

Revista de **GESTÃO** dos Países de Língua Portuguesa

Quadrimestral | Volume 16 | Número 3 setembro-dezembro 2017 | Preço 15 EUR | P ISSN 2183-7678 B ISSN 1677-2067
Editores: EBAPE, Fundação Getúlio Vargas; INDEG-ISCTE Executive Education; Faculdade de Economia, Universidade Agostinho Neto; Escola de Negócios e Administração de Moçambique

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editorial

Esta edição da *Revista de Gestão dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* (RGPLP) assume um carácter distinto de que tem sido a nossa prática editorial. Temos, pela primeira vez, um editor convidado e um número da Revista totalmente dedicado a uma temática, neste caso, o Marketing Social.

É uma experiência que talvez venhamos a tentar noutras edições desde que a importância ou novidade dos temas o justifiquem.

A escolha desta temática justifica-se pela crescente importância que ela vem assumindo na nossa vida coletiva mas, também, pela ainda escassa publicação científica em português, quando comparada com a sua relevância na comunicação pública.

Nas palavras do Professor Carlos Oliveira Santos, o editor convidado desta edição: «Este número especial da RGPLP, reúne um excepcional conjunto de investigadores, provenientes de cinco países, de três continentes e de diversas e prestigiadas instituições universitárias, com largo leque de abordagens que vão desde uma dimensão macro, no plano das governações nacionais, a outras que se debruçam sobre aspetos mais específicos, tidos como novas potencialidades ou como novos processos instrumentais desta “disciplina”».

Assim, nesta edição, Diogo Veríssimo, da Johns Hopkins University, nos EUA, aborda o papel do contra-marketing numa curiosa intervenção de marketing social australiano, no âmbito da conservação da natureza. Jeff French, uma referência internacional da área, responsável pela direção e execução da política nacional de marketing do Governo britânico, aborda o tema do marketing do bem público. José Afonso Mazzon é um pioneiro do estudo do marketing social no Brasil. Com Hamilton Coimbra Carvalho propõe-se uma agenda para um incremento pleno do marketing social no seu país. Marco Antonio Cruz Morato, de Espanha, tem desenvolvido uma abordagem da pobreza e da exclusão social, cujos resultados, publica num trabalho conjunto com Antonio García Lizana e Josefa García Mestanza. Os australianos Stephan Dahl e Lynne Eagle apresentam com Victor Gomes Lauriano Souza a problemática da informação de saúde na Internet. O próprio Carlos Oliveira Santos apresenta uma componente dos seus trabalhos de doutoramento sobre o marketing social no Reino Unido.

Esperamos que os nossos leitores apreciem esta experiência face à edição normal da Revista e lançamos mesmo o desafio para que nos apresentem propostas de valor, sobre outras temáticas.

No próximo número retomaremos a edição nos termos habituais, pelo que apelamos ao envio de artigos centrados nas temáticas de gestão no âmbito da CPLP.



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«Esperamos que os nossos leitores apreciem esta experiência face à edição normal da Revista e lançamos mesmo o desafio para que nos apresentem propostas de valor, sobre outras temáticas».



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Marketing social good

by Jeff French

ABSTRACT: This paper sets out some of the key insights and principles about why effective social behavioural design needs to incorporate marketing principles. The paper explores how social marketers, politicians and other stakeholders can build strategies that are enhanced by marketing principles and methodology into all social policy. The key thesis of the paper is that social marketing can help inform social policy strategy, selection and implementation through a process of citizen centric policy development and delivery. Without this understanding social interventions risk continued sub optimal delivery and a growing tendency of rejection by citizens.

Keywords: Social Marketing; Citizen Centric; Behaviour; Social Policy; Strategy

Marketing do bem público

RESUMO: Este artigo apresenta algumas das principais ideias e princípios sobre o porquê de processos eficazes de comportamento social precisarem de incorporar princípios de marketing. O artigo explora como os especialistas de marketing social, os políticos e outras partes interessadas podem construir estratégias que sejam reforçadas pelos princípios e metodologias do marketing em todas as políticas sociais. A principal tese do artigo é que o marketing social pode ajudar a informar a estratégia, a selecção e a implementação de políticas sociais, através de um processo de desenvolvimento e aplicação de políticas centradas nos cidadãos. Sem essa compreensão, as intervenções sociais correm o risco de resultados deficientes e de uma crescente tendência para a rejeição por parte dos cidadãos.

Palavras-chave: Marketing Social; Focagem nos Cidadãos; Comportamento; Política Social; Estratégia

Marketing del bien público

RESUMEN: Este artículo presenta algunas de las principales ideas y principios sobre el por qué los procesos eficaces de comportamiento social necesitan incorporar principios de marketing. El artículo explora como los especialistas de marketing social, los políticos y otras partes interesadas pueden construir estrategias que sean reforzadas por los principios y metodologías del marketing en todas las políticas sociales. La principal hipótesis del artículo es que el marketing social puede ayudar a indicar la estrategia, la selección y la implementación de políticas sociales, a través de un proceso de desarrollo y aplicación de políticas centradas en los ciudadanos. Sin esa comprensión, las intervenciones sociales corren el riesgo de obtener resultados deficientes y de una creciente tendencia al rechazo por parte de los ciudadanos.

Palabras clave: Marketing Social; Enfoque en los Ciudadanos; Comportamiento; Política Social; Estrategia

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Received in April 2017 and accepted in September 2017

Recebido em abril de 2017 e aceite em setembro de 2017

Recibido en abril de 2017 y aceptado en septiembre de 2017

According to GroupM (2016) the business community will invest over a trillion dollars in 2017 on marketing programmes to promote the uptake of goods and services. One of the key factors in the success of commercial organisations is that they not only invest in marketing but they also invest time and effort in strategic marketing planning and research. They think long term and they select and execute strategy based on data and insights about their customers, the environment and the competition they face. They try to drive out guess work and reactive responses in favour of long term strategic action to influence consumer behaviour.

Whether they like it or not politicians and public servants are also in the business of influencing behaviour (House of Lords, 2011). The underlying premise of this paper is that there is a need for not for profit organisations, governments and their agencies to understand better and apply marketing principles and techniques as an integral part of their policy, strategy and operational delivery process.

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As citizens become more educated, wealthy and empowered, governments and other public organisations increasingly have to be driven by people's expectations and needs rather than by just data and expert analysis alone. This shift in emphasis signals an inevitable and fundamental change in the power relationship between states and public organisations and the citizens they seek to serve. This shift necessitates the integration of social marketing as an embedded and consistent feature of social policy development and delivery, this is because social marketing is the discipline that is focused on developing understanding of citizens and how they can be influenced and engaged in helping to deliver solutions to social challenges.

We know that many individual decisions and consequent behaviour related to social problems such as alcohol misuse, overeating and energy use are influenced by a mix of social, economic, cultural and unconscious and automatic thinking as well as rational mindful consideration (Dawnay and Shah, 2005). These decisions have both personal and social implications and are influenced by a range of evolutionary derived responses and heuristic systems that interplay with the specific emotional contexts, social influence, environmental prompts, and factors such as timing, and our physiological state (Social Market Foundation, 2008; Prinz, 2012). Much of this new understanding about how to influence behaviour has for many years been used by the commercial marketing sector but less so by governments.

We are all marketers now

In 2013, the first consensus definition of social marketing was developed by the International Social Marketing Association in collaboration with the European Social Marketing Association and the Australian Association of Social

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Marketing (ISMA, ESMA and AASM, 2013). These organisations defined social marketing as: “Social marketing seeks to develop and integrate marketing concepts with other approaches to influence behaviours that benefit individuals and communities for the greater social good.”

Social marketing is focus on the application and use of marketing principles, concepts and techniques to bring about social good. Over the last forty years social marketing has slowly become more prominent in social policy arenas driven by increasing evidence that suggests it is an effective social change approach (Gordon et al., 2006; Stead et al., 2007; French, 2011).

Building on existing developments, social marketing is now proffering new ideas relating to social programme management (Tapp and Spotswood, 2013), upstream policy focused marketing (Gordon, 2013), strategic thinking (French and Gordon, 2015), applying service logic to social issues (Russell-Bennett et al., 2013), critical thinking (Gordon, 2011), value creation (Zainuddin et al., 2011), sustainability (Smith and O’Sullivan, 2012), and transformative thinking (Lefebvre, 2011). Insights are also being developed to enable the application of social marketing to influence broader, ‘systemic’ analysis and solution generation to be adopted (Hastings and Domegan, 2014).

Marketing informed and citizen focused social programme design

The processes associated with developing effective social programmes designed to influence behaviour and bring about social progress is a challenge faced by all governments as well as a challenge faced by all public, private and NGO organisations. It is vitally important that social marketing is incorporated into social policy and programme design as it can make a significant contribution. New understanding about how to design, implement and track social interventions has been emerging for many years as evidence informed policy making has gained momentum (Bullock et al., 2001).

Further evidence and insights are also emerging from management science, behavioural sciences, the datafication of society, community engagement, empowerment methodologies and also social design. These contributions are reflected in an increasing use of evidence, data and citizen centric approaches to social policy design and delivery (Cabinet Office, 2009; Orszag and Nussle, 2016; Mayer-Schönberger and Cukier, 2013; Cottam and Leadbeater, 2004; What Works Network, 2014).

Books like **Nudge** (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008) and **Thinking, Fast and Slow** (Kahneman, 2011) and many others that seek to popularise some of our new understanding from the fields of behavioural science have also hit the best seller’s lists. Their contents are scrutinised by politicians and public policy makers and the recommendations that they make are beginning to find their way into social policy solutions. However rather than such piecemeal uptake of ideas such as ‘Framing’ or the application of behavioural ‘Defaults’ it is necessary that we develop and apply a more systematic and cohesive approach to designing

interventions that aim to influence people's behaviour. This is one of the key strengths of social marketing as just like other integrating systems methodologies such as lean production (Womack and Jones, 2007).

Social marketing is focus on core processes and the application of core principles and concepts that deliver added value. Unlike a narrowly focused approach reliant on one field of study it takes a more systemic approach to analysing problems and a systematic approach to developing and testing interventions that are dictated by analysis rather than by selecting from a predefined set of options as is often the case with the application of approaches such as behavioural economics (French, 2011).

The organising potential of social marketing

Social marketing is one of the most comprehensive organising set of principles and concepts that we have for strategic assessment, design, delivery and evaluation of social programmes that seek to influence behaviour for social good. Just like marketing in the for-profit sector, social marketing is a field of study that draws on theory, evidence and data from every discipline and then proceeds to synthesise it through systematic and transparent analysis, planning and management processes. These processes are informed by principles that include value creation, exchange and relationship building, brand building, segmentation, user centric product and service design and implementation.

A new paradigm for social programme design is inevitable because we are now at a point in human history in many countries where a confluence of factors is coming together that mean that existing approaches to social policy selection, design and application are no longer tenable. This situation has come about because of increased literacy, wealth, new evidence about what works, new technology and new understanding about how behaviour can be influenced (Oliver, 2013). The need for a paradigm shift is being driven by the fundamental power shift from elites to citizens that these developments are bringing about (Clarke et al., 2007). As people become wealthier, educated, empowered by more responsive governments they experience more power as 'citizen consumers'. This expectation of choice and power is transferred into expectations about how government and other not-for-profit institutions should behave and function.

Given impetus by these factors social marketing has begun to influence the social policy agenda. It has been given momentum by the growing recognition among policy-makers about the limitations of traditional forms of state action (Shafir, 2013; Oliver, 2013). What is needed now are approaches to social policy that reflect a more equal distribution of social power and responsibility and more citizen insight informed social policy and programmes. What this means in practice is assisting and working with citizens to transform how they are viewed by governments and agencies from being passive recipients of social programmes in systems that deny them both power and responsibility to being

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active co-creators of social services and solutions to social challenges.

This emerging new paradigm signals a break from a situation where governing elites ruled and the ruled were grateful, experts told people what to think and do and they did it. It also reflects modern conceptions of marketing practice that emphasise relationship building (Gummesson, 2002; Finne and Gronroos, 2009), and the dominance of quality service delivery (Lusch and Vargo, 2006) rather than just a focus on products or services.

The marketing responsibility of politicians and not for profit institutions

It is clear that it is insufficient to consider an individual's voluntary behaviour change in isolation from social, economic and environmental influences on behaviour (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009). The impact of social, economic and environmental factors has a large influence on people's ability to behave in certain ways, their choice envelope and their motivation and ability to act (World Health Organization, 2008). The behaviour of others and the general, economic, cultural and social environments expressed through notions of social capital (Putman, 1995) and community resilience also needs to be considered and targeted if individuals are to be helped to sustain a positive social behaviour or modify damaging behaviour (Woolcock, 2001).

Governments and other agencies concerned with influencing behaviour to achieve social objectives often focus on information, education and 'voluntary' behaviour change. However, in some circumstances governments will need to use other policy tools to create supportive environments in which positive social behaviours and social change can be achieved. These tools include legislation, penalties and incentives, as well as the design of systems, services and environments. For example, in the field of road safety fines for speeding and road systems design that encourages people to slow down at crossing points are effective interventions. When risk and threat is great and highly probable governments may need to use different tools to influence people to be compliant with social policy, including incentives and or sanctions.

It is probable that in most circumstances in both the developed and developing world to succeed in designing optimally effective, efficient and acceptable social programmes the marketing concepts of value creation, exchange and relationship building will all need to be used to design programmes that create social good. These core marketing concepts, focus on building social policy and intervention strategies through collaborative consensus building and efforts aimed at the genuine engagement and empowerment of citizens in the policy selection and implementation process. The development of social strategy based on both value creation and citizen engagement also lead to the application of a longer-term strategic approach and a more diverse mix of interventions being applied. This is because when citizens are engaged and listened to they often generate policy responses and intervention solutions that goes beyond the narrow confines of legislation enforcement and information provision.

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How social marketing can assist with more responsive and inclusive governance

This paper makes the case that there is a significant cultural and technical shift required within governments and specialist not for profit agencies to move towards a more citizen focused social marketing informed approach to social policy development and delivery. Such an approach will necessitate developing a fully integrated partnership between marketing professionals and policy and delivery professionals if a more optimum set of social outcomes are to be achieved from social policy interventions.

In the past many social programmes have been developed on the basis of their fit with the prevailing political, economic, ideological and moral sensibilities of ruling elites. Alongside these considerations there has also been a focus on evidence and efficiency based policy making and social programme delivery. This approach is informed by undertaking systematic evidence reviews and gathering evidence about what works through the setting up of demonstration projects and pilots. The data collected is then analysed by experts who decide what the 'evidence' indicates about what works and what should be invested in.

At other times, however policies are developed based on trigger factors such as reactions to disasters or if a policy might win a political party votes at an upcoming election. Both the 'expert defined' and 'reactive' approach to social programme selection lack the 'expert' knowledge of the people who are experiencing the issue and a deep understanding of what they say would help them and what will not.

Applying social marketing as an integral part of the selection, design, implementation and evaluation of social programmes begins with a commitment to building solutions around citizens expressed needs and wants. Developing propositions and interventions that are valued by citizens requires an additional commitment to investing in understanding their knowledge, attitudes and beliefs, and using this insight to help select and structure interventions designed to impact on the selected social issue. Creating value for citizens is not about abdicating responsibility for defining what constitutes social good by just responding to what people say they need and want. It is about understanding, listening and engaging people as partners in defining the nature of problems and in the selection and delivery of solutions. Social marketing is a respectful process.

A starting point for a more citizen centric approach is investment in active and continuous stakeholder and citizen engagement. To this end the OECD (2001), identifies three levels of government-citizen relations and investment. First government disseminates information on policy making or programme. Design and information flows from the government to citizens in a one-way relationship. A second and enhanced approach is when governments asks for and receives feedback from citizens on policy-making and programme design. In order to receive feedback, government defines whose

views are sought and on what issues. Receiving citizens' feedback also requires government to provide information to citizens beforehand. Consultation thus creates a limited two-way relationship between government and citizens. The third and most effective approach advocated by OECD is 'Active participation and citizen engagement'. In this scenario citizens are actively engaged in policy and decision-making processes. Citizens may propose policy options and engage in debate on the relative merits of various options, although the final responsibility for policy formulation and regulation rests with the government.

Engaging citizens in policy making and programme design requires that both governments and citizens commit to an investment in the process. It represents more than just a simple two-way dialogue rather all citizens, community groups' organisations and government have a responsibility to reach out and engage in a systemic way with potential stakeholders, partners and target groups so that every social asset and stream of insight can be used to develop solutions to social problems.

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Conclusions

This paper has explored the challenges for governments and social institutions when seeking to develop social policy focused on influence behaviour for social good. The complex web of influences on behaviour and the equally seemingly complexity associated with developing effective and efficient interventions is clear.

The current tendency in many countries to rely on simplistic information transmission and legal and fiscal sanctions to influence social behaviour can reduce the impact of social programmes.

This paper has sought to draw out some of the key issues and features associated with the development of more effective social programmes and how they can be enhanced by the application of social marketing principles. This means developing social programmes and interventions that are informed by citizens needs want and aspirations and are valued by citizens.

Ideally these social marketing informed programmes should also be delivered through civic relationships that demonstrate that citizens are engaged in the selection, design, delivery and evaluation of interventions.

Social marketing principles can be used to inform and structure this process and ensure that the creation of citizen defined value and social good sits at the heart of future social policy development and delivery.

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Social marketing in Brazil

History, challenges and an agenda for the future

by José Mazzon and Hamilton Carvalho

ABSTRACT: Several decades after its birth, social marketing has never become a mainstream tool in the repertoire of social actors designing programs for behavior change in Brazil. Misconceptions about marketing and prejudice against its use in social programs hinder the development of the discipline and its full consideration by upstream social actors. The paper describes a sample of academic studies and key programs that marked the first phase of social marketing in the country. Among the programs, three deserve special attention: the Brazilian Workers' Food, the fight against HIV and the «Zé Gotinha» vaccination programs. The paper also presents a discussion on barriers and opportunities for social marketing in Brazil, including a three points agenda for accelerating its diffusion.

Key words: Social Marketing; Marketing; Communication

Marketing social no Brasil

História, desafios e uma agenda para o futuro

RESUMO: Várias décadas após o seu nascimento, o marketing social nunca se tornou uma ferramenta dominante no repertório de agentes sociais que criam programas de mudança de comportamento no Brasil. Os equívocos sobre o marketing e os preconceitos contra o seu uso em programas sociais impedem o desenvolvimento da disciplina e a sua plena consideração por agentes sociais de topo. O artigo descreve uma mostra de estudos acadêmicos e programas-chave que marcaram a primeira fase do marketing social no país. Entre eles, três merecem atenção especial: o Programa de Alimentação do Trabalhador, a luta contra o HIV e os programas de vacinação «Zé Gotinha». O artigo também apresenta uma discussão sobre barreiras e oportunidades para o marketing social no Brasil, incluindo uma agenda de três pontos para acelerar sua difusão.

Palavras-chave: Marketing Social; Marketing; Comunicação

Marketing social en Brasil

Historia, desafíos y una agenda para el futuro

RESUMEN: Varias décadas después de su nacimiento, el marketing social nunca se convirtió en una herramienta dominante en el repertorio de agentes sociales que crean programas de cambio de comportamiento en Brasil. Los equívocos sobre el marketing y los preconceptos contra su uso en programas sociales impiden el desarrollo de la disciplina y de su plena consideración por los agentes sociales de primer nivel. El artículo describe una muestra de estudios académicos y programas-clave que marcarán la primera fase del marketing social en el país. Entre ellos, tres merecen atención especial: el Programa de Alimentación del Trabajador, la lucha contra el VIH y los programas de vacunación “Zé Gotinha” (poliomelitis). El artículo también presenta una discusión sobre barreras y oportunidades para el marketing social en Brasil, incluyendo una agenda de tres puntos para acelerar su difusión.

Palabras clave: Marketing Social; Marketing; Comunicación

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Received in May 2017 and accepted in September 2017

Recebido em maio de 2017 e aceite em setembro de 2017

Recibido en mayo de 2017 y aceptado en septiembre de 2017

“We are all pedestrians in the city” is a common closing for advertising pieces selling automobiles on TV and radio in Brazil. The ubiquity of that phrase is not a coincidence: since 2010, a law requires that all advertising of products from the automotive industry in any media display an educative message at the end. The Brazilian office for transit norms, following determinations from that law, chooses yearly the set of three to six phrases that will be available for use in advertising (Agência Brasil, 2010).

Perhaps nothing epitomizes more the paradigm governing public initiatives aiming at behavior change in Brazil than this reliance on providing information. Proven conceptual technologies to promote behavior change, such as social marketing and behavioral economics, are typically absent in the repertoire of public executives trying to influence public’s behavior for the benefit of society. Those technologies face strong competition from traditional approaches—education, as in the example above, and the law.

In Brazil, governments, and other social actors, such as media pundits, seem to espouse the belief that people perform their behaviors either out of being ceaselessly informed about its importance or out of punishment prescribed by law (in some rare cases, monetary incentives also integrate the set of legal actions). In other words, when it comes to changing people’s behavior in Brazil, the *homo economicus* paradigm still is the way to go. In this paradigm, people are assumed to be cold decision makers, always weighing costs and benefits before acting. Moreover, they are assumed to always process the available information and acting whenever it shows a favorable outcome from the proposed course of action (Carvalho and Mazzon, 2013). When people do not perform the expected behavior, the cause, according to the paradigm, is insufficiency of information, weak penalties or incentives, or, worse (as this seems a hidden assumption), laziness or self-sabotage.

Thus, education or informative campaigns are the staple choice of public executives in Brazil, creating a surge of awareness campaigns. The so-called *awareness fever* is well known among social marketers (Bornkessel, 2010). The term refers both to a strong inflation of “awareness days” throughout the world and to a complacent attitude in the design of social programs, leading to the provision of information to segments of the public with the goal (and hope) of changing their behavior. However, this *throw-food-at-the-pigeons*’ paradigm, as we call it, is a very limited approach to behavior change. It is limited because information can only go so far to change people’s behavior. Considering the example of traffic accidents that motivated the law cited in the beginning of the paper, the current rate of deaths per 100,000 inhabitants is 25% higher than in the decade of 1980 (Gomes, 2014). Clearly, Brazil has been losing the battle against drunk driving and other risky behaviors that claim the lives of so many people in the country. Nonetheless, Brazilian drivers are constantly bombarded with information about “correct” behaviors on road, as the example in Figure 1 illustrates (an alert to turn on the lights on roads).

Based on its successful history in changing behaviors in critical societal con-

Brazil has been losing the battle against drunk driving and other risky behaviors that claim the lives of so many people in the country. Nonetheless, Brazilian drivers are constantly bombarded with information about “correct” behaviors on road.

Figure 1 **Alert in Anchieta Road in São Paulo, Brazil**

Source: Google Maps–Street View

texts throughout the world (Lee and Kotler, 2015), social marketing has an enormous potential to improve markedly the lives of Brazilians. Considering that the discipline was founded in 1971 (Kotler and Zaltman, 1971), its absence in the repertoire of Brazilian public executives calls for an explanation. Why does that happen?

This paper proposes an answer to that question. We first present a general panorama of social marketing in Brazil, in academic and professional settings. We describe the main programs that resembled a social marketing approach or symbolized a clever use of marketing to tackle social problems in the country. In the final part of the paper, we also propose a three points agenda to accelerate the diffusion of social marketing among key social actors.

To present the panorama that follows, we conducted personal interviews with a sample of the few academics and professionals involved with social marketing in Brazil. To have a better perspective, we also interviewed social marketers from other Latin America countries, identified after a query in the social marketing email listserv in 2014, then under the management of Georgetown University. We also searched academic databases looking for Brazilian papers, masters' dissertations and PhD thesis that utilized social marketing as a guiding lens. While the result of that effort is not exhaustive, we believe we have uncovered a representative sample of the state of the discipline in the country, especially considering the scarcity of academic work in the field.

Misconception

If we could summarize the trajectory of social marketing in Brazil in just one word, misconception would be the one. Social marketing in Brazil—and its Latin America neighbors—is usually confused with mere advertising, social communication, cause marketing or societal marketing (e.g. Almaraz, Gonzáles and García, 2009; Levek et al., 2002; Neves, 2001). The few professional articles aiming at business audiences usually try to entice companies to see the oppor-

tunity to gain a philanthropic affiliation or to market themselves to their internal public (i.e. employees).

In other words, almost anyone in Brazil, especially key social actors such as government officials and media pundits, knows about social marketing and its powerful set of tools for behavior change.

However, besides the misconception about the discipline, there is another barrier to the advancement of social marketing in Brazil: the prejudice against marketing—and even against the word “marketing”. Marketing has been associated with the worst practices in business: the selling of unhealthy food to children (Lang, Nascimento and Taddei, 2009), deception in sales, unethical “selling” of political candidates and so on. It has also been linked to a method for top-down control by international organizations, such as U.S. Agency for International Development (Dragon, 2004).

Nevertheless, while it is unsurprising that social marketing is still in its infancy in Brazil, over the last decades there have been some academic and practical advancement in the country. Social programs sometimes capture some of the main elements that comprise the tenets of social marketing: the 4 Ps, segmentation, consumer research, positioning, branding, etc. On the academic front, there have been studies employing the social marketing framework to study governmental programs and propose better courses of action. We first review the academic studies and then highlight important social programs that employed elements of marketing in their design.

Academic studies

When did the field of social marketing begin in Brazil? The answer lies in the academia. The first academic work that explicitly employed social marketing in the country was the doctoral thesis written by the first author of this article at the University of Sao Paulo (Mazzon, 1981). The author utilized the social marketing framework to analyze a major Brazilian governmental program (a worker food program) that wove a partnership between the federal government and firms to provide better nutrition to workers (PAT – Programa de Alimentação do Trabalhador).

In the last two decades, there have been very few academic studies using social marketing as a theoretical reference. Hence, the conciseness of the following list. Gonçalves (1991) discussed the possibilities of a broad application of social marketing to several problems of development in Brazil, in particular empowering people to tackle social challenges. Cerqueira (1997) found an incomplete application of social marketing tenets in recycling programs conducted by private companies, notwithstanding their successful outcomes. Popadiuk and Marcondes (2000) defended the use of social marketing to sell the benefits associated with the process of privatization that took place in the country at the turn of the century. Carvalho (2010) used social marketing to analyze the dissemination of a government program in the tax field—the conclusion was that a lack of social marketing orientation produced a costly program that did

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not meet its expectations of success and frustrated actual and potential consumers. Using qualitative methods, Meira (2010) developed a method to evaluate social marketing programs, identifying inputs, processes and results, and including an ethical dimension throughout the steps. Goto (2014) used social marketing as reference to propose actions to fight the dengue epidemics in the city of São Paulo. In a context of continuously increasing traffic accidents in Brazil, Dias (2015) contrasted the perception of a selected sample of individuals with the low efficacious campaigns sponsored by the federal government. In the same vein, Rezende et al. (2015) concluded that governmental efforts to stimulate organ donations in Brazil have a low efficacy, especially because they ignore the public's perception regarding the safety of the procedures.

To summarize, a common thread linking most of the studies briefly described above is the general proposition that the low efficacy of social programs in Brazil derives from the incomplete use or absence of social marketing concepts and principles.

Key programs and initiatives

Following what happened worldwide since the beginning of the discipline, the most common application of social marketing in Brazil has been in the health field.

Nonetheless, the first government program explicitly using a social marketing approach was the Worker Food Program (PAT – Programa de Alimentação do Trabalhador) created by Brazilian federal government in 1976. The goal was to improve the quality of meals consumed by workers. By creating an alliance involving the government (who provided tax incentives), companies (interested in improving worker's productivity) and unions, the program stroke a rare win-win agreement in a convoluted social environment, at a time when Brazil was still a non-democratic country.

Social marketing techniques were employed to influence the behaviors of target employers, unions and food providers. The program has reached a great degree of success and it has been replicated in other Latin American countries, like Mexico, Uruguay and Argentina. The program has generated several spillover and network effects, ranging from better motivation levels among workers and less job accidents to greater specialization in the meals industry. It has also increased the amount of taxes flowing to public coffers, generating US\$ 15 in taxes for each US\$ 1 waived by the government (Mazzon et al., 2016).

A landmark social program in Brazil has been the HIV prevention program. Traditional programs in this field tend to have a short-term duration and rely on communication, such as the *Tú No Me Conoces* ("You Don't Know Me") social marketing campaign that targeted the Hispanic population in the US-Mexico border (Olshefsky et al., 2007).

The Brazilian program started as a mass communication effort, initially using strong fear appeals. Over time it started adopting segmented communication with varying appeals and focus on a clear, specific and doable behavior ("wear

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condoms”). While not an authentic social marketing campaign, there are a few facts that make this program worth of mention. First, its consistency: it was developed without major political interferences through four different presidential terms, spanning a period of more than 20 years, a rarity in Brazil (Gutenberg, Fantini and Serpa, 2006). Secondly, over time its managers realized the power of research and segmentation and started to develop successful approaches to the most vulnerable population, including truck drivers, prostitutes, and pregnant women. Place and branding initiatives also comprised the set of interventions. Thirdly, as the costs to treat infected people started to mount (the drugs were offered free to patients), the Brazilian government decided in 2000 to unilaterally break drugs patents, forcing a decrease in their prices. This action infuriated the pharmaceutical industry, attracting a fierce opposition from the United States government, who decided to take the case to the World Trade Organization (WTO). The Brazilian government then took a rare approach: it started targeting upstream social actors (NGOs in developed countries, WTO decision makers, media gatekeepers), paying for ads in US newspapers and using several public relations tools. A United Nations conference on Aids in 2001 catalyzed the public opinion in favor of the Brazilian act, leading the US government to retreat and propose an agreement to end the dispute. Nowadays, the Brazilian program on HIV prevention and treatment is recognized as a benchmark in the field.

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Also in the health domain, another campaign that also had elements of a true social marketing program was the polio vaccination program (Ministério da Saúde, 2013). The Brazilian Ministry of Health promoted a cultural contest in schools in 1986 to choose a name for an advertising mascot. The name “Zé Gotinha” (something like “Joe Droplet”) was the winner and in a heartbeat the character became nationwide famous, with a huge appeal among children. Short animated films on TV, involvement of TV stars, production of comics, the presence of people wearing the character’s costumes at the public clinics and related initiatives helped to create a “culture of vaccination” that has been having enduring effects in the country. The program was a huge success. The last case of polio in Brazil dates back to the decade of 1980s, the same decade when polio was eradicated in Argentina (a smaller, more homogeneous country, with better educational levels) and a decade earlier than Mexico. Once employed to represent only oral vaccines against polio, “Zé Gotinha” has been used as a mascot in most mass vaccination campaigns that target children in Brazil.

A recent contribution to the expansion of social marketing came from the environmental NGO Rare. Rare employs techniques from the discipline to support conservation in local communities. It trains leaders from local communities with the goal of developing pride and empowering them to adopt sustainable practices in their lives. It now has offices in Brazil (since 2014) and Mexico (since 2008), with several ongoing projects in Latin America (Stoner, 2015).

The presence of some organized elements of marketing in social programs in Brazil is probably due to the dissemination of knowledge in management sciences. It is not rare to find staff with an undergraduate degree in business in the more organized Brazilian NGOs. Knowledge in marketing has also been helping civil servants in some rare cases. For instance, a current initiative, the campaign against dengue fever in the Brazilian city of Santos has made clever use of spokespersons, integrated marketing communication, social media, promotion, and place strategies (Prefeitura de Santos, n.d.).

On a final note in this section, communication campaigns are easy to identify in Brazil. Campaigns to inform the population about new laws are common. They fit the *throwing food at the pigeons* paradigm: just spread the information about the desired behavior and hope that the people pay attention and “bite” it. As expected, most of the potential for change is squandered.

Barriers and possibilities of expansion

Providing information with the hope of changing behaviors has been a hallmark in governmental (intended) behavior change programs, as Mazzon (1981) had already identified more than three decades ago. Marketing is sometimes the label of campaigns and programs that are, in essence, mere social communication. In addition, the academic production on social marketing in Brazil has been scarce, reflecting a stalled diffusion process. As Araújo (2011) argues, social marketing in the country suffers from misconception, lack of dissemination of best practices and the low level of academic production. This seems to be the case also in the rest of Latin America.

In a query in 2014 in the social marketing listserv, we probed the existence of other Latin America participants. There were only nine replies, most of them from people working with Rare in the region and only two professionals from Brazil. This seems a reflection of both the weak popularity of the discipline in the region and the fact that most of the work that approach the social marketing framework is performed by people who do not see themselves as social marketers (or ignore what social marketing is).

In this sense, it is interesting to remark that, in a interview with a person involved in the Brazilian HIV program, we heard that using words in English is a sure way to close doors and shut off audiences in the federal government. Marketing is a “forbidden” word in the public field, he said. The resistance to marketing and the leadership by advertisers in the conduction of public campaigns even led academics and practitioners in that field to develop a discipline called “public interest communication” (Costa, 2006b).

Perhaps nothing is more telling about the status of marketing as discipline in Brazil than a recent lecture by a famous Brazilian professor, in which he dialogues with an imaginary student. “Asked” to read the first three pages of a Kant’s book, the student says he is not capable to do it. The professor then recommends that he gives up and accept his limitations given by nature. The recommendation is explicit: “go get Kotler’s book, it is your maximum, you have

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a (low) ceiling, the wind blows, the frog ‘frogs’ and you are a marketer” (available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qj6mQSDBSGI>). The video has more than 1,173,700 views on YouTube as of April 2017.

Public executives may also be cautious in changing practices that seem to work. Most decisions and actions in organizational or social settings are subject to delays in producing results, which hinders organizational learning and limits the exploration of alternative courses of action (Rahmandad, 2008). Moreover, concrete outcomes typically result from several intertwined causes, many of them unobserved by the original decision maker. Hence, it is difficult to beat the illusion that some practices work or are the best alternative, when often they are sub-optimal, ineffective or even counter-productive.

However, even when marketing is accepted as a method or a philosophy to guide initiatives, it is usually considered as “1P marketing” (promotion), a problem that is not exclusive to Brazil (Lefebvre, 2011). Recently another approach in the communication field, the so-called social media marketing, has also been gaining prominence in Latin America.

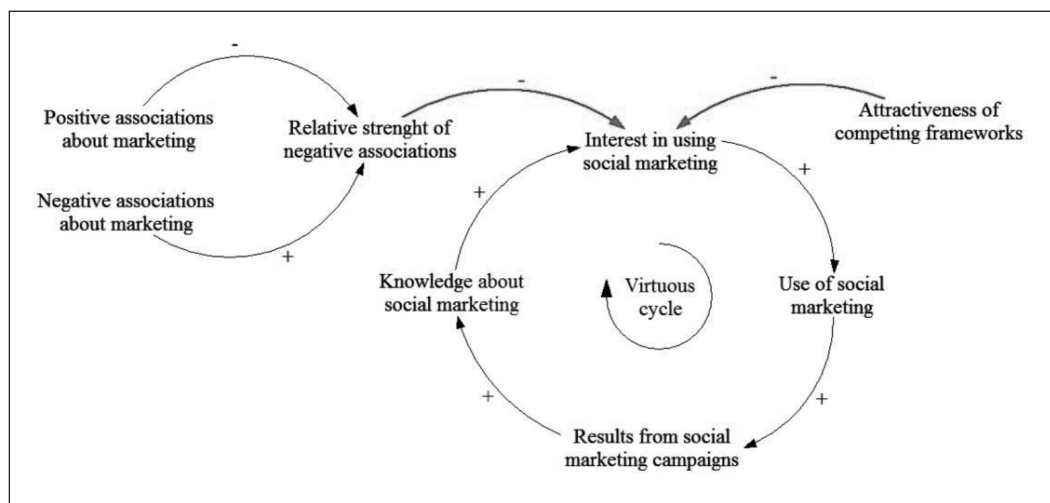
Hence, the barriers to the expansion of social marketing in Brazil seem to be, in essence, lack of knowledge about the discipline, strong negative associations with marketing, lack of practitioners and programs creating visible results attributable to social marketing and, finally, concurrence with competing frameworks, namely education (social communication) and law.

Figure 2 summarizes those barriers using a causal loop diagram (Sterman, 2000). Essentially, as social marketing is rarely used, this prevents the occurrence of a virtuous cycle: increasing interest leading to more use and positive results, which, in turn, increase the knowledge about the discipline, sparking more interest and reinforcing the loop.

Nonetheless, the social problems that historically have attracted social marketers throughout the world remain strong in Brazil and other Latin American countries: health problems, tobacco industry targeting teenagers (Braun et al.,

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Figure 2 **Barriers to the expansion of social marketing in Brazil**



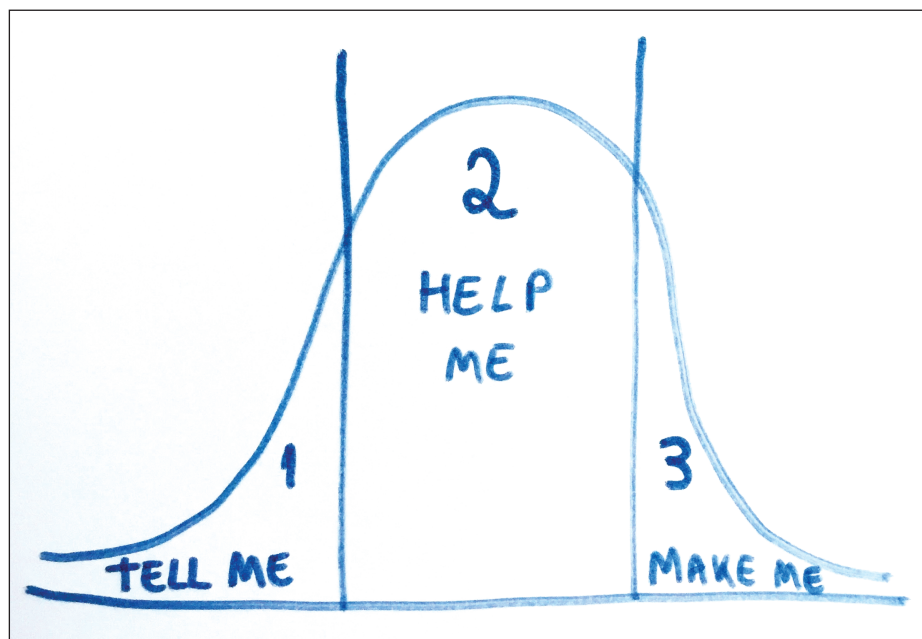
2008), access to public services, safety in roads, poverty, inequality, etc. Those problems still call for efficacious interventions.

If social marketing use is to expand in Brazil, there is need to act on some points in the social ecosystem where actors decide how to tackle the complex problems that afflict the country. In other words, there is need to identify points of intervention that put in motion the virtuous cycle depicted in Figure 2. To this end, we believe that the discipline's own repertoire is useful to recommend some courses of action. We explore those possibilities below.

Figure 3 presents graphically a heuristic widely known in social marketing (Lee and Kotler, 2015). The bell curve is assumed to represent the dispersion of willingness to perform a given behavior among the population. The *throw-food-at-the-pigeons* paradigm corresponds to the first segment (“tell me”), composed by people who will perform the intended behavior when given adequate information. It corresponds also to the innovators and early adopters’ groups found in diffusion of innovation models (e.g., Rogers, 1962). The third segment (“make me”) comprises people very resistant to comply. In fact, law and enforcement often are necessary to change the behavior of those people. Finally, the middle group (“help me”, group 2)—composed by early and late majority in diffusion models—congregates people who are somehow interested or at best no opposed to perform the intended behavior. Those people need help or otherwise this largest fraction of the population will not act as expected. The design of social marketing programs aiming at that numerous middle group typically remove barriers to behaviors, offer incentives and social proof, and make the expected behavior more accessible and convenient.

The same framework can be employed to diffuse social marketing among

Figure 3 **Tell me – help me – make me paradigm**



public executives and other social actors in Brazil. To this end, a four-stage process as suggested by Bandura (1997) seems adequate. The process involves selecting an optimal place in the social system for introducing the innovation; creating the necessary preconditions for change, such as providing knowledge and fostering attitudinal change; implementing an effective pilot program; and promoting the success from the pilot program as a means to diffuse the innovation.

In turn, the selection of an optimal place in the system involves the identification of key perceptions among the social actors capable of accelerating the diffusion. Those perceptions include, in particular, the elements of the BCOS framework proposed by Andreasen (1997): benefits, costs, others and self-efficacy. In addition, considering the widespread negative associations with the word marketing in Brazil and the confusion between communication, advertising and marketing that seems present in the mind of important social actors, there is also an acute need for branding the discipline of social marketing. Branding is a necessary step to create positive and unique associations with the discipline and promoting its true essence (Aaker, 1991).

Based on this brief discussion, we propose an agenda of three points to accelerate the diffusion of social marketing in Brazil.

Conclusion: A three points agenda

Perhaps social marketing should reconsider the abandonment of selling ideas as its main goals without falling in the awareness trap. The need to sell ideas and frameworks seem more acute when one considers upstream social actors, the ones who decide which conceptual repertoire to use in social programs or who influence the decision-making process.

The general concept of marketing (Kotler, 1972) has yet to be fully accepted as a legitimate means in Brazil to accomplish goals of social interest. The competition occurs with other technologies for social change in the marketplace of ideas, in particular the wrong mental models about the true effectiveness of education and the law. Therefore, it is necessary to identify the perceptions of key social actors and develop a unique selling proposition for social marketing, weaving a compelling narrative that attenuates the negative associations with marketing and promotes the true essence of the discipline. This is the first point in an agenda to diffuse social marketing in Brazil: branding.

The second point is to identify campaigns and programs that represent positive deviations or “bright spots” (Heath and Heath, 2010) and people that can act as champions in the effort of diffusion. There are programs in Brazil that have been employing most of social marketing’s repertoire without recognizing or acknowledging it. This step encompasses the identification of people running those programs, social innovators willing to test new approaches and public executives with a background knowledge of marketing and business. It also comprises training people in social marketing and exposing potential adopters to the social proof: making the use and the results of social marketing highly

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visible. Bandura (1997) argues in the case of delayed and less obvious outcomes, people may be less motivated to act. The virtuous cycle depicted in Figure 2 will only produce its effects when key social actors realize the superior results springing from social marketing-inspired interventions.

Finally, to conduct a branding process and to target the most promising segment of social actors, there is need for collective and concerted action. Thus, the third point in the suggested agenda is the aggregation of academic and professional social marketers in Brazil (and perhaps Latin America) through the creation of a regional association. An association can develop financial, teaching and marketing capabilities to promote the diffusion of social marketing in the country. In the end, it is like moving the promotion of the discipline from its usual informational stage. Academics have been discussing how social marketing could achieve better results in social programs—this is the “tell me” approach. Only organized marketing programs can reach the voluminous “help me” segment.

To conclude, as Fox and Kotler (1980, p. 32) once remarked, there is “a need for more and better trained social marketers rather than simple social advertisers”. This remains truer than ever when one looks at the panorama of social marketing in Brazil.

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El problema de la exclusión social en la Unión Europea

¿Puede el marketing social resolver la situación?

Una perspectiva a partir de la economía del comportamiento

por Marco Antonio Cruz Morato, Antonio García Lizana y Josefa García Mestanza

RESUMEN: El problema de la exclusión social está creciendo cada vez más en la Unión Europea. Aunque, aparentemente, la situación está siendo tratada a nivel político, el panorama no es muy positivo. ¿Qué puede estar pasando? Este artículo analiza la situación desde el punto de vista de la economía del comportamiento (incluyendo, una interpretación de la situación, los procesos de estigmatización y las teorías para lidiar con el *estrés*, yendo más allá del modelo tradicional del *homo economicus*), proponiendo el marketing social como contribución para soluciones más eficaces, en el sentido de superar la situación y de abordar el problema desde el punto de vista de la intervención pública-privada.

Palabras clave: Exclusión Social; Unión Europea; Marketing Social; Economía del Comportamiento

O problema da exclusão social na União Europeia

Pode o marketing social resolver a situação?

Uma perspetiva a partir da economia do comportamento

RESUMO: O problema da exclusão social está a crescer cada vez mais na União Europeia. Embora, aparentemente, a situação esteja a ser tratada a nível político, o panorama não é muito positivo. O que poderá estar a passar-se? Este artigo analisa a situação do ponto de vista da economia comportamental (incluindo, na interpretação da situação, os processos de estigmatização e as teorias para lidar com o *stress*, indo para além do modelo tradicional do *homo economicus*), propondo o marketing social como contributo para soluções mais eficazes, no sentido de superar a situação e de abordar o problema do ponto de vista da intervenção pública-privada.

Palavras-chave: Exclusão Social; União Europeia; Marketing Social; Economia do Comportamento

The problem of social exclusion in the EU

Can social marketing solve the situation?

A behavioral economics perspective

ABSTRACT: The problem of social exclusion is increasing in the European Union. Although the situation is apparently being addressed at the political level, the outlook is not very positive. What could be happening? This paper analyzes the situation from a behavioral economics perspective (including in the interpretation of the situation the processes of stigmatization and theories of coping with stress, going beyond the traditional *homo economicus* model), providing social marketing effective solutions from that point of view to overcome the situation, and addressing the problem from a public-private perspective.

Key words: Social Exclusion; European Union; Social Marketing; Behavioral Economics

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Recibido en mayo de 2017 y aceptado en septiembre de 2017

Recebido em maio de 2017 e aceite em setembro de 2017

Received in May 2017 and accepted in September 2017

A pesar de los enormes esfuerzos que, tanto desde el sector público como privado, se vienen realizando para luchar contra la exclusión social, en un mundo cada vez más polarizado como el actual, dichas actuaciones se manifiestan insuficientes dado el agravamiento general del problema. De acuerdo con autores como Sen (1998; 2000), Robila (2006), o Atkinson y Marlier (2010), la exclusión social englobaría una serie de diferentes dimensiones de privación, entre las cuales se encontraría la pobreza económica, añadiendo el concepto de exclusión social sobre la definición más estricta de pobreza económica y otras dimensiones como la discriminación del mercado laboral, así como una peor situación de educación y salud, etc. (ver Chakravarty y D'Ambrósio, 2006; y Atkinson y Davoudi, 2000; entre otros, para profundizar en la definición del concepto).

No hay duda de que el fenómeno de la exclusión social es mucho más evidente en los países en vías de desarrollo, aunque cada vez la situación es más grave también en los países desarrollados, con atención creciente por parte del mundo académico (ver, por ejemplo, Ekström y Hjort, 2009; o Saatcioglu y Corus, 2014), especialmente como consecuencia del impacto evidente de la negativa situación económica y social generalizada [la cual está desembocando también en una clara situación de inestabilidad política (ver OCDE, 2011), con claros ejemplos a uno y otro lado del Atlántico: Brexit, auge de populismos y movimientos extremistas, etc.]. Esta es la situación que estamos viviendo en la Unión Europea (UE), de acuerdo con datos de Eurostat (2015 y 2016; con implicaciones también macroeconómicas sobre el propio nivel de crecimiento económico, tal y como puede comprobarse en Cruz Morato, García Lizana y García Mestanza, 2016), así como en otros estudios académicos empíricos (ver, por ejemplo, Guio *et al.*, 2016; o Wawrzyniak, 2016).

De acuerdo con autores como Kotler, Roberto y Leisner (2006) el marketing puede proporcionar poderosas herramientas desde un punto de vista microeconómico para combatir el problema de la pobreza de forma más sólida. En este sentido, Kotler y Lee (2009), entre otros, han propuesto el marketing social como una vía de atajar la situación (aunque centrados en la estricta pobreza económica y en los países en vías de desarrollo, no en un concepto amplio de exclusión social y en contextos desarrollados como la UE que aquí se realiza). Y es que, de acuerdo con Andreasen (1995) recordemos que el marketing social podría definirse como: «La aplicación de las técnicas del marketing comercial al análisis, planificación, ejecución y evaluación de los programas diseñados para influir en el comportamiento voluntario del público objetivo con intención de mejorar su bienestar personal y el de la sociedad» (p. 7).

¿Qué puede estar ocurriendo en el contexto euro comunitario? ¿Se está abordando el problema desde una perspectiva adecuada?

Nuestro objetivo en el presente trabajo es afrontar la situación de la UE desde una aproximación de «activismo académico», ofreciendo soluciones académicas desde el marketing social con algunos componentes de economía del comportamiento de forma simultánea en el modelo, pues para autores como

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Lefebvre y Kotler (2012), o French (2013), entre otros, es necesario integrar la perspectiva de economía del comportamiento con las intervenciones de marketing social de forma general. Para autores como Nicholson y Xiao (2011), una de las posibles críticas al marketing social de forma aislada es precisamente la ausencia de bases sólidas de teorías psicológicas, de ahí la necesidad de integración.

Así pues, en el segundo apartado se introducirá el componente de economía del comportamiento, exponiendo un modelo teórico basado en los trabajos de Cruz Morato y García Lizana (2011), en relación tanto a las personas excluidas como al resto de población, incorporando teorías de afrontamiento del estrés causado por la presencia de un estigma social (como lo es la propia exclusión social para los individuos que la sufren), lejos del perfectamente racional e interesado *homo economicus* de la teoría económica tradicional (ver Simon, 1951; Katona, 1975; Miller y Major, 2000; o Compas *et al.*, 2001), como forma de completar el modelo analítico de la situación.

En el tercer apartado profundizaremos en el marketing social como herramienta para atajar el problema de la mayor desigualdad de los colectivos afectados (frente a las tradicionales respuestas desde el ámbito de las políticas redistributivas públicas, aunque en combinación también con dichas actuaciones del sector público, y otras relacionadas con el *macro-social marketing*).

Por su parte, en el cuarto apartado se analizará, brevemente, en base a las recomendaciones previas, la situación en la UE por parte de las instituciones euro comunitarias y la eventual aplicación de tales cuestiones. En el último apartado recogeremos las conclusiones del estudio.

La importancia de la economía del comportamiento

Para poder afrontar actuaciones de forma más sólida tendremos en cuenta en el presente apartado aspectos psicológicos sobre el comportamiento de los individuos, tanto de las personas en situación de exclusión social, como del resto de agentes económicos (consumidores y empresarios), en un ámbito de economía del comportamiento (incluyendo *inputs* provenientes de la psicología para completar el análisis económico).

Así, en Cruz Morato y García Lizana (2011) podemos encontrar un análisis sobre la relación entre la psicología y la economía, tanto antes del surgimiento de la economía del comportamiento, como los fundamentos de la misma (incluyendo una argumentación similar a la que aquí desarrollaremos para explicar la permanencia de la situación de la exclusión social, aplicada al caso de la inactividad laboral de las personas con discapacidad en España).

Para autores como Young y Caisey (2015) la economía del comportamiento y el marketing social son diferentes (aunque compartan un mismo objetivo de cambio del comportamiento) y por tanto deben utilizarse para cuestiones diferentes (puede profundizarse en tales cuestiones en dicho trabajo). Sin embargo, para otros autores como Lefebvre y Kotler (2012) o French (2013) sería importante recurrir a la economía del comportamiento para el correcto desar-

rollo de actuaciones de marketing social de forma integrada, tal y como se defiende en el presente artículo (tratándose ambas de intervenciones complementarias: no es que no puedan plantearse de forma separada, es que una actuación integrada, además de posible, es mucho más completa y eficaz).

Sin ánimo de ser exhaustivos, por no tratarse del objetivo del presente trabajo, se define la economía del comportamiento como la rama del saber que se encarga del estudio del comportamiento económico de consumidores y empresarios (es decir, de los agentes económicos humanos), así como los determinantes de dicho proceso de toma de decisiones (factores personales, culturales, situacionales y económicos) y consecuencias (Van Raaij, 1981). Se basa principalmente en los trabajos de Katona (1975), quien introdujo (desde un enfoque esencialmente macro) elementos desde la Psicología social para comprender el comportamiento económico, y Simon (1951), que desde una perspectiva más bien micro introdujo el concepto teórico de *bounded rationality*, según el cual la hipótesis de maximización propia de la economía convencional quedaría reemplazada por la hipótesis de satisfacción (siendo necesario para que se dé dicha *bounded rationality* tanto limitaciones cognitivas humanas como de la propia estructura ambiental del individuo). De esta manera, según Hosseini (2003), la economía del comportamiento surge como reacción a las deficiencias de la Economía convencional, como forma de completar los modelos de comportamiento económico.

Por su parte, en Young y Caisey (2015) se habla de la creciente importancia de la economía del comportamiento (o *nudging*) en la acción política. Especialmente relevante precisamente desde la publicación de la obra *Nudge* (Thaler y Sunstein, 2008). Pero *nudging*, por sí sólo, puede ser criticado porque es paternalista, *top-down* y necesita otras formas de intervención que afronten las causas (French y Gordon, 2015). De nuevo vemos la importancia de desarrollar una intervención integrada junto con otras herramientas relacionadas con el marketing social, etc. (al respecto pueden consultarse también Young y Caisey, 2010; o Smith, 2010).

Centrándonos en el análisis del comportamiento de las personas en situación de exclusión social, Saatcioglu y Corus (2014) exponen que, de forma gradual, los investigadores que estudian los procesos de discriminación en el consumo requieren de un análisis más completo para conocer los procesos estructurales que crean y acrecientan dicha vulnerabilidad. Argumentándose, además, que dicha vulnerabilidad deriva de un complejo proceso de interacción entre las características del individuo y las condiciones externas, lo cual nos lleva al concepto de *bounded rationality* de Simon anteriormente expuesto.

En Saatcioglu y Corus (2014) se habla del concepto «estigmatización social» para hacer referencia a la discriminación sufrida por personas en situación de exclusión social. Así, podríamos preguntarnos por los efectos psicológicos de la discriminación/estigmatización (pues ambos conceptos se utilizan de forma general indistintamente; ver Scheid, 2005), en las personas discriminadas, tal y como hizo Myrdal (1944). Conviene comenzar, pues, por definir el propio

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concepto de estigma, de forma concisa. De esta manera, Goffman (1963) lo define como un atributo especial que posee una persona y produce en los demás un descrédito amplio, relegándola a un rol en oposición a lo normal. Crocker, Major y Steele (1998) recogen las razones más habituales para estigmatizar a otros individuos, entre las cuales cabe destacar la justificación de un sistema basado en la desigualdad (los estigmatizadores creerían que quienes sufren el estigma es porque se lo merecen).

De acuerdo con Miller y Major (2000), el estigma social supone una fuente potencial de estrés psicológico para cualquier individuo. Por tanto, la estigmatización de un cierto colectivo conduce a una situación de gran estrés en los individuos de dicho grupo. Tal estrés es el que llevaría a la persona estigmatizada (en nuestro caso, las personas en situación de exclusión social) a no participar en las actividades económicas y el mercado laboral, limitando el empoderamiento del colectivo. De acuerdo con Mandiberg y Warner (2012) el estigma lleva a reducir la exposición a la discriminación reduciendo las actividades en comunidad.

Aunque también podría pensarse que el individuo siempre es libre de tomar sus propias decisiones, cuestionándose conceder tanto valor a factores exógenos a la persona (es decir, el proceso de estigmatización) sobre la toma de decisiones propia de la persona. No obstante, aludiendo de nuevo el concepto de *bounded rationality* aportado por Simon, es necesario reconocer las limitaciones cognitivas que, en la práctica, las situaciones del contexto pueden provocar, sometiendo la voluntad a condicionamientos externos que pueden alterarla y modificarla.

Así pues, habría que profundizar, apoyándonos en la psicología, en las posibles respuestas de afrontamiento del estrés que se pueden adoptar por parte de los individuos estigmatizados, y cómo las mismas pueden afectar también a su nivel de participación en las actividades económicas (en la línea de lo expuesto por Kotler, Roberto y Leisner, 2006, en cuanto a que el menor riesgo está relacionado con desarrollar un comportamiento de permanencia en la situación de pobreza). Desde la perspectiva de la psicología, el individuo puede sufrir estrés, pero dependiendo de cómo quiera (o pueda) afrontarlo, optará por unas decisiones u otras (consciente o inconscientemente).

Compas *et al.* (2001) realizan una precisa clasificación de las respuestas de afrontamiento al estrés, dividiéndolas en voluntarias e involuntarias. Un estudio más detallado de las diversas opciones de cada uno de los dos grupos anteriores (que no haremos aquí por no ser objetivo del presente trabajo) nos lleva a concluir que las mismas pueden clasificarse, según su capacidad de impacto, en positivas (funcionales) o negativas (disfuncionales). La gran mayoría de estas posibles respuestas de afrontamiento serían disfuncionales, encontrándose más sólida la opción por la no participación en las actividades económicas (menos arriesgado). Pero existen también opciones de respuesta funcional: optar por la participación, relacionada con mayor dotación de capital humano y de recursos (empoderamiento). Y es que, en Viswanathan *et al.* (2014), se habla es-

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pecíficamente de la importancia del empoderamiento y la educación, además del daño emocional provocado por la pobreza y cómo la autoestima se resiente, especialmente para aquellos con menores niveles educativos.

Volviendo al trabajo de Saatcioglu y Corus (2014), podemos relacionarlo de nuevo con el hilo de nuestro razonamiento, pues se expone que existen básicamente dos opciones de abordar el estigma social: afrontarlo o quedarse atascado (puesto que, además, se comenta que acrecienta otras privaciones tales como la falta de interés por la formación). De esta forma, vemos cómo se retroalimenta el proceso, pues ya se ha expuesto anteriormente la importancia del capital humano en el empoderamiento y para poder desarrollar respuestas funcionales ante el estrés generado por el estigma social, de modo que pueda superarse la situación.

Por otra parte, por lo que respecta no sólo a cuestiones psicológicas de la población en situación de exclusión social, sino también del resto de consumidores y empresarios, además de lo anteriormente expuesto en relación a los procesos de estigmatización (que, voluntaria o involuntariamente se ejerce contra ciertos colectivos, como ocurre con el caso de las personas en esta situación), cabe mencionar algunas cuestiones adicionales. Y es que no debemos olvidar las motivaciones hacia la generosidad que algunos individuos desarrollan (comportamientos más allá del propio interés del *homo economicus* perfectamente racional que expone la teoría económica tradicional, más relacionado con el campo de economía del comportamiento en el que nos situamos), por ejemplo a través de obras benéficas, de caridad, etc. no siempre a nivel individual sino en ocasiones a través de organizaciones (lo cual nos permite hablar de nuevo de prácticas de responsabilidad social corporativa, marketing social, etc.), actuaciones que pueden influir en un mayor empoderamiento de las personas en situación de exclusión social que propicien la actuación de éstas en el mercado (tanto como potenciales consumidores como oferentes del factor productivo trabajo, llevando a cabo acciones de emprendimiento, etc.).

El marketing social como respuesta

No es nuevo el interés desde el ámbito del marketing (tanto a nivel micro como macro) en el fenómeno de la pobreza, sus impactos, así como factores determinantes y posibles vías de actuación, en la línea de lo ya mencionado. Es conveniente tener en cuenta las técnicas habituales utilizadas en las actuaciones de marketing a nivel micro como una herramienta integral para el alivio de la pobreza (Kotler, Roberto y Leisner, 2006). No cabe duda de que el fenómeno de la exclusión social (que, como estamos argumentando en este trabajo, incluiría la propia pobreza económica) mide una situación de privación en sus necesidades básicas de una parte de la población. Y no debemos olvidar que el marketing estudia las necesidades de la población objetivo. Podríamos preguntarnos, pues, ¿se están teniendo en cuenta las necesidades de estas personas? ¿Por qué no se las considera un mercado atractivo? ¿Exclusivamente por sus limitaciones de liquidez y capacidad de transacción? No cabe duda de que exis-

ten otras razones para esta discriminación del sistema de mercado, no sólo como potenciales participantes en la producción sino también como posibles consumidores (en la línea de lo expuesto en el apartado anterior).

De acuerdo con Subrahmanyam y Gómez-Arias (2008), este grupo de población es tradicionalmente considerado dominio de gobiernos, organizaciones no gubernamentales, etc., si bien es creciente el interés académico también para organizaciones con ánimo de lucro. En este apartado nos centraremos, así, en el conjunto de posibles actuaciones que, junto con las políticas redistributivas públicas tradicionales, pudieran desarrollarse desde el ámbito privado (tanto desde entidades no lucrativas como empresariales), con un peso fundamental del marketing social como respuesta de actuación (aunque también desde el ámbito público se podrían realizar estas actuaciones como veremos).

Volviendo a Kotler, Roberto y Leisner (2006), dichos autores exponen que debería tratarse el problema de las personas en situación de pobreza con las herramientas y pasos habituales del marketing a nivel micro (segmentación, posicionamiento, marketing mix, etc.) con las apreciaciones sobre las particularidades propias del colectivo. No obstante, también exponen que de lo que se trata esencialmente es de inducir un cambio de comportamientos a través de programas de marketing social, tratando de conseguir que el colectivo desarrolle comportamientos de afrontamiento para huir de la pobreza en lugar de resignarse a permanecer en dicha situación (lo cual es menos arriesgado, en la línea de lo comentado en el apartado anterior). De lo anterior se extrae, no sólo la importancia de desarrollar actuaciones de marketing social para abordar la situación, se destaca también la importancia de llevarlo a cabo desde una perspectiva de economía del comportamiento, en la línea de lo desarrollado en el presente trabajo.

De acuerdo con Kobayashi *et al.* (2013) el marketing social aumenta tanto la inclusión social como la cohesión social (de acuerdo con lo apuntado en apartados previos). Sin ánimo de ser exhaustivos, recordemos que el marketing social se define originariamente por Kotler y Zaltman (1971, p.5) como «el diseño, implementación y control de programas calculados para influir en la aceptabilidad de ideas sociales, implicando consideraciones de planificación de producción, precio, comunicación, distribución e investigación de marketing». Como ya se ha comentado, destacar la aportación de Andreasen (1995) en la interpretación de la disciplina, en cuanto a la capacidad de modificar los comportamientos en busca de un bien superior (individual y social). Podrían considerarse precursores los trabajos de (Wiebe, 1951-52, p. 679), el cual plantea que: «¿Por qué no puede venderse la fraternidad al igual que se vende detergente?». En McMahon (2002) o Dann (2010) podemos encontrar más detalles sobre los fundamentos y definición del marketing social. Por su parte, autores como Andreasen (2006) o French y Gordon (2015), entre otros, han expuesto algunas de sus principales críticas (por ejemplo, la percepción de que es manipulación y no basado en la comunidad).

De esta forma, su objetivo es cambiar el comportamiento del público al que

se dirige con el fin de beneficiar a la sociedad en general o a una parte desfavorecida de la misma. En nuestro caso, la causa social sería la lucha contra la exclusión social, actuaciones relacionadas beneficiosas para la sociedad y sobre este grupo en particular (mejorando sus opciones de escapar de la situación) y de concienciación al respecto (sobre posibles factores determinantes, implicaciones, etc.) por parte de empresas privadas y asociaciones sin ánimo de lucro a nivel micro para poder cambiar los comportamientos descritos (también del Estado a nivel macro, como veremos). En Duhaim, McTavish y Ross (1985) podemos profundizar sobre cómo el marketing social puede mejorar las condiciones de vida de esta población (aunque centrados en un contexto de países del Tercer Mundo).

Si bien no es el objetivo de nuestro trabajo una delimitación conceptual exhaustiva de los diferentes términos, puntualizaremos que no debe confundirse el marketing social con las actuaciones que las organizaciones llevan a cabo cuyo fin último es obtener un beneficio privado (es decir, marketing social corporativo), las cuales, de acuerdo con Donovan (2011) o Hastings y Angus (2011) incluso aunque contribuyen a un bien social, no son actuaciones de marketing social en sentido estricto. Aunque para otros autores como Harvey (1999), la intervención privada puede tener también una presencia positiva, siendo importante los resultados, no tanto las motivaciones, ya que incluso en las intervenciones públicas podrían encontrarse en ocasiones algunas intenciones «no tan buenas». En este caso, las acciones filantrópicas constituyen sólo un medio para conseguir el fin último de la empresa, es decir, incrementar las ventas y los beneficios (Smith y Alcorn, 1991). Por ello, una mala aplicación puede tener consecuencias desastrosas (si el objetivo de la campaña no parece tener relación con las estrategias centrales del negocio, los clientes suelen sospechar, afectando negativamente a la imagen, ver Andreasen, 2006). Kotler y Lee (2009) definen el marketing social corporativo como una tipología de iniciativa social corporativa (entre otras tales como *corporate cause promotions*, *cause-related marketing*, u otras prácticas de responsabilidad social corporativa).

Por lo que respecta a otro conjunto de intervenciones a nivel global por parte del Estado, Kennedy y Parsons (2012) proponen el uso del marketing social a nivel macro por parte de los gobiernos para promover cambios sociales, junto con otro tipo de intervenciones posibles desde el ámbito público (regulación, legislación, etc.), definiendo el ámbito del macro-social marketing. De acuerdo a dichos autores, no sólo debe actuar el ámbito público a distintos niveles (estatal, local, etc.) también debe trabajarse con las comunidades, otras instituciones y los propios individuos. Y por lo que respecta a nuestro análisis en cuanto a la lucha contra la exclusión social, evidentemente también con las empresas.

De acuerdo con French y Gordon (2015), *social marketers*, *policymakers* y otros grupos de interés deben desarrollar estrategias para trabajar de forma conjunta para promover comportamientos sociales positivos. No obstante, recordemos, de forma resumida, que el *macro-social marketing* es usado por los gobiernos para liderar cambios a nivel macro, no individuales (Domegan,

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2008), en un contexto de cambios de comportamientos en las sociedades (Kennedy y Parsons, 2012). Por su parte, French (2012 y 2013) expone la necesidad de que los *policymakers* tengan en cuenta estas actuaciones en sus estrategias de desarrollo, lo cual tiene relación con el objetivo del presente trabajo de enfocarlo hacia la lucha contra la exclusión social.

En conclusión, dado que hemos visto que entre las causas de la persistencia del problema de la exclusión social se encuentran las respuestas disfuncionales al problema del estrés generado por el proceso de estigmatización social sufrido (lo cual repercute en la falta de empoderamiento del colectivo, que se ve retroalimentada por la falta de recursos, capital humano, etc.), podemos actuar sobre tal conjunto de fenómenos con las herramientas analizadas del ámbito del marketing social actuando: a) en las personas en situación de exclusión social (aumentando las respuestas funcionales de afrontamiento del estrés), y b) en el resto de la sociedad (disminuyendo las actitudes negativas hacia las personas en situación de exclusión social que provocan el estigma social, discriminación ejercida a todos los niveles, tanto en el mercado laboral como en el acceso a la educación, financiación o la propia consideración de un segmento de mercado¹; así como promoviendo las motivaciones hacia la generosidad que facilitarán el acceso a los recursos productivos para este colectivo). Sin desdeñar en ningún momento la conveniencia de aplicación conjunta con las tradicionales medidas redistributivas públicas, de cara a consolidar la dotación de recursos en dicho colectivo como vía paralela de consolidar los procesos de cambio de comportamiento y empoderamiento de las personas en situación de exclusión social.

No obstante, en Calderwood y Wellington (2013) se exponen estrategias de marketing social para personas estigmatizadas (remitimos a dicho trabajo para profundizar en tales asuntos). Así, se comenta que, normalmente, las campañas de marketing social van destinadas al público en general, pero hay que tener en cuenta también a las personas estigmatizadas como *audience targeting*, teniendo cuidado de evitar las consecuencias negativas que podrían tener las campañas de comunicación en esta población estigmatizada (es importante tener en cuenta las especiales circunstancias del colectivo, para no perpetuar el estigma). En sentido similar se expresan Gurrieri, Previte y Brace-Govan (2013), al analizar desde un punto de vista crítico cómo las campañas de marketing social pueden también incidir en la estigmatización y exclusión de ciertos colectivos. Andreasen (2006) expresa a su vez la importancia de orientar las intervenciones de marketing social no sólo en las personas con el problema si no en los grupos relacionados. Por lo que debería también prestarse especial atención a tales asuntos en el diseño de las actuaciones concretas.

Breve análisis de las políticas euro comunitarias

Como colofón a nuestro trabajo, en base a las recomendaciones realizadas en los apartados previos, analizaremos a continuación, de forma esquemática, el ámbito de intervención de las políticas euro comunitarias y la eventual aplicación de las cuestiones analizadas.

Normalmente, las campañas de marketing social van destinadas al público en general, pero hay que tener en cuenta también a las personas estigmatizadas como audience targeting, teniendo cuidado de evitar las consecuencias negativas que podrían tener las campañas de comunicación en esta población estigmatizada.

Ha quedado latente el aparente compromiso y orientación de esfuerzos por parte de las instituciones que gobiernan la UE en la lucha contra la exclusión social. Así, ha de recordarse, a modo de ejemplo, que el año 2010 fue declarado «año europeo de la lucha contra la pobreza y la exclusión social». Por otra parte, la actual Agenda «Europa 2020: estrategia para el crecimiento de la Unión Europea» aboga por alcanzar un crecimiento inclusivo. Entre las iniciativas de dicha estrategia se encuentra la European Platform Against Poverty and Social Exclusion², que persigue la inclusión social de las personas que se encuentran en situación de pobreza, teniendo como objetivo, según la Comisión Europea (2010, p. 32): «Garantizar la cohesión social y territorial de tal forma que los beneficios del crecimiento y del empleo lleguen a todos y de que las personas afectadas por la pobreza y la exclusión social puedan vivir con dignidad y participar activamente en la sociedad.»

Centrándonos en medidas concretas para luchar contra la exclusión social, se promueve una monitorización de las reformas económicas y estructurales que se llevan a cabo en los Estados Miembros, además de otras acciones (en el mercado laboral, educación, entre otras, tratándose precisamente ambas cuestiones de forma prioritaria para luchar contra la discriminación de algunos colectivos). En otros trabajos (Unión Europea, 2011) se habla también de la necesidad de relacionar las políticas de inclusión con las políticas antidiscriminación. Vemos como se tiene en cuenta también la posible discriminación sufrida por los colectivos desfavorecidos, en una línea cercana a nuestra argumentación (aunque embrionaria en sus planteamientos).

¿Qué puede estar fallando, entonces? ¿Por qué, a pesar de las anteriores actuaciones mencionadas, las perspectivas de la Comisión Europea siguen siendo tan poco esperanzadoras (ver Eurostat, 2015)? ¿Se está siguiendo la línea de actuación apuntada en este artículo? De acuerdo al hilo de nuestro razonamiento, parece que no del todo, pues no se tienen en cuenta los efectos psicológicos de la discriminación (ni otras posibles implicaciones psicológicas, como las motivaciones a la generosidad en el resto de la población) ni se han considerado a su vez las herramientas que el Marketing Social proporciona en la lucha contra la exclusión social, de acuerdo a lo que se expone en el presente trabajo.

Para reforzar lo anterior, podemos citar a French (2012) que habla de la poca utilización de las herramientas que proporciona el marketing en la actuación pública y de cómo deben implementarse desde el sector público actuaciones en dicho sentido (entre las cuales podemos destacar, para reforzar nuestros postulados, la necesidad expuesta de trabajar conjuntamente con otros agentes como ONGs o la propia comunidad empresarial, si bien dicha cuestión sí es algo que se considera por parte de las instituciones euro comunitarias, donde se habla de promover actuaciones de RSC [responsabilidad social corporativa] en los negocios, como puede verse en los trabajos de Unión Europea, 2011), centrándose especialmente en el ámbito del Marketing Social.

No sería extraño pensar que la UE pudiera desarrollar actuaciones de Mar-

keting Social contra la exclusión social cuando la propia Unión y otras economías como EE.UU., Canadá, Nueva Zelanda o Inglaterra están actuando desde una perspectiva de marketing social en materia de salud pública, por ejemplo (ver Santos, 2008 y 2016 o European Centre for Disease Prevention y Control, 2014), en la línea de lo anteriormente comentado por Kennedy y Parsons (2012) en cuanto al uso creciente de esta herramienta por parte de los gobiernos.

Conclusiones

La presencia de bolsas de exclusión social en la UE es un hecho con el que, desgraciadamente, nos hemos acostumbrado a convivir. A pesar de los aparentes esfuerzos que vienen desarrollando los organismos euro comunitarios (y también desde la sociedad civil y el ámbito privado) la situación no sólo no mejora, si no que parece estar empeorando en el actual contexto, como recogen los datos analizados (Eurostat, 2015 y 2016).

Siendo un asunto ya tratado en la literatura, en este artículo, nuestro objetivo ha sido analizar la situación desde un punto de vista de economía del comportamiento, completando el modelo con las respuestas de afrontamiento al estrés psicológico generado por la discriminación sufrida por las personas en exclusión social, así como otros comportamientos relacionados con la generosidad de algunos individuos hacia las personas en dicha situación. Con ello, se ha propuesto un conjunto de actuaciones a desarrollar de forma conjunta por el sector público y el privado para atajar la problemática con una intervención holística desde el marketing social (junto con las políticas públicas redistributivas tradicionales), como forma de impulsar de forma sólida el empoderamiento del colectivo, de forma que pueda reducirse la actual situación de exclusión social sufrida.

De un breve análisis de las actuaciones euro comunitarias desarrolladas bajo el paraguas de la Agenda «Europa 2020: estrategia para el crecimiento de la Unión Europea» se observa una carencia en cuanto al desarrollo de un estudio exhaustivo en la línea de economía del comportamiento aquí expuesta, así como de la incorporación de los instrumentos que el marketing social proporciona para atajar la situación de forma sólida, anteriormente mencionados (Kennedy y Parsons, 2012).

No obstante lo anterior, conviene también advertir que además del Marketing Social, existen otras formas de cambiar comportamientos para superar las barreras y dificultades psicológicas detectadas, tales como la legislación, la educación, la persuasión o la tecnología, si bien la visión holística e integral del marketing social se considera más completa (ver Santos, 2012 y Andreassen, 2006). También es necesario tener en cuenta los posibles riesgos del marketing social de perpetuar el estigma si las actuaciones no se diseñan de forma correcta (Calderwood y Wellington, 2013; Gurrieri, Previte y Brace-Govan, 2013).

Por otra parte, como también se ha dicho anteriormente, Kotler, Roberto y Leisner (2006) exponen que es a nivel local donde mejor puede ser aplicado

No sería extraño pensar que la UE pudiera desarrollar actuaciones de Marketing Social contra la exclusión social cuando la propia Unión y otras economías como EE.UU., Canadá, Nueva Zelanda o Inglaterra están actuando desde una perspectiva de marketing social en materia de salud pública.

el Marketing Social, y en este sentido se considera una línea de investigación futura que podría resultar de gran interés para avanzar en la operativización, diseño, estudio y eventual aplicación de actuaciones de marketing social para casos concretos, con una vocación de experimentación (debemos recordar que la metodología habitual para el contraste de hipótesis en la economía del comportamiento es el *experimental economics*; ver Tisdell y Hartley, 2008), acorde además al llamamiento que se hace en los estudios de la Unión Europea (2011) en relación a la necesidad de profundizar en la experimentación social a nivel micro antes del desarrollo de grandes políticas macro transversales en esta cuestión.

Notas

1. De acuerdo con Santos (2012) desde el marketing social se deberían ir desmitificando los estigmas y las representaciones sociales en torno de esta población, eliminando los aspectos que limitan la calidad de los procesos de integración de las mismas.

2. Ver <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=961> (N.E.).

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“Olá! Estás a ouvir-me?”

An exploration of health information seeking and likely comprehension of Internet-based health information in Portuguese and English

by Stephan Dahl, Lynne Eagle and Victor Souza

ABSTRACT: This paper focuses on health literacy and readability analysis as a guide for enhancing health information. Based on a selection of Internet-derived health and well-being materials, we show that the information available in both Portuguese and English is at a level likely to be too complex for the general population to understand. We also show a possible formula for adapting enabling the SMOG readability analysis tool so that it can be applied to information written in Portuguese and conclude the paper with a research agenda to help inform practice and policy debate.

Key words: Health Literacy; SMOG; Readability; Health Information

Olá! Estás a ouvir-me?

Estudo exploratório da informação de saúde e da sua compreensão, com base em fontes da Internet em português e inglês

RESUMO: Este artigo centra-se na literacia em saúde e na análise de legibilidade como um guia para a melhoria da informação de saúde. Com base numa seleção de materiais sobre a saúde e o bem-estar, provenientes da Internet, mostramos que a informação disponível, tanto em português como em inglês, está escrita num nível de complexidade provavelmente superior ao entendido pela população em geral. Ao mesmo tempo, propomos um ajuste ao modelo de análise de legibilidade SMOG, para que possa ser utilizado em informação escrita em português. Concluímos o artigo com uma agenda de pesquisa para informar a prática e o debate político.

Palavras-chave: Literacia em Saúde; SMOG; Legibilidade; Informação de Saúde

¡Hola! ¿Estás escuchándome?

Estudio exploratorio de la información de la salud y de su comprensión, con base en fuentes de Internet en portugués e inglés

RESUMEN: Este artículo se centra en la alfabetización en salud y en el análisis de la legibilidad como una guía para mejorar la información de la salud. Con base en una selección de materiales sobre la salud y el bienestar, procedentes de Internet, mostramos que la información disponible, tanto en portugués como en inglés, está escrita en un nivel de complejidad probablemente superior a la comprensión de la población en general. Al mismo tiempo, proponemos un ajuste al modelo de análisis de legibilidad SMOG, para que pueda ser utilizado en información escrita en portugués. Concluimos el artículo con una agenda de investigación para informar la práctica y el debate político.

Palabras clave: Alfabetización en Salud; SMOG; Legibilidad; Información de Salud

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Received in May 2017 and accepted in September 2017

Recebido em maio de 2017 e aceite em setembro de 2017

Recibido en mayo de 2017 y aceptado en septiembre de 2017

Estimates of the financial burden placed on societies and caused by preventable illnesses reaching €2,055 billion in the European Union alone (Kemp and Eagle, 2008), it is not surprising that social marketing and health promotion programs attempt to make even a small difference. There is thus considerable scope to improve population health through finding efficient and cost-effective means of conveying information as a foundation for subsequent behaviour change.

The critical role patients equipped with relevant, correct and well-understood information has been noted as one of the corner stones of modern patient-centred medicine (Mead and Bower, 2002) for well over a decade. It is therefore not surprising that providing patient information in the hope of empowering patients to actively part-take in their health is a frequent and important foundation of many health promotion and social marketing programs. Indeed, a great number of patients themselves tend to be interested in seeking out information about their health and well-being, with online health information playing a crucial role. Around 80% of U.S. Internet users have looked up health information online (Fox, 2011), with similar findings from Canada (Gibson, 2014). It is thus equitable to assume that online sources play a significant role in information seeking by patients in most developed countries. The information accessed online can include a wide variety of different types of sources: ranging from user-generated content (such as *Wikipedia*) to information provided by governments, health care providers and drug companies.

Usage and gratification theory can be used to explain information seeking online, and previous research has identified that online information seeking extends beyond merely information seeking. As Hou and Shim (2010) pointed out, many users seek to satisfy social and psychological needs in addition to seeking information online.

In an extensive review of the needs of online information seeking by primary care patients, Clarke et al. (2016) note the crucial role of seeking information online for patients in three areas: as an alternative to seeking health care advice, as pre-consultation information and empowerment strategy and post-consultation validation of advice received. They also note that the ease of access to information on the Internet is one of the most attractive features for patients.

While there is some debate about the usefulness specifically of pre-consultation information, doctors tend to view patients who accessed information online prior to consultation as a burden, despite pre-consultation information being linked to higher patient satisfaction (Massey, 2013). A possible explanation for this finding is potential confusion created by seeking information online. That is to say, a patient may be confused by, or misunderstand, the material accessed online, which results in an increased explanatory burden for the health care professional. As a result, there is an urgent need to understand the information seeking behaviour as well as the consequences of patients accessing health-related information online. This understanding can then be the foundation for developing more efficient strategies to aid health care profes-

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sionals when responding to patient requests based on information sought online.

From a patient or online user perspective, effective seeking out and comprehension of online information requires substantial competencies: it requires the ability to conduct effective information searches, a degree of health literacy, and the need to evaluate the quality of information and the trustworthiness of information sources.

Health literacy itself is a complex set of skills: it has been defined by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Healthy People 2010 as “the degree to which individuals have the capacity to obtain, process, and understand basic health information and services needed to make appropriate health decisions” (Britt and Hatten, 2013, p. 2). While health literacy is linked to better health and treatment outcomes, the 2011 European Health Literacy survey found that around half of Europeans have limited health literacy (Sørensen et al., 2012). In Brazil, similar figures have been noted (Apolinario et al., 2014; Coelho et al., 2014). Specifically for online environments, e-health literacy is defined as the “ability to seek, find, understand, and appraise health information from electronic sources and apply the knowledge gained to addressing or solving a health problem” (Chen and Lee, 2014, p. 104).

E-health literacy is related to traditional literacy and numeracy, computer literacy, media literacy, science literacy and information literacy (Norman and Skinner, 2006), while equally related to existing health literacy in a conventional sense. In addition, health literacy has been noted to be context specific, with different knowledge and skills needed to prevent disease and maintain a healthy lifestyle versus the knowledge and skills needed to successfully navigate health services (Abel et al., 2014).

Beyond difficulties in understanding health-related information, people with low health literacy face far reaching consequences for themselves and providers: they are likely to use up more health care resources, resulting in higher overall health care costs. They are also more likely to attend emergency departments, have extended stays as inpatients and have inefficient mixes of health care services (Eichler, Wieser and Brügger, 2009).

A key skill required for successfully navigating, acquiring and understanding information online is digital literacy. Digital literacy is defined as “using digital technology, communications tools and networks to acquire and evaluate information, communicate with others and perform practical tasks” (OECD, 2012, p. 47). The link between (e-)health literacy and digital literacy levels is subject to some debate, although researchers have noted that high levels of digital literacy may be an enabler of health/e-health literacy, but low levels will be a barrier (Hu et al., 2012).

A comprehensive assessment of international literacy levels has been carried out by the OECD using a scale of 1-5 to report findings, where 5 is the highest level of literacy. For people to navigate work and life in an increasingly knowledge- and online-based environment, the OECD considers literacy levels of 3

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or above as the minimum required (OECD, 2013). Level 3 is roughly equivalent to 9 to 10 years of formal secondary education. It should be noted, that a large portion of people in OECD countries do not reach the required level 3, although there are significant variations: 23.9% in Spain, 30.3% in Italy, 49.9% in the US, 49.5% in England, 41.7% in Australia, 51.4% in Germany (N.B. the report does not contain data from Portugal).

Readability

On the flip-side of literacy, readability is the ease with which a reader can understand a written text. Readability of a text depends on a variety of factors, including amongst others presentation of the text, complexity and variety of words used and sentence length. While text and layout cannot easily be classified, since the 1940s, researchers have developed different statistical formulae to evaluate the readability of materials and support writers in creating more readable texts.

A common feature amongst several of these formulae is the focus on polysyllable words: The Fry readability formula, the Flesch Reading Ease, the Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level, the Dale-Chall formula and the SMOG formula developed by McLaughlin all use polysyllable words as indicators of text complexity.

The most commonly used formula to assess readability in health communication is McLaughlin's SMOG formula (McLaughlin, 1969), short for Simple Measure of Gobbledygook, which estimates the years of formal education needed to be able to comprehend written material.

Since the development of the scale, it has been repeatedly validated and proven accurate; so much so, that the formula has been described as "the gold standard readability measure" (Fitzsimmons et al., 2010, p. 294).

The original formula required a sample of 30 sentences from a text and relied on the calculation of polysyllable words, defined as words that contain three or more syllables. Since its inception the formula has been refined and is now available as an online tool on the website of McLaughlin. The score (or grade) resulting from the formula indicates the years of formal education necessary to comprehend a scored text, e.g., a score of 9 would require 9 years of reading training, equivalent to the early years of high school.

It is important to remember, that reading, just as any other skills, requires ongoing practice to keep it at the highest level achieved in formal schooling. Consequently, the average adult reading skill is estimated to fall by 3-5 grades below the level expected at the completion of formal education if reading does not continue. That is to say, the reading skill of an adult who has completed high school, but who hasn't continued to read with the same intensity is likely to fall to a grade 7 to 9 (Kemp and Eagle, 2008).

It is important to note, however, that different languages affect the readability scores or grades of all measures, including grades calculated by the SMOG formula. The reason for this variation can be found in the naturally occurring ave-

rage number of polysyllabic words and the average sentence length. For example, an English version of **The Little Prince**¹ has 17707 words, of which 1023 are polysyllabic. A German translation of the book has 14646 words, of which 1293 are polysyllabic. The SMOG score of the English version of the book is 12.7, e.g., high school graduate level. The German version is 13.4, implying equivalent to early years of college education. In comparison, a Brazilian Portuguese version has 13155 words, 3238 of which are polysyllabic and 1591 sentences. The SMOG score of this version is 16.3, suggesting that comprehension of the text requires the equivalent to the reading level achieved when completing a university degree (all calculations by the authors based open access versions of *The Little Prince*). The question is thus if the formula can be successfully used in languages other than English.

Addressing the issue of different grades depending on the language, Contreras et al. (1999) evaluated the use of the formula for materials written in Spanish, English and French. They found that the SMOG formula is “systematically biased for text written in Spanish or French” (p. 27). Given the similarity of Portuguese and Spanish, it can therefore be assumed that the SMOG formula would be equally biased against materials written in Portuguese, as evidenced by the significantly higher grade of the Brazilian Portuguese version of **The Little Prince**. It is thus not advisable to compare rough SMOG grades between different languages.

However, Contreras et al. (1999) also demonstrated that, when taken as a guide, the SMOG formula was a valid means to characterise the readability of a text in different languages, provided that the final scores were adjusted according to a formula they called the SOL formula. The published SOL formula can be used for converting unadjusted SMOG grades obtained by examining material in French or Spanish to generally equivalent grades in English.

For texts written in Portuguese specifically, so far, no conversion formula has been published. Cavaco and Várzea (2010) used the SMOG formula to evaluate Portuguese-language information leaflets collected from pharmacies. The leaflets were first translated into English prior to being analysed. The average grade reported for the SMOG analysis was 11.13, significantly higher than the average reading skill of the population.

The purpose of this exploratory study is an evaluation of a range of online information and compare the readability of the available information between information available in English and Portuguese. This is an extension of an earlier study in which we evaluated the readability of materials published in English only. Rather than relying on translated material, which introduces the possibility of evaluating the readability of the translation rather than the original, we aim to work with the texts in their original language.

In order to achieve a comparable result between Portuguese and English-language grades, we therefore follow a two-step procedure. First we collect and analyse a selection of texts as they would be available to Internet users in an English-speaking country (Australia) and in a Portuguese speaking country

(Portugal). We then use the SMOG formula to evaluate the readability of the selected texts. In a second step, we then calculated a conversion formula for comparable results between the texts written in Portuguese and English.

To evaluate existing health information available online, we used Google to locate five sources of health information linked to two health/well-being topics and two chronic conditions. These topics were: diet and exercise as health/well-being topics, and asthma and diabetes for chronic conditions.

To select appropriate sites and to allow for a comparison with an earlier study carried out on material available online in English (Dahl and Eagle, 2016), we selected the first five results a search using the site google.pt returned when searching from Portugal.

We followed the same procedure as the original study, which meant excluding any sites that were dictionary definitions (with the exception of Wikipedia), sales-based sites for herbal weight loss or asthma relief products, and sites that duplicated information such as Australian state and federal sites. We also excluded sites that were not in Portuguese to select the Portuguese samples.

Results

As can be seen from Tables 1 and 2, the average SMOG score differs vastly between sites written in English (12.8) and written in Portuguese (22.6). Previous research established that the SMOG formula can be used in languages other than English (Contreras et al., 1999), however, the scores or “grades” have to be adjusted according to the language. Contreras et al. (1999) suggest a formula to convert SMOG scores derived from Spanish and French sources into scores comparable to the original SMOG grades. For example, they suggest that for Spanish, the English grade can be derived by using the following formula: $EN = -2.51 + 0.74 \cdot SP$, where EN is the English grade and SP represents the SMOG score of the Spanish original text. Thus, if one assumes relative similarity of Spanish and Portuguese, the average score based on this formula would represent a grade of 14.21 in English.

In order to achieve a reliable estimate, we calculated an adjustment formula for Portuguese. The formula is based on the children’s book **The Little Prince**, which is readily available in both Portuguese (**O Principezinho** or **O Pequeno Príncipe**) and English. This follows the suggestion made by Contreras et. al. (1999) to use works of literature as ways to find rudimentary conversion formulas, and their own analysis of **The Little Prince**.

Based on a sample of two chapters from the book, we calculated the relevant SMOG scores for both the English and the European Portuguese translation. Based on this, we calculated the approximate regression formula to convert scores from Portuguese (PT) to English (EN) grades. The resultant formula was $EN = -6.48 + 0.94 \cdot PT$. After adjusting the original average score for Portuguese-language texts using this formula, the average SMOG score of texts in Portuguese is 14.76. The estimated SMOG score reveals that texts written in Portuguese require a remarkably high level of reading skills. According to the

Table 1 **SMOG analysis for general health and well-being Internet-based material**

Original Dahl and Eagle (2016) study			Portuguese Equivalent Sites		
Organisation	URL	SMOG	SMOG	URL	Organisation
General health and well-being: a. Diet					
Impromy	http://impromy.com/?gclid=CIOEvdmh4MECFY0svQodDrUA7w	14.91	19.8	https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dieta	Wikipedia
Web MD	http://www.webmd.com/diet/features/what-your-parents-got-wrong-about-food	9.04	25.1	https://www.tua-saude.com/c/dieta-e-nutricao/	Tua Saúde
Body + Soul	http://www.bodyandsoul.com.au/weight+loss/diets/	11.2	17.6	http://boaforma.abril.com.br/dieta/as-70-duvidas-de-dieta-nutricao-e-fitness-mais-buscadas-no-google-nos-respondemos/	Boa Forma
Body Trim	http://www.bodytrim.com.au/diet	12.53	20.5	http://holmesplace.pt/pt/dieta-para-quem-pratica-bodybuilding-a2918.html	Holmes Place
Wikipedia	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diet_(nutrition)	13.46	22	https://rotasaude.lusiadas.pt/category/prevencao-e-estilo-de-vida/nutricao-e-dieta/	Lusiadas

General health and well-being: b. Exercise					
Wikipedia	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Physical_exercise	15.68	25.7	https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exerc%C3%ADcio_f%C3%ADsico	Wikipedia
Mayo Clinic	http://www.mayoclinic.org/healthy-living/fitness/in-depth/exercise/art-20048389	12.07	22.5	http://lifestyle.sapo.pt/saude/fitness/artigos/os-beneficios-do-exercicio-fisico	SAPO Lifestyle
Web MD	http://www.webmd.com/fitness-exercise/	11.0	25	http://www.vix.com/pt/bdm/corpo/top-10-exercicios-fisicos-que-fazem-bem-a-saude-e-ajudam-a-emagrecer	VIX
Better health Channel	http://www.betterhealth.vic.gov.au/bhcv2/bhcarticles.nsf/pages/Depression_and_exercise	14.62	21.5	https://belezaesauda.com/exercicios-fisicos/	Beleza e Saúde
About Health	http://exercise.about.com/cs/cardioworkouts/a/burn300calories.htm	12.41	25.3	https://www.saudaef.pt/mais-saude/artigo/exercicio-fisico-doencas-cardiovasculares	CUF

Table 2 **SMOG analysis for general health and well-being Internet-based material**

Original Dahl and Eagle (2016) study			Portuguese Equivalent Sites		
Organisation	URL	SMOG	SMOG	URL	Organisation
General health and well-being: a. Diet					
Health Direct Australia	http://www.healthdirect.gov.au/diabetes?gclid=CJ-bvb255MECFVcDvAodrkkAdQ	12.30	25.2	http://www.apdp.pt/diabetes/a-pessoa-com-diabetes/o-que-e-a-diabetes	Portal da Diabetes
Wikipedia	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diabetes_mellitus	13.05	20.2	http://controlaradiabetes.pt/vida-saudavel/prevencao-da-diabetes	MSD Controlar a Diabetes
Diabetes Australia	http://www.ndss.com.au/en/About-Diabetes/	13.14	23.7	https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diabetes_mellitus	Wikipedia
About.com	http://index.about.com/index?gclid=CNjc8bG85MECFRUJvAodH74Aag&am=broad&q=information+about+diabetes&an=google_s&askid=8a623177-5e3e-4891-9676-d5558de07725-0-ab_gsb&dqi=&qsrc=999&ad=semD&o=5946&l=sem	11.93	20.5	http://holmesplace.pt/pt/dieta-para-quem-pratica-bodybuilding-a2918.html	Abbot FreeStyle Diabetes
American Diabetes Asn	http://www.diabetes.org/	13.91	23.2	http://www.fpcardiologia.pt/saude-do-coracao/factores-de-risco/diabetes/	Fundação Portuguesa de Cardiologia

General health and well-being: b. Asthma					
Better Health: Diabex	http://www.betterhealth.vic.gov.au/bhcv2/bhcmcdnsf/pages/afcdiabe/\$File/afcdiabe.pdf	13.51	23.6	https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asma	Wikipedia
Virtual Medical Centre: Diabex	http://www.myvmc.com/drugs/diabex/	12.21	22.4	http://www.minhavida.com.br/saude/temas/asma	Minhavida
Livestrong: Diabex side effects	http://www.livestrong.com/article/252403-side-effects-of-diabex/	11.18	23.1	http://msd.pt/doencas-respiratorias/asma/	MSD
Gp2u: Diabex product information	https://gp2u.com.au/static/pdf/D/DIABEX_XR-PI.pdf	13.39	24.1	https://www.bial.com.pt/a_sua_saude.10/areas_terapeuticas_bial.13/doencas_respiratoria.20/asma_bronquica.a74.html	Bial
My Virtual Medical Centre: Glucohexal	http://www.myvmc.com/drugs/glucohexal/	14.10	20.9	http://www.fundacaopor্তুguesadopulmao.org/asma.html	Fundação Portuguesa do Pulmão

original formula, this would be approximately 14-15 years of formal education, equivalent to some college education. In comparison, texts written in English would require a less advanced reading skill (12 years of education), equivalent to a high school graduate.

Both scores give reasons for concern. The required reading level of texts in English of 12 is by far exceeding the likely reading level of the population. As previously pointed out, in the UK, the average reading level is likely to be approximately 9 (Eagle and Kemp, 2008).

No equivalent studies could be located for Portugal and Portuguese speaking countries. However, it is safe to assume that the required reading level of 14/15 to comprehend the material is likely to be substantially higher than significant parts of the general population. The average participation rate in Portuguese Higher Education is reported to be 35% (Governo de Portugal, 2010). That is to say, only a third of the population reaches the approximate level of education required to fully comprehend the texts analysed at the peak of their reading ability.

Discussion

The results indicate that information that is highly trusted, easily accessible and widely used by patients and users is written at a level of complexity that exceeds the reading ability of significant parts of the population. There is, consequently, a danger that large segments of patients using web-based information become confused or misunderstand materials they read.

This finding extends the findings of previous studies mostly based on traditional, paper-based information, which suggests that the nearly all of them are written at a level far exceeding the reading skills of the average population (Pires et al., 2015).

While some governments have made significant efforts to ensure accessibility and readability of health care information, it should be noted that many of the sites displayed are not government endorsed. Many of the top-displayed sites are private companies: such as pharmaceutical companies (MSD, Abbot, Bial), private health care providers (CUF, Lusíadas, in Portugal) or indeed media companies. Ensuring readability should therefore not only be a priority for governments, but these efforts should be extended to all sectors that provide health-related information.

It is important to acknowledge the role online information plays in health-related behaviour and decision making. This includes pre- and post-consultation information seeking, but also information being sought before any contact with health care professionals is being made.

While a growing body of research is focusing on medical information in the form of leaflets, package inserts and other written communication, it is important to expand the relatively weak theoretical foundations underpinning knowledge and of social and cultural factors that impact on whether, how and from what sources information is sought, interpreted and acted upon.

The results indicate that information that is highly trusted, easily accessible and widely used by patients and users is written at a level of complexity that exceeds the reading ability of significant parts of the population. There is, consequently, a danger that large segments of patients using web-based information become confused or misunderstand materials they read.

Future Research

The current research is exploratory in nature, and therefore has significant limitations, which, in turn, offer avenues of potentially fruitful future research.

Regarding the availability of readability formulas specifically validated for languages other than English, we echo the call by Pies et al. for the need for further research. While the method we used is simple and offers face validity in this particular case, a more systematic development tool for the calculation of conversion formulae is desirable. This includes research not only in to the conversion of scores, but also further research into average literacy levels. Specifically, we note the high scores achieved in the OECD data for speakers of roman languages other than Portuguese, all of which use naturally significantly more polysyllabic words in both spoken and written conversation.

In addition, future researchers should to focus on a wider range of medical conditions, both acute and chronic. Further research should also broaden the scope of potential information sources by including online discussion and support groups, specifically social networking sites. An important focus of future work must be to identify the combination of media channels used to gain information about drug treatments by patients, and compare the extent to which these channels influence patients' beliefs, interactions with health professionals and health decisions.

Note

1. **The Little Prince**, first published in 1943 in the US, is a novella, the most famous work of French writer Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. Published in France in 1945, by Gallimard, as **Le Petit Prince**. (Editor's Note)

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The Easter Bilby as a counter-marketing strategy for biodiversity conservation

by Diogo Veríssimo

ABSTRACT: Social marketers regularly have to contend with antagonistic marketing efforts promoted by other social actors, such as the tobacco and alcohol industries. These efforts can severely limit the impact of social marketing. As a consequence, social marketers often engage in counter-marketing, the development of marketing strategies aimed at undermining the messages promoted by a competitor. In this paper, it is studied the creation of the Easter Bilby brand, developed in Australia as a counter-marketing strategy to the popular Easter bunny. Rabbits are invasive to Australia and have caused massive damage to the country's biodiversity while the bilby is an endemic and threatened species that better reflects the uniqueness of Australia's fauna.

Key words: Australia; Branding; Easter Bunny; Invasive Species; Social Marketing

O Bilby da Páscoa como estratégia de contra-marketing para a conservação da biodiversidade

RESUMO: Os marketers sociais deparam-se, por vezes, com mensagens antagónicas promovidas por outros agentes sociais, sendo exemplo disto as indústrias do tabaco e do álcool. Estes esforços podem diminuir consideravelmente o impacto dos esforços de marketing social, obrigando os marketers sociais a desenvolver estratégias de contra-marketing para mitigar o impacto das mensagens desenvolvidas pela concorrência. Neste artigo, examina-se a criação da marca social Bilby da Páscoa, como um competidor para o popular «Coelhinho da Páscoa» na Austrália. O coelho é uma espécie invasora, neste país, tendo causado enormes danos à sua biodiversidade. Por isso, durante a década de 1980, surgiu a ideia de usar o *bilby*, um marsupial australiano endémico, como um novo símbolo da Páscoa. Neste artigo, é investigado o valor do Bilby da Páscoa enquanto marca, tanto para o cliente como em termos financeiros.

Palavras-chave: Austrália; Branding; Coelhinho da Páscoa; Espécies Invasoras; Marketing Social

El Bilby de Pascua como estrategia de contramarketing para la conservación de la biodiversidad

RESUMEN: Los vendedores de marketing sociales se encuentran, a veces, con mensajes antagónicos promovidos por otros agentes sociales, siendo ejemplo de estos las industrias del tabaco y del alcohol. Estos esfuerzos pueden disminuir considerablemente el impacto de los esfuerzos de marketing social, obligando a los vendedores de marketing sociales a desarrollar estrategias de contramarketing para mitigar el impacto de los mensajes desarrollados por la competencia. En este artículo se examina la creación de la marca social Bilby de Pascua, como un competidor para el popular “Conejito de Pascua” en Australia. El conejo es una especie invasora en este país, habiendo causado enormes daños en su biodiversidad. Por eso, durante la década de los 80, surgió la idea de usar a Bilby, un marsupial australiano endémico, como un nuevo símbolo de Pascua. En este artículo, es investigado el valor de Bilby de Pascua como marca, tanto para el cliente como en términos financieros.

Palabras clave: Australia; Branding; Conejito de Pascua; Especies Invasoras; Marketing Social

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Received in July 2017 and accepted in September 2017

Recebido em julho de 2017 e aceite em setembro de 2017

Recibido en julio de 2017 y aceptado en septiembre de 2017

Social marketers are unique in their recognition that in a free-choice society there are always alternatives to a given behavior (Lee et al., 2011). However, beyond having to content with alternatives to the behaviors they promote, social marketers also have to deal with preexisting and conflicting messages promoted by other social actors, which limit the impact of social marketing (Burton et al., 2013). Examples of this are the social marketing efforts to curtail smoking and excessive drinking, which clash with the messages promoted by the tobacco and alcohol industries (Burton et al., 2013; McKenna et al., 2000).

To increase their chances of success, social marketers engage in counter-marketing, the development of marketing strategies aimed at undermining the messages promoted by a competing social actor or actors (Evans and McCormack, 2008). This can be challenging, as social marketers commonly have fewer resources than their industry competitors (McKenna et al., 2000). Nonetheless, there are several documented cases of counter-marketing success in the public health sector (Durkin et al., 2012). This has led organizations such as the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in the USA, to specifically include counter-marketing in their best practice guidance for tobacco control programs (CDC, 2014).

In the environmental context, there are few documented cases of social counter-marketing interventions. This is surprising as all key environmental threats are driven, directly or indirectly, by human behavior (Veríssimo, 2013). One of the threats where the role of humans is clearest, is that of invasive species, those which spread through human activity to a new ecosystem or landscape, and are likely to have negative impacts on the pre-existing native species and ecosystems. Indeed, invasive species are the second most frequent cause of extinction for species that have disappeared since AD 1500 (Bellard et al., 2016). However, their impact is not evenly distributed, with Oceania being the most affected continent.

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The bunny

Australia has been one of the countries in the world where most species have gone extinct (Woinarski et al., 2015). Much of this has been due to invasive species, mostly brought over by early European settlers, which have outcompeted the native Australian fauna and flora (Woinarski et al., 2015; Bellard et al., 2016). One of the species responsible for this loss of biodiversity is the European rabbit (*Orytolagus cuniculus*), one of only 14 mammals species included in the list of the world's 100 worst invasive species (Lowe et al., 2000).

In Australia, the rabbit is not only responsible for environmental degradation but also for massive damage to the agricultural and livestock industries (Lands-tröm, 2001). This has generated a backlash against the species, resulting in a series of containment strategies to slow the expansion of the rabbit throughout the country (Smith, 2006). The most popular ones are perhaps physical containment, through the use of fences and biological control, with the introduction of several diseases known to cause high mortality among rabbits (Moseby

and Read, 2006; Landström, 2001). Yet, while these physical measures have been successful at reducing the impact of rabbits on the native Australian fauna, they have also been target of criticism by those that argue that the European rabbit has already attained a place in the history and culture of Australia (Smith, 2006; Wright, 2012).

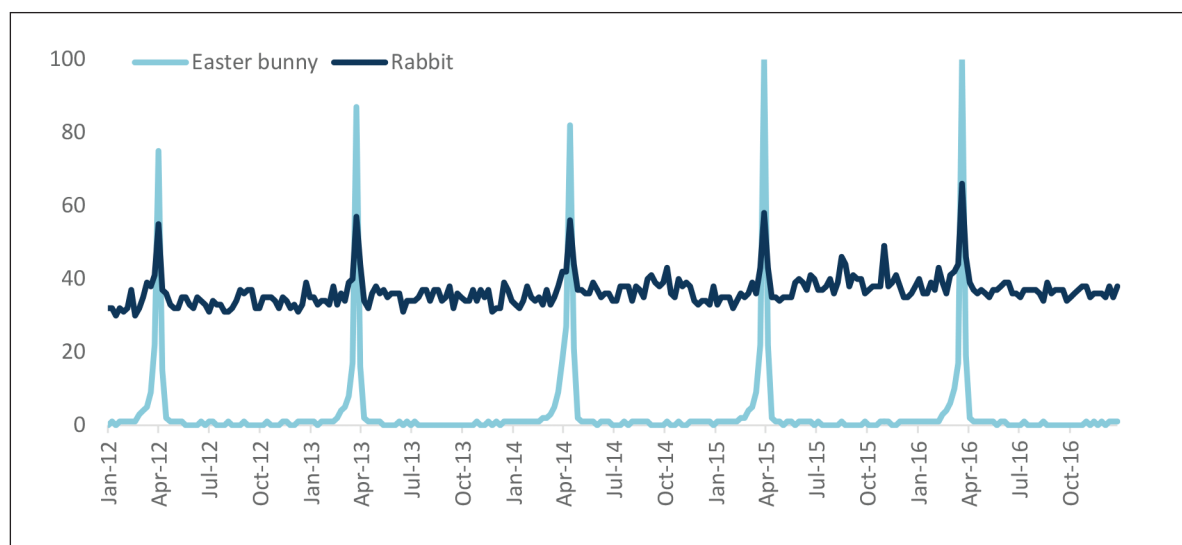
Currently, the rabbit's role in Australian culture is most notorious during Easter, a major national holiday, when it gets a center stage role as the "Easter bunny" responsible for distributing Easter chocolates. This tendency can be seen when looking at weekly trends in internet searches in Australia (see Figure 1), with searches for "Easter bunny" being highly seasonal as expected, but peaking at the same time as searches for "Rabbit".

Businesses in Australia, and around the world, use the iconic Easter bunny as key part of their branding for Easter products, most notably chocolates (Harris et al., 2015; Naunton, 2011). These fictional characters often play a central role not only in attracting the attention of consumers, but also in shaping our collective memory and cultural meaning of a holiday, something perhaps best exemplified by Santa Claus and Christmas (Okleshen et al., 2000). Thus, the Easter bunny, with its lovable demeanor and cuddly appearance, has become a central part of the Easter experience (Smith, 2006) and is inextricably associated with the positive emotions the holiday conjures (Naunton, 2011).

This positive association reinforces the public appreciation for the European rabbit in Australia and emphasizes the cultural role of the species as an Australian cultural icon. In an effort to change this association, Australian conservationists have put forward an alternative Easter ambassador that better reflects the uniqueness of Australia's fauna: the Easter Bilby¹ (Landström, 2001; Smith, 2006).

In an effort to change the association with the iconic Easter bunny, Australian conservationists have put forward an alternative Easter ambassador that better reflects the uniqueness of Australia's fauna: the Easter Bilby.

Figure 1 **Weekly trends of Internet searches on Google, for the terms "Easter bunny" and "rabbit", in Australia, for the years 2012 to 2016**



From greater to Easter Bilby

The greater bilby (*Macrotis lagotis*) is a small mammal endemic to Australia (Burbidge and Woinarski, 2016a). It is currently threatened with extinction, largely due to the impact of introduced carnivores, which become predators, and introduced herbivores, which degrade their habitat (Bradley et al., 2015).

A smaller species, the lesser bilby (*Macrotis leucura*), was last seen in 1931 as is considered to be extinct (Burbidge and Woinarski, 2016b), with the European rabbit being one of the culprits (Bellard et al., 2016). For that reason, the greater bilby is today more commonly known simply as bilby.

The idea of replacing the Easter bunny with a species native to Australia, in this case the bilby, had a somewhat nebulous origin with multiple people seemingly having the idea independently (Faithfull, 2000). The first published account seems to have emerged in the mid-1980s (Faithfull, 2000) but it was not until the early 1990s that the idea took off, with the support of the organization now known as Foundation for Rabbit-Free Australia (RFA). In 1993, the RFA obtained the rights to the Easter Bilby trademark (Faithfull, 2000), ensuring that it would capture a percentage of the sales of any branded product. Given the seasonal nature of the trademark, a big focus were, of course, Easter chocolates (Faithfull, 2000).

With these efforts, the Easter Bilby became a brand supporting the eradication of rabbits in Australia. The positioning of this new brand revolved around the attributes of the bilby as a species, such as its cuteness and its endemic status to Australia as well as the benefit of giving consumers the opportunity to preserve unique Australian natural heritage and by extension identity, therefore linking to pride of place (Landström, 2001).

Chocolate makers explored this opportunity to reposition their products and appeal to different customer segments by adopting a co-branding strategy,

Chocolate makers explored this opportunity to reposition their products and appeal to different customer segments by adopting a co-branding strategy, when two brand names of different companies are used on the same product or service.

Figure 2 **The greater bilby (*Macrotis lagotis*), a nocturnal marsupial endemic to Australia** (© Save the Bilby Fund)



when two brand names of different companies are used on the same product or service (Kotler et al., 2005).

The creation and launch of a new brand is however often challenging with the commercial marketing literature showing that the majority of new brands will fail, despite large initial investments (Cobb Walgren et al., 1995; Rooney, 1995). This is why conservationists have commonly relied heavily on the same small group of “tried and tested” conservation flagship species, usually large bodied mammals and birds, to fundraise and raise awareness for nature conservation (Smith et al., 2012; Veríssimo et al., 2017).

Drawing on the literature on brands and branding, we know that one of the major barriers to introducing new brands is competition, as the existence of a small set of very popular brands has been found to “block” the increase in brand-awareness of competing brands. Thus, it is easy to foresee a difficult job for the Easter Bilby in its quest to overthrow such a widely recognized icon as the Easter bunny.

Yet, much effort has been put into this seemingly Herculean task. In 1999, the Save the Bilby Fund was officially formed with the sole mission of saving the species, and, in 2005, the Australians recognized the second Sunday of September as the national bilby day, making the species the only in Australia to have an officially recognized day. At the same time, a variety of outreach activities have been developed to raise awareness of the species and its newfound role, from children’s books and school programs to festivals and exhibits at Zoos and Sanctuaries (Gambino et al., 2009; Faithfull, 2000).

Along the way, much has been written about the potential success or failure of the Easter Bilby as a marketing strategy to support conservation of Australian native species, and its potential to replace the Easter bunny in the long term (Faithfull, 2000; Smith, 2006; Garnett and Kessing, 2001). Yet, these discussions have at best been based on anecdotal data. To gain a more systematic insight into this issue, I aimed to measure over time how the value of the Easter Bilby has changed, in particular compared to its rival, the Easter bunny.

Where are they now?

Brand equity, or value, is a construct that due to its intangible nature is unsurprisingly hard to measure (Kotler et al., 2005). Here I focus first on customer-based brand equity to understand how the Australian society perceives the Easter Bilby as a new cultural construct. I then investigate the financial side of brand equity by looking at how the licensing of the Easter Bilby trademark has worked as a fundraising mechanism for species conservation (Lassar et al., 1995).

While the literature offers multiple ways of measuring customer-based brand equity (Lassar et al., 1995; Maio Mackay, 2001), in the context of conservation marketing (*sensu* Wright et al., 2015) two aspects that have been highlighted are the visibility and recognition (Veríssimo et al., 2014a). In term of visibility, I used media saliency as a proxy indicator. The power of the media to frame so-

cietal debates through influencing issue saliency is well documented both inside and outside the environmental context (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Veríssimo et al., 2014b). I operationalized this indicator by using the database Lexis Nexis Academic to search for articles in selected major Australian newspapers mentioning the terms “bilby”, “Easter Bilby” or “Easter bunny”. The newspapers were selected based on geographical coverage, circulation and coverage available in the Lexis Nexis Database (see Table 1). Political slant was not a consideration as the Australian press has been found to be generally centrist (Gans and Leigh, 2012).

I selected only publications with coverage starting in the mid-1980s when the concept of the Easter Bilby was created. Of these, I chose those with the highest circulation in their state, with the titles selected covering the states where 86% of the Australians live. Due to the variation in number of articles published through the years for each publication, as well as fluctuations in the coverage of the different newspapers in the Lexis Nexis Database, I estimated media salience by calculating the proportion of articles mentioning the terms of interest per year (see Figure 3). To obtain these estimates, I first calculated the total number of articles mentioning each of the terms of interest, and then estimated the number of articles indexed in the Lexis Nexis Academic database for the target publications in each year. This estimate was obtained by sampling the total number of articles indexed for three days per month at random, across all months of the year, for all publications.

The results suggest that as a brand the Easter Bilby enjoyed the most visibility around the time RFA first started to promote the concept, although even then it was never enough to surpass the Easter bunny. Yet, after that period, the media salience of the Easter Bilby in the press has declined, being currently almost residual. Interestingly, the bilby as a species has independently achieved higher salience in the press, with more visibility than the Easter bunny for almost a decade (see Figure 3, p. 66). Yet, in the last decade, the visibility of the bilby as

Table 1 **Selected Australian newspapers indexed in the database Lexis Nexis Academic, with continuous coverage starting before 1990, with state of publication and circulation figures for 2016 (Roy Morgan Research, 2017)**

Newspaper	State	Circulation
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	New South Wales	639 000
<i>The Courier Mail/The Sunday Mail</i>	Queensland	1 108 000
<i>Herald Sun/Sunday Herald Sun</i>	Victoria	1 712 000
<i>Hobart Mercury/Sunday Tasmanian</i>	Tasmania	121 000
<i>The Advertiser/Sunday Mail</i>	South Australia	743 000

a species has declined, being nearly always lower than the one enjoyed by the Easter bunny.

I next investigated the recognition enjoyed by the Easter Bilby, using as a proxy the temporal patterns of Google searches for the keywords “bilby”, “Easter bilby” and “Easter bunny” in Google Trends. I restricted the results to those searches made in Australia and aggregated the results yearly to eliminate the effects of seasonality (see Figure 4, p. 67).

The results suggest that in relative terms the Easter bunny has enjoyed an increase in recognition, being historically always more recognizable than the Easter Bilby, which has seen its online popularity decrease to residual levels (see Figure 4). Even more worryingly for conservationists, the bilby as a species seems to be also generating a declining amount of online interest, in the last few years being outcompeted by the Easter bunny. Another interesting trend, visible in the standard error bars, is that, while the interest in the Easter bunny has remained highly seasonal, the interest in the bilby is now less volatile, which suggest an interest in the species that is unrelated to the Easter holiday.

The two datasets on the performance of the Easter Bilby as a brand show a similar story. While the Easter Bilby was never in a position to rival with the Easter bunny, the popularity of the species seems to have grown independently of this seasonal concept. Evidence of this is the fact that the number of newspaper articles mentioning the species started rising before the Easter Bilby brand first appeared. This hints at the fact that the Easter Bilby as a brand is but one of a set of efforts to get the bilby into the public eye, and one with an increasingly secondary role. Yet, the bilby as a species seems to also suffer from a declining visibility and recognition, hinting at the fact that new strategies may be needed to promote it.

The Easter Bilby as a brand is but one of a set of efforts to get the bilby into the public eye, and one with an increasingly secondary role. Yet, the bilby as a species seems to also suffer from a declining visibility and recognition, hinting at the fact that new strategies may be needed to promote it.

Figure 3 **Media salience of the “bilby”, “Easter bilby” and “Easter bunny”, from 1985 to 2016, as measured by the yearly proportion of articles in Australian newspapers (*The Daily Telegraph*, *The Courier Mail*/*The Sunday Mail*, *Herald Sun*/*Sunday Herald Sun*, *Hobart Mercury*/*Sunday Tasmanian*, *The Advertiser*/*Sunday Mail*) that mentioned those concepts**

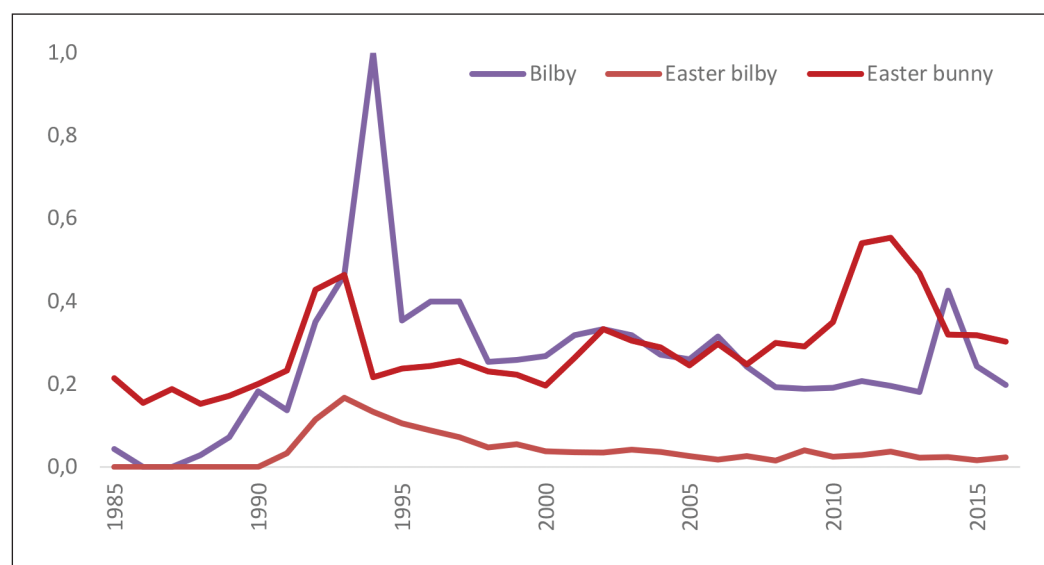
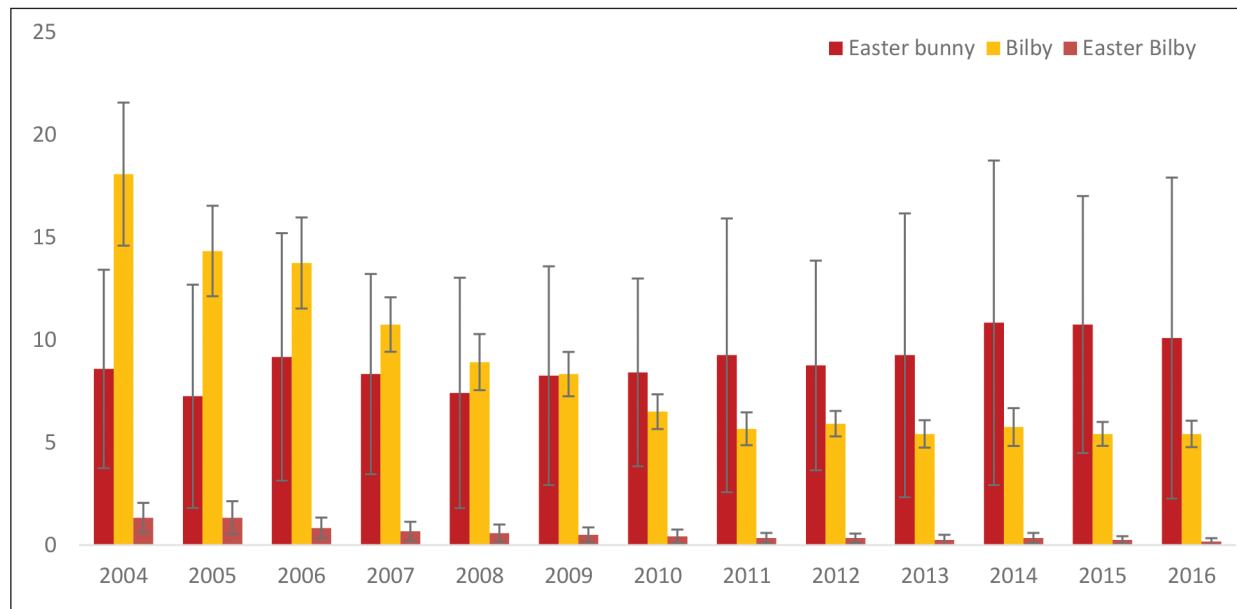


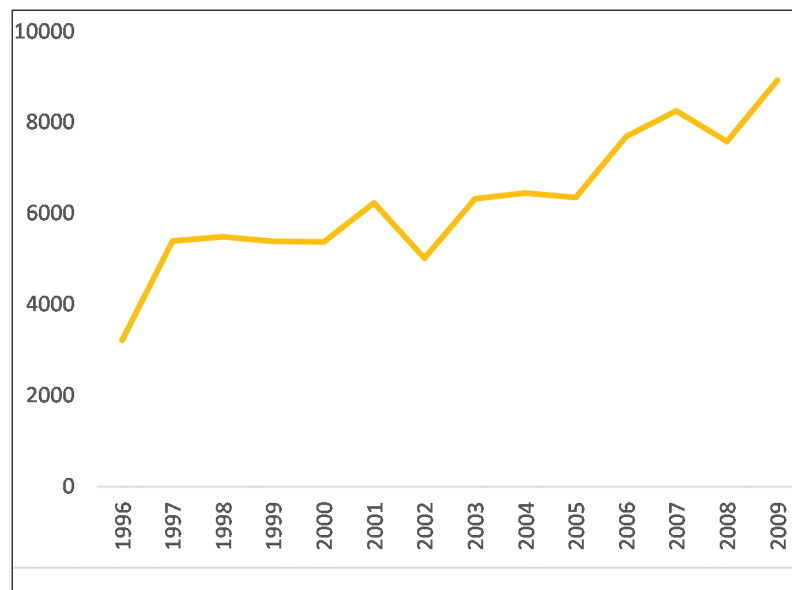
Figure 4 Mean yearly Google search volume for “bilby”, “Easter bilby” and “Easter bunny” from 2004 to 2016, with standard errors



The Easter Bilby as a fundraising tool

While the results suggest the customer-based brand equity of the Easter Bilby is declining, it is also important to look at how the brand is performing in term of financial brand equity (Lassar et al., 1995). I did this by looking at how royalties for the Easter Bilby trademark have varied from 1996 to 2009, the dataset available (see Figure 5).

Figure 5 Yearly royalties, in 1996 AU\$, paid to the Foundation for Rabbit-Free Australia by Haigh's Chocolates for the use of the Easter Bilby trademark (Keryn Lapidge, Pers. Comm.)



The results seem to point to a paradox: royalties and therefore financial brand equity are growing steadily across time whereas customer-centered brand equity seems to be declining (Figure 5). Yet, this comparison should be prefaced by a more detailed look at the wider chocolate industry in Australia. First, the chocolate and confectionery industry in Australia has seen positive average growth in the past decades (Sivasailam, 2010; Euromonitor International, 2016). Given that the royalties given to RFA are tied to revenue made by Haigh's (Garnett and Kessing, 2001), there is a level of background growth that would be expected even in the absence of the branding of the Easter Bilby. Looking at the yearly revenue of the overall chocolate industry in Australia from 2001 to 2009, the closest dataset available, we can see this market segment grew at a mean annual rate of 3.2%, while the donations to RFA in the same period grew by 6.8%. Thus, about half of the growth seen in Figure 5 can be attributed to the background growth of the industry and is likely not related to the bilby.

Second, Haigh's stopped selling chocolate bunnies in 1995 which means that in the case of this company, customers have no possibility to choose between bilby and bunny. This absence of sales data on the sales of chocolate bunnies makes it more difficult to measure the added value of the Easter Bilby brand.

Third, Haigh's specifically targets the premium chocolate market and, in particular, the most environmentally and socially aware customers. This, coupled with the company's small market share at about 1% (Euromonitor International, 2016), means that it is possible to have opposite trends across Haigh's customer base and in the overall market. Even within Haigh's bilbies are but a small percentage of the overall sales, with 50 thousand bilbies sold in 2017, compared to 4.5 million Easter eggs (Cummins, 2017). Thus, the results suggest that the Easter Bilby as a brand is succeeding only in a premium niche customer segment, while progressively losing the mainstream appeal that would enable it to become a household icon that could rival the Easter bunny.

It is nonetheless important to bear in mind that the RFA is not the only organization fundraising from the sale of chocolate bilbies in Easter time. In 1999, the Save the Bilby Fund established a similar partnership with a different Australian chocolate maker, Darrell Lea. These would not have the Easter Bilby brand but a proportion of their sales revenue would be channeled to the Save the Bilby Fund to support bilby conservation. The Save the Bilby Fund raised AUS\$300,000 from Darrell Lea chocolates from 1999 to 2008 and nearly AUS\$100,000 in 2013-17 from Pink Lady and Cadbury's chocolates (Peggy Mucci, Pers. Comm.), after Darrell Lea went bankrupt. Yet, the lack of a detailed dataset on how these contributions have varied yearly make it difficult to understand if this data support or question the narrative described above.

Nonetheless, it is clear that the Easter Bilby continues to perform its role as a conservation flagship species, providing an important and increasing source of funding for the conservation of native Australian mammals, even if its overall customer-center brand equity seems to be declining. The question remains however, is this trend in financial brand equity sustainable in the long term, even

The results suggest that the Easter Bilby as a brand is succeeding only in a premium niche customer segment, while progressively losing the mainstream appeal that would enable it to become a household icon that could rival the Easter bunny.

in a premium market segment, given the decline in customer-based brand equity and, in that case, what can then be done to mainstream the Easter Bilby brand.

Mainstreaming the Easter Bilby

The goals for the Easter Bilby have been ambitious from the beginning. Despite much effort from conservationists, the concept seems to have never been a competitor for the Easter bunny. This maybe because of the lack of a more holistic brand management strategy. The Easter Bilby brand has mostly been treated solely as a name, which is but one of the components of a brand (Kotler et al., 2005). In order to grow into a mainstream entity, the Easter Bilby brand has to be actively managed to clearly define what the key attributes and benefits of the brand are and how these should be best promoted to different target audiences in Australia.

In this context, while RFA's ownership of the Easter Bilby trademark marks a rare occasion of truly innovative thinking by a conservation NGO in terms of fundraising, this direct link to the RFA and its mission statement may be hindering the adoption of the trademark by businesses. The eradication of invasive species is a highly controversial topic globally and no more so when the species targeted are mammals. In Australia, there has been much debate over the need and merit of eradicating rabbits (Smith, 2006, Wright, 2012).

This controversy could be seen as a liability by businesses hoping to engage with bilby conservation efforts and may be why currently the Save the Bilby Fund is fundraising a much larger amount from the sale of chocolate bilbies at Easter time than the RFA. One option to tackle this limitation would be for RFA to keep the trademark in order to restrict its use to ventures related to conservation, but allow the contributions to be channeled to other NGOs working on similar issues (Garnett and Kessing, 2001). This would likely allow a broader suite of business and other stakeholders to get involved and help mainstream the Easter Bilby concept. This would in turn allow for the Easter Bilby to move to products other than chocolates, a type of product whose promotion has some ethical implications that social marketers need to bear in mind.

The focus on the promotion of the Easter Bilby in the form of chocolate makes it part of the marketing strategy that incentivizes the consumption of what public health professionals have labelled high energy nutrient poor food (Grills, 2011). Furthermore, much of this marketing is done to children, a practice that while increasingly common in holidays such as Easter, Halloween or Christmas, has come under increasing criticism (Grills, 2011, Porter and Grills, 2013). In Australia, the National Preventative Health Taskforce recommends phasing out "the use of promotional characters, including celebrities and cartoon characters, used to market high energy nutrient poor food and beverages to children" due to its potential health impacts (National Preventative Health Taskforce, 2009). It is thus key for the Easter Bilby brand to diversify its focus into other products and even other sectors if it is to avoid an ethical conundrum.

It is key for the Easter Bilby brand to diversify its focus into other products and even other sectors if it is to avoid an ethical conundrum.

An effective marketing strategy for the Easter Bilby, will also require cooperation between biodiversity conservation stakeholders, so they can speak with one voice to industry, government parties and the Australian public. While it is key that more is done to achieve alignment, for example, between NGOs using the Easter Bilby brand, one key aspect that was missing until recently was the acknowledgement of the cultural and spiritual significance of the bilby to the Aboriginal peoples of Australia (Bradley et al., 2015; Paltridge, 2016). While the case has been made for the cultural value of the rabbit for Australians with European descent (Wright, 2012; Smith, 2006), less notice has been taken of the cultural importance of the bilby for the Aboriginal peoples of Australia, and the impact that the species decline has had to these stakeholders. Conservationists will need to be more inclusive if their messaging on the stewardship of Australian natural heritage is to resonate across Australian society.

The Easter Bilby offers a singular marketing-based approach to supporting biodiversity conservation, and showcases the kind of entrepreneurship that biodiversity conservation need in order to mobilize other stakeholders and raise much needed funds. While, the current move towards more ethical consumerism in Australia (Sivasailam, 2010) creates an opportunity for the Easter bilby to thrive, the next decade will likely determine the ultimate outcome of this effort to reduce the impact of invasive species.

Whatever the case, this is not only a matter of consequence to Australia but a potential blueprint to help conservationists in the many countries worldwide where invasive species are a threat to the local culture, economy and natural history.

The Easter Bilby case is a potential blueprint to help conservationists in the many countries worldwide where invasive species are a threat to the local culture, economy and natural history.

Note

1. “The term bilby is a loanword from the Yuwaalaraay Aboriginal language of northern New South Wales, meaning long-nosed rat. It is known as dalgite in Western Australia, and the nickname pinkie is sometimes used in South Australia. The Wiradjuri of New South Wales also call it ‘bilby’” (Planeta.com). (Editors’ Note)

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Revisitar a política nacional britânica de marketing social

por Carlos Oliveira Santos

RESUMO: Em 2004, o Governo britânico decidiu adotar uma política nacional vasta e sistemática de marketing social, incidindo na área da saúde pública, que se foi implementando como um novo e muito significativo referencial neste campo. Na sequência dos estudos do autor sobre esta temática, com base numa abordagem cognitiva, este artigo foca-se na evolução e transformação daquela política, reforçando a fundamentação de um modelo para uma política nacional de marketing social, como contributo para a conceção e desenvolvimento de políticas similares em outras situações e países, com base em adequados processos de adaptação e implementação. **Palavras-chave:** Marketing Social; Políticas Públicas; Processos Políticos; Abordagens Cognitivas

Revisar la política nacional británica de marketing social

RESUMEN: En 2004, el Gobierno británico decidió una amplia y sistemática política nacional de marketing social, incidiendo en el área de la salud pública, que se fue implementando como un nuevo y muy significativo referencial en este campo. En la secuencia de los estudios del autor sobre esta temática, con base en un enfoque cognitivo, este artículo se centra en la evolución y transformación de aquella política, reforzando los fundamentos de un modelo para una política nacional de marketing social, como contribución para la concepción y desarrollo de políticas similares en otras situaciones y países, con base en adecuados procesos de adaptación e implementación.

Palabras clave: Marketing Social; Políticas Públicas; Procesos Políticos; Enfoques Cognitivos

The british national policy on social marketing revisited

ABSTRACT: In 2004, the UK Government decided on a vast and systematic national policy on social marketing to focus on public health, which has been implemented as a new and very significant benchmark in this field. Following the author's studies on this theme, based on a cognitive approach, this article focuses on the evolution and transformation of that policy, reinforcing the basis of a model for a national social marketing policy, as a contribution to the design and development of policies in other situations and countries, based on appropriate adaptation and implementation processes.

Key words: Social Marketing; Public Policy; Political Processes; Cognitive Approaches

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Recebido em julho de 2017 e aceite em setembro de 2017

Recibido en julio de 2017 y aceptado en septiembre de 2017

Received in July 2017 and accepted in September 2017

A formulação de políticas de marketing social de âmbito nacional (Santos, 2008) remonta aos anos 1970. No quadro da sua deliberação *A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians*, mais conhecida como Lalonde Report (1974), o Governo canadiano, dirigido por Pierre Trudeau, com Marc Lalonde como Minister of National Health and Welfare (ministro da Saúde e Bem-Estar), teve um papel pioneiro naquele campo. Considerado como um marco do conceito de Nova Saúde Pública (Bunton e Macdonald, 1992), aquele documento sublinhava a importância da melhoria das condições e dos comportamentos sociais que sustentam a saúde dos cidadãos, bem como incluía, expressamente, o marketing social como uma adequada abordagem e um bom instrumento para tal propósito.

Neste sentido, criou-se, em 1981, uma Health Canada Social Marketing Division, no quadro do referido Ministério da Saúde, que conduziu inúmeras intervenções naquela perspetiva (Lagarde, 2015). Nesse mesmo ano, a Organização Mundial de Saúde definia a sua *Global Strategy for Health for All by the Year 2000*, com uma abordagem consonante, sublinhada, cinco anos depois, pela *Charter* adoptada, em Otava, na 1.^a Conferência Internacional para a Promoção da Saúde: «A promoção da saúde é um processo de capacitar as pessoas para desenvolverem o controlo e a melhoria da sua saúde... A saúde deve ser vista como um recurso para a vida quotidiana e não como um objectivo distante. A saúde é um conceito positivo que mobiliza os recursos pessoais e sociais, assim como as capacidades físicas. Neste sentido, a promoção da saúde não é, apenas, uma responsabilidade do sector da saúde, estendendo-se dos estilos de vida saudáveis ao bem-estar.» (WHO, 1986, p. 1).

No início do presente século, outros países foram adotando semelhantes processos de políticas nacionais de marketing social. Na sequência de um amplo programa de combate ao tabagismo, o *Smoke-free Environments Act*, iniciado em 1990, e de uma organização para tal criada, o Health Sponsorship Council, o Governo da Nova Zelândia estabeleceu, dez anos depois, *The New Zealand Health Strategy*, envolvendo o marketing social em diversos aspetos.

Nos Estados Unidos, resultado do programa *Futures Initiative*, anunciado em 2003 («para responder aos desafios colocados pelas ameaças à saúde no século XXI»), no quadro dos Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), foi criado, um ano depois, o National Centre for Health Marketing e, atualmente, o CDC's Gateway to Communication and Social Marketing Practice que «proporciona recursos para ajudar a construir programas de campanhas de comunicação e de marketing social para a saúde» (disponível em <https://www.cdc.gov/healthcommunication/>).

Foi sob estas diversas influências que o Governo britânico, em 2004, sob a liderança do primeiro-ministro trabalhista Tony Blair, deliberou uma estratégia nacional de marketing social para a saúde, expressa no documento *Choosing Health: Making Healthy Choices Easier* (DoH, 2004). Dois anos depois, no âmbito do estudo *It's Our Health: Realising the Potential of Effective Social Marketing* (NSMC, 2006a), foi criada uma instituição executiva daquela política, o Na-

tional Social Marketing Centre (NSMC), com base numa parceria entre o Department of Health (DoH) e o National Consumer Council (NCC), a instituição nacional de defesa dos consumidores.

Tal processo foi reforçado, em 2008, já sob a liderança do primeiro-ministro trabalhista Gordon Brown, pela nova deliberação governamental *Ambitions for Health: A Strategic Framework for Maximizing the Potential of Social Marketing and Health-Related Behaviour* (DoH, 2008), desenvolvida, em 2011, pela decisão *Changing Behaviour, Improving Outcomes: A New Social Marketing Strategy for Public Health* (DoH, 2011), já tomada pelo Governo de coligação conservadora-liberal, presidido por David Cameron. Durante o Governo seguinte, ainda por este liderado, o marketing social manteve a sua importância política nacional, no âmbito de uma *Public Health England Marketing Strategy 2014-2017* (PHE, 2014), incluindo uma estratégia específica para aquela área.

Paralelamente, o conhecimento e o debate sobre as dimensões do marketing social foi ganhando complexidade. Hastings e Donovan (2002) introduziram uma importante posição conceptual:

«Apelamos colectivamente para que o marketing social acolha uma perspectiva alargada que incorpore não apenas os comportamentos individuais, mas também, as determinantes físicas e sociais desses comportamentos... Para além dos cidadãos individuais, este alargamento ainda envolve mudança de comportamentos, mas entre os que fazem políticas e decisões legislativas em nome de grupos, empresas e governos.» (p. 4).

Andreasen sintetizou, em 2006, esta perspectiva alargada do marketing social, agregando-lhe dois níveis (já presentes, aliás, em Goldberg, 1995):

- Uma abordagem *downstream*, ao nível de intervenções pontuais para a melhoria de comportamentos individuais;
- Uma abordagem *upstream*, visando fatores estruturais e sociais, envolvendo níveis e decisores de topo, na qual a focagem nos indivíduos se mantém, mas incorporada em intervenções que visam aspetos mais contextuais.

Perante esta possibilidade de integração do marketing social em amplas políticas públicas, criou-se consciência de que «para ganharem lugar à mesa das políticas, eles (os *marketers* sociais) necessitavam demonstrar que os princípios e conceitos do marketing social poderiam melhorar os processos de desenvolvimento de políticas, a formulação das suas estratégias e a concretização de intervenções efectivas» (French e Blair-Stevens, 2006, p. 38).

Neste sentido, estes mesmos autores (2007), bem como French e Gordon (2015), desenvolveram o conceito de *marketing social estratégico*, em três níveis:

- Fundamental, apoiar e promover políticas focadas no conhecimento e na compreensão das pessoas envolvidas, nas suas necessidades, problemas e aspirações;
- Fundamental e formular estratégias coerentes e eficientes;
- Promover, acompanhar e avaliar intervenções, no sentido da otimização do seu impacto.

Desenvolveu-se, recentemente, o conceito de marketing social estratégico, em três níveis: fundamental, apoiar e promover políticas focadas no conhecimento e na compreensão das pessoas envolvidas, nas suas necessidades, problemas e aspirações; formular estratégias coerentes e eficientes; e promover, acompanhar e avaliar intervenções, no sentido da otimização do seu impacto.

Assim sendo, tanto a experiência como a teoria difundiram aquele papel alargado do marketing social, contribuindo para a necessidade de compreender como emergem, como se desenvolvem e como são implementadas políticas nacionais de marketing social, enquanto processos de políticas públicas (Hill, 1997; Sabatier, 2007), no sentido desse conhecimento poder ser usado como apoio de processos similares, noutros países e noutras situações, com os devidos cuidados de transferência e implementação (Dolowitz e Marsh, 2000).

Método

O estudo de que este artigo decorre, foi iniciado, em 2004, com o propósito principal de entender o «porquê» e o «como» de uma política nacional de marketing social, e foi conduzido como um estudo de caso multifacetado e em profundidade, conjugando dados qualitativos e quantitativos, incluindo pesquisa participativa (Santos, 2016).

A seleção do caso britânico, como unidade de análise, foi feita de acordo com quatro características: ter uma dimensão nacional; possuir uma significativa política nacional de marketing social; existir pelo menos uma organização, de âmbito nacional, resultante daquela política; e dispor de intervenções decorrentes da mesma política.

Por outro lado, no quadro da escolha entre os possíveis casos (Canadá, Nova Zelândia, EUA e Reino Unido), tivemos, também, em conta alguns critérios de seleção: ser recente e passível de ser observado diretamente na sua evolução; estar sediado num país europeu, pelo que deveria ser considerado uma vantagem, de modo que as suas conclusões pudessem servir para a difusão do marketing social na Europa; e proporcionar melhores condições de proximidade, acesso e relacionamento.

Com base nestes critérios, o caso selecionado para estudo foi o britânico, considerado como crucial (Eckstein, 1975: «um que possa enquadrar, de perto, uma teoria, se houver confiança na validade da teoria», p. 118), o que se relaciona com outra importante opção metodológica, levando em conta a consideração de Yin (2003): «... o trabalho de campo relevante depende da compreensão – ou teoria – do que está a ser estudado... Para os estudos de caso, o desenvolvimento teórico, como parte da concepção da investigação, é essencial, seja o propósito do estudo de caso em causa desenvolver ou testar uma teoria.» (p. 28).

Por isso, se torna fundamental adotar uma teoria explicativa para seguir um caso. A opção inicial deste estudo foi por uma abordagem cognitiva, baseada na importância da consideração de «elementos de conhecimento, ideias, representações ou crenças sociais, na elaboração de políticas públicas» (Surel, 2006, p. 80). Tal como assinala Schmidt (2008), «as ideias cognitivas – também chamadas ideias causais – proporcionam receitas, linhas e mapas para a ação política e servem para justificar políticas e programas, dando resposta à sua lógica de interesses e necessidades» (p. 306).

A seleção do caso britânico, como unidade de análise, foi feita de acordo com quatro características: ter uma dimensão nacional; possuir uma significativa política nacional de marketing social; existir pelo menos uma organização, de âmbito nacional, resultante daquela política; e dispor de intervenções decorrentes da mesma política.

Assim, este estudo fundamentou-se no «mais profundo postulado destes trabalhos» (Surel, 2006, p. 85), a saber, «na hipótese maior que associa toda a mudança significativa da acção pública a uma transformação dos elementos cognitivos e normativos característicos de uma política, de um problema ou de um dado sector de intervenção pública» (p. 85).

Entre a vasta lista de abordagens cognitivas, atualmente, disponíveis (Santos, 2016), a que se adotou para este estudo foi a do modelo dos referenciais (*référentiels*) de políticas públicas, desenvolvido pela chamada Escola de Grenoble (por referência ao Institut d'Études Politiques de l'Université de Grenoble), centrada em Bruno Jobert e Pierre Muller (1987). A razão para esta escolha residia na capacidade compreensiva daquele modelo, na natureza e adequação dos conceitos que incorpora, bem como na sua capacidade explicativa. É uma *good theory*, no sentido que lhe dá Evera (1997): «Um largo poder explanatório... elucidada, simplificando... é “satisfatória”... definida com clareza... verificável... explica importantes fenómenos... tem uma riqueza prescritiva.» (pp. 17-21).

A emergência, construção e desenvolvimento de um novo referencial de política pública resulta de um processo (ver Figura 1, p. 79), que Muller (1995) designa por *mediação*, no qual estão envolvidos vários *mediadores*, operando em *fóruns*, espaços onde tal construção se desenvolve, se debate, se opera, processo através do qual se criam «condições políticas para a definição de um novo espaço de expressão de interesses sociais, a partir de um quadro de referência simultaneamente normativo e cognitivo no qual os diferentes actores vão poder mobilizar recursos e firmar relações de aliança ou de conflito» (p. 161). Na perspetiva das políticas públicas, a nova maneira de pensar e intervir, que dali decorre, constitui-se numa «nova concepção de acção pública no sector», dotada de «uma estrutura de sentido que permite pensar a mudança nas suas diferentes dimensões» (p. 156).

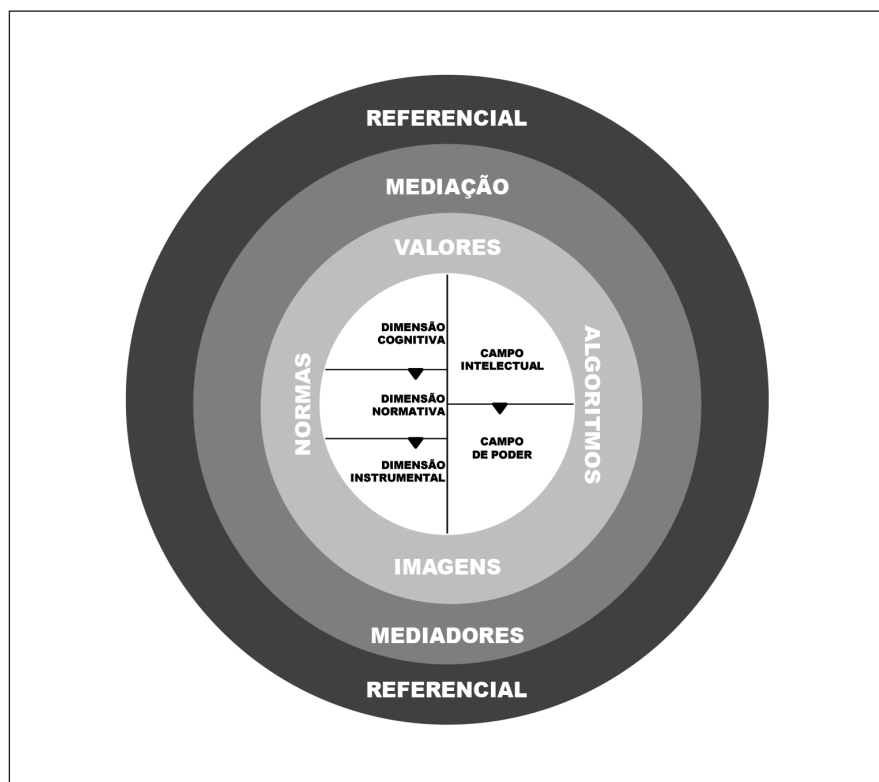
Esta dinâmica de mediação desenvolve-se através de quatro unidades de análise, que Muller (1995) designa como «níveis de percepção do mundo» (p. 158) – *valores, normas, algoritmos e imagens*. Como explica esse autor: «Os valores são as representações mais fundamentais (...) sobre o que é bem e mal, desejável e rejeitável (...); as normas definem as diferenças entre o real percebido e o real desejado (...); os algoritmos são as relações causais que exprimem uma teoria da acção (...); [e] as imagens (...) fazem sentido imediato sem passar por um longo percurso discursivo (...), elas constituem um elemento central do referencial.» (pp. 158-159).

As quatro unidades agregam-se em duas linhas «que é preciso, absolutamente, ter em conta em conjunto se quisermos compreender o processo de mediação na sua totalidade» (p. 163).

A primeira é a linha dimensão *cognitiva/dimensão normativa/dimensão instrumental*.

Jobert (1992) identifica-as deste modo:

- «Na dimensão cognitiva, os referenciais dão os elementos de interpretação causal dos problemas a resolver;

Figura 1 **Modelo de referencial**

- Na dimensão normativa, eles definem os valores que é necessário respeitar para o tratamento desses problemas;
- Na dimensão instrumental, os referenciais definem os processos que devem orientar a acção, em função daquele saber e daqueles valores.» (pp. 220-221).

A segunda linha do referencial envolve a dinâmica do par *campo intelectual/campo de poder*. No primeiro campo, gera-se, num processo de tomada de palavra, a «produção de sentido»; e no segundo campo, o de tomada de poder, processa-se a «estruturação de um campo de forças» (Muller, 1995, p. 164).

Jobert e Muller (1987) avançaram, desde o início da sua formulação teórica dos referenciais, com um conceito de *referencial global*, suscetível de se refletir em referenciais setoriais ou nacionais, entendido aquele não como «uma estrutura cognitiva e normativa perfeitamente unificada que se imporia de maneira mecânica ao conjunto dos domínios da vida social», mas sim como «uma espécie de “núcleo duro”, que corresponde ao coração da visão dominante num dado momento, articulado, de maneira muito forte, ao nível dos valores» (Muller, 1995, p. 177), algo semelhante aos chamados *deep core beliefs* e aos *policy core beliefs*, presentes nas *public advocacy coalitions* de Sabatier e Jenkins-Smith (1993).

Todo o processo de *mediação*, que a noção de referencial incorpora, arti-

culando-se nas suas diversas componentes e resultante da interação dos seus *mediadores*, «não é apenas discurso ou apenas ideias (...) é ideias em acção» (Muller, 1995, p. 161) ou, como refere Jobert (1992), «um processo de modelização da realidade social» (p. 220). Deste modo, sendo um conjunto de crenças, os referenciais são também uma abordagem estratégica, onde intervêm sempre uma multiplicidade de agentes, não podendo ser reduzidos a um processo meramente discursivo.

Fundamentado nesta teoria explicativa, este estudo envolveu a conceção, implementação e evolução do caso britânico, nas suas inúmeras componentes: influências, políticas centrais, mediadores envolvidos, as diversas deliberações normativas, as instituições instrumentais, suas formas de governação e processamento, experiências demonstrativas (*demonstration sites*) adotadas, estruturas regionais, intervenções nacionais e diversas avaliações, bem como conceitos e abordagens, que foram sendo introduzidos.

Resultados

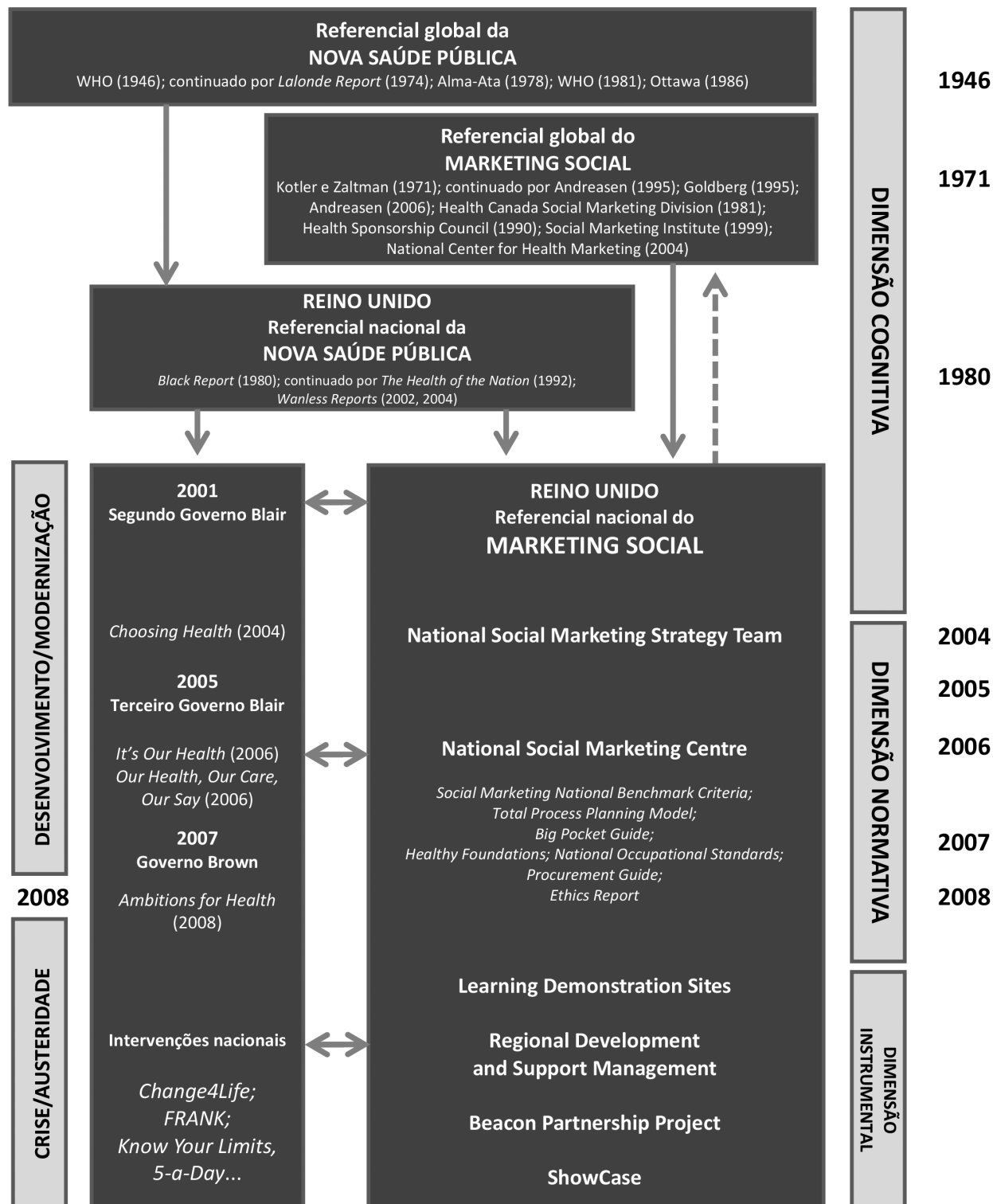
Como sublinha Tversky (2011), o pensamento visual «pode não proporcionar definições com o rigor das palavras, mas sugere significações e dimensões, dando-nos maior flexibilidade do que as palavras» (p. 499). Daqui a importância de representar visualmente a evolução do referencial britânico de marketing social, como o faz a Figura 2, para a sua fase inicial.

O aspeto saliente é a clara definição e processamento das diversas dimensões do referencial. Na dimensão cognitiva, é nítida a influência de dois referenciais globais muito determinantes para a emergência do britânico.

Por um lado, o da *Nova Saúde Pública*, que remonta à constituição da Organização Mundial de Saúde, em 1946 (WHO, 1946), prolongando-se, nomeadamente, pelo referido *Lalonde Report* (1974), pela Declaração de Alma-Ata (WHO, 1978), pela também referida estratégia da WHO (1981) e pela Carta de Otava (WHO, 1986). Inúmeras deliberações e relatórios governamentais, sob lideranças diversas, foram introduzindo, no Reino Unido, conceitos e abordagens da *Nova Saúde Pública* (ver DHSS, 1980; DoH, 1992; Wanless, 2002 e 2004).

Por outro lado, com os contributos, entre outros, de Kotler e Zaltman (1971), Andreasen (1995, 2006) ou Goldberg (1995), e da ação de instituições como a Health Canada Social Marketing Division, o Health Sponsorship Council, o Social Marketing Institute, de Washington, ou o National Center for Health Marketing, a expansão internacional do referencial global do marketing social criou diversas e decisivas influências no Reino Unido (ver Figura 3, p. 81).

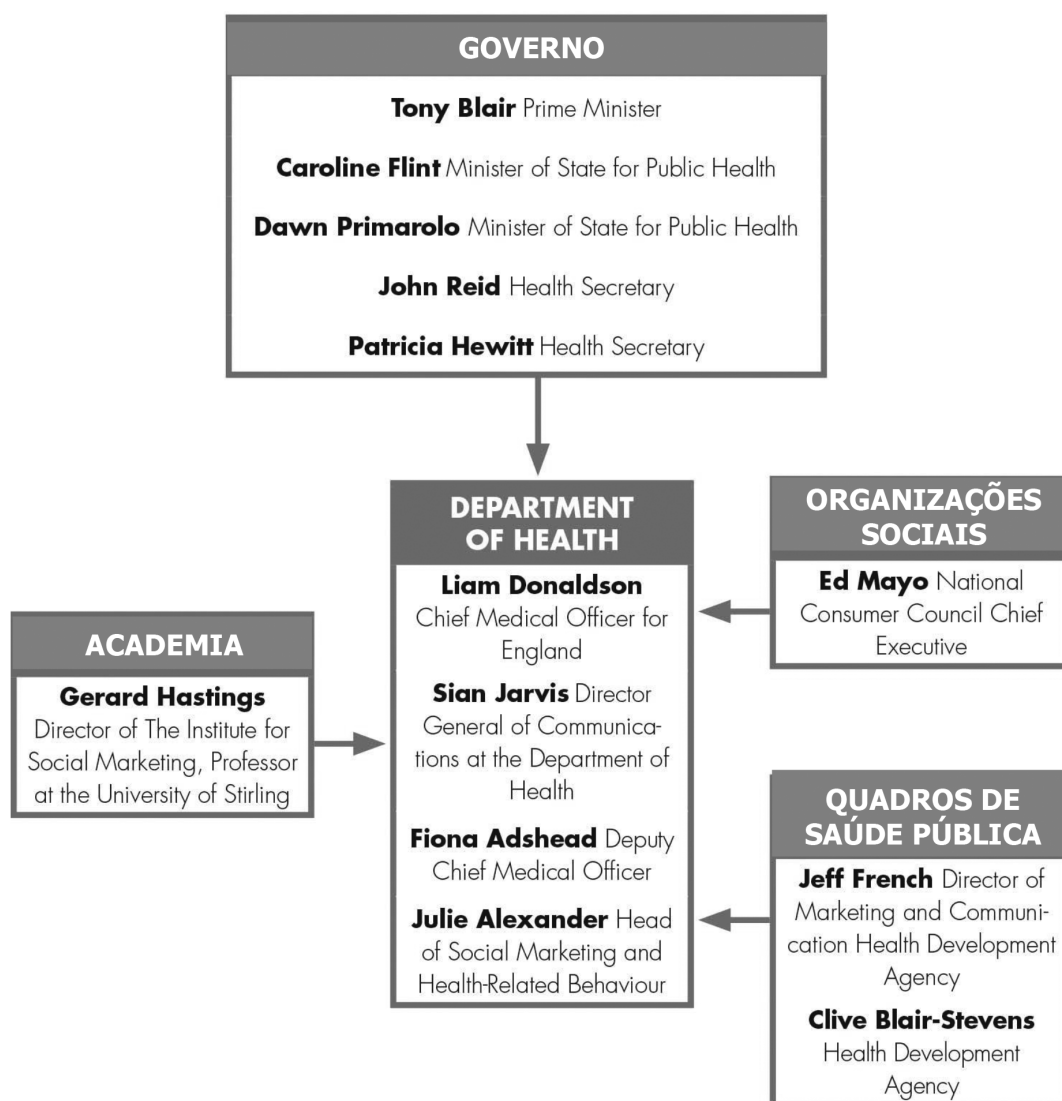
O que gerou um contexto com impacto tanto na academia (sobretudo com Gerard Hastings e o, por si criado, Institute for Social Marketing da University of Stirling, inicialmente, uma *joint venture* com a Open University), como no próprio Department of Health (DoH, com o muito importante papel de Fiona Adshead, influenciando os mais altos níveis da política da saúde, bem como o próprio primeiro-ministro), e no National Consumer Council, dirigido por Ed

Figura 2 **Representação da mediação inicial do referencial britânico de marketing social**

Mayo. Muito importante, também, a influência em alguns quadros envolvidos diretamente com a comunicação da saúde e com os seus impasses (Jeff French ou Clive Blair-Stevens), já que seriam estes os principais agentes executivos da estratégia.

O campo intelectual do referencial daria lugar a um campo de poder, passando, decididamente, com as deliberações de 2004, para uma dimensão normativa, através da criação de uma National Social Marketing Strategy Team (ver Figura 4, p. 83), do estudo *It's Our Health* (NSMC, 2006a) e do estabelecimento do NSMC (National Social Marketing Center), gerando inúmeros contributos normativos e processuais (NSMC, 2006b, 2006c; French e Blair-Stevens, 2007; NSMC e French, 2008; NSMC e Eagle, 2009; DoH, 2010a).

Figura 3 Principais mediadores iniciais do referencial de marketing social britânico



Fontes: DoH, 2004; NSMS, 2005; NSMC, 2006a; DoH, 2008

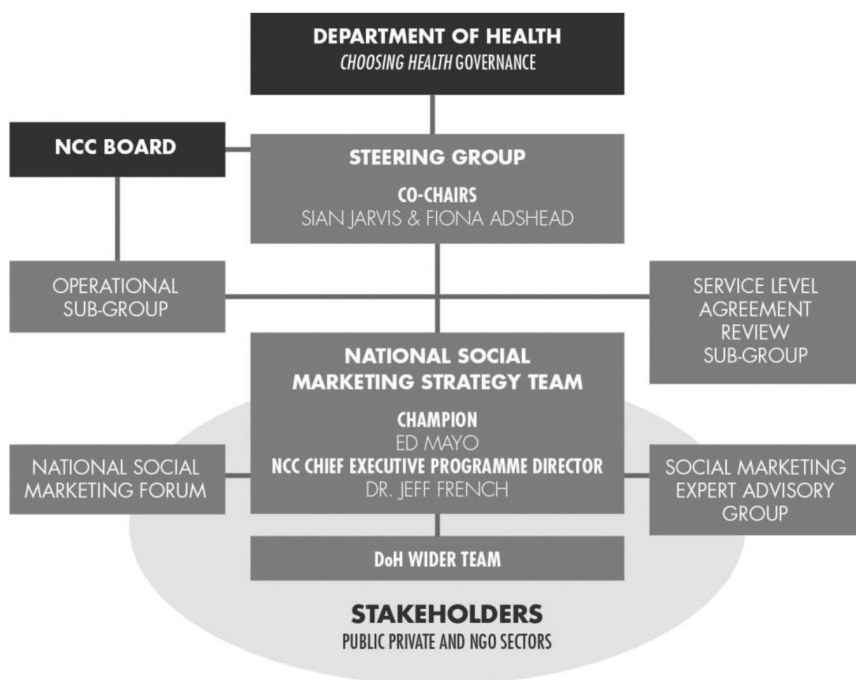
Entre eles a definição dos National Occupational Standards for Social Marketing (NSMC, 2009a), através de um vasto processo, só concluído em 2009, sob a condução do Marketing Sales and Standard Setting Body (MSSSB), instituição licenciada pelo Governo para definir padrões de qualificações profissionais.

Este trabalho normativo fundamentou uma extensa ação de formação e de articulação com entidades do DoH, a diversos níveis, criando condições para o surgimento e progressão de uma dimensão instrumental. Essa dimensão concretizou-se em vários Learning Demonstration Sites (NSMC, 2008a), num Beacon Partnership Project (NSMC, 2009c), com organizações sociais locais, para a promoção e o acompanhamento de boas práticas, na criação de estruturas regionais para a implementação da estratégia nacional, e no lançamento e disponibilização de um *Showcase online* (www.thensmc.com/-resources/showcase/browse), para conhecimento e divulgação de casos significativos.

Mobilizando milhares de intervenientes e gerando novos mediadores, a nível regional e local, o referencial foi incorporando grandes intervenções nacionais de melhoria de comportamentos, em áreas como a obesidade (*Change4Life*), a prevenção de consumo de droga (*FRANK*), a redução de consumo de álcool (*Know Your Limits*) ou o encorajamento de consumo de legumes e fruta (*5-a-Day*).

Mobilizando milhares de intervenientes e gerando novos mediadores, a nível regional e local no Reino Unido, o referencial foi incorporando grandes intervenções nacionais de melhoria de comportamentos, em áreas como obesidade (*Change4Life*), a prevenção de consumo de droga (*FRANK*), a redução de consumo de álcool (*Know Your Limits*) ou o encorajamento de consumo de legumes e fruta (*5-a-Day*).

Figura 4 Representação da governação da Estratégia Nacional de Marketing Social



A evolução e mutação do referencial

A crise global de 2008, intensamente sentida no Reino Unido, gerou uma significativa mudança de vários paradigmas, com fortes consequências nos diversos domínios das políticas públicas. A área de marketing social na saúde pública não seria alheia a esta profunda mudança, mas o que se verifica (ver Figura 5) é que ela permaneceu, embora apresentando uma inflexão no sentido de reforçar a sua eficácia e a demonstração dos seus resultados. Outro aspeto foi o do notório interesse por processos, como os da economia do comportamento, mais próximos dessa busca de eficácia.

Um aspeto saliente é que esta mutação se deu ainda no Governo trabalhista, liderado por Gordon Brown, não podendo, portanto, ser exclusivamente atribuível à mudança política governamental conservadora-liberal, que se operou em 2010, ainda que esta tenha acentuado aquelas vertentes, nomeadamente pela deliberação *Changing Behaviour, Improving Outcomes* (DoH, 2011). O NSMC foi, aliás, canalizado para elas, tendo desenvolvido um modelo de avaliação *Value for Money* (NSMC *et al.*, 2011a; NSMC *et al.*, 2011b).

Dado que o referencial foi ganhando diversos mediadores, muitos intervenientes e uma considerável inserção, a vários níveis do DoH, o NSMC deixou de ser a instituição central, estruturalmente ligada ao DoH, para passar a ser uma empresa social independente, uma *community interest company*, sem perder as suas capacidades de importante consultora especializada nesta área. Mais uma vez, não se tratou de «matar» a política nacional de marketing social, mas de a converter a conceitos de redução de estruturas centrais, aumentando *outsourcing* e descentralização.

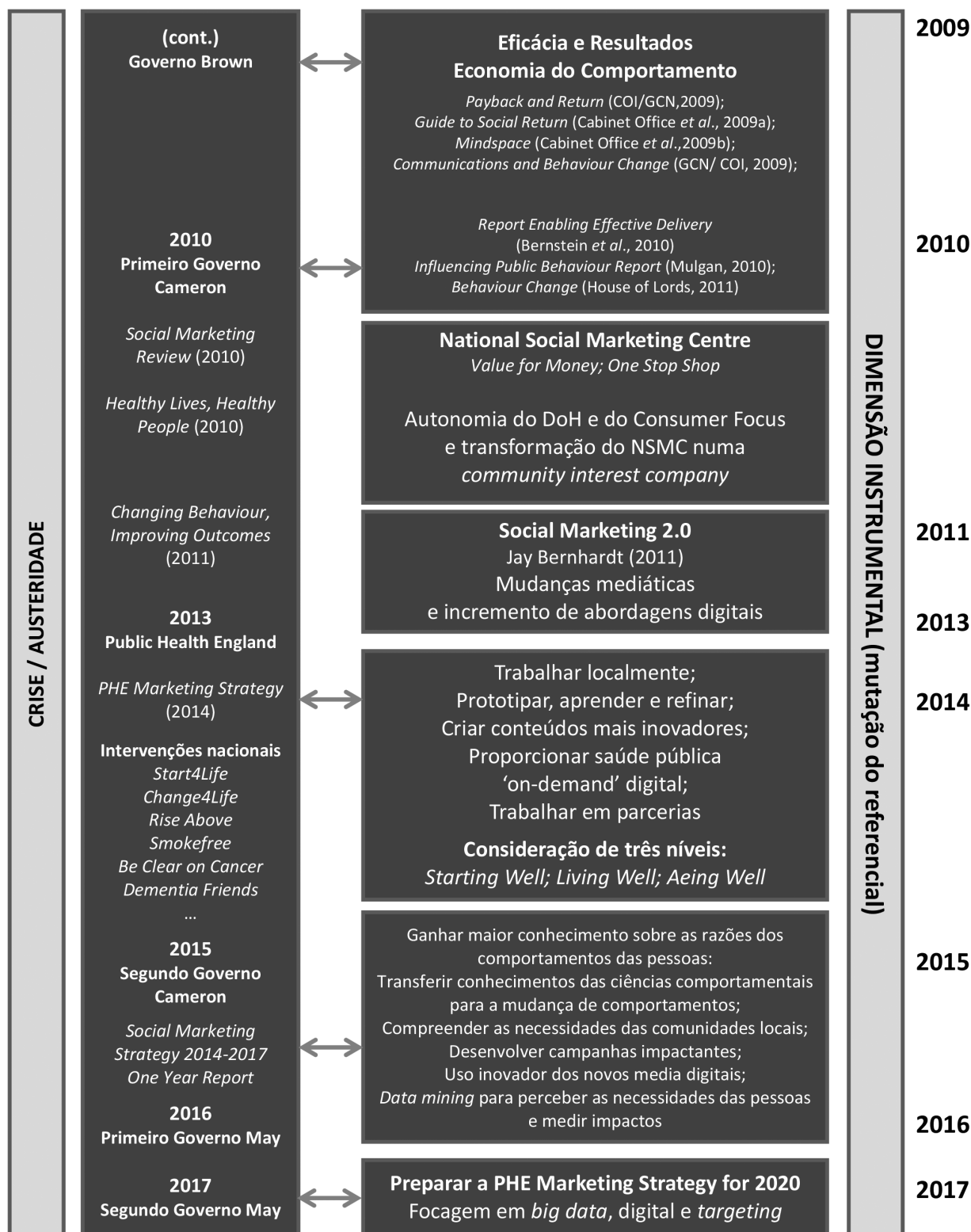
Entretanto, a mudança operada nos *media* e nas condições de acesso dos cidadãos teve grande reflexão e incidência nesta política. Por referência, nomeadamente, ao trabalho de Jay Bernhardt (2011), todas as posteriores deliberações e documentos normativos desta política foram acentuando aquelas três componentes do referencial: eficácia, crescente aperfeiçoamento de resultados e conexão digital (*media* sociais, saúde *on-demand*, *big data*...).

Na sequência de uma estratégia 2014-2017 (PHE, 2014), cuja primeira avaliação, em 2015, demonstrou resultados positivos (PHE, 2015), por parte da Public Health England (PHE), uma entidade do DoH, fundada em 2013, para «proteger, melhorar e reduzir desigualdades na saúde e no bem-estar», já se iniciou a preparação de uma estratégia de marketing 2020. Preparação que já incluiu, em maio de 2017, a criação de um novo Health Improvement Directorate, no âmbito da PHE, a realização em Londres, em junho, de um fórum «Enhancing the Use of Social Marketing to Improve Public Health», e a organização, em setembro, da PHE Annual Conference.

Num mundo e num Reino Unido em grande incerteza e convulsão, o que daqui resultar vai permitir, em articulação com as inevitáveis transformações contextuais e históricas, a determinação da evolução desta continuada política.

O National Social Marketing Center deixou de ser a instituição central, estruturalmente ligada ao Department of Health, para passar a ser uma empresa social independente, uma *community interest company*, sem perder as suas capacidades de importante consultora especializada nesta área.

Figura 5 Representação da evolução/mutação da mediação do referencial (2009 a 2017)



Conclusões

São bastantes e diversos os aspetos suscitados pela análise dos dados desta política nacional de marketing social britânica, nomeadamente:

- A decisiva influência de referenciais globais na emergência daquele referencial nacional;
- A existência de um grupo diversificado de mediadores, envolvendo decisores ao mais alto nível, responsáveis do DoH, académicos, instituições sociais autónomas e especialistas de marketing e comunicação;
- Uma adequada progressão e articulação das dimensões cognitiva, normativa e instrumental;
- A assídua presença de decisões baseadas em pesquisa (*It's Our Health* e os estudos de avaliação adiante referidos);
- A criação de organizações específicas (National Social Marketing Strategy Team, National Social Marketing Centre, Public Health England e vários grupos operacionais, a nível nacional e regional);
- O estabelecimento de adequadas formas de governação e de alocação de recursos, num vasto e continuado processo de cooperação institucional;
- A preocupação com o estabelecimento de normas e de padrões apropriados (DoH, 2004; NSMS, 2005; NSMC, 2006a; NSMC, 2006b; NSMC, 2006c; French e Blair-Stevens, 2007; DoH, 2008; NSMC e French, 2008; NSMC, 2009a; NSMC e Eagle, 2009; DoH, 2011; PHE, 2014);
- A promoção de aprendizagem e treino em grande escala, sobre marketing social e mudança de comportamentos, alargando significativamente o número de mediadores (NSMC, 2008a; NSMC, 2009b; NSMC, 2010a);
- A combinação entre os níveis nacional e local e a realização de *demonstration sites* (NSMC, 2008a; NSMC; NSMC, 2009b; NSMC, 2009c);
- A conceção e implementação de importantes intervenções de melhoria de comportamentos, com expressivos resultados (NSMC, 2008b; NSMC, 2010a; NSMC, 2010b; PHE 2015);
- A realização de inúmeras avaliações em diferentes momentos, a vários níveis e por diversas instituições, assegurando a evidência de resultados e de conhecimentos (Gordon *et al.*, 2006; Lister, 2007; NSMC, 2008b; NSMC, 2009d; PHAST, 2009; NSMC, 2010a; NSMC, 2010b; DoH, 2010b; Helmig e Thaler, 2010; NSMC *et al.*, 2011a; NSMC, *et al.* 2011b; PHE, 2015).

Tendo, no decurso da sua evolução, enfrentado uma profunda crise global e significativas mudanças políticas no seu país, esta política nacional de marketing social britânica mostrou a sua capacidade de adaptação e persistência.

De facto, são significativas as mudanças operadas após 2008, incorporando, no âmbito do referencial, novas abordagens, centradas, nomeadamente, na rentabilidade e na eficácia e nos resultados, bem como na adoção de novas tecnologias e processos.

Essas mudanças assegurariam a *sedimentação* do referencial, através de go-

Numa década, o Estado britânico, em ação, usando as palavras de Jobert e Muller, gerou algo de muita importância para a saúde pública de toda uma sociedade – um campo que preserva o seu dinamismo e a capacidade de questionar conceitos e processos, buscando novas direções e soluções.

vernos com distintos contextos, políticas e estratégias. Finalmente, o que foi, até 2008, uma *política de antecipação*, passou a ser, a partir daí, uma *política de adaptação* (Jobert e Muller, 1987).

Esta política nacional de marketing social criou, sem dúvida, a partir do zero, um campo muito significativo, com imensos mediadores e especialistas, e está, ainda hoje, viva e produtiva (PHE, 2014, 2015). Nada é como foi. Numa década, o Estado britânico, *em ação*, usando as palavras de Jobert e Muller (1987), gerou algo de muita importância para a saúde pública de toda uma sociedade – um campo que preserva o seu dinamismo e a capacidade de questionar conceitos e processos, buscando novas direções e soluções.

De acordo com Yin (2003;1984) ou Eisenhardt (1989), é admissível generalizar, analiticamente, os resultados de um estudo de caso para um modelo teórico.

Com base no caso britânico, a Figura 6 procura representar o que poderá ser um modelo cognitivo para uma política nacional de marketing social, incluindo:

- A relação entre um referencial global e um referencial nacional;
- O possível papel de um referencial incubador;
- Mediadores, sejam indivíduos ou instituições;
- Processos políticos que envolvam dimensões cognitivas, normativas e instrumentais;
- O estabelecimento de normas e padrões apropriados;
- Atividades de formação, treino e extensão de mediadores;
- Adjudicação de recursos e processos adequados;
- Implementação de intervenções;
- A sua avaliação e possível reformulação;
- Uma adequada gestão da evolução do referencial.

O fundamento político, que este modelo envolve, segundo esta abordagem, supõe uma boa governação (a *democratic governance* de Pasquier e Villeneuve, 2012, nomeadamente), sujeita a controlo pelos cidadãos e suas instituições, baseada em processos empíricos e em abordagens pragmáticas – em suma, um modelo apenas, eticamente, pertinente no quadro político da democracia e da liberdade dos cidadãos. O marketing social não pode ter fundamento ético fora destes parâmetros, abrindo portas para poder ser usado como coação ilegítima sobre cidadãos.

Com o adequado conhecimento e com um correto *transfer* político, este modelo para uma política nacional de marketing social pode constituir um contributo útil para outras situações e para outros países, um guia para os seus propósitos e respostas específicas. Não será, como o não foi o britânico, um caminho fácil, mas é, seguramente, uma rota que as sociedades democráticas podem explorar e prosseguir.

Agradecimentos

Desenvolvido ininterruptamente desde 2004, o estudo que está na base deste artigo teve apoios da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, da FCT e da Fundação

O marketing social não pode ter fundamento ético fora de parâmetros democráticos, abrindo portas para poder ser usado como coação ilegítima sobre cidadãos.

Figura 6 **Modelo para uma política nacional de marketing social**

CEBI. Agradeço a estas instituições, bem como a Jeff French e a todos os colaboradores do National Social Marketing Centre, bem como a Fiona Adshead, Julie Alexander, Mehboob Umarji, Bruno Jobert, Pierre Muller e Vivien A. Schmidt. Todos eles proporcionaram informação, conhecimento e apoio, que muito fundamentaram este trabalho, durante todos estes anos.

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