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Social marketing's consumer myopia: Applying a behavioural ecological model to address wicked problems¹

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Abstract

Purpose - Addressing calls for broadening social marketing thinking beyond 'individualistic' parameters, this paper describes a behavioural ecological systems (BEM) approach to enhance understanding of social markets.

Design/methodology/approach - A conceptual framework - the Behavioural Ecological Model (BEM) - is presented and discussed within a context of alcohol social change.

Findings – The BEM emphasises the relational nature of behaviour change where individuals are embedded in an ecological system that involves performances of behaviour, and social change, within a historical, social, cultural, physical and environmental setting. Layers of influence on actors are characterised as macro (distant, large in scale), exo (external, remote from individuals), meso (between the individual and environments) and micro (the individual within their social setting). The BEM can be applied to guide social marketers towards creating solutions that focus on collaboration amongst market actors, and *with* rather than *for* consumers.

Practical implications – The BEM contributes to a broader holistic view of social ecologies and behaviour change; emphasises the need for social marketers to embrace systems thinking; and recognises that relationships between actors at multiple layers in social change markets are interactive, collaborative and embedded in dynamic social contexts. Importantly, a behavioural ecological systems approach enables social marketers to develop coherent, integrated and multi-dimensional social change programs.

Originality/value - The underlying premise of the BEM brings forward relational logic as the foundation for future social marketing theory and practice. Taking this approach to social market change focuses strategy on the intangible aspects of social offerings, inclusive of the interactions and processes of value creation (and/or destruction) within a social marketing system to facilitate collaboration and interactions across a network of actors so as to overcome barriers and identify solutions to social problems.

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Keywords - Behavioural ecological systems (BEM); Relational logic; Meso-marketing approach; Consumer myopia

Paper type – Conceptual

Introduction

Growth in social marketing's acceptance and implementation for managing health behaviours and social problems is attributed to the application of mainstream marketing principles such as customer orientation (Peattie and Peattie, 2003) and the 4Ps framework which provides a simple, accessible and useful framework for practitioners. Many successfully implemented health-focused interventions take an individualistic view; defining the problem consumer through a behavioural lens informed by 'mental models' that explain choice, judgement and decision-making (Brennan and Parker, 2014; Wymer, 2011). In addressing the limitations of this thinking, others in the social marketing academy argue an over emphasis on the cognitive, rational consumer leads social marketers to inevitably adopt persuasive tactics as the primary social change solution to influence consumer attitudes and individual decision-making (Spotswood and Tapp, 2013).

In expanding social marketing scholarship beyond individually-focused social change approaches, this paper argues for a meso-marketing approach (Arndt, 1982) to social change which aims to synthesise, rather than separate, the micro and macro influences in social change markets. A meso-marketing approach focuses on research and marketing processes that simultaneously study at least two layers of the social change market, and aims to synthesise micro and macro processes to effect change (House *et al.*, 1995). To illustrate a meso-marketing approach in social change management, discussion in this paper argues for social marketers to embrace a wider purview of social markets – beyond the pervasive, downstream strategy approaches applied to targeting individuals for change. We conceive social markets as constituted through the evolution of marketplace interactions between targeted citizens, communities, civic and commercial institutions engaged in social change strategies (e.g., marketing strategies, advocacy, partnerships) directed at achieving societal change and social value creation (French and Russell-Bennett, 2015; Pang and Kubacki,

2015). Our interests align with others in social marketing who have called for 'wider and deeper' approaches to social marketing that move beyond the individual to effect social change (*see* Andreasen, 2006; Wymer, 2011; 2015). Our contribution to progressing social marketing thinking is to outline an approach that dismantles the 'micro – macro' binary thinking that is emerging in social marketing - see for example calls for 'more' upstream social marketing by Hoek and Jones (2011) and Gordon (2013) – and put forward a meso-marketing approach based on understanding the behavioural ecological system that influences an individual's motivations and ability to engage in behaviour change.

The approach to social change outlined in the following discussion will guide social marketers towards systems thinking, and market place solutions that focus on collaboration amongst market actors and *with*—rather than *for*—consumers (Karpen, *et al.*, 2012). To situate this thinking, the paper is organised as follows: First, we briefly summarise key aspects of the literature to reveal the academy's thinking on the 'micro-macro' binary in social marketing to set a context from which we point out that systems foreground the relationality of interactions between multiple actors (Hastings, 2003; Lusch, Vargo and O'Brien, 2007) in social markets. Second, we argue social marketing's pervasive focus on individual behaviour change has led to consumer myopia, which limits opportunities for finding wider societal change solutions. Engaging a solutions-focused approach, next the paper explains behavioural ecological systems thinking and illustrates its application through a case study of alcohol sales and consumption. Following the case study, we renew the argument for bringing forward relational logic as the foundation for future social marketing theory and practice. The value of a relational logic perspective is its capability to focus social change strategy and planning on the intangible aspects of social offerings, inclusive of the interactions and processes of value creation (and/or destruction) within a broader social marketing system. Critically, a relational perspective facilitates collaboration and relations

across a network of actors so as to overcome barriers and identify solutions to social problems (Luca, Hibbert and McDonald, 2015).

Advancing social marketing scholarship and applied practice

Critiques of downstream social marketing strategy are growing as scholars start to challenge the singular acceptance of narrowly focused studies of individual behaviour and habit, cognitive decision-making and emotions as the behaviour change evidence-base in social change strategies (e.g., Collins *et al.*, 2010; Spotswood and Tapp, 2013). Some time ago Goldberg (1995) raised similar concerns when he questioned social marketing's micro-experimental focus on individual health-related behaviours, and instead argued for an "upstream" *and* "downstream" focus. He went on to argue that successful social marketing takes into account *both* upstream and downstream perspectives, because strategies involving representatives from both stakeholder groups are likely to be complementary and interactive in achieving social change objectives (Andresean, 2006). More recently Hoek and Jones (2011, p.41), when advocating for 'population-based approaches from public health to develop upstream measures that maximise the likely effectiveness of downstream initiatives', revived this argument when they called for 'rapprochement between upstream and downstream social marketers'. In continuing this discussion about social marketing's social change focus, a further 'stream' of social marketing – midstream efforts – has been added to the social marketing nomenclature to highlight the influential role of 'others' (e.g., community groups, organisations, family members and friends) (Russell-Bennett, *et al.*, 2013).

[Insert Figure 1: The evolution in social marketing thinking here]

Suffusing these ‘streams’ of behaviour change management is the ‘customer orientation’ focus informing the exploration, monitoring and evaluation of *individual* behaviour changes. There is no doubt that understanding human behaviour is fundamental to good social marketing theory and practice. However, we argue social marketers have learnt the lessons of managerial marketing and its customer orientation (i.e., individual problem behaviours that need changing) so well that they have fallen prey to a ‘new marketing myopia’. In extending Smith *et al.*'s, (2010) explanation of the ‘new marketing myopia’ to social marketing scholarship we argue social marketers are failing to see the broader societal and cultural contexts of health and government decision making, which impacts how, when and who participates in social marketing programs and the wider social change agenda.

The impact of customer myopia

Smith *et al.*, (2010) in explaining the rise of the new marketing myopia discuss three phenomena. In the following discussion we outline their identified phenomena for the purpose of social marketing’s social change agenda. First, Smith *et al.*, argue marketers have a ‘single-minded focus on the consumer to the exclusion of other stakeholders’. Understanding a consumer’s behaviour is central to social marketing thinking and practice, because as Andreasen (2002) points out, behaviour change is ultimately in the hands of the target audience - laws can be passed, environments altered, and communication campaigns established; yet, if individuals choose *not* to act, social change will *not* happen. In drawing on Smith *et al.*, we suggest social marketers view target audiences too narrowly as problem consumers – a commercial actor seeking to satisfy immediate, material and hedonistic needs through consumption of sinful products (e.g., alcohol, food, gambling, etc.). The social marketing consumer is rarely viewed as a citizen, parent, employee or community member (Smith *et al.*, 2010). Social marketers need to broaden their view of consumption and culture

to take into consideration a wider set of stakeholders who are and could be involved in a social change strategy. For example, young adults (18-24 years) are the frequent targets of anti-drinking campaigns to the extent that they may become resistant to the frequent messages about their own risky behaviours. Furthermore, the narrow focus on youth segments potentially leads other members of society to believe that they are not at-risk despite research evidence suggesting alcohol misuse is evident amongst young urban professionals and older consumers (AIHW, 2014).

Secondly, an overly narrow definition of the customer and customer needs (Smith *et al.*, 2010) limits the approach to social marketing programs and research. Whilst social marketers use a range of ‘mental models’ to guide their understanding of how to ‘manage consumers’, the majority of these models are founded on theories of ‘individual’ attitude formation and change, than on principles from behavioural science (French, 2011), or sensitivity to a cultural approach (Murphy and Patterson, 2011). As Geller (2002, p. 16) notes ‘social marketers are more likely to address human attitudes or perceptions first in an attempt to “think people into acting differently” than they are to focus on behaviour change to “act people into thinking differently”’. More recently, Wymer (2011) put forward the ‘causal factor model’ to argue that social marketers need to be open to holistic approaches that include individual (e.g., motivation) and environmental (e.g., pathogenic agents) categories when planning the social marketing strategy array. The narrow conceptualisation of the social marketing consumer also confines how social marketers analyse social problems, which creates ethical challenges and impacts how solutions are designed to effect societal change. Brenkert (2002) points out that consumer behaviour logic may replace moral justification. For example, the Strong4Life campaign, which is an initiative of Children’s Healthcare of Atlanta ran with the message “Mom, Why am I fat” in a mass media campaign targeting childhood obesity. The guilt-infused message targeted at parents uses fat-shaming to motivate

overweight people into action. However, does this controversial approach (and other similar campaigns using fear, threat and shaming) mobilise people to make positive lifestyle change? Furthermore, what is the moral justification for the harm and offence such mass media advertising has in the marketplace? A singular focus on consumer behaviour theory, or medical science facts about the threats of being overweight, drives this logic rather than a moral justification. Additionally, the social problem (e.g., obesity) and market segmentation (children over a certain BMI) overlooks the background and structural elements that *also* influence the social problem being attacked (Brenkert, 2002).

The third phenomena identified by Smith *et al.*, (2010, p. 4) is the ‘failure to recognise the changing societal context of the marketplace that requires addressing multiple stakeholders’. Whilst ‘consumer behaviour is the bottom line’ (Andreasen, 2002) in social marketing, some in the social marketing community suggest there is a need to reflect upon whose behaviour social marketers should be trying to change (Hastings *et al.*, 2000). They suggest many social marketing programs overlook the determinants of human behaviour which are controlled by the institutions that form the social system within which individuals operate (Domegan *et al.*, 2014; Goldberg, 1995). As such, social marketing that takes a very narrow view of its domain, dealing only with the individual, is incapable of engaging with other actors and elements in the marketplace where decisions impacting health and social wellbeing are made. This inability to view the social issue through a broader lens stems from the assumption that ‘overall health status evolves from gaining greater control over individual health behaviours’ (Wallack, *et al.*, 1993). The avoidance of proactive engagement with other stakeholders has led some scholars to accuse social marketing of ‘victim blaming’ — criticizing people who are identified with ‘wicked problems’ and excluding other actors from being involved in finding solutions that may improve societal outcomes in the long-term. The network of actors that must be engaged in order to address more complex social issues have diverse and often

contradictory perspectives. Placing these different perspectives on the social change agenda takes courage and a willingness to engage in dissensus in order to open up the possibility of consensus (Stratman, 2012). While this is known at a theoretical level, on a practical level, social change organizations do not often have the skills, tools and methods to surface the tacit issues underlying social change and use this knowledge explicitly, especially in disruptive change situations. For example, environmental sustainability is a complex social issue where all actors will be disrupted in some way by any enacted solution (Domegan, *et al.*, 2014). Therefore, in order to harness the value of dissensus, not only time, but sufficient space, must be given to the actors in the dissensus process. In fact, for social change to occur and for society to get it right, individual actors must be given permission to get it wrong and to contribute their reasoning to the change process. This will require social marketers to move beyond current exclusionary practices and to create environments whereby conflicts can be safely surfaced and shared priorities determined.

Currently, social marketing scholars have taken too narrow a view on the downstream strategy (Wymer, 2011, 2012; Dibbs and Carrigan, 2013). This is not to say that there isn't a critical role for 'consumer-centric marketing' in social change, however, we suggest that to achieve individual *and* societal change social marketing programs must create strategic partnerships and social alliances with *other publics* (e.g., media, commercial sector distributors, health clinics, volunteers, funding organizations) if social marketers are going to participate in longer-term sustainable change. In moving this agenda forward, we are not arguing for a more rigorous application of conventional marketing principles; rather we argue, as Peattie and Peattie (2003) has done in the past, that social marketing needs a more thoughtful and selective application that emphasizes the differences between commercial and social marketing. In arguing for this progression in social marketing theory and practice we are conscious that social marketing practices are being critiqued by scholars from within

social marketing for inadvertent marketing effects and passively following government-defined agendas (e.g., Gurrieri *et al.*, 2013), and by scholars from public policy who have questioned whether social marketing poses a threat to the democratic process, and capability of consumer-citizens (Pykett *et al.*, 2014). In considering such critiques and carrying forward Peattie and Peattie's (2003) concerns, we turn to systems thinking as the lens to support and extend our discussion of social change.

Systems thinking and behavioural ecological systems

While a number of marketing academics have used the term 'marketing system' in recent years (Layton, 2011; 2014; 2015; Luca, Hibbert and McDonald, 2015; Vargo, 2011), the term 'systems thinking' and its application, despite being evidenced in marketing as far back as 1984 (Dixon and Wilkinson, 1984), is still elusive in social marketing scholarship. Dixon and Wilkinson based their 'systems thinking' work on management scientists such as Selznick (1948). Fisk (1967) interpreted this work into the marketing domain and later authors such as Bagozzi (1975) added concepts such as exchange. Integral to both marketing and management conceptualizations is the notion of actors engaging with each other in a network of acts, interactions and connections within the system. Each interactant comes to the system with their own systemic background and while individual's systems may or may not overlap, the interactions within the system will be influenced by their respective backgrounds. Hence, systems are not 'closed', and external influences will affect the system (Lindridge *et al.*, 2015; Schoon and Van der Leeuw, 2015). Thus, the systems perspective taken-up in the following discussion moves beyond Wymer's holistic - but categorical model of individual and environmental categories - by explicating an ecological system of connections between and amongst actors. In fact, we argue that Wymer's hierarchical model imposes a heavy set of social pressures on the consumer (e.g., lack of consumer access to critical health resources

because of privatisation barriers, or an extensive list of pathogenic agents that cause unhealthy conditions). Addressing this deficit we advocate for rapprochement to focus on effecting social changes through collaborative planning *with*, rather than *for* the consumer in social markets.

We take the position that individual behaviours are embedded in an ecological system where human beings perform their behaviours within a historical, social, cultural, physical and environmental setting. Behavioural ecologies are developed on the same principles as biological or environmental systems; whereby everything is interrelated and nothing operates without affecting something else within the system. Exploring the interdependent nature of ecological systems is relatively new and only recently (in scientific terms) has systems theory begun to be applied to social concerns. Social systems are complex and consist of people, places, spaces and time periods that are dynamically structured (Holling, 2001). How people participate in these social ecologies is contingent on the interplay between the actors, their actions, interactions and reactions, and therefore there is a coevolution (co-creation) of outcomes. Our systems view is different to that of Wymer (2011; 2015) and Layton and colleagues, (*see Domegan et al.*, 2013; 2014) in as much as they propose a series of causal relationships between entities that can be treated as separate artefacts of cause and effect. For example, Wymer (2011; 2015) suggests that industry is a pathogen thereby positioning industry as causing disease and suffering. However, this typing ignores the fact that people make and use alcohol without the help of industries throughout the world. Further, we choose not to use the word ‘causation’ in the vein of Layton and colleagues because the word implies that the issue may be addressed ‘if only’ *the* single root cause can be found. We argue that there are multiple root causes that are embedded throughout the system and that there are consequences, both intended and unintended, in every intervention and action that occurs in the system. In particular, Layton’s 2015 article is based on understanding the economic

relationships between sub-components of a marketing system (e.g. horizontal, vertical, facilitating marketing systems, etc.). In social marketing, the sub-components of the system may have no economic reason for engaging with each other, but are engaging with the system regardless of other components' motivations, actions or prevailing structures or mechanisms. It is for this reason we use the term social ecology and choose a biological metaphor to describe the system. Layton also suggests that a social marketing focal system is responsive only to community concerns, which leaves out a broader range of potential participants in solving wider, societal problems.

Embedded within a social ecology are a variety of proximal and distal influences on the human within their social setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Proximal influences are those closest to the individual, such as family and friends. Distal influences are those most distant from the individual such as government and the wider society. When it comes to influences, Bronfenbrenner conceptualised these interrelationships as a series of concentric circles with the individual at the centre of the circle (this thinking influences our social system conceptualization – see Figure 2). The range of influence on the individuals is characterized as macro (distant and large in scale), exo (external and remote from the individual), meso (between the individual and the environment) and micro (the individual within their intimate social setting). In extending Bronfenbrenner's thinking, Hovell *et al.*, (2002) put forward the behavioural ecological model (BEM) suggesting that people's behaviours can be seen as a series of influences in a social system where the individual is at the 'pointy' end of a chain of influences, ranging from societal layer (macro-system), through community and local layers (meso-systems) and to the individual in their micro-system. The interplay between these influences directs the outcomes that an individual, an organisation or a society can produce (Trenchard-Mabere, 2016).

The first step in applying a behavioural ecological approach is to understand the motivations and behaviours of people within their social system. In demonstrating its application and utility to social marketing thinking the following discussion examines the case of alcohol sales and consumption, and how actors within the system influence the acceptance (or not) of social change solutions. Our rationale for examining alcohol consumption is two-fold. Firstly, it is a widely researched context in social marketing pervasively studied from a misuse and abuse perspective, which socially constructs alcohol consumption as a ‘wicked problem’. However, to achieve change social marketers need to broaden engagement beyond viewing the individual as a ‘problem’ or as a deviant consumer towards considering the broader social, cultural and group influences that can be leveraged to promote controlled or moderate alcohol consumption (Previte, *et al.*, 2015).

Secondly, an ecological approach includes all relevant actors, including industry. Industry participation as part of the solution to addressing alcohol misuse and abuse is considered by some in social marketing to be controversial, or out-rightly harmful (Jones *et al.*, 2015). Donovan (2011) in addressing ‘mythunderstandings’ about social marketing notes, for example, that companies selling beer are singularly interested in maintaining the consumption of their products. In criticizing the US Road Crew program (Rothschild, 2006), Donovan notes the interests of industry are focused not on the wellbeing of consumers, but rather on reducing concern for ill-health effects about alcohol and trivializing excessive consumption. However, in examining the behavioural ecology and the various actors who influence alcohol consumption in Western developed countries such as Australia we argue that industry cannot be left out of considerations as they hold significant resources (skills, knowledge, relationships, financial and social capital) that can be leveraged in social marketing programs to effect positive social change in managing and creating a safer drinking culture. Some communities and scholars argue the over availability of alcohol, alongside creative

advertising and promotion, as increasingly problematic for community wellbeing. In taking up this positioning, these challengers narrowly position the alcohol industry as part of a social *problem* to be addressed, and as an *opponent* of social change (Wallack, 1993; Wymer, 2011). This added complexity further demonstrates the value of exploring the alcohol industry in this case study through a social systems purview.

Case approach: The behavioural ecosystem for alcohol use

The ecosystem in which behaviour occurs is complex and dynamic. However, specific elements of the ecosystem can be charted if enough researcher time is invested in identifying elements, actors, interactions and outcomes, and how the sub-elements of a particular part of a system may work. Identifying how the elements work interdependently and mediate each other is where the complexity begins. When it comes to alcohol consumption, research evidence for medical science and public policy explicates the factors that lead to abuse and use; these have been well researched in a number of disciplinary domains ranging from social marketing (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2013) and health promotion (van Beurden *et al.*, 2005) to addiction studies (Parry *et al.*, 2011) and sociology (Lunnay *et al.*, 2011) amongst others, although often independently and in isolation of each other. In an attempt to begin the process of representing these intervolved elements we undertook to identify those elements where research has demonstrated an effect on alcohol consumption. The outcome of this initial charting process is illustrated in Figure 2 - entitled the *Behavioural Ecological Model for Alcohol Consumption*. The figure shows four interacting and overlapping systems as suggested by Bronfenbrenner. The macro>exo>meso> micro systems comprise numerous sub-systems represented as white boxes, with the box label representing the corpus of research contributing to the field. These will be further explained in the following section.

[Insert Figure 2 here]

In Figure 2, behaviours are listed as outcomes of the system and are separated from the individual for the purposes of semantic clarity. This also separates the person from the act. The macro-system and concomitant distal factors are on the left. Exo-system factors are included as they are pertinent to alcohol consumption, especially in the Australian political and socio-cultural context (*see* Jones and Magee, 2014; van Beurden *et al.*, 2005). Meso-system elements refer to the social influences on the individual's behaviours (e.g. Hackley *et al.*, 2015; Previte *et al.*, 2015). The word meso implies between and therefore the meso system comprises facilitators and connections that go between systems (including sub-systems) and between actors (Liljenstrom and Svedin, 2005). The subsystem elements existing *between* the exo-system and the meso-system are factors that influence both the individual and the entities in the entire system. For example, the opportunity to purchase alcohol is affected by policy, marketing systems, etc., and in turn affects the meso- and micro-layer elements.

While the ecosystem diagram is ideally 'read' from left to right, there is no intention to convey the system as consisting of hierarchical elements and sub-systems. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, we do not see a series of cause-and-effect relationships where there are root causes and predictable outcomes. Nor are the relationships identified dyadic in nature; there may be networks of multiple actors and varied interactions between relational entities within the system. Indeed we conceive system influences are multi-directional, or at least bi-directional, as suggested by Hovell *et al.*, (2002). The ecology in which alcohol consumption occurs is multi-dimensional and the individual using alcohol is only one component of a complex system of artefacts and effects engaging individuals, organisations and societies. Working from left to right through the system the following discussion elaborates on the sub-

system elements. We start with the macro-system elements that can guide or inhibit later elements. These are epiphenomenal in as much as they overlay the subsystems and subsume all elements. This enables structural factors to be considered first as barriers and facilitators of social marketing (Kennedy, 2015). Figure 2 is a visual description of a complex system; therefore our depiction is necessarily limited for the purposes of beginning to identify the elements of the system that may affect and be affected by actors in the network of relationships, and importantly identifying those who need to be engaged in any resolution of alcohol concerns.

Macro-system elements

Macro system elements are those elements occurring at the outer layers of the system. They affect all of the elements occurring inside the system through the bi-directional influences as described by Hovell *et al.*, (2002). The greatest level of influence is with the exo-system as the systems are most proximal to each other. The elements we identify as belonging to this layer are: public policy, legal and regulatory frameworks and societal systems. Researchers identify that alcohol consumption can be constrained or encouraged depending on how *public policy* is crafted and enacted (e.g. Jackson *et al.*, 2000). Public policy can be economic policy (e.g. taxing alcohol), supply policy (e.g. controlling retailing and availability of alcohol), marketing policy (e.g. controlling price or promotion of alcohol products), and funding policy (e.g. providing dollars for research into alcohol).

Following on from public policy decision making are the *legal, regulatory and enforcement* infrastructure and frameworks. These frameworks facilitate public policy into human activities such as making laws, regulations and guidelines and creating enforcement strategies to ensure policy decisions are enacted and made visible to actors in the system. This requires a governance infrastructure inclusive of law making and enforcement capacity

and capability, as well as capacity to engage with actors in the system to ensure they are informed of any edicts (Snitow and Brennan, 2011). The governance infrastructure comprises tangible aspects of public policy enactment.

Less tangible but not less forceful are the *societal systems* influencing actors in the system. For example, social mores, rituals, ideologies, societal level norms and moral frameworks. These do not have the force of law but are just as powerful when it comes to defining human compliance with social forces (Porrovecchio, 2015).

Exo-system elements

The exo-system consists of those elements (e.g. frameworks, activities, relationships, entities) within the system where the individual does not actively participate but where they are affected by or can affect the other elements of the system. Exo-system elements are distinct from macro and meso layer processes, yet comprise the linkages and processes between two or more other elements. For example, public policy (macro-system) drives the legal and regulatory environment (exo-system) from which society derives injunctive norms (meso-system) and from which the individual derives their beliefs about behaviour (micro-system). Elements within the exo-system are: governance (alcohol issue related – policy and legal framework), institutions and organizations (both promoting and countering alcohol consumption), marketing systems and mass media.

The Australian alcohol consumption environment is different to other settings (Gordon, Hastings and Moodie, 2010); as a consequence, the literature is difficult to apply wholesale from other contexts. However, under governance structures two main categories are identified. These are *policies and practices* that specifically relate to alcohol and the management of alcohol consumption and, in addition the *legal framework surrounding alcohol issues*. These factors are different to public policy (identified as a macro-system

entity) because they are specific to the issue of alcohol and relate to actions. For example, hours of sale for alcohol are different from general trading hours, responsible service of alcohol, drink-driving laws and limits, and other alcohol-related legal frameworks such as legal drinking age, and regulations about retail locations and availability all nest inside the broader public policy framework. In this view public policy sets the agenda for action on alcohol consumption and the exo-system defines the specific activities undertaken to manage the issue (of alcohol). Governance structures surrounding alcohol specific issues provide the laws and regulations, define enforcement strategies and provide the resources required to fulfil the public policy directives. A public policy without a governance structure is merely words (Kettl, 2015).

Another element of the exo-system includes entities such as *organisations and institutions* that participate in fashioning the environment in which alcohol consumption occurs.

Organisations can be categorized in two principle ways: as enablers (e.g. sporting clubs), or restrictors (e.g. Alcoholics Anonymous). Government also plays a role at the exo-system layer along with police and other governance authorities such as local councils, which are categorized as *institutions* in Figure 2.

Marketing systems comprise those elements that facilitate the use and abuse of alcohol, usually by commercial practices. For example, stimulating demand via pricing, promoting or advertising, distributing and supplying, designing new products such as alcopops and developing new brands, and so on through the myriad of activities undertaken in order to maintain or make profits. The final category is *mass media* and the role they play in society and in fostering attitudes, norms and moral frameworks.

Between Exo- and Meso-systems

Included in the charting process is a cluster of research that falls between the exo-and meso-systems. These are sub-systems such as opportunities to obtain, consume or engage with alcohol, as well as theoretical constructs such as social contracts and time bound events occurring within the chrono-system. *Opportunities* to obtain comprises access and availability, substitutes, point of purchase promotions and locations in which alcohol can be sourced or engaged with (e.g. the home; a pub). *Social contract* system elements are placed here because they are the societal level norms, values and the relationship between these elements and social integration (Lunnay *et al.*, 2011). The *chrono-system* comprises timing and events over the course of time and influences meso and micro systems (Lloyd *et al.*, 2012).

Meso-system elements

The meso-system comes between the exo-system and the micro-system (the individual). It is at this point in the system that the individual becomes an active participant in the actions and interactions encompassing the alcohol consumption eco-system. Social systems impacting the individual come in two main types. Firstly there are *meso social systems* consisting of people and groups of people such as workplaces, schools and colleges, social places and communities. The second group is the more intimate social setting of the family, friends and neighbours: the *micro social system*. It is from these groups of people that *conventions* about alcohol consumption are acquired and subsequently performed in daily lives (Lunnay, *et al.*, 2011). Also included in the meso-system are the subsystems that expedite or control engagement with alcohol, such as *service systems* (e.g. availability of alcohol via public – pubs and clubs - or private – within the home – suppliers) and efforts to control alcohol such as police enforcement and education. We have termed these ‘behavioural infrastructure’ as they provide the (competing) frameworks in which an individual's behaviour takes place.

Demographics, in this conceptual representation, are placed within the meso-system because the research into the relationship between demographics and alcohol has principally discussed the influence of socio-economic status on consumption behaviours (Jackson *et al.*, 2014; Ringel *et al.*, 2006).

Micro-system elements

The micro-system is the space where most research efforts have been invested. The model identifies key factors shown to effect engagement with alcohol, ranging from pre-existing *biological factors, predispositions, attitudes* (Thomson *et al.*, 2012; Lloyd *et al.*, 2012) and *personal factors and beliefs* (Fry, 2011) and the adaptive *roles* (Rimal and Real, 2005) people play within their micro and meso systems, to their *responses to marketing forces* (Pettigrew *et al.*, 2013). This latter category links back to the ‘Marketing Systems’ subsystem identified earlier under exo-system elements. Depicted as coming between the meso and micro systems, is a sub-system we have termed *social processes* (Brown and Gregg, 2012; Sayette *et al.*, 2012) which refers to the interactions occurring between the individual and various social sub-systems they engage with.

Outcomes of the system (behaviours)

The final element to the eco-system is the outcome of the system; behaviours. While there are many possible behaviours, the principal ones are drinking (Jayne *et al.*, 2011), not drinking and advocating abstinence (Fry, 2014). Further, there is detracting from drinking; that is, stopping others from drinking (Niland *et al.*, 2013).

Relational processes of change: Micro, Meso, Macro linkages

Using an ecosystem approach requires a different mind-set to that of behaviour change theory. To understand the system in which behaviours are embedded, social marketers and social change researchers need to consider the individual as well as any actors embedded in the multi-layers of social systems, and extend their attention and critiques to examining not only the behavioural infrastructure but also the interplay between the various actors in the system. To take up this examination, social marketers will need to embrace new tools and thinking, such as a meso-marketing approach to synthesize micro and macro processes to effect change (House *et al.*, 1995; Spotswood and Marsh, 2016). To situate two or more layers of analysis in a social change approach, social marketers will need to integrate (a) one or more layers involving individual or group behavioural processes and/or variables, (b) one or more layers concerning other marketplace actors (e.g., government decision-makers, industry participation, community involvement), and (c) the process by which the layers of analysis are engaged by strategizing on building collaborations and bridging networks between market actors (House *et al.*, 1995). These processes and sub-processes will need to be grounded in relational logic, and focus on building interactive and longer-term partnerships and networks that work collectively to implement solutions and manage social change outcomes.

However, social change management strategies adopting an ecosystem purview may require adjustment and adaptation when behavioural outcomes are deeply entrenched in social and cultural rituals and traditions, which is the case with developing a safer drinking culture around alcohol consumption. Adjustments to a social system will be politically charged in that participants in each layer of the system, both citizens and states, have rights and responsibilities within the participatory sphere. The change process can be grass roots, or paternalistic governments can control it from above. The scale of social change required will define the scope of the participatory process. Yet, more important than defining exact borders

between roles of the actors will be identifying how the sub-systems interact and transform each other as a result of engagement. A meso-marketing approach is thus necessary in guiding social marketers towards conceptualizing social problems and their solutions because social systems are nested and interactional, as depicted in Figure 2, and not separate entities to be addressed with different, often mutually exclusive, social marketing strategies. Social marketing scholarship is moving on from traditional marketing management approaches towards systems thinking to explain social change processes that span the micro, meso and macro layers in social change markets (Luca *et al.*, 2015). The context for achieving these linkages is relational logic which focuses on the intangible aspects of social offerings needed to signpost the operant and co-creative nature of actors (interactants) and the various network partners involved in sharing the active resources required to effect social change (Vargo and Lusch, 2008). Social marketing has particular characteristics that make relational thinking appropriate: the absence of the profit motive; the focus on high-involvement decisions; complex and multifaceted behaviours; changes that take a long time; the relevance of trust and the need to target the most needy and hard-to-reach groups in society. Additionally, systems logic requires an understanding of the structures that influence individuals and the complex relationships between individuals (actors) and the environment, social structures, and systems of change; and importantly enable social marketing to shape markets (Hastings, 2003; Kennedy, 2015; Lefebvre, 2012; Spotswood and Tapp, 2013). Behaviour change in social marketing programs is a long-term venture, not a short term transaction. In this paper we have emphasized the need for social marketers to embrace systems thinking and to recognize that relationships between actors at multiple layers in social change markets are interactive, collaborative and embedded in dynamic social contexts. As such, market relationships and interactions between actors offer critical resources and opportunities on which social marketers can influence societal change (Spotswood and Tapp, 2013).

Therefore, a systems lens becomes necessary to social marketers as it acts as a guide towards a more richly informed understanding of social issues for which the cooperation of various stakeholders are required to create sustainable solutions to social issues (Domegan *et al.*, 2013).

Implications: Applying a behavioural ecological model

The social ecological systems approach explicated and applied to an alcohol case study in this paper draws attention to the capability of social marketers to shape markets, and engage marketplace actors to influence the social and cultural dimensions of society. Viewing social change within a ‘behavioural-ecological’ framework, rather than an individual behaviour change process, can guide many striking developments in social marketing that will have a dramatic impact on practice. We identify three key implications drawn from social, ecological systems thinking. Firstly, identifying and mapping the ‘breadth and depth’ of influences in social markets can guide identification of a focal social marketing system that distinguishes the micro-meso-macro layers for analysis (Layton, 2015). Secondly, our systems view argues that contemporary social change requires a meso-marketing approach, which guides social marketers towards developing strategies and marketing tactics inclusive of two-or more layers in the social system. Thirdly, in developing meso-marketing strategy social marketers can leverage multiple marketing tactics to initiate and sustain collaborations amongst actors in social markets, which are outlined in Table 1 below.

[insert Table 1 here]

Conclusion

In this paper we have put forward the view that social marketing needs a social ecological systems view to guide and enhance understanding of social change markets. The implications

of broadening and deepening social marketing applications, and the consequences for bringing together multiple stakeholders to enact social change creates new challenges and opportunities for social marketing practice. Social marketing has extensive experience in building understanding and relationships with downstream consumers; they are less experienced in working with wider stakeholder groups such as industry and policy makers (Dibbs, 2014). To guide this process of change we recommend adopting a meso-marketing approach which will guide social marketers towards multi-layer, systems processes that requires thinking beyond individual actors towards collaborative strategies that build relationships across the actors embedded at multiple layers to identify the macro>exo>meso>micro influences in social change markets.

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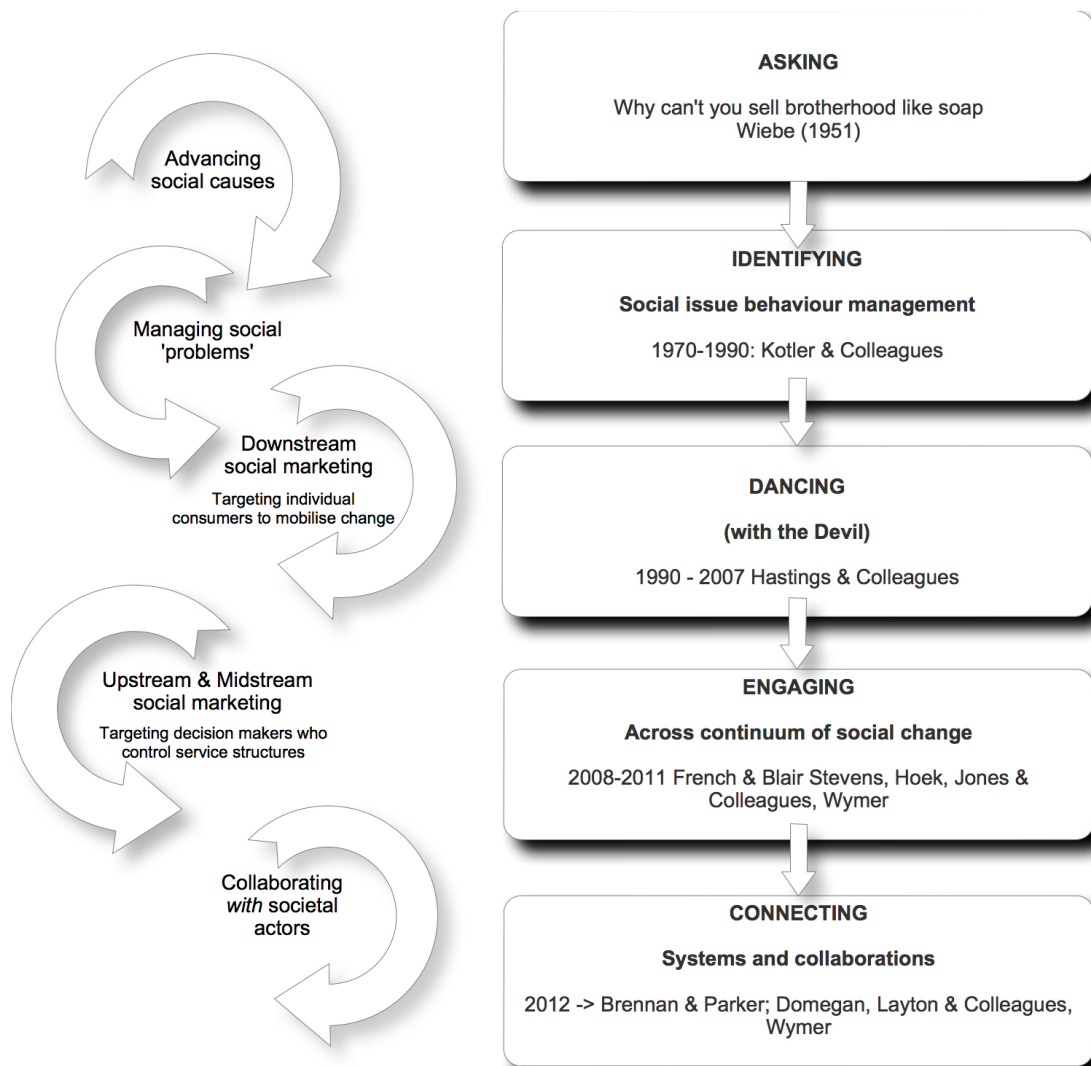


Figure 1: The evolution in social marketing thinking

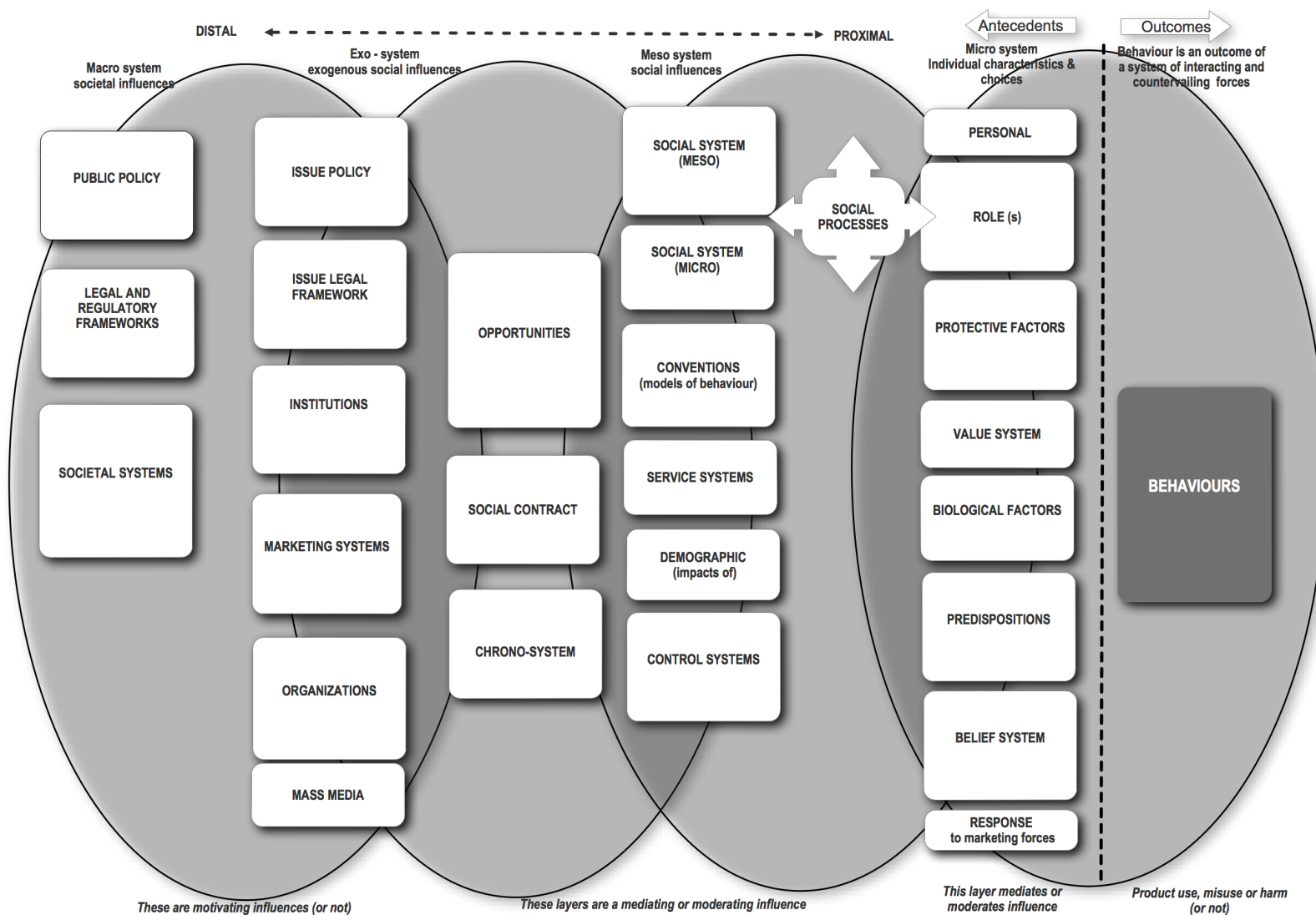


Figure 2: A Behavioural Ecological Model for alcohol consumption

Table 1: Strategic toolkit for social marketing: applying a systems approach ²

Layer³	Type of SM objectives	Type of change sought	Typical audience	Typical focus of social marketing activities
Socio- cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social change, • Long term generational change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic, Political, Cultural or traditional practice 	Government policy makers and NGOs operating at a national or regional level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy • Public policy negotiations • Public relations • Technical assistance • Financial assistance
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Permission to act in the domain or on the issue • Establishment of legal frameworks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organisational level decision making • Either active participation or non-interference in activities at next layers 	Business and Provincial or local government NGOs operating at within a specific SM context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public communications • Publicity • Strategic partnerships and alliances • Seminars, consultations and meetings • Conferences and exhibitions
Local	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to and support for affected community members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Referrals • Local support systems • Structural intervention development • Program development 	Groups and communities Mass organisations such as unions, cooperatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sponsorships • Community participatory action • Training and education resource development • ‘Sales’ promotions • Online social marketing (information) • Freemiums and giveaways
Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevention of, encouragement for or cessation of behaviours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual behaviours 	Individuals (usually at risk)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advertising • Social media • Mobile applications • Interpersonal interactions • Direct media such as notice boards, flyers, brochures, wearable marketing

² Adapted from: Parker, L., Brennan, L., and Nguyen, D., (2014), "Chapter 9 - Social marketing: Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Vietnam". In B. Nguyen & C. Rowley (Eds.), *Ethical and Social Marketing in Southeast Asia*. Kidlington, UK: Chandos Publishing.

³ Rather than using 'levels' is used as per Hovell and Wahlgren's (2002) conceptualization, we have opted for layers, which is more in line with Bronfenbrenner who conceptualized a nested system with macro-exo-meso and micro 'layers' nested within each other.

