Evaluating social countermarketing success: Resonance of framing strategies in online food quality debates

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Evaluating social countermarketing success: resonance of framing strategies in online food quality debates

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Abstract

Purpose – Social countermarketing (SCM) aims at influencing existing socio-cultural norms, public policies or political decision-making. Existing empirical accounts of SCM give limited insights into their success. The authors analyze SCM strategies and their public resonance by studying the diagnostic and prognostic frames and responsibility attributions that are used in the debates.

Design/methodology/approach – The authors focus on two online SCM campaigns in the Netherlands that are targeted against over-feeding of chickens for consumption and the selling of low-priced meat. The authors conducted a quantitative content analysis ($N = 3{,}902$) of these debates on Twitter for a two-year period (July 2015 to June 2017).

Findings – The results show that citizens play an important role for the amplification of SCM campaigns. Diagnostic and prognostic frames about meat selling practices are among the most popular ones while the importance of mobilization messages differs per case. This can be explained by the proximity of these frames to citizens' daily life experiences.

Practical implications – The apparent willingness of citizens to both tweet and retweet calls for mobilization might give messages by environmental NGOs third-party endorsement. This strengthens their position and visibility in the debates, which are both of strategic value. The analysis of actor responsibility can identify reputational risks for companies in contested industries such as mass meat production.

Originality/value – The findings enhance professional understanding of designing campaign messages and refine SCM success in terms of resonance, since resonance indicates amplification and third-party endorsement.

Keywords Social countermarketing, Framing, Public resonance, Twitter

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

In their aim to initiate societal change, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) increasingly rely on various forms of online campaigning to create awareness and to mobilize publics. Despite the promising opportunities of social networking sites (SNSs) to increase the scope of a campaign by engaging large numbers of followers, severe limitations concerning the successful use of SNSs by NGOs have been identified (Guo and Saxton, 2018; Shawky *et al.*, 2019). Specifically, a strong focus on information transmission and one-way communication indicate that the potential of SNS for dialog and relational maintenance is not yet fully exploited by NGOs (Lovejoy and Saxton, 2012; Van Wissen and Wonneberger, 2017). Moreover, the effectiveness of social media strategies employed by NGOs remains relatively underexplored (Guo and Saxton, 2018).

Social countermarketing (SCM) has recently been introduced (Bellew *et al.*, 2017) as a specific type of social marketing (Andreasen, 2006). Rooting in oppositional forms of marketing, SCM counters the ongoing commercial marketing as well as socio-cultural norms related to social, environmental and health topics. It aims at influencing those norms, public policies or political decision-making (Bellew *et al.*, 2017). The object of opposition is often formed by companies or industries, policymakers or legislators. To be successful, an online

SCM campaign needs to have both sufficient visibility and potential for mobilization, that is, it needs to engage citizens and other crucial actors in public debates, such as media or political actors. While research on the uses of SNS by NGOs and other types of non-profit organizations has revealed that call-for-action and community-building messages are most effective in eliciting positive stakeholder responses and engaging them in conversational forms of two-way communication (Saxton and Waters, 2014), very little is known about more specific message characteristics, such as framing of the campaigns, that can facilitate a broader public resonance of a campaign (Daellenbach and Parkinson, 2017; Gurrieri et al., 2018).

Although several related fields, such as social marketing and framing strategies by social movements, have received considerable academic attention (Daellenbach and Parkinson, 2017), empirical accounts of SCM, specifically regarding online practices, are scarce. Taking an SCM perspective is especially important because it highlights the role of citizens in campaign effectiveness and (online) social change processes (Bellew et al., 2017; Guo and Saxton, 2018). SCM perceives citizens as engaged humans who want to achieve social change rather than individuals whose behavior has to be changed (Bellew et al., 2017). Therefore it is crucial for SCM campaigns to better understand how public debates unfold as a result of campaign messages, which factors specifically trigger such dynamics and, specifically, which role citizens play in these processes. The related field of social marketing conceptualizes campaign success amongst others as behavioral change (Bellew et al., 2017) and (consumer) engagement (Shawky et al., 2019). For SCM, we need an indicator of campaign success that matches its view on the individual as an engaged citizen. We follow social movement theory, which focuses on engaged citizens as well, and take the public resonance of countermarketing campaigns as a key indicator of the mobilizing success and potential effectiveness of SCM campaigns (Daellenbach and Parkinson, 2017; Ketelaars, 2016). Resonance refers in a broad sense to the capacity of a message to provoke "reactions from other actors in the public sphere" (Koopmans and Olzak, 2004, p. 204).

We analyze the effectiveness of SCM strategies, measured in terms of resonance, by focusing on public debates about food quality. Further, we consider a public debate as consisting of publicly visible utterances about a societal issue which may or may not be interactive. First, we describe which actors actively participated in the debate, which allows us to differentiate between actor groups in resonance patterns. Second, as resonance can be conceptualized as a frame attribute (Ketelaars, 2016), we focus on diagnostic and prognostic frames used in the debate by these actors: what is considered as the problem and how should the problem be solved (Daellenbach and Parkinson, 2017; Snow et al., 2018)? In addition, we analyze who was held responsible for either causing or solving the problem, as framing responsibility of actors is a core communicative act in problem situations (Ketelaars, 2016). Last, we analyze to what extent the two types of framing and responsibility attributions resonate with different stakeholder types, in particular, the media and citizens. SCM has a citizen-centric nature (Bellew et al., 2017) and media and journalistic actors have central positions in the interactions that shape news stories (Boukes, 2019; Harder et al., 2016). Furthermore, media actors have the possibility to disperse the debate to non-social media users.

Our empirical focus is on two SCM campaigns in the Netherlands, and we analyze how these campaigns spread on Twitter. Both campaigns were initiated by a Dutch animal welfare NGO, *Wakker Dier* (Awake Animal). The first one is a campaign on over-fed chicken (campaign term: "plofkip") that targets chicken farmers, but also supermarkets and restaurants (Wakker Dier, 2017a). The second campaign focuses on kilo stunners (campaign term: "kiloknaller"): meat that is promoted for low prices by supermarkets and food retailers, without animal welfare quality mark (Wakker Dier, 2017b). Animal welfare has been triggering debates on social media (Lancaster and Boyd, 2015). The aim of our study is to

explore the resonance of frames in these SCM campaigns among different groups of actors and thus provide strategic insights for SCM practices.

Theoretical framework

Social countermarketing and online campaign effectiveness

SCM campaigns aim to initiate social change processes "in opposition to existing marketing activity of a business organization" and, ultimately, to change wider socio-cultural norms or policies (Bellew *et al.*, 2017, p. 9). Their goal is to create benefits for society as a whole, as opposed to "traditional", commercial marketing goals with their orientation toward sales and profit (Bellew *et al.*, 2017). The term SCM has been recently coined to integrate and stimulate conceptual development in this thus far relatively scattered field (Bellew *et al.*, 2017). While downstream social marketing often aims at individual behavioral change, e.g. stimulating consumers to make healthier choices in food consumption (Andreasen, 2006), SCM is characterized by a different set of goals that, at first, requires public awareness and support. SCM has similarities with upstream social marketing, but the oppositional activities in an SCM context have a stronger focus on the engaged citizen aiming at social outcomes (Andreasen, 2006; Bellew *et al.*, 2017; Hall, 2016). Among its techniques is (co-)creation by citizens and NGOs, with the help of social networks (Bellew *et al.*, 2017).

If we specifically look at social media campaign effectiveness and its measurement within the related field of social marketing, success is often defined in terms of engagement-related indicators, such as connection, interaction or advocacy (Sashi, 2012; Shawky *et al.*, 2019). A literature review on the effectiveness of online social marketing campaigns revealed that the potential for advocacy was underutilized (Shawky *et al.*, 2019). Moreover, existing measurements are based on the perspective of humans as consumers rather than citizens.

We assume that public awareness and support are crucial prerequisites of opposition on policies, social norms and harmful marketing (Bellew *et al.*, 2017; Shawky *et al.*, 2019). As SCM focuses on social or industrial change, it is closely related to the literature about social movements and public debates. Awareness and diffusion of their messages are crucial goals for social movements (Daellenbach and Parkinson, 2017). Especially in SCM campaigns in which the intended effect lies beyond the individual's control (e.g. on a societal level or when a multiplicity of actors is involved) (Wymer, 2011) and in which the citizen is expected to (co-)create the campaign (Bellew *et al.*, 2017), public resonance is a promising indicator of campaign effectiveness.

Public resonance: an indicator of SCM campaign success

Resonance is related to the ability of a message or frame to trigger public reactions, which can be either supportive (consonance) or unsupportive (dissonance). Both forms can enhance amplification of the specific message or frame, as "even a strongly negative public reaction has to reproduce the original message to at least some extent" (Koopmans and Olzak, 2004, p. 205). Specifically within the context of social movements and social marketing, resonance has been conceptualized as a frame attribute that refers to the frame's appeal to other actors (Daellenbach and Parkinson, 2017; Ketelaars, 2016). In particular, we approach resonance on Twitter at three inter-linked levels of engagement: The amplification of the campaign terms, the use of frames and their amplification via tweeting and retweeting behavior.

Unraveling public resonance: diagnostic and prognostic framing

Framing processes are an inherent substantive aspect of public debates and campaign messages. Most importantly here, frames can be used to define problems and suggest solutions (Entman, 1993). Although these framing functions have been previously

acknowledged in social marketing research (Andreasen, 2006) and attention has been paid to the integration of social movement framing into the field of social marketing (Daellenbach and Parkinson, 2017), still little is known about what social (counter)marketing can actually learn from social movement theory (Gurrieri *et al.*, 2018). Social movements can function as "agents of interpretation" when it comes to the disruption of "taken-for-granted practices" such as social norms and institutions (Snow *et al.*, 2018). In this context, Snow and Benford (1988) distinguish between three core framing tasks: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing, which were also recently introduced in the field of social marketing (Daellenbach and Parkinson, 2017). The first task refers to considering a part of social life or society as problematic or an "injustice" (Snow *et al.*, 2018). Prognostic framing refers to the suggestion of solutions for the diagnosed problem, often in conjunction with a plan for action (Snow *et al.*, 2018). Motivational framing is concerned with a call-for-action: stressing the problem's severity and urgency, thus aiming at the involvement of other actors (Snow and Benford, 1988). Call-for-action can be considered as one of the three core uses of social media for non-profit organizations (Lovejoy and Saxton, 2012) that can lead toward, for example, mobilization. Therefore, we approach call-for-action as a specific form of prognostic frames that aim to mobilize citizens. Whereas diagnostic and prognostic framing focus on the substantive side of issues, responsibility framing is concerned with who is held accountable for either the cause or solution of the problem. It thus refers to actors and their responsibility related to the issue (Ketelaars, 2016).

Consequently, our focus is on the public resonance of diagnostic and prognostic frames and responsibility attributions that are used in SCM campaigns and we are interested in factors that can increase the public resonance of these frames and attributions. It is assumed that experiential commensurability, or the extent to which frames "suggest answers and solutions to troublesome events and situations which harmonize with the ways in which these conditions have been or are currently experienced" affects resonance (Snow and Benford, 1988, p. 208). Survey-based research indicates that resonance is indeed higher for frames that relate to people's personal and everyday experiences, as opposed to more abstract or technical frames (Ketelaars, 2016). More generally, linking to individual experiences can be considered an important aspect of frame alignment, i.e., adjusting social movement positions into viewpoints of citizens or other actors (Snow *et al.*, 2018). Animal welfare – the core topic of both SCM campaigns studied here – can be considered as close to daily life, as consuming meat products. Humans tend to project human traits on animals and value "animals for their own sake rather than as economic resources" (Jasper and Poulsen, 1995, p. 505). Accordingly, diagnostic and prognostic frames that show high levels of alignment with citizens' everyday experiences may resonate more strongly compared to other types of frames.

Social countermarketing campaigns and their resonance on Twitter
The use of social media in the context of social marketing has received considerable empirical attention. Strikingly, a systematic literature review indicates that the use of social media to "create mechanisms for supporting their target audiences' ability to revisit their social media communications and encourage them to act as advocates for the programmes' activities" turns out to be rather limited (Shawky *et al.*, 2019). Citizens are rather treated from the perspective of subjects that should be heard or monitored, rather than co-creators (Mehmet and Simmons, 2019). In SCM campaigns, with a strong focus on citizen engagement, social media are expected to "accelerate and amplify the campaign to the many other networked citizens and coalitions ready and willing to make their campaign a global phenomenon" (Bellew *et al.*, 2017, p. 10). We analyze SCM campaigns, or more specifically, public resonance of the framing strategies originating from two food safety campaigns on Twitter. Twitter is a popular medium for movements with social goals (Ince *et al.*, 2017). It has potential in terms of

information spreading, community-building and mobilization, of which the distribution of information is most frequently used by non-profit organizations (Lovejoy and Saxton, 2012). Also related to political mobilization it has been found that: "[. . .] the number of tweets intending to mobilize or organize action was very low – especially when compared to tweets sent for information and conversation" (Theocharis *et al.*, 2015). Research on Twitter use by social movements generally focuses on messages and framing by these movements, but the resonance and utilization of these frames by the public is understudied (Ince *et al.*, 2017). Taking the broader body of literature on framing on social media into account, it is striking that framing effects are understudied (Wasike, 2017).

Many Twitter users stay informed about the news via this social medium (Boukes, 2019). Twitter has specific affordances that facilitate the spread of information, such as the re-tweet option, marked with RT@username on Twitter. This allows for Twitter users to forward tweets that were written by another actor. Retweeting can be either forwarding the message in its original form or citing and commenting on the tweet. Both tweeting and retweeting may facilitate frame resonance. We assume that retweeting requires less effort but also may reflect a more direct form of frame resonance as retweets are often used to forward original messages and the included frames in their original form.

Our aim is to analyze the resonance of frames used in SCM campaigns (rather than merely describing the content of the tweets). Therefore, given the citizen-centric nature of SCM and the specific role of media actors on Twitter, we analyze which actors are active in the debate. After that, we analyze how the frames used in the SCM campaigns spread in an online campaign and resonate with the actors (specifically citizens and media actors). Our empirical research questions are:

RQ1. Which actor types are active in the online debate?

RQ2. Who uses which diagnostic and prognostic frames and responsibility attributions in the online debate?

RQ3. Which actor types use (tweet) and amplify (retweet) which frames?

RQ3a. Do diagnostic and prognostic frames that relate to citizens' everyday experiences have a higher resonance than other diagnostic and prognostic frames?

Methods: quantitative content analysis
Data collection and sample
We conducted a quantitative content analysis of two food quality debates on Twitter in the Netherlands for a two-year period (1 July, 2015 to 30 June, 2017) – the peak periods when the debates gained high visibility in the Netherlands. Both debates were initiated by the animal welfare organization "*Wakker Dier*" (Awake Animal). The campaigns were characterized by national and social media attention. The first debate is on over-fed chickens that are bred to grow fast for human consumption, which results in chickens having physical problems (Wakker Dier, 2017a). The second debate focuses on kilo stunners, low-price meat products without animal welfare quality mark sold in the supermarkets (Wakker Dier, 2017b).

The data were collected with the commercial social media monitoring and management tool for Dutch-language social media posts, *Coosto*. Coosto collects and archives tweets (and other social media posts, such as Facebook and blogs) and provides access to the complete social media data. The central campaign terms were used as search terms, i.e. "*plofkip*" (over-fed chicken) and "*kiloknaller*" (kilo stunner). The search resulted in an initial sample of 4,547 tweets. During the manual coding, all non-relevant tweets were excluded resulting in a final sample of $N = 3,902$ tweets. 39.9% ($n = 1,557$) were assigned to the kilo stunner case, 60.1% ($n = 2,345$) to the over-fed chicken case. We employed a manual, quantitative content

analysis on these Twitter messages in which we analyzed the author types (e.g. citizen, political actor, eco industry), the prognostic and diagnostic frames and responsibility attributions used by these authors.

Coding procedure and operationalization

We constructed a codebook to assess actor types and frames in both debates. The actors and frames were issue-specific and, therefore, selected in an inductive manner (see Matthes and Kohring, 2008). First, a selection of tweets across the entire research period was examined by the authors and based on these insights an initial codebook developed. This was then further revised and refined during multiple rounds of coder training with two coders.

Actor types. The self-descriptions by Twitter users on their account were coded into the following eight categories: environmental NGOs (ENGOs); conventional industry; eco industry; citizens; media; political actors; public organizations and other actors (Hellsten *et al.*, 2019). The coding of the Twitter users was based on their self-presentation on their Twitter account bio. For example, if an employee of a NGO identified him or herself as representative of that NGO, he/she was coded as a NGO actor. The intercoder reliability was assessed based on 11% of the authors in the sample ($n = 33$). Krippendorff's alpha reflected a sufficient level of reliability between the two coders (0.87) (Hellsten *et al.*, 2019).

Diagnostic, prognostic and responsibility frames. We discerned six diagnostic and six prognostic frames. Each of them was related to a specific aspect of food production, consumption and regulation, thus covering all stages of the food production cycle. We discerned between frames with a high experiential commensurability, or close relation to daily life and frames that are more distant from people's everyday experiences (Snow and Benford, 1988; Ketelaars, 2016). Multiple frames and responsibility attributions could be coded for a single tweet. The calculations of Krippendorff's alpha were based on 13% percent of the sample ($n = 540$). While overall sufficient levels of intercoder reliability (ICR) were reached, several frames had low reliability scores. These were, however, the ones least present in the debate and, accordingly, the least relevant for the analysis and findings. Frame presence is, therefore, reported as relative frequency below with the corresponding ICR score.

Diagnostic frames. The first, non-daily life frame *production methods* referred to the way food is produced or livestock is kept, in a physical sense (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.56; presence: 4.4%). The *animal welfare frame* refers to how livestock is treated, it employs an ethical perspective (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.75; presence: 9.3%). This frame can be considered as a daily life frame. The non-daily life *animal diseases frame* is about the nature, characteristics and causes of animal diseases (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.65; presence: 12.0%). The daily-life *meat selling practices frame* refers to supermarkets, shops and (fast food) restaurants that sell meat (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.79; presence: 18.9%). Malfunctioning or absent regulations or failing supervision by the government, regulatory authorities or the sector itself (self-regulation) is covered by the non-daily life *regulatory problems frame* (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.69; presence: 6.3%). Last, the *consumer behavior frame* is about consumers buying or needing/wanting to buy cheap or low-quality meat (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.66; presence: 2.8%). This qualifies as a daily life frame.

Prognostic frames. Second, we discerned between six prognostic frames in food quality debates. These frames concern proposed solutions or call-for-action related to the issue and thus mirror the previously identified stages in the food production cycle. The non-daily life *change production methods frame* refers to the prohibition, change or restriction of bio-industrial production methods, the promotion of ecological or sustainable methods or the provision of alternatives for bio-industrial products (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.36; presence: 1.3%). The *change animal welfare circumstances frame* is about (proposed) changes in how livestock is treated from the perspective of animal welfare (Krippendorff's alpha = −0.00;

presence: 0.4%). The prohibition of cheap meat advertisements or the sale of bio-industrial meat, but also calls for increased sale of sustainable meat is covered by the *change meat selling practices frame* (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.63; presence: 17.6%). These two frames can be considered as daily life frames. The non-daily life *regulative solutions frame* is about calls for or implementations of (self-)regulative, supervisory, political or legal solutions to the problem (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.71; presence: 11.2%). The *change consumer behavior frame* refers to eating less or sustainable meat, boycott meat seller, or get used to the problem (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.46; presence: 3.4%). Last, the *mobilization of citizens frame* refers to calls for the action of citizens, e.g. to sign petitions, create awareness or join a demonstration (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.97; presence: 9.2%). Both of these frames can be considered as daily life frames.

Responsibility frames. Last, we discern two responsibility frames: the attribution of responsibility for the perceived cause of the problem and the attribution of responsibility for the perceived solution for the problem. The crucial aspect here is that this responsibility is attributed to a specific actor, which can either be an actor that is active in the debate or one that is passively addressed by other actors (Hellsten *et al.*, 2019). The list of actors included the same eight actor types that were used for the author coding (see above). The coders were instructed to determine whether the tweet mentioned a specific actor. If so, two questions were used to analyze the attribution of responsibility: the coder had to assess whether this specific actor was held responsible for the problem or as a part of the problem (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.79). To analyze the attribution of responsibility for the solution, the coder had to assess whether the specific actor was held responsible for solving the issue (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.77).

Resonance patterns. Three levels of resonance were discerned. First, the actors' use of campaign terms was considered as most basic form of resonance. As this was part of the sampling criteria, this level of resonance was reflected by the distribution of actor types in our sample over time. Second, we assessed frame resonance based on comparing the prominence of frames and responsibility attributions that were used by different actor types. Third, discerning tweeting and retweeting behavior linked resonance to the communicative effort taken by actors with retweets being considered as a proxy for a more direct dissemination of original campaign messages compared to tweets, which typically involve greater levels of alteration of original posts.

Results

Actor involvement over time

Citizens were most active in both online debates authoring 50.4% of all tweets in the kilo stunner case and 47.8% in the over-fed chicken case. While media actors ranked second in the over-fed chicken case with 20.3% of all tweets followed by environmental organizations (14.1%), these two actor groups were about equally represented in the kilo stunner case (media: 13.7%, environmental organizations: 13.0%). Other actor types only played a minor role in both arenas. Figures 1 and 2 show that this distribution and, specifically, the decisive role of citizens was consistent over time for both online debates.

Both countermarketing campaigns were marked by several campaign events or sub-campaigns in which the main campaign term (e.g. kilo stunners, over-fed chicken) was linked to a current, specific issue. In the kilo stunner case, the debate was most intense in terms of the amount of tweets in December 2015 which revealed the heated discussion about these issues around Christmas time. At that point in time, kilo stunners were also subject to a political debate about banning cheap meat by law. Furthermore, the peak in February 2016 was marked by a call-for-action by *Wakker Dier* to sign their newest petition, whereas the debate in April 2016 was characterized by several sub-debates, such as professors supporting the campaign. Similarly, in the over-fed chicken debate, December 2015 was a peak in the

Figure 1.
Frequency of tweets
authored by different
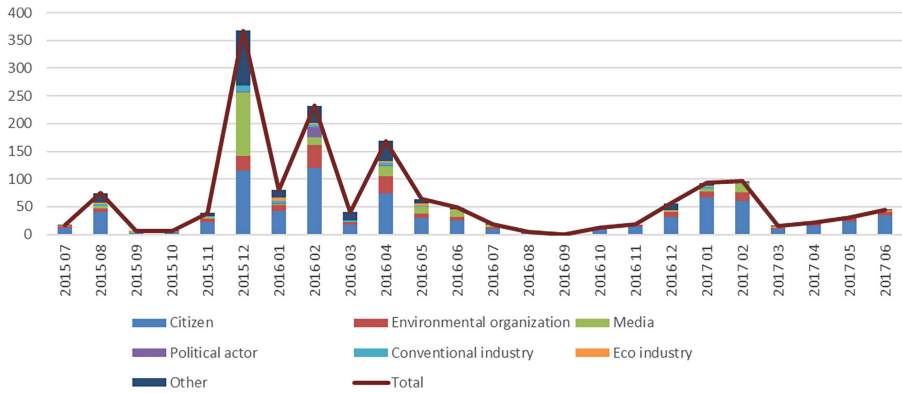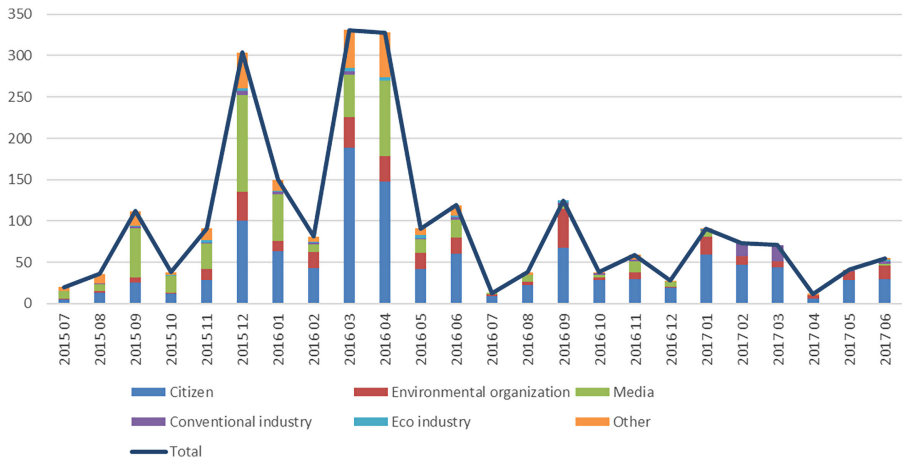actor categories, 2015–
2017: kilo stunner

Figure 2.
Frequency of tweets
authored by different
actor categories, 2015–
2017: over-fed chicken

attention to the issue and related to that some supermarkets announced to quit selling over-fed chickens, which raised a lot of attention. The over-fed chicken debate also reached peaks in spring 2016, which can be explained by several sub-debates. For instance, concerns were raised about over-fed chickens that would be imported from Ukraine (as a part of the political debate on the negotiations about an association agreement between Ukraine and the European Union), *Wakker Dier* targeting restaurants and their poultry selling practices and an expansion of the debate to farming conditions of turkeys that were said to suffer from the same circumstances as chickens.

The use of diagnostic and prognostic frames and responsibility attributions
In the kilo stunner debate, the most frequently used frames were selling (diagnostic, 27%), mobilization (prognostic, 18%) as well as welfare (diagnostic, 13%) and selling (prognostic, 13%). For the over-fed chicken case, the four most frequently used frames were selling (prognostic, 26%), selling (diagnostic, 19%), welfare (diagnostic, 9%) and mobilization (prognostic, 7%). Hence, the same frames had priority in both debates, however, following a different rank order.

We further explored resonance patterns by looking at frame use for the three most prominent actor types (citizens, media and ENGOs) as authors (Table 1). Overall, there was a higher similarity between ENGOs and citizens in the kilo stunner debate. In the kilo stunner debate, citizens tweeted more often about welfare but also diagnostic consumer aspects compared to ENGOs. Both can be classified as daily-life frames. In the over-fed chicken debate, in contrast, citizens and media appeared more similar in their use of frames. In the over-fed chicken debate, citizens changed the focus of the debate concerning diagnostic aspects related to regulation (non-daily life) and consumers (daily life).

Overall, in 56.3% of the posts, at least one actor was held responsible for either causing or solving the problem. Responsibility was attributed slightly more often for prognostic frames (kilo stunner: 34.6%; over-fed chicken: 36.4%) compared to diagnostic frames (kilo stunner: 29.7; over-fed chicken: 27.3%). In the kilo stunner case, the posts of ENGOs had the highest share of attributed responsibility in combination with prognostic frames (45.8%) while media posts ranked highest in combination with diagnostic frames (32.7%). In the over-fed chicken case, ENGOs were most active concerning both diagnostic (36.5%) and prognostic responsibilities (44.2%). To further disentangle how responsibility was attributed, we analyzed which actors were held responsible, by whom and in combination with what frames (Figures 3 and 4). Again, we focused on the three most prominent and thus relevant actor types as authors of tweets and retweets: ENGOs, citizens and media. In addition, we selected the responsible actors who were mentioned in in more than 5% of the posts by at least one actor group in at least one of the two cases (ENGOs, citizens, political actors, industry and science actors).

While in both debates industry actors were most often attributed to diagnostic responsibility and thus were held responsible for causing the problem, the debates differed in the extent to which prognostic responsibility was distributed, specifically, between industry and citizens. In the kilo stunner case, the ENGOs put a strong focus on citizens in terms of prognostic responsibility (98.0% mobilization frame) while in the over-fed chicken debate this focus shifted toward industry (83.1% selling frame) with citizens ranking second (57.1% mobilization, 42.9% consumer, 35.7% selling). The same pattern can be observed for citizens, which may indicate that their responsibility attributions were largely determined by the original tweets of the ENGOs. Media actors, in contrast, only rarely referred to citizens as responsible actors but focused on industry actors in relation to their selling practices (kilo stunner: 79.3% diagnostic selling, 13.8% diagnostic welfare, 81.8% prognostic selling; over-

Frame	Kilo stunner			Over-fed chicken		
	ENGOs	Citizens	Media	ENGOs	Citizens	Media
Diagnostic: Production	3.4	5.5	1.4	6.6	7.0	1.3
Diagnostic: Welfare	12.3	17.7	3.7	9.7	11.5	8.3
Diagnostic: Disease	1.5	2.3	0.0	0.6	0.2	0.0
Diagnostic: Selling	31.5	33.8	16.8	27.5	21.6	16.3
Diagnostic: Regulation	3.0	2.4	22.0	4.2	8.8	6.7
Diagnostic: Consumer	3.4	5.7	1.4	2.1	3.4	0.6
Prognostic: Production	1.0	0.8	0.5	2.7	1.2	0.0
Prognostic: Welfare	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.2
Prognostic: Selling	13.8	14.3	12.6	27.8	20.9	36.5
Prognostic: Regulation	5.4	5.0	4.7	2.1	1.2	0.2
Prognostic: Consumer	1.0	3.4	0.9	7.6	5.0	4.8
Prognostic: Mobilization	26.1	18.7	1.9	10.6	8.2	0.7
N	203	785	214	331	1122	539

Table 1.
Frame type per actor
group (in %)

Figure 3.
Responsibility
attribution per actor
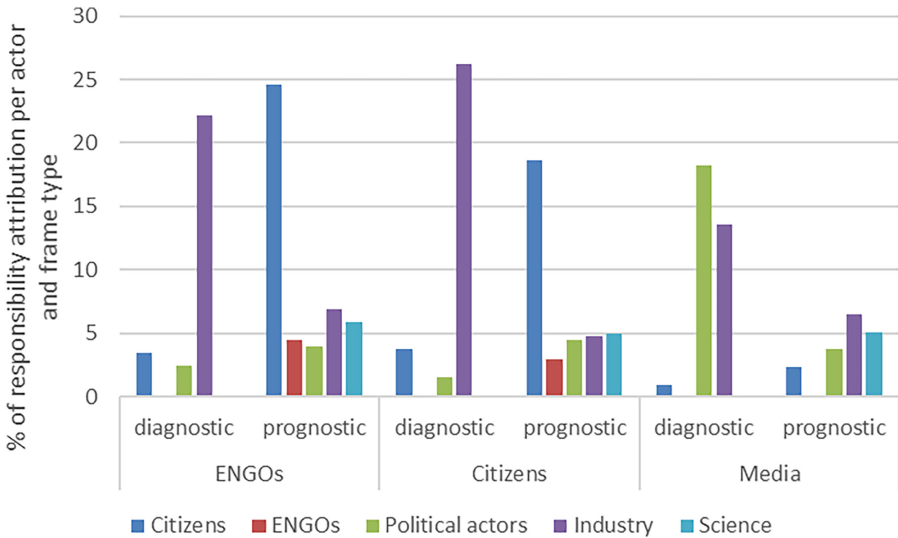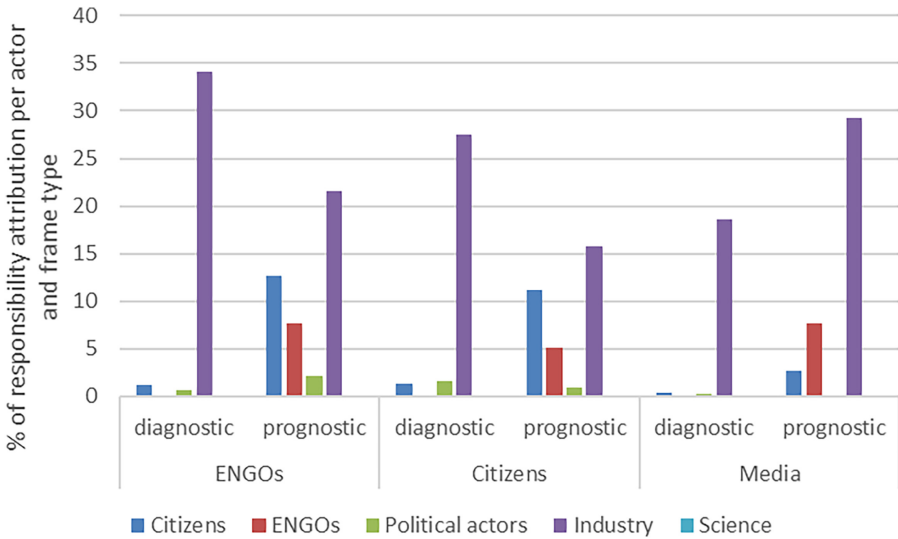type in kilo stunner
debate

Figure 4.
Responsibility
attribution per actor
type in over-fed
chicken debate

fed chicken: 82.0% diagnostic selling, 99.4% prognostic selling). In addition, media actors attributed more diagnostic responsibility to political actors in the kilo stunner debate (82% selling).

Campaign effectiveness: resonance per frame type
As a next step, we discerned tweeting and retweeting behavior of the three most relevant actor groups for the four most frequently used frames (Figures 5 and 6). We found that for

both debates, citizens exceeded all other actors in terms of retweeting all four frames, thus amplifying the debates. However, most striking and statistically significant was this for the diagnostic meat selling frame and to a lesser extent also for the diagnostic welfare frame. Both are daily life frames. Media played a minor role for amplifying the debates in terms of retweeting but rather communicated their own frames – most pronounced, the (daily life) prognostic selling frame in the over-fed chicken case. The daily life mobilization frame, in contrast, can be considered as neglected by the media.

Last, we analyzed the responsibility attribution and resonance patterns per author type (Table 2). In the over-fed chicken debate, industry actors were most often held responsible for both the causes and solutions of the problem. This pattern is similar for all three most prominent author types. ENGOs and citizens also attributed prognostic responsibility to citizens, aiming at their mobilization. In the kilo stunner debate, ENGOs and citizens also attributed responsibility for the causes of the problem to the industry, but ranked citizens second as responsible for solving the problem instead of holding the industry responsible for solving the issue. It is also striking that media actors attributed (diagnostic) responsibility more often to political actors, with the industry ranking second. Thus, political responsibility for the causes of the problem turned out to be a discussion topic that was characteristic to media actors. In the kilo stunner debate, prognostic responsibility was also attributed to citizens. If prognostic responsibility was attributed to citizens, this often co-occurred with mobilization frames, especially in the kilo stunner debate. These calls for mobilization were amplified by the retweets of ENGOs and citizens in both debates.

Discussion

We found that citizens play an important role for SCM campaigns. Being one of the core intermediate "targets" of SCM campaigns (Bellew *et al.*, 2017), citizens created resonance and hence amplified the debates by tweeting and retweeting about aspects of the core problem related to both issues. On the other hand, citizens also brought in their own focus with higher levels of attention for animal welfare and consumer behavior, compared to the other actors. This can be explained by the high experiential commensurability of these topics (Snow and Benford, 1988), which is also in line with Ketelaars (2016) who found that, in the context of social movements, frames that appeal to the everyday experiences of people have a higher resonance. Timing could be an additional explanation for the success of these frames: the success of daily-life frames (e.g. animal welfare) is probably reinforced in co-occurrence with current issues, such as Christmas and the political discussion about an association agreement between Ukraine and the EU. Specifically, citizens played an important role for mobilization in these two countermarketing debates by retweeting ENGOs mobilization messages. This is a triple indicator of SCM success: retweeting behavior indicates message awareness by citizens, which in turn amplifies the original message and moreover implies third-party endorsement.

At the same time, the daily-life frames that refer to concrete practices of citizens (e.g. consumer behavior as the cause of and/or solution to the problem) are not among the most popular ones used by citizens. Both NGOs and citizens prefer to call for mobilization instead of behavioral change. Several explanations are possible. Citizens might assume that behavioral change only has an impact at the aggregate level (Stern, 2000, p. 409). From a more cynical perspective, one might argue that citizens choose for the "easy way", willing to show their support and spread the message, as long as these messages do not concern their own behavior, making themselves vulnerable for criticism. ENGOs in turn might also assume a higher effectiveness of solutions at the aggregate level. In addition to that, they are also (partly) dependent on citizens for donations, making it a risky strategy to directly point at the
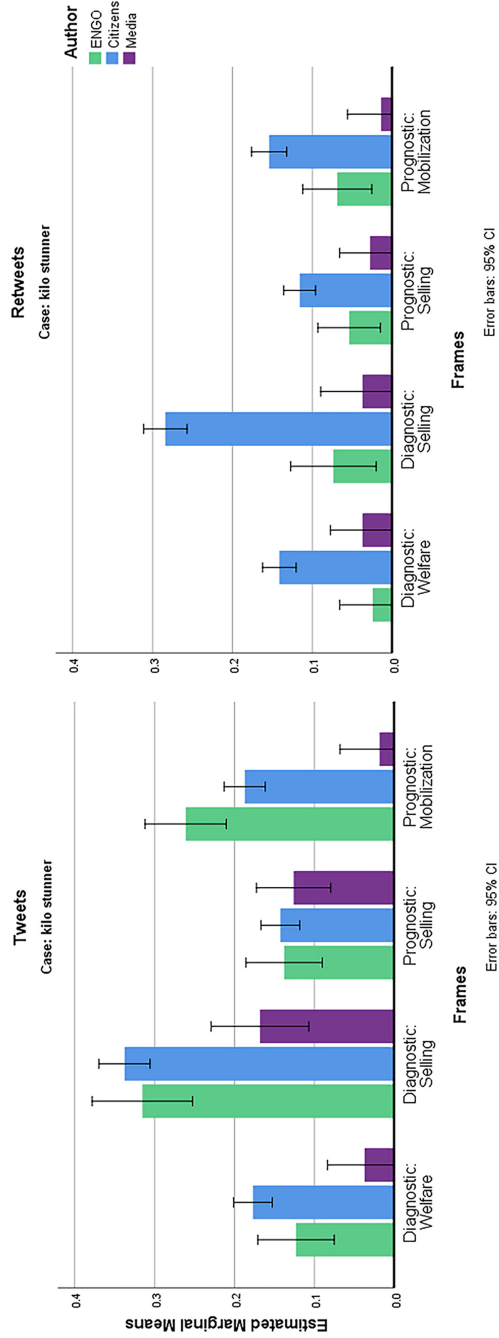
Figure 5.
Tweeting and
retweeting behavior
per frame and actor
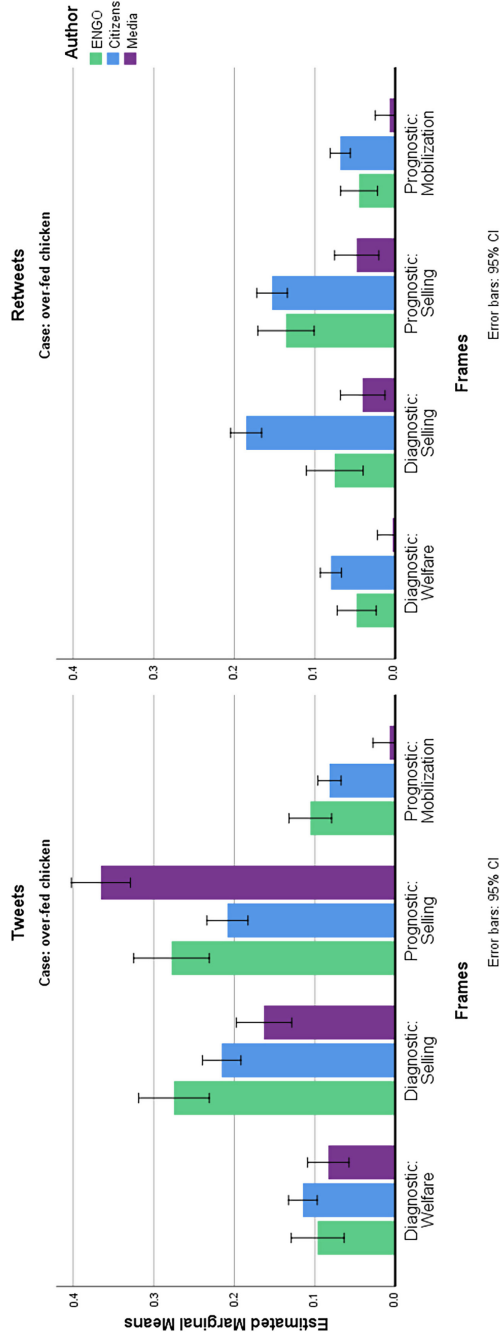type in kilo stunner
debate

Figure 6.
Tweeting and
retweeting behavior
per frame and actor
type in over-fed
chicken debate

Author	Kilo stunner		Over-fed chicken	
ENGOs	*Industry, diagnostic responsibility* ($n = 45$)		*Industry, diagnostic responsibility* ($n = 113$)	
	Tweets	80% selling, 29% welfare	Tweets	77% selling, 12% welfare
	RTs	80% selling, 20% welfare, 10% disease	RTs	67% selling, 14% welfare
	Citizens, prognostic responsibility ($n = 50$)		*Industry, prognostic responsibility* ($n = 77$)	
	Tweets	97% mobilization	Tweets	77% selling, 15% production, 8% mobilization
	RTs	100% mobilization	RTs	91% selling, 13% welfare
			Citizens, prognostic responsibility ($n = 42$)	
			Tweets	58% mobilization, 46% consumer, 27% selling
			RTs	56% mobilization, 50% selling, 38% consumer
Citizens	*Industry, diagnostic responsibility* ($n = 45$)		*Industry, diagnostic responsibility* ($n = 309$)	
	Tweets	90% selling	Tweets	50% selling, 18% production, 13% welfare
	RTs	90% selling, 38% welfare	RTs	76% selling, 15% welfare
	Citizens, prognostic responsibility ($n = 146$)		*Industry, prognostic responsibility* ($n = 177$)	
	Tweets	69% mobilization, 31% consumer, 23% selling	Tweets	98% selling
	RTs	94% mobilization, 10% selling	RTs	88% selling, 8% mobilization
			Citizens, prognostic responsibility ($n = 126$)	
			Tweets	59% mobilization, 32% consumer, 27% selling
			RTs	62% mobilization, 34% consumer, 28% selling
Media	*Political actors, diagnostic responsibility* ($n = 39$)		*Industry, diagnostic responsibility* ($n = 100$)	
	Tweets	100% regulation	Tweets	81% selling
	RTs	100% regulation, 11% welfare	RTs	84% selling
	Industry, diagnostic responsibility ($n = 29$)		*Industry, prognostic responsibility* ($n = 11$)	
	Tweets	83% selling	Tweets	99% selling
	RTs	67% selling, 67% welfare	RTs	100% selling
	Industry, prognostic responsibility ($n = 11$)			
	Tweets	100% selling		
	RTs	33% selling		

Table 2.
Responsibility
attribution and
resonance patterns per
author type

behavior of citizens as a crucial factor. This pattern also stresses that SCM is a distinct type of campaign compared to traditional social marketing with its focus on individual behavior change (Stead *et al.*, 2007).

Media actors on the one hand join the debate by using the key terms of the SCM campaigns (*plofkip* and *kiloknaller*), but do on the other hand not exactly reflect the contents of the debates as held by ENGOS and citizens as they focus on the responsibility of political actors in the kilo stunner debate. This might point at a prevalence of professional values in news production over mirroring online debates. At the same time, the use of these campaign terms by media actors can also be considered as a form of resonance: over-fed chickens and kilo stunners are strategic discursive terms, brought into the debate by ENGOS as a part of SCM campaigns. Apparently, media actors chose to use these terms instead of alternatives, which – again – points at third-party endorsement and allows for amplification of the term. This is particularly striking as the terms are not neutral, but inherently negative toward specific industrial practices.

Regarding the actors that were held responsible for the issue, we found that responsibilities were mainly attributed to industry actors. While industry was held responsible for the problem of kilo stunners as well as over-fed chicken, industry actors were

also held responsible for solving the problem of over-fed chicken while consumer-related solutions were discussed more frequently in the kilo stunner case. As the industry actors received a large share of responsibility in both debates, it is striking that they were not among the most active actors to defend themselves. A possible explanation is that industry actors do not want to step into the frame of ENGOs and citizens and, consequently, do not use the key campaign terms that are formative to the debate and, also, inherently negative toward the industry's practices.

Implications for society and practice

Overall, we observe some tendencies of citizens to keep problems and their solutions in the societal realm, by addressing aspects of mobilization instead of regulation or by focusing on industry actors as opposed to political actors – which is exactly the goal of SCM campaigns (Bellew *et al.*, 2017). The focus on citizens in terms of mobilization (prognostic responsibility) in both cases and the apparent willingness of citizens to both tweet and retweet these messages indicates that citizens who are interested in these issues are receptive to calls for mobilization and thus act as "agents" for the ENGOs. As mobilization agents, citizens are a main driver of campaign resonance. Moreover, they create third-party endorsement and thus strengthen the position and visibility of ENGOs in the debates, which are both of strategic value. Hence, although industry and political actors can be considered as main oppositional targets of SCM campaigns (Bellew *et al.*, 2017), the mediating and intensifying role of citizens should be taken into account as a key factor for the strategic planning of SCM campaigns.

If we evaluate the success of these two SCM campaigns in terms of public resonance, we can discern several indicators of resonance or success. At first, the campaign terms over-fed chicken and kilo stunner are amplified by a diversity of actors, only by using these terms (not necessarily using the frame that was brought forward by the ENGO). Especially, having citizens and the media picking up campaign terms can be considered an important stepping stone toward greater resonance and thus campaign success. In terms of content resonance, we found quite some similarities in frame use between ENGOs and citizens, especially in the kilo stunner case, which further underlines the important role of citizens as mobilization agents. Furthermore, finding that citizens seem to be most interested in tweeting about selling practices and mobilization (which are both daily life frames), it might be fruitful for ENGOs to design their future messages with these types of frames. Our findings showed that media actors where more likely to amplify frames linked to regulation. Hence, ENGOs could consider developing distinct strategies to mobilize media actors allowing them to expand the scope of a campaign.

Our analysis of actors that is held responsible for the issue helps to identify reputational risks for companies that are active in contested industries, such as mass meat production. They face the dilemma of using the ENGO-introduced naming (which is inherently negative to their business) and thus "stepping into the frame" in order to join the debate. This problem is even more pressing for industry actors as the media also use these terms, contributing to its amplification and normalization in society. The online debates are also partially constructed by the use of common hashtags, which reinforces this effect. Especially given the Twitter-specific affordance of hashtags creating hypertexts, it is difficult to join an existing, hashtag-organized debate not using that hashtag. Hashtag hijacking – turning the meaning of hashtag for other, thus industry purposes (Albu and Etter, 2016) – could be proposed as a solution. However, this requires not merely communicative action. By taking responsibility and adequately responding to a campaigns requests (here: changing meat producing and selling practices), industry may alter their oppositional role and eventually benefit from a SCM campaign by linking it to their own marketing efforts.

Limitations and future research
Although Twitter is one of the most frequently used social media in the Netherlands (Vliegenthart and Boukes, 2018) and is often used for news and information purposes (Boukes, 2019) one should be careful with considering it as a reflection of "the" public debate. In addition to that, the selection of search terms influences the reconstruction of the debate (Hellsten *et al.*, 2019). As we were interested in the success of SCM campaigns, those terms were used to reconstruct the debate. However, industry actors might have tried to counter this debate, using different terms (and not mentioning our search terms). Second, our familiarity with and therefore also the choice for these SCM campaigns as cases in this research is already partly an indicator of success. To further test the conditions and message characteristics that contribute to SCM success, one could compare a broader range of campaigns initiated by (E)NGOs. This might also shed some more light on how initial topic awareness and personal values are related to the willingness of citizens to co-create the campaign. The role of experiential commensurability also deserves special attention: to what extent is the proximity of the campaign message to the daily life of citizens also relevant in the success of other SCM campaigns?

Next to that, our operationalization of resonance also in terms of retweets assumes that any reaction to a message by other actors in the public debate – supportive or critical – may amplify the reach and impact of the initial message and sender (Koopmans and Olzak, 2004). In fact, resonance can discern consonance, which includes support or agreement and dissonance, which is evoked by critical reactions, disapproval, or rejection of claims (Koopmans and Olzak, 2004). The assumption that "retweet" implies "support" is often made, but deserves more empirical scrutiny.

Our findings raise interesting directions for future research on the motives for frames use. On the one hand, the limited diversity in frame use between citizens and ENGOs in the kilo stunner debate and on the other hand, the similarities in frame use between citizens and the media in the over-fed chicken debate raise the question of "who follows whom" and for what reasons in online debates. Which types of citizens are particularly receptive for participation in these debates and amplifying mobilization messages? Which personality traits and message characteristics affect amplification and resonance of SCM campaigns?

Conclusion
This study explored the success of SCM campaigns as indicated by their public resonance. We analyzed resonance patterns based on actor's use of campaign terms, their tweeting and retweeting behavior and use of specific frames. Our findings indicate that the terms used in the SCM campaigns amplified and resonated via Twitter, with citizens playing a major role in these processes. For social countermarketeers, this points at the importance of designing messages with specific campaign terms (e.g. kilo stunner) that facilitate the identification and demarcation of the issue, while at the same time using frames that stimulate amplification and resonance within this targeted actor group, for example, citizens or the media. Future research might focus on further exploring the links between SCM campaign characteristics that affect resonance with actor groups and the relations between public resonance and behavioral effects.

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