

Nonprofit marketing: Theory triangulation

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ABSTRACT

Concept of nonprofit marketing has emerged from discussions of applying the philosophy and techniques of marketing to the public and nonprofit sectors in the marketing literature. However, many of these marketing ideas emerged originally from social science disciplines. Almost all social science can be classified into the two general categories of «individualistic" and "collectivistic" perspectives (Collins, 1994; Olsen, 1992; Parsons, 1961). This study attempts to accommodate a pluralistic stance toward diversity of social science perspectives in context of nonprofit marketing theory. Thus, it is not limited to discussion of individualistic or collectivist references. The study attempts to consider different social science perspectives to validate nonprofit marketing theory.

Key words: nonprofit marketing, theory triangulation, generalized exchange, reciprocity, redistribution.

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1. Introduction

Although the paper's main retrospective is focused on historical development of nonprofit and public sectors marketing from its original introduction in 1969 to the present time, it also includes discussions and references to social science problems and studies stemming from the beginning of the twentieth century. This is done because the legitimacy of the modern concept of nonprofit sector marketing is commonly justified by studies that were conducted in the 1960s (e.g. Belshaw, 1965; Blau and Scott, 1962; Homans, 1969) or even earlier (e.g. Frazer, 1919; Malinowski, 1922, Polanyi, 1944). Without reference to these original studies and their interpretation by marketing scholars, an understanding of the prevailing concept of nonprofit sector marketing would be incomplete.

The central assumption of this study suggests that the source of the “marketing to nonmarketers” problem might derive from contradictions that may be termed the “fox guards the chickens” paradox. The paradox suggests that introduction of the nonprofit sector marketing concept, which was ostensibly portrayed as an attempt to strengthen the nonprofit sector, was in reality an attempt to weaken it. Marketing scholars who introduced the concept were representatives of the laissez-faire academic school in economics, whose major premise is superiority of the neo-liberal principle of the free market over any government intervention. Their conceptualization of nonprofit sector marketing was based on individualistic social science concepts that reflected the laissez-faire doctrine and neo-liberal principles. The author of this research believes that collectivistic concepts of social science, which have received widespread empirical support and recognition, may better explain some dimensions of nonprofit service. They could genuinely contribute to a real strengthening of nonprofit sector management, but were selectively excluded from the discussion. This prompted a natural adverse reaction from some public and nonprofit administrators (Miller, 2010; Tam, 1994, Vanden Heede, A and Pelican, S. (1995).

The central proposition of this paper is that in order for marketing to be accepted by public and nonprofit administrators, genuine allies of the public and nonprofit sectors should develop it. A pro laissez-faire conceptualization of public and nonprofit sectors marketing developed by those who lack understanding and insights of public and nonprofit sectors management should be re-defined using alternative elements from collectivistic perspectives that are found in social science. The

author believes that these collectivist perspectives are more congruent to the public and nonprofit sectors' missions, and may provide a superior conceptualization of public and nonprofit sectors marketing, than that which currently prevails based on an individualist perspective. To achieve the goal the study employed theory triangulation method.

2. "Marketing to nonmarketers" controversy

Kotler and Levy (1969) argued that public and nonprofit organizations such as police departments, park and recreation agencies, museums, public schools, churches, and the like, performed "marketing-like activities whether or not they are recognized as such" (p. 11). Kotler and Levy attempted to redefine traditional notions of commercial marketing and to formulate generic definitions of product, target groups, and the other functions of marketing so these concepts could be applicable to the public sector. Their main thesis suggested that all organizations faced similar marketing problems, were involved in marketing processes, and that business marketing provide a useful set of concepts for solving these problems.

In a rejoinder to Luck's (1969) critical comments on their article, Kotler and Levy (1969) proclaimed that the concept of a market transaction with its underlying mission of generating profit for businesses was not the defining characteristic of modern marketing. Rather, the ultimate goal of marketing was the satisfaction of consumer needs and the continual adjustment of product offerings to meet these needs. They argued that this process was universal and was found in primitive, socialist, and capitalist societies. They perceived the process to be based on the neutral and "general idea of exchange" which included commercial market transactions and noncommercial services delivered in return for the payment of taxes.

Inspired by the general idea of exchange emanating from the provocative theory of social exchange (Homans 1969), Kotler and his associates modified existing political communication and public advertising theories to formulate the marketing approach comprised of the "4 Ps" model, voluntary exchange, and the marketing philosophy of meeting customers' needs (Bonoma and Zaltman 1978; Kotler and Zaltman, 1971).

In 1972, Kotler formulated his broadened, generic, and axiomatic concept of marketing that was conceptualized as being universal for any type of product or organization (Kotler, 1972). The generic marketing paradigm stated that there were three levels of marketing "consciousness."

Consciousness 1 was business marketing concerned with market transactions. This was the traditional notion of marketing from its beginning until the early 1970s. Consciousness 2 was a broadened notion of marketing concerned with nonmarket transactions that do not require explicit payments. Consciousness 3 was those marketing activities that were directed to publics other than customers' markets in an organization's environment. All three levels of marketing consciousness shared the same core concept, the notion of transaction. Kotler (1972, p 49) asserted:

The core concept of marketing is the transaction. A transaction is the exchange of values between two parties. The things-of-value need not be limited to goods, services, and money; they include other resources such as time, energy, and feelings. Transactions occur not only between buyers and sellers, and organizations, and clients, but also between any two parties. ... Marketing is specifically concerned with how transactions are created, stimulated, facilitated, and valued." (emphasis original).

While some marketing educators agreed with the broadening marketing proposition (Nickels, 1974), some did not (Bartels, 1974; Bell and Emory, 1971; Buchanan, D et al. 1994; Carman, 1973; Luck, 1969; 1974; Tucker, 1974). In response to the emerging criticism, Bagozzi (1975) attempted to modify the generic concept of marketing further, by proposing three types of marketing exchange (restricted, generalized, and complex) and that they could exhibit three classes of meanings (utilitarian, symbolic, and mixed). Bagozzi (1975) saw the essence of nonbusiness marketing as being the concept of complex exchange, which he defined as "a system of mutual relationships between at least three parties [where] each social actor is involved in at least one direct exchange, while the entire system is organized by an interconnecting web of relationships" (Bagozzi, 1975, p. 33). This definition built upon the earlier work of Shapiro (1973) who argued that in contrast to a business concern, the nonbusiness organization had to work with a minimum of two constituencies: the public from whom it received funds and the public to whom it provided services. Bagozzi (1975, p. 39) believed that social marketing was "a subset of the generic concept of marketing" and the generic concept of marketing was a "general function of universal applicability."

«Apologists» who were concerned with the conceptual identity of the marketing discipline, its proper boundaries, and its classical and traditional interpretation (Arnold and Fisher, 1996) initiated the controversy. Luck (1969; 1974) was the first apologist to attack Kotler and his associates (Kotler and Levy, 1969; Kotler and Roberto 1989; Kotler and Zaltman, 1971; Kotler, 1972). Luck argued that in the public sector there are no freely established terms of sale, and parties (e.g. churches, donors, voters, political parties, and so on) are not given any specific quid pro quo in

their transactions. He believed that marketing should be limited to buying-and-selling interactions, and that applying this criterion to nonmarket situations leads to "confusion compounded" (Luck, 1974).

The Kotler-Luck discussion of the scope of marketing stimulated substantial additional debate. Dawson (1979), Fisher-Winkelman and Rock (1977), Spratlen (1979), and Lazer and Kelley (1973) advocated that the central value of marketing should revolve around social responsibility and humanistic concerns, instead of its traditional pragmatic and materialistic orientation and preoccupation with profit. Bell and Emory (1971), and Etgar and Ratchford (1975) stated that Kotler's broadened conceptualization of marketing undermined the classical interpretation of marketing. Arndt (1978) argued that the marketing field should exclude churches, welfare agencies, and cultural organizations from its domain. He insisted that the conceptual foundations for public sector marketing should emanate from the political science and public administration areas. Bartels (1974) pointed out that if marketing is to be regarded as being sufficiently broad to include both public and for-profit organizations then it will, perhaps, reappear as a higher order discipline and under another name. Some have suggested alternative titles for this higher order discipline. The suggestions included "physical redistribution" (Bartels, 1974); "transactional sociology, persuasion, attitude change, social engineering, public relations, or government" (Tucker, 1974); "relationics," "exchangeology" (Arndt, 1978); and "redistributive justice" (Monieson, 1988).

Bagozzi's (1975) extension of Kotler's generic marketing conceptualization, which incorporated adaptations of social exchange theory and anthropological approaches, also came under attack. Critical commentators argued that Bagozzi's adaptation of social exchange theory from sociology was inadequate, that he ignored critiques of exchange theory found in the social sciences; and that he annexed almost all of social science, especially social psychology, and claimed it as part of the marketing discipline (Blair, 1977; Ferrell and Zey-Ferrell, 1977; Ferrell and Perachione, 1980; Robin, 1978).

In spite of the debates, Kotler's notion of applying marketing logic to contexts beyond those of business situations was widely accepted by marketing educators (Nickels, 1974). Bagozzi's (1975) articulation of a formal theory of marketing exchanges won an award as the most outstanding paper at the American Marketing Association's (AMA) First Semi-Annual Theory Conference. Controversy over the issue was declared to be over (Hunt, 1976; Lovelock and Weinberg, 1978). The next decade, however, showed this declaration to be premature, as further constructive criticism

was published by Capon (1981); Capon and Mauser (1982), Dixon (1978), Houston and Gasseneimer (1987), Nine (1994); Octen (1983), Pandya and Dholakya (1992), and Rados (1981).

For example, Dixon (1978) argued that Kotler's broadened conceptualization of marketing, and especially social marketing concept, assumed that management of a public or social organization could act independently from elected government representatives, and that organizations were able to determine equity standards of resource allocation relatively independently. According to Dixon (1978), such a conceptualization was as misleading as the Ptolemaic view of the universe that suggested the Sun revolves around the Earth. Dixon (1978) contended that an organization (the Earth) is subordinate to governmental policy (the Sun) established by elected officials, and that it is government who determines equitable allocation of resources in a society.

Rados (1981) elaborated upon Arndt's (1978) argument that "not all exchange is marketing" and took issue with Kotler and Bagozzi arguing, "not all marketing is exchange." Rados (1981) did not accept either Kotler's (1975) or Bagozzi's (1975) conceptualization of public and nonprofit sectors marketing. He challenged it from two perspectives. First, Rados recognized that the economic idea of voluntary exchange is appropriate for describing commercial transactions characterized by bilateral transfers of tangible or intangible resources between any two parties. He agreed with Kotler that the absence of any control over an individual who had a right to choose, and the inability of a firm to proscribe its products to customers, were the main characteristics of marketing behavior in any democratic society. However, Rados pointed out that in the same democratic society, the most popular method practiced by government to pay for delivered services through the action of its legislative or executive branches was force. This was exemplified by forbidding choices; making selected behavior or purchases illegal and limiting choices through bureaucratic decision rules that restricted the available options. For example, the US federal and state governments require car drivers to use seat belts and drive at a restricted speed; college students to take a prescribed number of courses and follow academic guidelines; and taxpayers to pay their taxes by a certain date. Failure to conform to such rules or laws leads to sanctions and punishments. It is difficult to argue these actions are implemented with a free will so "... the notion of voluntary exchange begins to go off the track" (p. 19).

The second concern expressed by Rados (1981) referred to what was being exchanged for what in noncommercial situations. Mercantile transactions are voluntary bilateral transfers of tangible and intangible resources such as money, goods and services between any two parties. What

is being exchanged in such transactions is "rights, the property rights, specifically the exclusive right to [own] ... and the right to transfer that right to someone else" (p. 19). Rados contended, however, that nothing was being exchanged in noncommercial situations. The National Safety Council urges motorists to drive within the speed limit, not to consume alcohol, and to wear seat belts. However, "the driver gives nothing to the council, and the council gives nothing to the driver ... nor does the council seek command over resources as a result of its effort" (p. 20). Similarly, when donors contribute to the art museum or a charity they do not receive in return a "feeling of well being" as Kotler (1975) postulated. Rados argued that feelings are self-generating, cannot be stored and sent off upon receipt of a donation, and may not emanate from the act of donating to an art museum or charity organization.

Rados excluded force, legislative activity, therapy, wartime propaganda, and inability to refuse to pay taxes and the like from the marketing domain. Echoing the earlier critique of Arndt (1978), Rados concluded that "some marketing is exchange, but not all of it; [and] some exchange is marketing but not all of it" (p. 18). In contrast to Kotler, Rados interpreted marketing as a managerial technology for changing behavior. Marketing seeks to influence mass behavior. To achieve this goal, marketing uses two major methods: persuasive communication and adaptation to existing patterns of behavior. Using these methods "[marketer] A tries to get [customer] B to do his will, where B has freedom to act as he chooses" (p. 17).

It should be noted that Rados' interpretation of nonprofit marketing incorporated some contradictions. While dissenting with Kotler's postulations of exchange relationships in nonprofit organizations and rejecting the notion that feelings constitute exchangeable resources, Rados included Kotler's notion of exchange flows in nonprofit organizations where services and money are exchanged for "thanks" (pp. 12-13). It seems that Rados' work was directed towards finding a compromise with Kotler's position.

Reviewing and comparing Rados' (1981) and Kotler's (1975) interpretation of nonprofit marketing, Capon and Mauser (1982) challenged the appropriateness of the marketing concept in a public and nonprofit sectors context. The conventional wisdom of marketing advocated by Kotler and his followers (Andreasen, 1995; Lovelock and Weinberg, 1978; 1984; Mokwa, Dawson, and Prieve, 1980; Mokwa and Permut, 1981) suggested that the core task of marketing is to satisfy the publics' needs and wants. Accordingly, the marketing concept (marketing philosophy) as defined in almost every commercial marketing text states that the satisfaction of customer needs is the justification for an agency's existence and its actions. Hence, alternatives to the concept of

marketing—a sales orientation or a product orientation—are seen as inappropriate and likely to lead to a company's demise. The conventional task of marketing is perceived to be a continual adjustment of product or service offerings to meet customer needs (Kotler and Levy, 1969). In the public and nonprofit sectors context, Kotler (1975) suggested that a sales orientation was indicative of an unresponsive organization, while a responsive organization would be characterized by a marketing orientation.

Capon and Mauser (1982) dispute this conventional view of marketing in the public and nonprofit sectors contexts. They contrast business and nonbusiness organizations and argue that business firm and public sector organizations have different objectives. Business firms have a long run objective to survive and in pursuing this objective, firms can change their core mission as many times as it necessary for survival. Change of mission means either adapting the firm's products to match the external environment (the marketing concept) or adapting the environment to match the firm's product (the selling concept). Most marketers favor adapting the marketing concept that is, changing a firm's core mission, services, or target markets in order to best match its resources to environmental opportunities. For example, a commercially oriented recreation center could totally change its service offering, increase prices, reduce costs, target high-income market segments in a different geographical location, and abandon low-income local markets that were not contributing to the center's long run survival objective.

Capon and Mauser (1982, p. 128) argue that this notion of satisfying customer needs and wants, or the application of the marketing concept in a public organization is "absurd ... as far as pursuing its core mission is concerned." They distinguish between extant and core missions of public and nonprofit organizations. The extant mission reflects the activities of public and nonprofit organizations that are designed to improve relationships with publics. For example, a church can provide scouting, women's clubs, and soup kitchens to cement relationships with believers. A public university may modify its course offering to serve students better. A city park and recreation department may introduce new recreation services in response to citizens' requests. The extant mission, and nature of activities associated with it, may change over time as relationships with publics improve or deteriorate. However, the core mission, which is more important than the extant missions, is less likely to change. Churches and political parties do not change their core religious doctrines and political philosophies. Public universities do not change the length of semester or core course requirements because some students want them shorter, fewer, or cheaper. Park and recreation departments do not provide highly profitable services such as casinos or striptease bars

because these contradict their core social mission to deliver a healthy recreation opportunities. Rather these organizations attempt to persuade their members and publics to either adopt the core political, educational, religious, or community doctrines and philosophies, or request them to drop their membership with the organization.

Capon and Mauser (1982) argue that for nonprofit or public sector organizations, the appropriate behavior relating to the core mission is “persuasion to its point of view.” For other areas of activities and services defined by the extant mission, either a marketing or a sales orientation may be appropriate. A similar position regarding the role of marketing in public organizations was taken by Hutton (1996) who recommended reconsideration of the fallacious understanding of relationships between marketing and public relations suggested by Kotler and Mindag (1978). Comparing Kotler’s definition of generic marketing with definitions of integrated marketing communications (IMC) and relationship marketing, Hutton (1996) found them to be almost identical and, that all of them were, “a definition of public relations, as it has been practiced by more enlightened organizations for decades” (p. 158). Hutton suggested that public organizations adopt a “separate but equal” model of relationships between public relations and marketing. Consistent with Capon and Mauser (1982), Hutton (1996) suggested that public relations was the appropriate vehicle for implementing persuasion and the core mission, while marketing was more appropriate for the extant mission with its focus on physical distribution, capacity utilization, new product development, and the like.

These critical works stimulated further discussion of the conceptual underpinnings of public and non-profit sectors marketing. Walsh (1994) accepted Rados' dissension with the notion of voluntary exchange in the public sector, as did Pandya and Dholakya (1992) who suggested as an alternative the institutional theory of exchange informed by Arndt’s (1981) political economy theory of marketing systems.

The overall status of the public sector marketing concept and the whole idea of applying marketing principles to contexts beyond business situations in the marketing literature was perhaps best summarized by Kerin (1996, p. 6). In his comprehensive review of outstanding contributions published during the last 60 years in the *Journal of Marketing*, Kerin characterized the works of Kotler and his associates (Kotler, 1972; Kotler and Levy, 1969; Kotler and Zaltman, 1971) as “controversial.” The results of controversy are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Borrowed and overlooked concepts

<i>Social Science Discipline</i>	<i>Concepts Borrowed to Develop Nonprofit Sector Marketing</i>	<i>Ignored Concepts</i>
Organizational Behavior	Open-System Model of Formal Organizations	Closed-System Model of Formal Organizations
Sociology	Individualistic Social Exchange Theory	Collectivistic Social Exchange Theory
Economic Anthropology	“Formalist” History of Marketing Exchange	“Substantivist” History of Marketing Exchange

3. Method

Because some researchers have challenged the appropriateness of the marketing concept based on the voluntary exchange paradigm in the public sector context, the method of *theory triangulation* was adopted (Golafshani, 2003; Hoque et al., 2013, Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2010). The purpose of triangulation in qualitative research is to increase the credibility and validity of the results. Several scholars have aimed to define triangulation throughout the years. Cohen and Manion

(2000, p. 254) define triangulation as an "attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint." Altrichter et al. (2008, p. 147) contend that triangulation "gives a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation." According to O'Donoghue and Punch (2003, p.78), triangulation is a "method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data."

Denzin (2006) identified four basic types of triangulation. Data triangulation: involves time, space, and persons. Investigator triangulation: involves multiple researchers in an investigation. Theory triangulation: involves using more than one theoretical scheme in the interpretation of the phenomenon. Methodological triangulation: involves using more than one method to gather data, such as interviews, observations, questionnaires, and documents.

Theory triangulation involves validating conclusions by using multiple observers, theories, methods and data sources in order to overcome biases associated with a single method, observer, theory, or data source (Patton, 2002). Triangulation is closely associated with the *modus operandi* of detectives, and it partly overlaps investigative research and negative case analysis procedures (Scriven, 1974). Implementation of this method is, in the words of Miles and Huberman (1996, p. 267), mere "analytic induction"—seeing or hearing multiple instances from different sources and reconciling the findings of the different approaches.

Levine (1974, p. 669) suggested that theory triangulation could be compared with a cross-examination test:

... the particular position asserted in a paper is subject to cross-examination or further probing. Attempts by others at replication, new experiments, and inclusive logical critiques of experiments, or of an area of study, may all be viewed as attacks on a particular position by advocates of another position. In legal proceedings, the cross-examination is considered the essential safeguard to the accuracy and completeness of testimony. The cross-examination tests the credibility of the direct testimony, or it brings out additional related facts that may modify the inference one draws from some bit of testimony.

One of the goals of theory triangulation, according to Patton (2002), is to understand how different assumptions and fundamental premises held by various stakeholders affect conclusions. The benefits of triangulation include "increasing confidence in research data, creating innovative ways of understanding a phenomenon, revealing unique findings, challenging or integrating theories, and providing a clearer understanding of the problem" (Thurmond, 2001, p. 254).

Therefore, implementation of theory triangulation in this study included not only reconciling, cross-examination, and evaluation of existing null assumptions of public sector marketing with alternative assumptions; but also included an attempt to understand how premises held by the originators of public sector marketing affected their final conclusions, and why some concepts were neglected or significantly reworked. The reason behind choosing theory triangulation was an attempt to find out if alternative concepts had potential and usefulness for the conceptualization of public and nonprofit sectors marketing.

4. Results

The results of the theory triangulation are summarized in Figure 1. The figure derived by cross-tabulating marketing categories (column) with types of organizations (rows) and graphical examples. It includes the social exchange school's assumptions about organization, motivation, and arrangements, and the alternative assumptions about the same categories. The types of organizations are categorized under the headings of profit, bureaucratic, and non-profit organizations. This recognizes Von Mises' distinction between profit management and bureaucratic management, or more simply between profit and nonprofit organizations. This distinction has been recognized in the public administration literature (Allison, 1992; Rainey, et al., 1976). Nonprofit management and nonprofit organizations are added to this dichotomy, as occupying the middle ground between government and private profit organizations. Nonprofit organizations are those organizations that according to law are excluded from an obligation to pay taxes on profits provided that the profit is reinvested in their operations (Rados, 1981).

Figure 1: The Results of Theory Triangulation

		Types of Organizations		
		<i>Profit Management</i>	<i>Bureaucratic Management</i>	<i>Non-Profit Management</i>
Marketing Categories	<i>Organization</i>	Open-System Model	Closed-System Model	Contingency-Choice System
	<i>Motivation</i>	Public Interest through pursuit of self-interest, based on quid-pro-quo	Public Interest through “coercion mutually agreed upon”	Public Interest through altruism
	<i>Arrangement</i>	Voluntary exchange	Redistribution	Reciprocity
		Examples		

4.1 *The Exchange Conceptualization of Marketing*

The first column represents the social exchange school's controversial conceptualization of generic marketing based on the major assumptions about organization, motivation, and arrangement that were discussed earlier. It is based on an interpretation of formal organizations as open-systems; motivated by pursuit of self-interest; and using voluntary exchange to interact with the environment.

This perspective attempts to view a public agency as being a profit management organization which is the center of a system that responds directly and quickly to an array of different interest groups. It reflects a department that has been delegated wide discretion to interact with, and which responds directly to the needs of, its various external interest groups including central government in its jurisdiction. The department is given broad sideboards, defined by financial boundaries and general goals, but within those sideboards it has substantial independence to respond quickly to changes in the environment in which it operates.

This perspective encourages decentralized decision-making, because success is perceived to depend on being able to respond quickly and adapt to dynamic external and internal pressures. According to this perspective the organization is not pre-occupied with following pre-established goals. It puts emphasis on efforts to attract additional resources from its external environment beyond those regularly provided by the agency's governing body, to convert these resources into park and recreation programs and services, and to efficiently distribute these services. The organization is viewed as the primary decision-maker.

This perspective emphasizes voluntary exchange rather than coercion or selfless giving to attract, convert, and distribute resources. Voluntary exchange requires two conditions: (1) there are at least two parties who are free to enter into an exchange; and (2) each party has something that might be valued by the other party. This perspective is based on the assumption that the collective need for park and recreation in a community is served best when the managers of a public park and recreation agency, its employees, and its users pursue their own self-interests. From this perspective, a public agency's interaction with its interest groups diagrammatically can be represented as $A \Leftrightarrow B \Leftrightarrow C \Leftrightarrow A$, where " \Leftrightarrow " signifies "gives to and receives from," and where "A" is a city council or the city manager's office, "B" is a public agency, and "C" is a group of citizens.

4.2 *The Redistribution Conceptualization of Marketing*

The middle column represents a conceptualization of marketing based on a closed-system model of formal organizations; “coercion mutually agreed upon” motivation; and a *redistribution* arrangement mode. This perspective attempts to view a public agency as a bureaucratic organization. The agency is viewed as a substantively constrained subsystem of a larger political system having relatively little freedom for responsive action without approval from a dominant political center that governs the system. A public department is subject to tight central control enforced by the city manager’s office and /or by a city council. Almost all decisions have to “go through channels” and be authorized by the central authorities before actions can be taken. This perspective stresses pursuit of clearly specified goals and procedures, and a pyramidal hierarchy of positions and regulations. They are designed in accordance with the philosophy that says, “If this is the goal, then these are the most rational procedures for achieving it.” The tasks, sphere of activities, and authority to make decisions are clearly delineated, tightly defined and proscribed. They are assigned to members of the agency based on their position in the hierarchical pyramid. All decisions are centralized and employees in the middle and lower echelons of the pyramid have very limited discrete decision-making authority.

This perspective implies that a public agency achieves its goals through the notion of redistribution. Redistribution entails obligatory payments of money objects (taxes) by community members to a democratically elected government. The government uses the receipts for its own maintenance, as emergency stock in case of individual or community disaster, and for the provision of needed different community services including parks and recreation. Redistribution payments (taxes) to a government (socially recognized center) are an expression of politically and democratically defined obligations, and redistribution disbursements (public services) by government are determined democratically by political, legislative decisions, and voting procedures. This perspective postulates that the collective need for public services in the community is best met when the managers and employees of a public agency serve the public interest rather than their own self-interest. From this perspective, a public agency’s interaction with its interest groups diagrammatically can be represented as: $CB \Rightarrow A \oplus CB \Leftarrow A$, where: “ \Rightarrow ” signifies “redistributive payments”; “ \Leftarrow ” signifies “redistribution disbursements;” “ \oplus ” signifies “a period of time;” and “A” is a city council or the city manager’s office with a subserviant public agency, and “B” and “C” are groups of citizens.

4.3 *The Reciprocity Conceptualization of Marketing*

The third column is an attempt to view a public park and recreation agency as a non-profit management organization. It is based on the contingency-choice model of formal organization characterized by altruistic motivation and a reciprocal arrangement mode. This type of organization has a flat hierarchy, decentralized decision-making, and makes efforts to attract additional resources from external sources and to quickly respond to interest groups. However, it has clearly specified goals and mission that is tightly defined by law and which cannot be changed. The organization tries to balance two conflicting goals: not to change its clearly specified mission, and to attract additional resources by responding quickly to interest groups.

The reciprocity perspective believes that the collective need for nonprofit services in a community is served best when the managers, employees, and interest groups rely on altruism and benevolence attitudes. According to this philosophy, managers and employees, and community members, sacrifice their own self-interests for the collective interests and also offer for generous help and assistance to preserve recreational resources.

Interaction of this type of organization with its environment is based on *generalized reciprocity* that is characterized by there being at least three parties involved that do not benefit each other directly, only indirectly. From this perspective, an agency's interaction with its interest groups diagrammatically can be represented as $A \Rightarrow B \Rightarrow C \Rightarrow A$, where " \Rightarrow " signifies "gives to" and where "A" is a donor or grant-giver, "B" is a nonprofit organization, and "C" is a group of citizens.

5. Discussion

Results of the theory triangulation reported in this study support critical studies that have been published previously. For example, Dixon (1978), Monieson (1988), and Pandya and Dholakia (1992) offered critical analyses of the social exchange school of marketing. Their major criticism related to the epistemological, ontological, and methodological aspects of the research orientation employed by representative of the social exchange school of marketing. They noted that although representatives of this school proposed many popular concepts and models in the marketing literature, many of them lacked empirical support. For example, although almost two decades had elapsed since the social marketing concept based on complex exchange was introduced, almost no empirical work on the social marketing concept had been reported in the marketing literature (Hirschman, 1987). Nevertheless, the concept has flourished in academic circles—a phenomenon that Dalton (1971) called the Holy Ghost: everywhere present but often unseen.

Borrowing from Max Weber, Monieson suggested that the prospering of inauthentic marketing concepts proposed by the social exchange school of marketing, resulted from intellectualist rationalization. The notion of intellectualization was introduced by Max Weber in his speech "Science as a Vocation" presented at Munich University in 1918. Intellectualization means "a continuous rationalization of society's activities and arrangements by employing a systematic cost-benefit type of analysis that abides by the tenets of Western logic" (Monieson, 1988, p. 6). Intellectualization, or "intellectualist rationalization," is a process when "the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human relations" (Weber, 1946, p. 155). Weber argued that increasing intellectualization and rationalization are not indicative of increased knowledge usable to humans. Rather, they stimulate religious or academic "prophecy", which creates only "fanatical sects but never a genuine community" (p. 137).

Intellectualization is a methodological approach which rests on "lawlike generalizations" and "unhampered objectivity" (Monieson, 1988). It employs a reductionist methodological approach, by which the diversity of surrounded facts and forces is reduced to the schema of technical logic or mathematical formula. Such a thought process frequently leads to what Monieson (1988) termed, "reductio ad absurdum." Intellectualization produces inauthentic, valueless, and irrelevant knowledge. Monieson (1988) believed the intellectualization of public and nonprofit sectors marketing resulted from intellectualization forces in the marketing literature.

The results of theoretical triangulation reported here support the criticism that the social exchange school of marketing uses reductionist and intellectual methodology. For example, Boulding (1969; 1970; 1973), whose works were adopted by the social exchange school, distinguished between the *threat*, *exchange*, and *love* integrative systems. Boulding (1970) borrowed the idea of different integrative forces from Sorokin's (1964) conceptualization of *compulsory*, *contractual*, and *familistic* types of social relationships. These conceptualizations are consistent with the exchange, redistribution, and reciprocity transactional modes found during the negative case analysis. However, the social exchange school used only one transactional mode, the voluntary exchange system, in their discussion of the Boulding studies. The negative case analysis found that Boulding (1970) did not consider the exchange pattern to be a dominant integrative pattern of all organizations with their environments as was claimed by the social exchange school (Kotler, 1975). Boulding (1970, p. 28) reported the results of an experiment he conducted in which he asked respondents to rank the importance of the threat, exchange, or love social forces for a number of different organizations. The results were mixed:

For some types of organization, there was substantial agreement. When it came to organizations such as the national state, there was no agreement at all, some seeing it as primarily a threat system, some as an exchange system, some as an integrative system.

Results of the experiment imply that besides the exchange framework there are other explanations and conceptualizations of how formal organizations, especially public agencies, interact with their environment. For example, organizations such as labor unions, police, schools, and the armed forces, Boulding placed under the threat system. Organizations such as corporations, the stock market, and arts groups he placed under the exchange system.

It is fallacious to present Boulding as an advocate of voluntary exchange as being the only plausible option for organizations to deal with their publics (Kotler and Murray, 1975). On the contrary, as a former president of the American Economic Association Boulding was an active proponent of the love pattern of organizational arrangements with the environment. He referred to it as a "grant" or "transfer" economy (Praff, 1976). The difference between an exchange economy and grant economies, according to Boulding (1969, p. 2) is substantial:

the 'exchange' economy ... studies bilateral transfers of exchangeables (A gives something to B, B gives something to A) and the grants, or transfer economy ... studies one-way transfers of exchangeables (A gives something to B, B gives nothing in the shape of an exchangeable to A).

Another example of reductionist methodology relates to the substantivist and formalist economic perspectives in economic anthropology. Viewpoints of opponents of the substantivist perspective (Belshaw, 1965) were used by the social exchange school of marketing to justify exchange arrangements in the context of public agencies. However, Belshaw (1976, p. 59), whose works were adopted by the social exchange school, cautioned:

... I differ fundamentally from those of my colleagues—including anthropologists—who characterize village, rural, and nomadic universes as essentially repetitive and unchanging, a view strongly endorsed by so-called "substantivists" such as Karl Polanyi, George Dalton, and Marshall Sahlins.

A similar approach was used by the social exchange school in their discussion of collectivistic and individualistic social exchange theories. Although Ekeh (1974) did not recognize the substantivist distinction between the "within" and "between" relations, he recognized the difference between individualistic and collectivistic sociological approaches and distinguished between direct exchange based on individualistic assumptions and generalized

exchange formed by collectivistic assumptions. However, the social exchange school ignored collectivistic assumptions underlying the concept of net generalized exchange. Concepts of direct and univocal reciprocities that form two distinct types of restricted and generalized exchanges were meshed together by the social exchange school into a new concept of complex exchange that was presumed to be based on both individualistic and collectivistic assumptions. While occasional exploratory studies in the sociological and economic anthropology literature still attempt to follow this type of analysis (e. g. Makoba, 1993), mainstream sociologists and anthropologists appear to reject it or at least to recognize different approaches (Brody, 1985; Coleman, 1987; Cook 1987; Gillmore, 1987; Knottnerus, 1994; La Valle, 1994; Yamagishi and Cook, 1993; Uehara, 1990). The substantivist distinction between the concepts of “pooling” and “redistribution” was also neglected. However, recent studies in the marketing literature recognize this distinction (e.g. Pandya and Dholakia 1992).

Bagozzi’s training in the traditions of Chicago school is a probable explanation for his selective choices. The Chicago school does not recognize either substantivist anthropology or collectivistic sociology. Rather, it defends and promotes formalist anthropology and individualistic sociology. Although most marketers are relatively satisfied with the current controversial microeconomic model of public sector marketing based on formalist anthropology and individualistic sociology (Nickels, 1974), a growing number of marketing scholars have suggested that a different analysis be adopted and that substantive concepts be used in the context of the public and nonprofit sectors (Dixon, 1978; Ferrel and Zey-Ferrel, 1977; Hirschman, 1987; Monieson, 1988; Pandya and Dholakia, 1992).

Results of the theoretical triangulation also directly support critiques of the Chicago school that can be found in the social science literature. Many social scientists have consistently resisted adopting the Chicago school’s philosophy because Chicago scholars have relied primary on intellectual and reductionist approaches, which often produce non-testable and near-tautological conceptual models that lack empirical support. Etzioni’s (1988) summary of the economic literature related to the philosophy of the Chicago school suggests that representatives of the school rarely engage in testing and sometimes manipulate data to induce a “correct” fit by adding variables and accommodating adjustments. As a result, these neoclassical theorems are “a-scientific.” They are mathematically elegant but remain empirically untested.

Beginning in the 1950s, the Chicago school has been remarkably successful in its consistent efforts to broaden the conceptualization of market arrangements, and to spread a laissez-faire philosophy as it penetrated most aspects of human life and colonized other social disciplines. Rule (1998, p. 31) notes:

Our case is easiest against the most extreme forms of market ideology--those associated with libertarian politics, for example, or (more academically) the Chicago school of economics. These views do not simply extol the virtues of market arrangements in specific settings: instead, they sanctify the market as the paragon of all social relationships. Thus, relations of parents to children, teachers to students, elected representatives to their constituents--any and all of these are, or ought to be, governed by market principles ... So much for collective responsibility.

The Chicago school gave birth to many pro market concepts in different social science disciplines. It can be found for example in individualistic sociology and social psychology (Homans, 1969; Thibaut and Kelley, 1959), the formalist perspective of economic anthropology (Belshaw, 1965), and the public choice school of thought in public administration. Loyal to efforts of Chicago school to colonize other social disciplines, the social exchange school of marketing efficiently enough to collected all the pro market concepts from different social disciplines and re-interpreted many others in order to develop, introduce and justify marketing in the public sector.

Some commentators pointed out the negative consequences associated with the Chicago school's efforts to spread market arrangements into social life and into almost every social discipline. Kuttner (1997, p. iii) noted:

In scholarly economics, theorists such as Milton Friedman, who had been marginal, became central. The concrete study of economic history and economic institutions became archaic. The smartest rising economists used ever more complex mathematics, based on the premise of a "general equilibrium"—a concept that presumed a smoothly self-correcting market and implicitly urged that markets become purer and that more realms of society become markets. Newly self-confident conservative economic theorists colonized other academic disciplines. Market concepts became widespread in law, political science, and economic history. As experts on public policy, these economists became the intellectual champions of privatization, deregulation, and liberation of the global marketplace. It all boiled down to one very simple core precept: market is better.

Etzioni (1988) pointed out that anytime the Chicago school entered another social science discipline, for example, political science or economic history, it always brought with it a set of clearly stated core assumptions that have rarely been empirically tested.

Because of the vague nature of symbolic and intangible costs and benefits, opponents of the Chicago school are skeptical about the reliability of cost-benefit analysis in the context of government regulation policies. According to Smith (1995, p. 445) "cost and benefits are not easily defined; the relationships between direct and indirect costs often are not easily discernible;

the estimate of costs is highly sensitive to assumptions.” He points out that such a cost-benefit analysis enforced by complex statistical numbers (or lack of them) is a very “politicized” and “manipulable” device.

Many state governments seem reluctant to adopt complete decentralization or deregulation suggestions in the context of public marketing. Belshaw (1976, p. 94), who was an advocate of Chicago principles in the context of the provision nonprofit services, recognized that there are no “instances where this approach has in fact been tried” because of the difficulties associated with implementing such an approach: “scale of funding, the enormity of the job to be done, the atmosphere of distrust, the possibilities of corruption, and the quite cynical political manipulation on all sides.” For these reasons, many mainstream economists and most public administrators do not accept the Chicago school’s postulates in spite of the attractiveness of their libertarian ideas of freedom (Smith, 1995).

6. Conclusion

The results of the theory triangulation procedures undertaken in this study contribute to existent critical studies in several important ways. First, they link assumptions underlying the social exchange school of marketing with the assumptions of the Chicago school. Few attempts have been done in previous studies to trace the intellectual roots of the school and to identify this connection. Second, the results of theoretical triangulation show that the social exchange school of marketing is loyal to the methodological and epistemological traditions of the Chicago school. The social exchange school employed a reductionist methodology with minimal reliance on empirical testing. As a result of such a methodological approach, the diversity of social concepts that can be found in the social science literature was reduced to fit the assumptions of the Chicago school. Third, the results of theoretical triangulation demonstrated that the concepts adopted from social science were misinterpreted and biased, and were significantly adapted to fit the assumptions of the Chicago school. Analysis showed that most of these adaptations conflict with, and conceptually contradict, mainstream conceptualizations of public agencies in the organizational behavior and general public administration literatures. Fourth, the results documented the consistent efforts of the social exchange school to spread their confusing conceptualization of public and nonprofit sectors marketing into different disciplines and academic publications where they found some support. Finally, the results of theoretical triangulation introduce alternative concepts from the social science literature that have significant potential for explaining the organization, motivation, and internal and external arrangements of nonprofit organizations with employees and communities.

7. References

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