Social Marketing: The Road to Maximizing the Sustainability of Energy Efficiency and DSM Savings

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This paper, which grew out of a scoping study for a Wisconsin-specific program, is designed to stimulate discussion of the attainable objectives of social marketing for energy efficiency. To this end, we suggest the rationale for social marketing ventures, the functions that differentiate them from most current DSM programs, the potential target markets and promotional themes. We also discuss key steps in a model program, including testing and evaluation.

We argue that most DSM programs focus on changing near-term preferences and actions of customers. In so doing, they address various purchase-specific and market-related barriers to achieving energy efficiency. However, typical programs do little, if anything, to modify the awareness and knowledge of customers regarding the importance of energy efficiency, and so such programs forego the opportunity to overcome more fundamental barriers. Under these conditions, the removal of monetary incentives is likely to result in the loss of many projected DSM savings. One solution to the need for increasing the sustainability of energy efficiency gains is to introduce social marketing efforts designed to change knowledge, beliefs and values.

Social marketing can be difficult, and it is not cheap. Nonetheless, under certain conditions it can be effective in reaching specified objectives. We discuss some of these boundary conditions and suggest that the potential is high for a successful effort regarding energy efficiency. Channels of influence have been developed, an infrastructure for sustainable action is in place and tools for pertinent market research and evaluation are available. The time is ripe for systematic pilot studies of this approach.

Introduction

We begin with an overview of the reasons why DSM professionals should consider social marketing programs at this time. Briefly, we see such programs as investments in the persistence and sustainability of gains in energy efficiency, whether as resource acquisition or as customer service.

Background

Virtually every product or service we consume today has a significant energy use component. Even if particular items we consume do not use energy directly, the processes of creating, transporting and disposing of these items use energy.

In recent years, greater attention has been paid to using energy more efficiently. Much of this emphasis has come about through the activities of electric and gas utilities and their regulatory agencies, based on the notion of acquiring efficiency as an energy resource. Budgets for demand-side management (DSM) programs have blossomed to more than $2 billion per year nationwide. These expenditures have created a significant industry and are moving energy-efficient technologies forward.

The Problem

Although energy-saving technologies have developed and DSM programs have expanded, the marketing side of DSM has been difficult. The focus has been on the use of monetary incentives to achieve energy efficiency. Utilities have relied upon the provision of high rebates to change customers' purchase decisions, and many retailers promote energy-efficient products only if they can make higher

sales commissions on these products than on standard-efficiency equipment. Similarly, the Golden Carrot program suggests that manufacturers need a multimillion dollar bounty to change their production processes to make their product line more efficient.[1]

Throughout the United States, energy efficiency itself remains a low priority for the typical household or business. Current DSM programs are usually not designed to change attitudes or long-term behavior regarding energy use. Rather, they are designed to change out equipment today.

Although programs designed for this purpose may be worthwhile in the short or medium term, their effects will not be long-standing once the rebates decline. Their effects will be limited because consumers will be no more aware of the effects of their energy-related behavior after they participate in a rebate program than they were before they participated. Thus, as suggested by Tempchin and LeBlanc (1992), current investments could be made much more valuable if they were coupled with education about energy efficiency. Utilities have a stake in insuring the sustainability of their investments, whether they are seeking to acquire energy efficiency as a resource or are offering DSM as a customer service.

Social Marketing Programs as a Solution

Modification of underlying knowledge, behavior or values may be required to create the context in which DSM investments can be made sustainable. In turn, the achievement of such changes appears to necessitate social marketing, which has been defined by Kotler (e.g., 1975) as:

> the design, implementation, and control of programs seeking to increase the acceptability of a social idea or practice in a target group(s) (Kotler 1975, p. 283)

In general, social marketing programs are designed to persuade people to think differently or more deeply about an issue that has social consequences. The objectives are not only to change behavior in the short run, but to support norms and values that will increase the persistence and sustainability of those changes.

Some of the topics that have been the subjects of previous social marketing campaigns, and the social (external) cost that the campaigns have tried to mitigate, are shown in Table 1.

A social marketing program focused on the desirability of energy efficiency could influence the general population and achieve the following benefits:

- More naturally occurring, long-term conservation as customers adopt energy efficiency
- Increased participation in DSM programs
- Lower overall energy service costs and DSM costs as marketing strategies reemphasize monetary incentives
- Better perceived linkage between energy efficiency and improved economy
- Improved environmental quality

Energy efficiency fits neatly into the mold as a subject of effective social marketing campaigns. First, increased energy efficiency offers social benefits, including environmental improvement, reduced dependence on foreign oil, increased productivity, and improvements in the quality of life. Second, the characteristics of the current energy efficiency marketplace are favorable for a successful social marketing campaign.[2] These favorable characteristics include:

- All people use energy
- No organized body of public opinion against energy efficiency exists

Table 1. Social Marketing Programs and Issues Addressed

Social Marketing Topic	Social Issues (externalities)
Smoking	Health costs, loss of life
Seat belts, drunk driving	Safety, health costs, loss of life
Littering	Environmental quality, aesthetics
Forest fire prevention (Smokey)	Loss of wildlife, forests
Just say No to Drugs	Health, crime
AIDS awareness	Health, life, community tolerance

- Consumers already tend to value the saving of resources
- An infrastructure for enacting the social change already exists (i.e., utility DSM programs)

In the remainder of this paper, we will describe some of the lessons learned from other social marketing programs and speculate on their implications for energy efficiency efforts. Our intent is to open the discussion, not to provide definitive review and analysis. Our language will be more in the realm of what Kempton (1993) calls "lunchroom psychology" than theory, in the hope of more effectively stimulating wide discussion.

Social Marketing Campaigns: An Elaboration of Functions, Timing and Structure

In this section, we flesh out our preliminary discussion of some objectives and practical aspects of a social marketing effort for energy efficiency.

The Functions of Social Marketing

Social marketing does not sell a product or a service directly. Rather, it changes peoples' awareness and attitudes toward a particular subject and then moves them to different behavior. The typical consumer purchase pattern for a generic product or service can be depicted as shown in Figure 1.

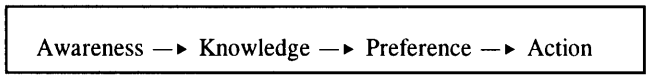

Figure 1. Phases of the Purchase Cycle

Most DSM programs focus on the latter phases of this cycle, while social marketing programs address the earlier phases with the intent of thus modifying preferences and action.[3] Each phase is discussed separately below, using an energy-efficient light bulb as a focal point:

- **Awareness.** The customer is aware that light bulbs use energy, and that energy and the bulb itself have associated costs. Through the social marketing campaign, the customer may become aware that not all light bulbs are the same. The customer may also become aware of the noneconomic benefits and costs of the various lighting options.
- **Knowledge.** The customer may learn that light bulbs have different qualities (e.g., color, efficiency, first cost, operating cost, and lifetime), are available from different sources (e.g., hardware stores, groceries, and mail order), and have certain implications associated with their use (e.g., purchase hassle, disposal, and environmental costs). The customers may also come to know the benefits and costs of compact fluorescent bulbs and halogen lamps.
- **Preference.** The customer uses his or her knowledge to form opinions and preferences about the lighting choices available. Each customer forms a preference for one product over another, based on the package of attributes (such as those noted above) associated with each option.
- **Action.** The customer actually purchases the preferred lighting option, if it is available at the appropriate time and place.

The earlier phases of the product purchase cycle tend to concentrate on basic values, while the latter phases of the cycle involve product features. Table 2 depicts the

Table 2. Relative Importance of Selected Influence on the Energy-Efficiency Market

Phase of Purchase Cycle	Influence: Social Marketing	DSM Programs	Codes and Standards	Energy Pricing
Awareness	√√			
Knowledge	√√	√		
Preference	√	√		
Action	√	√√	√√	√

√√ = Strong influence
√ = Moderate influence

authors' judgment regarding the relative importance of social marketing programs in the overall marketing mix for achieving energy-efficiency.

The importance of creating knowledge and awareness-not being satisfied with specific energy-efficient actions—can be illustrated through consideration of factors determining repeat purchases. Market research has shown that for similar products (soda, motor oil, milk, etc.) temporary inducements such as coupons and sales do little to attract brand loyalty (Bawa & Shoemaker 1987, Dodson et al. 1978). To achieve brand loyalty, one product must be perceived as truly superior in the customer's value system. In the same way, utilities can set up a situation in which customers buy an energy-efficient product because the price is better than other options. However, customers are not likely to value the energy-efficiency attribute of that product unless it is part of their conscious purchase decision. This finding has implications for repeat sales, referrals, and maintenance.

The following example illustrates these implications. A commercial customer needs to buy a new rooftop air conditioner. This customer has not maintained the old unit very well, but it has lasted a long time. The customer calls in an engineering contractor, who works with a distributor. The contractor knows that the utility has a rebate on efficient units and recommends that unit to the customer. Since the first cost of the energy-efficient air conditioner and that of the standard unit are virtually the same, the customer is indifferent, and approves the energy-efficient purchase.

The customer in this example makes the purchase decision based on first cost and the advice of the engineer. However, as a result, the customer (1) will not realize that the new unit is energy efficient, (2) will not conduct the periodic work needed to maintain its efficiency unless that maintenance is required for other reasons as well, (3) will not mention buying an energy-efficient unit to friends and colleagues, (4) will not seek another energy-efficient unit when he or she needs one, and (5) will not value energy efficiency as an attribute when purchasing other products.

If a social marketing campaign designed to heighten awareness of energy efficiency were successfully implemented, it would address each of the five failures described in the example above.

The Time Is Right for a Social Marketing Campaign

Social marketing and educational campaigns have had only limited success when the infrastructure for follow-up action has been inadequate (cf., e.g., Murry et al. 1991). For example, if an antidrug campaign encourages drug users to get counseling but experienced counselors are not readily available, the attitudinal change is wasted. Similarly, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, energy conservation education had only limited effects because people could take temporary reduction actions (driving less, turning down the thermostat, etc.), but the energy-efficiency infrastructure was small and not easily accessible. However, with the advent of large-scale DSM programs in the late 1980s, the general population has a much higher likelihood of finding a convenient avenue for acting on its newly salient convictions.

Addressing Barriers to Adoption of Energy Efficiency Through Social Marketing

What barriers remain to be overcome, and how can a social marketing campaign help break them down?

A review of various discussions of barriers (e.g., Fisher & Rothkopf 1989, EPRI 1993) suggests that barriers might be usefully categorized as purchase-specific, market-related, or fundamental. These three categories may be elaborated further, as follows.

- *Purchase-specific barriers* limit access to energy efficiency acquisitions, even if the buyer is predisposed to make the investment. Examples of purchase barriers are:

  - Unawareness of the existence of the technology
  - Limited availability of the technology for purchase
  - Poor fit of the technology
  - Slow delivery

- *Market-related barriers* stem from broader concerns that point the customer away from relative innovations, such as investment in energy efficiency. These barriers include:

  - High first cost
  - Lack of capital
  - Fear of technology failure
  - Lack of information about products, services, or benefits
  - Lack of codes requiring efficient technology
  - Unacceptable aesthetics
  - High perceived risk

- *Fundamental barriers* prevent understanding the basic benefits of energy efficiency. Examples of fundamental barriers include failures to identify linkages, such as those between:

  - Energy use and environmental quality
  - Energy efficiency and productivity
  - Energy efficiency and local economic prosperity

- and failures to demonstrate the salience of energy efficiency:
  - Perception that energy lacks importance in the total consumption equation (customers don't care)
  - Lack of prestige associated with achieving energy efficiency
  - Lack of leadership on the subject and communication to the general public

Many of these barriers can be overcome by improving procedures, increasing information, pushing research and development, or changing attitudes. Some barriers-the more proximate market-related and purchase-specific ones—seem best addressed through DSM programs, incentives, regulation, codes and standards, training courses, energy service programs or demonstration projects. But others—the fundamental barriers—seem best conquered through social marketing campaigns.

For the most part, then, a social marketing campaign would focus on the *fundamental* barriers to energy efficiency, primarily in the residential sector. However, given that the fundamental barriers work at the core belief and value systems of individuals, we expect that the effects of a social marketing campaign would also carry over into business practices. If a social marketing campaign can overcome the fundamental barriers to energy efficiency, DSM programs will be better able to achieve high market penetration rates. DSM program managers could concentrate on delivery mechanisms and other proximate issues, rather than hoping that they can quickly change consumer attitudes. A social marketing campaign would also make it easier to implement efficiency codes and standards, as more consumers would appreciate the benefits resulting from them.

Market Transformations from an Attitudinal Angle: Target Markets and Promotional Messages

In this section, we draw on some recent market research to offer some suggestions about which customers a social marketing program might focus on, and what messages might be emphasized.

Converting the Favorably Disposed. Rather than attempt to convince skeptics about energy efficiency, we might concentrate our initial efforts on customers who are already somewhat disposed to our messages. These groups might be identified in terms of their needs or values.

Individual customers have specific needs, so they value various product attributes in different ways, as demonstrated by the wide variety of products on the market. For example, consumers can purchase cars that are utilitarian, sporty, big, fuel-efficient, etc., depending on their needs and means. Similarly, consumers buy from a huge selection of food products, balancing cost, health, taste, and convenience.

In the same way, consumers purchase energy-using equipment by looking at the specific attributes of the various products on the market. For example, when buying a refrigerator, one consumer may be most interested in the size, features, and color of the various models, but another customer may value more highly reliability, moderate sales price, and low energy costs.

Market researchers classify consumers in many ways, including segmentation by needs. The Electric Power Research Institute (EPRI 1989) has developed a segmentation program for residential customers, based on their energy needs. The key needs are listed below.[4]

- Convenience
- Enthusiasm for high-tech products
- Comfort
- Appearance
- Electricity conservation and budgetary concerns
- Personal control
- Safety
- Search minimization
- Task vs. area energy use

The six customer segments defined by these needs are listed, with selected characteristics, in Table 3.

In a similar vein, a Swedish study (Kruse et al. 1992) looked at how energy-efficiency attitudes varied by group and over time. The study also looked at whether the actions of representatives of these groups matched the convictions displayed in the attitudinal research.

In the Swedish study, "Knowledgeable Energy Savers" made up 13% of the population. The members of this group not only said that they were interested in conservation and the environment but they acted upon their beliefs. Another group was "Conservation Positive, " which represented 19% of the population. These people believed in conservation principles, but lacked the wherewithal to follow through on their beliefs. Another 17% opposed conservation, while the remaining one-half of the population was indifferent to it.

The Knowledgeable Energy Savers had the following attributes:

- Positive attitude toward energy efficiency
- Access to information about energy efficiency
- Specific knowledge about energy efficiency
- Access to technology
- Sufficient action range to pursue energy efficiency

Table 3. Selected Characteristics of Customer Needs Segments

Segment Name	Selected Characteristics
Appearance Conscious	Safety concerns, not likely to monitor energy use
Hassle Avoiders	Minimize search for new goods and services, want personal control, worry little about cost or safety
Lifestyle Simplifiers	Show some cost concerns, but less concern about most needs/benefits
Pleasure Seekers	Like all nine needs/benefits, show cost concern
Value Seekers	Shop carefully, interested in conservation, not so concerned about safety or appearance
Resource Conservers	Concerned about environment and budget, accept utility controls to obtain cost savings

Source: (EPRI, 1989)

One goal of a social marketing campaign might be to move more of the population toward the Resource Conserver or Knowledgeable Energy Savers segments. (It would probably be necessary to move through a conservation awareness phase before moving to the action-oriented phase.) Because about 50% of the population is indifferent to conservation and another 20% is already inclined toward energy efficiency, a successful social marketing campaign of this sort could have a dramatic influence on the population.

Promotional Themes. We might also select the key messages to be promoted from an examination of current knowledge and attitudes. Again, we draw upon recent research to make some initial suggestions.

A recent report from the National Renewable Energy Laboratory (Farhar 1993) collected secondary data on customer attitudes and preferences on a wide variety of energy, environmental, and social issues. The information from this report also suggests some potential directions for a social marketing campaign.

Farhar summarized several 1991 surveys and concluded that "the most significant national problems, " in order of concern, were:

1. The U.S. and local economies
2. Education, both primary and secondary
3. Crime and drugs (associated)
4. Health care and its costs
5. The environment

The importance of energy to the populace has declined over the past decade while the importance of the environment has increased. This finding indicates that a social marketing campaign should link energy efficiency much more strongly with its environmental benefits. In addition, the message might emphasize that energy efficiency can positively affect the economy (concern #1) and health care costs (concern #4).

Another survey asked about the most serious potential threats to the environment (Houghton et al. [Cambridge Reports] 1990). The following items relevant to energy use were listed as serious by at least one-half of the respondents:

- Air pollution (71%)
- Nuclear waste (66%)
- Depletion of ozone layer (57%)
- Oil spills (54%)
- Acid rain (50%)

In addition, global warming was mentioned by 42% of respondents in this survey, and this percentage had risen rapidly since prior surveys. [5]

Surveys on solid waste conducted by the Roper Organization in 1988, 1989, and 1990 showed that consumer concern over waste disposal had increased dramatically over that period: although only 24% of respondents thought it was a serious problem in 1988, 48% saw it as a serious problem by 1990. This increase in concern is coincident with the advent of many community and business recycling programs.

A recent article demonstrated that energy efficiency and recycling share many common problems regarding education and action (Cabaniss 1993). Recognizing that data are lacking on the link between education and increased recycling, the author describes the first attempt to quantify the effects of a variety of educational initiatives on the amount of waste recycled or reduced. The results show a positive correlation between recycling education and program success as measured by number of participants and amount recycled. The media mix used was important, as was the ability to repeat messages several times to the same audience.

Determining the Impact of a Social Marketing Campaign

One of the reasons that information programs have not been a key part of current DSM offerings is the perceived difficulty in determining the effects of these programs. Regulators have tended to emphasize hard-wired changes, such as technology rebates, in which the actual hardware can be tallied, tracked, and monitored. Although it is true that estimates of energy savings from technology rebate programs are more precise than those for information programs, evaluation is not an end unto itself; overemphasis on the precision of evaluations overlooks the potentially low cost of energy savings achieved through marketing programs, especially if the long-term knowledge and attitudinal benefits of energy education are considered.

Consider two programs, one involving equipment rebates, the other an information-only program, We illustrate their characteristics using the hypothetical program comparisons shown in Table 4.

This comparison indicates that even though information programs may involve a high level of uncertainty and a low level of precision in the impact evaluation, their results should not be dismissed out of hand as having a low benefit-cost ratio. The test is an empirical one and the necessary data can be obtained. Market research can provide assurances that customer attitudes are changing and that these changed attitudes are affecting energy purchase decisions in a positive manner.

Setting Up a Program

Social marketing campaigns have had mixed success. Many of their problems have stemmed from inadequate preparation. We propose the following guidelines to maximize chances for a successful social marketing campaign that has documented impacts.

1. **Collect detailed preprogram information on customer beliefs, motivations, and concerns.** This information will become the baseline from which to measure attitudinal change. It will also provide insight into the specific barriers that must be overcome in the marketing messages. The EPRI Classify program (1989) offers one effective method to collect relevant information. As such, it can save much time and money that otherwise would be used to develop a new battery of research questions.

   The Classify program can be used to segment customers by needs, attitudes, and actions. Each cluster would have similar attitudes toward energy use and should respond in a relatively similar manner to messages tailored to their concerns.

Table 4. Comparison of Two Hypothetical Programs

Measure	Equipment Program	Information Program
Marketing costs	$10,000	$100,000
Equipment cost to utility	$100,000	$0
Customer participants	1,000	10,000
Total mean MWh saved	3,000	10,000 (less per participant)
Uncertainty of savings	±15%	±60%
Mean cost/MWh	$37	$10
Maximum cost/MWh	$43	$16
Minimum cost/MWh	$32	$6

2. **Determine the segments to target with the campaign.** We must first determine if we should target the campaign at the entire population through the mass media or target specific subgroups. This decision may be based on such factors as the appropriateness of the campaign messages to multiple groups, the availability of media targeting particular clusters, and the cost trade-offs of each method.

   Many other social marketing campaigns must find specific targets (e.g., drug users, young mothers, smokers), which are often much more difficult to reach. One advantage for an energy-efficiency campaign is that all people use energy. However, we may determine that a more targeted effort would be more effective or cost-efficient.

   If we do choose to work with specific target markets, we must still determine whether to exploit the attitudes of those who are already favorable to the potential action message or seek to modify the attitudes of others. We may determine, for example, that Resource Conservers already have the attitudes and beliefs that we are trying to promote in the rest of the population. If so, they would *no?* be the primary target for the campaign. We may choose, then, to concentrate on customer groups that we believe are most likely to be changed or clusters that would have the most impact if changed. This emphasis would be determined when the preprogram information is available and the program objectives developed.

3. **Develop the campaign themes and messages.** The central part of the social marketing campaign will be series of themes and key messages intended to overcome barriers to the adoption of energy efficiency. These messages will be derived from the beliefs and attitudes uncovered in Step 1 and the target groups selected from Step 2.

   It is likely that the themes will revolve around several subjects, including the link between energy and the local and global environment, economic prosperity, and the public's desire to avoid building more power plants.

   The campaign will likely be set up in a way that allows it to build on itself over time. It may take one to two years to run through all the themes. The presentation and timing of these messages will be critical.

4. **Test market the campaign themes.** A critical step in a successful marketing campaign is to thoroughly test the messages with members of the intended public. Market research techniques such as focus groups are appropriate for test marketing. The final messages will be refined from this test marketing.

5. **Secure appropriate media.** Depending on the audience and the messages, a variety of mass media or direct mail may be required. A successful energy-efficiency campaign must be adequately funded. In addition, the quality of the advertising must be high to enhance the credibility of the messages. Many social marketing campaigns have had low success rates due to inadequate market coverage, which has typically been caused by lack of funding to carry out the campaign and to purchase the proper media at the proper time. (Funding limitations have commonly resulted in social marketing messages run through donated media time or as public service announcements [PSAS]. These are often ineffective because the timing of the spots limits the size and nature of the available audience.)

   Although the general populace will be included in the campaign in some manner, developing specific messages for elementary and secondary schools could be very beneficial. There is some evidence, particularly in the area of recycling, that school age children influence the social choices of their families to a large extent (Zuck 1991). Similarly, *In Concert* with the Environment" has proven that family attitudes and habits can change as a result of school programs (Ecker et al. 1992, IRT 1993).

6. **Determine factors for success.** To determine the success of the social marketing program, we must develop a set of criteria by which to measure success. These program evaluation criteria may include increases in the percentages of people who change their level of knowledge or understanding with regard to such issues as the following:

   - Energy use is linked to pollution and other environmental impacts
   - Economic growth is linked to energy efficiency
   - Energy technologies and available equipment differ on several attributes
   - Reducing energy use is not synonymous with lowered comfort or productivity
   - Asking for and finding energy-efficient appliances
   - Initiating participation in a DSM program

   or such beliefs as

- Saving energy can delay the building of more power plants
- Saving energy can put more money in their pocket
- They can change the way they use energy

or such actions as

- Talking to their neighbors, friends, or family about energy and the environment
- Actually participating in a DSM program
- Buying more energy-efficient appliances
- Lowering their energy usage

Some of these factors are more qualitative than others. The evaluation can be conducted using attitudinal research (similar to the Classify-type questions that may be used to develop the baseline) as well as techniques used in quantitative evaluations, such as billing analysis.

7. **Set up target areas for testing.** The social marketing campaign should be market-tested with a control group. A market test would allow, for example, comparison of a control group in one city with a test group in a similar city.

8. **Move to full scale implementation.** Once the campaign has been shown to have a desired effect, it can be broadened to a service territory, a region or the entire country.[6]

Concluding Discussion

Increasing the nation's energy efficiency can provide many positive results for the country. In addition to an improved environment, cost-effective energy efficiency increases net wealth and helps create jobs and a robust economy. Although DSM programs and appliance standards are appropriate mechanisms for helping people actually make energy efficiency investments, they are probably not the most effective method of changing basic attitudes about the benefits of energy efficiency.

A properly designed social marketing program can help a large portion of the population become more likely purchasers of energy efficient products. With the advent of large scale DSM programs, the energy efficiency infrastructure emerged to provide opportunities for people to act on newly found convictions. Although information programs have higher levels of uncertainty regarding their final impact, they may also have much lower costs on a per capita basis. As the utility and regulatory communities reconsider the use of direct monetary incentives, other strategies for sustaining the gains that have been or stand to be achieved are required. This paper provides an outline for starting and testing the effectiveness of a large-scale social marketing program in moving the market for energy efficiency, whether centered within utilities or some other agency.

The NREL study (Farhar 1993) noted above contains several conclusions germane to this discussion. It shows that although there is strong consumer interest in the environment, knowledge about the link between energy use and the environment is indeed weak. The study further confirms the existence of a deep-seated need for public education about energy and the environment, and that this education should start in grade school. A state or region that implements this social marketing campaign would become an immediate leader in advancing the value of energy services to their customers.

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Endnotes

1. The point is reinforced in a recently filed antitrust and racketeering action against electric utilities, in which fuel oil dealers claim that utility rebates constitute "commercial bribes" under state criminal law (Howard 1993).

2. The following discussion relates to Kotler's (1975) analysis of Lazarsfeld & Merton (1949) on the prerequisites for effective campaigns. In their terms, these are monopolization (the absence of counter-propaganda), canalization (the presence of an existing attitudinal base for the feelings that the social communicators are striving to shape), and supplementation (opportunities to follow up on the mass communication campaigns).

3. Although educational programs such as *In Concert* with the Environment® are nominally DSM programs, their focus and objectives suggest they may be better classified as social marketing programs.

4. EPRI has recently conducted research to replicate and modify this effort in the light of current socio-economic and demographic trends. For example, there is some indication that customers are beginning to define reduced environmental impacts as a need. The results of this research are expected to be available shortly .

5. Concerns with EMF and electric generating plants were indicated by fewer than 20% of the respondents.

6. This paper was originally developed as part of a scoping study for a Wisconsin-specific social marketing campaign. Although the lessons learned and the suggested approaches appear applicable in many jurisdictions, the most effective level of geographic focus remains to be determined.

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