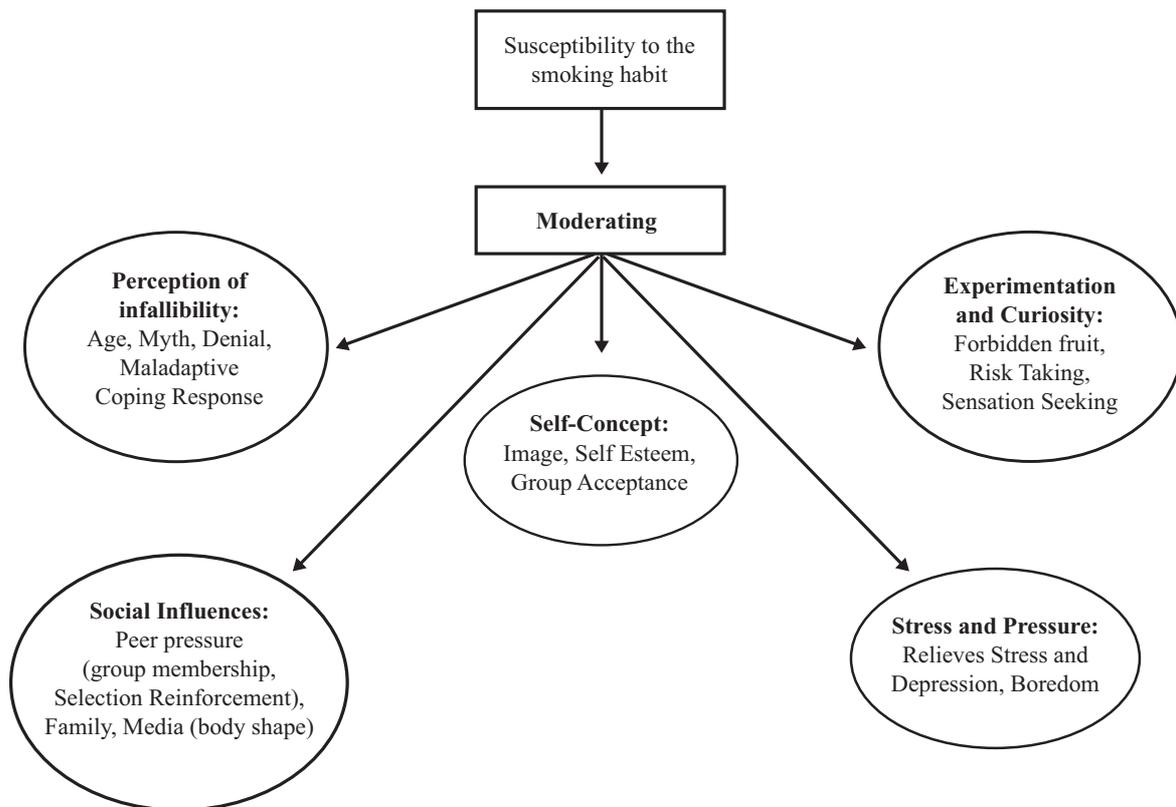


Figure 1: Susceptibility factors to smoking behaviour

used to discover and manage the data. At a later date, a third coder was recruited to re-examine the scripts to identify any themes missed by the two original coders. The third coder discovered one new theme, which was discussed and later included in the results.

3. Results and Discussion

Although there is previous research on smoking and adolescents, we took an inductive approach, because we were interested in the underlying attitudes of New Zealand teenagers. Further, many of the previous studies used surveys and questionnaires that could not probe deeply into the thoughts and feelings of respondents. To provide a richer picture of current research in this area, we integrated the literature review with the results section.

Figure 1 provides an overall view of the major themes uncovered from the focus groups. The idea of susceptibility variables noted in Figure 1 follows Stacy et al.'s (1992) idea that adolescents' susceptibility to social influence (in this case, to take up the smoking habit) is moderated by certain factors. The results of this study have provided some indication of these moderating factors, which include the adolescents' perception of their immunity to smoking-related diseases, perceptions of their self-image, social influences from significant people in their lives, the desire to experiment, curiosity, and pressure. A discussion of each of these factors follows.

3.1. Infallibility

The major association that adolescents hold concerning smoking is that of health, in particular the long-term damaging effects of smoking, which is understood to cause both diseases, such as cancer and emphysema, and general bad health. We may infer that the social policy messages concerning the negative health consequences of smoking targeted to adolescents have been understood. A closer examination reveals that the perception of infallibility is an important reason for the continuing rise in the number of teenagers who smoke. The adolescents, both smokers and non-smokers alike, expressed ideas related to the ability to control addiction and held beliefs of invulnerability to diseases and death. Teenagers view smoking-related illness as an age-related phenomenon, something that will not affect them. Several motivations behind the teenagers' view were uncovered that may help us understand this phenomenon. These include myths, personal fable, denial and maladaptive coping responses.

Teenagers seem to hold similar myths or misleading beliefs about the effects of smoking (Ames et al., 1999), as those commonly manifested among drug addicts to justify drug use. Three misconceptions were uncovered in our study: the ability to stop smoking later without difficulty; smoking-related illness is an age-related problem; and only addicted people suffer:

Participant: You get lung cancer, people reckon.

Interviewer: People reckon, do you reckon?

Participant: Not all people, just some people.

Interviewer: Who are they?

Participant: The really addicted people.

Interviewer: So you're saying people can smoke casually and it will not have a too adverse effect?

Participant: Yeah, I think so.

Participant: People just say it is the end of your life and the five minutes that is taken off are just at the last few years of your life so they smoke anyway. It doesn't really hurt them.

Interviewer: Do the dangers associated with smoking seem very far away?

Participant: They'll probably start hitting about 40. It affects you later in life.

Although the smokers understood smoking could be addictive, they believed that addiction only occurred among consistent smokers. Such behaviour was not regarded as their pattern and they did not, therefore, consider themselves as addicted to cigarettes:

Yeah, I'll have it socially...but I think I am not a chain smoker like my dad.

The reason for the ineffectiveness of social communication strategies that expound negative health consequences may be explained by the idea of a cognitive construction called "personal fable" (Elkind, 1978). The "personal fable" theory proposes that adolescents have difficulty differentiating between ideas unique to the self and those universal to mankind. This leads to a belief of personal immortality manifested in the adolescents' rationalizing that although bad things can happen to others they will not happen to them because they are "so special" (Elkind, 1967).

They know it is real bad for them but they won't listen... it won't happen to them.

This egocentric mentality leads to a sense of denial.

No, I don't think that I am going to die younger, I don't believe that.

This sense of immortality and denial may be one reason why teenagers do not respond to messages focusing on the physical risks of smoking, although these are the messages most commonly employed. Although these messages are considered easier for adolescents to comprehend, they appear to be blasé about such implications for themselves, or generate counter-arguments to challenge the information provided by public health campaigners:

They [information messages] are all right but they just nag and nag you as well. They are there to tell us all the bad things about smoking but, as I said before, no matter how much people say about smoking we are all going to smoke anyway.

Anti-smoking communication aimed at adolescents may not be effective because of the coping mechanisms used to respond to these messages. Tanner et al. (1991) suggested that people use maladaptive coping responses that minimize the threat but not the danger to counter fear appeal messages (Schoenbachler and Whittler 1996). Therefore, when threatened with a fear appeal message relating to health risks, the adolescent may note that he or she or someone they know who have been smoking for a long time, is still healthy:

I know they say you won't live as long but I know this old lady and she started smoking when she was five and she is 96 or something.

These findings are consistent with existing theory that knowledge of the long-term health consequences of smoking does not result in non-deterrence of smoking among adolescents (Barton et al., 1982; Evans et al., 1979). Further, the themes uncovered here suggest adolescents do not believe the facts portrayed in the anti-smoking communication, because they do not believe the communication is relevant to them.

3.2 Self-concept

Adolescents are typically self-conscious and desire to be part of the "in-group". Self-concept development is highest at this age, and adolescents' view of themselves, or the image they wish to project to others, may lead to certain behaviour, including the initiation of smoking. Therefore, the desire to confirm one's self-concept may lead to smoking (Grube et al., 1984). While there were

no significant attitudinal differences detected between gender and ethnicity, the opinions on self-concept issues showed differences between these two factors, and will be highlighted. Three important issues are discussed in this section: image, self-esteem and group acceptance.

While the participants articulated the main negative consequences of smoking as being "unpleasant", "smelly", and developing "yellow fingernails", they also frequently mentioned positive image associations with smoking. These revolved around the concept of being cool, so one could join desirable cohort groups. The term "cool" was used frequently throughout interviews to describe an attribute of smoking with different connotations: to be described as cool can mean one is perceived to be popular or sophisticated, or one can be noticed by others:

"If people who do not smoke are around people who do, they won't be cool if they want to be popular.

...a girl seems, like, too sophisticated. But then if you see, like in movies, when you see someone like Sharon Stone. It looks really stylely. It looks cool.

[T]hey [adolescent smokers] walk around and all the adults just keep staring at them.

Three things are suggested here: the need to rebel, the need to appear grown up, and the need to be the centre of attention. These attitudes reflect adolescent egocentrism. They assume others are as admiring or as critical of them as they are of themselves, and play their roles to an imaginary audience (Elkind, 1967). Adolescents believe that they are the centre of attention, operating on a stage on which they are the principal actors, and the world is the audience (Looft, 1971). The need for conformity and desirable self-image is known to be one of the main factors leading to smoking initiation among teenagers (Reid et al., 1992; Beede and Lawson, 1991; Smith, 1990).

Further, to smoke and appear to be cool also carries associations of toughness:

Smoking makes people feel bad because they hang around town, and they're bad. They feel tough.

The desire to look "tough" and "bad" was mentioned several times by both male and female Pacific Island participants. Although further investigation is warranted, this suggests these are attributes adolescents must attain/adopt if they wish to join a gang.

Individuals seek experiences that reinforce their self-esteem to enhance their self-concept (Sirgy, 1982). Low

self-esteem may occur when actual-self is far removed from ideal-self, and consequently this may lead to smoking initiation. Low self-esteem has been attributed as a stimulus to smoking; the act of smoking increases both one's perceived sense of self, as well as confidence (Barton et al., 1982; Chassin et al., 1981). Female participants view smoking as a social tool that enables them to meet and socialize with people more easily, whereas male participants view smoking as a social activity. Only European participants talked about smoking as a potential social tool:

Can use it as a social tool, like if you want to approach someone and start talking to them. Ask them if they have a smoke...one way of getting to know people.

While this suggests the selection process European adolescents go through, Maori and Pacific Island adolescents appear more influenced by direct peer pressure or group conformity.

Group affiliation and acceptance is important to maintaining a positive self-concept. However, the group must be "acceptable", i.e. one that meets the adolescent's social needs and provides a sense of group belonging. While it has been suggested that group members will have higher self-esteem compared with non-group members, social comparison theory suggests that self-esteem will vary according to their position within the group (Brown and Lohr, 1987).

Pacific Islander: ... just to be within the clan or group. Or just to be cool, just to look good.

These results suggest the desire for congruence between self-concept, product choice or usage, and significant others, plays a role in smoking initiation and is thought to foster social acceptance. Self-concept is maintained and enhanced by a positive response from significant others (Grubb and Stern, 1981), thus participants reported smoking to break the ice and to attract like-minded people.

One of the motivating factors behind adolescent smoking is the acquisition of certain attributes associated with smoking (Barton et al., 1982). If adolescents perceive smokers as sophisticated, attractive and socially successful, they may begin to smoke to "attain these characteristics both in their own eyes and the eyes of their peers" (Barton et al., 1982, p.1499).

Belk (1995) argued that consumption reveals a lot about an individual's identity because of the symbolic meanings that are attached to commodities. Changing

consumption habits can therefore indicate adoption of a new identity (Campbell, 1995). By initiating smoking, a teenager may signal a new identity to others.

Alternatively, Aloise-Young et al. (1996) suggested that smokers are motivated by self-consistency rather than self-enhancement. That is, adolescents begin to smoke because this reflects rather than enhances their own image. Thus, the more consistent the smoker stereotype with young smokers' self-image, the more likely smoking is viewed as a means of self-identification.

Consequently, Schoenbachler and Whittler (1996) found that social threat messages were more persuasive than physical threat messages because of these unique cognitive processing constructions. While adults place more importance on personal attitudinal factors in decisions concerning smoking, social normative factors are more important in the decisions of children (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1972). When communicating to adolescents, it is thus more effective to use fear of social disgrace rather than health consequences, which are not considered realistic possibilities (Rotfeld, 1988).

3.3 Social Influences

This section focuses on social influences that transmit the appropriate norms, attitudes and behaviours to adolescents. A substantial body of research indicates the importance of socialization agents from which children and adolescents learn consumer-related skills, knowledge and attitudes (e.g. Arnett, 1992; Moschis and Churchill, 1978, Bandura, 1977), and that a number of social influences may influence a teenager's decision to smoke. Peer pressure, family influence and media influence are the three main socialising agents evident from our discussions with the participants.

3.3.1 Peer Pressure

Peer pressure is one of the major underlying factors for smoking initiation or trial noted among the participants in the study, as reflected by the following statements:

Your friend[s] might not let you hang around with them if you don't smoke.

Some adolescents who did not consider themselves as hard-core smokers did, however, smoke at social functions or when they are among friends:

I just smoke at parties socially...

...depends on who I hang around with.

There were some ethnic and gender differences: Maori

and Polynesian participants were more forthcoming in admitting that they started smoking because of peer pressure. The majority of female Maori participants in our study were smokers, and there appears to be more pressure on Maori and Polynesian females to smoke compared with European adolescents. Evans et al. (1995) suggest these teenagers' choices are partly determined by their perception of how acceptable their behaviour is to their peers.

I was a bit worried that if they offered it to me and I said no, they'd think what a loser, so I felt a little bit of pressure to say 'yes'.

Female participants in general believe that peer pressure is one of the main reasons people start smoking in the first place. Male participants were not as open when discussing issues concerning peer pressure, but this may be due to gender differences in communication. However, responses indicated that peer pressure is just as rife among male as among female teenagers.

Peer influence appears to be at the heart of a number of adolescent substance abuse models (Leventhal and Cleary, 1980), but it is unclear what peer pressure entails. Aloise-Young et al. (1994) suggested that while adolescents may be influenced by the actions of their friends, a more important aspect of peer influence occurs before group membership, i.e. at the initiation stage. They suggest adolescents may view smoking as a means of gaining entry into a desired friendship group and that group conformity is partially dependent on the rewards and costs expected for that behaviour (Aloise-Young et al., 1994; Thibaut and Kelley, 1959). This conclusion may explain why Maori and Pacific Island participants were more concerned about losing friends and gaining friends than European participants:

Interviewer: So you were forced to smoke?

Participant 1: Yeah, by a friend.

Interviewer: Why do you think some of your friends smoke?

Participant 1: They think to get more friends.

Participant 2: You see your friends smoking and you don't want to smoke and they force you.

Participant 3: It makes you feel rejected or not in the group [if you don't smoke].

Past studies have shown that teenagers who are smokers are more likely than non-smokers to have smokers as

friends: this is not necessarily due to peer pressure but rather to selection processes. Smokers may socialise with smokers to maintain support for their behaviour, especially in an environment where smoking is discouraged. Conversely, adolescents who are non-users may be prone to reject those friends who begin to engage in deviant behaviour (Fisher and Bauman, 1988):

They asked me if I wanted to smoke and I turned them down. We got into this big argument and we stopped being friends.

Thus, it is argued that selection may play a more important role for smoking initiation than peer pressure (Ennett and Bauman, 1994; Fisher and Bauman, 1988). While selection is based on similarity between the friend and the subject, maintenance of the friendship relied very little on similarity (Ennett and Bauman, 1994; Billy and Udry, 1985). Many of the participants in our study reinforced this concept. European participants overall, did not believe they would lose friends if they did not smoke. Ennett and Bauman (1994) noted that de-selection (i.e. when a friend is dropped because they are participating in dissimilar behaviours), operated for non-smokers but not for smokers. This can be explained by non-smokers' perception of smoking as deviant behaviour (Darley and Fazio, 1980; Krohn et al., 1983), supporting the view that smokers tend to have friends who are smokers, and non-smokers tend to have friends who are non-smokers.

3.3.2 Family and Significant Others

Flay et al. (1994) found that friends have both a direct and indirect influence on smoking initiation, whereas parental smoking was found to have an indirect influence (Lackovi-Grgin and Dekovi, 1990). Conversely, we found that Maori teenagers who come from a smoking environment may indeed be directly influenced to smoke:

The first time I had one was when I was four. My uncle shoved a fag in my mouth

As a result of living in a smoking environment, some participants found smoking to be a natural progression:

I was just curious because like all my friends were smoking and my mum and sister smoke, so I've been brought up in a smoking household so it's natural to me.

The findings from our study also indicate that it becomes much harder for an adolescent to stop smoking when their own parents continue to smoke. They view this as a double standard:

If they don't want us to smoke then they should stop smoking themselves.

Significant adults also influence the formation of an adolescent's self-concept. Usually the most significant adult is the parent who has an immediate effect on a teenager's self-worth, self-concept, and aspirations (Galbo, 1984), and who also instigates rewards to reinforce behaviour. For instance, if an adolescent observes a significant adult smoking, they may begin to think that it is natural to smoke. Further, if they are encouraged by that adult to smoke, they may view this as a reward, especially if it involves bonding with the significant other:

I had my first smoke when I was seven, up north. My cousin, she had some smokes and she asked me if I wanted one. I go "Nah", and she goes "You're a wussy". She said, "Come on, try some", and I took it and started smoking.

3.3.3 Media

Causal links between the media and its adverse consequences on audiences may also play a key influencing role in smoking adoption. Audiences learn about their social world and about themselves from the media's presentation of society, which reinforces the culture's romanticized perception of risky behaviour as being sexy and exciting (Ponton, 1997). Cultivation theory states that heavy viewers of media will have unrealistic impressions of the world because their beliefs and perceptions will reflect the media they watch (Signorielli, 1990; Gerbner et al., 1980). Some of the descriptions made about smoking in our study include, 'cool, tough, sophisticated' and 'sexy', and these descriptions appear in other studies concerning the media (Peracchio and Luna, 1998; Goddard, 1990; Chassin, et al., 1981). Participants in this study made direct references to movie characters, and to looking 'cool' like the characters depicted in movies:

...like in movies, when you see someone like Sharon Stone. It looks really stylely. It looks cool.

As adolescents seek information to form a self-identity, they compare themselves with significant people and to the perceived ideal image (Botta, 1999; Festinger, 1954). Myers and Biocca (1992) and Stice et al. (1994) found a direct relation between media exposure, eating disorders and gender-role endorsement, while Escamilla et al. (2000) noted the prevalence of female actresses smoking in popular movies. Thus, it is likely that teenagers see a link between smoking, gender-role endorsement and

thinness. The European female participants in our study frequently mentioned that smoking could aid weight loss. This highlighted cultural views regarding weight and the female form, European teenagers' fixation on weight and, more disturbingly, the connection between smoking and weight control:

You can smoke instead of eating and lose weight.

Although not mentioned as frequently as by European participants, Maori and Pacific Island participants also noted the relationship between smoking and weight control.

Previous research (Flay et al., 1994; Meier, 1991) found that the main source of social influence on an adolescent's onset of smoking is the social modelling of behaviour (Bandura and Walters, 1963). It has also been widely noted that social influence is an important predictor of smoking initiation (Friedman et al., 1985; Kandel et al., 1978), and that children learn extensively through everyday direct and casual observations of other people, particularly from those who are important to them (Bandura, 1977).

The idea that smoking influences friendship patterns is consistent with earlier research that shows that adolescents who are non-smokers tend to select friends who do not smoke (Fisher and Bauman, 1988). Consequently, selection rather than influence is instrumental in the relationship between individual adolescent behaviour and the behaviour of friends who smoke (Friedman et al., 1985). Previous research indicated that adolescents choose new friends who are demographically and psychographically similar to them and their existing friends, and that similarities often predate the friendship (Urberg et al., 1995). Therefore, selection appears to occur through a number of characteristics, including whether one is a smoker or a nonsmoker.

3.4 Experimentation and Curiosity

Some of the participants in our study mentioned they had tried smoking out of a sense of curiosity, which indicates that many young people are going to try smoking regardless of anti-smoking messages or advice. The act of satisfying the curiosity of what it is like to smoke may itself be seen as pleasurable (Loewenstein, 1994). There was no clear difference in attitudes between gender and ethnicity expressed under this theme:

'Cause like everyone was trying it and I suppose we were quite young and just curious.

One of the reasons for the desire to experiment with cigarettes appears to be the public opinion that smoking is a social taboo, and that adults would disapprove of them smoking. As adolescents mature, they are expected to conform to the reality imposed on them, and teenagers choose to rebel against this expectation (Hunter and Youniss, 1982). The forbidden fruit theory posits that those activities or products that have increasingly gained tabooed status, may evoke positive arousal, e.g. illicit drugs, smoking, pornography (Bushman and Stack, 1996). The participants from our study clearly reflected the desire to rebel, to smoke because they were advised not to do so, and to take risks:

You do things because they are bad for you. 'Cause you do things to take a risk.

Risks and reputations are mutually affirming because they help create a sense of self and social identity. Lightfoot (1997) contended adolescents take risks to help them initiate new relationships or group memberships, as well as to consolidate or maintain existing relationships. Therefore, it is the meaning that risks communicates that is important. Risk is viewed as a declaration of independence and autonomy, a private rebellion, and the ability to perform an act without being discovered:

When I wasn't allowed to smoke, it was actually more fun because you are hiding behind your parents' backs and you are having a good smoke out the window and they can't see it.

This type of behaviour may also relate to sensation seeking, which is the willingness to take physical and social risks for the sake of novel and complex sensations or experiences (Wagner, 2001). Sensation seeking was found to be a significant predictor of substance abuse, such as smoking (Wagner, 2001) and has been found to be higher in adolescence than in adulthood (Arnett, 1996; Zuckerman et al., 1978).

Pechmann and Shih (1999) found that smoking was viewed as a forbidden fruit by teenagers and that when viewing smoking and non-smoking scenes of a film, smoking scenes positively aroused young viewers and their intent to smoke increased. Our study supports their finding that adolescents like to experiment with activities or products seen as inappropriate or dangerous by authority figures. By taking up smoking as an act of defiance or risk seeking, adolescents signal their independence and rebellion.

3.5 Pressures and Stress

Both smoker and non-smoker participants mentioned that smoking reduces stress and relaxes people, and they may therefore view smoking as a coping mechanism. Some teenagers smoke to relieve stress and depression, whether because of school pressures, social pressures, or family pressures. But once a person begins to associate smoking with stress relief, it may provide an extra incentive to smoke:

Well, if you are really stressed out and you really want to smoke, it helps. It soothes the nerves away.

Female participants tended to introduce this topic more frequently compared with their male counterparts. While male participants were not as forthcoming in their responses, this may be because admitting to smoking because of stress could be perceived as a sign of weakness. We also found that teenagers' belief systems are strongly influenced by family members, and significant others around them:

My dad smokes, and he smokes all the time. I think he does it because of the stress of work.

Participants also mentioned taking up smoking because of boredom, something to do to fill the day:

When you're bored you smoke more. It gives you something to do.

Boredom can also sometimes be a disguise for stress, or a sense of despair (Frydenberg, 1997). An overall impression from this study is that some Maori and Polynesian adolescents may have a tendency to smoke because of frustration:

They think it is going to be the answer to them. To release all the pain, anger and letting it out. Just release most of your anger.

Boredom could be a reflection of this state; some participants indicated they were not motivated to do anything to stop smoking:

If it [cancer] happens, it happens.

This lethargic state may transform itself into anger at a later stage, or it may result in low-esteem (Burton et al., 1989). As Burton et al. (1989) suggest, when one loses the aspirations for self-improvement, smoking may become desirable as a means of enhancing self-image.

Our findings suggest that smoking is one type of coping mechanism used to deal with the pressures of everyday

life, such as boredom, depression, anger and stress. Castro et al.'s (1987) study also found stress factors, such as a disruptive family life, increased the risk of an adolescent affiliating with more deviant, cigarette-smoking peers. Further, Ponton (1997) suggests depression and low esteem are factors that can lead to higher risk-taking behaviour among adolescents, and that cigarettes and alcohol act as "gateway" drugs leading to other risk behaviours.

4. Implications for Policy Makers and Social Marketers

Although the conclusions we report in this article are based on exploratory research and should be considered preliminary, the strength and pervasiveness of the participants' comments on which they are based, plus the findings of previous research, are such that they offer interesting insights for policy makers, and future research. We have distilled these insights into five suggestions for policy makers and social marketers: the creation of smokefree school environments; the use of friends and family as role models; aspirational role models; the targeting of specific at-risk groups; and appropriate communication.

The on-going provision of information concerning smoking during health classes at school is acknowledged to be important but insufficient and should be supplemented by other methods. Although non-smoking environments now apply for some schools (ASH Director, Trish Fraser, NZ Herald, May 5, 2002), we note that the current Ministry of Health programme for smokefree schools (e.g. "Smokefree Challenge") is primarily targeted at the secondary school level. We would suggest universal adoption of this policy, and it should apply not only to students but also to their teachers. Given that our research cites adult role models as a major motivating factor in smoking adoption, teachers are frequently the most immediate and most exposed adult role model, notwithstanding parents and/or caregivers, to the cohort.

We also note the Ministry of Health's concern that many at risk youths do not attend school and that a community focus is important in supporting anti-smoking messages so that young people do not receive conflicting messages (National Drug Policy for New Zealand 1998-2003, p.16).

To reduce conflicts between health messages and young people's environment we also suggest initiatives to encourage family involvement in the education programme, since our research indicated that adolescents

whose families (direct and extended) or friends smoke have a higher tendency to adopt similar modelling behaviour. The current Government-sponsored media campaigns (Ministry of Health Report: National Drug Policy for New Zealand 1998-2003) aimed at older Maori smoking populations, "Me Mutu Quit" Campaign launched April 1999 and "It's about Whanau" Campaign launched August 2001, both incorporate a national free phone quit smoking hotline ("Quitline" launched 2000 by the "Quit Group" - Health Sponsorship Council, Cancer Society and Te Hotu Manawa Maori) and information packs, they appear to be a positive step in attempting to alter the behaviour of these influential role models.

It has been shown that friends are capable of discouraging as well as encouraging anti-social behaviour (Kandel, 1978). We believe that health promoters could use social threat peer pressure to encourage non-smoking in adolescents, as this is a very powerful influence on this cohort in determining acceptable behaviour. We note that the previous Government media campaign, "Why Start" Campaign 1996-7, focused on physical threat messaging by peer groups rather than on social threats. The social threat approach has only been utilised in a recent New Zealand media campaign targeting another social policy area - drink driving and road safety - in younger cohorts.

Furthermore, Kandel's (1978) research suggested that non-smoking peer groups might contribute more to maintaining a non-smoking habit than to prompting smoking. Moreover, peer groups comprised entirely or primarily of non-smokers might actively prevent smokers from joining them and expel members who become smokers (Ennett and Bauman, 1994).

The intensity with which adolescents analyse their image, their high self-consciousness and their modelling behaviour on "cool" role models suggests that further communications could be aimed at cinema audiences, which are predominantly in the younger deciles. We would recommend that anti-smoking messages be screened to provide an antithetical perspective to the behaviour of characters who smoke on-screen in movies or who are smokers in their personal lives. From our group discussions it would appear that on-screen characters and charismatic movie actors have a reinforcing effect on adolescents' behaviour.

Given that the ASH study confines itself to adolescent smoking behaviour and since the documentary evidence gathered in this study suggests that smoking is taken up

at younger ages, we would further recommend initiation of an anti-smoking education programme at primary school level so that negative attitudes towards smoking, both from a health and a social perspective, are entrenched before adolescence. In noting the increase in smoking behaviours among Maori and Pacific Island populations, in addition to the adult-focused Ministry of Health "Me Mutu Quit" and "It's about Whanau" campaigns and the Health Sponsorship Council's "Auahi Kore" programme, we suggest intensive programmes at Te Kohanga Reo sites and similar programmes at Pacific Islander pre- and primary schools. These initiatives would echo the plea of Tukuirangi Morgan, an anti-smoking campaigner, to Maori leaders to set an example by not smoking in the presence of children (The Press, 1999).

As social threat rather than physical threat messages appear to be of more importance to this cohort we would suggest a re-framing of the current campaigns and an increase in frequency. We would also suggest that the communication messages appear in media more appropriate to adolescent consumption (e.g. radio, sport and club venues) while continuing with TV and other broadcast media, and expanding to the new media categories (e.g. text messaging, WWW advertising (interstitials, pop-ups, banners, tiles, micro-sites), chat room and bulletin board environments).

5. Future Research

The conceptual framework (Figure 1) developed from the focus group results and literature review shows the factors that make an adolescent susceptible to smoking initiation. This framework provides some direction for future research. While some of these variables are well researched, for example, social influences, it would be useful to examine the relative importance of these factors and the interactions between them.

There is also a paucity of research into the relationship between self-concept, experimentation and curiosity. Future research could examine personality traits such as curiosity and the desire to experiment and their relationship with smoking behaviour. Researchers could also examine the relationship between boredom, frustration, anger, and smoking.

While there is some research on the influence of role models on behaviour, we believe more can be done to explore how aspirational role models, such as movie actors, influence attitudes and behaviour. Specifically, we are interested to investigate the relationship between the young people's perception of self with their views of

aspirational role models who smoke – would individuals' view of a famous actor who smokes influence their view of smoking?

Also of research interest is the influence of other, more immediate, role models on adolescents (e.g. teachers, family members) and, within this, the need to investigate gender skews as they relate to self-image and low self-esteem and ethnic skews as they relate to social inclusion behaviour. These two latter areas are of particular importance, given the high percentage of Maori girls who smoke daily (ASH Media Release 7 May 2002).

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Female Gender Images in Adolescent Magazine Advertising

Julie Napoli & Marie Murgolo-Poore

Abstract

Since the late 1960s, research into gender stereotypes in advertising has been prolific. The emergence of more magazines that target children and adolescents raises the question of whether the female images portrayed in these publications reinforce prevailing stereotypes of women and portray diversity in ethnicity. This study examines the female images shown by advertisers in the Australian editions of Barbie, Girlfriend and Dolly magazines. Findings indicate there is limited diversity in physical attributes as well as ethnicity of the models portrayed in these publications. Limitations are noted and future research issues are discussed.

Keywords: Gender, Stereotypes, Advertising, Body image, Childrens magazine

1. Introduction

Since the late 1960s, research into gender stereotypes in advertising has been prolific. Advertisers have, to a degree, responded to the feminists' call and attempted to portray women in more equal and diverse roles in advertisements (i.e. in positions of power and responsibility). However, in more recent times researchers have shown women are increasingly portrayed as objects of sexual desire that are also attractive, thin and young (Lambiase et al, 1999). This has generated further research into the impact of these images on individuals' self-esteem and self-image, particularly amongst adolescent females (Cattarin et al, 2000; Lerner, Orlos, & Knapp, 1976; Martin & Kennedy, 1993; Martin & Gentry, 1997).

Adolescent females growing up in Western society are often exposed to unrealistic images of women. These largely set the standard for the image an individual should aspire to and, as a result, we are seeing an alarming number of young women and children on the dieting merry-go-round (Stephens, Hill & Hanson, 1994). Even women who fall within the normal weight range perceive themselves as too heavy and continue to pursue this ideal (Stephens, Hill & Hanson, 1994). A 1990 survey of high school students in the United States found that 11% of the students suffered from eating

disorders (Dunn, 1992). Furthermore, at least 9 out of 10 eating disorder sufferers are female (Wolf, 1991).

This female obsession with body image and physical attractiveness has been linked to several factors, such as adolescent turmoil, family history and pubertal timing, which, in turn, have been associated with anorexia or bulimia nervosa (Williams & Currie, 2000; Nylander, 1971). However, chronic dieting has also been directly attributed to the social pressure on females to achieve a nearly impossible thinness, constantly reinforced by the female images portrayed in the media and advertising (Stephens et al., 1994). As more magazines target children and adolescents, researchers have questioned whether the female images portrayed in these publications reinforce prevailing stereotypes of women and support unrealistic body ideals.

The primary objectives of this study were to examine the ethnic and physical attributes of females portrayed in magazines targeting children and young teenagers, and to identify whether the advertising images featured in publications targeting adult females are perpetuated in those targeting youth. The research involved a content analysis of advertisements taken from the Australian magazines Barbie, Girlfriend and Dolly. These publications were selected as they specifically target the 5 to 15 year demographic.

2. The Feminine Ideal

Throughout the ages, women have typically viewed their bodies as “objects”, with physical beauty determining how they and others judge their overall value (Martin & Gentry, 1997). Lerner, Orlos and Knapp (1976) suggested that a woman’s sense of self is primarily derived from body attractiveness. Twenty-five years later, Henriques and Calhoun (1999) reported that white women look primarily to their appearance to boost their self-esteem. Boys, on the other hand, tend to view their bodies as “process”, so power and function are more important criteria for evaluating their physical self (Lerner, Orlos & Knapp, 1976). These perceptions seem to result from a socialization process that begins at a very early age, continues throughout childhood, and is reinforced in adolescence (Berger & Luckman, 1966). Young women are frequently exposed to messages and images that reinforce the body ideal, which become the standards of thinness and beauty for defining oneself and others (Pesa, Syre & Jones, 2000). Girls, in particular, have a greater likelihood of being negatively affected by the feminine ideal, and this is more pronounced when their bodies are undergoing dramatic changes and when adult definitions of “beauty” become relevant social norms (Martin & Gentry, 1997).

Naomi Wolf argues that in today’s modern world, women will only be accepted by meeting rigid standards of slimness, beauty and fashion (Craig, 1997). During the last three decades, fashion and advertising models have grown steadily thinner, yet the average weight (in relation to height) of women under 30 years of age has actually risen (Colburn 1992; Stephens, Hill & Hanson, 1994). The social ideals and standards set for female beauty seem to be increasingly unrealistic and perhaps more unattainable by the vast majority of women.

3. The Feminist Movement and Advertising Practices

The feminist movement has had a tremendous impact on the role and status of men and women in western society. Since the early 1960s, many now well-noted feminists (such as Betty Friedan and Germaine Greer) challenged traditional, male-dominated societies by questioning the social restrictions placed on women and demanding action from political groups as well as from women themselves. Friedan, in fact, placed much of the blame for women’s unhappiness on the post-war consumer society and on advertisers’ exploitation of women (Craig, 1997). During this time, advertisers were criticized for their stereotypical portrayal of women in advertisements. Subsequent empirical and academic research in this area

has shown these claims were not entirely unfounded (cf. Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Dominik & Rauch, 1972; Wagner & Banos, 1973; Courtney & Whipple, 1974; O’Donnell & O’Donnell, 1978; Goffman, 1979).

Analysis of advertisements appearing in magazines throughout the 1960s and 1970s typically showed women as homemakers who did not make important decisions (nor undertake any other important act), subordinate and inferior to men, or as sex objects (Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Dominik & Rauch, 1972; Wagner & Banos, 1973; Courtney & Whipple, 1974; O’Donnell & O’Donnell, 1978; Goffman, 1979). Furthermore, portrayals of adult women in American advertisements have emphasized passivity, deference towards men, lack of intelligence or credibility, and punishment for high levels of effort. In contrast, men have been portrayed as constructive, powerful, autonomous and achieving (Butler & Paisley, 1980; Courtney & Whipple, 1984; Kolbe & Abanese, 1996). Of particular concern are findings from research on stereotyping in advertising to children that report similar results (Macklin & Kolbe, 1984; Schwartz & Markham, 1985). Research on the portrayal of minority groups in advertising also gained momentum during the 1970s, paralleling feminist research on women’s issues (Griffin & Sturdivant, 1973). These studies showed that African-Americans were generally portrayed in negative roles, undertaking menial work, receiving charity or experiencing social problems. Even when blacks were featured in non-stereotypical roles, they rarely played a central role in the advertisement (Bush, Resnick & Stern, 1980a, 1980b).

The advertising industry has, to a degree, responded to these criticisms and pressures by portraying women in more diverse and equal roles (i.e. in positions of power and responsibility). Yet there is still some way to go. For example, daytime commercials still tend to portray women doing household chores, whilst weekend sports advertisements frequently exploit images of women as objects of sexual desire (Craig, 1997; Zhou & Chen, 1997). Similar studies of print advertisements have also shown an increase in the sexually explicit portrayal of both women and men over time (Lambaise et al, 1999; Piron & Young, 1996; Ferguson, Kreshal & Tinkhan, 1990; Soley & Kurzbard, 1986).

The use of young, attractive models in advertisements is also prevalent. Ford et al. (1998) and Gilly (1988) found that women are still portrayed as being more concerned with appearance and younger than men. Generally,

attractive people are perceived as smarter and friendlier than unattractive people, whilst people who are obese or overweight are often thought to be lazy, sloppy or stupid (Vaughn & Langlois, 1983, cited in Burton et al., 1995). The physical attractiveness of a model or product endorser has also been shown to have a positive influence on a recipient's attitude toward the advertisement (Kamins, 1990), attitude toward the advertised brand (Kahle & Homer, 1985), purchase intention (Baker & Churchill, 1977), and actual purchase (Caballero & Pride, 1984). Blair (1994) argued that this caters to society's expectations of what a woman should look like, and reinforces male dominance in society.

4. Advertising Effects on Self-Concept

In many ways, the issue confronting advertisers has shifted from creating equality in the gender roles portrayed to showing a broader range/scope of female images in advertisements. Advertisers have been accused of unintentionally imposing a sense of inadequacy on women's self-concepts (Pollay, 1986). It has been claimed that advertising generates cynicism, insecurity and conformity, and has neglected higher order moral values (Pollay 1986). Cattarin et al. (2000) examined the effects of media-driven images of attractiveness on the level of body image and mood disturbance amongst females. Their findings suggest women experience distress (in terms of anger, anxiety and depression) when viewing media images that reflect the current societal bias towards thinness and attractiveness. Similarly, Stice and Shaw (1994) found exposure to ultra-thin models in advertisements and magazine pictures produced depression, stress, guilt, shame, insecurity and body dissatisfaction in female college students. One could argue that female images portrayed in advertisements are simply a mirror of Western society's preoccupation with the feminine ideal, and that these criticisms are unjustified. Richins (1991) and Martin and Kennedy (1993), for example, found no relationship between self-perceptions of physical attractiveness and exposure to attractive models in advertisements. This suggests self-esteem and body dissatisfaction are moderated by other variables, such as body weight (Pesa, Syre & Jones, 2000), body image (Heinberg, Thompson & Stormer, 1995; Cash & Hicks, 1990), gender (Burton, Netemeyer & Lichtenstein, 1995; Fallon & Rozin, 1985), the motives for comparison (Cattarin et al., 2000; Martin & Gentry, 1997), and age (Martin & Gentry 1997; Girgus 1989).

The societal implications of the negative stereotyping of women and minority groups in the media may be

profound. The repeated portrayals of African Americans as objects of social concern in public service advertisements, for example, reinforces the image of a population group dependent on government assistance and incapable of conforming to the mainstream work ethic (Stern, 1999). This, in effect, not only creates discrimination and sets up barriers that exclude whole groups of people, but also suggests that the world is one homogeneous group and that all those who differ are not worthy of inclusion (Vandergrift, 1993). Adolescents, in general, are very susceptible to such cues and will often use outside information (including advertisements and the mass media) to form or reinforce their own self-identity (Ashbach, 1994; Freedman, 1984; Strasburger, 1995). Negative portrayals of racial minorities in the media have been shown to have a particularly detrimental effect on the self-esteem of minority youths, making them feel largely unconnected to society, or even invisible (Kern-Foxworth, 1994). As such, advertisers should be aware of these effects and endeavor to ensure that gender images reflect the diversity that exists in race, body shape, social class, education and other variables.

5. Research Propositions

Whilst much of the research in this area has focused on either gender stereotyping in advertising, cross cultural comparisons or advertising effects on an individual's self concept, few, if any, studies have compared the images across publications targeted toward 5- to 15-year-olds. The primary objective of this study was to examine the ethnic and physical images of females portrayed in magazines targeting children and young teenagers. More specifically, this study examined: (a) the ethnicity of the female models portrayed in each publication and whether this accurately reflected the cultural diversity that exists in western society; (b) the age category and publication type in which the physical image of the model begins to resemble the "ideal" women (i.e. the "supermodel" image). With the introduction of magazines targeting very young consumers, we could expect one of two outcomes: (i) advertisers would adopt a socially responsible attitude and provide young consumers with more realistic images of women and girls; or (ii) advertisers would follow their traditional practices of using attractive models to market their products. Based on the literature reviewed, we proposed that:

P1: Female models used in advertisements will typically be Caucasian in appearance and there will be no

Table I: Advertisement Samples

Magazine	Total number of issues		No. ads analyzed	
	n	%	n	%
Barbie	10	42	65	28
Girlfriend	8	33	107	47
Dolly	6	25	57	25
Total	24	100%	229	100%

relationship to the age of the model.

P2:Female models used in advertisements will typically be Caucasian in appearance and there will be no relationship to the type of publication.

P3:Female models used in advertisements will be typically of thin/small build and there will be no relationship to the age of the model used.

P4:Female models used in advertisements will be typically of thin/small build and there will be no relationship to the type of publication.

P5:Magazines targeting older teenagers will feature more idealistic ("supermodel"),female images compared with those targeting younger children.

P6:The older the model featured in the magazine the more closely her physical appearance will resemble the idealistic ("supermodel") feminine image.

6. Method

Advertisements for the study were gathered from three primary Australian publications – Barbie, Dolly and Girlfriend. These magazines were selected as they specifically target females between the ages of 5 and 15 years, with Barbie targeted at the younger readers and Dolly at the older readers. This allowed us to explore whether young readers are exposed to similar gender images as older readers.

As an exploratory study, the basis for the selection of specific issues of each publication was largely one of convenience. All magazines were published in either 1999 or 2000 and only those advertisements that featured clearly analyzable female models were counted. The

resultant sample included ten issues of Barbie (which included 65 advertisements in total), eight issues of Girlfriend (total of 107 advertisements), and six issues of Dolly (total of 57 advertisements) (see Table I). Categories for analysis were formulated after an extensive review of the relevant literature, and included the age of the central character, race, physical attributes (eye/hair color, body size/shape), masculine/feminine gender traits (derived from Ito, 1978; Williams & Best, 1990), and the degree to which the model portrayed supports the ideal supermodel image.

Two Caucasian female coders analyzed each advertisement. A pretest of the instrument was completed before gathering and analyzing the data, and this was used to clarify the coding categories, instructions, key terms and definitions for the coders (Ford et al., 1998). The coders worked independently of each other and the authors, separately coding each advertisement. Each coder only coded duplicate advertisements once. Depending on the items coded, inter-coder agreements ranged from 75% to 90%, which was acceptable for this type of study (Kassarjian, 1977).

7. Results

In total, 229 advertisements were analyzed; of these, 25% appeared in Dolly magazine, 47% in Girlfriend, and 28% in Barbie (see Table I). The majority of models featured (71%) were aged 13 years or older, with 94% of younger models appearing more frequently in the Barbie magazine ($\chi^2=187$, d.f.=2, $p<.001$). This is consistent with the target market of this magazine, which typically comprises young girls between the ages of 5 and 12 years.

In examining the ethnic origin (or race) of the central

character featured in the advertisements, results indicate that 95% of all models were Caucasian, with blue eyes (34%) and blonde hair (65%). Furthermore, this is independent of both the publication type ($\chi^2=4.24$, d.f.=2, $p<.120$) and models' age ($\chi^2= .32$, d.f.=1, $p<.571$). Zhou and Chen (1997) found a similar pattern for ethnicity of characters in an analysis of Canadian magazines. As such, the findings supported Propositions 1 and 2. (See Table III).

Not surprisingly, female models portrayed in child and teen magazines have either a thin (80%) or athletic (20%) shape, and are also rated as attractive (90%). Again, this is independent of the publication type, with all three magazines featuring models of similar size and shape ($\chi^2=7.51$, d.f.=4, $p<.111$), and a similar age category of the central character ($\chi^2=3.12$, d.f.=2, $p<.210$). Propositions 3 and 4 are therefore supported – female models across all age groups, featured in magazines targeting both children and adolescents, typically have a thin, small build.

Analysis of the level of realism versus idealism of

female images across publications showed the female models featured in all three publications appeared to fit closely with the idealistic female image (see Table IV). Although Barbie magazines featured models with slightly more realistic physical female images, no significant differences were found across publications. However, in examining differences across age categories, older female models (those over 13 years of age) were more likely to resemble the “supermodel”/idealistic female image (see Table V). Hence, propositions 5 and 6 are also supported.

8. Discussion and Implications

These findings suggest female images portrayed in magazines targeting young teenagers and children typically represent only one ethnic group in Australian society – those of Caucasian origin. In reality, this is not the case. Approximately 23% of people now living in Australia were born overseas, and a further 27% of people born in Australia have at least one overseas-born parent (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1998). Although 14% of the Australian population either has a southern

Table II Female Gender Images

	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
<i>Model's Age (n=229)</i>			<i>Hair Color (n=229)</i>		
Less than 6 years	13	6	Blonde	145	63
7 – 12 years	53	23	Brown	45	20
13 – 17 years	98	43	Red	13	6
18 years or older	65	28	Black	24	10
			Other	2	1
<i>Race/Ethnic Origin (n=229)</i>			<i>Model Shape (n=229)</i>		
Caucasian	218	95	Thin	183	80
Other (e.g. Asian, African, Hispanic, etc.)	11	5	Fat	1	0.4
			Athletic	45	19.6
<i>Eye Color (n=229)</i>			<i>Model Size (n=229)</i>		
Blue	78	34	Large/Slightly Large	3	1
Green	14	6	Average	15	6
Hazel	26	12	Small/Slightly Small	211	92
Brown	69	30			
Other	42	18			

Table III: Publication/Age by Model's Age, Ethnic Origin and Shape

	Age of Model		Publication		
	< 12 years	> 13 years	Dolly	Girlfriend	Barbie
<i>Model's Age</i>			%	%	%
<12 yrs	N/A		4	3	94
>13 yrs		N/A	96	97	6
<i>Chi Square</i>	N/A		$x^2=187; d.f.=2, p<.001$		
<i>Ethnic Origin</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Caucasian	94	96	91	98	94
Other	6	4	9	2	6
<i>Chi Square</i>	$x^2=.320; d.f.=1, p<.571$		$x^2=4.24; d.f.=2, p<.120$		
<i>Model's Shape</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Thin	76	82	90	79	72
Fat	1	0	0	0	2
Athletic	23	18	10	21	26
<i>Chi Square</i>	$x^2=3.12; d.f.=2, p<.210$		$x^2=7.51; d.f.=4, p<.111$		

European (e.g. Italian, Greek, Yugoslav) or Asian heritage (e.g. Chinese, Philippine, Vietnamese) models from these cultures rarely featured (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1998). Consistent exposure to the dominant image of models with fair skin, blonde hair and blue eyes may reinforce prevailing stereotypes of women and support unrealistic body types. Even Barbie magazine, which has a strong following amongst young girls, appears to reinforce the feminine ideal image, arguably failing to recognize or reflect the diversity that undoubtedly exists amongst its readers.

Advertisers still have some way to go in terms of deconstructing stereotypes of women (and men). One of the main questions this study raises is how consistent use of these stereotypes will affect the self-esteem, confidence, body image and self-identity of young females in the future. Given that the age at which young girls receive this message has decreased, it may be timely to reexamine the responsibilities advertisers and the media have to their audiences. Although advertisers clearly use their communications to achieve commercial goals, they arguably also need to recognize and address social concerns (Pollay, 1986). Continuing reinforcement of existing stereotypes may perpetuate a "norm" for

physical appearance that fails to reflect the diversity that characterizes youth markets.

Advertisers and the mass media may be limiting their opportunities by failing to adequately represent the many diverse segments that exist in the market place. Adoption of a more comprehensive range of female images may help advertisers to realize potential commercial benefits.

9. Limitations and Future Research

Several limitations of this study should be noted. First, there is a disproportionate number of advertisements used from one publication (Girlfriend) compared with the others – this may affect the reliability of results. Second, the number of advertisements used from each publication was relatively small, and limited to magazines published only in 1999 and 2000. Third, the sample was restricted only to publications in Australia.

Future research could be conducted to explore how the use of thin, attractive, Caucasian models affects a child's self-perception, particularly those of other ethnic backgrounds. This present study could also be extended to include a broader range of publications that target children and adolescents, and future works could also examine differences across cultures. For example, what

Table IV: Realism of Female Images by Publication

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Squares	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3.77	2	1.88	1.25	.287
Within Groups	339.42	226	1.50		
Total	343.19	228			

types of images are females exposed to in cultures where larger body sizes and shapes are considered the norm? What impact does this have on their self-identity? Do smaller and thinner people in such societies feel ostracized or marginalized? As well as examining the impact of these images on young females, it may also be of interest to examine how this affects the perceptions young males have of women. Finally, future studies could also explore changes that have occurred in the portrayal of men in the media, and the subsequent impact on the male self-concept.

As a final point, responsibility for creating a healthy attitude towards body image amongst adolescents does not rest solely with advertisers or the media. Creating a society that accepts all types of people, regardless of gender, age, race, weight or body shape, is equally important in ensuring that children grow up with a strong and healthy sense of self. The process could very well begin in the education system, if not at home. Parents and educators alike need to instill young girls with a sense of self-worth that is independent of physical appearance or attractiveness. Perhaps this is the next challenge for the feminist movement.

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Increasing Fundraising Efficiency by Segmenting Donors

Katharina J. Srnka, Reinhard Grohs & Ingeborg Eckler

Abstract

In recent years, private individual giving has gained much importance as a source of support for non-profit organisations (NPOs). Most academics consider psychographic criteria as the basis for segmenting and targeting donors. In marketing practice, however, fundraisers are often confined to socio-demographic data on their target groups. This article suggests certain socio-demographic characteristics, when combined with behavioural aspects, can be traced back to fundamental dimensions that represent efficient criteria for potential donor segmentation. The authors conducted an investigation in Austria to find which individuals (as defined by age, gender and social class) donate what amounts, how frequently, to which organisations, and in which forms. Reviewing the data and their statistical results in a succeeding interpretative process, they were able to deduce three basic conditions under which individuals are particularly prone to donate: (1) when the purpose of the NPO pertains to the individual's sphere; (2) when the individual might benefit from the services of an organisation; (3) when the donation does not represent overmuch expense and/or effort. These conditions are proposed as dimensions for selecting and targeting specific donor-segments, allowing NPOs to increase their fundraising efficiency through easy-to-get socio-demographic data.

Keywords: Non-profit organisations, Fundraising, Private charitable giving, Donations, Donor segmentation, Austria

1. Introduction

The voluntary sector has grown considerably in size and importance over the past decades (Kotler & Andreasen, 1996; Hibbert, 1995). As an increasing number of charities seek donors' support, competition has become fierce (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002; Sargeant, 1999). In view of this development, fundraising has become a dominant issue, and NPOs are competing as never before for consumers' charity (Louie & Obermiller, 2000). Although many charities cover at least part of their costs through revenues generated, most rely on additional external funding. In many countries, a significant part of these external funds until recently came from public sources (Badelt, 1999; Haibach, 1998). However, as world-wide public support diminishes in a wide range of non-profit areas, individual giving becomes increasingly relevant for fundraisers (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002; Schlegelmilch, Love, & Diamantopoulos, 1997). The vast majority of work examining giving or helping behaviour is US- and UK-based (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002; Wong, Chua, & Vasoo, 1998). However, as

cultural differences are likely to exist, more research is needed on private charitable giving in other countries (Chua & Wong, 1999).

This research investigated donating behaviour in Austria, a highly developed Central European country, and reconciled findings with the general literature on charitable giving. In the year 2000, 6.7 million adult Austrian citizens donated about 500 million Euro (almost 900 million Australian Dollars), corresponding to an increase of 50 percent compared with 1996 (Public Opinion/OeIS, 2000). Generally, the readiness to donate is high among Austrian private individuals, and seems to be increasing. This is particularly notable as donations are not deductible from taxable income in Austria. Tax incentives, however, have been found to represent a major determinant of donations to charity (Chua & Wong, 1999; Wong et al., 1998). Two consecutive Austrian studies conducted by market-news in 1991 and 2000 show that the majority of the population (79 and 85 percent respectively) donate at least in rare cases, and most of them donate selectively (see Table I). The latter

Table I: Readiness to donate of private individuals in Austria

1. Readiness to donate		Year			
		1991		2000	
I donate	... generally		10%		11%
	... selectively	79%	43%	85%	53%
	... in rare cases		26%		21%
I generally do not donate			21%		15%
Sum			100%		100%

Source: market-news (1992; 2000), statements translated

Note: People who donate “generally” support a number of organisations on a regular basis. Those donating “selectively” give regularly but only to selected causes. Donating “in rare cases” denotes that individuals give seldom and at irregular intervals.

agrees with the findings of an Australian investigation indicating that donors increasingly prefer to consolidate their giving to two or three charities rather than spread their generosity over many organisations (O’Keefe & Partners, 2000).

Charities currently engage in a variety of different fundraising techniques (face-to-face canvassing, direct mailing, door-to-door distribution, press and radio advertising, etc.). In the literature, high visibility and strong brands have been proposed as measures to induce giving (Sargeant, 1999). Undoubtedly, visibility through noticeable communication via mass media as well as presence in prospect’s every day life (contact on the street, in the church, etc.) are relevant to induce giving as a single, immediate reaction. Yet, as charities increasingly aim at establishing long-term relationships with their donors, more than mere visibility is needed (Burnett, 1992). This is even truer in view of an increasing number of charities entering the scene (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002), which might lead to a “solicitation overload” on the part of potential donors (Haibach, 1998; Urselmann, 1998b). A strong brand can help to establish such a relationship. Still, to develop a well-known, trusted brand and to optimise fundraising efforts based on a respected brand, marketers in the voluntary sector need to understand consumer behaviour

better (Sargeant, 1999; Kotler & Andreasen, 1996). Insights into donor profiles and patterns of individual charitable giving are particularly necessary (Schlegelmilch et al., 1997).

Altogether, NPOs’ fundraisers must answer a fundamental question that results from the above numbers: what are the criteria determining “selective donations”? Based on this, two related problems need to be solved: (1) How to aggregate donors into similar groups for fundraising purposes; and (2) how to approach each chosen segment, if at all? Such information could provide a basis for systematic donor segmentation and targeting (Kotler & Andreasen, 1996; Hansler, 1985; Smith & Beik, 1982). Further research is needed in this area to enhance the quality, precision and performance of charities’ fundraising activities (Sargeant, 1999). This paper aims to describe, in a broader context, who – as defined by the basic socio-demographic criteria gender, age and social class (measured by education and income) – donates to which organisations, in which forms, how much and how frequently. After discussing the theoretical background, we present an empirical study investigating the impact of the relevant socio-demographic variables (gender, age, education and income) on the various behavioural dimensions (types of NPOs supported, forms of

donation, amount donated and frequency of giving). The statistical results are discussed and, subsequently interpreted to unveil fundamental criteria that would allow fundraisers who only have access to socio-demographic data on their donor market to define, select and target their potential donor segments more efficiently.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Rationale for Donor Market Segmentation

Given the significant growth of the voluntary sector over the last 20 years (Sargeant, 1999), competition for private charitable donations has become fierce among NPOs, and donors are exposed to an increasing number of solicitations for support (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002). This development has two major consequences: first, potential donors' propensity to give to a particular organisation decreases. This, in turn, boosts costs of generating donations for a NPO that chooses an undifferentiated approach trying to motivate a wide range of individuals to donate. Consequently, charities are required to use the powerful marketing tool of segmentation. Effective segmentation should allow charities to customise the message content of their appeals to distinct groups of prospects (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002). Identifying and selectively targeting the most promising individuals, in turn, is likely to optimise the ratio of successful approaches to total approaches. As such, donor market segmentation represents an essential alternative to an undifferentiated fundraising concept. Moreover, donors have been found to become increasingly discriminating and selective, preferring to develop deeper relationships with those organisations they choose to support (Milne & Gordon, 1993). This also would support a segment-directed rather than undifferentiated approach.

Second, Sargeant (1999, p. 221) holds that with the increasing diversity of appeals employed by the huge number of organisations soliciting support, "the propensity for donors to become [at least] confused ... has been greatly enhanced". Even worse, potential supporters – if approached by charities too often in a "generic" way – might start questioning the efficiency of charitable organisations (in terms of the ratio between fundraising/administration costs and charitable expenditures). Efficient use of funds, however, has been identified as a crucial concern for donors (Wong et al., 1998). Essentially, the variable "adequate amount spent per program" has been suggested to represent the most

important factor in the decision to donate to an NPO (Glaser, 1994). In an earlier study, Harvey and McCrohan (1988) found that charities spending at least 60% of their donations on charitable programs (as compared with fundraising activities) achieved significantly higher levels of donations than organisations operating below this threshold. Therefore, financial resources should not be spent inefficiently by using an undifferentiated approach. Rather, it seems reasonable for charities to classify potential supporters into segments and approach these segments with tailored marketing programs that provide a sufficient administration/fundraising cost to charitable expenditures ratio.

2.2. Criteria for Donor Market Segmentation

There is a vast number of criteria that can be used for donor segmentation, and literature indicates that individual charitable giving is likely to be the result of a multitude of different influences (Schlegelmilch et al., 1997). Relevant criteria for identifying donor segments considered in studies so far include donors' past behaviour, psychographics, and (socio-) demographics (see, e.g., Newman, 1996; Cermak, File, & Prince, 1994; Harvey, 1990; May, 1988; Smith & Beik, 1982).

Research on behavioural segmentation shows that funds for NPOs may be increased by grouping individuals based on variables such as amount donated or frequency of donation (May, 1988). This approach can be expressed through the R-F-M-formula (recency, frequency and monetary value of donation), which is widely applied in direct marketing (Kotler, 2002). It is, however, only applicable in approaching current donors. While information is usually available on an organisation's own donors, little data is available on individuals donating to other causes or those not donating at all. If the aim is to expand the market by attracting people who have not donated so far, another approach is required.

Psychographic analysis to a great extent helps enlarge our understanding of why contributions are made (Smith & Beik, 1982). It investigates the benefits of charitable giving perceived by donors (Harvey, 1990) as well as their motivations (Cermak et al., 1994). In the marketing literature on segmentation, there is a strong emphasis on psychographic methods (Kotler, 2002). With regard to donating, measures that include motivations and benefits are regarded as best indicators of whether or how people will give (Holscher, 1977; Kotler & Levy, 1969). In

fundraising practice, there are many organisations that undertake psychographic segmentation. Yet, it has been found difficult to define and measure these intrinsic determinants of charitable giving precisely (Sargeant, 1999).

Finally, literature suggests socio-demographic variables are important factors influencing donors' behaviour (Sargeant, 1999; Schlegelmilch, 1988). There has been substantial academic research on the relevance of personal characteristics as determinants of donating. The influence of age, gender, education, and income on individual charitable giving has been particularly examined in the literature (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002; Chua & Wong, 1999; Sargeant, 1999). Socio-demographic donor characteristics, although evaluated as ineffective by some academics (e.g. Ordway, 2000), have been supported by others (e.g. Newman, 1996; Schlegelmilch, 1988). Haibach (1998), for instance, based on an analysis of empirical studies conducted in Germany and the USA, argued that the propensity to donate increases with age and education. Also, she stated that women tend to give more often than men, and amounts donated are positively related to income. The positive association between age, education, income and the propensity to donate, as well as findings that females donate more often than males are generally supported by research in marketing, economics, and psychology (Schneider, 1996).

Referring to empirical evidence, Sargeant (1999, p. 223) characterised the demographic profile of charity prospects or donors respectively as a "key category of external determinant variables". In practice, fundraisers often rely on simple socio-demographic criteria, because a significant number of – particularly smaller – NPOs do not have the capacity to acquire more than socio-demographic data on their target market (Shelley & Polonsky, 2002; Kotler & Andreasen, 1996). Moreover, such data are often available from secondary sources, whereas usually very little secondary data about donors' preferences, attitudes and perceptions, etc. exists. Actually, socio-demographics seem to be those segmentation variables used most commonly in fundraising practice. Managers frequently use them as surrogates because socio-demographics represent easy-to-measure criteria assumed to be related to donors' responsiveness (Kotler & Andreasen, 1996; Werner, 1992). According to Kotler & Andreasen (1996) socio-economic characteristics are the principal criteria employed by the US National Centre for Charitable

Statistics to segment the target market for tax-exempt non-profit agencies. Shelley and Polonsky (2002) pointed out that in the giving literature some research has suggested demographic factors might actually serve as appropriate bases of segmentation.

2.3. Relating Socio-Demographic and Behavioural Donor Dimensions in a Broader Context

We basically share the accepted view that motivational or benefit-based segmentation and targeting theoretically represent the best approaches. However, the importance of research on motivations of charitable behaviour (the "why" of donating) notwithstanding, fundraisers first need to learn more about donors and their characteristics (i.e. the "who" and "how" characterising donors). Further, in consideration of the theoretical constraints (defining intrinsic determinants such as motivations for instance) and practical limitations (measuring these determinants at an affordable cost in particular), we believe fundraisers could make use of socio-demographic data with comparable results, if it were possible to unveil certain fundamental determinants of giving. In this research, we try to get deeper insights into individual charitable giving and arrive at such fundamental dimensions by systematically relating socio-demographic and behavioural characteristics. Therefore we do not restrict our research to behavioural variables investigated in prior studies, i.e. amount donated and frequency of donating, but also consider two other relevant conative dimensions neglected in most empirical works (notable exceptions being the study by Schlegelmilch et al., 1997, or Schneider, 1996): which organisations are supported, and in which forms donations are made. To develop an effective marketing strategy, it is crucial for fundraisers to deepen the understanding of who their potential supporters are and how they give.

3. Empirical Study

We conducted an investigation to derive fundamental dimensions that could serve fundraisers who have access to basic socio-demographic data on their target market only for segmentation and targeting, and chose a combined approach: first, empirical data on donors were collected and statistically analysed. Socio-demographic and behavioural criteria were related using multivariate techniques. Subsequently, findings were aggregated and interpreted to derive fundamental dimensions determining donor behaviour that would broaden the understanding of individual charitable giving. This

section describes the instrument used, the process of sample selection and data collection chosen, as well as the statistical methods employed in the quantitative analysis. Study results, interpretation of data and the fundamental dimensions derived will be discussed in subsequent sections.

3.1. Instrument

A self-administered questionnaire was developed to investigate the impact of the relevant socio-demographic variables (gender, age, education, income) on individual charitable giving. Individual charitable giving was

conceptionalised on the basis of four donor decisions:

1. What types of NPOs are supported? (types of NPOs)
2. How is the donation taking place? (forms of donation)
3. How much is donated? (amount donated)
4. How often does the charitable giving occur? (frequency of giving)

A wide range of non-profit organisations was considered, and both financial donations and donations of goods were included. Through a literature review (Schneider, 1996; Public Opinion/OeIS, 1996; market-

Table II: Types of NPOs and forms of individual charitable giving

Types of NPOs		Forms of Individual Charitable Giving	
NPO 1	Church Organisations	1	Church Collects
NPO 2	Social Services (Old / Handicapped)	2	Street Collections
NPO 3	Health Care	3	Donation Boxes
NPO 4	Emergency Aid	4	Direct Mailing
NPO 5	Children’s Organisations	5	TV, Radio, Newspaper Announcements
NPO 6	Environmental and Animal Protection	6	Lotteries, Raffle tickets
NPO 7	Refugee Organisations	7	Charity Products
NPO 8	Development Aid	8	Charity Event
NPO 9	Human Rights Organisations	9	Internet
NPO 10	Local Friendly Societies	10	Bequests
NPO 11	Local Citizens’ Initiatives	11	Member of a Charitable Organisation (regular fee)
NPO 12	Self-help Groups	12	Assume (Financial) Responsibility for Person/Project
-	Other Types of NPOs	13	Clothes, Furniture, ...
		14	Blood
		15	Organs
		16	Volunteer Work
		–	Other Forms of Donations

news, 2000) we identified 12 types of NPOs (see left column in Table II). For each type at least one example of a representative, well-known organisation was included in the survey. Based on earlier studies (Haibach, 1998; Kelly, 1998; Urselmann, 1998a/b; Stroemich, 1996), we found and considered 16 forms of individual charitable giving, ranging from financial support (in the form of street collections or charity events, etc.) to donations of goods or services (e.g. blood donations or volunteer work) (see right column in Table II).

In measuring amount donated as well as frequency of giving we aimed both to reduce complexity for the respondent filling in the questionnaire, and to provide reliable and useful data. The overall amount donated during the last year by the respondent was measured using nine distinct classes (0; 1-100; 101-300; 301-500; 501-1,000; 1,001-3,000; 3,001-5,000; 5,001-10,000; and >10,000 Austrian Shillings). Individual frequency of giving within the same time period was quantified – corresponding to the classification in earlier studies – on a four-point scale (0; 1; 2-6; and 6 or more times during the last 12 months). Apart from these behavioural variables, respondents were asked to indicate the relevant socio-demographic criteria: gender, age, education (highest level of completed education), and income (monthly net revenues) in predetermined categories.

A pre-test of the instrument conducted with eight respondents led to slight changes in the wording of a few items. A second pre-test with another five interviewees confirmed the questionnaire was easy for respondents to understand and would provide all data needed for the analysis. Thus, the instrument was used without further changes in the main study.

3.2. Sample Selection and Data Collection

The questionnaire was distributed according to a quota sampling plan (based on age and gender) to 300 people aged older than 15. The 300 individuals were part of a larger group of people in a district in Austria who were contacted and asked to participate. The district was selected to include urban as well as rural areas to overcome the problems of surveys conducted only in urban regions. The study took place from mid-November 2000 to mid-January 2001. This time-frame was chosen because people might remember their donation behaviour in the last 12 months more easily when asked at the end of rather than during the year.

Of the 300 individuals who had agreed to cooperate, 264 actually returned the completed questionnaire. This high

rate can be attributed to three factors: questionnaires were handed personally to respondents by survey assistants who pointed out how important participants' participation in the survey was; two follow-ups were conducted reminding participants to fill in and return the questionnaire; and respondents were assured of full anonymity.

3.3. Statistical Methods

In the first step, the effects of socio-demographic characteristics on the behavioural donation variables were tested statistically. To examine the influence of the independent socio-demographic characteristics (gender, age, education and income) on the dependent behavioural variables (types of NPOs supported, forms of donation, amount donated and frequency of giving), a number of methods were employed, which we chose keeping in mind the goal of the study as well as the composition and characteristics of the data set. The classes for amount donated and frequency of giving, as well as for the demographics age and income, are supposed to fulfil the assumptions for a metric scale. Cases with missing values were excluded from analysis. Each computation was based on a sample of no less than 250 cases. Table III illustrates the methods used to identify the relevant effects.

To enhance readability, we refer to significant outcomes only in the presentation of our study results below. We indicate three levels of significance for the relationships, highly significant ($p < 0.01$), significant ($p < 0.05$) and weakly significant ($p < 0.1$). Moreover, in Tables IV, V, and VI, β -values are shown to signify the direction of the effects tested in the regression analyses. For the ANOVA and Chi-square tests, no contingency tables are presented due to space constraints. The respective findings on the effects of gender and education on donation behaviour are described in the text.

4. Study Results

As with earlier studies (e.g. Haibach, 1998; Sargeant, 1999; Schlegelmilch et al., 1997; Schlegelmilch, Diamantopoulos, & Love, 1992; Schneider, 1996; Schlegelmilch, 1988; Smith & Beik, 1982), results indicate that the basic socio-demographic variables investigated in fact represent predictors of individual charitable giving. Compared with earlier research, however, the findings of this study give a more comprehensive picture of how donors' personal characteristics and behavioural dimensions are related. In general, results show that organisations supported, as well as form, amount, and frequency of donations vary

Table III: Statistical methods employed

Demographic Variables	Individual Charitable Giving			
	Types of NPOs Supported	Forms of Donation	Amount Donated	Frequency of Giving
Gender	Chi-square	Chi-square	ANOVA	ANOVA
Age	Logistic Regression	Logistic Regression	Linear Regression	Linear Regression
Education	Chi-square	Chi-square	ANOVA	ANOVA
Income	Logistic Regression	Logistic Regression	Linear Regression	Linear Regression

with the socio-demographic variables investigated. Age and social class (measured by education and income) were the most important determinants.

Age and income, in particular, were found to affect choice of NPOs, amount donated, and also frequency of giving. Respondent’s age had an influence on the form of donation. Education had some effect on support for specific NPOs and amount donated, but had no significant impact on donation frequency. Education and income, as well as gender, were not remarkably influential on forms of charitable giving. Gender hardly influenced the NPOs selected, and affected neither the amount donated nor the frequency of giving. The findings are now discussed in more detail.

4.1. The Influence of Gender on Charitable Giving

With respect to types of NPOs supported, females were more likely to contribute to environmental issues and animal protection – this correlation, however, was weak. Males, on the other hand, more often supported local friendly societies (see Table IV). Concerning forms of giving, women more often bought charity products and donated goods such as clothes or furniture, whereas men preferred to donate blood and to carry out volunteer work in charitable organisations (see Table V). Gender had no significant impact on amount donated and frequency of charitable giving (see Table VI).

4.2. The Influence of Age on Charitable Giving

Age positively affected the decision for a target NPO in the case of church organisations, social services, health care organisations, emergency aid, children’s organisations, refugee organisations, and development

aid (see Table IV). Furthermore, elderly people were significantly more likely to donate to church collects, street collections and in response to a direct mailing. Age also had a positive impact on the likelihood of assuming financial responsibility for a person or a project, on contributing goods such as clothes or furniture, and on the likelihood of organ donations. However, age had a significant negative effect on blood and (weakly) on internet donations (see Table V). Age had a significant positive influence on both amount and frequency of charitable giving (see Table VI).

4.3. The Influence of Education and Income on Charitable Giving

Higher education was found to lead to significantly greater support for environmental and animal protection, for development aid and also for human rights organisations. People with lower education, on the other hand, tended to give significantly more often to health care organisations and emergency aid (see Table IV). Higher education also led to a significantly greater chance of being a member of a charitable organisation paying a regular membership fee and of assuming (financial) responsibility for a person or a project; whereas lower education resulted in a significantly higher probability of giving at street collections and blood donations (see Table V). Further, education was found to positively influence the amount donated, but did not show a significant impact on frequency of giving (see Table VI).

Similar effects were found for income. The higher their income was, the more likely people were to donate to environmental and animal issues, development aid,

human rights organizations, and to refugee organisations. On the other hand, lower income led to significantly more charitable giving for emergency aid and self-help groups (see Table IV). Similarly, income positively affected the chance of being a member of a charitable organisation paying a regular membership fee as well as the chance of assuming (financial) responsibility for a person or a

project and of giving in response to a direct mailing (see Table V). Higher income resulted in greater amounts donated and a (weakly) significant decrease in the frequency of charitable giving (see Table VI).

5. Interpretation of Study Results

While the results presented above mostly replicate earlier findings, we aimed to gain further insights from

Table IV: The effects of gender, age, education, and income on choice of NPO supported

Donation behaviour	Gender	Age	Education	Income
Church Organisations	n.s.	$\beta = 0,28$ $p < 0,01^{***}$	n.s.	n.s.
Social Services	n.s.	$\beta = 0,34$ $p < 0,01^{***}$	n.s.	n.s.
Health Care	n.s.	$\beta = 0,45$ $p < 0,01^{***}$	$p = 0,01^{***}$	n.s.
Emergency Aid	n.s.	$\beta = 0,51$ $p < 0,01^{***}$	$p < 0,01^{***}$	$\beta = -0,49$ $p < 0,01^{***}$
Children's Organisations	n.s.	$\beta = 0,36$ $p < 0,01^{***}$	n.s.	n.s.
Environ. & Animal Protection Organis.	$p = 0,08^*$	n.s.	$p = 0,1^*$	$\beta = 0,29$ $p < 0,05^{**}$
Refugee Organisations	n.s.	$\beta = 0,18$ $p < 0,05^{**}$	n.s.	$\beta = 0,27$ $p = 0,05^{**}$
Development Aid	n.s.	$\beta = 0,25$ $p < 0,05^{**}$	$p < 0,01^{***}$	$\beta = 0,33$ $p = 0,05^{**}$
Human Rights Organisation	n.s.	n.s.	$p = 0,04^{***}$	$\beta = 0,51$ $p = 0,01^{***}$
Local Friendly Societies	$p = 0,07^*$	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Local Citizens' Initiatives	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Self-help groups	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	$\beta = -0,80$ $p < 0,05^{**}$

n.s. ... not significant

* ... significant at the 90% level (weakly significant)

** ... significant at the 95% level (significant)

*** ... significant at the 99% level (highly significant)

Table IV: The effects of gender, age, education, and income on choice of NPO supported

Donation behaviour	Gender	Age	Education	Income
Church Collects	n.s.	$\frac{\beta = 0,14}{p < 0,05^{**}}$	n.s.	n.s.
Street Collections	n.s.	$\frac{\beta = 0,28}{p < 0,01^{***}}$	$p = 0,08^*$	n.s.
Donation Boxes	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Direct Mailing	n.s.	$\frac{\beta = 0,28}{p < 0,01^{***}}$	n.s.	$\frac{\beta = 0,20}{p = 0,1^*}$
TV, Radio, Newspaper Announcem.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Lotteries, Raffle tick.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Charity Products	$p = 0,02^{**}$	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Charity Events	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Internet	n.s.	$\frac{\beta = -0,73}{p < 0,1^*}$	n.s.	n.s.
Testament	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Regular fee as member of charitable org.	n.s.	n.s.	$p = 0,08^*$	$\frac{\beta = 0,30}{p < 0,05^{**}}$
Financial responsib. for person/project	n.s.	$\frac{\beta = 0,53}{p < 0,05^{**}}$	$p = 0,05^*$	$\frac{\beta = 0,91}{p < 0,01^{***}}$
Goods (clothes, furniture, ...)	$p = 0,06^*$	$\frac{\beta = 0,20}{p < 0,05^{**}}$	n.s.	n.s.
Blood	$p = 0,04^{**}$	$\frac{\beta = -0,33}{p < 0,01^{***}}$	$p = 0,05^*$	n.s.
Organs	n.s.	$\frac{\beta = 0,45}{p < 0,1^*}$	n.s.	n.s.
Volunteer Work	$p < 0,01^{***}$	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Amount donated	n.s.	$\frac{\beta = 0,17}{p < 0,01^{**}}$	$p < 0,01^{**}$	$\frac{\beta = 0,19}{p < 0,01^{**}}$
Frequency of giving	n.s.	$\frac{\beta = 0,23}{p < 0,01^{**}}$	n.s.	$\frac{\beta = -0,11}{p < 0,1^*}$

n.s. ... not significant

* ... significant at the 90% level (weakly significant)

** ... significant at the 95% level (significant)

*** ... significant at the 99% level (highly significant)

Table VI: The effects of gender, age, education, and income on forms of donation

	Amount Donated	Frequency of Giving
Gender	n.s.	n.s.
Age	b = 0,17 p < 0,01**	b = 0,23 p < 0,01**
Education	p < 0,01**	n.s.
Income	b = 0,19 p < 0,01**	b = -0,11 p < 0,1*

n.s. ... not significant

* ... significant at the 90% level (weakly significant)

** ... significant at the 95% level (significant)

*** ... significant at the 99% level (highly significant)

the data through post hoc interpretation. The aim was to derive some fundamental theoretical dimensions that might not only enhance our understanding of individual charitable giving (and, thus, enrich extant theory on the determinants of donating), but also represent a more sophisticated basis for donor segmentation helpful for fundraisers confined to socio-demographic information. The way we proceeded in our analytical process is comparable to grid-based grouping of elements (see Scheer & Catina, 1993, pp. 47-49). The interpretation procedure followed the idea of content analysis (Merten, 1995), and involved systematic structuring (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). We first differentiated positive and negative significant relationships using shadings, as can be seen in Table VII, then looked for patterns in the data that could be explained by psychology, consumer behaviour, and general marketing theory or are supported by findings of other empirical studies on donation behaviour.

6. Fundamental Dimensions of Individual Charitable Giving

The post hoc interpretation of study findings referring to the literature actually suggested that people are particularly likely to donate under certain conditions: (1) when the purpose of the NPO pertains to the sphere of

the individual; (2) when there is a likelihood of benefiting from the services of an organisation; (3) when the donation does not represent overmuch expense or effort for the potential donor.

6.1. The Purpose of the NPO Pertains to the Sphere of the Individual

The fact that women rather than men give for animals and the environment, donate goods and buy charity products might be traced to the caring female role proposed by Gilligan (1982), as well as to a still generally stronger household-orientation among women. This interpretation is in line with Schlegelmilch et al.'s (1997) conclusion that men primarily buy as well as volunteer to sell raffle tickets, which are offered regularly in associations (such as rugby or football clubs) predominantly frequented by males.

Older people not only feel more involved with church organizations, as is strongly supported by current value surveys (e.g. Arbeitsgruppe Pastoralsoziologie 1999/2000), but also give more frequently than their younger counterparts to these institutions. Again, Schlegelmilch et al.'s (1997) results point very much in the same direction. They indicated that those who think that religion is unimportant give less to church collections. Older people also tend to support children's

Table VII: Results on the impact of socio-demographic variables on individual charitable giving

Donation behaviour	Gender	Age	Social class	
			Education	Income
Church Organisations	–	Older people more than younger	–	–
Social Services	–	Older people more than younger	–	–
Health Care	–	Older people more than younger	Lower education more than higher	–
Emergency Aid	–	Older people more than younger	Lower educated more than higher	Lower income more than higher
Children's Organisations	–	Older people more than younger	–	–
Types of NPOs Environ. & Animal Protection Organis.	Women more than men	–	Higher education more than lower	Higher income more than lower
Refugee Organisations	–	Older people more than younger	–	Higher income more than lower
Development Aid	–	Older people more than younger	Higher education more than lower	Higher income more than lower
Human Rights Organisation	–	–	Higher education more than lower	Higher income more than lower
Local Friendly Societies	Men more than women	–	–	–
Local Citizens' Initiatives	–	–	–	–
Self-help groups	–	–	–	Lower income more than higher
Forms of donation Church Collects	–	Older people more than younger	–	–
Street Collections	–	Older people more than younger	Lower education more than higher	–
Donation Boxes	–	–	–	–
Direct Mailing	–	Older people more than younger	–	Higher income more than lower
TV, Radio, Newspaper Announcem.	–	–	–	–

Table VII: Results on the impact of socio-demographic variables on individual charitable giving (Continued)

	Donation behaviour	Gender	Age	Social class	
				Education	Income
Forms of donation	Lotteries, Raffle tick.	–	–	–	–
	Charity Products	Women more than men	–	–	–
	Charity Events	–	–	–	–
	Internet	–	Younger people more than older	–	–
	Bequest	–	–	–	–
	Regular fee as member of charitable org.	–	–	Higher education more than lower	Higher income more than lower
	Financial responsib. for person/project	–	Older people more than younger	Higher education more than lower	Higher income more than lower
	Goods (clothes, furniture, ...)	Women more than men	Older people more than younger	–	–
	Blood	Men more than women	Younger people more than older	Lower education more than higher	–
	Volunteer Work	Men more than women	–	–	–
	Organs	–	Older people more than younger	–	–
	Amount donated	–	Increases with age	Increases with education	Increases with income
	Frequency of giving	–	Increases with age	–	Decreases with income

Note 1: Shadings have been used to differentiate negative from positive significant relationships: Positive relations are shaded, negative relations are not shaded. Shadings were also used to demonstrate gender differences: Fields in which women are more likely to donate are shaded, while fields in which men are more prone to give are not shaded.

Note 2: Social class, measured by education and income, was regarded as high, when individuals scored high on both of these dimensions, and it was classified as low, if individuals scored low on both.

organisations. This may have its source in their wish to have more contact with children or may represent some kind of “substitute” for grandchildren who either do not (yet) exist or with whom they do not have (much) contact. Sargeant (1999), pointing to respective theoretical foundations (Caplow, 1984; Graney & Graney, 1974), suggested that elderly members of society may experience pseudo-social interaction through the relationships they build up with charities and, in essence, exchange one form of social interaction with another.

Further, less educated individuals who tend to belong to a lower social class were found to donate blood and give at street collections more often (for comparable results see again Schlegelmilch et al., 1997). Persons of higher social status (highly educated and higher income), on the other hand, showed a higher readiness to donate for more “abstract” or “mentally remote” purposes such as development aid, refugees and human rights. This might similarly be explained with reference to the individual sphere. Kroeber-Riel and Weinberg (1999) hold that people in lower social classes are more concerned with their immediate surrounding, whereas individuals in higher social classes more often tend to have their points of reference in the wider social environment.

Altogether, female caring and household-orientation, age-dependent church engagement and status-dependent reference to the wider or closer environment represent in a similar manner conditions pertaining to the particular sphere of the various donors (women, older people and individuals of higher or lower social status respectively). This makes these donors particularly prone to give. Findings of other studies in the literature evince similar patterns, suggesting that individuals are particularly prepared to give to charities that are relevant to their individual sphere. Sargeant (1999, p. 221), for example, argues that donors “prefer to concentrate on those categories of cause which are either perceived as most relevant to their segment of society, or which are perceived more widely as supporting how they wish to see themselves”.

6.2. There is a Likelihood of Benefiting from the Services of an Organisation

According to our findings, men prefer to join local friendly societies. Schlegelmilch et al. (1997) state that this group consistently tends to give to shop-counter collections where boxes are placed in public locations. These results might be explained by the fact that males tend to be less home-oriented and look rather for social

contacts and recognition outside the family (Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1999). Research in consumer behaviour has consistently shown that men tend to be more influential when products for outside consumption (e.g. cars) are bought, while women dominate buying decisions for goods used at home (e.g. kitchen equipment) (Davis & Rigaux, 1974; Kirchler, 1989).

We also observed that older people often gave to social services, health care, and emergency aid. It is obvious that older people tend to use the services of such organisations more often than younger people or, at least, may expect to need them in the near future. Therefore, they are more interested in supporting such institutions.

Less educated individuals prefer to donate to health care and emergency aid. It is reasonable to assume that this group, like the older people referred to above, is more likely to expect to benefit from these organisations than people with higher education who tend to belong to a higher social class and may have private health and home insurance.

Overall, it can be concluded that the propensity to donate to a certain organisation increases with the likelihood of benefiting from its services. A similar proposition can be found in the literature: Sargeant (1999), referring to earlier works (Amos, 1982; Frisch & Gerrard, 1981; Krebs, 1970), argued that individuals will select charities to support on the basis of whether they have benefited from them in the past or believe that they might do so in the future. Similarly, Bruce (1998) and Nichols (1991) state that individuals who suffer from a particular complaint or are related to a sufferer from a particular complaint will be more disposed to give to an organisation involved in combating this complaint.

6.3. The Donation Does Not Represent Over Much Expense or Effort

Not surprisingly, we found that amounts donated increase with income. This is in accordance with earlier research (Haibach, 1998; Sargeant, 1999; Schlegelmilch et al., 1997, 1992; Schneider, 1996) and seems to be easily explained by the fact that people with higher income can afford to give a larger absolute amount per year for charitable purposes.

Further, individuals of higher social status (highly educated, higher income) were found to be more likely to be members of charitable organisations paying a regular fee or to assume (long-term) financial responsibility for a person/project. On the other hand, the

frequency of giving is higher for older people and lower for people of higher status (particularly higher income). These findings can be interpreted by considering that the decision to donate and the act of donation not only represent a financial burden but also involve psychic costs (Kotler, 2002). Frequent payments seem to be more often made by older people who can be expected to have more time at their disposal, and less often by persons of higher social status who are likely to have less spare time to deal with such issues. The latter group may prefer to pay higher amounts less often or possibly make regular payments (membership fees or support of a person/project) by automatic bank transfer.

Another example of donation behaviour is that men rather than women donate blood or carry out volunteer work. It can be assumed that, due to socialisation, men are more likely to donate blood than women. Pilavin, Pilavin, and Rodin (1975) suggest that blood donations can often engender feelings of heroism on the part of the giver, which is more likely to be attractive to men than women. Further, the fact that women in most countries, even when working outside their homes, do the larger part of the housework leaves them less time than their male counterparts to invest in volunteer work.

Younger people prefer to donate blood, whereas older citizens more often make organ donations. This, again, seems intuitively reasonable as donating blood presupposes a certain state of health and a good constitution to accept the physical and psychological burden of a blood donation. On the other hand, older people often wish to “do something” good in their lives and might hope to become eternal by offering their organs to people who would need them to survive (Nuber, 2002). For younger individuals, death might still be too remote for them to start thinking about donating organs.

Finally, the study showed that older people tended to give more frequently when directly approached (in church, on the street or via direct mailings). This seems attributable to the minimal physical effort required for them to make a donation (Haibach, 1998). On the other hand, younger persons, who can be expected to be more at home with IT and to have less spare time than their older counterparts, are the group most willing to donate via the internet (Sargeant, 1999).

Altogether, this evidence can be interpreted to show that people tend to prefer to donate in a way that involves the lowest possible or at least the most justifiable cost – in financial, physical, and psychological terms. The notion

that individuals tend to minimise cost on the various dimensions is well-accepted in the marketing literature (Kotler, 2002).

7. Discussion and Managerial Implications

In this research, we investigated determinants of donor behaviour using a two-tiered approach. Whereas our statistical results replicate earlier findings (however, in a more comprehensive approach than other studies), the fundamental dimensions identified in our post hoc interpretative analysis add significantly to the understanding of individual charitable giving. Such an understanding is imperative for fundraisers in their solicitation activity, and is particularly relevant in view of the current situation in the voluntary sector. While, at present, “little segmentation takes place, and donors typically receive a standard appeal package” (Sargeant, 2001, p. 25), the intensifying competition for private donations might provide the impetus to target potential donors more specifically. More and more, charities will need to become professional and to select and target their supporters systematically (Kotler & Andreasen, 1996). The fundamental dimensions derived from this research relate socio-demographic to behavioural characteristics and offer practitioners an efficient and reliable basis for donor-market segmentation. In particular, these dimensions represent easy-to-use criteria for fundraisers who have limited available data on their donors.

A specific NPO can benefit from applying the dimensions proposed here in the following way. First it needs to figure out which groups might be prone to charitable giving by identifying whether and to what extent the basic dimensions apply: (a) the purpose of the NPO is relevant to the individual’s sphere. Our results (e.g. that goods are donated by women who keep house, children are supported by older people who wish to care for children, men like to socialise outside their homes) here can be seen as demonstrative examples. (b) Individuals might benefit from the NPO’s services. We have shown that older people are more likely to need health care, while young professionals may be less involved and, hence, less willing to support such NPOs. Again, other aspects can be considered by marketing practitioners in the non-profit sector. (c) The donation represents no excessive financial expense or physiological/psychological effort. These expenses or efforts can comprise those identified in our study (such as that males more easily donate work time and blood or that higher status individuals are willing to give more money, but have less time to engage in time-consuming

payment activities) as well as other cost-dimensions.

Those target groups defined by fundraisers based on the proposed dimensions can be regarded as segments highly involved or ready-to-give for the particular organisation or cause. For these prospects or donors, fundraising approaches are likely to be highly successful. NPOs might also use their knowledge of the target group's favoured fundraising methods to identify promising strategic fundraising alternatives not currently employed. Also, other segments can be targeted successfully by using the dimensions presented. We recommend addressing potential donors in the following ways: (a) show that the purpose of the donation is relevant to the individual's sphere; (b) point out benefits from the organisation for the donor, and (c) increase the convenience of charitable giving and/or communicate that donating is worth the expense/effort.

8. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

The findings of our study seem to be of theoretical value as well as practical relevance. However, some limitations need to be pointed out. We stress that the dimensions identified are the results of interpreting the data and the statistical results referring to extant theoretical concepts. Further research is needed to validate the fundamental dimensions we have identified based on the interpretation of our data. Essentially, some of the conclusions concerning the relationship between different demographic variables and different charities are intuitive and supported by little theoretical literature. These particularly need to be tested empirically (in a manner that permits their falsification) before they can be accepted.

Social desirability error generally represents a problem in self-reports on sensitive subjects such as donation behaviour. Although self-completion questionnaires minimise the propensity to respond in a socially desirable way, this problem cannot be eliminated. Further, the study was conducted in a local region of just one single European country, and the researchers involved in the post hoc interpretation of the data all come from Austria. While this research extends the extant literature, which is highly US- and UK-focused, to examine the cross-cultural generalisability of our results, empirical research in other countries and using multicultural research teams is suggested to provide data for comparison.

Finally, the focus of this study was on socio-demographic and behavioural aspects of individual

charitable giving. For a more comprehensive understanding of individual donation behaviour, the findings presented need to be reconciled with motivational and other psychographic dimensions relevant to donors' decision-making. As one step in an ongoing process, however, we believe the fundamental dimensions deduced not only represent a fruitful basis for fundraisers but may also serve as a starting point for further empirical studies on individual charitable giving.

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Predicting Willingness to Donate Blood

Judith Holdershaw, Philip Gendall & Malcolm Wright

Abstract

New Zealand shares a common problem with other countries: a shortage of blood donors. Approximately 4% of New Zealand's total population donate blood, yet up to 20% may need to receive donated blood or blood products. However, there has been little success in accurately predicting willingness to donate blood, and greater knowledge is needed of those variables most likely to predict potential donors' behaviour, so that efforts to increase the number of blood donors can be effectively directed.

This study compared the predictive ability of Ajzen's theory of planned behaviour, based on the measurement of attitudinal variables, and Labaw's behavioural approach, in the context of willingness to donate blood. The findings indicated attitudinal variables were better predictors of behavioural intentions but a behavioural approach better predicted reported donation behaviour. This result provides support for further study of the framework proposed by Labaw.

Keywords: Blood donation, Predicting behaviour, Theory of planned behaviour

1. Introduction

Tighter screening of New Zealand blood donors in recent years has led to a decrease in the volume of blood collected. The onset of the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s and the introduction of donor screening for Hepatitis have reduced New Zealand's pool of potential blood donors. More recently, people who have spent a total of six months or more in the United Kingdom, between 1 January 1980 and 31 December 1996, no longer qualify to give blood because of the risk of blood contaminated with CJD (Creutzfeld-Jakob Disease).

Despite the fact that the volume of collected blood has fallen, there has been an increase in the demand for whole blood and blood products as a result of greater use of blood products to treat medical conditions such as cancer, and because new uses have been found for blood products (Ibrahim & Mobley, 1993). Unfortunately, this increased demand for blood has led to a shortage of active blood donors in New Zealand and worldwide.

The volume of blood collected could be increased in two ways: by encouraging new donors to start donating, or by encouraging existing donors to donate more often, or

both. The challenge for blood collection services is to devise strategies that encourage non-donors to make their first donation, to devise further strategies to reduce donor dropout, and to motivate behaviour change that will lead to committed regular donation. Establishing a reliable method of predicting who is most likely to donate blood would improve the likelihood of such strategies succeeding.

Much of the previous research on blood donation has focussed on measuring and understanding attitudinal variables, or testing existing models of attitude-intention-behaviour associations (Allen & Maddox, 1990). In fact, research on donation behaviour has been a major arena for testing attitude theory in recent years, particularly research using the Fishbein (1967) extended model of behavioural intentions (LaTour & Manrai, 1989). Yet, in 1969 Wicker stated,

...research is needed on various postulated sources of influence on overt behaviour. Once these variables are operationalised, their contribution and the contribution of attitudes to the variance of overt behaviour can be determined. Such research may lead to the identification

of factors or kinds of factors which are consistently better predictors of overt behaviour than attitudes (p. 75).

Wicker's comment on behaviour research is still valid today, since questions are still being raised about the performance of attitude models in predicting and explaining intentions and behaviour (Kraus, 1995; Sutton, 1997; Wright & Klÿn, 1998).

The main objective of this paper was to examine an alternative to the traditional attitude-based models for predicting blood donation behaviour and to compare its predictive performance with that of a specific attitudinal approach, the theory of planned behaviour.

The paper begins by reviewing the direction previous blood donation research has taken. We then examine the ability of attitudes to predict behaviour, and consider whether there is a better alternative to attitude measurement for predicting people's willingness to donate blood. Having reviewed theoretical approaches to predicting behaviour, we outline and report the results of research that replicates an application of the theory of planned behaviour to blood donation and compares this with an alternative behavioural approach.

2. Blood Donation Behaviour

A consistent finding of blood donor research is that most of the blood donated comes from repeat donors; the majority of people never donate (Oswalt, 1977; Piliavin, 1990). For this reason, blood donation centres are heavily dependent upon a core of committed, regular donors. What is less clear in the reported findings is which motivational characteristics distinguish those who are most willing to donate blood from those who are not.

Research on blood donation behaviour to date has tended to take one of three directions. One aspect of donor behaviour that has been investigated is the use of motivational incentives, such as monetary inducements, to encourage donation. Findings have not been generally supportive of a philosophy of using paid volunteers. In fact, an early study by Upton (1974; cited in Piliavin, 1990) found that rewards or incentives may actually be counter-productive and lead to people being less likely to help or respond in the future. Moreover, further research into the merits of using incentives to encourage donation is no longer relevant because collecting blood from paid volunteers is no longer regarded as desirable.

Before the mid-1970s, blood collection in the USA mostly came from paid donors or from donors in insurance-based systems. However, in 1973, the USA

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare introduced the National Blood Policy, which strongly discouraged the sale of blood, and encouraged the altruistic donation of blood. It was argued that payment for blood led to donors being less than truthful about their health, consequently purchased blood was less safe than donated blood.

Unlike the previous practice in the USA, the "community responsibility system" has always been used exclusively in New Zealand and in other countries. Since blood donation services cannot use money or other types of incentives or inducements to donate blood, they must attempt to find alternative ways to attract, recruit, and maintain a voluntary donor pool (Allen & Maddox, 1990).

It was earlier agreed that there was an obvious need for blood recruitment agencies to gain as much information as possible about both positive and negative donor motivation to donate blood (Oswalt, 1977). Correspondingly, many of the previous studies on blood donation have focused on a second research direction to investigate blood donation behaviour, in particular, concentrating on the attitudes and motivations of those who give blood, and on the factors that deter those who do not (Piliavin, 1990).

Donors' reasons for donating can be divided into two basic categories. The first is intrinsic, reasons that come from within and relate to values, interests and one's sense of responsibility. The second category is extrinsic motives, namely reasons that are based in the actions of others, such as social pressure and the promise or threat of rewards and punishments. The three most common reasons cited for donating blood fall into both categories and are: personal benefit, social pressure and altruism (Condie, Warner & Gillman, 1976; Drake, Finkelstein & Sopolsky, 1982). Altruism is the reason cited most often (Oswalt & Gordon, 1993; Piliavin, 1990). However, it is unclear whether altruism is the reason for the motivation to donate, or whether donors rationalise their reason to donate by citing altruism. By contrast, at least one study has found that altruism and social responsibility were among the least significant variables distinguishing donors from non-donors (Condie, Warner & Gillman, 1976). Interestingly, this study was conducted at the time that the USA was changing to a social responsibility donation collection system.

Further studies have reported reasons people cited for not giving blood or discontinuing as a blood donor. A review of the literature by Piliavin (1990) found the

reason most cited for non-donation was medical problems. Fear of needles, pain, sight of blood, weakness, dizziness, adverse reactions, apathy, time constraints, lack of convenient opportunity and, more recently, fear of contracting AIDs, are also commonly cited reasons given for non-donation (Piliavin, 1990; Allen & Butler, 1993; Oswalt & Gordon, 1993). Piliavin and Callero (1991) conclude that people who choose not to donate are less likely to have a family member who donates, and are under less strong social pressures than those who do give.

The demographic characteristics of donors and non-donors have also been investigated. Many earlier findings are now less relevant because of the evolving demographic changes that have occurred in employment and household characteristics. For example, in nine early studies that Oswalt (1977) examined for gender effects, men represented between 66% and 91% percent of the donor samples. However, more recent studies report considerably smaller percentages of male donors (Piliavin, 1990). Some cultural changes that may partly explain the increase in female donors include the fact women are now having fewer children, which means they are able to donate more often, and their donation history is less interrupted. The increase in the number of women in the workforce has also provided women with more opportunity to donate by attending the mobile blood collection services that regularly visit workplaces.

A third research direction into blood donor behaviour has been to focus on acquiring a greater understanding of what leads donors to donate for the first time, and secondly, what makes first-time donors develop into regular, committed donors. This information has been used to develop profiles of donors, based on their distinguishing characteristics, as a guide to recruitment. Numerous personality characteristics have been reported including: altruism; a desire for self-sacrifice; a strong need for recognition and prestige; high energy levels; a greater propensity for original thinking; higher organisation membership and more voluntary donations; lower self-esteem; willingness to take fewer risks; greater concern with personal and family health; and greater conservatism (Oswalt, 1977; Piliavin, 1990). Yet Piliavin's review of these studies concludes that no clear picture has emerged to identify a "typical" potential donor.

To date, although payment for blood and many other aspects of donor motivation have been investigated, the question of who will become a regular, committed donor remains unanswered. In 1977, Oswalt stated that additional surveys of blood donor and non-donor

motivations are not likely to produce any significant new information since essentially the same information has been forthcoming for the last 20 years. A more recent literature review by Piliavin (1990) supported this view. She concluded that there is no reliable way to predict who is most likely to donate blood.

Nevertheless, since providing a dependable supply of blood is a primary mission for most blood centres, it is logical to target donors who are most likely to donate blood. If a reliable method of detecting differences between those who are more likely and less likely to donate blood were found, this could help blood donation organisations formulate specific strategies that aim at attracting and retaining those who are the most likely prospects.

3. Approaches to Predicting Donor Behaviour

3.1 Using Attitudes to Predict Behaviour

Occupying a central position in the study of both social psychology and consumer behaviour is the concept of attitude (Foxall, 1980; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). In fact, Foxall states that attitude is one of the most important behavioural science variables to have found a place in marketing thought and practice. However, between the mid-1960s and the late 1970s attitude research received much criticism. Years of early research failed to provide strong support for behavioural consistency or predictive validity of attitudes. It was found that people neither behaved consistently across situations, nor acted in accordance with their measured attitudes, and only a very small proportion of behavioural variance could be explained by reference to attitudinal variables (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

Nevertheless, Ajzen and Fishbein considered this attitude-behaviour inconsistency and the poor explanatory power of attitudes as primarily a measurement problem (Kraus, 1995). In response to measurement issues Ajzen and Fishbein developed the theory of reasoned action, which has become one of the most systematic and widely used cognitive approaches to attitude conceptualisation and measurement in marketing (Foxall & Goldsmith, 1998). The theory of reasoned action is an extension of Fishbein's (1963) expected-value theory of attitude, which remains part of reasoned action theory. The theory of reasoned action places attitudes within a sequence of linked cognitive constructs: beliefs, attitudes, intentions and behaviour. It is based on the assumption that people are basically rational and make systematic use of the information

available to them. That is, they consider the implications of their actions before they decide to behave in a given way (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; East, 1997).

Reasoned action theory views a person's intention to perform, or not perform, a behaviour as the immediate determinant of the action. The theory states that attitude to the behaviour is one determinant of intention. A second determinant, subjective norm, refers to the internalised influence of people who are important to a respondent. The theory of reasoned action was developed explicitly to deal with behaviours over which people have a high degree of volitional control (Ajzen, 1988). The theory has not been successful when attempting to explain or predict the behaviour of people whose behavioural goal depends not only on their intention, but also on other factors, such as the required opportunities and resources.

For this reason, Ajzen extended the theory of reasoned action and developed the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1985). The theory of planned behaviour explicitly recognises the possibility that many behaviours may not be under complete control, therefore the concept of perceived behavioural control, which is measured as a person's self-perceived ability to take some action if he or she wants to take that action, is added to address behaviours of this kind.

Giles and Cairns (1995) tested the predictive ability of the theory of planned behaviour by focussing on blood donation. They concluded that the prediction of blood donation was not under complete control, and measurement was therefore improved using the theory of planned behaviour compared to the theory of reasoned action. However, this conclusion begs the question of whether an alternative approach would have been an even better predictor of blood donation behaviour.

3.2 An Alternative Approach To Predicting Behaviour

Two decades ago Foxall (1983) concluded that those aspects of marketing research that relied on attitudinal-intentional-behavioural correspondence from prior verbal behaviours required comprehensive reappraisal. As already mentioned, many studies rely on psychological approaches to explain and predict human behaviour. In particular, the Fishbein behavioural intentions model is described as the most sophisticated technique available for such predictions (Foxall, 1986). Yet, meta-analyses of research using the theory of reasoned action and the theory of planned behaviour show that these models only

explain, on average, between 40% and 50% of the variance in intention, and between 19% and 38% of the variance in behaviour (Sutton, 1998).

One avenue of reappraisal of the use of cognitive variables to predict behaviour is to consider an alternative approach using behavioural variables. Foxall (1986) argued that such an approach will yield greater dividends than other approaches, and studies have found that measures of past behaviour improve predictions of behaviour compared to those provided by cognitive measures (Sutton, 1998). The behaviour modification perspective that evolved from the work of Skinner (1953) also discounted the value of cognitive measures, instead focusing on environmental factors that influence behaviour (Nord & Peter, 1980). In fact, Nord and Peter maintained that many marketing objectives can be accomplished without psychological theories, by simply studying environmental conditions and manipulating them to influence consumer behaviour.

The essence of this alternative approach to predicting behaviour is also found in a book by Labaw, published in 1980, in which she proposed a foundation for a systematic theory of questionnaire design (Gendall, 1998). Though Labaw's interest was in questionnaire design, her approach to this problem was based on the assumption that the objective of most surveys is prediction; for most market research surveys, prediction of consumer behaviour. Labaw's approach to questionnaire design was the result of her frustration with the lack of success of the accepted attitudinal approach.

Labaw concluded that, to predict behaviour, attitudinal questions, the answers to which can never be externally validated, should be replaced with questions about respondents' environment, knowledge and actual behaviour; in other words, questions that have a verifiable answer. Labaw argued that by adopting this approach, researchers could make better predictions of respondents' behaviour than is possible by measuring respondents' attitudes.

Like Ajzen's theory of planned behaviour, which measures three determinants of behaviour, Labaw's approach also focuses on three components. The first, environment, Labaw described as the physical aspects of respondents' lives over which they have little control but which impinge on their ability to act or respond in specific ways, regardless of their attitudes. These aspects include age, gender, health status, location, mobility level and education level. Labaw believed these aspects

are important because they provide greater depth to understanding human behaviour than attitudes, which may be much shorter lived. For example, it is known that young people are more likely to donate blood for the first time, establishing that age is a useful predictor of intention to donate blood.

Labaw referred to the second component in her approach, knowledge, as the respondent's level of knowledge about the topic. Labaw reasoned that a respondent's level of knowledge about, for example, blood donation may have a direct influence on his or her blood donation behaviour and is therefore a useful predictor of behaviour. This belief is supported by a recent Australian study that found a strong positive relationship between knowledge and willingness to donate blood (Adam & Soutar, 1999). For example, respondents' own donation behaviour may directly relate to whether or not they know there is a shortage of blood donors. An early finding by Drake (1978) reported that awareness of the need to have a consistent blood supply was a leading factor in the donor's decision to donate (cited in Allen & Maddox, 1990).

The third component of Labaw's approach to predicting behaviour is respondents' actual behaviour; what they do, and have done, compared with what they might do. Labaw argued that this behaviour component sorts out priorities among respondents' competing attitudes, a problem identified with attitudinal approaches. In contrast to Ajzen's cognitive approach, and in support of Foxall's (1983) view, Labaw reasoned that respondents' future behaviour is more accurately determined by their current or past behaviour, than by their attitude to that behaviour. For example, a regular donor to charity may be more likely to become a blood donor than someone who is not a regular charity donor.

However, unlike Ajzen's theory of planned behaviour, Labaw's approach to predicting behaviour has not been widely operationalised or tested. Therefore, it is not known whether her approach, using questions that can be truthfully answered, has greater predictive ability than Ajzen's theory of planned behaviour, based on attitudinal questions. However, given the ongoing debate about the relatively low predictability of attitudinal variables, we believe it is important to explore Labaw's alternative approach to predicting behaviour.

4. Research Design

The first aim of this study was to replicate the findings of Giles and Cairns' (1995) investigation of the ability of

the theory of planned behaviour to predict intention to donate blood. The second aim was to compare the predictive ability of variables based on Labaw's approach to questionnaire design and Ajzen's theory of planned behaviour.

The study was conducted in two stages: a qualitative stage followed by a quantitative survey. The purpose of the qualitative stage was to help develop the belief-based questions that play a central role in the theory of planned behaviour. Following Ajzen's (1991) approach to questionnaire design, respondents were asked a series of questions about blood donation to elicit their salient beliefs about the advantages and disadvantages of donating blood. They were also asked about their abilities and opportunities that make the action of donating blood easier or harder to perform, and to identify people or groups who think they should donate blood. These salient beliefs provided the basis for constructing the theory of planned behaviour part of the questionnaire that was then used in the second stage of the study.

The process of selecting the questions to include in the Labaw section of the questionnaire involved detailed preliminary discussions with representatives from the New Zealand Blood Service and a search of the literature to identify relevant variables. As Labaw's approach suggested, questions were developed to measure relevant aspects of the respondents' environment (for example, their age, sex, education), their knowledge of blood donation (for example, how often a donor can give blood, eligibility criteria to donate blood) and their behaviour (for example, past blood donation behaviour, other donation behaviour, such as potential organ donation).

Following a similar research design and sample size to the study by Giles and Cairns, the data for this study were collected from a convenience sample of 100 students and staff from a university at which regular blood collections are made. Although this sample was not representative of all blood donors it was, nevertheless, selected from a population with a high proportion of potential donors. Drawing a convenience sample from a campus population is a research method that is commonly reported in blood donation studies (e.g. Kazdin & Bryan, 1971; Osborne & Bradley, 1975; Cialdini & Ascani, 1976; Foss & Dempsey, 1979; Bagozzi, 1981; Piliavin, Callero & Evans, 1982; Lipsitz, Kallmeyer, Ferguson & Abas, 1989; Ferrari & Leippe, 1992; Nonis, Ford, Logan & Hudson, 1996). More importantly, we reiterate that the purpose of this study

was to replicate Giles and Cairns' (1995) study, and to compare the differences between two approaches, rather than to generalise the results to a wider population.

This study used one self-completion questionnaire, which included questions based on each of the two approaches. The Labaw behavioural type questions were asked first, followed by the theory of planned behaviour attitudinal questions. The Labaw questions included knowledge questions that required open-ended responses. All other questions required the respondents to circle one or more responses. All theory of planned behaviour questions involved a response to a seven-point semantic differential scale. Environmental and demographic questions were asked at the end of the questionnaire.

Interviewing took place one week before a scheduled campus visit by the New Zealand Blood Service (NZBS). To assess willingness to donate blood the following week, the questionnaire included a probability question and two intention questions. The dependent variable that provided the best fit to the predictor variables collected was used in the final analysis.

Respondents were asked whether they were willing to provide contact details should the interviewer have any

further questions at a later date. Respondents who provided their contact details were contacted by phone or email one week after the blood drive and asked whether they had donated blood when the NZBS had visited the campus the previous week. Whilst it is not possible to quantify the potential sensitising effect on behaviour the request for contact details and the subsequent follow up contact may have had, the anecdotal evidence is that respondents were truthful in their responses. Many non-donors volunteered information regarding their failure to donate. This was particularly apparent with those who had indicated a strong likelihood of donating blood and then wanted to explain the reason for their failure to act, even though this information was not directly sought. This finding is consistent with that reported by Giles and Cairns (1995) who also contacted respondents a week after the blood drive. Furthermore, if respondents were sensitised by the research process, the predictive ability of both approaches tested would be equally affected.

Follow-up contact gave a sample size of 40 for analysing reported behaviour. Whilst the sample was too small to report any definitive results about donor behaviour, nevertheless it allowed some conclusions to be drawn about the direction of future research in this area.

Table 1. Behavioural Intentions

Variables	Giles and Cairns Study N = 141	Current Study N = 100	
		TPB	Labaw
PBC	.608***	.612***	–
Subjective Norm	.114**	.191**	–
Attitude	.253***	.093	
Donor Status	–	–	.711***
Donation Freq.	–	–	-.372**
Visit Awareness	–	–	-.162*
R ²	.60	.52	.21

*** significant at 1% level
 ** significant at 5% level
 * significant at 10% level

5. Results

The predictive ability of Ajzen’s theory of planned behaviour and Labaw’s approach was compared, investigating both behavioural intentions and reported donation behaviour as the dependent variables. Table 1 presents the R² and Beta values for behavioural intentions from regression analyses of both the original study by Giles and Cairns, and the authors’ replication study.

The R² values for both the Giles and Cairns study and the current study were similar, with R² = .60 reported for the original study compared with R² = .52 for our replication study. Furthermore, for both studies, perceived behavioural control (PBC) was a better explanatory variable than the other two theory of planned behaviour variables, attitude and subjective norm. By contrast, attitude was a better explanatory variable than subjective norm for the original study, but these findings were reversed for our replication study.

The findings of our study support the earlier study by Giles and Cairns (1995), which concluded that motivation to donate blood is influenced by the perception of control or “perceived self-efficacy”. Thus

the theory of planned behaviour, which includes the PBC variable, is a better predictor of blood donation behaviour than the theory of reasoned action which does not include the PBC variable.

Comparison of the theory of planned behaviour variables and Labaw’s (1980) approach found that the theory of planned behaviour variables were better predictors of behavioural intentions than the Labaw variables, with R² values of .60 and .52, for the theory of planned behaviour studies, compared with .21 for the Labaw approach.

The analysis was then repeated using reported donation behaviour as the dependent variable. The results are shown in Table 2. This analysis produced an R² of .35 for the Labaw approach compared with .19 for the theory of planned behaviour variables. (Whilst Giles and Cairns reported collecting reported donation behaviour data, their results for this measure were not included in their analysis.)

Step-wise regression produced different explanatory Labaw variables for predicting reported donation behaviour compared with predicting behavioural intentions. For reported donation behaviour, three

Table 2. Reported Behaviour

Variables	Giles and Cairns Study N = 100	
	TPB	Labaw
PBC	.413**	–
Subjective Norm	.235	–
Attitude	-.132	–
Last Donation	–	.460***
Education Level	–	-.302**
Family Member	–	-.226*
R ²	.19	.35

*** significant at 1% level
 ** significant at 5% level
 * significant at 10% level

variables, last donation (number of months lapsed since last donation), education level (educational qualifications), and family member (donor has a family member who has donated blood), provided the best fit. Not surprisingly, the last donation variable provided the greatest explanatory power. That is, the longer it has been since a respondent's last donation, the less likely he or she is to donate blood again. It is less clear why a negative correlation was found between education level and blood donation. Possible explanations are that education is highly correlated with another variable such as age, which is also negatively correlated with blood donation, or that the effect is due to lack of variance in the data (because of the nature of the sample selected).

The theory of planned behaviour variable perceived behavioural control was the best explanatory variable for reported donation behaviour, as it was for behavioural intentions. In an attempt to improve the fit of the theory of planned behaviour model, indirect measures of attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioural control, commonly included in similar studies, were analysed in addition to the direct measures reported in Table 1. However, these variables provided a poorer prediction of behavioural intentions than the direct measures. Furthermore, no correlation was found between indirect measures of the theory of planned behaviour and reported donation behaviour. In a further attempt to improve the fit of the theory of planned behaviour indirect measures, the analysis was repeated after rescaling the uni-polar semantic differential scales used in the questionnaire, to bi-polar scales. This rescaling procedure did not improve the predictive ability of the indirect variables.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

The study reported here produced results similar to the Giles and Cairns (1995) study it set out to replicate. This suggests that it successfully tested the theory of planned behaviour, even though the sample size used was relatively small. The sample of respondents on which reported donation behaviour was collected was too small to draw anything but tentative conclusions. Nevertheless, the implication of the study is clear: attitudes predict intentions better than environment, knowledge and behaviour, but the latter are better predictors of behaviour. Given that it is behaviour not intentions that we are ultimately interested in, this is an important conclusion.

Attitude-based models such as the theory of planned behaviour, which underpin much of the traditional

thinking in social marketing, rely on the assumption that behavioural intentions are highly correlated with actual behaviour. The blood donation study reported here merely confirms what has been observed many times before, that attitudes are not good predictors of behaviour. Labaw's approach to predicting behaviour eschews the use of attitudes, proposing instead variables that measure the environment, knowledge and behaviour of the people concerned. In our blood donation study, Labaw's approach was better at predicting reported behaviour than the theory of planned behaviour. In absolute terms the Labaw approach was not particularly successful, nevertheless, its results were promising enough to suggest that this approach merits further study.

The significance of the study reported lies in its operationalisation of Labaw's framework and its implicit assumption that there is a better way of predicting behaviour than traditional cognitive approaches. This suggestion has important managerial implications. Instead of devoting effort to measures designed to change potential donors' attitudes to blood donation (on the assumption that this will lead to more donors or donations), emphasis should instead be placed on aspects of potential donors' knowledge, environment and behaviour that are known to be related to donor behaviour. For example, if the fact that having a family member who has been a donor is a significant predictor of blood donation, donors could be explicitly encouraged to "recruit" family members as new donors.

The alternative perspective proposed by Labaw is not, of course, limited to blood donation; her model is equally applicable to any form of social behaviour. The environment, knowledge, behaviour framework has to be specifically tailored for each situation; what works for blood donation will not necessarily work for donation to charity, or for organ donation. However, the fundamental principles of Labaw's behavioural approach are completely generalisable.

Cognitive models of behaviour such as the theory of planned behaviour have been the subject of much study and refinement over a long period of time. Despite this, their ability to predict behaviour is relatively poor. Rather than continuing to extend these models in the hope of improving their predictive ability, we suggest it is time to consider alternative approaches such as the one proposed by Labaw. This paper represents a first step in that direction.

Whilst the results of this study provide some support for Labaw's approach to predicting behaviour, additional

research is needed to test further its explanatory power and to refine the operationalisation of this approach. In particular, obtaining a larger sample size to examine donation behaviour would improve the reliability of the findings reported here. Furthermore, in order to generalise the results to a wider population, it would be necessary to use a systematic selection process to obtain the survey sample.

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Social Marketing: Improving the Quality of Life (2nd Edition)

Sage Publications: California (2002)

Philip Kotler, Ned Roberto, Nancy Lee

Introduction

As Alan Andreasen notes in the introduction to this book, social marketing has become an increasingly important aspect of marketing in recent years, a trend Andreasen predicts will continue. This textbook presents a systematic approach to social marketing that draws on marketing theory, and provides several examples to illustrate the application of theory to practice. However, the authors follow a very traditional approach to marketing decision-making. Readers looking for a more critical evaluation of social marketing and its applications, or an analysis of the empirical evidence underpinning social marketing theory, may find this book lacks depth.

Structure and Content of the Text

The text is divided into five sections that loosely follow the pattern of Kotler's marketing management texts. The first of these begins by presenting a definition of social marketing, which the authors suggest has a strong emphasis on voluntary behavioural modification, an explanation that has much in common with Andreasen's (1995) definition. The authors also identify other variables that can help shape consumers' behaviour, but they could do more to integrate social marketing with the legal, political and economic instruments available to marketers and policy makers. Rothschild (1999) discussed the role of "carrots" and "sticks" in social marketing programmes; this link with behaviour modification theory could be explored further. For example, social marketers can draw on regulation to modify and maintain behaviour in a way that commercial marketers cannot. Greater discussion of legislation prohibiting tobacco promotions, for example, would have fostered a better understanding of the regulatory environments that shape social behaviours.

The remaining chapters in the first section provide an overview of the strategic planning process that Kotler et

al recommend and develop in the later sections, and illustrate this using a variety of topical cases. The authors also outline twelve elements they suggest underlie successful social marketing campaigns. However, while these elements may offer some sensible guidelines, many lack a clear empirical foundation. For example, one element recommends starting with the target markets that are most ready for action. However, this assumes target markets exist, can be identified and accessed, and respond differently to different stimuli. Moreover, it assumes programmes that follow this advice will be more successful than those that do not. Although Kotler et al use cases to illustrate the elements they outline, these cases are rather anecdotal and the lack of empirical support is one of the major weaknesses of the text - a point I discuss in more detail below.

The second section of Social Marketing analyses the environments in which social marketing activities occur and begins by discussing the type of research that can be conducted. This section opens with a very brief summary of research methods, before discussing environmental analyses. As the authors note in the first section, social marketing does not require a new set of techniques, thus this section represents a summary of key topics outlined in more detail in mainstream marketing texts. For new social marketers, the information provided might be too superficial to be of much value, though it represents a sound summary of existing practice and the case studies provided link the methods outlined to social marketing programmes.

Readers familiar with Kotler's approach will easily recognise Section three of the text, which examines the selection and understanding of target markets. Although widely accepted as important in mainstream marketing, this approach has nevertheless attracted criticism, and the logic of segmentation remains debateable. For readers seeking a more critical review of how general marketing strategy may apply to social marketing,

recommendations to segment markets are rather unsatisfactory, and the case study presented is unconvincing as it does little to establish the effectiveness of segmentation. Although Kotler et al draw on Prochaska and diClemente's Transtheoretical model, they do not explain how the groups identified at different stages of this model can be effectively targeted, or whether segmentation strategies based on this model meet the criteria they argue should be used to evaluate segments. Nor do the authors consider the practical difficulties researchers must address when attempting to identify groups resistant to declaring "aberrant" behaviours.

Kotler et al often note the importance of effecting behavioural change, and they link this to changes in consumers' knowledge and beliefs, which in turn become the focus of social marketing campaigns. Though this approach has an intuitive appeal, it has proved unsuccessful in some major social marketing campaigns. For example, smokers' awareness of the health risks of smoking is generally high, despite their behaviour. Thus, while Kotler et al provide an interesting overview of different social behaviours, their analysis of the factors that contribute to these, and the potential role of environmental factors in modifying these behaviours, could be more rigorous.

The application of marketing strategy to social marketing continues in the remaining sections of the text, and Section four applies the four Ps to social marketing. Beginning by defining the product sold in social marketing, this section emphasises the behavioural goals that are at the heart of social marketing campaigns. However, Kotler et al continue their heavily cognitive approach; some acknowledgement and discussion of operant and respondent conditioning would add a useful dimension to their discussion. Nevertheless, encouraging a focus on specific behaviours and the stimuli that can achieve these provides a useful framework for social marketing, even if the theoretical underpinning is incomplete. Unfortunately, the suggestion that social behaviours ought to be marketed as "fun, easy and popular" seems somewhat naïve, as anyone who has tried to promote cervical or prostate cancer screening can no doubt attest.

The remaining chapters in this section, which deal with price, distribution, and promotion respectively, concentrate on removal of barriers that might impede the behaviour of interest. Thus, it is argued, social marketers should decrease the costs, monetary and non-monetary,

of performing the behaviour while increasing the benefits, or returns. Again, though these arguments have an appealing intuitive logic, the recommendations made have no empirical support, and Kotler et al provide no evidence that adoption of these suggestions will increase the likelihood that the relevant public will perform the behaviour.

The distribution chapter makes several important suggestions that typically involve making the behaviour easier to perform. For example, Kotler et al discuss the use of mobile breast-screening vans and dental clinics, which increase use of the service by fostering accessibility. Given that the recommendations made all involve changes to the environment, it would have been helpful if the authors had linked their suggestions to a more formal behavioural framework. The promotion chapter takes what Ehrenberg (1974) would describe as a strong theory approach, and focuses on behavioural change rather than maintenance of compliant behaviour patterns. As social marketers often rely on regulations to shape behaviours, the authors could have discussed how promotion complements regulation by demonstrating and reinforcing desirable behaviours. One chapter in Section five does address the question of reinforcement, but seems somewhat out of place in a section that deals mainly with questions of budgeting and evaluation. The final chapter in Section four deals with media selection, and highlights some interesting and innovative strategies that offer ideas relevant to community-based social marketers through to those working for international organisations.

Section five explores the evaluation and monitoring of social marketing campaigns and identifies a series of measures available to social marketers. The authors recommend Andreasen's "Backward" research approach. This approach suggests research design should work backwards from the tables that will appear in the research report to the analyses necessary to produce the tables, and, in turn, back to the questions required to produce the variables used in the analyses, which themselves depend on the decisions to be based on the research results. However, the chapter provides only a brief overview of how this approach might work in practice, and it would have been helpful to include a case that illustrated Andreasen's approach. The remaining chapters in Section five examine budget setting and programme maintenance, respectively. The budget methods outlined are generic, however, the section on funding offers some helpful suggestions.

The final section examines ethical issues that affect social marketing campaigns, and questions whether the ends justify the means, even when the ultimate goal is some kind of social gain. Although this chapter outlines a series of useful questions that could serve as a checklist for social marketers, the issues raised seem isolated and would be better considered as they arose throughout the text. Integration of ethical issues with the relevant decisions would seem a more effective way of alerting social marketers to the wider factors they may need to consider in their decisions, and the implications of choices they make. Alternatively, a more detailed discussion of utilitarianism and deontology would give this chapter a stronger basis.

Overall, this text provides a sound, if traditional, overview of social marketing and, for readers familiar with Kotler's marketing management texts, much of the material will be easily recognisable. The dominance of Kotler's philosophy is both a strength and a weakness of this text. Kotler's work has achieved international recognition because of its accessibility and the prescriptive frameworks he provides and less experienced social marketers will almost certainly find

the text very helpful. However, for advanced students or social marketers already familiar with Kotler's work, the text does little more than apply his recipe to a new framework. The material presented offers little sense of the debate about consumer behaviour occurring in marketing more generally, or of the unique features of social marketing, and so misses an opportunity to contribute to the development of social marketing theory.

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Ethics in Social Marketing

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Problems faced by marketers in non-profit organisations are among the most important and interesting issues in marketing. Thus, it is not surprising that social marketing is increasingly recognised as an important field. Alan Andreasen, who once wrote the best short article on practical marketing ever written (Andreasen 1985), is now one of the leaders in social marketing, and the editor of this important volume, which examines ethics in social marketing.

For marketers in commercial organisations, ethical considerations are essentially constraints. The ultimate aim is to make profits for shareholders, and ethical considerations may limit the methods employed to achieve this aim. For social marketers the situation is different; by definition, their ultimate aims are ethical, and for them the question of whether the ends justify the means is real and challenging. For social marketers, therefore, ethical issues are fundamental.

Unfortunately, most social marketers, including the authors of the papers in this book, believe that it is important to define just what social marketing is, the different types of social marketing that exist, and how social marketing differs from commercial marketing. This concern for defining abstract entities is one of the main themes of this book. For example, Andreasen and Drumwright claim "It has been long accepted that social marketing is significantly different from commercial marketing" (page 95), and the next two pages discuss the supposedly essential differences between social and commercial marketing.

Some of these points seem quite appealing at first. For example, the authors argue that "that social marketers typically have only limited resources for achieving such impressive objectives" (page 96). However, a moment's thought would show that this is not true of many social marketers. Some government agencies such as the New Zealand Land Safety Transport Authority, for example,

have comparatively large promotional budgets that would exceed those of many commercial marketers, particularly those who work in small companies. The overlap between commercial and social marketing is arguably much greater than these authors suggest, and it would be helpful to explore common ground rather than create dubious distinctions.

Although I would argue that these authors' concern with the nature of social marketing is misplaced, the book does discuss many important issues, although it is not at all clear that these are the exclusive domains of social marketers. The first essay begins "Thoughtful social marketing practitioners are faced all too frequently with ethical dilemmas". This is clearly true, but the same is true of all marketers, who must make personal decisions regarding their activities and the implications these will have for others. For example, commercial marketers have to decide whether it is appropriate to market products rich in highly processed carbohydrates; social marketers have to decide whether it is appropriate to promote immunisation knowing that a very small proportion of children will suffer adverse effects to the vaccines. The authors fail to demonstrate that the ethical problems of social marketers differ in nature or intensity from those faced by marketers in general.

The challenge to think about the effects of marketing on other stakeholders or the unintended consequences of marketing is one all marketers should rise to, and this text promises much. For example, the introduction suggests that the essays will "introduce philosophical rules and practical models to guide decision making, and ... focus on such complex issues as unintended consequences, ethical marketing alliances, and professional ethical codes". However, the discussions of these topics have little empirical support and it is somewhat disappointing that the essays do not consider the need to test the assumptions made in social marketing, particularly as many of these have much in common with commercial marketing.

Andreasen and Drumwright point out that social marketers and commercial marketers have the same compelling interest, hence it is not surprising that social marketers borrow concepts first developed and applied in commercial marketing. However, it is surprising that there is little discussion of how social marketers can apply this commercial knowledge to the behavioural objectives they wish to tackle. The essays could therefore focus more directly on how social marketers can improve their decision-making; that is, how they can decide on the course of action that will bring about the desired outcomes they find acceptable.

Ultimately, marketers interested in problems that involve social behaviours want to learn more about the options available for changing or reinforcing those behaviours, and the relative effectiveness of those options. These are

difficult questions, since, as Armstrong and Schultz (1993) point out, little has been empirically established. However, for social marketing to progress, these questions, as well as their ethical implications, need to be explicitly acknowledged and discussed, and actively researched.

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