

Social Marketing and Social Capital – Its impact on recycling on Waiheke Island

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Rationale

For the last three years the Waste Resource Trust – a Waiheke Island-based not-for-profit organization - has been making waste minimisation practices like composting and recycling a norm of behaviour for people in our community. We suspect that this recycling (and composting) behaviour is not only the result of an increased awareness of negative environmental impacts or the increasing cost of waste disposal borne by the householder as ratepayers– but is also a clear demonstration of goodwill.

This study will look at whether that goodwill has been enhanced through the social marketing campaigns by the Waste Resource Trust and attempt to explore the relationship between community based recycling behaviours and social capital.

This research project attempts to explore two questions.

These are:

- **Is recycling behaviour another indicator of social capital? And,**
- **Does social marketing contribute to the development of social capital in my community?**

Methodology

For the purpose of this research a literature review on both social capital and social marketing has been undertaken in an effort to determine what are the indicators for both these concepts in order to apply them to the activities of the Waste Resource Trust.

The literature review has included accessing information from websites and public databases (including local authority and government information where appropriate) as well as both public and private libraries. Some of the material is very recent and is unpublished.

Also unpublished are the results from surveys conducted by the Waste Resource Trust in 2004 and 1998 as well as the monthly and annual waste and recycling statistics that have been recorded by their company Clean Stream Waiheke Ltd - although some of this information has been reported in local publications the Gulf News and the Waiheke Marketplace.

To further develop this paper some interviews have been undertaken – most notably with Waiheke activists and Waste Resource Trust board members to test assumptions and findings. They have been listed in the references section as ‘key informants.’

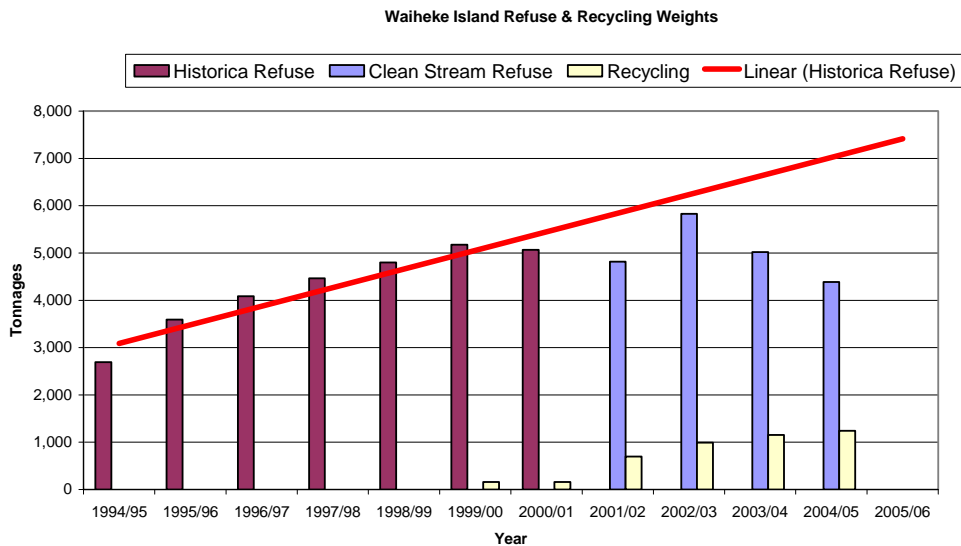
Background

Waiheke Island is a 35minute ferry ride from downtown Auckland and is part of the Auckland City Council local body area. It has an established population of nearly 8000 people with a total of nearly 5000 residences. It is a geographically contained community that is a popular visitor destination with around 20% of the homes being holiday homes, and at peak holiday times the population increases dramatically to up to 30,000.

All these people create rubbish that has to be removed from the island at considerable cost. Each tonne costs around \$200 in transport costs alone and for the year ending in June 2005 a total of 4,389 tonnes of waste was taken off the island.

On a more positive note however, in the four years from 2001 to 2005 the island has increased its recycling from 156 tonnes a year to 1,238, tonnes.

Graph 1



These figures do not reflect waste resources diverted from landfill through re-use. If these are included the total diversion rate is closer to 5000 tonnes for the year ending June 2005 and this becomes apparent in the graph above when considering that the amount of waste is declining.

The Trust maintains that the reversal of the trend of annual increases of waste for landfill disposal and the increase in recycling is largely attributable to Waiheke residents' active support and participation in the waste reduction programme developed by the Waste Resource Trust over the last four years.

About the Waste Resource Trust – a community organisation

Waiheke has a reputation for being strident and active around environmental issues. It is also a solid community with a high level of participation in its affairs.

In 1998 the Auckland City Council was conducting a community consultation exercise as part of their development for the District Plan. A group of volunteers set up the Waste Resource Trust so that they could co-ordinate their contribution to the part of the plan that relates to waste. This was part of a determined strategy to develop Council documents that would enable the group to set up and control activities on the island that would allow environmental improvements – and basically allow our Waiheke community more input into how we deal with waste on the island.

In previous times, before the local body amalgamations the community of Waiheke had a kerbside recycling system – but this service had discontinued after the island became part of Auckland City Council in the late 80's and the transfer station operation and the household rubbish collection was contracted out to a private contractor. The original Waste Resource Trust volunteers – who eventually became the trustees of the organisation – suspected that the island had the potential to radically reduce our waste and they set the trust up with the following objectives:

- 1) To undertake projects and programmes, which maximise resource recovery and zero-waste practices on Waiheke.*
- 2) Provide the Waiheke community with information and education to make ethical, effective and powerful decisions in respect of waste management.*
- 3) Undertake and generate initiatives for the benefit of the people and the environment.*
- 4) Provide training to assist people on Waiheke to gain meaningful employment and small business opportunities in resource recovery and innovative waste management consultancy.*

It is clear from these objectives that the Trust was looking for not only environmental improvements for our community but also *social* improvements.

In addition the Waste Resource Trust sought – and still seeks “*to develop a model for small community waste reduction practices that are consistent with the intentions of New Zealand Waste Strategy and meet or better the target of 10% per annum sought in the Auckland City Council's strategy listed as the Waiheke Waste Management Plan.*”

One of the Waste Resource Trust's first tasks was to do more research into waste on the island so as not to make assumptions about how the community felt

about waste issues and to find out what the potential barriers to reducing waste on the island might be.

Firstly they did a random waste audit of 1000 rubbish bags to measure and document the types of waste going to landfills. They found that about 75% of the waste inside them could be diverted through composting or recycling.

To further understand the solid waste analysis they conducted an island-wide attitude and behaviour survey of 260 households (the population at the time was around 6000) to:

- Gain insight into what people knew about solid waste and waste management including reduction, re-use, recycling and composting.
- Identify what proportion of the community was applying particular waste management methods.
- Develop an understanding of peoples' attitudes to waste and waste management.
- Make recommendations for improving waste management on the Island.

The survey results showed that while only a small proportion (28%) of the population understood the concept of 'waste minimisation' a majority of respondents composted (73%) and re-used packaging (88%) in some way. The survey also found that 72% of the respondents said they recycled some of their waste despite their not having a kerbside collection and this was listed as the prime reason for the other 28% not recycling at all. The survey also concluded that educating the community would be crucial to ensure a better understanding – and improved behaviour – around waste minimization.

The information gathered was used by the Trust to tender for the Auckland City Council's seven-year contract to manage the Waiheke Transfer Station and the rubbish collection and, as well, to set up a system for kerbside recycling for the residents. By doing so they would remove the first barrier to recycling behavior on the island.

The Trusts' tender was successful and, with help from another community organisation from a totally different region, Clean Stream Waiheke Ltd was formed. Since its first year of operation in 2001 (and despite a growth in population and a building boom in 2002) Clean Stream has been meeting its stated objectives of reducing the amount of waste going to landfill.

Clean Stream Waiheke is also meeting its parent organization – the Waste Resource Trust's - social objectives. The community-owned company employs 23 staff – making it one of the biggest employers on the island – and consequently contributes over \$500,000 in wages and services fees to the local community. Under the previous contractor there were 6 employees. The organizations are also pursuing innovative ideas for waste solutions – having

forged a partnership with the engineering department of Auckland University where students are working on developing glass-crushing equipment and bio-diesel from waste cooking oil collected on the island.

The results from the 1998 attitude survey were also integral to developing an education strategy to promote waste minimization directed at four separate sectors of the island. - These being: businesses, schools, residents and visitors.

Each of these sectors have required often quite different approaches and we have found that to engage these different groups in recycling and waste minimization activities we have had to personally explore their waste issues and find solutions that work for them rather than attempt to apply a one-size-fits all solution to a problem we assume might be occurring. An example of this is that early on we discovered the problem of waste cooking oils for one local bar – we explored further and found that in total over 1000 litres of waste oil was being dumped every week by all the restaurants and takeaway bars on the island. The educator worked with each of the businesses involved to set up a collection system that worked for all of them.

Another example is the enviro-schools programme. The educators made a huge effort over a period of two years to engage the local primary school in this programme - but it was never successfully taken up. Despite this set-back- and through constant pressure from volunteer activity at the school - the school this year included a reduce-re-use-recycle component to their curriculum and the Clean Stream Waiheke operators hosted visits by 240 school children to the transfer station as part of their studies. In addition that school has been involving the children in waste minimization activities like composting from the start of the year.

The programmes and strategies developed by the Waste Resource Trust will be explored and evaluated in more detail in a later section of this paper.

Social Capital

In loose terms social capital can be described as the goodwill that exists within a community. What the Waste Resource Trust seeks to do is to tap into that goodwill in order to achieve positive attitudes and behaviour towards recycling and waste minimization activities by the people in our community – and also contribute to the social capital in our community.

The term has been around since the late 1980's/early 90's and perhaps the most famous writer on social capital is the American Robert Putman (1993) – who defines social capital as:

“...features of social organization such as networks, norms and trust, that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit.”

Social capital is being used internationally – and within New Zealand as well – as a tool to examine the health and well being of communities. Internationally there are vast sources of information about social capital including research commissioned by the World Bank and studies on social capital have been undertaken by policy divisions within the New Zealand Statistics Department and social policy departments of the government and

In Australia one of the most prolific writers on social capital is Jenny Onyx. In a joint research paper with colleague Paul Bullen (1998) they define social capital as:

“ Social capital is the raw material of civil society. It is created from the myriad of everyday interactions between people. It is not located within the individual person or within the social structure, but in the space between people. It is not the property of the organization, the market or the state, though all can engage in its production.

Social capital is a ‘bottom-up’ phenomenon. It originates with people forming social connections based on principals of trust, mutual reciprocity and norms of action.”

In this article Bullen and Onyx state that the development of social capital requires the active and willing engagement of citizens within a participative community.

The go on to define areas to measure social capital which include:

- The voluntary and equal participation in networks
- Reciprocity –which is a combination of short-term altruism and long term self-interest
- Trust
- Social norms

- The Commons –which they describe as the combined effect of trust, networks, norms and reciprocity that creates a strong sense of community with shared ownership over resources.

Eva Cox (1995) – also an Australian offers this definition of social capital:

“ Social capital refers to the processes between people which establish networks, norms, social trust and facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit. These processes are also known as social fabric or glue....We increase social capital by working together voluntarily in egalitarian organizations. Learning some of the rough and tumble of group processes also has the advantages of connecting us with others. We gossip, relate and create the warmth that comes from trusting.”

A uniquely New Zealand definition David Robinson and Tuwhakairiora Williams (2001) define social capital as:

“ Social capital refers to the collection of resources to which an individual or a group has access through their membership in an ongoing network of mutual acquaintance. Features of this social structure, such as relationships, norms and social trust, help coordination and cooperation for common benefit.

In our definition of social capital, the term ‘resources’ includes status, attention, knowledge and opportunities to participate and communicate. It does not only refer to connections that provide access to physical resources and information.

An essential feature of our definition is that social capital provides ‘a capacity to associate for mutual benefit or common purpose.’ In investigating forms of voluntary activity we are also exploring how this ‘capacity to associate’ is created or restricted.”

Robinson and Williams also highlight voluntary activity as a feature of developing social capital and also makes a distinction between Maori and Non-Maori concepts of volunteering with Non-Maori voluntary activity being defined as a type of ‘giving’ and the obligation inherent in traditional Maori values described as ‘sharing.’

Another New Zealand perspective is offered by Anne Spellerberg (2001). In her work for the NZ Statistics Department she says that social capital is the social networks that help society to function effectively and is an effect of humans being social animals. She says:

“Social capital is a resource that exists because of, and arises out of, these relationships. For the purpose of developing a measurement framework for New Zealand, we defined social capital as ‘relationships among actors (individuals,

groups and/or organizations) that create a capacity to act for mutual benefit or a common purpose.”

In her article Anne Spellerberg also collates indicators of social capital that are useful in a New Zealand context from the international body of literature on the topic. She discards some indicators that she says are not relevant - for example, the number of political assassinations and coups.

The indicators she thinks apply are:

- Levels of giving
- Participation and engagement
- Reciprocity within the community
- Generalised trust
- Trust towards public officials and institutions
- Norms (rules, beliefs, mores and habits which regulate behaviour)
- Attitudinal variables important to social capital (individuals beliefs about themselves and their tolerance of others, levels of acceptance, motivation, sense of connection, fears etc.)
- Confidence in the continuation of social and political relationships (people’s confidence in the future.)

She summarises by suggesting that measurement of social capital (rather than descriptions or indicators) can be undertaken by examining the following components:

- Behaviours (what people do)
- Attitudes and values (what people feel)
- Population groups (what people are: families, cultural groups, communities etc)
- Organisations

It is important to note that this paper does not attempt to measure the social capital in the Waiheke community. From the literature it is apparent that to conduct a full study measuring this would take far more expertise and resources than can be utilized for this research. Rather the indicators will be applied to the Waste Resource Trust activities and discussed.

It is however interesting that the measurement criteria outlined by Spellerberg refer to attitudes and behaviours – which is exactly what the social marketing strategies are attempting to influence.

Social Marketing

The origins of social marketing can be to this question posed by G.D Wiebe - in 1952 - in his article "Merchandising commodities and citizenship on Television" where he asks:

"Why can't brotherhood be sold like soap?"

There is no agreed definition of social marketing. The concept has been debated for half a century and there is a wealth of practitioners and academics on the topic and a host of publications and websites - both nationally and internationally - and while there are some generally agreed principles to social marketing practices the definitions vary depending on its use. (Heidi Robertson, 2005)

What is generally accepted is that the discipline of 'social marketing' emerged in 1970 after Philip Kotler coined the phrase and stems from the development of the discipline of commercial marketing.

Kotler stated that:

"Social marketing is defined as the design, implementation and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas."

(Kotler P, Zaltman G 1971,)

Essentially what social marketing attempts to do is 'sell' behaviour and attitudes rather than the goods or services that a commercial marketer would want us to buy. With social marketing we are not consumers – rather we 'buy in' to positive social behaviour and attitudes. (Andreason, 2002; MacFayden, 1993; Smith, 1997; Walsh et al., 1993)

While definitions vary commentators on social marketing tend to highlight the application of the marketing mix (- which is commonly referred to as 'the four P's – being product, price, promotion and placement -) to social issues and that programmes for behaviour and attitude change are pre-thought out, planned, and evaluated. (Kline Weinbach, 1995.)

Invariably social marketing definitions highlight the fact that planned consistent and evaluated strategies promote common good or wellbeing of people and communities. And consequently can be linked to social capital development.

Donovan and Henley (2003) go further than simply communities, they suggest the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights be used as the baseline for the definition for the 'common good' and that social marketing should focus not only on individual behaviour change but on achieving changes in the social determinants of health and wellbeing. They contribute this definition:

"The application of commercial marketing technologies to the analysis, planning,

execution and evaluation of programmes designed to influence the voluntary or involuntary behaviour of target audiences in order to improve the welfare of individuals and society”.

Similarly, MacFadyen, Stead & Hastings (1999) argue that the bottom-line for social marketers *“is to meet societies desire to improve its citizen’s quality of life”.*

Social marketing strategies have been widely used in the public health sector and we have all been targeted. We have been urged to wear seatbelts and don’t drink and drive, quit smoking, push play and exercise more, not put up with violence against women and children, rethink our attitudes to people who live with mental illness and the list goes on...

Nedra Kline Weinbach (1999) contributes this explanation:

“The health communications field has been rapidly changing over the past two decades. It has evolved from a one-dimensional reliance on public service announcements to a more sophisticated approach which draws from successful techniques used by commercial marketers, termed “social marketing.” Rather than dictating the way that information is to be conveyed from the top-down, public health professionals are learning to listen to the needs and desires of the target audience themselves, and building the program from there. This focus on the “consumer” involves in-depth research and constant re-evaluation of every aspect of the program. In fact, research and evaluation together form the very cornerstone of the social marketing process.”

According to all the writers on social marketing applying a strategy is complex and as a first step involves research into the current attitudes and behaviours of the current target group so as not to make assumptions about what would or would not work for the target group to change their behaviour and/or attitudes. . In marketing terms these would be survey questionnaires or focus groups – and these have been used to test assumptions in public health strategies as well. Another common element is to use a variety of tools/communication techniques – tapping into the specialties of the commercial marketing arena – to encourage behaviour/attitude change and finally evaluate the process.

It is probably worth examining the ‘marketing mix’ at this stage to gain a better understanding of what marketers – and those are social as well as commercial – use when they plan the ‘sale’ of a product or a social benefit. As touched on earlier this is called The Four P’s - being product, price, promotion and placement.

The Marketing Mix

1) Product

According to Nedra Kline Weibach the social marketing "product" - particularly in the health sector - is not necessarily a physical offering. A continuum of products exists, which can include:

- physical products - like condoms
- services – like cervical smears
- practices – like exercising regularly
- intangible ideas – like caring for the environment

Kline Weibach states that in order to have a viable product, people must first perceive that they have a genuine problem, and that the product offering is a good solution for that problem. The role of research here is to discover the consumers' perceptions of the problem and the product, and to determine how important they feel it is to take action against the problem.

2) Price

In a social marketing context "Price" refers to what the consumer must do in order to obtain the product or benefit. Kline Weibach suggests that the cost may be monetary, or it may instead require the consumer to give up intangibles, such as time or effort, or to risk embarrassment and disapproval. If the costs outweigh the benefits for an individual, the perceived value of the offering will be low and it will be unlikely to be adopted. However, if the benefits are perceived as greater than their costs, chances of trial and adoption of the product is much greater.

In both the commercial and social marketing arena setting the price so that it is neither too high (or unachievable if it is a behaviour change like exercise for example) or too low is given careful consideration. Kline Weibach explains this:

"If the product is priced too low, or provided free of charge, the consumer may perceive it as being low in quality. On the other hand, if the price is too high, some will not be able to afford it. Social marketers must balance these considerations, and often end up charging at least a nominal fee to increase perceptions of quality and to confer a sense of "dignity" to the transaction. These perceptions of costs and benefits can be determined through research, and used in positioning the product.

3) Place

"Place" describes the way that the product reaches the consumer. For a tangible product, this refers to the distribution system--including the warehouse, trucks, sales force, retail outlets where it is sold, or places where it is given out for free.

For an intangible product, place is less clear-cut, but refers to decisions about the channels through which consumers are reached with information or training. This may include doctors' offices, shopping malls, mass media vehicles or in-home demonstrations. Another element of place is deciding how to ensure accessibility of the offering and quality of the service delivery. By determining the activities and habits of the target audience, as well as their experience and satisfaction with the existing delivery system, researchers can pinpoint the most ideal means of distribution for the offering.

4) Promotion

The last "P" in the marketing mix is promotion – and this is where as consumers we can see the efficacy of the product or campaign being run. Promotion consists of the integrated use of advertising, public relations, promotions, media advocacy, personal selling and entertainment vehicles. The focus is on creating and sustaining demand for the product.

Promotion does not necessarily mean simply a large scale advertising campaign. Other methods include coupons, media events, editorials, one to one communication, "Tupperware"-style parties or in-store displays.

Again research is required at the start of a campaign to determine the most effective and efficient vehicles to reach the target audience and increase demand. The primary research findings themselves can also be used to gain publicity for the program at media events and in news stories.

More P's for social marketing- 5) Partnership

In the social marketing arena other P's are added to the 'mix.' Social marketing commentators suggest (Grier and Bryant (2005) that for behaviour or attitude change to be effectively marketed another role of the strategy is to involve consumers and communities in partnership to ensure it is not driven from the 'top down' and this is certainly borne out by health initiatives like the Governments Maori Health Strategy, He Korowai Oranga (Ministry of Health 2002) where partnership, participation and protection (more P's!) are founding principles for strategy development because they are enshrined in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Partnership is key to ensure 'buy in' from Maori participants.

Partnership can also be used to describe joint projects between organizations that use a combined approach to target aligned behaviour and attitude change. For example a joint approach to limit drink driving between the health and traffic safety departments have benefits for each.

6) Policy

Social marketing programs don't end with a graph of product sales and profits calculated. Motivating individual behavior change can take a long time and often happens gradually and the role of the social marketer is also to create an environment where that change is endorsed. Kline Weibach points out that often, policy change is needed, and media advocacy programs can be an effective complement to a social marketing program. An example of this would be the smoke-free legislation that has reinforced the quit smoking behaviour changes the marketing strategy has promoted.

7) Purse Strings

Kline Weibach adds this P to the mix because, she says:

“Most organizations that develop social marketing programs operate through funds provided by sources such as foundations, governmental grants or donations. This adds another dimension to the strategy development-namely, where will you get the money to create your program?”

This is certainly an issue for community organizations wanting to attempt a social marketing approach.

Community-Based Social Marketing

It is only in the last decade or so that social marketing has been applied to environmental issues and notable campaigns that have occurred have been around issues like not pouring pollutants down the drains, litter, saving water, reducing our electricity consumption and the like. It is interesting to note that these last two issues have been driven by shortages that were occurring at the time – rather than the desire for longer term behavioural changes.

In New Zealand social marketing strategies on environmental issues have mostly been deployed by practitioners inside local or national government (Steve Menzies, 2003) National campaigns include “the Reduce Your Rubbish campaign run by the Ministry for the Environment in 2003 and the Big Clean Up that has been a joint initiative from regional councils over the last three years.

In local authorities there are piecemeal approaches to environmental campaigns – it depends entirely on the council's priorities because of the costs involved in conducting the initial research, designing a programme and testing it before evaluating it. The last ‘P’ - the purse strings - suggested by Kline Weibach is certainly a crucial factor. It has been difficult to access results of environmental social marketing programmes from local authorities because they are seen

(perhaps because they are often undertaken by private research companies on behalf of the council) as 'intellectual property' and are not necessarily published. Anecdotal evidence (from private discussions with council staff) however suggests that Councils that have a positive position on environmental policy (for example they may have declared themselves to be working towards becoming "Zero Waste") do allocate funds to engage in social marketing activities.

A leading light in developing strategies for 'sustainable behaviour' through social marketing is Douglas McKenzie-Mohr (1999) - a Canadian environmental psychologist – who has developed a variation on the often complicated models from the health sector which he calls *community-based social marketing*. His suggestions also require a focus on research and testing assumptions before planning a targeted approach to a specific group where the behaviour has been identified (through research) that needs to be changed.

His social marketing model is as follows:

- Research
- Identify the action/activity that you want to change
- Design programme
- Remove external barriers.
- Involving people in the action that needs to happen.
- Creating norms and find ways to make the invisible actions visible.
- Use incentives to reinforce good behaviour
- Communication
- Evaluation of programme

In his workshops (November 2003, NZ) McKenzie-Mohr emphasizes the following points for communicating a social marketing message:

- Personal contact is the most effective way of getting people to change their behaviour.
- Resources by themselves will not change a lot of behaviour.
- Gaining commitment from people has a lasting positive impact.
- Prompts – reminders of good behaviour patterns

These factors will be applied as indicators to assess the social marketing work of the Waste Resource Trust.

Social Marketing on Waiheke – applying McKenzie-Mohr’s model

1) Research

The 1998 survey conducted by the fledgling Waste Resource Trust has been crucial to our development of a social marketing strategy as it not only allowed us more information about what people do and why they do it but it also set the baseline that has enabled us to assess whether attitudes have changed and test effectiveness of our awareness raising activities. The research was repeated in 2004 using a larger survey group to reflect the increase in the island’s population and we have again gathered information that will inform our practice for the future. It is remarkable that a small not-for-profit has been able to conduct research and we have only been able to do so with the assistance of funding from the Community Employment Group in 1998 and a grant from the Australian/New Zealand Third Sector Research group in 2004.

Research is useful not only for the above reasons – but also because it has given our organization authority when we have been called to be accountable to our funders (- those ‘purse-strings’ again! -) and we have exploited our information shamelessly to enhance our reputation for expertise in the waste diversion area in order for us to be able to possibly sell that expertise to other island communities in the future.

2) Identify the action/activity that you want to change

Between 1997 – 2000 Waiheke sent an average 5000 tonnes of waste to Auckland landfills each year and produced only 156 tonnes of recycling. (See graph1)

The Waste Resource Trust members have always been clear that they wanted to reduce waste and increase recycling. In particular the behaviour we want people to do is Reduce Re-use and Recycle. The activities we want people to do include:

- Sorting out their recycling and putting it out at the kerb for collection,
- Alternatively, using the public recycling bins or taking their recyclable material to the transfer station
- Composting their food waste through bokashi, traditional methods or wormfarming
- Reducing waste through their consumer choices (ie: buying bulk)
- Reusing waste material

3) Remove Barriers

According to McKenzie-Mohr this is the fourth step however for the Waste Resource Trust designing a social marketing came *after* the physical barriers to recycling were removed.

The 1998 survey confirmed that one of the major barriers to recycling behaviour was the lack of a system to collect recyclable material from outside householder's homes. The kerbside recycling collection had been dropped in the late 1980's after local body amalgamations and what also became apparent was that many longer term residents were confused about whether there was a recycling pick up or not. This quote from the survey report explains further:

72% of respondents state that they regularly recycle (See. Fig. 7.1), despite widespread perception that the current recycling system is not effective (Gulf News 2/4/98). Respondents appear to be motivated to recycle although the high percentages of recyclables in the waste stream (by weight: 28% paper and cardboard, 10% glass, 12% plastic, 8% metal, Waste Resource Trust Solid Waste Analysis (1)) indicate that the full potential of recycling is not being achieved. It is also possible that some respondents may be using the term 'recycling' when they are in fact re-using items. There appears to be a strong positive relationship between respondents who believe that they recycle and those who claim to regularly buy recycled products (99% confidence level). This suggests that the majority of householders are likely to respond positively to a programme that included the promotion of recycled products (e.g. the "Buy It Back" programme, ARC).

As stated earlier, in 2001 the Waste Resource Trust successfully tendered for the Auckland City Council to re-introduce a recycling collection, collect household waste, run the transfer station and maintain the public recycling and waste bins. By doing so they removed the first physical barrier to recycling.

The internal barriers identified by the 1998 survey included confusion about the recycling process, lack of knowledge on how and what to recycle, lack of understanding of the term waste minimization and a perception that recycling was pointless because of a type of 'we're all going to hell in a handbasket' attitude. These are the barriers that are subject to social marketing campaigns.

4) Design

Removing the physical barriers did increase the amount of recycling on the island. In the first year of operation Clean Stream collected 646 tonnes of recyclable commodities (up from 156 under the previous contractor) however the amount of waste was skyrocketing (see Graph 1) and to make further reductions the Waste Resource Trustees saw the need to develop a campaign that would encourage our population to reduce waste further.

Consequently they developed a proposal and sought funding from the Council and Zero Waste New Zealand Trust to employ two educators who would - in a type of 'market segmentation' that is referred to in the marketing literature - target schools, businesses and residents and visitors in an effort to get these sectors to participate in waste minimisation activities. In March 2002 - seven months after

the company set up its operation - two educators were employed and the Trust embarked on its education/awareness campaign.

McKenzie-Mohr suggests that specific strategies be developed to target each activity and each target group. It is fair to say that the Waste Resource Trust has mostly ignored this and has been opportunistic in its approach to changing behaviour.

5) Involving people in the action that needs to happen.

One of the overarching principles involved in social marketing is to not make assumptions about how to target a campaign. The educators inadvertently applied this principle.

In the first three months the educators gave presentations and initiated debate with 30 community groups - ranging from the local Rotary to a stamp club - and talked to more than 600 people to gather their ideas, concerns, issues and feedback. These discussions and debates could be loosely described as 'focus groups' however we had no clear intention to test 'products' or strategies on them.

One of the key issues that emerged – which was backed up by the 1998 survey results – was that people didn't have a clear idea of what waste minimisation meant (72% said they hadn't heard the term before) and wanted to know more. So we set about publicising our cause with a strategy to raise our public profile and get media coverage.

People learn by doing. We cannot do other people's recycling for them. But we can encourage them to re-use. On Waiheke we have developed a volunteer pool of around 40 people through participation in our annual celebration of wearable art and useful objects called Junk to Funk. In recent months 12 of these volunteers coordinated the Junk to Funk experience – a community celebration of waste re-use which culminates in a catwalk show and prize giving event. For the third consecutive year the volunteers in the organizing team offered workshops within the three schools on the island, worked with community groups to ensure their participation, organized sponsorship, as well as co-ordinating hordes of more volunteers to help and soliciting \$4750 cash provided by local businesses for prize money. The event had an operating budget of \$4000 however a further \$8000 was donated in goods and services.

Junk to Funk is now seen as the largest event on the island. This year just under 1200 people attended on the night, there were 101 entries made by adults and children, we saw the debut of the Waiheke Primary School Junk to Funk Orchestra and over 450 children (from a population of around 1000) were involved in the workshops to create wearable art and what we called FUNK-tional items from the waste stream.

The Junk to Funk project has been examined in detail for its contribution to the community's social capital in a research paper last year (Roche, 2004)

6) Creating norms and finding ways to make the invisible actions visible.

Essentially what we have been attempting to do is to change the norms of behaviour – or social norms. That means we are trying to create a climate where it is **normal** to reduce waste and where it is **not** normal to throw your recycling in the rubbish or produce lots of waste.

Social norms are also described as an indicator for social capital.

McKenzie-Mohr suggests that modelling the desired behaviour makes the behaviour normal and desirable – especially if it is done by community leaders or other 'attractive' personalities. We have done this on Waiheke – in fact having adults mentoring children in workshops for the Junk to Funk construction clubs has been a very effective demonstration of modeling re-use behaviour. Then having those outfits on stage and admired by our entire community –has modeled the behaviour further.

We have also tried other ways – particularly aimed at the schools. We have had intermediate aged children help run waste awareness week at the primary school where they spoke to the younger primary school children about recycling, incineration and landfills.

An example of an activity that the Waste Resource Trust promotes that is 'invisible' is composting. It happens in the back yard so no-one outside the household sees it. By contrast kerbside recycling, or taking the recycling to the transfer station, or using a public recycling bin are all public – visible – actions as other people can see you do it. We have attempted to make this activity more visible though running composting and worm farm workshops and generating publicity over composting initiatives like the bokashi composting system that we trialled on the island two years ago.

As part of the publicity one educator suggested we develop letterbox stickers or T-shirts that say things like: "We compost" or "I've got worms." The t-shirt and sticker ideas have the added benefit of creating norms however – quite aside from the terrible pun – our organisation has been unable to devote funds to these resources.

7) Use incentives to reinforce good behaviour

An incentive to change behaviour – often behaviour that is invisible as discussed above – is often difficult to do. Unless there is a personal cost attached the incentive to reduce waste is negligible. The Waste Resource Trust did, however, attempt to do this with what we called The Lucky Recycler. Local businesses sponsored a prize for a random good recycler and we published both the prize winners name and the sponsoring business in a free monthly advertisement we managed to get from one of our weekly newspapers. This is an example of a public incentive (which also provides an opportunity to reinforce norms of behaviour.)

MacKenzie-Mohr says that rewarding positive behaviour rather than punishing people for engaging in negative behaviour is more effective in the long term. In an effort to reduce disincentives towards recycling behaviour two years ago the Waste Resource Trust took control of what council officers insist on referring to as ‘compliance.’ We prefer to call it our encouragement strategy. We undertook this role because we believed that if the council were to enforce the bylaws around waste that it would discourage our people in their recycling efforts.

Essentially we contact the households (or businesses) where the Clean Stream collection staff have identified a problem with the recycling being contaminated with waste or the rubbish is in a non-compliant bag. (That is, a bag that is not the official red bag that has been pre-paid for through our rates.)

In the first instance we send these households a letter explaining the problem and the solution. If the address comes up again within a 12-month period we send a second more strongly worded letter. And if a third problem occurs the educators visit the address – and if no-one is home another letter is left for them.

The letters are designed to get a response. We want people to contact us so that we can talk the issues through and identify the problems they have and help find a solution. In 18 months we have sent out a total of just over 2000 letters and our response rate is about one in four. During the same time frame we have visited 60 homes as part of this encouragement strategy and we have had only three addresses who continue to ‘not comply.’

Invariably the responses from householders are a bit grumpy when they receive a letter – but once we are able to talk to them this attitude changes considerably. We have found that people respond favourably once they realise that we are **not** from the council and that our role is to educate – not enforce. The fact that we are a community organisation – with a high community profile, a solid volunteer base and a good reputation and our people are unfailingly positive – gives us a huge advantage in being able to manage one to one education. We are seen as being part of the community – the same as the householder – and contribute to

our community's well being whereas the council, and council officers, are seen in a more negative light.

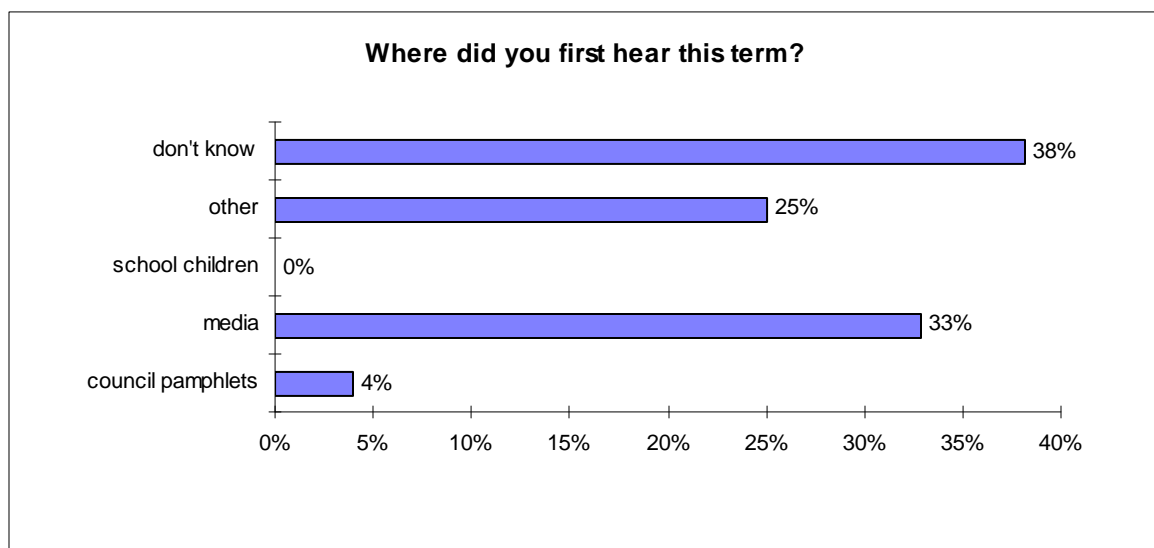
8) Communication

The encouragement strategy acts as both a “prompt” – a reminder of what behaviour is expected where the internal barrier is that they either don't know the required behaviour or can't remember – and as a tool for communication.

We are a small community and 'kanohi ki te kanohi' is the best and most effective method for educating people and creating awareness. On Waiheke people chat to one another and we want waste and waste reduction to be a hot topic for discussion. In the social marketing literature the term is described as 'one-to-one' education and in commercial marketing it is word-of-mouth advertising – and on Waiheke we have focussed on this method quite deliberately to educate our community and get the positive behaviour we are seeking. One to one communication is an especially good use of our volunteers – who are walking talking advertisements and as they are diverse in age and culture and interests can access a variety of networks on the Island where they can spread the key messages.

McKenzie-Mohr is adamant that resources by themselves will not change a lot of behaviour. Just giving out a pamphlet doesn't necessarily make a difference. The following graph from the 1998 survey - which is where the 27% of respondents who said they had heard the term 'waste minimisation' before were asked where they had heard it from - confirms this assertion.

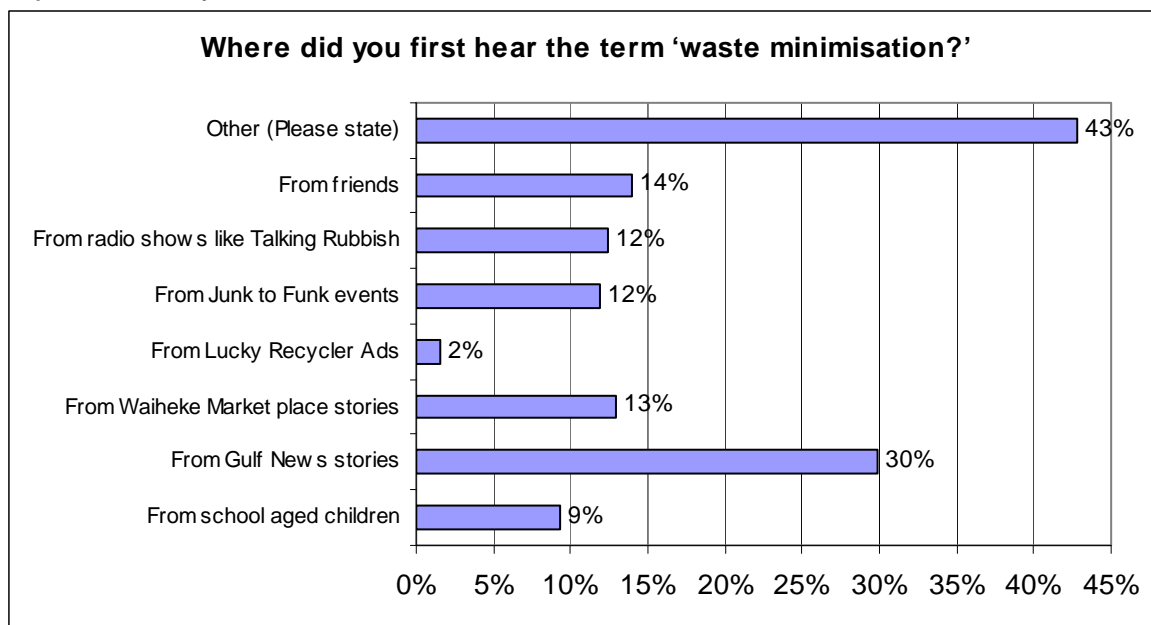
Graph 2, 1998 Attitude Survey



McKenzie-Mohr asserts that we need to grab people's attention in order to persuade them to change their behaviour so the messages we use need to be clear, vivid and interesting. He also suggests that providing feedback on how we're doing is also important as it keeps people engaged.

The Waste Resource Trust has absolutely no advertising budget however we get the information across to our people about what, how and why to recycle and reduce waste. By creating our own stories and developing relationships with the local media (there are currently three weekly newspapers on the island and one radio station) we are able to push our message and we average at least one story every fortnight – and have done so for the last three and a half years. Over that time coverage has included - as well as the Lucky Recycler prize mentioned earlier - letters to the editor, a regular column called 'Waste Watchers,' as well as profiles and coverage of events that the Waste Resource Trust either participates in or generates. In addition we have a regular 15 minute 'Talking Rubbish' spot on Saturday mornings on our local radio station and our local cinema regularly shows short films from "Waiheke TV" about our activities.

Graph 3, 2004 survey



We know that this strategy is working because the response to the question checking whether people had heard the term 'waste minimisation' before was that 65% of the respondents had heard it before (compared with 27% in 1998) and when asked to identify where they had heard the term they responded by

listing the media stories, (30% mentioned stories in the Gulf News, and 12% the Waiheke Marketplace) activities like the Junk to Funk event (13%), the radio spot (12% mentioned this medium – which pleased the radio station no end) and 9% said they had heard the term from school children.

It is worth noting that in 1998 of the 27% of the respondents who had heard the term before none had heard it from school children and 4% said from council pamphlets. In the repeat survey no-one mentioned council pamphlets at all and the responses highlight the fact that our programmes at the school –including the Junk to Funk projects – may be helping communicate our ideas.

The survey results referred to above also listed a 14% response from people who has heard the term waste minimisation from friends. Which suggests that one-to-one communication is also effective.

9) Evaluation

All the literature on social marketing insists that evaluating programmes is essential to proving their efficacy. For the Waste Resource Trust we have evaluated only a few projects (Junk to Funk had a stakeholder analysis and evaluation process that is described in *Junk to Funk – a Case Study*, Roche, 2004) and the only other critical evaluation piece undertaken was the repeat survey last year.

To undertake complete evaluation we would need to design processes that involved each of the three target sectors (these being: schools, businesses and the community and residents) separately. Quite frankly our funding does not allow us to do so.

Our activities are driven by results though. We tend to rely on monthly and annual recycling/waste diversion and waste tonnages (see Graph 1) to determine whether our activities in marketing behaviour is having any effect.

Even so, the trustees of the Waste Resource Trust, as well as the staff and the volunteers maintain that our campaigns are effective and that they tap into our community's social capital. The Waste Resource Trust both draws on it and contributes to it – and this is crucial for the Trust to gain acceptance for our causes.

Social Capital – applying the indicators

According to one of the Waste Resource Trust board members (John Stansfield, 2005) the WRT's activities contribute to the social capital in our community because:

“Our community organisations are community-owned, collective and community-based, which show a clear benefit for our entire island population and all profits go back to the community.”

To test this, the following indicators – drawn from Paul Bullen and Jenny Onyx' work (1998) – will be explored further and applied to the Waiheke community and the Waste Resource Trust activities. These indicators are:

- The voluntary and equal participation in networks
- Reciprocity
- Trust
- Social norms
- The Commons.

1) Voluntary and equal in networks

As mentioned earlier Waiheke has a history of activism around environmental issues. It was the first community to declare itself GE Free and was one of the first nuclear-free communities as well. The most recent example is that – after a lot of public activity and outcry - the Council was forced to buy the land at our gateway harbour Matiatia from a company of developers.

It has a high level of participation – as we can see from the high voter turn out for local body elections and the frequent raging arguments in the letters to the editor pages of the Gulf News. At last count there were more than 200 community organizations – all run by volunteers. (Waiheke Island Council of Social Services Directory, 2003.)

The Waste Resource Trust was set up by – and still relies on - volunteers to govern the activities of the Trust and guide the operations of the Clean Stream Waiheke company. (The trustees who are the board of directors for Clean Stream Waiheke are paid directors fees for their role with the company however these are all donated to the Waste Resource Trust to pay the wages of the two part-time educators.) In addition the Trust has a large pool of around 40 other volunteers who contribute to the activities of the Trust and the Trust acts as the organization to facilitate the network of these volunteers. As mentioned earlier these volunteers have developed their involvement through Junk to Funk.

A key factor for keeping the volunteerism going is that we try to ensure that volunteers skills are matched to the tasks they do, that they are thanked and appreciated and most importantly that they have fun. Our volunteers make sure we keep a sense of humour even though we are reasonably serious in wanting to raise awareness. An example of this is that every year they have made sure we have entered the local Santa Parade. We have even won prizes – most notably for our efforts with the truly marvelous pyjama-clad Synchronised Wheelie Bin Marchers.

We don't want to lose our volunteers because potentially they are walking and talking advertisements that promote reduce-re-use-recycle wherever they are on the island so they are part of our one-to-one education strategy. They come from a range of backgrounds, ages and networks and their participation ensures that we remain an 'égalité' type of organization and gives us our social advantage.

2) Reciprocity is another factor to consider when exploring social capital. In essence there are two types of reciprocity: The short-term 'what do I get out of it' type characterized by self-interest and the longer term altruistic benefits of what is contributed to society as a whole. Recycling behaviour can be seen as a classic example of reciprocity within this context. The Waste Resource Trust has spent an enormous amount of energy in our campaigns to get people to recycle because they are caring for the planet – yet we suspect that people are doing so more and more to reduce the costs involved in buying extra red rubbish bags. This is not necessarily a bad thing. It works. The cost of the bags is the self interest and the community interest that drives recycling is that by doing so we can also take pleasure in the fact that we can feel good about ourselves because, locally, we are supporting a community-owned business and creating jobs and we are also caring for the planet.

Reciprocity also describes the partnerships and relationships that are mutually beneficial that develop between organizations. Over time the Waste Resource Trust has grabbed opportunities to get involved in other's celebrations and events – like the Rotary Club's Trolley Derby, for example, where we donated a \$20 prize for the 'most recycled trolley' and our relationship with local media is another example. We provide stories because we want coverage and they print them because they want stories that are interesting and local. This type of reciprocity requires trust - another indicator of social capital.

3) Social norms/Norms of behaviour

As discussed earlier our campaigns have endeavoured to change the social norms or norms of behaviour around recycling and waste reduction practices on the island.

‘Social norms’ or ‘norms of behaviour’ describe what people do, what their attitudes and rules and habits are and how this impacts on how they behave. Shared norms are the result of a high level of trust and behaviour within groups.

The level of community activism on Waiheke suggests that participating in the life of the community is an accepted part of life here. It’s a shared norm. Our community can be shocked by misfortune or injustice or decisions that are seen as petty and mindless and our people are frequently moved to take action.

It’s normal here to ‘get stuck in’ – as one old battler was heard to remark recently. And, as witnessed by the level of giving involved in the Junk to Funk events, to some extent, it’s also normal to give.

It is also normal to identify as different. This goes beyond mere parochialism to a positive identity that cares for people and the planet. Our community is proud of the Waste Resource Trust as it contributes to our image of ourselves and reinforces this point of difference. (Stansfield, 2005.)

4) Trust

As a community organization we have a high level of trust from our community. The fact that the Waste Resource Trust is a not-for-profit means that we work hard to be accountable to the community and this is reflected in our media stories, our presentations to other community groups and in our relationships with the schools and businesses and people in the community

We are also extremely careful to maintain our organizations independence and we try to ensure that the work that we do is not seen as enforcing or confused with activities that the Council would undertake. As a wider part of the population come to understand that the more we are trusted.

The ‘encouragement strategy’ referred to in an earlier section has been risky for our organization. However we are convinced that the apparent success of this strategy is reliant on the fact that because we are a community organization we are trusted.

5) The Commons

In the literature around social capital the commons is described as the combined effect of trust, networks, norms and reciprocity that creates a strong sense of community with shared ownership over resources. For the Waste Resource Trust the best outcome we could achieve would be for our entire community to see our waste as a resource and for us all to take responsibility for it.

An example of the commons from the Waste Resource Trust would be Junk to Funk – where the project has become bigger than any one individual or even the parent organization. The commons is best depicted as the strong sense of togetherness, acceptance, celebration and pride that was so apparent at the

event this year. It has now become 'owned' by the community – and we seem unable to drop it from our list of annual activities. It is a community resource – as is the community organization that facilitated it.

We are working hard at having our community take pride in the fact that our waste and recycling is dealt with by a community-owned company. –That essentially its operation and success depends on all of us and it belongs to all of us. We do not refer to Clean Stream Waiheke Ltd as a not-for-profit organization because, firstly, it does make a profit (the profits –from the sales of recycling commodities - stay in the company to fund further employment and waste diversion work) and, secondly, we consider Clean Stream Waiheke's social role in providing work, income, and training and up-skilling for staff makes it a 'more-than-profit' organization.

Findings

The original questions for this research were concerned about social marketing, social capital and whether there was a link between these two concepts and recycling behaviour. The previous sections of this paper have attempted to define the concepts and then apply them to the Waste Resource Trust activities – which include promoting recycling behaviour.

It is obvious that the Waste Resource Trust activities do not sit within the clear framework for a social marketing strategy. Grier and Bryant (2005) maintain that a disproportionate attention to promotional activities detracts from the fundamental requirement of an integrated marketing mix (the four P's) and that social marketing is commonly misconstrued as social advertising, education or mass media campaigns. This is certainly the case for the Waste Resource Trust. We are very opportunistic and will shamelessly grab every chance we get to deliver our key message of reduce reuse recycle – which means that we do have more of a social advertising or education campaigning approach.

It is also clear that we have not intentionally applied the marketing mix to 'selling' the behaviour and attitudes around waste minimization

In small communities like Waiheke, however, it is unlikely that many organizations would be able to fund the research, design, pilot and evaluation of a strictly-by-the-book social marketing strategy. And this is a common criticism in the debate around the issues (Grier and Bryant, 2005.)

Despite - or maybe because of our lack of clear social marketing strategy – our recycling behaviour has improved. In 1998 72% of those surveyed said they recycled. That had increased to 93% in last year's survey. Composting garden and food waste has also increased dramatically. If we developed a slick campaign and spent our rather scarce financial resources on developing a by-the-book strategy it is quite likely that it would backfire for us. Our point of

difference from Council and from the private sector - both of whom have managed the transfer station and the island's waste in the past - is that we are small, under-funded, struggling, run by volunteers etc. Our anarchic (Stansfield, 2005) population could very well disapprove and trust us less and consequently that could have an impact on our waste diversion rates.

Social capital in communities can be enhanced and encouraged by social marketing campaigns – and the first clue to that is Weibe's 1952 "Can we sell brotherhood" comment. From the literature review it becomes apparent that social marketing targets behaviour changes that can add to the social capital in communities. A significant point of difference however is that social marketing can be aimed at changing *individual behaviour* that have individual benefits - like smoking or exercising more – or individual behaviour that has social benefits – like not hitting you partner and children. Social marketing can also have as an aim to change *individual attitudes* that have social benefits like caring for the environment. Social capital on the other hand is about collective benefits.

Recycling and composting and making less waste are also behaviours undertaken by the individual. There are no laws or by-laws that say that anyone **has** to recycle. It is a purely voluntary activity. The Waste Resource Trust may not have undertaken a social marketing strategy but our people are consistently encouraged to recycle and reduce waste and it requires a certain amount of goodwill from the people in the community for that to happen. The 2004 survey results suggest that this goodwill – this recycling behaviour - has become a **social norm** - and while this might not mean recycling is an indicator of social capital it is certainly behaviour that contributes to the social, financial and environmental benefits in our community.

For Waiheke, the Waste Resource Trust and our community-owned company Clean Stream Waiheke Ltd has become a common resource. We cannot prove it – but we do believe that our organisation does have an advantage when it comes to changing attitudes and behaviour. We gain acceptance for our cause where organisations that are seen as 'authorities' may not because we trade on the goodwill – the social capital – inherent in our community.

Further research

Social capital could be examined further on Waiheke Island. In this study only the indicators have been applied and only to specific parts of the community not the community as a whole. For a clearer understanding on the health and well being of our community Spellerberg (2001) recommends that the following areas be surveyed for an accurate measurement of social capital.

- Behaviours (what people do)
- Attitudes and values (what people feel)
- Population groups (what people are: families, cultural groups, communities etc)
- Organisations

Having examined surveys that researchers have undertaken to measure social capital it is obvious that doing so is an area of expertise that is well beyond the resources of the Waste Resource Trust on Waiheke. Such a study would reveal a lot of information about our community, however, and could be very useful to further promote our waste reduction activities.

Learning Reflection – Comment from the author

After exploring the marketing mix in both the commercial and social marketing disciplines I developed my own set of P's to explain how we do our social advertising, or promotion, or education campaign –or whatever it is – on Waiheke. I tested these out on November 13th 2005 at an Adelaide activists' conference in a one-hour workshop using our 2005 Junk to Funk project as a case study that was called " A Funky Message - Building an army and getting your message across on a shoe-string budget."

Briefly these P's are as follows:

- **Purpose** – what's the key message?
- **People and passion** – who cares about and supports these messages and how can you keep them and get more?
- **Plan** – what opportunities are there for the passionate people to participate?
- **Profile** – how can the message be promoted?
- **Party** – how will success be celebrated and evaluation conducted?

Feedback from the workshop participants was positive – so maybe this is an alternative model to social marketing.

In the course of writing this research paper I realise that I have used 'we' and "our" a lot to refer to projects involving the Waste Resource Trust and Junk to Funk and the Waiheke community. I think it is because of 'the commons'- there is a sense of collectivity/collective ownership about the projects that I have referred to and although I am a part of that it feels inappropriate to refer to them in any other way.

This research also feels like a collective resource since many have participated in it – sharing their ideas and critiquing my analysis. In the process this research has become another common resource.

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Sharon Harris – Volunteer
Justin Beaver – Volunteer
Steve Dickens – Junk Man and Volunteer
Niki Walker – Volunteer and Party Girl

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