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Constructing the food waste issue on social media: a discursive social marketing approach

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the paper is to examine how market actors participate in the socio-cultural construction of the food waste issue through social media. The paper draws from practice theory and adopts a research approach combining netnography and discourse analysis. The data consist of postings within a vivid social media discussion during a social marketing campaign. The findings shed light on how different market actors construct the food waste issue through discourses of explanation, exhibition and appeal. These discourses differ in their focus, tone and, most importantly, their potential for practice change in the context of food waste. The study emphasises the importance of understanding the discourses of complex sustainability issues and acknowledges the role of social marketing in maintaining and/or transforming these discourses.

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Introduction

In 2011, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) estimated that one-third of all food produced goes to waste in some stage of the food supply chain (Gustavsson et al., 2011). Since then, reducing food waste has gained political attention and has been set as a target in the Sustainable Development Goals for 2030 by the United Nations (United Nations, 2018), as well as by the European Union (European Commission, 2017). Food waste is a problematic sustainability issue, as it means the loss of resources such as energy and water, accelerating climate change and underlining global inequality between the affluent and the poor (Närvänen et al., 2020). According to recent estimates, the biggest portion (61%) of food waste comes from households and the problem seems to be similar across countries with different income levels (UNEP, 2021). Edible food is lost or wasted across the food chain, from farm to fork, and several market actors thus contribute to the problem (Parfitt et al., 2010). In recent years, food waste has become an important topic for interdisciplinary research (Porpino, 2016), and it has also gained interest among marketing researchers (e.g. Aschemann-Witzel et al., 2018; Gollnhofer, 2017; Närvänen et al., 2018). Within the field of social marketing, which focuses on the use of marketing techniques, tools and approaches when aiming for social change (iSMA, 2013), the topic is, however, still rather under-researched despite the field's high potential for accelerating change in the context of food waste (for exceptions see Hodgkins et al.,

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2019; Kim et al., 2019; Kim, Rundle-Thiele, Knox, Burke et al., 2020; Kim, Rundle-Thiele, Knox, Hodgkins et al., 2020; Pearson & Perera, 2018).

We argue that in order to create change regarding the problem of food waste, more research efforts should be put into understanding the socio-cultural level where food waste-related practices are constructed (Cappellini & Parsons, 2012; Evans, 2011, 2012; Närvänen et al., 2013; Sirola et al., 2019; Warde, 2014). Here, the focus should not only be on consumers as the main change agents but on several other market actors in different roles – as decision makers, employees and opinion leaders, for instance. More research is required on how these different market actors create and negotiate meaning and make sense of the issue, and in this way participate in the construction of broader food waste issue discourses. This research endeavour is important, as meanings and discourses contribute to practices around food waste and have the potential to steer changes within them, for instance, in terms of their normality, acceptability and desirability – creating social pressure to address the problem (see, e.g. Gollnhofer, 2017; Halkier, 2020).

The current study focuses on the meaning-making of the food waste issue by market actors in a social media context. Previous research has shown that sustainability issues, such as food waste, are increasingly discussed and debated online (Närvänen et al., 2018; Pearson et al., 2016). Furthermore, communication campaigns on social media have a possibility to engage a large number of social media users, encouraging them to post their own content, including expressions of their opinions and views that give insights into current market phenomena. Thus, social media offers a good context for studying meaning-making by different actors. Our study focuses on a social marketing campaign, 'Food Waste Week', in Finland, which is an annual event organised by a non-profit organisation. The purpose of our study is *to examine how market actors participate in the socio-cultural construction of the food waste issue through social media*. The research questions are:

- (1) What kinds of market actors participate in the discussion of the food waste issue on social media?
- (2) What kinds of food waste issue discourses can be identified?
- (3) What kinds of potential do the different discourses have to change practices in the context of food waste?

Our study makes three theoretical contributions. First, we utilise a practice-theoretical lens (Reckwitz, 2002; Warde, 2014), paying attention especially to the discursive aspects that underlie practices and act as 'resources for practices' (Keller & Halkier, 2014). Even though we do not study the food waste-related (consumption) practices directly, practice theory provides for us an ontological worldview where the social world is seen to consist of practices and hence, social change can happen only through a change in practices (Schatzki, 2016; Warde, 2005). In doing so, we introduce a practice theory-informed discursive approach to social marketing related to complex sustainability issues, such as food waste. We argue that discourses are valuable resources for fuelling and facilitating practice changes as well as reinforcing the status quo, and thus, this approach has a lot to offer for social marketing researchers and practitioners. Our approach focusing on discourses broadens the already existing practice-theoretical approaches presented within the social marketing domain (e.g. Spotswood et al., 2017). Second, we contribute to the

literature on social marketing by identifying several market actors and discourses related to the sustainability issue of food waste. In this way, we continue the research avenue opened up by social marketing researchers emphasising the importance of understanding the social and cultural elements of behaviour when creating change (e.g. Brennan et al., 2015; Collins et al., 2010; Kemper & Ballantine, 2017; Spotswood & Tapp, 2013). Third, our findings highlight social media as a context for conducting social marketing, which has implications in terms of participation by multiple market actors. Our study is also important for practitioners planning social marketing campaigns on sustainability issues, as the findings give insight into how market actors make sense of sustainability issues and how they construct meanings for them.

Accelerating change in the context of food waste through marketing

Marketing accelerating change towards sustainability

Marketing has been accelerating changes since its beginning, and its influence in the economies and societies across the world is undeniable (Webster & Lusch, 2013; Wilkie & Moore, 1999). For several years, the focus of the discipline has been on rather small systems, often the dyadic relationship between a company and consumer, and less attention has been paid to the influences that these small-system actions and ways of thinking may have on the wider system and society (Webster & Lusch, 2013), such as issues connected to overconsumption, addictions, financial inequality and sustainability. During recent years, researchers have called for marketing to elevate its focus to include the complex problems facing markets and society, and to take a broader view on sustainability, quality of life and standard of living (McDonagh & Prothero, 2014; Webster & Lusch, 2013). The notion of marketing's function as bringing value to society at large is also included in the latest definition of marketing from the American Marketing Association (American Marketing Association, 2017).

The role of sustainability in the marketing field has varied over the years, ranging from the exploration of sustainability-related behaviour theories to the introduction of concepts such as 'green marketing' (Kilbourne, 1998). Sustainability and sustainable development refer to 'meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs', as expressed in the well-known Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987, p. 43). The relationship between sustainability and marketing has been uneasy, and some people do not believe in the compatibility of marketing and sustainability (see, e.g. Jones et al., 2008), while others see the potential of marketing as a 'vehicle to realize the sustainability agenda' (Lim, 2016, p. 235) and argue that 'marketing and sustainability are inextricably intertwined' (White et al., 2019, p. 23). To date, the actual impact of marketing in delivering significant changes towards sustainability has remained scant despite the efforts to improve it (K. Peattie & Peattie, 2009). Furthermore, Davies et al. (2020) argue that one barrier in marketing's lack of influence on sustainability change to date can be traced back to its strong dependency on cognitive behavioural theories that are often insufficient for explaining and impacting this issue. On a positive note, in recent years, new approaches have reinforced marketing's potential in conducting research on sustainability and finding ways to make an impact (see, e.g. Davies et al., 2020; Kemper & Ballantine, 2019a; White et al., 2019).

Social marketing and social change

Social marketing is a specific sub-field focused on change within the marketing discipline. While the exact definitions of the concept of social marketing vary slightly (Dibb, 2014), the most recent consensus definition from the International Social Marketing Association is as follows: 'Social marketing seeks to develop and integrate marketing concepts with other approaches to influence behaviours that benefit individuals and communities for the greater social good' (iSMA, 2013). Although the social marketing's goal towards greater social good has remained the same since the term's introduction in the 1970s (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971), the perceptions of *how* to achieve the purposes have evolved. Traditionally, social marketing has focused on individual behaviour changes (Brennan & Parker, 2014), and the theories utilised have mainly been cognitive behavioural theories.

As the world's current problems have become more complex, several researchers have started to broaden the field's dominating emphasis on the individual consumer by introducing other approaches to understanding change (see, e.g. Andreasen, 2002; Brennan et al., 2014; Domegan et al., 2016; Kemper & Ballantine, 2017; Rundle-Thiele et al., 2019; Spotswood et al., 2017, 2012; Spotswood & Tapp, 2013). The importance of understanding the social context within which the change is needed has been emphasised (Brennan et al., 2014; S. Peattie & Peattie, 2003; Veeck et al., 2018). This context includes the different mechanisms, conditions, institutions and norms that may either support or inhibit certain types of behaviours (see, e.g. Kemper & Ballantine, 2017). For instance, the socio-cultural approach to social marketing in the context of alcohol consumption has acknowledged the social interaction between actors and interaction rituals within a dynamic market system (Brennan et al., 2014; Veeck et al., 2018). It is important to understand that social interactions may also take place in the online environment, as has been identified in the context of youth smoking (see, e.g. Kozinets et al., 2019). Furthermore, in addition to changing behaviour, changing the way people talk about issues and how they feel about them has been suggested as a valid pursuit for social marketing to impact social change (Spotswood et al., 2012).

Many of the large societal problems of today are connected to sustainability issues, and accelerating changes towards sustainability has taken a bigger role in social marketing as well (K. Peattie & Peattie, 2009). Researchers have, however, raised some questions about the suitability of the sustainability concept in the social marketing domain (Brennan & Binney, 2008). Many of the traditional social marketing concepts such as customer centricity, exchange and voluntary behaviour change (Spotswood et al., 2012) include some limitations when addressing sustainability concerns where the focus is on the benefit for the society or environment rather than the individual. Also, the timespan of the sustainability-related change is visible after a long time, and in some cases the change is about maintaining the status quo (for instance, keeping pollution at the same level).

Many sustainability-related issues, such as food waste, can be characterised as 'wicked problems', meaning that they are difficult to define, they involve several actors with partially conflicting aims and impacts on the problem, and the problem cannot be solved once and for all (Kemper & Ballantine, 2017; Närvänen et al., 2020). In some cases, the solution itself might be very simple on paper (e.g. food waste is solved if everyone stops wasting food). However, the path to reaching this solution is interconnected with several

issues, such as choices, motivation, influences, skills, knowledge and socio-cultural surroundings (Parkinson et al., 2018). Thus, the approaches taken in the quest to change the status quo of a wicked problem must take complexity into account.

Theorising change with a practice-theoretical lens

This study adopts a practice-theoretical lens to understanding reality, although practices as such are not the target of investigation. Practice-theoretical lens, however, guides our ontological understanding, which considers change arising from alterations in practices (Schatzki, 2016; Warde, 2005). During recent years, practice theories have gained an increasing amount of attention in marketing and consumer research fields (e.g. Schau et al., 2009; Skålén & Hackley, 2011). Practice-theoretical thinking has also sparked interest in social marketing research, steering the emphasis towards the context and social features connected to a topic in question (Beatson et al., 2020; Gordon et al., 2018; Spotswood et al., 2017). Practice theories have been suggested as a fruitful approach to theorising social change, especially in the context of sustainable consumption (e.g. Hargreaves, 2011; Warde et al., 2017; Watson et al., 2020).

It has been argued that in order to reach sustainability in consumption, fundamental changes to our everyday practices are needed (Watson, 2017). Practice theories comprise a family of theoretical perspectives informed by a sociocultural orientation; hence, they aim to understand social action as meaningful and purposeful rather than as rational and utilitarian or as merely following norms (Reckwitz, 2002). Practice theory provides an ontological worldview where the social world consists of socially shared, 'specific nexuses of organised activity (practices), composed of heterogeneous components that can be analytically separated into distinct types' (Welch et al., 2020, p. 326).

There are different viewpoints on what makes up a practice. However, several researchers have considered practices consisting of different elements or components. Shove et al. (2012) propose a scheme of three elements that are integrated when practices are enacted: materials (objects, infrastructures, hardware, the body), meanings (the social and symbolic significance of participation) and competences (understandings and practical knowledgeability). Warde (2005, p. 134) refers to main components as 'understandings, procedures and engagements' that hang together and are coordinated in practices. Hence, food waste-related consumption practices consist of elements including, for instance, understandings about proper food and edibility, procedures of purchasing, storing, cooking and consuming food, as well as engagements such as teleoaffective structures (Schatzki, 2002) related to feeding the family or eating in a sustainable manner (see, e.g. Evans, 2011, 2012; Sirola et al., 2019). Similarly, at retail stores, these practices may be linked to employees' understandings of what leads to waste, their training and work procedures and their work-related goals (Filimonau & Gherbin, 2017).

Practices change over time, and the changes are carried out through different mechanisms (Watson, 2017). First, change may occur when elements (materials, meanings and competences) comprising practices change (Shove et al., 2012). In the context of food waste, a new kitchen appliance may change cooking practices and reduce food waste at home (Närvänen et al., 2013). Second, change may arise from the actors who carry the practices – meaning how well they adopt new practices (Watson, 2017). Here, some

actors – as carriers of practices – may have very central roles as opinion leaders or influencers (Meah & Watson, 2011; Närvänen et al., 2019). The third way to locate change in practices is through the re-arrangement of different practices bundled together (Watson, 2017). In the context of food waste, this might include, for instance, changes in practices of acquiring food or eating together as a family.

Even though the focus of many practice-theoretical studies has been on the concrete, embodied and routinised ‘doings and sayings’ involved in practices, the ideational, interactive and discursive aspects of practices are also important and should not be neglected (Halkier, 2020; Welch et al., 2020). Using food practices as an example, Halkier (2020) highlights practices’ role as not only routinised and tacit but also culturally contested. Discourses and narratives can be regarded as important resources for practices, laying the groundwork for practices in society, and having the potential to maintain or challenge the practices (Gordon et al., 2018; Keller & Halkier, 2014). In this study, our main focus is on the discourses around the food waste issue, which are involved and interlinked with various practices connected to food waste. This type of viewpoint on discourses’ relation to practices is similar to Keller and Halkier (2014) approach in addressing media discourses as symbolic resources for practice performances. With our perspective, we extend the existing conceptualisations on how practices change by emphasising discourses – as resources for practices – as important shapers of practices. Discourses can also be seen as connected to the already theorised locations for practice change: elements of practices, carriers of practices and bundles of practices (Watson, 2017).

Accelerating social change in the context of food waste

Consumers are often perceived as both the targets of blame and the sources of change in the context of food waste, most likely due to their major role as producers of food waste (UNEP, 2021). Thus, many studies have focused on explaining food waste behaviours and reasons for food waste emergence in households (e.g. Farr-Wharton et al., 2014; Stancu et al., 2016). In addition, in social marketing research, the main attention to the topic has been on how to get consumers to waste less food through, for instance, designing effective communication campaigns (Pearson & Perera, 2018), implementing voluntary approaches and other social marketing benchmark criteria to initiatives (Kim et al., 2019; Kim, Rundle-Thiele, Knox, Hodgkins et al., 2020) and co-designing approaches with consumers (Kim, Rundle-Thiele, Knox, Burke et al., 2020).

A stream within the food waste research field, however, has emphasised the importance of understanding food waste-related behaviours on a socio-cultural level (e.g. Evans, 2012; Mattila et al., 2019; Närvänen et al., 2018). To extend the understanding of the issue of food waste, several researchers have utilised a practice-theoretical lens. Evans (2011, 2012) has studied the domestic practices contributing to food waste in households. These practices are socially and materially organised and include themes such as ‘eating properly’ and anxieties around food safety, which highlight that the problem of food waste should not be regarded as an individual behavioural problem (Evans, 2011, 2012). Furthermore, Southerton and Yates (2015) have emphasised the importance of understanding the contexts where practices of provision, preparation, eating and disposal take place. Researchers have also studied practices connected to consumers’ food waste reduction, highlighting their roles as temporality organisers (Mattila et al., 2019),

exploring different elements within the reduction practices (Närvänen et al., 2013; Sirola et al., 2019) and analysing the intersections between practices of reusing and revaluing food and aiming for the good of the family (Cappellini & Parsons, 2012). The practice-theoretical approach has also been applied in research focusing on fostering change, suggesting policy, business and research strategies to change food waste-related practices (Schanes et al., 2018), and highlighting the different changepoints for policymakers to tackle if aiming to create food waste-related changes (Watson et al., 2020).

In the food waste-related social marketing field, not much attention has been put on the social and cultural context or the practices connected to food waste. More research is still needed on how to address food waste issues in social marketing from the perspective of changing practices instead of changing individual behaviours. Here, the insights generated by the food waste researchers, whether focused on practices of food waste generation or reduction, could be applied. This is in line with a recent study utilising the stakeholder approach to evaluate one food waste-related social marketing intervention that calls for further research based on beyond individual theories that recognise the 'social function of food in our culture', taking into account cultural power structures in society (Hodgkins et al., 2019, p. 283). An acknowledgement of the multiple actors connected to the issue is also needed, as the complicated problem of food waste involves several organisations as well as individual consumers (Diaz-Ruiz et al., 2019; Hodgkins et al., 2019; Närvänen et al., 2020). Furthermore, broadening the scope of actors that are necessary to be involved in the change is another endeavour that a practice perspective could push forward due to its specific focus on practices rather than certain individual actors.

Research approach and methodology

Discourses constructing reality

This study adopts the constructionist and interpretive research philosophy. The reality is seen as continually constructed in people's behaviours, words and sayings, offline and online. Sustainability issues such as food waste are socially co-constructed by various actors on different platforms. Our focus is on the discourses of the food waste issue. The discursive approach is interested in the relationships between language, discourses and context (Phillips & Hardy, 2002) and 'interrogates the nature of social action by dealing with how actions and/or meanings are constructed in and through text and talk' (Nikander, 2008, p. 415). Thus, the way an issue is discursively constructed steers the institutions around it and constructs certain kinds of practices and the relations of different market actors connected to the issue (Fitchett & Caruana, 2015). Language does not merely reflect reality but actively constructs it (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). As put by Potter (2011, p. 190), 'analysis of discourse becomes, then, analysis of what people do'. Similarly, Van Leeuwen (2008) defines discourses as representations of social practices and highlights their role as both drawing on practices and transforming them.

As stated by Fairclough et al. (2011, p. 358), a discourse may help in sustaining and reproducing the status quo but also support its transformation. Based on this notion, the viewpoint of our study is that the discussion of food waste is carried out through discourses, and these discourses have the potential to alter the practices and challenge

the current situation. Discourses are constantly re-negotiated over time on different platforms (Fairclough, 1992). Traditional media texts have been seen as important sites for discourse construction, as they give sense to different publicly debated questions (see, e.g. Hellgren et al., 2002). Thus, several studies have focused on discourses within them to make sense of meanings connected to different issues (see, e.g. Keller & Halkier, 2014; Vaara & Tienari, 2002). In the context of food waste, discourses (re)constructed in news media texts have been studied by Raippalinnä (2020), who focused on the discourses' ability to mobilise consumers in reducing food waste. In the field of social marketing, the discursive approach has not been widely applied. However, in highly varying contexts, some researchers have utilised the approach to study, for instance, how responsible drinkers characterise their relationship to alcohol consumption (Fry, 2011; Fry et al., 2014), how social marketing campaigns may contribute to privileging some types of female bodies while excluding others (Gurrieri et al., 2013) and how human trafficking is dominantly represented in society (Badejo et al., 2019). Furthermore, social marketing research has also paid attention to narratives' role in shaping the practices (Gordon et al., 2018) as well as the framings that are contributing to system changes (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019b).

In this study, we are interested in discourses within the social media context, which allows the low-threshold participation of different actors. Kozinets (2019) argues that participating in social media discussions related to societal and political issues may be the first step for change, as 'it offers a discursive space set apart from other activities allowing anyone who is interested to play with and within the contradictions of contemporary social systems' (Kozinets, 2019, p. 80). During recent years, the amount of discussion taking place in online environments has exponentially increased, providing new types of naturally occurring data on different matters. Following this, researchers are increasingly interested in applying discursive approaches to social media contexts (Unger et al., 2016).

Methodology and data gathering

In addition to employing methods from discourse analysis, we utilised a netnographic approach to generate the data with the help of social media monitoring (SMM) tools (Kozinets, 2015; Reid & Duffy, 2018). While SMM tools provide simplified data about social media and online discussions, a 'deeper' netnographic dive into the data allows us to effectively analyse how market actors participate in the socio-cultural construction of the food waste issue.

In this study, we focus on the social media discussion during Food Waste Week in 2018. Food Waste Week is a Finnish nationwide non-profit social marketing programme initiated in 2013. The aim of the programme is to reduce food waste, especially at the end of the food chain. However, the programme involves many actors, such as consumers, food manufacturers, retailers, catering companies and other organisations. The programme includes information-sharing, seminars, research and events as well as collaborations with schools and influencers. The programme has grown over the years, and it has become increasingly well-known amongst the public. The data retrieved from the SMM tool proves that, for instance, in 2018 the public discussion on food waste matters skyrocketed during the main event of the programme, in both traditional and social media. Due to this peak, we focus on this specific time period. The data were retrieved

with the help of SMM tools, using several search words (food waste-related words and expressions in Finnish as well as synonyms), and consisted of different kinds of social media material published on Twitter, Instagram, forums and blogs, resulting in altogether 3,409 public postings published from September 10 to 16, 2018. To keep the data in a certain format, only public postings published on Twitter and Instagram were chosen for the analysis. After excluding the postings that were published elsewhere, unconnected to the topic or erased later (and not thus visible at the time of the analysis), the final data included 3,082 individual postings.

Analysis and interpretation

The data were analysed with the help of the Atlas.ti software package, allowing inductive open coding and systematic organisation of the codes. The analysis process started with one round of coding done by two researchers and a comparison of these codes. This pre-coding was done to find the best strategy for data analysis as well as to become familiar with the data. Based on the elaborations in this pre-analysis, the actual analysis process was begun. First, the data were categorised according to the market actors who had posted them. All postings were coded based on the actor, and in cases of reposting, the original actor who posted it was also coded. This was done because a substantial number of the postings were not originally created by the poster. Altogether, 88 actor codes were created, which were then positioned within three wider categories: individuals, commercial companies and non-profit organisations.

The second step of the analysis focused on the discourses constructed in the postings. While the earlier phase focused on *who* takes part in the discussion, at this phase the interest was in *how* these actors take part in the discussion. Here, we identified discursive practices and resources within each posting – that is, what was the speech act like and what kinds of metaphors and other linguistic means were used. The analysis method in this phase was inspired by a constructive approach to discourse analysis, which focuses on the processes of social construction constituting reality and takes the context into account (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). In this case, the specific conventions of the social media platform (such as the posting-length limit of Twitter) were considered. During the pre-analysis as well as the first analysis phase, researchers made initial notes about the content and style of the postings. As the analysis and interpretation required an intensive ‘dive’ into the data in this phase, the primary focus here was on postings published on 11 September 2018 (altogether 779 postings). The analysis was compared with the notes made in the first round of analysis to make sure no major discussion points were left out. In line with the discursive research approach, the aim was to gain a thorough interpretation of the phenomenon, not to find objective truths; thus, the data were read through several times, and some postings were given several codes. It is also important to note that the postings comprising the discussion were not viewed as objective expressions of the posters’ opinions or attitudes (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Instead, the emphasis was placed on the ways how the market actors constructed the issue of food waste.

The practical implementation of the second analysis phase started by open-coding first-order concepts with a guiding question of ‘how is the issue of food waste constructed in this particular posting?’ At this stage, a total of 161 open codes were created. These

codes were grouped to detect their similarities and differences, and new higher-level themes were identified. Finally, the analysis resulted in the identification of three discourses: explanation, exhibition and appeal. After this, the analysis moved on to the interpretation phase of these three discourses' connections with change. At this stage, the practice-theoretical lens was utilised to further examine the identified discourses from the perspective of their potential in enabling change in practices.

Furthermore, interrelations between the actors and the discourses were investigated. This investigation provided some tentative and interesting insights about the differing actors constructing the different discourses. The original postings have been translated into English from Finnish. Although the analysed data were and still are publicly available and the topic is not sensitive as such, the translation also offered a way to avoid direct traceability of the postings to ensure the anonymity of the actors behind the postings.

Findings

Several actors took part in the discussion of food waste during Food Waste Week 2018. Some of the participating actors are major members of the food supply chain and the aggregate marketing system – for instance, food manufacturers, retailers, households and waste management companies. However, as food waste is in some way connected to everyone, several other actors took part in the discussion as well. The identified actors were further divided into three groups: individuals, commercial companies and non-profit organisations (Figure 1).

Although different market actors took part in the discussion, their ways of participation varied. The largest part of the discussion was carried out by individual consumers. However, consumers often used their voices to share other actors' postings through reposting. While the roles of non-profit organisations and commercial companies were smaller in terms of posting frequency, their postings were often reposted by other actors, and in this way their message was often widely spread.

It is also important to note that the roughly divided actor groups overlap in many ways, and the choice of actor code for each posting was not always easy. For instance, in many cases, actors such as retail representatives and non-profit organisation representatives used their individual voices to spread or strengthen the voices of the retailer or non-profit organisation by re-tweeting and sharing something that their employer or colleague had shared. Also, overlaps were detected between the non-profit organisations and commercial companies. For instance, several unions supporting the retail or food-production industries, as well as for-profit companies owned by the government and aiming for societal well-being, took part in the discussion.

The identified market actors took part in the discussion over the food waste issue in varying ways. The food waste issue was constructed through three discourses: explanation, exhibition and appeal, which are described in detail in the following subsections.

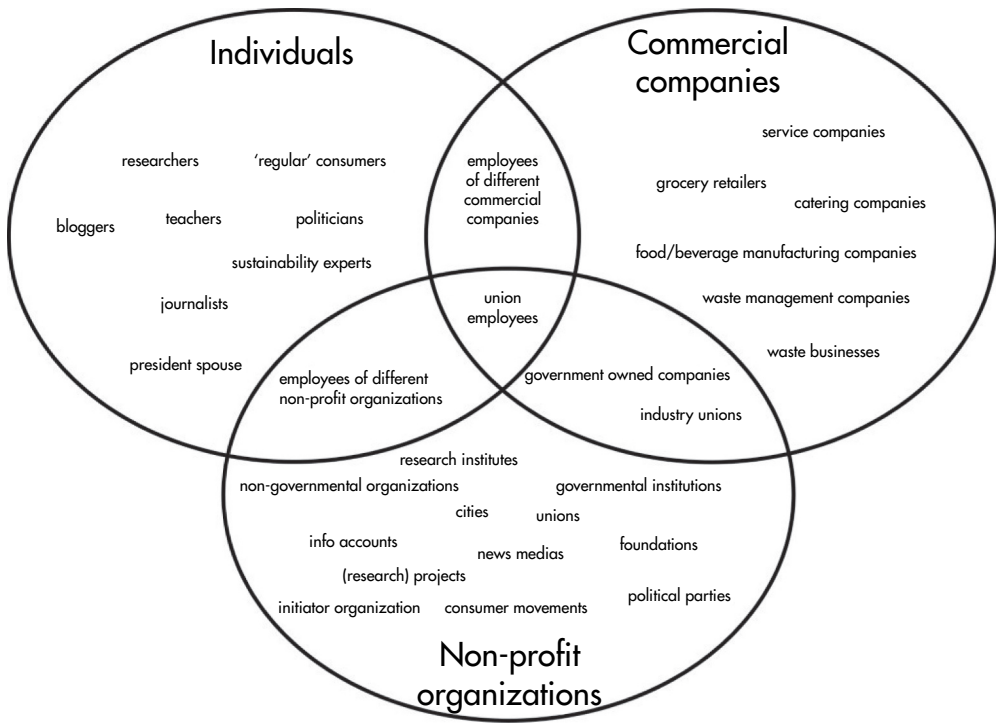


Figure 1. Actors taking part in the discussion.

Explanation discourse

Constructing the food waste issue through *explanation* had a major role in the data. Within this discourse, the food waste issue is given meaning though providing information about what it is and what is known about it. It also includes conversation about the severity of the issue, actions and behaviours that lead to food waste, and its consequences. The focus of the discourse is on the food waste issue itself. Both broader themes (such as the volume of the problem, as in the first data citation) and more detailed facts about specific topics connected to the issue (such as facts about date labels, as in the second citation) are present:

Actor: Union

Every tenth fruit, vegetable, or slice of bread ends up in the trash. Every Finn throws away 24 kilograms of edible food. This is approximately 6 percent of all food purchased by consumers. [two pictures of campaign posters]

Actor: Food/beverage producer company

Beer does not go bad even though the best before date has passed. #foodwasteweek [picture of a beer can]

Facts about food waste are central to this discourse, and several postings include objective statements about food waste as well as links to other sources (i.e. websites).

Discursive resources utilised include, for instance, numbers, statistics and percentages. Issues such as economic, environmental and social problems related to food waste are also mentioned. Mainly, the present tense is utilised. Sometimes postings also reflect the past tense, as the facts are based on research conducted in earlier years. The postings also include discussion of the roles and centrality of different actor groups in the food waste issue. The following citation, for instance, contrasts food waste with economic losses and focuses on the present food waste situation:

Actor: Research institute

Did you know that families of four people throw away food worth 500 euros in Finland?
Smaller #foodwaste = bigger savings and less pollution. #foodwasteweek #responsibility

The tone of this discourse can be considered rather neutral, as many of the postings share objective facts about the issue. The voice is thus quite descriptive and passive, as the topic is approached from 'outside'. However, it is important to note that the descriptive tone can also entail certain assumptions (Sutinen, 2020) that can be interpreted as judgemental. For instance, the choice of words, such as 'throw away food', contain assumptions of wasting food as an intentional practice. Also, the emphasis on numbers and percentages especially highlights the role of households in the issue. Within this discourse, the focus is on 'it' (the food waste issue), and the actors participating in the discussion are information sharers and/or spreaders. Statements given by topic experts such as researchers, institutes and campaign initiators have a central role in authorising the information.

The potential of the explanation discourse to change practices

The explanation discourse echoes many behaviour change programmes' discursive practices, drawing on cognitive theories of change and built upon the idea that an increase in knowledge leads to elevated awareness and eventually changes in behaviours. By focusing on the facts, the explanation discourse contributes to the awareness and education level of the actors. From the practice-theoretical point of view, this can be seen as influencing how food waste is understood as an issue, and in this way shapes the understanding element of food waste practices (Warde, 2005). This may, in turn, have the potential to drive changes in practices. In the first place, the explanation discourse verbalises aspects of actors' mundane practices that are largely routine and undeliberated – by revealing how much food is actually thrown away in households, for example. As the discourse revolves around rather negative or devastating facts about food waste by, for instance, contrasting the amount of food waste to euros or highlighting the environmental effects, it can construct the issue of food waste as a severe and problematic issue that needs solving. Thus, the explanation discourse has the potential to shape the meaning of the food waste issue for different actors from insignificant to more relevant.

The risks carried by this discourse can be traced back to its assumption of rational and self-governing actors. The explanation discourse heavily depends upon only changing the understanding element of practice, which may not be enough for making broader, sustainable changes in practices connected to the issue. For instance, while actors may become more aware of the reasons and consequences of food waste, they might still lack

the skills and materials to alter their everyday practices such as planning food purchases or storing food appropriately. This concern is supported by studies that have elaborated the gap between intentions and actual behaviour (see, e.g. Carrington et al., 2010), which is especially typical for sustainability contexts. It is also important to remember that facts do not always reveal all dimensions but only a part of the problem. For instance, the published facts tend to emphasise households' role in the problem instead of a shared food-chain responsibility. This may have a consequence of shaping the understanding in a direction that undermines the urgency for changes in, for instance, retailers', policy-makers' and restaurants' practices around food waste. Furthermore, when the emergence of food waste is explained through statistics and numbers, it may legitimise wasting food instead of reducing it, as actors may perceive this as a normal occurrence.

Exhibition discourse

The exhibition discourse constructs the issue of food waste through presenting and showing what has already been done or is currently being done to fix the problem. Here, actors both exhibit their own actions and represent what other actors have done. The focus is thus on actions rather than on the issue itself, which was characteristic of the explanation discourse. Also, exhibitions of certain ways of thinking, promises of action, and announcements of participation in the campaign are included. The following citations from the data illustrate this discourse. The first post introduces a pilot started by some other actor and the second illustrates the actor's own participation in the campaign:

Actor: Blogger

A mobile application pilot is starting in four Helsinki schools in September. With the application downloaded onto one's phone, one can daily check what kind of leftovers there are, and also purchase them. #foodwasteweek #foodwaste

Actor: Consumer

I am in! I also promise to harvest from the yard and forest. Doesn't it also count as waste if they decay before they are used? #beautifulife #nature #nutrition #foodwasteweek

Actions leading to lower levels of food waste are central for this discourse. The discursive resources utilised include, for instance, concrete examples of actions (e.g. 'this is how I/we have lowered our food waste levels'), statements of how a particular product or service helps (e.g. 'using this product assists in reducing food waste') or more abstract representations of changed actions or thinking (e.g. 'we have decided to cut down our food waste'). Links to other sources and photos are also utilised. The discourse mainly focuses on the present and past tense. In the first citation, a company discusses how their product has had a role in reducing food waste in a concrete manner, while the second citation is more about praising other actors who have committed to reducing food waste:

Actor: Commercial company

<Brand name> baking paper has reduced food waste and sped up the working day of many people in many phases of work. Before, one portion's worth of food was always burnt in the dish. #goodpapers #foodwasteweek. Read more: <link>

Actor: Non-profit actor

Through <platform name> platform, many actors have already committed to lowering their food waste. For example, <tagged food manufacturer> <tagged restaurant franchise> <tagged catering company> <tagged catering company> <tagged retailer> <tagged non-profit organisation> <tagged city> <tagged non-profit organisation> are reducing #food-waste through their commitments <tagged campaign initiator> [picture of logos]

The tone within this discourse is rather positive, as the discussion revolves around actions that have managed to or have the potential to lower food waste. The voice is rather descriptive, but as the discussion is more connected to the actors, it is more personal and proactive. Within this discourse, the issue of food waste is approached 'from inside' by focusing on the actors. Here, the problematic nature and severity of the food waste issue are regarded as a shared assumption – hence, there is goal congruency (Gollnhofer, 2017). Thus, actions leading to large amounts of food waste are not described, except for a few exceptions that focus on achieved change from the past. The discourse focuses on the personal pronouns 'I' or 'we' when exhibiting examples of one's own actions or doings, or 's/he', 'it' or 'they' when pointing out other actors. Different companies and organisations seem to have a central role within this discourse, which is in line with research suggesting that companies are increasingly involved in public debates over sustainability issues on different platforms (Lahtinen & Närvänen, 2020). Individual consumers also take part, for instance, through sharing pictures of leftover meals.

The potential of the exhibition discourse to change practices

The exhibition discourse helps in making the already existing efforts for reducing food waste visible and public, which can have a normalising effect, leading to a situation where these types of practices may be a substitute for the earlier practices connected to higher levels of food waste and become normal procedures (e.g. Gollnhofer, 2017). This also echoes the social norms approach introduced in the social marketing literature, relying on the idea that people tend to act upon what they think is normal (Burchell et al., 2013). With sustainability issues, the change often begins with some actors disrupting the status quo by showing alternative practices (Baden & Prasad, 2016; Carrigan et al., 2011). The exhibition discourse highlights the practices of some actors, such as retailers and companies, as the main carriers of practices, implicitly setting an example for other actors. This has the potential to also inspire other actors, such as actors' competitors or other actor groups, to take up the same or similar practices. As Watson (2017, p. 348) put it, 'the fate of the practice depends on its success in recruiting and retaining practitioners'.

The exhibition discourse also entails some drawbacks when it comes to its potential for making changes in practices. First, by focusing on the existing actions, the discourse may construct a false idea that the issue is already taken care of. Sharing the efforts that have managed to lower the levels of food waste does not account for the relentless nature of the problem; continuous effort is needed (Närvänen et al., 2020). Our data showed that while some actors celebrated how much they have managed to reduce their food waste levels, other actors pointed out that the problem must have been very severe to begin with and that there is not enough discussion about this when results are brought forward. The exhibition discourse, mainly focusing on success, may also disregard the struggles

that these exhibited practice changes have required. The exhibition discourse also largely fails to bring forth the actions' interconnectedness along the supply chain. For instance, restaurants or retailers may be reducing their own food waste by selling surplus food at a lower price, but this may lead to more waste at the household level as price-conscious consumers may be tempted to buy more than they need. Furthermore, actors emphasising how much good they are doing and 'tooting their own horn' can also have negative side effects. For instance, it has been argued that increased ethical and green appeals among actors (also ones that seem very far from their appeals) have contributed to wider scepticism and a fear of green washing (Jahdi & Acikdilli, 2009).

Appeal discourse

In the third discourse, appeal, the issue of food waste is constructed from the perspective of what kinds of changes are needed to lower the level of food waste. Within this discourse, different types of appeals were made on what should (or should not) be done as well as what could be done and is not done currently. The discussion here includes statements regarding broader, even abstract changes in actions or attitudes, such as in the first citation, which highlights the importance of the appreciation of food. However, the discussion also includes more detailed postings, for instance, highlighting the actor responsible or concrete ideas for how changes could be made, such as in the latter citation, which includes concrete tips for how bread waste could be reduced:

Actor: Governmental institute

Appreciate your food! You should keep track of the contents of your fridge and use them in time.

Actor: Food/beverage producer company

Wow, 70 million slices is too much! So make use of crust and dried bread – for oven toast, croutons, breadcrumbs or even something more retro – a bread pudding! #foodwasteweek #bread #bread brand

Mentions about potential changes in actions are central. The discursive resources utilised include, for instance, direct commands, reminders, recommendations, suggestions, pledges and restrictions. A characteristic of the discourse is that the postings reflecting it are usually targeted at some actor(s), directly or indirectly. The temporal focus of the discourse is the present (i.e. what can be done immediately) as well as the future (i.e. what should change in the future). The discourse of appeal can be categorised as having two dimensions, one focusing on direct commands urging what should (or should not) be done, as in the first citation, and the other emphasising empowerment through, for instance, providing tips as well as highlighting everyone's important role. In some cases, the actors make pledges and encourage others to suggest their own tips, as in the latter citation:

Actor: Restaurant

[picture of empty plate] Let's empty the plate! [smiling emoji] #<name of the restaurant>
#<name of the franchise> #<name of the city> #foodwasteweek

Actor: Union representative

I challenge you to take part in the food waste week – what is your trick?

The tone within this discourse is rather normative and, in this way, differs from the explanation and exhibition discourses. Here, the discussion takes a clear stance suggesting courses of action put forth by discursive resources of imperatives and exclamation points. As in the exhibition discourse, the discussion here is not focused on the issue of food waste as such but takes the severity of the issue as a shared assumption. How the actors can make changes is being emphasised. As already mentioned, the discourse entails appeals targeted at some actor. For instance, the pronouns 'we' (i.e. what we all could/should do) and 'you' (i.e. what you should do) are utilised. However, the target is not always clear, as passive voice is often used (e.g. 'food should be appreciated more'). Quite often, however, the suggested actions lean towards actions related to consumers' everyday lives, such as cooking rather than, for instance, retail employees' work. The actors involved in the discourse are rather diverse. However, it can be noted that the discourse includes more appeals from commercial companies and non-profit organisations towards individual consumers than the other way around. Individual consumers also participate in the discussion, but their postings are often related to other consumers, for instance, through giving tips for others.

The potential of the appeal discourse to change practices

The potential for change in the appeal discourse includes several dimensions. Change is an inherent feature of the discourse. The discourse focuses on making visible the actions needed, which have the potential for making the other actors feel encouraged to change their practices. Especially when approached in a concrete way, such as giving tips, the actors' barrier to changing their practices may be lower. The discourse especially highlights the teleoaffective structures, meaning the normatively oriented ends and affective engagements (Schatzki, 2002) involved in practices of food waste prevention and reduction. The solution orientation of the discourse constructs the food waste issue as a solvable problem and reducing it as the right thing to do. The importance of this type of solutions-oriented approach has also been introduced in earlier research (Mattila et al., 2019). The discourse, in some parts, also emphasises reducing food waste as a joint endeavour, which supports the agency and role of all actors (Närvänen et al., 2020). This contributes to strengthening different actors' engagement with the issue of food waste. While the exhibition discourse was focused on some carriers of practices exhibiting their effort, the appeal discourse treats different actors as the source for broader change and invites them to make changes in their practices to reduce food waste. Furthermore, the discourse of appeal, with its temporal focus on the future, in a way constructs an image of a better situation in terms of the food waste issue. It has been suggested that this type of imaginary is an important step before changes can be made, and social media can act as a space for its formation (Kozinets, 2019).

The drawbacks of the discourse in terms of its potential for changes in practices are connected to its rather 'paternalistic' nature: the discourse is largely built upon one actor

telling another what could or should be done. It is often argued that commands may stir up undesired responses, as this type of involuntary approach may lead to community criticism (Kim et al., 2019) because actors may feel like their freedom of choice is taken away from them. The appeal discourse, while concentrating on ‘doings’ rather than ‘meanings’, and treating food waste as inherently ‘wrong’, does not contribute to the understanding element of practices. In addition, especially when built upon commands, the discourse can affect the power structures amongst the different types of carriers of practices, as some actors more often become the target of commands than others. In the data, many appeals were targeted at individual consumers. Furthermore, part of the discussion within the discourse was focused on rather broad solutions (‘let’s not waste food’) at a very general level, which does not consider the complexity of the issue and may over-simplify the potential solution for the problem.

Summary of the findings

It was identified that the food waste issue is given meaning through *explanation* of the issue, *exhibition* of different actions and *appeal* for potential solutions. These discourses construct the food waste issue through different discursive practices and the use of different discursive resources. The main characteristics of the discourses are presented in Table 1.

Based on the analysis and interpretation supported by the practice-theoretical lens, it can be stated that the discourses of explanation, exhibition and appeal constitute very different kinds of resources for practice change around the issue of food waste. The explanation discourse is heavily built upon steering changes that contribute to the understanding of the food waste issue, thus mainly contributing to this one element of practice. The exhibition discourse is more about sharing the concrete procedures of food waste reduction with the lead of certain carriers of practices. The appeal discourse’s potential for practice changes, in turn, is connected to its power to alter teleoaffective structures, highlighting the norms and engagements involved in reducing food waste.

Discussion

Contributions to the literature on sustainability issues in social marketing

The purpose of the study was to examine how market actors participate in the socio-cultural construction of the food waste issue through social media. In our inquiry, we found that the social marketing campaign of Food Waste Week managed to create

Table 1. Characteristics of the discourses.

	Explanation	Exhibition	Appeal
Food waste issue as	problem	partly solved problem	solvable problem
Focus on	facts	actions	needed changes
Pronouns utilised	it	I/we or it/he/they	you/we/passive
Temporal dimensions	past and present	past and present	present and future
Tone	descriptive	descriptive	normative

a platform on social media for several kinds of actors to participate in constructing the food waste issue socio-culturally.

The findings of the study contribute primarily to the social marketing literature related to sustainability issues (Beatson et al., 2020; Carrigan et al., 2011; K. Peattie & Peattie, 2009). Our findings show that the food waste issue was constructed on social media during Food Waste Week 2018 through discourses of explanation, exhibition and appeal. These three discourses construct the issue of food waste differently, highlighting different matters with varying focus points. Most relevant from the social marketing point of view, these discourses also differ in their ways and potential for creating practice changes in the context of food waste. By scrutinising the relationship between discourses and practice changes, this study extends the practice theory-inclined work already initiated by several social marketing researchers (Beatson et al., 2020; Gordon et al., 2018; Spotswood et al., 2017). It complements this stream of research by introducing a discursive approach, with the help of which the socio-cultural context can be better acknowledged (Fry, 2011; Spotswood & Tapp, 2013). This study has highlighted how differing discourses can be regarded as being different types of resources for changes in practices, some having more potential for change than others. The study emphasises the importance of understanding 'the power of talk' (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019b) shaping the reality within which practices and practice changes take place.

Social marketers have important roles as discourse constructors, with or without intention. How issues are presented in, for instance, campaign materials or social media postings reflect different assumptions of the agency of the actors (Sutinen, 2020) and entail varying potential in terms of creating changes in practices. While, for example, K. Peattie and Peattie (2009) acknowledge that it is the role of social marketers to enrich sustainability discussions with social and emotional meanings that support behaviour change, we argue that in today's social media environments many other actors are involved in constructing these meanings as well. Hence, social marketers should not only be interested in how they themselves are addressing sustainability issues but also need to understand the existing discourses around different topics. As Kemper and Ballantine (2017) argue, a macro-level challenge for social marketing is to mobilise and shift cultural discourses that legitimise new ways of thinking, social practices and technologies for the support of social issues.

As Hopwood et al. (2005) as well as Kemper and Ballantine (2019a) have suggested in the broader context of sustainability, the different approaches employed in public debates and discussions often vary in their perceptions and interpretations of how sustainable changes can be achieved. Kemper and Ballantine (2019a) identified that sustainability in marketing research is addressed through three main discourses: auxiliary sustainability marketing, reformative sustainability marketing and transformative sustainability marketing, all of which support differing agendas for marketing's role as a contributor to sustainable development. All three discourses identified in this study can be seen as in line with the reform view of sustainability, which acknowledges that changes are needed and views the root causes of unsustainability as an imbalance of knowledge and skills (Hopwood et al., 2005; Kemper & Ballantine, 2019a). It is worthwhile to note that there were no discourses in our data that would question the whole food system or, for instance, help to prioritise different solutions to food waste in terms of their sustainability.

Furthermore, our findings address the call for social marketing to consider multiple market actors when addressing sustainability issues – beyond just the consumer (Kemper & Ballantine, 2017). When aiming at tackling wicked problems such as food waste, changes are needed not only in consumer practices but also in, for instance, retail and catering practices. The discourses of explanation, exhibition and appeal can thus be seen as enablers of change in varying types of practices, as different actors participate in the discussion. The different practices may also be connected to each other and shape each other. For example, a restaurant may start to sell leftovers from the buffet table with a reduced price during the last opening hour, or a retailer may start to offer discounts for products that are close to their expiry dates, which may start to shape consumers' practices. Furthermore, through presenting these as effective ways to reduce food waste, they may be praised by customers, or competitors may adopt the same practice.

Our findings support those of Carrigan et al. (2011) as well as Baden and Prasad (2016), who claim that the relationships between individuals and organisations are important in fostering social norms and meanings that can drive change towards sustainability. Hence, the way how individuals in our data posted and reposted as both private consumers and employees of an organisation attests to the value of addressing people in various roles – not only as consumers. Our findings provide evidence that employees working in the food industry, food retailing and waste management were especially eager to participate in the discussion on food waste on social media. Thus, the role of people as professionals and role models in their respective social networks is reinforced with our findings. Furthermore, previous research on grocery retail employees found that they are often morally concerned about the levels of food waste, as they witness the phenomenon in their daily work (Gruber et al., 2016). The same may apply to restaurant and hospitality employees as well. Thus, involving employees of relevant industries in social marketing campaigns related to sustainability may be an appropriate way to bring about change. This is an important issue to be explored further, even though sustainable behaviours do not always necessarily translate from one context to another, such as from the workplace to the home (e.g. Smith & O'Sullivan, 2012).

Participating in the social media discussion on a sustainability issue has several motives – for individuals but also for organisations, as it may be a way for them to show their corporate social responsibility efforts (Jahdi & Acikdilli, 2009). Carrigan et al. (2011) identify the importance of 'catalytic individuals', such as small or medium-sized enterprise owners, for sustainability. Our findings show that on social media, organisations of different sizes, as well as individuals, can become such champions by participating in the discussion. The postings are then reposted by others, increasing the relevance of the overall issue. Our findings thus extend Carrigan et al.'s (2011) research by focusing on the social media context. However, it must be noted that on social media, it is typical for some individuals and organisations to have more impact than others.

Regarding regulation as one potential solution, Spotswood et al. (2012, p. 168) have suggested that it is the role of social marketing to 'generate the social conditions that allow for regulation to be introduced in the first place'. Similarly, Kemper and Ballantine (2019b) argue that social marketers can have a role in the creation of 'landscape pressure' through framings and narratives that support the need for system change. A law forbidding retailers from throwing away food is already in place in France and Italy (Giordano et al., 2020). So far, Finnish policy makers have not enforced any laws or regulations

regarding the issue, even though Finland is committed to the European Union's targets of halving food waste at the retail and household levels by 2030 (European Commission, 2017). When considering the relationship of the identified discourses to regulation, the discourse of explanation may offer a way to establish the importance of the problem in the first place: it needs to be perceived as a problem before people are willing to accept interventions or regulations. The exhibition discourse emphasises already existing, largely voluntary measures, which is why it does not necessarily support the need for more regulation.

Our research endeavour also contributes to the call for extending the research-method repertoire of social marketing in order to gain insight into the social surroundings of the behaviour (Brennan et al., 2015; Carins et al., 2016). Understanding the context is crucial for accelerating change, which has been suggested as a weakness of many social marketing programmes (S. Peattie & Peattie, 2003). The practice-theoretical approach has been suggested as a valid and promising approach to social marketing in earlier literature (e.g. Spotswood et al., 2017). This study presents the practice theory-informed discursive approach as one alternative for social marketing research and practice. Furthermore, the benefit of the discursive approach compared to other cultural approaches is that it can be implemented on textual data generated through, for instance, social media. Thus, the discursive approach and methods of netnography can complement practice-theoretical inquiries that build on ethnographic methods, which allow for observing practices in everyday life and the offline social world. This article's findings have complemented Spotswood et al. (2017) by illustrating how the discourses that underlie people's practices are constructed on social media and how they are connected to potential changes in these practices.

Contributions to the literature on using social media in social marketing

The emergence of new media platforms in the online sphere has been characterised as the latest important stage of social marketing evolvement (Dibb & Carrigan, 2013). Several social marketers have realised the potential of social media in boosting consumer engagement, although the research on how this should be done is still scarce (Shawky et al., 2019). Especially in the context of broader social changes, social media has been suggested as a potential platform to turn social media users into vocal advocates (Guidry et al., 2014). The findings of our study illustrate how a social marketing campaign can evolve into a multi-actor discussion aiming for a similar purpose of reducing food waste. There has been a call for a more distributed sense of responsibility on the issue of food waste, as consumers are often easily blamed for the problem (Evans, 2012). Using social media in social marketing may be a step towards this, as our findings showed that a campaign can engage different types of actors, including private and governmental, or for-profit and non-profit ones.

Our study extends the existing research on the connection between social marketing and social media further by introducing the importance of understanding the discourses within the debate. Although the discourses are constructed in the multi-actor discussion, social marketers do have the potential to take part in the issue-shaping of food waste and to raise certain topics in an intriguing way to encourage engagement among actors (Bakan, 2016). Social marketers should carefully consider which discourses are in line

with their ultimate purpose and which discourses they wish to strengthen in their own statements and materials.

In the context of food waste reduction, there has been a debate on whether social media is an effective means to impact the problem. For instance, Young et al. (2017) found that traditional media was more effective in reducing household food waste compared to social media interventions. On the other hand, Grainger and Stewart (2017) criticised this view, suggesting that the potential of social media should not be underestimated. In line with Närvänen et al. (2018), we argue that social media should not be seen only as an intervention with direct, measurable effects, but rather in a social context, as a platform for interaction where discourses are shaped and mobilised to change practices around food waste. Thus, the effects of social media campaigns by social marketers are likely to be indirect and have a longer timeframe.

For many actors, participating in Food Waste Week may have been a form of 'clicktivism' (Halupka, 2014; Kozinets, 2019), which is a low-effort form of political activity on social media conducted through likes, hashtags or the sharing of postings. As Kozinets (2019, p. 80; see also Halupka, 2014) argues, clicktivism may be a way to exchange ideas and make the actors more aware of their unquestioned habits – acting as a precursor of change and offering actors a 'discursive space' for engaging with the issue. Rather than passively receiving information on sustainability issues, social media offers a way for actors to reflectively and quite spontaneously react to that information by liking, commenting and sharing it forward (Pearson et al., 2016). However, clicktivism by nature does not commit actors to changing anything directly (Halupka, 2014); hence, its impacts cannot easily be measured on the level of individuals but rather on the socio-cultural level. Our findings extend marketing research acknowledging this phenomenon of 'clicktivism', as well as recent studies on social media campaigns related to sustainability, including #buynothingday (Paschen et al., 2020), where user-generated comments reveal how consumers use the campaign to express resistance, anti-consumption and restraint-related motivations. In contrast, our study reveals that clicktivism may also be used by consumers as well as other actors for pro-sustainability actions.

Limitations and future research opportunities

The authors acknowledge that the paper has some limitations. First, it should be stated that the chosen methodology does not allow for generalisable findings. More research should be conducted in different cultural contexts to investigate the discourses related to food waste reduction around the world, as practices are always culturally embedded. Furthermore, by focusing on social media data from a restricted time period, we were not able to study the practices related to food waste reduction in the everyday life context. Our approach focuses on how people talk about these practices online rather than how they enact them. The data also does not allow us to examine whether the practices change as a result of the discourses. This would require a longitudinal approach and other kinds of research methods. Second, it is important to note that the analysed social media discussion only sheds light on one corner of the topic. Even though the social media platforms were open for everyone to participate, the participating actors reflect only a portion of market actors connected to the issue. It can also be assumed that the actors participating in the discussion on social media are engaged

in the topic in some ways, while the uninterested actors' voices are not present. Thus, the identified discourses may not reflect the full array of discourses on the food waste issue. Also, social media as a discussion platform may have influenced what kind of discourses are present, and other platforms might illustrate some additional discourses. Future research could elaborate on the differences in issue construction on different platforms.

While beyond the scope of our paper, future research could elaborate more deeply on the power structures within the discussion as well as discourses. A social network analysis could provide interesting insights into what kinds of networks of postings are being formed and which actors hold the power within different discourses. Also, delving deeper into a certain group of actors and the discourses they construct offers an interesting avenue for future research. For instance, this study made a tentative notion that certain groups of actors constructed some discourses more strongly. Approaching the topic from a corporate communications perspective would likely produce interesting insights into how commercial actors engage in sustainability discussions. Extending the findings to other sustainability contexts would also be intriguing. Can similar discourses be identified in the discussions over other sustainability issues? How do discourses evolve over time and shape practices in the longer term? These questions are some examples of topics that further research could focus on to provide more insights for social marketers working on sustainability topics.

Conclusions

The research introduces a practice theory-informed discursive approach to social marketing. The study emphasises the role of discourses in shaping and steering the practices of different actors. How an issue – food waste, in this case – is being discussed, and what types of discourses connected to it exist, provide a foundation for actors' practices. In addition to conceptualising discourses as important resources for practices (Keller & Halkier, 2014), the study elaborates the role of discourses as important shapers of change, especially in the context of sustainability, where changes are desperately needed. As scrutinised in the findings, the identified discourses of explanation, exhibition and appeal each have a different type of potential to steer changes in different actors' food waste-related practices. Today, social media provides issue arenas where different actors take part in the discussions and discourses are constructed. For social marketers, social media provides a fruitful site for initiating and fostering discourse construction and negotiation as well as a channel to gain insight about different issues.

We strongly encourage both researchers and practitioners to pay more attention to the socio-cultural context of behaviour, including social practices and the discourses underlying them. This also calls for innovative methodological approaches such as netnography. This article has provided an example of how this method can be used for generating data about discourses, both for research and practice purposes.

The practice theory-informed discursive approach introduced in this paper helps social marketers, especially in the context of sustainability, to embrace their role in maintaining, transforming or suppressing discourses. As the problems of humankind become more complex and multidimensional and the need for broader changes is crucially needed, such conceptual and practical approaches can open new avenues for undiscovered

solutions.

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