The power of 'talk': Frames and narratives in macro-social marketing

Abstract

Many countries are now facing the simultaneous issues of malnutrition and obesity, requiring governments to balance scarce resources for both food security and preventable diseases. The case study of obesity interventions and its discourse is used to showcase and expand our understanding of macro-social marketing. We discuss how to communicate the social, cultural, political, and natural environmental changes that occur in the macro level of society to highlight the need for system change. In macro-social marketing we can communicate the pressure of issues in a coherent and persuasive way, through framing or narrative tools, to gain support for initiatives (i.e., new regulations, increased funding) and encourage behaviour change. Beyond articulation, macro-social marketing at the meso level can also leverage landscape pressures and mobilise and support social movement(s). We reflect on the implications for media and stakeholder communications and macro-social marketing strategies.

Introduction

Wicked problems are complex, highly politicised issues, which have competing frames and world views (Head, 2008). Obesity is one of the many wicked problems society faces (Parkinson et al., 2017), as many countries are now facing the simultaneous issues of malnutrition and obesity, requiring governments to balance scarce resources for both food security and preventable diseases (Roberto et al., 2015). However, while most high-income countries have implemented obesity policies, they have largely favoured micro-level (individual) initiatives such as social marketing and/or support services, and voluntary agreements or self-regulation, without any support from macro-level policies (i.e., taxation, subsidies—Roberto et al., 2015).

The implementation of micro-level initiatives shows a preference for limited government intervention and the framing of obesity as a personal, not social problem. So, while researchers have offered policy suggestions and frameworks that address the macro level, support from policy makers, industry, and the public for actual implementation must also be addressed. One way forward is to use the framework provided by the multi-level perspective (MLP) of socio-technical transitions to explore macro-social marketing actions (Kemper & Ballantine, 2017). Simply put, the MLP looks at how technological and social innovation enable transitions. Specifically, transitions occur due to a reduction in the power and resources of dominant regime actors (such as industry leaders), with this power moving towards niche actors (such as smaller, niche companies), because of changes in technological innovation, and the social and cultural landscape.

In this chapter, we discuss how to articulate and create landscape pressure—that is, communicate the social, cultural, political, and natural environmental changes that occur in the macro level of society to highlight the need for system change. We specify that macro-social

marketers can help highlight such macro-level changes that are favourable to addressing wicked problems by expressing these changes in a way which induces individual and system change. Specifically, we utilise the creation and management of framing and narratives to affect systematic change. The case study of obesity interventions and its discourse is used to showcase and expand our understanding.

Macro-Social Marketing and the Multi-Level Perspective of Socio-Technical Transitions

In systemic change, institutional norms need to be shifted for both the marketing system that preserves normative behaviours and the assumptions of governmental (formal institutional) support. Specifically, social marketers need to address the larger 'master frame' of the assumptions of personal responsibility (i.e., individualism) and limited government (i.e., the free market). This is related to Peattie and Peattie's (2003) phenomenon of the competing idea of 'social discouragement', where social marketing competes with existing social values or myths. While the competing ideas of personal responsibility and limited government run contrary to all macro-social marketing initiatives, as governments and organisations encourage and may limit individuals to act in certain ways, other myths and frames distort causes and viable solutions to specific wicked problems. In the case of obesity, a myth that is commonly perpetuated is that of the 'lazy' individual.

The MLP organises socio-technical systems into niches, regimes, and landscapes (Geels, 2010). Socio-technical regimes are those that benefit the most from the status quo; they are the current dominant players in an industry. Regimes are strong because they "are structures constituted from a co-evolutionary accumulation and alignment of knowledge, investments, objects, infrastructures, values and norms that span the production-consumption divide" (Smith, Voß, & Grin, 2010, p. 441). These incumbent regimes (e.g., transportation providers, current

energy and food systems), are heavily dependent on interlinked actors, such as employees, key suppliers, competitors, and institutions (Geels, 2004).

Socio-technical niches (e.g., organic, fair trade, free-range, or local food) compete with incumbent regimes (Smith, Stirling, & Berkhout, 2005). However, niches are not prone to the same pressures and changes prevailing in regimes (i.e., existing funding, infrastructure, routines, and practices) as their norms are different and less established than regimes, which makes them inherently unstable but more open to innovation, change, and new thinking (Smith, 2006; Smith et al., 2010). Moreover, niches have the ability, when supported through funding, institutions, and infrastructure, to replace existing regimes.

Lastly, the socio-technical landscape is the larger macro sphere which involves social, cultural (i.e., social movements), economic, political (i.e., ideology, political party strength, regulatory), or natural (i.e., draught, natural resource depletion) changes that prompt responses from the regime and niches. Theoretically, these landscape changes are more favourable to niches, as they are able to adapt and respond to changes more quickly and easily than regimes (Geels, 2010).

'Lock-in' mechanisms occur in regimes and affect the capacity to adapt to landscape pressures. These mechanisms include scale economies, sunk investments, infrastructures, and core competencies. Beyond material costs, 'lock-in' mechanisms also involve informal institutions such as the deeply ingrained culture, norms, shared beliefs, and discourses of regime stakeholders. These informal institutions stabilise existing systems (Unruh, 2000) and are unstable in niches (Geels & Schot, 2007; Smith et al., 2005). Specifically, informal institutions can be divided into normative (role relationships, values, behavioural norms) and cognitive rules (belief systems) (Geels, 2004). Normative and cognitive rules allow individuals, organisations,

industries, and even new ideas to gain legitimacy (Scott, 1995). Specifically, Suchman (1995) contends that "legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions" (p. 574). Indeed, the changes in these 'rules' alongside regulatory (formal) change help to explain how innovations and markets lose their legitimacy and go through processes of (de)institutionalisation, and thus a socio-technical transition (Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2014).

Macro-social marketing intervenes to frame and leverage landscape pressure(s) (Smith et al., 2005). Traditionally, in social marketing, the articulation of pressures can be achieved through increasing public, government, and business knowledge of the wicked issue. In macro-social marketing we can extend this further by communicating the pressure in a coherent and persuasive way, through framing or narrative tools, to gain support for initiatives (i.e., new regulations, increased funding) and encourage behaviour change. Beyond articulation, macro-social marketing at the meso level can leverage landscape pressures and mobilise and support social movement(s). This can be on various scales, from local community groups to national grassroots movements, consumer associations, or niche industry groups.

Joining the Policy Debate and Public Sphere: The Creation and Management of Framing and Narrative

Macro-social marketing's implementation of formal interventions, such as regulation, legislation, and other education/programme funding (e.g., hotlines, nutrition classes), is embroiled within public policy debates. Policy viability is not just about effectiveness but also about acceptance from individuals, governments, and industry (Lang & Rayner, 2007). Consequently, support for policies must be garnered. Widespread taken for granted assumptions and norms present serious

challenges to the implementation of policies towards public health (Roberto et al., 2015); these assumptions revolve around the responsibility of the individual and the government, particularly prevalent in issues of unhealthy food, tobacco, and alcohol consumption (Beauchamp, 1976; Weishaar et al., 2016). Thus, macro-social marketing needs to understand dominant regime frames and narratives to ascertain their hold on power, and understand how to construct counter-frames and narratives.

Narrative and discursive struggles initiate change in both formal and informal institutions through reciprocal relationships (North, 1990). Informal institutional (cultural, social) change supports individual behaviour change (i.e., see the need for, willingness, and self-efficacy to change, shifting personal and social norms), as well as social change through the support of initiatives (i.e., policy). Similarly, formal regulations reinforce the informal norms present in society. Therefore, macro-social marketing must "engage in cultural framing actions" (Geels, 2010, p. 506) to legitimise new ways of thinking, social practices, and innovations, and thus break away from dominant regime power and discourse (Kemper & Ballantine, 2017). To do so, we expand on framing and narratives to help transform current informal institutions (i.e., individual responsibility norms), which in turn provide public and political support for formal institutional change.

A new and emerging body of socio-technical transitions research examines the social representations, discursive struggles, storylines, and narratives appearing in transitions, such as in energy (Hermwille, 2016; Malone, Hultman, Anderson, & Romeiro, 2017). Moreover, social movement theorists have now long since recognised the importance of framing alongside resource mobilisation and political opportunity processes in social change (Benford & Snow,

2000). Considering this social and political turn in socio-technical research, we discuss the potential for macro-social marketing to contribute to this emerging literature.

Blending the functionalist and structuralist view of culture, we use the interpretative approach to culture which focuses on agency and the creation of meaning and discourse theory to focus on the collective meanings and sense making around particular issues (Geels & Verhees, 2011). This borrows heavily from institutional theory and logics, particularly institutional work (Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2014). We use the term 'cultural legitimacy', coined by Geels and Verhees (2011), to combine normative and cognitive rules. Both normative and cognitive rules refer to 'wider society', both of which are two forms of informal institutions. Thus, the causal mechanisms which help produce cultural legitimacy are through discourse and framing struggles (Geels & Verhees, 2011; Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004; Van Dijk, 1989). In line with Geels and Verhees (2011, p. 913), we build on the discursive view:

suggest[ing] that the cultural legitimacy of technologies derives from the content and meaning of discourses, which depend on the way that deep-structural elements, concepts, ideas, metaphors, arguments and images are ordered and related. For innovation journeys, actors aim to produce legitimacy by articulating positive discourses around new technologies.

Therefore, cultural actions are performed to influence and convince (i.e., through sense making but also influencing attitudes and beliefs) particular audiences that something (new ideas, products, regulations) is right, appropriate, or desirable (Geels & Verhees, 2011). This institutional work, the "purposive actions of individuals and organisations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 215), sets to disrupt the institutional logics (material practices, beliefs, assumptions) present in socio-technical regimes. As such, sense making and discursive struggles take place on public stages (e.g., news media,

social media, public debates) and are performed by social marketers, organisations, industry associations, policy makers, special interest groups, and non-governmental organisations (Geels & Verhees, 2011). These different frames compete on the public stage for dominance and influence on general discourse (Geels & Verhees, 2011; Van Dijk, 1989).

Therefore, a stakeholder analysis must be undertaken to understand the key players, their voices (opinions), and dominance in the landscape. For example, Morone, Lopolito, Anguilano, Sica, and Tartiu (2016) explored the sources of landscape pressure through interviews with stakeholders in the waste management domain. Key stakeholders in most discursive struggles include a variety of incumbents, challengers, and governance units (Layton, 2015), such as governments, regime or niche organisations, industry or consumer associations, public interest groups, and the media. The relative power held in these discursive struggles is directly related to the actors' ability to mobilise resources, including financial, political, and cultural.

The distinction between frames, discourse, narratives, and storylines is not always clear in the literature. We adhere to Geels and Verhees's (2011) distinction between discourses and frames. Thus, discourses are considered to be shared, general ways of knowing and talking about particular innovations (e.g., sugar-sweetened beverages), while frames focus on the interpretation of a specific innovation and related issue (e.g., health risks associated with sugar-sweetened beverages, responsibility of government to regulate sugar-sweetened beverages). A frame is an "active, processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction" (2000, p. 614). Narratives are associated with frames, but differ as narratives are stories which are personal and emotional in nature (Olsen, 2014). Discourse and frames are mostly associated with contested, discursive struggles and issues of power (Van Dijk, 1989), while traditionally, narratives are employed to outline emotional stories with a plot, characters

(hero, villain), and a moral ('right' behaviour). Therefore, a narrative is a story with a temporal sequence of events, a plot with moments, symbols, and archetypal characters, which culminates in a moral to the story (Jones & McBeth, 2010) and which "connect events in a meaningful way for a definite audience and thus offer insights about the world and/or people's experiences of it" (Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997, p. xvi). We now expand on how frames and narrative in wicked issues, specifically obesity, can help shift informal institutions and provide discursive, social, and political support for specific formal institutional initiatives (i.e., taxation).

Frames

Framing is both a micro- and macro-level construct. This relates to how individuals use information (and how it's presented) to develop beliefs (micro) and the mode of presentation used by the media, industry, and other actors (macro) (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006). Previous research has examined message framing from the micro perspective in health and prosocial communications (Loroz, 2007; McGregor, Ferguson, & O'Carroll, 2012; Rothman & Salovey, 1997). Additionally, while research has addressed the use of framing in communications, it has only done so within the downstream and midstream social marketing perspective and on frame creation (Daellenbach & Parkinson, 2017), which leaves out a crucial element of the contested process of counter-framing and interaction with opponent actions on the macro level. We aim to address this gap.

The resultant outcome of framing activities is termed collective action frames (CAF), which inspire and legitimise campaigns (Benford & Snow, 2000). The objective of CAF is to "mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" (Snow & Benford, 1988, p. 198). To understand the macro-social marketing

potential of frames, we discuss two important ways to frame issues; these include the need to address three core framing activities and the development of a frame(s).

According to Benford and Snow (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow & Benford, 1988), core framing tasks of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing facilitate agreement and action within a social movement. These can be seen in Table 5.1. Diagnostic framing involves the articulation of the issue needed to be solved (i.e., caloric overconsumption, lack of exercise) and who is to blame (causality; i.e., food companies and marketing). As such, 'injustice frames' are commonly used, especially when advocating for political or economic reform by identifying the victims (Benford & Snow, 2000). Here, the power of large multi-nationals in politics and marketing can be highlighted. 'Adversarial' framing, for example, can be used as a "normative reference point for the attribution of responsibility and blame . . . [and] by making the character and practices of their opponents part of the problem" (Knight & Greenberg, 2011, p. 325). The use of narrative storytelling can be used to highlight the 'heroes' and 'villains'. However, due to identifying the problem, placing blame, and victimising, there are issues surrounding stigmatisation which need to be taken into account (e.g., Gurrieri, Previte, & Brace-Govan, 2013). For example, other frames in the obesity debate need to examined, such as the social justice frame, which investigates discrimination issues in obesity (Kwan, 2009). Here, participatory methods can be used to account for the voices of all actors in a social issue (discussed more later).

Next, prognostic framing involves the articulation of a solution and the strategies for achieving those solutions. The focus here is as much on the proposed solution by proponents, such as government intervention, as it is on discounting the opponent's proposed solutions (counter-framing), such as their stances on individual responsibility and as an anti-tax proponent

(Van Gorp & Vercruysse, 2012). Here, macro-social marketing must articulate frames which emphasise the need for intervention by changing formal institutions (i.e., regulation and legislation), as well as promoting the regimes' shortcomings (i.e., unhealthy/unsustainable products, manipulative tactics, lobbying which occurs behind closed doors). This is related to counter-framing. For example, 'boundary' framing may be utilised, communicating how the frame differs from others (Silver, 1997). The process ultimately results in competitive frame contests between actors (Benford & Snow, 2000; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006). Here, proponents will need to counter-frame the individual responsibility and hands-off approach to government from its opponents.

Lastly, motivational framing is the agency component of frames, providing the rationale for taking action against the status quo. The motivational frame applies when trying to mobilise or further support existing social movements (e.g., veganism), local community groups, online communities (e.g., The Healthy Mummy), consumer associations (e.g., The Canadian Health Food Association), niche industry associations (e.g., The Soil and Health Association), and academic research groups (e.g., Oxford Food Research Network). In another manner, motivational framing can be used in relation to individual and community behaviour change, specifically utilising value exchange theory discussed in social marketing literature to provide reasons for behaviour change (Domegan, 2008; Hastings & Haywood, 1991). For example, the slow food movement can be emphasised for its health and sustainability focus and its work-life balance for increased family time.

Table 5.1 Diagnostic, Prognostic, and Motivational Framing

Frame	Processes	Obesity case	Related to . . .

Diagnostic framing	Identification of problem	Caloric overconsumption, lack of exercise	Education and credibility of source(s). Also includes stigmatisation issues
	Identification of culpable agent	Food companies	Related to 'boundary' or 'adversarial' framing. Connected to heroes and villains in narrative storytelling (see below)
Prognostic framing	Articulation of solution	Government responsibility	Storytelling of 'appropriate' behaviour (see below)
	Strategies for 'attack'	Counter-frame the individual responsibility and hands-off approach government	Contested processes (see below)
Motivational framing	Rationale for taking action and extends	Slow food movement, which	Value exchange discussed in social

to changing	promotes greater	marketing literature
individual	work-life balance	(Domegan, 2008;
behaviour		Hastings & Haywood,
		1991)

While the core tasks of framing aim to articulate and create buy-in of social issues (i.e., their seriousness, need for action, specific interventions), we now turn to frame development and generation. The development of frames is suggested to include the three processes of discursive, strategic, and contested actions (Benford & Snow, 2000), but most relevant to macro-social marketing are strategic and contested processes. Strategic processes are those which are deployed to achieve a specific purpose (i.e., convince, mobilise, acquire resources) and may be aligned with either actors' existing frames (particularly those of other movements to combine resources and leverage combined power), beliefs, or values, or other actor or opponent interests (e.g., Khayatzadeh-Mahani, Ruckert, & Labonté, 2018). Lastly, all CAF are involved in contested processes with opponents, bystanders, the media, and actors, and include counter-framing (Atanasova & Koteyko, 2017; Kwan, 2009) and frame disputes within proponent movements. We provide descriptions and examples in Table 5.2.

In the case of obesity, strategic and contested processes can be used to shift institutional norms in both individual behaviour change and policy acceptance. The strategic process includes frame bridging, amplification, and extension (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986). Macro-social marketing can focus on bridging frames with sustainability (Tilman & Clark, 2014), as many healthy foods are also sustainable (Swinburn et al., 2019) and align with existing family values, such as family dinner meals (e.g., Bacon, 2018), the seriousness of the health risks (e.g., through narratives), the role of industry (e.g., marketing

practices), increasing self-efficacy (e.g., nutrition education), and communicating the effectiveness of government intervention. The frame articulated by macro-social marketers can also align with interest in the non-health sectors, such as agriculture, transportation, education, finance, and urban planning (Atanasova & Koteyko, 2017). Particularly, there is a potential for the healthy food movement and macro-social marketing to "progress action when it facilitates joint efforts with stakeholders across and between, micro, meso, exo and macro levels" (Parkinson et al., 2017, p. 397).

Counter-framing is possibly the most important element of macro-social marketing. The effectiveness of counter-frames may depend on the timing and repetition of the frame (Chong & Druckman, 2012) and the relative power (which may be social, political, and/or economic) of actors. Counter-frames in the obesity debate may include the responsibility of industry frame countering the free market frame (Beauchamp, 1976) and the overconsumption of high caloric food frame countering the need to exercise frame (Jenkin, Signal, & Thomson, 2011). There is also a need to take into account the internal frame disputes within the public health arena. This may include discussion within the proponent group about the solutions advocated, such as taxation on sugar-sweetened beverages, advertising regulation, acceptance about working with industry/opponents like campaigns or associations with the food industry (i.e., The American Council for Fitness and Nutrition) (Ludwig & Nestle, 2008), and connection with larger cultural frames/issues.

Table 5.2 Core Tasks of Framing

Process	Sub-processes	Definition	Obesity Case

Strategic	Frame bridging	Alignment with existing frames	Alignment with sustainable frames, particularly in the food context (Tilman & Clark, 2014)
	Frame amplification	Alignment with existing values	Alignment with family values (i.e., family meals, leisure activities) (e.g., Bacon, 2018)
		Alignment with existing beliefs—seriousness	Discussion of serious health risks associated with obesity
		Alignment with existing beliefs—blame	Attribution (the environment), organisations (food industry)
		Alignment with existing beliefs—antagonistic	The food industry, its marketing in particular
		Alignment with existing beliefs—probability for change	Increase self-efficacy in social marketing messages and education. Also communication of the effectiveness (and thus needs) of government intervention

	Frame extension	Alignment with other actors or opponent interests	Alignment (policy actions/recommendations) with the goals and interests of non-health sectors (Atanasova & Koteyko, 2017)
Contested	Counter-framing	Countering opponents' arguments and frames	Countering individual responsibility framing prominent with opponents
	Internal frame disputes	Arguments within the proponent group about framing	Discussion within the proponent group about solutions advocated, acceptance about working with industry/opponents, and connection with larger cultural frames/issues

More specifically, the framing of obesity, and divergent beliefs about what drives and sustains social issues, contributes to many of the barriers preventing intervention on obesity (Roberto et al., 2015). Personal responsibility has been used by the food industry to defend itself from criticism, legislation, and litigation (Brownell & Warner, 2009). Research has shown that the media also helps perpetuate the personal responsibility idea by covering stories and using language which places the blame on individuals (Saguy & Almeling, 2008). Through research,

macro-social marketers can carefully frame and target messages to the public regarding social issues.

Moreover, we can learn from 'fights' or cases which demonstrate framing issues in the obesity context, as well as others, such as tobacco and alcohol. For example, successful campaigns framing the issue of sugar taxation in California demonstrate that highlighting the harmful behaviour of corporations is particularly effective (Somji et al., 2016). However, the commercial interests in public health are rarely discussed in relation to processed food and beverage companies (Weishaar et al., 2016). This is where we can learn from the relative success of the anti-tobacco movement. For example, the movement gained momentum when it was able to speak out against the negative impact of commercial interests, a case-in-point being California's successful anti-smoking campaign highlighting that the "tobacco industry is not your friend" (Reid, 2005; Weishaar, Amos, & Collin, 2015). In addition, shifting the frame from 'right to smoke' (industry lead) to the 'right to breathe clean air' (public health lead) helped garner public and policy support to reduce exposure to second-hand smoke (Wolfson, 2017). However, the challenge is to understand how ideas and imagery mobilise citizens and engage the public (Huang et al., 2015).

Frames can go beyond the written and can be visualised through images (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011; Schwalbe, Silcock, & Keith, 2008). Thus, we could transmit the 'new normal' family meal, which may not include a main meat product, for example. Initiatives in primary schools already show the creation of a new food culture, firstly through encouragement to eat healthy and then the banning of non-water beverages and the requirement of one piece of fruit (in some New Zealand schools), which over time creates a healthy food culture at school, which may in turn translate to the child's home. Specifically, macro-social marketers can spread,

through various mediums (e.g., social media, television, news), ideas and imagery (e.g., children's lunchbox, family meal) that support the new institutional norm(s). Considering downstream social marketing campaigns often use imagery in media, TV, and print appeals, research on visual framing can broaden our understanding of the use of imagery in highlighting particular frames.

Various avenues exist to undertake research to understand frames being used by the media, communities, and individuals. For example, much research surrounds the frames used in the media around obesity (e.g., Barry, Jarlenski, Grob, Schlesinger, & Gollust, 2011; Jeong, Gilmore, Bleakley, & Jordan, 2014; Kim & Anne Willis, 2007; Lawrence, 2004; Sun, Krakow, John, Liu, & Weaver, 2016), and such analysis (and future research conducted by social marketers) can aid macro-social marketing to understand how to counteract frames used in the media. The creation of counter-frames or narratives can be aided through a participatory approach (McHugh, Domegan, & Duane, 2018), using methodologies such as Narrative Workshops (Shaw & Corner, 2017). For example, recent research has even examined, through in-depth interviews, the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing used by parents to talk about the family meal and compared this to advertising campaigns (Bacon, 2018).

Extending the participatory process to social marketing, macro-social marketers can also work with community groups to help wield their power and apply pressure on policy makers (Wallack & Dorfman, 1996). Active public pressure can impact both business and political actions (Huang et al., 2015; Moodie et al., 2013). Further, the institutionalisation process is cemented through the help of community groups and projects advocating for an institutional norm (Kuhn, 2005). Citizen protest and activism brought together by a common cause can affect social and political change.

Consequently, macro-social marketing also needs to bring together and mobilise groups and individuals who wish to have their voices heard. Petitions, marches, protests, and active debate online or on TV can be some of the ways the public can have a voice and participate in the political process. A similar principle can be applied to partnerships and coalitions between organisations, NGOs, and government agencies to coordinate research, funding, and political powers, among others. Indeed, recent calls from socio-technical transition researchers actively question the role of coalitions (Roberts et al., 2018). Thus, macro-social marketing can act as "the 'glue' that holds multi-stream initiatives together" (Parkinson et al., 2017, p. 397). There is much room to improve our knowledge about social change and citizen mobilisation with social movement theory and research.

Narratives

The use, role, and study of narratives and storylines in marketing is not new (Shankar, Elliott, & Goulding, 2001; Van Laer, De Ruyter, Visconti, & Wetzels, 2013). However, marketing research usually focuses on the individual act of consumption and has rarely examined this from a systematic and macro perspective. Narratives can be utilised through communication, social marketing, and other interventions (Gordon, Waitt, Cooper, & Butler, 2018). Indeed, narratives, rather than statistical data, have been advocated to be used in health behaviour change (Hinyard & Kreuter, 2007).

While narratives and storytelling are often used interchangeably (e.g., Olsen, 2014; Polkinghorne, 1988), frames and narratives are more distinct. Olsen (2014, p. 250) elaborates that "while frames specify a diagnosis and prognosis of a problem, narrative draws the audience in with the features of emplotment and temporality . . . they are engaged in an unfolding sequence of events that contains moral or practical consequences". Thus, narratives differ from

frames as they include a temporal dimension, which Bushell, Buisson, Workman, and Colley (2017) argue makes narratives better at communication. Narratives can explain why and when events occur and how people should behave to achieve a desirable outcome (Bushell et al., 2017; Gordon et al., 2018). For example, Gordon et al. (2018) created 'collective video storytelling', which combined scientific and lay knowledge about domestic energy use, and featured real people and stories, to provide guidance to Australian households about effective energy efficiency management. The study utilised social practice theory and payed particular attention to transformation-narrative theory (Van Laer et al., 2013). Transporting the listener or reader into the story is unique to narratives, allowing a personal connection and a focus on the emotional (Olsen, 2014; Van Laer et al., 2013).

Narratives are useful to make sense of 'chaotic' events such as personal, social, or environmental problems (Becker, 1997), and the conversion of these issues into stories provides reorder to the chaos (White, 2014). In this sense, plot structure is important. These plot structures have been categorised as tragedy, romance, comedy, and satire (White, 2014). For example, plotlines are common in energy transitions, and Janda and Topouzi (2015) demonstrate this through the uses of 'learning stories' (overcome challenge), 'hero stories' (technology), or 'horror stories' (preparation for social and environmental issues). The former of which Janda and Topouzi (2015) recommend researchers utilise to motivate the public and policy makers to enact change. However, Polletta (2009) argues that narratives do little to change the status quo as they are less authoritative than framing. Nevertheless, new research on strategic narratives might shine a light on the possibilities for the use of stories to incite and inspire change (Bushell et al., 2017).

Analysing the narratives and storylines used by government and businesses can shed light on how institutions have already been successful in social, economic, and political change. Malone et al. (2017) show the various storylines used in the U.S. (nuclear power), Brazil (sugar cane ethanol), and Sweden (biomass energy) to develop their energy pathways directly related to their existing political-cultural national narratives. Similarly, the U.K., Germany, and Japan all utilised different narratives in their response to the Fukushima disaster and subsequently affected policy and energy transformation (Hermwille, 2016). While these studies use historical analyses, they demonstrate the potential for descriptive and analytical tools to inform strategic opportunities to create specific narratives or reframe issues to induce desirable systemic change.

As an example, narrative forms of communication are often used in health behaviour change campaigns. Communication researchers have demonstrated that the use of entertainment education, journalism, literature, testimonials, and storytelling can impact behaviour change (Kreuter et al., 2007). Specifically, narrative communication can have powerful effects on increasing motivation and overcoming resistance, facilitating information processing, providing social and supportive connections, and addressing emotional issues and coping mechanisms (Kreuter et al., 2007). Thus, there is room for macro-social marketing to utilise narrative communication research for downstream and upstream social marketing. Next, we focus on providing a spotlight on effecting frames and narratives used in the media.

The Media: A Case in Point for the Use of Frames and Narrative

The media plays a large role in the construction of social reality (Scheufele, 1999). There are a number of ways social marketing can involve and account for media influence. At a macro level, macro-social marketing campaigns can have an implicit impact on media portrayals and subsequently affect the discourse surrounding an issue. Specifically, research demonstrates that

the Philadelphia sugar-sweetened beverage reduction media campaign (radio and TV), in coordination with other initiatives, may have helped media to shift from the focus on the individual to other social and contextual factors such as food and beverage companies (Jeong et al., 2014).

Another way is to directly influence media stories through the provision of information and expertise. The media often relies on external sources to inform news articles; at the very least about half of journalists utilise press releases and corporate public relations materials (30% can be traced verbatim—Lewis, Williams, & Franklin, 2008). Consequently, there is a role to play in supplying media with stories, research findings, and debates to advance the resolution of wicked issues.

Storylines featured in television shows and on social media also have the potential to influence the framing and narratives surrounding social issues. Morgan, Movius, and Cody (2009) examine the impact of organ donation storylines of the U.S. television dramas CSI: NY, Numb3rs, House, and Grey's Anatomy on attitudes, knowledge, and behaviours. They found that if narratives helped viewers become emotionally involved, they were more likely to become an organ donor, particularly if the show explicitly encouraged donation, portrayed characters as becoming donors (including how), and discussed the merits of donating. Whether social marketers can influence storylines on television shows remains to be seen, however, there is an ability to strive to attach more explicit messages to the end of an episode (such as those relating to mental illness or bullying). These more explicit calls to action can also occur, and research has examined the effectiveness of explicit persuasive appeal in entertainment-education interventions (Shen & Han, 2014). While social marketers might aim to join issue coalitions with television studios or shows, merely analysing the storylines present in shows, social media, and public

discourse can also help to understand the broader environmental context in which social marketing messages are received.

Overall, research in media and communications, particularly media advocacy, holds valuable information for social and macro-social marketing which has largely been neglected (Wallack, 2002).

Concluding Thoughts

Wicked problems add complexity to policy design and implementation. There are differences in the understanding of a problem and therefore the frames generating the possible solutions (Head, 2008). Landscape events, shocks, and changes impact upon regimes and niches, but they will only generate enduring pressure "if discursively prominent narratives become available that allow to translate the landscape shock into the socio-political environment" (Hermwille, 2016, p. 243). While the ability for change has been highlighted historically in transitions research through the use of discourses, frames, and narratives by regimes and niches (Bosman, Loorbach, Frantzeskaki, & Pistorius, 2014; Hermwille, 2016; Kim & Kim, 2014; Roberts, 2017), it is now time for macro-social marketing to change formal and informal institutions through designing communications which articulate and leverage landscape pressures. It is only through the use of discourse, framing, and narrative understanding, analysis, and deployment that macro-social marketing can be a part of "creating desirable images of change" (Kennedy & Parsons, 2012, p. 37). Therefore, there is much room for future research.

While strategic frames and narratives offer a way to provide support for formal and informal institutional change, more insight and targeted approaches to initiate change in social practices are needed. However, the socio-technical approach may still provide insight into the

need to take into account all aspects of social practices. The MLP of socio-technical transitions provides a mid-range theory (Geels, 2010) to help theorise change at the micro, meso, and macro levels. At the micro level, individuals are embedded in social practices and 'scripts' that shape action; at the meso level, structural regime rules and technological trajectories limit (in)action; and at the macro level, infrastructures, social/cultural norms, values, and broad consumption patterns provide material and immaterial constraints to actions (Geels, 2018). There is an opportunity for future research in macro-social marketing to examine closely the social practices related to (un)sustainable and (un)healthy consumption through the lens of the MLP.

While our examples apply to obesity, many other wicked issues should be examined and helped with macro-social marketing analysis and implementation, including issues of climate change, sustainability, and alcohol and drug control. Interdisciplinary research, whether conceptual or empirical, is needed to examine the full potential of framing effects. Specifically, research is needed which crosses communications and media effects with public relations research, and should include topics such as agenda setting and lobbying.

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