

# Normalizing sustainable consumption: How marketing is used to fight food waste.

A case study with Too Good To Go, the movement that fights food waste across Europe.

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**Too Good To Go**

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Thesis for the fulfilment of the  
Master of Science in Environmental Sciences, Policy & Management (MESPOM)  
jointly operated by Lund University – University of Manchester -  
University of the Aegean – Central European University

Lund, Sweden, June 2019



**Erasmus Mundus Masters Course in  
Environmental Sciences, Policy and  
Management**

**MESPOM**



*This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the Master of Science degree awarded as a result of successful completion of the Erasmus Mundus Masters course in Environmental Sciences, Policy and Management (MESPOM) jointly operated by the University of the Aegean (Greece), Central European University (Hungary), Lund University (Sweden) and the University of Manchester (United Kingdom).*

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Published in 2019 by IIIIEE, Lund University, P.O. Box 196, S-221 00 LUND, Sweden,  
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ISSN 1401-9191

## **Acknowledgements**

Thank you, Christian Fuentes, my supervisor. The one who believed in me and my idea since the very beginning. Thank you for your help and guidance through the entire research process, but especially thank you for allowing me to discover a whole new and exciting field, that seems perfectly suited for me. Also, special thanks to Beatrice Kogg, who listened to my thoughts and helped me out to find the perfect supervisor. It would not have been possible without you.

This research would not have been the same without Too Good To Go, and the Spanish team. I will always be grateful to Oriol, for calling me the moment he found my request and giving me the best opportunity I could ask for, inviting me to join such a great team. Thank you, Jonathan, for always offering your help, providing me with any materials I could need, for teaching and guiding me through the marketing world. Thank you for making room for me in the greatest marketing team of all. To the greatest waste warriors, saving the world one meal at a time.

To all friends in the distance. New EMP friends. But a big shoutout to MESPOM. Living in three different countries, moving in and out, settling down in a totally different environment every time... can drive nuts to anyone. But we made it, guys. I am ready for our future, to see what we become now. This will be memories forever.

Finally, to my family. Always. Thank you for the opportunities, support, constant inspiration. Living so far never felt so close. All my achievements have your name.





## **Abstract**

Current consumption patterns are not sustainable and are compromising the Earth's carrying capacity and the future of next generations. Increasing sustainable consumption behaviours and practices are needed in order to decrease nowadays negative consumption impacts on the environment and achieve sustainable development. However, sustainable consumption practices are generally not performed as they are conceived "not normal", and changing consumers' behaviour towards them is very difficult to address. Therefore, a social normalization process could reposition sustainable consumption practices as normal, encouraging consumers to adopt this behaviour. As part of this process, marketing is proposed as key player to normalize sustainable consumption behaviours to the mainstream, using marketing work to enhance the process among consumers. This research not only proposes the use of marketing to enable a normalization process of sustainable consumption practices, but illuminates with an ethnographic research the diverse marketing ways and mechanisms that can normalize sustainable consumption behaviours focused on the case study of Too Good To Go, the business that is enabling and normalizing the sustainable practice of avoiding waste through its marketing work and, for instance, increasing sustainable consumption among consumers and decreasing the negative environmental impacts of food waste.

**Keywords:** sustainability marketing, normalization, food waste, sustainable consumption, practice theory.

## **Executive Summary**

This research develops a specific theoretical and methodological approach to understanding efforts to encourage sustainable consumption practices through a normalization process with marketing work studied through empirical marketing research. Due to our current unsustainable consumption practices, that are compromising Earths' carrying capacity, a sustainable future demands a change in consumption: sustainable consumption. In order to accomplish so, consumers play a key role, as it is needed to engage them into these sustainable consumption practices (Hargreaves, 2011; McDonagh & Prothero, 2014; Mont, Neuvonen, & Lähteenoja, 2014; Oksana & Kate, 2009).

Therefore, studies on how to increase and engage consumers into more sustainable consumption practices and behaviours have arisen plenty in literature. On one hand, consumption studies draw the attention on both the so-called behaviour gap, which occurs when a consumer's environmental and sustainability awareness differs from his or her consumption practices, and it is considered as a barrier to achieve sustainable consumption (Jackson et al., 2018; Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002; Lee, 2008; Luchs, Phipps, & Hill, 2015; Pickett-Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Prothero, McDonagh, & Dobscha, 2010; Rettie, Burchell, & Barnham, 2014; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). On the other hand, consumption as practice is increasingly being studied (Hargreaves, 2011) through a practice-theory perspective as an attempt to solve this problem and understand how consumption works, which is a theory utilized in this research for sustainable consumption. Practice theory is used to understand consumption patterns, as it emphasizes practical consciousness over deliberation (Warde, 2014), suggesting that activities of social life – such as consumption – have to be carried out and carried through continuously, organized through collective practices (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). Consumers perform the consumption practice they engaged in routine activities, and therefore practice theorists focus on a kind of consumption that is less conscious and simply shaped by routines and habits (Mylan, 2015) framed in social circumstances (Warde, 2014). So, actually, behavioural change is more likely to occur as often as a result of an endogenous change in social circumstances, in situations where people find themselves (Jackson et al., 2018; Warde, 2014), which could explain consumers' sustainability behavioural-gap.

For instance, a driven process of social normalization could enhance the perception of sustainable consumption practices as normal (Gollnhofer, 2017). The concept of normalization is used in social sciences “to denote processes through which products, ideas or practices become expected and accepted parts of everyday life”, in other words, where these become “normal” (Jackson et al., 2018). Nowadays, normalization theories suggest that consumers conceptualise and are more likely to adopt behaviours in terms of what they think it is normal, and what is categorized as normal can change over time (Rettie et al., 2014). Today, sustainable consumption practices are not common (but needed) and unsustainable consumption practices are the norm. Normalizing sustainable consumption practices in society would have the potential to increase the number of consumers engaged in the practice, and re-position unsustainable consumption practices as “not-normal” (Fuentes, 2014; Rettie et al., 2014; Rettie, Burchell, & Riley, 2012), as “the normalisation of more responsible alternative practices is just part of the picture of progress towards sustainability” (Gollnhofer, 2017a),

As marketing has a key role communicating the benefits of a product, service, brand or issue to consumers, with the purpose of promoting it in a way that engages them as customers (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017), its potential to increase sustainable consumption patterns (Peattie & Belz, 2010; Peattie & Peattie, 2009) through a normalization process to normalize sustainable consumption patterns and encouraging sustainable consumer behaviour is proposed (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017; Gollnhofer, 2017; Rettie et al., 2014).

Thus, the research contributes to the emerging field of studies that have examined marketing “discourses, practices and devices” (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017) role to reposition sustainable consumption practices as normal, encouraging the adoption of this behaviour in two ways: first, it generates insights and contributes to the research gap on empirical studies of marketing (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017; Fuentes, 2014; Rettie et al., 2014, 2012; Skålén & Hackley, 2011). “discourses, practices and devices” (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017) to suggest normality and encourage sustainable practices. Although marketing for products and services with a positive impact on the environment and sustainability - also called green or sustainability marketing - has been characterized with a disappointing performance due to various negative outcomes (only targeted to a small niche of consumers, increasing more consumption, greenwashing, “green phobia”, etc.) (Fuentes, 2015; Peattie & Belz, 2010; Peattie & Peattie, 2009; Pickett-Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Rettie et al., 2014, 2012), reviewing the role of marketing to suggest normalization of sustainable consumption practices has a great potential towards increasing sustainable consumption.

However, there is a need for more research in the area, and a lack of empirical studies focus on exploring different mechanisms and processes of marketing that have normalized and enabled a sustainable consumption practice. Therefore, the study has been made through ethnographic and active participation research inside Too Good To Go, business that is promoting the sustainable consumption practice of avoiding food waste, to study its marketing work in Spain. The research aims understand and illustrate Too Good To Go’s marketing work normalizing the sustainable practice, and enabling and encouraging the practice itself among consumers. In order to analyze this marketing work, the researcher followed the following research questions, looking at a marketing work and the diverse mechanisms used to engage consumers in their new practice through a normalization process:

1. Has green marketing the potential to increase and encourage sustainable consumption practices among consumers through a normalization process?
2. How is this process done with marketing work?
  - Which mechanisms is it following?
  - Towards whom is directed, green consumers or consumers as usual?
  - Are consumers being engaged with the practice by other methods not related to green marketing?
3. Does it result in an adoption of new sustainable behaviour, and therefore, the normalization of itself?

In order to answer these questions and analyse the marketing work, ethnography was selected as a method due to its social, qualitative and observational character, providing specific benefits to the research that are not new neither in marketing or consumer research (Fuentes, 2015; Goulding, 2005; Prior & Miller, 2012). As it allows the researcher to participate in everyday activities of the subject of study, prioritizing data collection inside the natural setting (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994), participant observation was chosen as the main method to study the case, were the researcher is a member of the group being studied but the group is aware of the research activity and even help within the study (Kawulich, 2005). In addition, data from Too Good To Go marketing work, both online and offline, was gathered through other methods to facilitate the analysis, such as field note, screenshots, and downloads from the database.

Key findings and implications from Too Good To Go marketing work show that it follows a set of different mechanisms that, altogether, enable and normalize the new sustainable practice among consumers. First of all, Too Good To Go marketing work is not targeted and segmented to a green or sustainable aware consumer niche, as sustainability marketing usually does (Pickett-

Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Rettie et al., 2014), but to a broader public regardless their sustainability-conscious, which diverse from the public understanding of sustainable and green products and services towards a small, specific niche only, enhancing normalization (Rettie et al., 2014). Second of all, it has been identified as a set of marketing mechanisms that, altogether, enhance normalization as well.

“Problematization” mechanism is what Too Good To Go’s marketing work does to problematize the practice of food waste, highlighting the issue, and its sustainability impacts using marketing communication of environmental and sustainability knowledge and increasing consumers’ affection towards these impacts. Then, “offering a solution”, is analyzed as Too Good To Go offering itself as a solution to this problem through marketing work, but also surrounding itself with a sustainability image, enhancing consumers’ trust and attitude to the business. Moreover, Too Good To Go makes consumers responsible, including them as part of this solution, through their engagement with the new sustainable practice that Too Good To Go offers and empowering them reframing the value of food waste as something “worth to fight for”. Finally, the analysis illustrates how Too Good To Go’s marketing work enables the practice, with how the app is configured, with personalized “push-notifications” according to the consumer to remind about the practice, to market unsustainability related qualities secondary and, finally, using classic marketing work for enabling the sustainable practice. To conclude, the analysis shows the positive development of consumers that are engaged with Too Good To Go’s practice, who then had normalized the practice of avoiding food waste into their consumption behaviour, purchasing Too Good To Go and saving food waste several times per month. Consumers engaged with the practice are increasing through time, and it shows a direct correlation between the number of consumers that have adopted the practice in their consumption, and the number of those who are starting to adopt it.

This complete set of different marketing and communication strategies have made the normalization and engagement to the practice possible. Therefore, the research shows that marketing, with a concrete mix of marketing mechanisms, has the potential to actually suggests normalization of a sustainable consumption practice - which here it is avoiding food waste - to consumers, and increase sustainable consumption.



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## **Abbreviations**

FAO - Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations



# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Sustainable consumption and the role of marketing: Background

It is becoming increasingly clear that sustainability challenges are caused by unsustainable patterns of human activity (Hargreaves, 2011). With prospects of a rising global population, accelerating global development and associated increasing resource use and environmental impacts (Bocken, Short, Rana, & Evans, 2014), our current consumption levels cannot sustain us nor compromising the Earth's carrying capacity. A sustainable future demands action to face the issue of our current consumption impacts, which is a big challenge that will demand large-scale changes to everyday life across all sectors of society (Hargreaves, 2011; McDonagh & Prothero, 2014; Mont et al., 2014) and changes in production and consumption patterns are needed in Western world (Oksana & Kate, 2009), the concept of sustainable consumption appeared as a response to the unsustainable patterns that society is used to since the Industrialized era, and responding to concerns regarding Climate Change and sustainability, governments and businesses promote better technologies and green markets (Mont et al., 2014; Oksana & Kate, 2009). However, despite 20 years of policymaking on sustainable consumption, global resource use and the associated environmental impacts continue to grow (Mont et al., 2014). For instance, the three forces – people, business and governments- offer great hopes they play a key role to create opportunities for increasing sustainable consumption, but now it is time to enable people to take action towards more sustainable consumption habits and choices (Andrews & DeVault, 2009; National Consumer Council et al., 2011).

Changes in the structure of consumption are known to contribute to systematic changes towards sustainability, and individual product and service choices are known to yield a variety of sustainability significant aggregate outcomes (Andrews & DeVault, 2009). Hereby, finding the answer on how to achieve sustainable consumption and engage consumers is becoming increasingly important. The challenge of how to approach sustainable consumption and reach consumers is also being increasingly studied across different disciplines like social, economic and environmental studies (Delmas & Burbano, 2011; Oksana & Kate, 2009; Peattie & Peattie, 2009; Rettie et al., 2014), trying to answer how to get consumers into sustainable choices and therefore, increase sustainable consumption. A key issue has been widely discussed as in what extend sustainable consumption and/or behavioural change is within the individuals' capacity alone, or if it requires a more fundamental change in society (Hargreaves, 2011).

Although public interest in sustainability increases and consumer attitudes are mainly positive, not all sustainable practices are accepted and enacted on a broad level (Gollnhofer, 2017), behavioural patterns are not univocally consistent (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006), and changes are hard to accomplish (Mont et al., 2014). For instance, the frequency of consumer decision-making and behavioural changes are hard to address, especially for the major sectors with particular implications in sustainability (O. Mont, Neuvonen, & Lähteenoja, 2014). For example, even though Climate Change is a key consumer issue, with 59 per cent of consumers concerned worldwide, it is not reflected in consumer behaviour. (Rettie et al., 2014). This is known as behavioural or "green" gap, where consumers do not reflect it in their actions or consumption their pro-environmental and sustainability awareness (Jackson et al., 2018; Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002; Lee, 2008; Luchs et al., 2015; Pickett-Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Prothero et al., 2010; Rettie et al., 2014; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006).

There is a range of factors that affect consumers' decision making (Grimmer & Woolley, 2014) and, for instance, sustainable consumption is based on a decision-making process such as everyday consumption practices are (Fuentes, 2014; Hargreaves, 2011; Röpke, 2009). These

practices are heavily driven by a social context of convenience, habit, value for money, personal health concerns, hedonism, and individual responses to social and institutional and, most importantly, they are likely to be resistant to change (Hargreaves, 2011; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). Moreover, consumers conceptualise and are more likely to adopt pro-sustainability behaviours in terms of what they think it is normal, and what is categorized as normal can change over time (Rettie et al., 2014).

This theory is called social “normalization”, where normalization as a concept is used in social sciences “to denote processes through which products, ideas or practices become expected and accepted parts of everyday life” (Jackson et al., 2018). According to the same research, in consumption studies the term is understood as the process where products make alliances with other objects and ideas, or in other words, “becoming normal” (Jackson et al., 2018). Ideas of what is normal in this social sense are important for sustainability because some less sustainable behaviours are currently regarded as normal, and some greener behaviours are seen as outside what is normal (Pickett-Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Rettie et al., 2014). For instance, according to Rettie et al. (2014), some unsustainable behaviours are difficult to change, as they are taken for granted and not challenged because they are just seen as normal whereas other sustainable behaviours that are recognised as green but have not been normalised are not adopted, because they seem too different from the way things are normally carried out. According to this study, consumers believe that normal is what most people do or buy, so the social normalization of sustainable products and behaviours will make more likely its adoption.

In order to enable the normalization of sustainable consumption practices, marketing is proposed as a tool that can enable this normalization and potentiate sustainable consumption among consumers, by positioning these sustainable practices and behaviours as normal (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017; Rettie et al., 2014, 2012). Marketing has a key role communicating the benefits of a product, service, brand or issue to consumers, with the purpose of promoting it in a way that engages them as customers (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017). Nevertheless, “the role of marketing extends beyond the communication process” (Rettie et al., 2014) as, according to Rettie et al., (2014), it has been traditionally used to change consumer conceptions, to position or/and reposition brands, and to build values and images. Although marketing has been accused to be stimulating the undesirable unsustainable consumption behaviours (Rettie et al., 2014) that we are trying to change, marketing can be used to support and drive processes of social normalisation and denormalisation. Therefore, applying these marketing mechanisms to the normalization of behaviours, indeed marketing could reposition unsustainable activities as no longer normal (Rettie et al., 2012) taking sustainable to mainstream (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017). For example, campaigns could suggest normality by showing celebrities or authority figures performing the relevant behaviours, or by using product or behaviour placement and, where feasible, by providing selected information about the popularity of the relevant behaviour” (Rettie et al., 2014).

Then, marketing is proposed as the tool to encourage consumer adoption (and discontinuation) of sustainable behaviours by positioning them as normal, and discouraging less sustainable ones by repositioning them as no longer normal (Rettie et al., 2012) through a “social normalization” process where products and behaviours are gradually becoming normal even though initially were not (Rettie et al., 2014). As Jacquelyn A (2017) states, “time for marketers is now”. The next section introduces the problem definition and more specifically, the knowledge gap that the present research aims to contribute to literature too.

## 1.2 Problem definition

Marketing and consumption is a mutually constituted phenomena (Skålén & Hackley, 2011). Whereas marketing has been recently proposed as a tool to enable and increase sustainable consumption through a normalization process, marketing has been recognized as a failure for various authors due to its “disappointing performance” (Rettie et al., 2012) as it is acknowledged to promote consumption, and as it stands, is the antithesis to sustainability, as the answer to sustainable consumption is not more consumption (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019). On the other hand, marketing failure is also attributed to “greenwashing” phenomena, that has led to consumers skepticism and disillusionment (Delmas & Burbano, 2011; Rettie et al., 2012) having profound negative effects on consumers’ confidence in sustainable products and services, eroding their market (Delmas & Burbano, 2011).

Therefore, more research on the potential of marketing to enable and increase sustainable consumption is needed as an approach to sustainable consumption and sustainability field. For instance, in the field of green or sustainability marketing studies – marketing oriented to sustainability or green products and services – the focus relies on understanding how to accomplish the marketing of green products in an efficient and profitable way, targeting the green consumer and exploring how these consumers make purchasing decisions and, even though these studies generate important and useful insights, they have two important limitations (Fuentes, 2015). According to this research, there are few studies only on how green or sustainability marketing is actually carried out in practice and how corporations accomplish it in the day-to-day practices, with few empirical studies that could help guide businesses (Fuentes, 2015; Papadas, Avlonitis, & Carrigan, 2017). Furthermore, in these studies, sustainability marketing is presented as a matter of adapting traditional marketing mechanisms to sustainability issues, finding the conscious consumer niche to market these products or services.

On one hand, there is a lack of empirical research aimed to study how marketing work is normalizing the consumption of these products or services that contribute to sustainable development, especially on the marketing strategies that brands and businesses are being used for normalization (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017; Fuentes, 2014; Rettie et al., 2014, 2012; Skålén & Hackley, 2011). On the other hand, the gradual filtering of theories of practice into empirical studies of consumption has come through particular research areas, probably the most important of which has been environmental degradation, climate change and sustainability (Warde, 2014). For instance, empirical studies of practices changing within a short time span can disclose detailed aspects of practice dynamics (Röpke, 2009). A marketing focus on consumption practices draws attention to how consumption is being made, and an emphasis on practice theory can potentially provide explanations of collective social activity. Therefore, further studies are needed into marketing work informed by practice theory (Skålén & Hackley, 2011).

In sum, there is an actual research gap and a need for more empirical studies on attempts to normalize sustainable consumption practices using marketing as a potential way to promote them. The present research contributes to understanding consumer behaviour and the adoption of sustainable consumption practices from a practice theory perspective, and sustainability marketing as a tool towards social normalization processes. The aim of this thesis is, with an empirical, ethnographic study and participant observation, to describe, illustrate and discuss how marketing work can enable the normalization of sustainable consumption practices using various marketing mechanisms and, finally, how it encourages sustainable consumption.

### 1.3 Research Questions

In order to get to know current marketing strategies that are being developed to normalize sustainable consumption and, for instance, increase this behaviour, based on the empirical research work of Too Good To Go's marketing work with the author's active participation, the present research aims to answer:

4. Has green marketing the potential to increase and encourage sustainable consumption practices among consumers through a normalization process?
5. How is this process done with marketing work?
  - Which mechanisms is it following?
  - Towards whom is directed, green consumers or consumers as usual?
  - Are consumers being engaged with the practice by other methods not related to green marketing?
6. Does it result in an adoption of new sustainable behaviour, and therefore, the normalization of itself?

### 1.4 Ethical considerations

This research topic was chosen by the author and had no influence from outside factors. The collaboration with Too Good To Go is a result of the authors' search looking for businesses that were using marketing to normalize sustainable consumption on their sector, in order to fill the research gap around the topic (Dangelico & Vocellelli, 2017; Fuentes, 2014; Rettie et al., 2014, 2012; Skálén & Hackley, 2011). No personal or sensitive information was collected without the business' authorization, and any new data that was not previously accorded and that appeared during the research and active participation was requested. Moreover, the author insured clearly and constantly that the information given and observed was reported as it is in the thesis.

### 1.5 Audience

There are different societal actors who might be interested in the research and its conclusions and even use the findings to improve their strategies. First of all, this study might be of interest to researchers in academia focused on sustainable consumption and normalization areas. The new approach with an ethnographic study contributes to the field providing novel empirical data that can be continued in further research. Moreover, policymakers, governmental and non-governmental organisations, and more generally anyone interested in normalizing and fostering sustainable consumption could find this research interesting as a tool for their activities.

In addition, to any business dedicated to sustainable products and/or services, such as Too Good To Go (research case), that looks to reach a broader audience, of both sustainability-conscious and consumers "as usual". As the aim of the research is to explore marketing strategies which can drive and support the normalization of sustainable products and, in consequence, increase their consumption, it is therefore economically beneficial for those businesses and could use the mechanisms described in the analysis to increase the consumption of their products. It should be mentioned that marketers should pay attention to the most.

### 1.6 Disposition

The present Thesis is structured as follows:



In Chapter 1, background on how current unsustainable consumption patterns need to change towards sustainable consumption patterns is provided, followed by how consumers are key for that. However, as changes in behaviour are hard to achieve, marketing is proposed as a tool to encourage sustainable behaviours through a normalization process. Finally, Chapter 1 identifies both the problem that this research aims to solve, research limitations, audience and ethical considerations.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review of marketing for sustainability and its evolution through time. The author identifies that, even if green marketing has been qualified as a failure for some authors, it presents an opportunity to increase sustainable consumption patterns if engaged correctly with the factors that shape consumption. Therefore, practice theory is later presented as a way to understand consumers and consumption works. Looking at consumption from a practice theory perspective serves to identify that consumer practices have their own dynamics, shaped by various recognizable elements and societal structures where social normalization represents a key to change consumption practices. Therefore, in terms of switching towards sustainable consumption, marketing is presented then as a tool to normalize sustainable consumption and enable the switch of practices.

Chapter 3 contains the research design and aims to provide the methods that this study is based on. Ethnography is presented and described as the main research method selected by the author to get the best findings, presenting the arguments for the object of study selected, Too Good To Go in Spain. Moreover, the methods selected to gather the data from the sources are described in detail, where active participation is presented as well as a method that allowed the researcher gather this data from the described sources. In addition, research reliability and validity are stated together with the possible transferability of the research.

Then, Chapter 4 presents the findings and analysis combined that resulted from the ethnographic research period, which the author has divided into three different mechanisms, and a final section to better illustrate the analysis. Too Good To Go's sustainable consumption practice that marketing work is looking to enable is presented and analyzed. Then, marketing work and its various mechanisms are presented and analyzed in order to illustrate and understand the social normalization process of the sustainable consumption practice proposed by Too Good To Go made through this marketing work. Finally, Chapter 4 shows consumers' engagement to the practice and future prospects, which demonstrates that marketing work analyzed has led towards a normalization of the sustainable consumption practice.

Finally, Chapter 5 concludes the research with main conclusions emerged based on previous analysis and discussion, taken from studying the marketing work of the case selected for the ethnographic reach. First of all, this Chapter argues how the fieldwork contributes to the research gap (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017; Fuentes, 2014; Rettie et al., 2014, 2012; Skálén & Hackley, 2011) on empirical data related to marketing as a tool for sustainable consumption and second, which marketing mechanisms did the case study selected, Too Good To Go, were employed to normalize the new sustainable consumption practice and finally, how marketing work can actually lead to a normalization process that enables and encourages new sustainable consumption practices among consumers.

## 2 Literature review

In this section, the concept of green marketing is first introduced to guide the reader into what has been done in the marketing field to promote sustainable and green consumption initiatives. Then, practice theory is presented as a way forward and as an approach to understanding consumption through consumers' practices (Rettie et al., 2014). Finally, the role of sustainable marketing as tool for normalization processes of sustainable consumption practices is discussed.

### 2.1 Sustainability marketing

The first time when marketing scholars addressed environmental issues was during the 1970s, when the concepts of Ecological Marketing and Ecologically Concerned Consumer emerged, by integrating ecological issues to marketing strategy, and also the potential role of consumption reduction was explored (Boztepe, 2012; Papadas et al., 2017; Peattie & Peattie, 2009). For instance, authors mostly drew attention to the negative impacts of marketing on the natural environment (Papadas et al., 2017), introducing the concept of "ecological marketing" as "studies regarding adverse or positive impacts on environmental pollution, energy consumption and consumption of other resources as result of marketing" (Boztepe, 2012). It was on that decade when Henio and Kinnear (1976) first debated the interdependency of marketing and ecology, focused on the most toxic and damaging industries while few of those adopt ecological principles (Papadas et al., 2017).

The decade of the late 1980s marked the first stage of what is known as green marketing, a concept newly introduced in the industry, as the marketing that promotes a product based on its environmental performance or an improvement thereof, and a big number of marketers started to engage in different forms of green marketing (Lee, 2008). According to Papadas et al., (2017), green marketing "seeks to address the lack of fit between marketing practices, and the ecological and social realities of the wider marketing environment". Studies on green marketing have been presenting the concept as a matter of adapting marketing techniques as usual to environmental issues (Fuentes, 2015). Green marketing served two purposes: First, to develop environmental-friendly goods and products that can appeal to the consumer at a reasonable price and second, to reflect an image of high-quality, environmental sensitivity and responsible production within the environment (Boztepe, 2012; Fuentes, 2015; Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017, p. 20).

On the other side, during the 1990s the dramatic growth in green marketing excitements started gradually to be reduced, and the second stage of green marketing started. Besides efforts to define the "green" consumer profile and how these "green" consumers make decisions, as well as ways to design and implement strategies and performances (Fuentes, 2015), marketers realized that "consumer concern for the environment and desire for green products did not translate into purchasing behaviour" (Lee, 2008). Peattie and Crane (2005) identified the five marketing strategies that lead to the failure of green marketing at that time:

1. Green spinning: To deny or discredit the public's criticisms against the company's practices, taking a reactive approach.
2. Green selling: Taking an opportunistic approach by adding some green claims to existing products with the intention to boost sales.
3. Green harvesting: Becoming enthusiastic about the environment only when greening could result in cost savings (for example, energy and material input inefficiencies, package reductions...).

4. Entrepreneur marketing: Developing innovative green products to market without really understanding what consumers actually want.
5. Compliance marketing: Using simple compliance with implemented or expected environmental legislation as an opportunity to promote the company's green credentials without taking initiatives to go beyond responding to regulations.

Moreover, research questioning the role of business with sustainability was initiated (McDonagh & Prothero, 2014) and since the year 2000, green marketing evolved into a third stage, "the Third Age of Green Marketing" (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017), with the pressure of sustainable development and global concern on the environment (Lee, 2008). The focus shifted towards an empirical type of research, which tended to focus on specific areas or particular industries, with environmental marketing management from a firm-level perspective emphasis (Prothero et al., 2010). For example, some scholars already asked the question on consumption, called then "green commodity", stating: "If conventional marketing efforts can employ a commodity discourse to furnish individuals with the idea that two cars are better than one (or three better than two), then the very same commodity discourse can be used by the green movement to encourage people to buy less" (Prather and Fitchett, 2000).

According to McDonagh and Prothero's review on sustainability marketing literature (2014), that goes from 1998 to 2013, they identify five streams of sustainability marketing discourse:

1. Individual consumer concerns, behaviour and practices
2. Environmental laws, regulations and policies
3. Organisational sustainability strategies and sustainability markets
4. Reframing sustainability: institutional, societal and systems perspectives
5. What is sustainability marketing and how can we achieve it?

During this Third Age of Green Marketing, the term "Sustainability Marketing" also appeared, and has gained some traction over years, requiring a more radical approach "marketers should seek to meet the full environmental costs of production and consumption to create a sustainable economy" (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017; Kemper & Ballantine, 2019). McDonagh and Prothero (2014) conclude their research stating that, even if sustainable marketing discourse has moved on in academia since the 1970s-1980s period, "we still do not have a common ground for ecological discourse within the marketing discipline" (McDonagh & Prothero, 2014), as not everybody in the marketing field sees sustainability as a pressing issue. On the other hand, throughout this decade there has been a shift in the emphasis of sustainability marketing research alongside the shift towards sustainable consumption instead of the green consumer target only, recognizing "the need to consider environmental issues not simply as a micromarketing management issue, but as a more global, holistic macro issue" (Prothero et al., 2010). Lee (2008) predicted two inevitable trends in the near future of green marketing. First, a new green approach to do business pushed into the mainstream, and secondly corporations from developed countries initiating international green marketing to expand their market as a competitive advantage of their established green images in their domestic markets. Although research in the environmental and sustainable marketing arena has appeared in waves (Prothero et al., 2010), according Peattie and Peattie (2009) these concepts represent an environmentally oriented extension of social marketing which holds that "marketing activities should take into account the welfare of society, as well as the interests of consumers and business shareholders" (Peattie & Peattie, 2009).

Nevertheless, green marketing has been identified as a failure by various authors, as it fails to achieve its potential to improve the ecosystem and quality life of consumers (Papadas et al., 2017). Although green marketing can potentially play an important role in encouraging sustainable and green consumption, it has had a disappointing performance, attributing this failure to “misconceived” marketing practices provoking consumer criticism: green products can be seen as more expensive, less effective and for “weird”, “green” people (Rettie et al., 2014). For instance, green products are usually niche products, directed towards a specific group of consumers (Pickett-Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Rettie et al., 2014). Moreover, it can be perceived as greenwashing, which is the superficial or insincere display of concern for the environment shown by an organization, or its misleading environmental benefits of a product or service (Delmas & Burbano, 2011; Rettie et al., 2012), misleading consumers towards skepticism and disillusionment (Jacquelyn A, 2017; Rettie et al., 2012).

In terms of green marketing research for consumption, although in the 70s the research was focused on specific issues rather than a general overview, the greater area was concerned on consumer research and consumers’ green behaviour, attitudes and knowledge that has continued to the present day (Prothero et al., 2010). Peattie and Peattie’s (2009) claim that the issue of consumption practices begun in 1973 by Fisk, and it was widely ignored until the mid 1900s (when “the consumer backlash” started (Lee, 2008; Rettie et al., 2014) to the extent that even green marketing was focused almost entirely on increasing consumption by persuading consumers (in this case, the “green” ones) to purchase more (different environmentally sounded items though) or how to dispose them responsibly, rather than questioning the over-consumption patterns that will make a greater contribution on sustainability. Many ignored the issue that overconsumption is still a problem and that replacing products with “greener” ones does not address the issue of limited resources (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019). For years, green marketing has neglected important issues to ensure sustainability in society, but there are still some questions about the ability of marketing to deliver progress on the issue (Peattie & Peattie, 2009). Consumption levels must be reduced and behaviour has to change in order to ensure sustainability, and green marketing can still play an important role in encouraging a more sustainable kind of consumption (Rettie et al., 2014).

For instance, green marketing as a tool has a big potential contributing to increase sustainable consumption patterns and green behaviour (Rettie et al., 2014). However, consumption patterns do not always match within the environmental and sustainability awareness beliefs of consumers (Rettie et al., 2014) and this is key to green marketers and marketing researchers. Looking at the way consumption is made by consumers is now key for a growing part of literature, trying to understand how consumption works for individuals. Recent consumer studies have shifted the focus towards a practice theory approach, in order to understand routinely and ordinary consumption (Gram-Hanssen, 2009). For practice-theorists, consumption is understood as something that emerges through every day and, importantly, taken-for-granted practices which they argue are socially, and not individually, constituted (Rettie et al., 2014).

Therefore, this research is focused on sustainability marketing and follows its proposal as a potential tool to increase sustainable consumption by looking at consumption practices and how consumption is made through practice theory (Rettie et al., 2012). In the following section, a review of practice theory will be developed to look through the concept and its application to consumption and sustainable practices.

## 2.2 A practice theory approach to sustainable consumption

Sustainability studies have long focused on the background and environmental consequences of the increasing consumption patterns, and it is clear that changing the course of this consumption amounts should be high on the environmental agenda (Røpke, 2009). Attempts to promote pro-environmental behaviours and sustainable consumption have become important, but it has come to the point of debate where it is no longer clear if those changes towards pro-environmental behaviours and sustainable consumption patterns are within the individual agent’s capacity alone, or if it requires more fundamental structural changes in society and context (Hargreaves, 2011). Lee (2008) notes that there is an attitude behaviour gap so that even though consumers claim to be very concerned about the environment, this does not translate into green purchase behaviour, and numerous studies report only modest correlations between environmental values, attitudes and behaviours (Jackson et al., 2018; Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002; Lee, 2008; Luchs et al., 2015; Pickett-Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Prothero et al., 2010; Rettie et al., 2014; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006).

Over the last 50 years, there have been multiple attempts to construct models of human behaviour that identify its determinants to direct them towards more pro-environmental and sustainable patterns, as there is little understanding on green behaviour and how it can be shaped (Hargreaves, 2011; Rettie et al., 2014). There are three main research approaches that tend to divide consumption studies into three fields. The first approaches assume consumption is dependent upon economic and other cognitive rationalities, such as research-based on Theory of Planned Behaviour (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). In short, if the necessary cognitive components can be identified and modified, behavioural changes will occur across all areas of the individuals’ lifestyle. However, individuals do not exist without a social context and in some cases, the surroundings override all the cognitive factors included in those models (Hargreaves, 2011). That is why the second research approaches assume that consumption is dependent upon cultural structures, such as lifestyle research, and the third approach assumes consumption is the result of symbolic consumer identity (Halkier & Jensen, 2011).

In contrast to the methodological individualism of the previous behavioural models, and despite the perceived inadequacies of individualistic models, there is no well-established alternative. However, a “strong contestant” arises in theories of practice (Warde, 2014), as in recent years, the practice theory approach has emerged in sociological consumption studies promising to be highly relevant for fields related to the environmental aspects of consumption (Røpke, 2009).

### 2.2.1 Practice theory and practices.

Theories of practice remain very diverse, but Warde (2014) has synthesized the differences of practice theories emphasizes “from dominant accounts of action base upon models of the sovereign or expressive individual” (Warde, 2014):

*Table 2-1 The emphases of practice theories.*

Practice theories	Models of the sovereign and expressive individual
Performances	Acts
Doing (praxis)	Thinking

Knowing how	Knowing that
Practical competence	Reasoning
Habit and routine	Action
Practical consciousness	Discursive consciousness
Embodied sense	Mental deliberation
Collectivity (other people)	Private mental states
Shared understanding	Motivation
Regulation	Individuality
Flow/sequence	Unit acts
Dispositions	Decisions
The material	The symbolic

Source: Warded, 2014.

Even though today there is no unified practice approach, all practice theories have something in common, as practice advocates argue (Fuentes, 2014) that “the social consists of a nexus of practices that it is within these practices that social life is organized, reproduced and transformed” (Schatzki et al, 2001). Practice theories emphasise routine over actions, flow and sequence over discrete acts, dispositions over decisions, and practical consciousness over deliberation. Emphasis is placed upon doing overthinking, the material over the symbolic, and embodied practical competence over expressive virtuosity in the fashioned presentation of self” (Warde, 2014). The most basic theoretical assumption is that activities of social life have to be carried out and carried through continuously, and this mundane activity is organized through collective practices (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). Therefore, is the practice itself, and not the individuals who perform them or the social structures that surround them, the core and smallest unit of analysis (Fuentes, 2015; Hargreaves, 2011; Jackson et al., 2018). Although, how exactly are defined these practices?

According to Reckwitz (2002), a practice is defined as “a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge (Reckwitz, 2002). Practices are at the centre of the social world, constituting the “site of the social”, involving a nexus of “doings and sayings” that open space to observe social practices as well as participants’ discursive reflections on their practices (Jackson et al., 2018). The participant or individual then is only an enactor of practice, a “carrier” of the practice (Ingram, Shove, & Watson, 2007) and a meeting point of multiple practices (Fuentes, 2014).

On the other hand, whereas most practice theorists agree that practices consist of both human and non-human elements, the role of each is not consensually established (Fuentes, 2014). According to Fuentes (2014), some state that practices are purely human, focusing on the skills,

knowledge and understandings, and others (post-humanist) believe in the presence of non-human elements that are crucial to the making of social practices. Following the second approach, practices then are heterogeneous, as they draw on various different elements (human and non-human), but also performative, as they can transform those elements (Fuentes, 2014).

Most practice theorists consider practices constituted from a combination of some recognizable, identifiable elements, but the configuration of these elements vary according to the authors (Mylan, 2015). On one hand, there is Reckwitz (2002) definition proposed above with a list of elements, but that is hard to place on an empirical and practical example. On the other hand, Shove et al. (2012) conceptualize practices as constituted of three interlinked elements: meaning, material and competence, and the linkages between them are provided by the practitioners (Fuentes, 2015; Røpke, 2009).

The first element, meanings, refer to mental activities (Pantzar & Shove, 2010), symbols, norms and collective conventions that govern action (Fuentes, 2015; Mylan, 2015). According to Røpke (2009), this component is about making sense of the activities, including the ideas of what the activities are good for or what are problematic, and also about the emotions, beliefs and understandings of such activities. The practitioner then becomes the carrier of the practice-related beliefs, emotions, and purposes when performing the practice, but these are seen as “belonging to” the practice itself rather than emerging from the self-individual (Røpke, 2009). For example, the idea that doing something is healthy.

On the other hand, material refers to physical objects (things) such as tools, equipment and infrastructures, but also includes bodies and body parts necessary and involved in the performance of the practice (Fuentes, 2015; Mylan, 2015; Pantzar & Shove, 2010; Røpke, 2009a). According to Røpke (2009), objects can be generic or specific, and body parts are related both as similar as an instrument and also as embodied skills and site for emotions: “Performing a practice contributes to shaping the body, implying that widespread practices in a society or social group can develop characteristic features” (Røpke, 2009). For example, in the practice of laundry, it includes machines, equipment, household infrastructure and consumables like soap (Mylan, 2015).

Last but not least, competency covers the skills and knowledge needed to carry out the practice, as it refers to the skill and know-how of practitioners, all the necessary cognitive capabilities required to successfully perform a practice (Fuentes, 2015; Mylan, 2015; Røpke, 2009). Both skills and knowledge, are often learned by experience and training, and they become embodied in the practitioner. Some competencies are generic, in the sense that they are used in many practices such as the abilities to read and write, whereas others are more specialized (Røpke, 2009). Following the laundry example, this element of the practice would include deciding which items to wash, sorting into loads, selection of wash settings, detergents, drying, ironing... “In addition know-how is required for the coordination of these tasks within constraints of space and time” (Mylan, 2015).

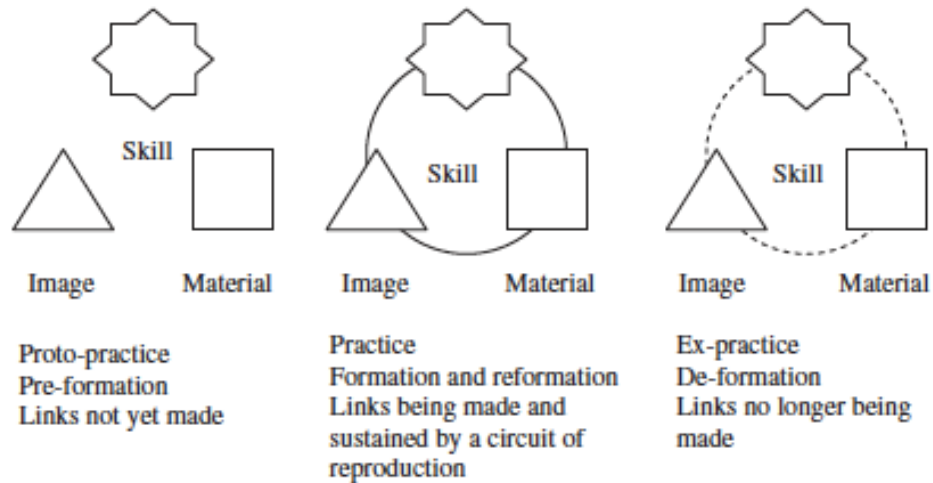


Figure 2-1: Proto-practice, practices and ex-practices illustrated with the three elements.

Source: (Pantzar & Shove, 2010).

Figure 2-1 shows how these elements constitute a practice. In the first scenario, the elements practices are not yet integrated as the links are not yet made, it is in the second where they are actively interconnected and, lastly, the sustaining links are not being made (Pantzar & Shove, 2010). Therefore, practices are held together by these heterogeneous elements, linked by the practitioners, carriers of practices, who are able to integrate the necessary elements to perform practices (Cohen et al., 2013; Røpke, 2009).

But practices can also be related in other ways. Some of them can be complementary, like washing and drying, while others can replace each other, as modes of transport (Røpke, 2009). As Røpke (2009) states, time is limited, and practices are said to compete for the attention of practitioners. “When new practices emerge, they can only be taken up pushing aside existing practices” (Røpke, 2009). The individual’s participation in practices is then constrained by finite time resources and the impossibility of simultaneous participation in space and time (Røpke, 2009). 8/16/2019 12:21:00 PM

Practices are inherently dynamic and able to suffer variations. A range of abstract mechanisms underlying the process of change in practices has been identified and described (Warde, 2014). Practices can also change (often gradually) when new elements are introduced (Mylan, 2015) and they can vary over time: new practices emerge and others die out “when practitioners can no longer be recruited” (Røpke, 2009). Variations in practices can be introduced by new groups engaging in the practice, which deliver new knowledge or skills, but also a practice can vary by a new kind of internal dynamic that diversifies the practice in new sub-practices, in a process known as diversification (Mylan, 2015). The emergence of a new practice requires an innovation process where practitioners configure a set of bodily-mental activities by integrating the three elements of practices. Then, innovation in practice is a matter of making new links and breaking them between new or existing elements (Pantzar & Shove, 2010; Røpke, 2009). Over time, practices die out when they can no longer recruit practitioners to perform them (Røpke, 2009). Moreover, empirical studies of relatively simple examples of practices changing within a short time span, such as the one developed in the research, can disclose detailed aspects of practice dynamics and change (Røpke, 2009).



## **2.2.2 Consumption from a practice theory perspective**

Theories of practice seem so appealing to study consumption as they represent a middle-ground approach (Hargreaves, 2011), providing an alternative frame to study individual choice in consumption and exploring phenomena normally concealed in the cultural analysis (Warde, 2014). Practice theories understand consumption “to emerge through every day and, importantly, taken-for-granted practices (...) and argue that these are social, not individually, constituted” (Rettie et al., 2014). Practice approaches then claim that the social consists of a nexus of practices within social life are organized, reproduced and transformed (Fuentes, 2014) and “it is through these engagements with practices that individuals come to understand the world around them” (Hargreaves, 2011).

For instance, the basic idea is that people (or “practitioners”) use (or “consume”) many resources and products while they engage in routine activities, and therefore practice theorists focus on a kind of consumption that is less conscious and simply shaped by routines and habits (Mylan, 2015). For example, everyday practices like the use of electrodomestics (Gram-Hanssen, 2009) or eating lunch (Halkier & Jensen, 2011) are dependent on the use of energy, water and raw materials (Warde, 2014).

Practice theory also encourages us to examine how specific practices such as eating are negotiated within a wider set of domestic routines and responsibilities (Jackson et al., 2018). As “a prime instance of consumption” (Warde, 2014), eating constitutes both a mundane and routinized activity, that has no meanings outside the practices and bodily processes of food production and consumption (Jackson et al., 2018). The practice of eating is also dependent on energy, water, raw materials and natural resources to be carried out, and “where changing the patterns of consumption might mitigate the environmental effects” (Warde, 2014) that are related to the practice.

In terms of social change related to consumption, theories of practice (as stated above) lend practices to be a narrative form of an explanation of change (Warde, 2014). According to this author, too often individual reflexivity and impetus to change are conflicted, as individuals are not the sole source of change. Most people much of the time do not have control over the circumstances in which they find themselves, neither consider alternative courses of action. Actually, change in behaviour is likely to occur as often as a result of endogenous change in social circumstances, in situations where people find themselves (Warde, 2014).

In summary, a practice theory approach allows us to understand consumption and habits as an intersection of multiple practices in a wider, complex context rather than just knowledge and action. Practice theory investigates the way in which the various structures of society are combined to “normalize” certain patterns and levels of consumption (Visconti, 2010).

## **2.3 Sustainability marketing to normalize and enable sustainable consumption**

“The gradual filtering of theories of practice into empirical studies of consumption has come through particular research areas, probably the most important of which has been environmental degradation, climate change and sustainability” (Warde, 2014). Indeed, practice theory emphasizes the challenge of promoting sustainable consumption, as “it is a formidable challenge to bring in the environment as an important aspect of meaning across most practices” (Röpke, 2009). According to Röpke (2009), environmental considerations easily conflict with other concerns, so they need forceful backing to become an important aspect across most practices and, finally, reduce consumers’ behavioural gap between environmental

concerns and consumption patterns (Jackson et al., 2018; Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002; Lee, 2008; Luchs et al., 2015; Pickett-Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Prothero et al., 2010; Rettie et al., 2014; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). For instance, behavioural changes often conflict with existing social norms and political, geographical, and technological structures (Gollnhofer, 2017). In other words, some practices are discarded whereas others are part of the behaviour, despite their detrimental condition, as the perception of these practices is not based on their properties but is socio-historically constructed (Gollnhofer, 2017). For example, by applying a practice theory in terms of food consumption, food has no meaning outside the practices and processes of food production and consumption (Jackson et al., 2018).

Here it is where sustainability marketing appears. In order to reduce unsustainable consumption patterns, and reduce the current behavioural gap, sustainability marketing can contribute to sustainability objectives by driving processes of normalization (Rettie et al., 2014) through the practice of consumption. For instance, several sociological studies of green marketing highlight how much can be gained by drawing on social theory and examining practices involved in green marketing (Fuentes, 2015). The term “normalization” refers to the action or process of making something standard, typical or conventional (Oxford English Dictionary), but in social sciences the concept means the processes through which products, ideas or practices become expected and accepted parts of everyday life (Jackson et al., 2018) and the processes through which new objects and arrangements become established (Ingram et al., 2007). Hence, normalization processes imply a category shift from not normal to normal (Gollnhofer, 2017a).

Sociologists of consumption and technology have developed different theories and models to explain how novel arrangements become normal (Ingram et al., 2007). The importance of a process of “social normalisation” lies in which new activities and behaviours gradually become accepted as ordinary and normal, encouraging their adoption and rendering them less susceptible to revision. Precedents for the term “normalisation”, include Foucault’s (1975) disciplinary use, the “normalisation thesis” (Parker et al., 1998) in the context of drug use, and “normalisation process theory” (May and Finch, 2009) in the context of new practices. According to Ingram et al. (2007), the concept has been applied and developed in various scholarly works, so whereas some authors concentrate on the “diffusion” of new products, arguing that these percolate through society and fashion develop as social groups emulate each other’s, in consumption studies the term “normalization” is understood as a socio-material process where products make alliances with other objects and ideas in an integrative process made for those products to fit into wider arrangements (Jackson et al., 2018).

Research suggests that consumer adoption of green practices is constrained by conceptions of green initiatives and products relevant only to the green niche (green consumers) rather to everyone else, so the normalization of those could potentially position sustainable practices into normality (Pickett-Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Rettie et al., 2014). Traditional marketing has been used to deliver profit and growth out of the consumer’s needs and wants, driving and shaping the businesses’ objectives, strategies and actions (Peattie & Belz, 2010), and changing consumers’ conceptions to position and reposition brands, building values and trust (Rettie et al., 2014), and these techniques can be applied to the normalization of behaviours. For instance, during the “Third Age of Green Marketing” (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017) social normalization was spread out, as sustainability marketing practices can be used to suggest normality, gradually changing consumers’ views until the extent when green behaviour and sustainable consumption practices are seen as normal (Rettie et al., 2014).

Currently, the world-wide established unsustainable practices are seen as normal in society, being less susceptible to challenge and review. “Normalisation of more responsible alternative practices is just part of the picture of progress towards sustainability” (Gollnhofer, 2017a), but sustainable practices can be harder to adopt as are conceived less normal by consumers, like outside accepted normal behaviour (Rettie et al., 2014). According to Rettie et al., (2014): “Ideas of what is normal in this social sense are important for sustainability because some less sustainable behaviours are currently regarded as normal, and some greener behaviours are seen as outside what is normal”.

It is important to look at how sustainable practices can be repositioned as normal and in this research, marketing practices are suggested as drivers to shape social norms, meanings and practices, towards the normalization of sustainable consumption practices. For instance, Rettie et al., (2014) suggest that marketing campaigns could normalize businesses sustainable behaviour by showing celebrities or authority figures doing such, or “by using product or behaviour placement” for example, in television and, if feasible, by providing information on the popularity of that behaviour.

Sustainability marketing could potentially enable the normalization of sustainable consumption practices, encouraging consumers to divert unsustainable behaviours which could be gradually positioned as not-normal. This theoretical approach could solve the gap between green mentality and purchase behaviour, reposition green products and services out of the current “different from the norm”, and open the market towards more consumers and not only to the categorized “green” ones.

### **3 Research Design**

In order to illustrate the potential of marketing as a tool to normalize sustainable consumption and enable the practice, this thesis adopts an ethnographic approach to study green/sustainable marketing practices and collect the data of the case studied. The material is generated mainly through active participation and observation of the marketing strategies and campaigns of the food waste prevention business Too Good To Go in Spain. Attention is paid to the way in which these marketing practices are encouraging sustainable consumption patterns by using the platform.

#### **3.1 An ethnographic study of Too Good To Go**

It might appear “highly unrealistic” to expect that the same marketing mechanisms that built the consumption-intensive lifestyles could be successfully applied to undermine those lifestyles and reverse into a sustainable consumption (Peattie & Peattie, 2011). However, nowadays there are a growing number of examples where green/sustainable marketing has achieved successes in overcoming ingrained behaviours normalizing sustainable consumption practices (Fuentes, 2014, 2015; Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017; Peattie & Peattie, 2009). That is why the purpose of this research is focused on the marketing practices carried out by Too Good To Go Spain, and how these marketing practices work to normalize sustainable consumption and behaviour towards food waste. Therefore, Too Good To Go represents an example of how marketing strategies can be used to normalize sustainable consumption patterns. For instance, this case is used to illustrate and develop a practise theory approach to sustainable marketing and normalization theory.

There are several reasons why Too Good To Go represents a suitable case for studying sustainability marketing as a tool to normalize sustainable consumption. First of all, Too Good To Go has a strong, illustrative and visual marketing strategy. Like many other consumption apps, the marketing is heavily based on online campaigns, designed to be spread out in social media and other online sites. At the time of research, Too Good To Go had various marketing strategies through its communication channels: Youtube, Instagram, Twitter, the newsletter, blog, website and of course, its own app. This made it very easy to the researcher to follow and observe the marketing campaigns, that also remained posted for a long time, and use different observation activities (screenshots, field notes...) which are developed in the next section.

On the other hand, something that adds more insight to the case is its presence on media as a marketing strategy. Nowadays it is unusual to see a new brand using media as one of the main pillars that form the marketing strategy. At the time of research, there were press releases, television appearances, radio, magazines, events, etc. throughout all Spain, and there are more to come. These are just some examples of Too Good To Go “offline” (as they call) marketing. For instance, it was easy to reach out the data of these marketing practices, as everything stays posted online, even the strategy plan, presentation, coordination and for events marketing strategies.

In addition, Too Good To Go allowed the researcher to develop the participant observation throughout the whole period without objections or problems, which was an extra advantage to take the observations further and be an active participant of the marketing strategies. For instance, the researcher was able to participate in the decision-making processes of online and media campaigns, to be present and work during the moment where these are carried out, and finally to assist the final remarks and posterior results analysis. Being able to carry out a participant observation made the case relevant for the research of sustainable marketing as a

tool of sustainable consumption normalization, as the researcher was not only able to observe the results and the data available to the public, but also to participate into the whole process and (sustainable) marketing campaigns elaboration. Moreover, Too Good To Go agreed to share internal data, surveys and other sources of information like analysis of users, performance and campaigns development with the researcher, who would not be able to study by just mere observations.

In this research, the focus relies on the ability of Too Good To Go Spain marketing strategies to position the sustainable consumption pattern of “saving food and food waste” as normal and an alternative to other kinds of food purchases. In particular, how marketing tries to guide consumers’ use of food “delivery consumption” by qualifying Too Good To Go in a way that positions them within discursive landscapes and nexuses of everyday food practices (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017). For the study, the marketing “performance” of Too Good To Go Spain is examined through two main sets of marketing devices: offline and online (digital) marketing. Both were participantly observed throughout the whole period, as Too Good To Go in Spain carries both of them simultaneously.

### **3.1.1 Ethnography as a method**

The ethnographic methodology of this case is similar to most ethnographic studies, as it “mainly relies on observations, studies multiple sites and aspires to give a rich comprehensive picture of the study object” (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017). Ethnography is mostly qualitative social research (Prior & Miller, 2012) and as an observational methodology, it provides specific benefits on research than other qualitative approaches and that is why it has become more valued over the past several years (Kelly & Gibbons, 2008). This method is not new to the field of marketing studies (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017; Goulding, 2005), and neither in consumer research (Goulding, 2005; Ritson & Elliott, 1999). Within marketing literature, over the last thirty years a reorientation of ethnography has spread across consumer marketing studies (Visconti, 2010), as it has multiple advantages such as a high level of awareness and sensitivity towards the social contexts where consumer behaviour takes place (Ritson & Elliott, 1999).

Moreover, consumption represents a phenomenon that can be effectively addressed using ethnographic methodologies, as ethnography aims to explain structured cultural and social patterns, rather than merely cognitive, behavioural or affective ones (Goulding, 2005). Research that utilizes ethnographic methods tends to consider issues that have a significant community impact (Prior & Miller, 2012). According to Goulding’s review (2005), the potential of ethnographic research in the study of lifestyles has been illustrated due to the cultural context where lifestyles are enacted, and already in 1994 Arnould and Wallendorf discussed the relevance of market-oriented ethnography to develop marketing strategies (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994).

Ethnographic research often requires the researcher to participate in the everyday activities of the individuals or groups involved in the study (Emersson, Fretz, Shaw, 1995). In the early 1900s, ethnographic studies started with anthropology roots (Goulding, 2005; Kelly & Gibbons, 2008), as anthropologists aimed to study primitive peoples through a cultural approach but it had to be interpretive as all the elements (language, morality, survival knowledge...) formed together an understanding (Kelly & Gibbons, 2008) and then ethnographic work started to arise, to the extent that anthropology and ethnography gained self-critical consciousness (Kelly & Gibbons, 2008). Therefore, ethnography “is an umbrella term that covers a range or family of techniques and methods that have the potential to capture data occurring within natural environments from multiple viewpoints” (Freeman & Spanjaard, 2012).

According to Arnould & Wallendorf (1994), there are four features that distinguish the ethnographers' practice and help them accomplish the research goals. First of all, ethnography prioritizes systematic data collection in natural settings, so the deeply sociocultural patterns of action that it aims to study cannot be transferred to other research settings. Secondly, this research method involves the extended, experiential participation of the researcher in a specific context, known as participant observation (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994). Observations enable the researcher to describe existing situations using the five senses, providing a "written photograph" of the studied situation (Kawulich, 2005). Revelatory incidents occur naturally and the researcher is able to witness them in real-time, getting interpretive insights and being able to analyse systematically any kind of additional data (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994). In other words, ethnographic research allows living "among those who are the data" as, according to Visconti (2010), the broad goal is "to decode, translate, and interpret the behaviours and attached meaning systems of those occupying and creating the social system being studied". Third, ethnography produces interpretations of behaviours that both the people in the context studied and the intended audience find credible. Ethnographic credibility is more likely to be achieved by pluralistic interpretations that explain the cultural variation. Finally, the fourth ethnographic feature is to incorporate multiple sources of data (Goulding, 2005), a strategy "long advocated in social science traditions" (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994). Ethnography then has its own ways to collect data, but it is highly concerned with the cultural context (Goulding, 2005). Rather than using multiple data sources to achieve convergence in interpretations, ethnography uses them to generate varying perspectives on the behaviours of interest (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994). The data collection methods are dictated according to the nature of the studied phenomenon, and the research questions that emerge during the process (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994). Therefore, the material analysed is produced through a combination of different data collection techniques (Fuentes, 2014) through the time when the researcher's participation is happening, as it entails observing processes as they happen (Hoholm & Olsen, 2012).

### **3.1.2 Ethnography in marketing research**

Therefore, ethnographic methods are appropriate for market and marketing interpretations, as a market-oriented ethnographic approach can provide an understanding of the many layers of consumer meaning embedded in behaviour (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994). The evolution of ethnography seeks the inclusion "of several lenses of interest to the marketing and broader management fields" (Prior & Miller, 2012). Ethnography crosses marketing in two main forms: first, by "ethnography of marketing" which studies people in organizations carrying out the activities of marketing management (Visconti, 2010). Secondly, by "market-oriented ethnography" which refers to the analysis of clients, regardless of the products or services companies provide (Visconti, 2010). For instance, the term "market-oriented ethnography" is defined as an ethnographic focus on the behaviour of people constituting a market for a product or service and then how these interpretations are useful in formulating a marketing strategy, and focus on studying the people in organizations who carry out the activities of marketing management (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994; Visconti, 2010). Different market researchers and academics do ethnography differently, that is why several authors propose a structured approach to ethnography when conducting market-orientated research (Prior & Miller, 2012). Therefore, according to Prior and Miller (2012), these authors argue the adoption of four main characteristics: systematic approach to data gathering, immersive approaches to participant observation, the establishment of credibility through participant involvement and the incorporation of multiple data sources. Moreover, according to Arnould and Wallendorf (1994), the data collection has an evolving sampling plan that takes longer and is less specified at the beginning of the research than other kinds.

The ethnographic approach followed here is similar to the one taken by Fuentes and Fuentes (2017). It differs from the regular ethnographic design in the data-gathering period, which is usually longer, even suggested being taken for years. Even if some researchers are able to spend those long research periods, it is rarely possible luxury (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994; Freeman & Spanjaard, 2012; Prior & Miller, 2012). Although long-term immersion increases the chances of encountering important moments in the context (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994), a shorter time span can also “provide the opportunity to do an in-depth examination of a marketing phenomenon during a limited period of time” (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017). On the other hand, as it is common in ethnographic studies, the material analysed was gathered through a combination of different data-collection techniques (Fuentes, 2014) with the aim to examine marketing practices through different devices and strategies. These techniques combine online and offline observations “to trace how digital and physical devices are mobilized” (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017) in the marketing of Too Good To Go Spain.

## **3.2 Collecting data: participant observations, collecting online material and media marketing**

### **3.2.1 Participant observation**

Thesis fieldwork was taken in a shorter time span than the usual in ethnographic studies, which was during an intensive period of three months, from mid-February to April, using participant observation as methodology. However, even if this short time has its disadvantages, it certainly allowed the researcher the opportunity to do an “in-depth examination of a marketing phenomenon during a limited period of time” as Fuentes & Fuentes (2017) says. On the other hand, this research is also similar to one of these authors as it is also an example of object-focused ethnography that “moves away from pure cultural analysis towards socio-material analysis” to study jointly people and objects (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017). For instance, observations made in this ethnographic research were conducted through participant observation, that happens “when the researcher plays an established participant role in the scene studied” (Paul & Martyn, 1994). The use of participant observation as a qualitative method to gather data has increased in recent years, as qualitative methods such as interviews and observations have been included under ethnographic methods (Kawulich, 2005).

Participant observation methods are useful to researchers in many ways, as they provide “the ability to check definitions of terms that participants use in interviews, observe events that informants may be unable to share, and observe situations informants have described in interviews, thereby making researchers aware of distortions or inaccuracies in description provided by those informants” (Kawulich, 2005). For instance, DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) believe that “the goal for the design of research using participant observation as a method is to develop a holistic understanding of the phenomena under study that is as objective and accurate as possible given the limitations of the method”. Moreover, Participant observation can be used to help answer descriptive research questions, to build theory, or to generate and test hypotheses (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). The role taken for this research is “participant as observer” as, according to Kawulich (2005), in this stance the researcher is a member of the group being studied, and the group is aware of the research activity. For instance, five reasons for including participant observation as a methodology (Kawulich, 2005)

1. It makes it possible to collect different types of data. Being on-site over a period of time familiarizes the researcher to the community, thereby facilitating involvement in sensitive activities to which he/she generally would not be invited.

2. It reduces the incidence of "reactivity" or people acting in a certain way when they are aware of being observed.
3. It helps the researcher to develop questions that make sense in the native language or are culturally relevant.
4. It gives the researcher a better understanding of what is happening in the culture and lends credence to one's interpretations of the observation. Participant observation also enables the researcher to collect both quantitative and qualitative data through surveys and interviews.
5. It is sometimes the only way to collect the right data for one's study

To understand how sustainability marketing practices are carried out by Too Good To Go in Spain, this case is used in order to develop a practice theory approach on marketing as a tool to normalize sustainable consumption practices. The study from which the analysis draws combines observations of online and media (offline) marketing campaigns to trace how Too Good To Go develops and launches its marketing strategies in Spain. For instance, there are two main sets of data sources: first is online, digital marketing and second are media, offline marketing, all business segmented and targeted to consumers.

### 3.2.2 Online Marketing Material

Online marketing was observed inside Too Good To Go divided into two: the app and the so-called five main official marketing communication channels they have in Spain: the corporate website (<https://toogoodtogo.es/es>), social media accounts such as Youtube ([Too Good To Go España](#)), Facebook ([@TooGoodToGo.ES](#)), Twitter ([TooGoodToGo.ES](#)), Instagram ([@toogoodtogo.es](#)), blog site (<https://toogoodtogo.es/es/blog>), and their newsletter. First, the app itself was included as a special part of the online media marketing and was analyzed due to some key features and messages that the marketing team had developed inside the platform. Therefore, an analysis of the app was made too as its part of the marketing work, with observations and screenshots to the relevant content.

Secondly, social media. It may be defined as a technology-facilitated dialogue among individuals or groups conducted through platforms including blog, wikis, content sharing, social networking and social bookmarking (A. H. Reilly & Hynan, 2014; A. Reilly & Weirup, 2015). However, it is not only a communication tool for amusement but an important part of marketing strategies for businesses as well (Öztamur & Karakadılar, 2014). It serves as communication channels for both consumers and corporations (Byrum, 2019), and it differs from traditional media as “it allows for a two-way interactive experience between organizations and stakeholders, rather than media outlets broadcasting information to the masses with no direct reaction or response” (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Nowadays, it is a medium that “allows users to share and make public their ideas and thoughts with no barrier entry beyond an internet connection and literacy” (Leal Filho, Lackner, & McGhie, 2019). The shift from traditional, slower print media to today’s rapid digital communication means that new social media like Facebook and Twitter demand fresh content regularly (A. H. Reilly & Larya, 2018) and for Too Good To Go, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and Youtube are the main social channels through which they communicate with both users (consumers) and store partners, so that is why those have been analysed for the research. Since the beginning of the research (February). the author signed up, followed, liked and subscribed to all these channels to keep track on Too Good To Go marketing efforts in Spain.

In addition, during the active participation period (mid-February), the researcher worked in Too Good To Go’s marketing and communication campaigns in Spain, and even had some responsibilities in the creation of new campaigns and content. As an active participant, the



researcher worked alongside with the marketing team, being completely in charge of some communication channels like Too Good To Go's blog, establishing and creating new themes to write about, besides working with the team to prepare future strategies, campaigns and content related to Too Good To Go, the food industry and sustainability news that will be discussed further during the analysis.

Observations, both regular and active, were made from the beginning of the research to the end, following up any variations since it was first observed. To gather the data in online marketing, different ways were generally utilized: screenshots (with the tool available in the computer) and field notes while reviewing the channels online. The first online channel observed was the website. In order to do so, the researcher divided according to the different content, functionalities and purposes of each. For instance, it was divided between communication to stores and other businesses and communication to users. Inside business to consumer communication, it was divided according as well to the kind of content, which are two, one is direct to users (as, for example how to download the app or how it works), and the other is not only to users but to the public in general, as related to the environmental impact of Too Good To Go or their vision and values as a business. Even though the research was an active participant, it was not possible to have access to the website management and other contents, so in this case was observation was the only method.

First of all, the launch of the first marketing plan was analyzed. It contained both online and media (offline) strategies that were intensively analysed by the brand and saved in their Google Drive data folder. Therefore, all data regarding the first launching was gathered from there, downloaded directly in form of pdf and excel files, containing the presentation document of the whole plan divided in every strategy, besides downloading the detailed description of each of those strategies also available there. However, the researcher decided to select the most significant ones regarding the target, which for the research aim had to be consumers, and the consequent analysis of these campaigns results by Too Good To Go itself.

On the other hand, as an active participant, the researcher did have access to the blog, that can be found inside the same website where it is hosted. Even though it can be included in social media, for the study it was taken separately due to its big amount of content and the strategy behind how Too Good To Go uses this site. Therefore, in order to be analyzed first the blog was first divided into the same six categories according to the blog content and themes: about Too Good To Go, eco-advice, food, partner stores, sustainability news and, finally a mix of "curiosities". This allowed the researcher to observe all content since the beginning and analyze every category of the blog. Then, three main categories were identified and analyzed, using, in addition, the tool Excel to create graphs in order to better illustrate the findings and analyze the content published since the beginning of blog until the 30th of April. Moreover, as an active participant, the researcher was in charge of the content from mid-February to April, first developing the proposed themes and later in charge of the content planning and themes. This situation made it possible to have access to the inside of the blog, and to gather data from the Google Drive folder where all the content and drafts are saved. For instance, besides the other methods as screenshots and field notes all texts were downloaded as PDFs and kept during the research period.

In terms of social media (Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, Youtube), the data gathering was pretty similar among them. First, the researcher signed up, followed, liked and subscribed to all channels to keep updated over the content. For reviewing Facebook, screenshots and field notes were taken as well as for Twitter and Instagram. Youtube was different as it is another style of online platform so in this case Too Good To Go videos were downloaded from its

channel with a specific online tool to save the content, and notes were taken while its review. Although as an active participant the researcher did not have access to social media management, it was possible to intervene in the social media planning strategies and gather data during those meetings, with field notes and photos. Moreover, an online survey made by Too Good To Go marketing team that was passed through social media was also analyzed through field notes.

Communication and consumer behaviour theories suggest that when consumers have a preference for a brand, they are more keen and willing to receive information from it and also to search for information about it (Merisavo & Raulas, 2004). For instance, regular email contacts have a positive impact on consumer loyalty, with strong brand attitudes (Merisavo & Raulas, 2004). Too Good To Go is aware of this, and has created a newsletter that goes to their users and store partners' inbox every month. Newsletter content was possible to gather through the Google Drive folder as well, and each newsletter was divided according to the corresponding month, and it was downloaded following the same order, from October to December 2018 and January to April 2019. In addition, each Newsletter contains graphic content such as images or videos that were downloaded as well. However, the data from brand performance and SEO was proportionated by the regional marketing leader, who is the one with access to it. Therefore, the documents were sent via email instead of downloaded directly from the employees Google Drive folders.

These research practices were easier to observe with participant observation as it was possible to have access to all accounts, press releases and in general, any analysis of results carried out by the company to follow its impact and performance. These observations covered all major marketing strategies for the Spanish audience, some of them were specifically planned according to this kind of public from the regional division, and some others were planned directly from the central headquarters in Copenhagen and adapted accordingly to the Spanish case.

### **3.2.3 Media Marketing Material**

On the other hand, media (offline) observations were conducted through two main areas: Public Relations (known as "PR"), and real-life experiences (events and pop-ups). All these areas are considered in the same group as they compose the marketing area dedicated to offline communications. First of all, PR is known as "managing strategic relationships" (Hutton, 1999) and its functions are known to be "means by which a given objective is achieved" (Hutton, 1999). For instance, PR in Too Good To Go Spain marketing strategy is related to anything that helps Too Good To Go get achieve marketing goals via offline. Therefore, to analyze this data the researcher looked through the PR Google Drive folder database, which is divided in press releases, awards, city launches and interviews. As PR here englobes all offline communication, television, radio and newspapers/magazines are included too. All data was downloaded through this folder, nevertheless the publications and television/radio appearances (known as "clipping") were also reviewed through the official sites and channels, with screenshots and online reviews in their websites. On the other hand, real life experiences (events and pop-up stores) where analyzed due to its direct contact with consumers. First, for events data was gathered only through the Google Drive folder which contains all the events in which Too Good To Go has participated since the beginning, where includes: the planning for the event (project plan), key contacts, and a final case-study with the results, which were downloaded as pdf or excel documents for its analysis. Again, being an active participant in this research was a clear advantage so the researcher has access to all data. Finally, pop-up stores were analyzed as well as they are evidence of creative and enterprising methods of marketing communications, and as they are used a method of brand dissemination across

international markets (Marciniak, 2010). In this case, data was gathered also through field notes, as the researcher was able to attend one of them as an active participant.

Therefore, observations were focused on how Too Good To Go develops its campaigns, looking into the core message they are spreading and which kind of consumers (users) are being targeted in. Offline observations were documented using field notes, photos and, most of the research time, even participating in the whole process of building the strategy and creating the next campaigns. For instance, online observations were conducted examining Too Good To Go official website, digital platforms, social media, newsletter and SEO. During the whole research process, signing up to the newsletter and following social media channels was the first step into understanding the marketing strategies. Using screenshots to record online content was a tool to follow the performance and development of marketing strategies. Later on, as a participant-observer, being part of the meetings to create content and online campaigns complemented the observations in a deeper way that just looking at the online performance would allow. Taken together, these research practices produced a database consisting of images, files and field notes about Too Good To Go online and offline marketing.

### **3.3 Analysing the material**

The analysis of Too Good To Go's marketing material was carried out through the perspective of first, understanding their marketing work and its different forms, and second (and most importantly), to find out if this marketing is finally enabling the adaptation of sustainable practice through a normalization process. For instance, following literature, marketing represents a potential tool to increase sustainable consumption practices and normalize them, so all data was analyzed following this framework.

It was conducted in two stages, guided by the research questions: first, to determine in which ways is Too Good To Go's marketing following a "green" marketing strategy (targeted only to "green" consumers) who are already engaged with sustainable consumption practices, and secondly, to identify which steps is the marketing work following to engage potential consumers, and then to keep them engaged in the long term until the practice is normalized. Therefore, all data gathered was later reorganised into the broader themes presented in the analysis below. The analysis consists of three mechanisms identified in the marketing work that generates a path towards normalization, the fourth chapter of the analysis. Therefore, results and analysis are presented jointly below.

### **3.4 Reliability and Validity**

This section seeks to expose the research limitations and author's selections that alongside with the time frame, form the final research scope.

The research gap with empirical studies on sustainable marketing and the normalization of sustainable practices (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017; Fuentes, 2014; Rettie et al., 2014, 2012; Skálén & Hackley, 2011) could arise multiple studies on the area, including opportunities for replication in other businesses and countries, following an ethnographic study or case-study oriented, and even study multiple cases. On one hand, a comparative study with multiple cases could have been developed between businesses using marketing to normalize sustainable consumption and their strategies. Nevertheless, in order to get full insights into the marketing strategies and the way of developing them, together with the possibility to be an active participant, is only possible with one business case. Studying multiple business cases as an active participant represents a limitation as it is only possible with sufficiently long research time, and this was not the case. However, it is true that although research on multiple business

cases and their marketing strategies do not give the same deep insights as one within active participation, it could be interesting for further research, as the research gap has a need for it. On the other hand, a single case study research has also its limitations, as it “cannot analyse large numbers of cases or large volumes of data” and it is “prone to producing particularistic insights, the relevance of which to other contexts – let alone to general theory – may be unclear” (Perri & Christine, 2011). However, advocates of this kind of research point out that understanding is only possible by immersion in a very small number of cases (Perri & Christine, 2011).

Of course, there can be issues in the case selection as well. Selecting cases is a central issue in these research designs, and choose the right number of cases and diversity (Perri & Christine, 2011). For this research, in particular, there is a reason behind the choice of one case (Too Good To Go) and its marketing work in one specific country (Spain), instead of the other European countries where Too Good To Go acts. The author’s facilities to work as an active participant at the Spanish headquarters in Madrid like location, language and knowledge of the culture and political framework were definitive for the selection. Moreover, the Spanish section is developing fast and spreading across the country in different cities, which are: Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, Salamanca and Valencia. This supposes an opportunity to test the influence of their marketing strategies in a new place, with new consumers.

The methodology and framework were precisely selected as they are key to gather quality data out of the research. First of all, the practice-theory framework allows the author to provide empirical data on sustainable marketing strategies based on Too Good To Go that not only supports previous theoretical research on the topic but also contributes filling the research gap. Nevertheless, practice theory has its critics and limitations. According to Warde (2014), there are some key issues especially applicable to theory of practice for consumption.

First, the question on identifying practices, which activities are considered as practices, or the boundaries to practice to be constructed. So, how can these boundaries be drawn? There are various ways to recognize practice. For example, looking at its potential for inclusion as an activity in a time-use survey or looking at the disputes with “fellow participants about the standards of the performances” (Warde, 2014). Secondly, it comes the regularity of practice, as “a recognizable practice comprises repeated sequences of activity” and “practice theories have usefully emphasised the role of habit and routine in relation to consumption” (Warde, 2014). Although there is great reluctance to use the concept of “habit”, alternatives are not quite developed. Therefore, practice theory overcomes this issue as “most daily life occurs in a state of distraction, habit and routine are normal, the default mode of engagement in the world” (Warde, 2014) as according to the author, people do many things at once in rapid succession. Third, as practice theory recognizes habits as embodied procedures, this incorporates the role of non-human factors (objects, commodities, equipment...), but this role “can be overplayed at the expense of practical procedures, improvised use of equipment and affordances and constraints of the wider environmental and its social arrangements” (Warde, 2014). In summary, there are many things that a theory of practice cannot do or cannot do as efficiently as other approaches, however it remains to be seen if there is a general solution to which theories are most complementary to the issue (Warde, 2014). Lastly, in terms of practice theory for consumption, Warde (2014) also states that there are already several alternative options available, and most of them place consumption behaviour in the context of wider economic instead of social processes.

Moreover, several researchers have noted the limitations involved using participant observation as a methodology for data collection (Kawulich, 2005). A researcher bias is pointed

out as there is a likelihood that researchers will fail to report the negative aspects of the cultural members (or in this case, the business case), and it is one of the aspects of qualitative research that has led to the view that qualitative research is subjective, rather than objective (Kawulich, 2005). According to Ratner (2002), some qualitative researchers believe that one cannot be both objective and subjective, while others believe that the two can coexist, and researchers' subjectivity can facilitate understanding the world of others. In this way, he suggests, the researcher is being respectful of the participants by using a variety of methods to ensure that what he/she thinks is being said, in fact, matches the understanding of the participant (Kawulich, 2005). In addition, some researchers suggest that observation is filtered "through one's interpretive frames" and "the most accurate observations are shaped by formative theoretical frameworks and scrupulous attention to detail" (Kawulich, 2005). For instance, the accuracy and quality of participant observation will be based on the researchers' abilities "to observe, document and interpret what has been observed" (Kawulich, 2005).

Inside this research, it is possible to find some interviews in the shape of formularies with both closed type and open-ended questions to a different number of interviewees. The so-called "interviewee bias" is one of the main limitations, as it happens when the interviewee is "prone to bias" (Boyce & Associate, 2006) on the responses for different reasons, and therefore influence the research. This can happen even more in online questionnaires, as interviewees have more freedom to answer without the interviewer being able to ask more or even judge the answers.

### **3.5 Transferability**

The present research does not intend to state that its results are the only available ones, nor effective at all times in all sectors. This research aims to gain understanding and contribute to the current research gap on sustainable marketing strategies that can normalize sustainable consumption practices (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017; Fuentes, 2014; Rettie et al., 2014, 2012; Skálén & Hackley, 2011), as food waste prevention is in this case, by illustrating real examples and results of those strategies in Spain. Moreover, empirical studies of practices changing within a short time span can disclose detailed aspects of practice dynamics (Røpke, 2009). Consequently, general recommendations for marketers and sustainable businesses can be found out of the positive results of the case-study campaigns, but again the study does not intend to give in mobile sustainable marketing strategies that could work normalizing sustainable consumption in any case.

The research was conducted through active participation in the marketing team of international business. There are several European countries where this business operates, and each of them is carried out by a specialized regional team which can vary in sizes, but all with similar teams, tasks, actions and main goals. The researcher selected the Spanish business location (home country of the researcher), whose marketing team is all based in one city (Madrid), carrying out the research inside a group of three members who form the marketing team. The marketing team and its country marketing manager not only accepted the researcher as part of them during the research period but also assigned tasks to the researcher as a team member and helped and allowed the researcher the access to all necessary data. Therefore, for the transferability of the research, the case study should be formed by business which the marketing team (or any team whose action is meant to be observed) of a small size with clear tasks and goals, so it is easier for the researcher to get involved as an active participant and even be considered a crucial part of the team. Furthermore, cultural similarities like languages, habits or work methodology with the team and target audience, plus cultural knowledge of this audience as well should be taken into account for other researchers seeking to develop similar research. Finally, the research was conducted on a period of time of three months, which was

enough for achieving the answers to the research questions of the paper, but that it could be longer for others.

For instance, the present research and methodology could be applied to various kinds of research. First, the methodology is relevant for any research that aims to study marketing practices of all kinds. This paper shows how a case should be selected in order to answer the research questions, it also encourages ethnography through active participation inside the marketing team as a key method for data gathering, highlighting its advantages and results. Moreover, it shows, through a detailed section on data gathering, which data sources were more useful for the researcher, how were they possible to obtain and to analyse, which tools were available and used by the researcher, and how the marketing team subject of observation itself helped out the research to have access and gather all. On the other hand, due to the same methodological reasons, this research is also useful for any kind that aims to develop an ethnographic study, through participant observation or observation only of organizations and/or businesses.

Furthermore, the paper provides new knowledge into sustainable consumption research and how it can be encouraged. Therefore, this methodology could be applied as well in further research on sustainable consumption, looking into new ways to encourage it by other forms of communication like marketing from organizations or businesses, that will be further developed in the paper. For instance, further research on sustainable consumption could replicate the case study and methodology or base a new one on it, and even use a practice theory approach to understand consumers' habits and patterns and help illustrate consumers' behaviour. Moreover, as it contributes to recent green/sustainable marketing literature, the present methodology that looks into marketing practices and strategy performances through active participation can be used for further research in this area as well.

## **4 Findings and Analysis - A Movement to Fight Food Waste: Normalization through Too Good To Go's marketing work**

This chapter aims to show, describe and analyze the marketing work performed by the case study selected, Too Good To Go Spain, in order to illustrate how a sustainable consumption practice is encouraged and enabled through a normalization process using marketing. Hence, the case is presented as well as the sustainable consumption issue (food waste) that aims to address with a new practice (avoiding food waste). Indeed, the normalization process of the alternative sustainable practice that Too Good To Go offers (avoiding food waste) has been identified as an enhanced by three mechanisms that appear continuously in their marketing work: problematization of the issue (phase/mechanism one), offering a solution (phase/mechanism two) and enabling the practice (phase/mechanism three). The analysis will show how these phases/mechanisms together form Too Good To Go's marketing work, and how each of them is constituted by different marketing and communication strategies which together lead to normalizing the practice ultimately.

In order to do so, the present chapter is divided into six sections: presentation of food waste as a sustainability issue and the case selected, first mechanism in the marketing work (problematization), second (offering solution) and third and last (enabling the practice) until, finally, how these phases lead to the development of the new sustainable consumption practice that Too Good To Go proposes. For instance, this section begins introducing the sustainability issue that Too Good To Go's marketing work is normalizing in detail, followed by a presentation of the business-case selected to the reader in detail.

### **4.1 "Come fight food waste with us": Too Good To Go's aim to avoid food waste as a new sustainable consumption practice**

#### **4.1.1 The Food Waste Sustainability Issue**

Food remains one of the "most critical consumption domains from the standpoint of environmental sustainability" (Tukker, Cohen, Hubacek, & Mont, 2010), due to the environmental impacts of societal food production and consumption on greenhouse gas emissions, soil degradation, air and water pollution, biodiversity losses, climate change, etc. Moreover, global food production must increase by 60 per cent by 2050 in order to meet global population demands due to the increasing population growth ("Sustainability Pathways: food loss and food waste", 2019). Nevertheless, food wastage accounts for 30 to 50 per cent of food produced, equivalent to around 2 billion tonnes (Devaney & Davies, 2017).

The food waste problem is becoming more visible, receiving increasing attention over the past few years (Aschemann-Witzel, de Hooge, Amani, Bech-Larsen, & Oostindjer, 2015; Gollnhofer, 2017b). It is indeed considered an issue that impacts of importance to global security and governance, as it contains direct impacts on the environment, the economy and society (Stenmarck et al., 2016). Approximately, one out of every four calories grown to feed people is not consumed by humans (Searchinger et al., 2013) and Western society is forced to address the fact that up to 1.3 billion tons of edible food – equal to one third of annual production worldwide- is wasted or lost each year and never reached the consumers' table (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2015; Gollnhofer, 2017b). For instance, "food waste" or food wastage refers to food that is of good quality and fit for human consumption, but it is not consumed as it ends discarded due to different reasons, either before

or after it spoils (Lipinski et al., 2013). Food is lost and wasted all around the world, across all stages of the food value chain and in all types of food.

The prevention of this food waste is categorized as one of the sustainable consumption practices that will help reduce the resource and consumption intensive lifestyle that has been negatively affecting the environment for many years, and contribute to the fight against climate change (European Commission, 2018). In the European Union (EU), around 88 million tonnes of food waste are generated annually ("Food Waste - Food Safety - European Commission", 2019). Therefore, there is a pressing need to prevent and reduce food waste to make the transition to a resource-efficient and sustainable Europe (Stenmarck et al., 2016). The EU and Member Countries are committed to meet Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) where the SDG number 12.3, adopted in 2015, is included, aiming to halve per capita retail and consumer food waste levels by 2030, and reduce food losses along food production and chains ("Food Waste - Food Safety - European Commission", 2019).

All actors in the food chain play an important role and need to work together to find solutions against food waste. According to the data gathered in 2012 on food waste from all Member States within the EU, the two sectors that contribute the most to food waste at a European Union level are: households (47 million tonnes  $\pm$  4 million tonnes) and processing (17 million tonnes  $\pm$  13 million tonnes), and account 72 percent of EU total food waste (Stenmarck et al., 2016). The remaining 28 per cent of food waste in the European Union, started by the same research, is formed by 11 million tonnes from food service, 9 million tonnes from primary production and 5 million tonnes from wholesale and retail:

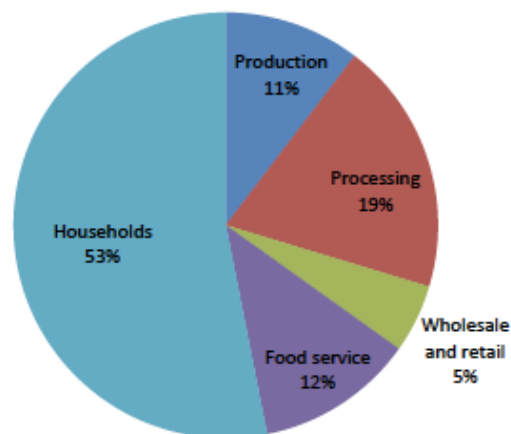


Figure 4-1: Food waste in the European Union.

Source: Stenmark et al., 2016.

Food wastage can be divided into two categories: unavoidable waste (un-edible remains) and waste which could be avoided (for example, throwing away expired food or leaving edible food on the plate). The rate of food that is wasted differs depending on the type, for example, the estimated waste during the storage of products is about ten per cent for fresh products and at only two per cent for products with long expiry dates (Faber, 2012).

As the EU generates around 88 million tonnes of food waste annually, it represents a cost of around 143 billion euros ("Food Waste - Food Safety - European Commission", 2019). However, it is more than an economic issue, as global food loss and waste generated annually 4.4Gt of CO<sub>2</sub> eq., about eight per cent of total anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions



emitted globally (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2015). If food waste were a country, it would be the third-largest emitting country in the world, and Europe's food waste represents 680kg of CO<sub>2</sub> eq. that aims to be reduced by 2030 as a potential tool to Climate Change mitigation (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2015). The million tonnes of food that are wasted get decomposed, emitting the greenhouse gas methane that pollutes even 23 more times than CO<sub>2</sub>, besides the CO<sub>2</sub> required for the production. According to this study, reducing food waste by 20 per cent (including packaging) would lower environmental burden of food by 3.5 per cent. Reducing all food waste would lower environmental burden of food by 15.5 per cent. Reducing food waste by 22 per cent of weight at home and 40 per cent outside home would lower environmental burden of food by 5.5 per cent (Faber, 2012).

Therefore, it is not a surprise that food waste is considered one of the key sustainability issues that need to be addressed due to be a cause of negative economic, environmental and social effects (Aschemann-Witzel et al., 2015). Food remains one of the “most critical consumption domains from the standpoint of environmental sustainability” (Tukker et al., 2010) due to the environmental impacts of societal food production and consumption on greenhouse gas emissions, soil degradation, air and water pollution, biodiversity losses, climate change, etc. The prevention of food waste is indeed categorized as one of the sustainable consumption practices that will help reduce the resource and consumption intensive lifestyle that has been negatively affecting the environment for many years and contribute to the fight against climate change ("Food Waste - Food Safety - European Commission", 2019).

#### **4.1.2 Too Good To Go: The movement against food waste**

The origins of Too Good To Go go back on a winter night in Copenhagen (Denmark), in January 2016, when the founders were having dinner at a buffet and saw how, literally, all unsold food of that day was thrown away. Like that buffet, many other restaurants, supermarkets and stores have to throw away unsold food at the end of the day, and the worst thing is that all is in perfect conditions. Aware of the social, environmental and economic impacts of that situation, they decided it had to change. Finally, they came up with a new idea: to develop an app that could allow stores to save food that was not sold during the day instead of throwing it away by connecting them to users who could buy that good quality food at a lower price nearby where they are ("Declárale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos", 2019).

Different entrepreneurs from all around Europe soon engaged with the idea, as they all saw the transferability of this business model and decided to replicate it inside their own countries, like France or Belgium. In just a little time, the app gathered thousands of users across Europe who were able to use this tool to fight food waste. Moreover, in less than a year Too Good To Go became one of the most promising start-ups in the market, receiving great media coverage, more than 3.000 agreements with stores, 1 million downloads and already 500.000 meals saved. Too Good To Go has partners and stores from all kinds related to the food industry. As all stores have food that cannot be sold during the next day due to legislations, physical appearance, date labelling or that can go bad soon, the app provides “a last chance” to sell that food with a lower price. Consumers (users) can save that food looking through the app, which shows either a map with the stores surrounding the area or a list of stores with a description of the kind of food they sell and the time frame consumers can go pick it up. Therefore, in the app it can be found from supermarkets to fruit and vegetable stores, bakeries, sushi and other kinds of restaurants, even hotels. The key resides in the surplus that all stores have, and usually throw away as they do not have other solution.

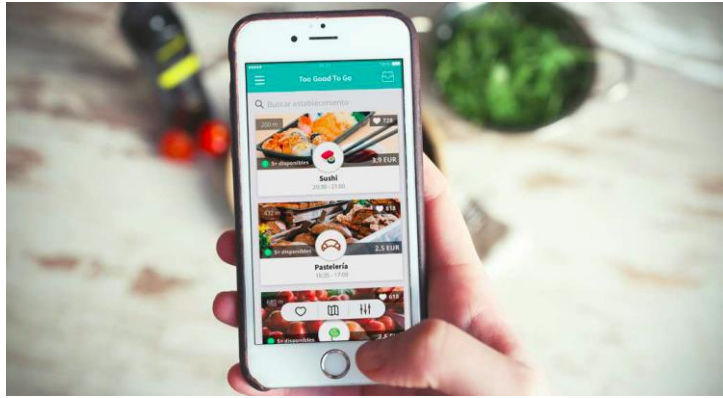


Figure 4-2: Too Good To Go app.

Source: (Field note, 2019).

Nowadays, Too Good To Go is present in ten countries (Denmark, Norway, Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium, The United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, Spain and Italy) and growing. Thanks to the rapid growth and internationalization of the practice, right now Too Good To Go counts with big, global partners such as Carrefour, Lidl, Novotel, Albert Heijn or Starbucks, that are engaged with the cause. For instance, Too Good To Go can brag to have been downloaded more than 8.300.000 times, with 20.382 stores associated and the incredible number of 12.245.282 meals saved. The term “saved” refers to all the amount of food that, if it was not for Too Good To Go, it would have been wasted. Therefore, the associated greenhouse gas emissions that would have been emitted to the atmosphere are then avoided and, for instance, 24.490.564 kg of CO<sub>2</sub> have been reduced since Too Good To Go was created (Too Good To Go, 2019).

Too Good To Go represents what is called a “sustainable entrepreneurship” innovation (Hockerts & Wüstenhagen, 2009). The business model improves both environmental and social performance within its activities, and it is sustainable throughout the three sustainability pillars: economic, social and environmental. On one hand, stores can sell food through the platform, in the form of “magic box” as it is impossible to calculate the exact type of food that otherwise it could not be sold. In addition, it attracts new customers to it that can get to know the store with the app, and this is what helps the company grow as they keep a small commission of every meal saved. On the other hand, consumers have access to good quality food at a lower price, as they pay a third of the real value of the food while having a positive impact on the environment with their purchase and consumption habit. Everything is materialized in an app, that shows consumers the stores nearby that have those “magic boxes” filled with food available to be saved and avoid, for instance, food waste.

However, the key to success does not only rely on their business development approach and pitch but on the marketing strategy as well. What makes this case special is the opportunity to observe in real-time how a sustainable business uses marketing to normalize the consumption of its service, and spread awareness over food waste impacts. Marketing and communication campaigns are done in a way that Too Good To Go competes with other “normal” food consumption and delivery platforms, creating a movement calling users, green and “not-so-green” consumers, to save food and greenhouse gas emissions instead of other socially normalize consumption platforms. Therefore, what really made this case special was the opportunity to observe, in real-time, how a sustainable business brand is using sustainability marketing to normalize the sustainable practice that is core to their business.

## **4.2 Too Good To Go's marketing work enabling food waste-avoiding practice through normalization: the process.**

As prior research has found that consumers are more likely to adopt practices that they perceive as normal (Gollnhofer, 2017a) and marketing strategies such as advertising or media campaigns are suggested as possible avenues to normalization (Rettie et al., 2014), the following analysis describes and illustrates the marketing work performed by Too Good To Go under three mechanisms – problematization, offering a solution, enabling the practice – to finally normalize avoiding food waste as sustainable practice. Here, the analysis will discuss how these mechanisms identified in the marketing work build a new meaning for the practice (to avoid waste) by a process of social normalization.

## **4.3 Problematization**

Routinized practices such as consumption practices do not require a conscious reflection and are seen from a processual perspective (like an ongoing process) rather than an action that requires specific motivations, even if they have negative environmental or sustainability implications (Røpke, 2009). Therefore, the practice of throwing good, nice food away (food waste) can be seen as well as a routinized practice involved in consumers' consumption practices regardless of its sustainability implications. For instance, Too Good To Go will problematize this taken-for-granted action (Fuentes & Sörum, 2019) using their marketing work, categorizing and constructing it as an issue. Therefore, problematization is the first out of three mechanisms identified in Too Good To Go's marketing work that, altogether, will enhance the normalization of the sustainable practice to avoid food waste. Hence, "problematization" inside this research refers to the process by which food waste consumption practice is categorized as problematic due to its unsustainable characteristics (Fuentes & Sörum, 2019). In order to do so, Too Good To Go uses various marketing and communication strategies. During the first marketing launching campaign, when Too Good To Go started in Spain, problematization was clearly developed among the marketing work. Therefore, it seems like a good point for the analysis to start.

### **4.3.1 First things first: Framing food waste as a problem**

During this launching marketing campaign, the focus of the strategies was placed on spreading the word about the business throughout the country but, in particular, to the main two cities where Too Good To Go was first launched (Madrid and Barcelona). Therefore, marketing strategies were planned for both types of media (online and offline) channels. As many other contemporary businesses and supply goods companies (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017; A. H. Reilly & Larya, 2018; A. Reilly & Weirup, 2015), Too Good To Go marketing campaign employed (and it is still employing nowadays) a range of online marketing strategies as well as offline to market itself, get known and increase their range of consumers and partners. For instance, the objectives behind this launching campaign were: "to increase the reach of the brand, to generate "buzz", to achieve more downloads of the app" through online media marketing to attract new store partners to join the platform and potential customers (users or consumers) to use the app. However, what is interesting was the main message contained behind these marketing strategies' content: to frame food waste as a big, global issue of both international and national relevance and scale:

*"Spain is the seventh country in Europe where more food is wasted, with more than 7,7 million tonnes of food thrown away to the garbage (...)" "One-third of the food produced is wasted"*



Figure 4-3: Problematization mechanism through Instagram and Facebook marketing communication work.

Sources: ("Too Good To Go España (@toogoodtogo.es)", 2019); ("Too Good To Go", 2019)

Like any other business, the whole purpose of their marketing first launching campaign was to grow, getting more users and stores partners to the business. Nevertheless, as it can be seen here the way to do so was nothing else but raising awareness about food waste. Moreover, it employed all marketing communication channels available, both online and offline media, to do so. That is, Too Good To Go focused its marketing first launching campaign to target and highlight a problem, stating food waste as an issue that we should care about and lies down in our daily lives and our consumption practices. Therefore, the campaign emphasizes the dimensions and scale of the issue, using various communication strategies like metaphors to illustrate it better and real numbers of both national and international data: "Spain is the seventh country in the EU that wastes more food, more than 7,7 million tonnes per year, equivalent to 190 ships like the Titanic" (Field note, 2019).

In addition, Too Good To Go related the issue with sustainability. Food wastage is a sustainability issue within the three perspectives ("What's Food Loss and Waste Got to Do with Sustainable Development? A Lot, Actually. | World Resources Institute", 2019): environmental, societal and economical, as they nowadays state themselves in press releases: "our goal is to work towards the UN Sustainable Development Goals, especially SDG number 12.3 which states to halve food waste by 2030 worldwide" ("Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos", 2019). Nevertheless, what is interesting about Too Good To Go's first marketing campaign is that it covered the three approaches, emphasizing the sustainability problem of food waste. Looking through their social media channels, it is possible to find statements related to the environmental impacts of food waste, like "If food wastage were a country, it would be the third-largest greenhouse gas emitting country in the world" ("Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos", 2019). For instance, FAO (2015) confirms that "if food wastage were a country, it would be the third-largest emitting country in the world". In terms of the societal aspect, Too Good To Go highlights the issue as "821 million people are in hunger in the world. 41million more in the past 3 years" ("Too Good To Go España (@TooGoodToGo\_ES) on Twitter", 2019) However, it was only

mentioned once during this campaign. Among the rest of the marketing strategies categorized as oriented to “problematization” there are no more messages regarding the social aspect of food waste. The other economic side is also covered, but as well in a secondary picture. That is, they covered the economic issue of food waste more times than the societal, but fewer than the environmental. In sum, during these campaigns, sustainability implications of food waste are clearly stated but highlighting the environmental side of it.

The aim of marketing for sustainable products or services is placed to satisfy consumer needs or wants to create a favourable position for the business in the marketplace by communicating how the business addresses environmental, social and economic concerns is the aim of sustainability marketing (Villarino & Font, 2015). For instance, communicating sustainability usually emphasizes sustainability credentials of the product or service, and/or the brand’s implications in sustainability (Villarino & Font, 2015). However, Too Good To Go started its first marketing work by mainly raising awareness about the sustainability issue they tackle, especially towards its environmental implications, giving specific information and data. According to Dangelico & Vocalelli (2017), marketing strategies entail for different steps: segmentation, targeting, positioning and differentiation. For sustainability marketing, segmentation and targeting (where a company identifies the group of consumers to serve) are focused on environmentally or sustainability-conscious consumers and its variants according to their environmental or sustainability involvement and willingness and attitudes towards sustainability and environmental protection (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017; Grimmer & Woolley, 2014; Kemper & Ballantine, 2019). For instance, consumers who perceive an attitude object to be important and personally relevant, such as the state of the environment, have a higher degree of involvement and are more likely to notice and be affected by green and sustainability marketing communications (Grimmer & Woolley, 2014). Therefore, this kind of consumer are the ones segmented and targeted for the marketing strategy. However, Too Good To Go does not segment their messages, but rather use both denotative (meanings or definitions) and logical (outlining evidence in the forms of figures and facts) (Villarino & Font, 2015) communication to highlight the food waste issue towards an audience regardless of its environmental involvement. In summary, during the marketing first launch campaign Too Good To Go did not follow a classic sustainability marketing strategy towards environmentally concern consumers, but rather a marketing “as usual” strategy with segmented and targeted to “food and beverage industry, lifestyle, general main media...” as retrieved from the Spain Marketing Launching Plan document (Field note, 2019). Hereby, Too Good To Go does not segment and target their marketing to environmentally conscious consumers only, however they do are taken into account and considered as potential consumers (or as they say, “users”). Therefore, Too Good To Go is enacting what can be called as a “multi-niche market” to various groups of consumers (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017).

Even though highlighting food waste as an issue has been identified in “problematization” as the main purpose of this campaign, according to “Spain Marketing Launching Plan”, the objectives were “to create and build a community around the brand and the “food waste” revolution movement” and “to position Too Good To Go as one of the main players in the fight against food waste”. This is important, as these two objectives are later identified as part of the two other marketing mechanisms that enhance normalization. Therefore, Too Good To Go was planning since the beginning the next steps of the marketing work that would lead to normalizing the practice of avoiding food waste. Even though the marketing first launch campaign ended on October 2018, resulting in 25000 consumers (users), this was not the end of Too Good To Go’s problematization mechanism. The research has identified that Too Good To Go continued this path as part of its marketing strategy throughout time, until today.

Therefore, the next section will focus on the development of this process and its implications for practice normalization.

### 4.3.2 Food Waste is still an issue: Maintaining Problematization

Too Good To Go's launch marketing campaign gives a clue in how Too Good To Go was planning to develop their marketing campaign, by first performing what the researcher has denominated as a "problematization" phase, that tackles food waste as a severe national and global-scale issue. Nevertheless, problematization was not unique inside their marketing first launching campaign: it continued throughout their business' marketing strategy until the present date. As it happened during the previous marketing work, Too Good To Go seems to use green/sustainable marketing work to construct a problem – food waste- by drawing attention to it with various communication tools such as knowledge and emotions, as it will be analyzed here. Both online and offline media are used in the marketing work, but even the app is used for it with messages like "Did you know... that one third out of all global food produced gets wasted?" appear during the practice of purchasing the "magic box" to avoid food waste. However, the objective information and facts became more frequent, including even more and new knowledge that before (Figure 4-4).

*"One-third of all food produced worldwide ends up in the garbage. Every time we throw away food we missing the natural resources employed to produce that food and, at the same time, we contribute to the greenhouse gas emissions responsible for Climate Change." (@toogoodotogo.es Instagram, 2019)*

*"Do you know how much food you throw away? Food waste is a global problem that is endangering the survival of our planet. Every time we throw food away, we spoil the natural resources used for its production and, at the same time, we contribute to emitting more CO<sub>2</sub> that accelerates climate change".*



Figure 4-4: Too Good To Go YouTube video on how much food its thrown away globally and locally in Spain.

Source: "Too Good To Go España", 2019.

Here, it is possible to see that, what Too Good To Go seemed to do during their marketing first launch campaign- raising awareness about an issue- becomes something more. Too Good To Go is problematizing one everyday life consumption practice (that was categorized as normal), adding complexity and even ethical dimensions (Fuentes & Sörum, 2019). Throwing away food that was in perfect conditions as part of daily consumption practices is unsustainable, but categorized as normal in society. Therefore, Too Good To Go is adding complexity to the practice by providing information and highlighting the relevance of the issue in society and its impacts on sustainability. However, it is indeed a formidable challenge to bring in the environment and sustainability as important aspects of meaning across most practices, as many routinary practices as consumption are made without prior reflection or

calculations, and many consumers are not aware of the impacts of their consumption practices (Røpke, 2009).

*“One-third of the food produced worldwide ends up directly in the trash. And not only the food is wasted, but all the resources and processes that have been invested to produce it, from the water to the land and work developed. When food is thrown away, the waste management process has a harmful effect on the environment: this management is responsible for 8% of the global greenhouse gases emissions! Something unhealthy for our planet.”*. (“Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos”, 2019)

As it has been identified since the begging, Too Good To Go marketing work problematizes the practice providing facts and figures about food waste, using denotative and logical communication (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017). For instance, this kind of green/sustainable marketing assumes that “the problem of unsustainable consumption lies in a lack of information and knowledge by the consumer” (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019). Moreover, knowledge is important to emerge and enable new consumption practices, as it requires a process of innovation where consumers (agents of the practice) integrate elements of meaning besides material and competence, so the practice can emerge (Røpke, 2009). In addition, sustainability marketing communication aimed to share knowledge and data is known as “cognitive-informational approach” and it is consistent with the traditional knowledge-attitude-behaviour model where knowledge is proposed to be the background factor that influences a consumer’s attitude toward a consumption behaviour (Schaffner, Demarmels, & Juettner, 2015). For instance, according to Schaffner et al., (2015), this model assumes that people process information predominantly in an analytical manner, resulting in increased knowledge of a subject that linearly will favour attitudes and corresponding behaviours. This is something that Too Good To Go continuously performs in their marketing work throughout all online and offline media, as it has been seen with figures, facts, data, numbers and even metaphors.

*“Spanish families throw every year 604 million kilograms of food, what means 3.000 million euros lost annually, equivalent to 250 euros per home”* “Every year, 7,7 million tonnes of food end up in the trash. Imagine 77 football stadiums full of food!” (“Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos”, 2019).

*“In Gipuzkoa, every year up to 123.000 tonnes of food is wasted, which is equivalent to 170 kilograms of food thrown away to the garbage annually per person”* (“El Blog de Too Good To Go”, 2019)

In addition, the researcher’s participant observation endorses this analysis as the marketing team remarked the importance of providing specific data and figures to each city or region. According to the researcher’s field notes, “it is very important to always connect the new city launch with knowledge about food waste and reliable data and figures, relatable comparisons (metaphors) with the impacts on the environment or on economy to better illustrate the problem. However, not only facts and figures about food waste play a role inside the problematization mechanism. Conceptual relations between food waste and other environmental issues like Climate Change are also communicated in the marketing work, inside the blog to be more specific. For example, the article covering “World Water Day 2018” connects the impacts of Climate Change, directly related to food waste, over marine environment.

Although a rational form of consumption where aware citizen-consumers collect all information available to social and environmental problems that result from careless or mindless mass consumption (McDonagh & Prothero, 2014; Ulusoy, 2016) where knowledge then plays an important role as one of the key factors to enable pro-environmental behaviour,

more education does not necessarily mean to increase behaviour (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). Previous research in consumer behaviour and sustainable consumption has shown the behaviour gap between pro-environmental behaviours and attitudes (Jackson et al., 2018; Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002; Lee, 2008; Luchs et al., 2015; Pickett-Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Prothero et al., 2010; Rettie et al., 2014; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). Campaigns based on the idea of more effective environmental messages developed with science fail to address large-scale social change processes (Tukker, 2004). Presenting facts and numerical data for sustainability issues has particular challenges to public and consumer engagement, as they can feel “enormous, seemingly beyond the power of any one person or group of people, uncertain, etc.” (Leal Filho et al., 2019). Moreover, one of the reasons why facts and knowledge by itself does not necessarily lead to behavioural change is the so-called “confirmation bias”: makes people look for information that is consistent with what they already think, want or feel, leading them to avoid, dismiss or forget information that will require them to change their minds and possibly, their behaviour” (Shome et al., 2009). Besides, numerical misinformation and misleading numbers related to environmental and sustainability issues should be considered as a risk of concern, as it can lead to bias and mistrust among consumers (Leal Filho et al., 2019)

Even though information only has identified to do not be enough to make a behavioural change, communication does need to provide information that is easy to understand, opens space for debate, and addresses people’s emotions (Leal Filho et al., 2019). For instance, emotions are the next characteristic identified in Too Good To Go marketing problematization work. The emotional-experiential approach is congruent with the feelings-as-information framework proposing that people change attitudes based on emotions or feelings (Schaffner et al., 2015). According to (Grimmer & Woolley, 2014), environmental “affection”, appealing to consumers’ emotionality, is one of the key significant components for marketers to consider designing their green communications messages and strategies. Affect was indeed more important than information provision in encouraging pro-environmental attitudes, as these emotional messages may be processed more thoroughly by consumers and thus, remembered (Grimmer & Woolley, 2014). Therefore, Too Good To Go accompanies knowledge about food waste and its implications to sustainability with emotion and affection, which are things widely involved when people face, for example, climate change or sustainability issues communication (Leal Filho et al., 2019).

For example, Too Good To Go Spain creates story-telling videos posted through all online media where cooks and food are protagonists, and either cooker wants the food to be “saved” or is the food itself the one that desires to be “saved”. For instance, changing the narrative of environmental communication is key, and storytelling combined with a balance of appropriate language, metaphor and knowledge, helpful information to be fully absorbed (Shome et al., 2009).



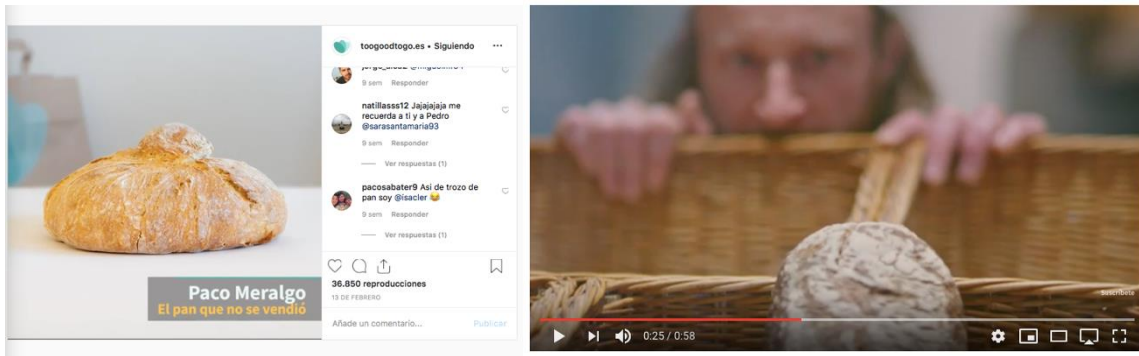


Figure 4-5: Playing with emotions. Characterization of food waste through marketing communication.

Source: (@toogoodotogo.es Instagram, 2019); "Too Good To Go España", 2019)

The first example (Figure 4-6) was the story of a baker who bakes bread all night until he places the bread in his bakery in order to sell it, but none buys it so the baker (visibly affected) has to throw it away. However, then the video goes back in time and shows how with Too Good To Go's app bakery that would not happen as a user comes by and "saves" the bread. In addition, other videos have been found with food as protagonist, such as the "misunderstood" pineapple pizza, the "ugly" apple and the "unsold by 8 pm" bread. All these food desire to be saved and feel, for instance, sad about being left out and thrown away. The intention is to get into potential consumers' emotions (users), besides illustrating the issue in a different, storytelling way from facts or data. Moreover, food waste is also represented as a villain, an evil monster with the form of a trash can that is coming after the food, and this villain can appear in other familiar forms so consumers (users) can relate. Again, a daily life practice such as throwing food away is problematized and categorized as an issue, adding complexity to the practice and an attempt to communicate that it should not be normal.



Figure 4-6: Too Good To Go's website illustration "one third out of all global food produced is wasted", where waste is illustrated as a monster.

Source: (@toogoodotogo.es Instagram, 2019).

### 4.3.3 Did food waste awareness communication work?

During the first launching campaign, Too Good To Go did not target or segment green consumers only, and neither happened during the progressive marketing work. Problematization mechanism was about education and emotion to potential consumers (users), and it represents one of the key awareness work of Too Good To Go about food waste. Therefore, in March 2019, Too Good To Go elaborated an online survey to know the level of awareness of their consumers (users) regarding food waste, a way to test the effect of their communications. However, even though the target or segment were not placed on green consumers, demographic features such as age were taking into consideration during the survey, for future segmentation and targeting purposes, as sustainability marketing should pay attention to demographic features (Boztepe, 2012). For the research, it is relevant in order to analyze the results of problematization mechanism. The survey was spread out throughout their online media marketing, and finally 2000 consumers (users) participated in it. Some of the questions included in the survey were:

- Do you care about any of these environmental problems?
- Do you know what is the proportion of food that gets wasted annually?
- Which is the food waste impact you care about the most?
- Which among the following actions do you take to reduce food waste?

Even though there is a small percentage of consumers (users) not concerned about the environment, as they are not concerned about any of the environmental issues indicated in the survey, the majority of them do are a concern, with global warming as the biggest concern of all (14,1%). Six out of ten consumers (users) consider food waste a huge environmental issue, but only 23% are aware of the food percentage that is thrown away worldwide, leaving a 77% with no idea. This is important for Too Good To Go marketing work, as they continuously repeat that fact throughout online and offline media ("Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos", 2019; "Too Good To Go España (@toogoodtogo.es)", 2019), but have not seemed to reach the majority of consumers. Moreover, among all sustainability impacts of food waste, 18,7% were concerned about the wastage of natural resources like land or water, and 17,5% about greenhouse gas emissions and Climate Change. Regardless of the food that consumers (users) are aware they waste in their households, only 20.3% really care about economic loss. On the other hand, most of them affirmed that they already pursue measures to reduce their food waste, but 88% considered necessary a national regulation avoid food waste. It seems like consumers are more concerned about the environmental impacts of food waste rather than the economic losses related to it, so Too Good To Go's communication work raising awareness of the impacts of food waste is apparently working.

Effective communication strategies to promote pro-environmental maintaining behaviours require using emotions, but also information (Schaffner et al., 2015). Too Good To Go's first marketing work that potentially will enhance normalization, problematization, is very similar to sustainability marketing communication and awareness campaigns, mixing both information and emotion or storytelling. However, as it has been proved with the environmental behavioural gap (Jackson et al., 2018; Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002; Lee, 2008; Luchs et al., 2015; Pickett-Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Prothero et al., 2010; Rettie et al., 2014; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006), knowing how practices are constructed in a social context, this marketing mechanism is not enough by itself to normalize the practice of avoiding food waste. For instance, the analysis covers three mechanisms identified in Too Good To Go marketing work that altogether enhances the normalization process. Therefore, the following chapter named

as “offering solution” analyses the next marketing mechanism identified in the process of food waste avoiding normalization. It seems logical if food waste is such a great issue, it needs a solution. And one of the solution happens to be Too Good To Go, the app that avoids the practice of throwing away good food.

#### 4.4 Offering a solution to food waste

The previous chapter of the analysis was called “problematization” phase as it was intended to show a problem and engage consumers (users) within it, both with strong statements, reliable data and even storytelling. Now, the analysis of this second mechanism, offering a solution, will show how Too Good To Go positioned itself as solution to food waste, how it goes further involving consumers on it and even declaring themselves as key players in the food waste and sustainability scheme. Too Good To Go use green/sustainable marketing work to construct a problem (Fuentes, 2015) in which the brand itself is framed as a way to “solve” this issue and enable consumers to be involved in it.

People, first of all, think of themselves as being involved in meaningful practices rather than being involved in consumption (Røpke, 2009). For instance, “satisfying consumer needs or wants to create a favourable position for the business in the marketplace by communicating how the business addresses environmental, social and economic concerns” is the aim of sustainability marketing (Villarino & Font, 2015). According to Peattie & Peattie (2009), sustainability marketing campaigns can focus on the promotion of a particular proposition, instead of a particular product or service, to move people from unsustainable consumption patterns. Therefore, since the launch marketing campaign, Too Good To Go presents itself as “*a movement that fights food waste*” and “*the app that makes you save the environment while eating*” (“Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos”, 2019: Field note, 2019) instead of an app to get food, as their business goal “*meal produced equals meal consumed*” makes it very clear (“Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos”, 2019). According to Dangelico & Vocalelli (2017), specific, real and useful environmental claims have greater effectiveness than vague messages, and Too Good To Go’s marketing work follows the line of traditional green / sustainability marketing focusing on its services properties and impacts on sustainability and its sustainability credentials with specific and real facts and statements (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019; Villarino & Font, 2015) that also differentiate Too Good To Go from its competitors (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017). Promotion is important for consumers (Boztepe, 2012) Indeed, considerable efforts go into marketing Too Good To Go as a key solution against food waste, with much work being accomplished by its online and offline media marketing work. For example, on its website Too Good To Go markets itself as “*the movement that is fighting food waste in Europe*” (“Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos”, 2019). And on offline media marketing, for example, online magazines and press is declaring Too Good To Go as the app that “*joins consumers and stores to prevent surplus ending up in the trash*” or the one that “*is declaring war to food waste in thousands of stores*” and “*fighting pollution*” (“Too Good To Go España (@TooGoodToGo\_ES) on Twitter”, 2019). For instance, Too Good To Go is offering itself as a solution to food waste, the unsustainable practice, qualifying itself as a sustainable alternative through marketing work (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017). Moreover, according to Dangelico & Vocalelli (2017), in order to have greater effect to the audience messages with environmental claims about a brand should be: clear, easy to remember, understandable, customized to the target audience, just as it can be identified in Too Good To Go marketing work:

*“We want a world where nothing is wasted. We know we are getting closer because we believe in people and the power that each one has to change things. Small gestures have big consequences. Join Too Good To Go movement and start making a difference!”* (“Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos”, 2019)

*“Since the app was launched, we have achieved saving more than 140.000kg of CO<sub>2</sub> to the environment”*  
(Field note, 2019).

In addition, the newsletter marketing work also includes the *“How’s the planet doing?”* section, where it shares news and information related to any sustainability topic than food waste only. However, whereas most of the marketing work includes content meant to place Too Good To Go as a solution food waste and its sustainability impacts, marketing work qualifying Too Good To Go as a sustainable brand is especially intense in the blog. For instance, among all published articles, up to 95% of the total is related to sustainability issues (Figure 4-7), both covering any sustainable topic (as expected) and also topics related to Too Good To Go’s activities (Figure 4-8), as for example: *“Cutting down your own greenhouse gas emission is crucial to avoid the negative impacts of Climate Change. Actions like reducing your intake of meat and dairy and fighting food waste with Too Good To Go will make a huge impact”* (*“El Blog de Too Good To Go”*, 2019).

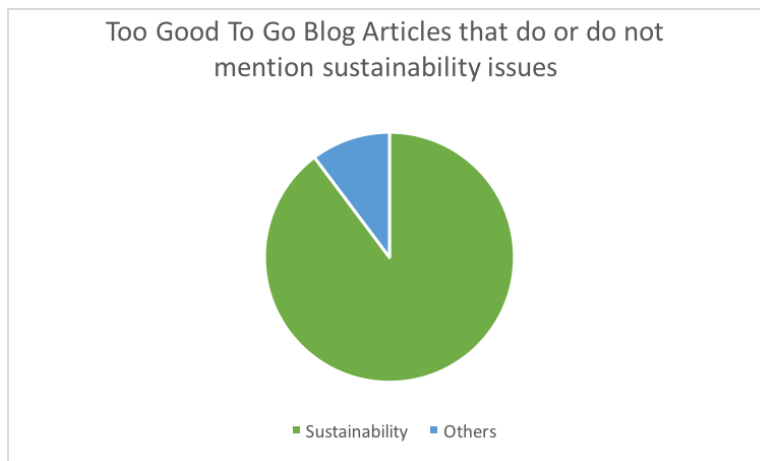


Figure 4-7: Total of Too Good To Go blog articles divided according the cover of sustainability-related issues.

Source: own elaboration.

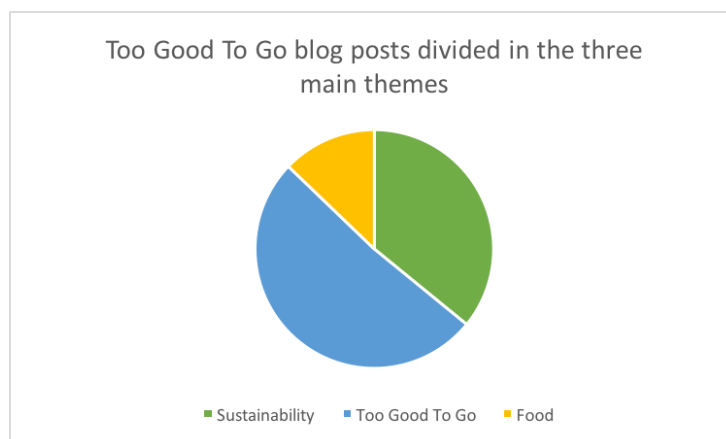


Figure 4-8: Total of Too Good To Go blog articles divided into three main themes.

Source: own elaboration

Furthermore, as an active participant the researcher could observe that, during content planning and marketing strategy meetings, even though food waste was the main sustainability topic to cover content related to other sustainability issues was also relevant. In that way, Too Good To Go is qualifying and positioning itself as a sustainable company, marketed as a convenient brand that is offering an alternative, sustainable practice. According to Fuentes & Fuentes (2017), qualifying green products as an alternative becomes a quality used to add value to products, nevertheless here Too Good To Go is qualifying both the brand and the practice of avoiding food waste as sustainable alternatives to consumers. Moreover, according to Dangelico & Vocalelli (2017) marketing work can use two positioning strategies: one based on the characteristics of products or services enhancing the environmental benefits coming from its usage, and another emotional positioning strategy based on a feeling of well-being, and possibility of expression through consumption of green brand as a status-symbol that, in combination, have a strongest positive effect on consumers' attitude (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017). Therefore, Too Good To Go's marketing work is positioning itself as a sustainable brand that is solving an unsustainable issue and consumption practice, with both strategies as it both communicates the benefits of the brand and the new sustainable practice to avoid food waste, and consumers who are engaged in the practice feel satisfied doing something good for the planet. Thus, Too Good To Go's marketing involving consumers in the sustainable practice, that is represented as a solution to the unsustainable issue (and practice) is the next marketing work analyzed.

#### **4.4.1 “This is up to all of us”: involving consumers in the solution**

Through marketing work, food waste was categorized as a consumption problem that needed to be solved, and Too Good To Go offers itself as a solution to it. However, as the highest impact of food waste happens at consumption levels (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2015), problematization mechanism is used to responsabilize consumers for the problem to be solved. For instance, nowadays consumers are increasingly being urged to take individual action and responsibility, to address a whole range of environmental, socially ethical and economic issues (Fuentes & Sörum, 2019). These issues are usually seen as a product of individual shortcomings, typically consumer-based, enhancing issues of consumerism and responsibility to be resolved through enlightened, uncoordinated consumer choice (Maniates, 2001). It is not a surprise then that green or sustainability marketing considers consumers as strongly recognized leaders for change, and thus, “consumer demand is seen as a reason to engage in sustainability activities” (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019). Therefore, one of the characteristics identified in Too Good To Go marketing work are the efforts related to involving consumers (users) in the solution that the brand is offering, which is basically an effort to engage consumers into the sustainable practice of avoiding food waste:

*“More than 820million people starve in the world. Changing this situation is up to all of us.” (filed note, 2019).*

As routinized practices such as consumption practices are carried out without conscious reflection from the agents (consumers), but do are environmentally relevant (Røpke, 2009), Too Good To Go's marketing work with problematization mechanisms are characterizing the practice of food waste as a sustainability issue to then offering itself as a solution, as it has been previously analyzed. For instance, Too Good To Go is drawing consumers' attention to their unconscious consumption practice- throwing nice, good food away- and now its marketing work is also showing how consumers are involved too in this solution, just by changing their practice using Too Good To Go. This is one of the main characteristics of Too Good To Go's

marketing, as the objective relies on engage consumers (users) and stores into Too Good To Go's mission, that would not be possible without them (Figure 4-9). For example, it is possible to find in press statements like: *"Too Good To Go is the real digital revolution that allows every individual the possibility to act against food waste"* (Field note, 2019) that clearly involve consumers. Here, however, Too Good To Go is not holding responsible consumers through problematization, as it is offering to join as a solution against unsustainable practice. This is important, as it shows that Too Good To Go's marketing work does not always problematize the practice and responsabilizes consumers, as sometimes it just presents the brand as involving consumers into the new sustainable practice: *Join the revolution! Spain is the seventh country that wastages more food (...)* *In Too Good To Go we fight against food waste and make it simple for you.* (@toogoodotogo.es Instagram, 2019)



Figure 4-9: Too Good To Go positioned itself as a solution against food waste, as a hero even, asking consumers to join.

Source: (@toogoodotogo.es Instagram, 2019)

Moreover, an innovative tool is used to engage consumers in the solution (hence, into the sustainable practice): hashtags. Hashtags are short words or phrases that follow the hash symbol (#) that are used in social media to brand advocacy movements, archive messages for the movement, and allow those not personally connected to a user to see and comment on messages that use the hashtag (Gregory D. Saxton, Jerome N. Niyirora, Chao Guo, & Richard D. Waters, 2015). According to the authors, the use of hashtags in social media represents an important innovation, as it is participatory, allowing the organization to link messages to existing knowledge and action communities (Gregory D. Saxton et al., 2015). For instance, Too Good To Go includes hashtags in all their posts on social media, usually the same ones, as their platforms and content are all interconnected: #lacomidanosetira (“food is not thrown away”), #wastewarriors, #desperdiciodealimentos (“food waste”), #toogoodotogo. This is a classic online marketing strategy for any business, as hashtags classify messages, improve searchability, and allow businesses to link messages to existing knowledge and action communities (Gregory D. Saxton et al., 2015). Besides those reasons, Too Good To Go uses hashtags to positioned themselves and create a community of “waste warriors” who fight food waste with them.

In that way, Too Good To Go is presented as a solution to food waste that includes (and needs) consumers (users) as well. The brand is not only communicating its sustainability attributes through green/sustainability marketing work, like many other green and sustainable

brands, but it is also going beyond including consumers into these attributes. For instance, as a consumer, engaging with the Too Good To Go's practice that is being offered through the app gains the meaning of a sustainable conscious consumer and, as it will be analyzed later, a community builder and an activist. According to Fuentes & Sörum (2019) study on smartphone ethical apps and how they enable and shape ethical consumption, these apps draw on multiple notions of the ethical consumer, with a heterogeneous repertoire of consumers. For instance, Too Good To Go prescribes sustainable consumers as those who use the app and are engaged with the practice, as the practice itself endorse positive impacts on sustainability:

*"Every time you rescue a Too Good To Go pack, you are not only saving money and performing a social act, but also you avoid the waste of natural resources and greenhouse gases emissions to the atmosphere"*  
(*"Declárale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos"*, 2019)

Then again, as consumers need to be knowledgeable, to consciously evaluate these issues and work on changing their consumption to make a difference (McDonagh & Prothero, 2014; Ulusoy, 2016) Too Good To Go provides accurate facts related to the impact of consumers' actions engaged with the practice of avoiding waste, following the line of the previous "problematization" mechanism. Nevertheless, here facts are used to encourage consumers and promote sustainable consumption, aiming to mobilize consumers. For instance, a daily life practice such as food waste in consumption is linked to broad environmental and social issues, offering consumers a new pathway or arena for sustainable engagement and action (Fuentes & Sörum, 2019). Some good examples found in the marketing work are:

*"When you save bread with Too Good To Go, you are avoiding the pollution from a 1km car drive"*

*"To save a magic box through Too Good To Go's app equals to avoid the CO<sub>2</sub> emission of a car driving across Diagonal de Barcelona street point to point"*

*"Saving a meal with Too Good To Go equals the same amount of CO<sub>2</sub> saved to the atmosphere than letting the lights on for a week"*

*"Thanks to the total number of magic boxes saved till now in Spain we have already avoided more than 24000 kilograms of CO<sub>2</sub>, the equivalent to making 52 cars round trips from La Coruña to Almería"*

(*"Declárale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos"*, 2019; Field note, 2019).

#### **4.4.2 The use of the words "save" and "fight"**

It is important to look at the language contained in Too Good To Go's marketing communication. It remains casual, well written and easy-to-follow statements, even when describing sustainability issues, always along with reliable facts and figures. Nevertheless, two certain words are commonly used beyond an aesthetic purpose but something more: These are to "save" and to "fight" (Figure 4-10) and are constantly used as synonyms of other verbs referring to purchase, to buy, to avoid, or to tackle.



Figure 4-10: "Save nice food and fight food waste" statement on the front page of their website.

Source: ("Declárale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos", 2019).

According to the definition from the Word Reference Dictionary, the verb to save means “to rescue from danger or harm, to keep safe or unhurt” (Word Reference, 2019). Too Good uses the verb “to save” to refer to the act of buying their “magic boxes” through the app. On the other hand, to fight is defined as “a battle or combat, any contest or struggle” (Word Reference, 2019) and Too Good To Go uses it referring to the action of tackling the issue, food waste. The message Too Good To Go is sending is that every time a consumer (user) purchases food (a magic box) from a store with the app, the consumer is preventing that food be thrown away. Following Gollnhofer's (2017a) work focusing on food sharing and food waste value transformation, food waste is rescued from incinerators and landfills and reframed as valuable – both as food and carrier of ethical value- something worth it to fight for (Smith Maguire, Watson, & Lang, 2017). In terms of value transformation for consumers are, among others, notions of inherent value with food as an edible resource (Gollnhofer, 2017a; Smith Maguire et al., 2017). Therefore, here Too Good To Go constructs a new value for food waste, both as sustainable and as edible food, that empowers consumers to engage in the sustainable consumption practice encourage through the marketing work “*We declare war to food waste. Save food with our app*” (@toogoodotogo.es Instagram, 2019).

So far, Too Good To Go has used marketing work to diverse attention about an issue, food waste (the issue they solve through their businesses), to then offer themselves as a solution including consumers on it. Moreover, Too Good To Go is positioning itself through marketing as a key figure in the local sustainability and sustainable development scheme, going beyond food waste only. For instance, Too Good To Go is framing their sustainable consumption as an opportunity to “act upon the world” (Fuentes, 2015). But as it has been seen in the literature review, this is not enough to increase sustainable consumption among their consumers. Therefore, now it is time to take a look and analyze how Too Good To Go’s marketing work is enabling a new practice, which represents the next part of the research analysis.

#### 4.5 Phase Three: Enabling new practice (competence and materials)

As it has been analyzed before, consumers being aware of an issue and the solution that it needs, with all the information and knowledge provided by, for instance, sustainability marketing, does not necessarily translate into action and behavioural change (Kollmuss &



Agyeman, 2002; Luchs et al., 2015; Pickett-Baker & Ozaki, 2008; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). For instance, smaller percentage of consumers actually make a concerted effort to change their behaviours by consuming differently (Luchs et al., 2015) due to the practices involved in consumption and the socio-cultural norm surround it (Fuentes, 2014; Gollnhofer, 2017a; Rettie et al., 2014; Røpke, 2009) as it has been described previously. On the other hand, it is true that consumers are also answering this call and many are, for example, trying to change in someways their consumption effort to address environmental problems (Fuentes & Sörum, 2019).

In relation to food waste and Too Good To Go's practise, being aware of the issue and knowing the platform and the solution it provides does not necessarily translate into action, or in this case, into active consumers (users) engaged in the practice. So, in order for consumers to not only download the app or use it few times, but to actually engage with the app avoiding food waste consumption practice, it has to be enabled, and it can be done so through sustainability marketing as well (Fuentes, 2015; Gollnhofer, 2017a; Rettie et al., 2014; Smith Maguire et al., 2017). Therefore, the present section "enabling new practice" analyzes the mechanism used in the marketing work to capacitate the new sustainable practice of saving food and avoiding food waste through their app.

#### 4.5.1 How the app enables avoiding food waste practice

Smartphone applications as consumption devices have an active role in enabling and shaping (Fuentes & Sörum, 2019) sustainable consumption actions, and technical change is often central to changing practices over time (Røpke, 2009). For instance, Too Good To Go work saving food avoiding food waste is materialized through an app (Figure 4-11), that consumers download for free. Then, the app shows a map, with lots of stores that have food ready to be saved, and/or a list of these stores nearby. This makes it easier for consumers to avoid food to be wasted themselves, as the app provides the places for them. For instance, the app is designed to address a potential problem that would be to save food from waste away from our own consumption, by finding stores with unsold food that is going to be a waste instead.

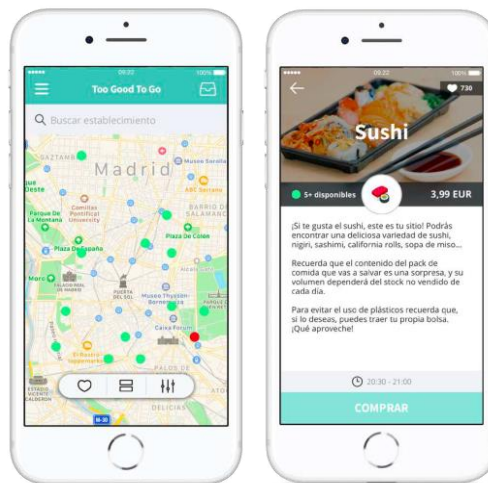


Figure 4-11: Too Good To Go app map of stores and description.

Source: (Fieldnotes, 2019).

Once a consumer selects and purchases the "magic box" from the chosen store, then he or she can go and pick it up from the store at the timeslot selected by it. This also makes it easier

for stores to choose when consumers can appear to “rescue” that food, and avoid food waste in a comfortable way. Moreover, the app encourages consumers to take part in a “networked consumer activism” as they can add information (Fuentes & Sörum, 2019) about the store and their experience, validating each of them according to their thoughts of the purchase.

For instance, that “magic box” allows stores to put anything from the menu, according to the monetary value, which is food that otherwise would be wasted, again making it easier to avoid food waste. Therefore, consumers know the kind of food they will find inside these boxes, like sushi or bakery products, but not exactly the piece, which is compensated by the lower price of the food. Too Good To Go plays with this price asset as well for their marketing strategy, and will be analyzed afterwards. On the other hand, stores can join the platform very easily by just going through the website and indicate the number of packs they will daily or weekly publish with the time frame preferred. Hereby, the way the app is developed allows a bridge between consumers and stores to collaborate and engage with the practice of avoiding food waste, which also provides a simple utilization that is not complicated to learn.

### 4.5.2 An app to engage all kinds of consumers

Keeping up with Too Good To Go’s customer relationship kind of marketing, which maintains a continued “conversation” with consumers engaged with the practice, research has identified it to be one of the key strategies that help to enable the new sustainable practice to consumers. Especially, a curious feature inside the app that forms part of Too Good To Go: push campaigns. Push campaigns, or push marketing communication, involves the presentation of information in order to influence other trade channel organizations (Leppäniemi & Karjaluoto, 2008). And, if it is based on mobile devices, they are referred to any content sent by or on behalf of advertisers and marketers to a mobile device at a time other than when the subscriber requests it (Leppäniemi & Karjaluoto, 2008). In the case of Too Good To Go’s app, the push-campaign is strategy where different notifications appear instantly in consumers’ (users) screens, ultimately meant to remind them of the app. Nevertheless, these notifications are not the same for every consumer every time. The push-campaign strategy has been designed to vary according to each consumer (user) behaviour, and this is the interesting part of the research. The behaviour is first classified according to two variables: “purchaser” / “non-purchaser”. For instance, due to the research purposes these behaviours are translated into “engaged in the practice” / non-engaged in the practice” where, inside these two, another two classifications (Table 4-1) are made.

Table 4-1: Too Good To Go push-campaign strategy on consumer behaviour.

<b>User Behaviour</b>	Purchaser	Purchased within the last 2 weeks
		those that haven't
	Non Purchaser	those that have been active within the last 2 weeks
		those that haven't

Source: (Field note, 2019).

- If the consumer is engaged in the practice and has purchased in the last two weeks, will receive messages like: “What do you fancy today? 🍷 Open your app and take a look!” Or “what do we have to save today? 🔍 Open the app, take a look and choose what you fancy the most.”
- If the consumer is engaged in the practice, but have not purchased recently, will receive messages like: “Hey Waste Warrior 🗑️ It's been a while... Ready for your

- next magic bag? 🍷 Open the app and take a look” or “we miss you! 😞 And we have much news to tell you...”
- If the consumer is not engaged into the practice but has been active in the app (that means, opening the app but not buying anything) within the last two weeks, will receive messages like: “Not feeling like cooking today? Jump into the app and take your pick instead! 🍷🍷” or “save the world by eating! 😊 Open Too Good To Go and save your first meal”.
  - If the consumer is not engaged in the practice, and neither has been active in the app, will receive messages like: “Hey you 🍷 Time to let us surprise you! Get your first magic bag full of tasty treats 🍷🍷🍷” or “psst...wanna make a difference today? Rescue a meal in the app to save the planet 📱🌍.”

Although this is a classic marketing strategy used to keep the user active, in this case, it is a clear example of a marketing “as usual” utilized to increase and keep the new sustainable practice, which is saving food through Too Good To Go’s app. “If we want to establish a new behaviour, we have to practice it” (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002), and the present marketing strategy does not only play with the spontaneous, personalized appearances on the consumer’s screen, but also plays through the messages with the excitement feeling of something new, of being surprised, of being hungry, and even of saving the planet and being part of a community, a “waste warrior” community. In that way, the app not only reminds the consumer (user) to check it out and use it, trying to create a routinization process (Ingram et al., 2007) in the consumer, but also reminding that the consumer (user)’s practice has a positive impact on the planet, together with all the other consumers that are contributing to the impact too. Furthermore, the next section of the analysis will cover how this community that Too Good To Go has created with their consumers (users) is an essential part of the “phase three: enabling practice”.

#### 4.5.3 Using classic marketing work for sustainable practice.

Common marketing strategies to attract and engage consumers is by the use of promotions, special prices, contests, pop-ups... For instance, Too Good To Go is using the same marketing practices strategies of common, “as-usual” marketing to market (Fuentes, 2015) their sustainable practice of avoiding food waste. For example, a typical promotion of Too Good To Go is called “Magic Wednesdays”, when if a consumer (user) purchases the kind of food proposed by Too Good To Go that day, they get a free purchase. This promotion is framed as the opportunity to do something good for the planet, and be directly rewarded. Other times, Too Good To Go gives away “sustainable” gifts such as tote-bags (that are consider the sustainable alternative to plastic bags) under the theme “*I am saving our planet*” (@toogoodotogo.es Instagram, 2019). In that way, Too Good To Go is framed again as a green, sustainable brand that cares about sustainability, reinforcing that image analyzed under “offering a solution”. However, this can fall under the critics of sustainability marketing in promoting and increasing more consumption among consumers, as the solution to sustainable consumption is not more consumption (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019; Peattie & Peattie, 2009).

On the other hand, real-life experiences like pop-up stores and events are also common in marketing work. Pop-ups are spaces where brands take temporary residence in spaces and, even if they are not new among retail brands, now there has been an increase of brands that have moved pop-up stores as part of their overall multichannel offering and as an opportunity for their marketing work (Marciniak, 2010). Following this line, Too Good To Go uses pop-ups mainstream marketing work to market its sustainable practice, avoiding food waste, and

to enable consumers' engagement. As an active participant research, observations during the pop-up indicated two kinds of consumer engagement: First, already engaged consumers were purchasing the food as usual through the app and picking it up in the pop-up store, who then were able to meet the Too Good To Go team and have a direct communication with them and second, non-engaged consumers who were in the same space that engaged with the practice once they met the team and got knowledge about the sustainable practice. Either way, this experience lead to an emotional connection with the context and causes of it (avoiding food waste consumption practice in-situ through the pop-up store) within a communal and experiential dimension of sustainable consumption (Ulusoy, 2016) thanks to this marketing work. This experiential way of consumption is known to be as important to shape consumers' behaviour as other rational ways to collect information for consumers (Ulusoy, 2016).

#### **4.5.4 Marketing practice qualities that are not related to sustainability**

Nowadays, green or sustainable consumption is seen as expensive, as an economical effort that consumers have to make as the prices now incorporate social and environmental costs and are inevitably charged to consumers (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019). On the other hand, for today's consumer, price different in environmental-friendly products and services has seemed to disappeared to be a negative factor (Boztepe, 2012), even though there is indeed a common perception of these kinds of products and services to be more expensive. Nevertheless, price is an advantage for Too Good To Go's sustainable consumption, as it breaks the norm by offering a consumption that is both environmentally friendly service and economical, actually cheaper than the unsustainable practice. First of all, the value of the food purchased through the "magic box" offered in the app is more than a half of the original price of sell and second, the partner stores are gaining money for something that would have been lost in other way. However, this economic asset is not as advertised through Too Good To Go marketing work as it was expected following sustainability marketing aims (Villarino & Font, 2015) or usual marketing work for other products and services. There is no doubt that low prices are attractive to consumers, although for Too Good To Go, price is secondarily used in marketing work as an extra asset to the main sustainable and environmental benefits of the app, and it will facilitate the engagement to the sustainable practice. The reason behind this decision is that Too Good To Go does not want to lose the focus (and efforts) of branding as a sustainable brand that is offering a solution to an unsustainable issue that is food waste, by being promoted as an economic app to save money and get nice food (Field note, 2019).

For instance, consumers respond more positively to sustainability marketing appeals if they can see some direct individual benefit to the purchase in addition to the generic environmental benefit (Grimmer & Woolley, 2014). Therefore, Too Good To Go uses online media marketing work to mainly promote new stores where is possible to save food while, at the same time, sharing the prices, than they appear to be cheap "*now in Madrid, Too Good To Go users can start saving good quality food at a very low price, usually among 2€ and 5€*" ("*Too Good To Go España (@toogoodtogo.es)*", 2019). On the other hand, using marketing work with offline media such as television or radio to promote this economical asset, such as "*an app that turns food that restaurants would throw away into low-cost food*". In addition, Too Good To Go uses another different marketing strategy to share the economic benefit of the practice, which is called as "word of mouth" and "Customer Relationships Marketing" (Öztamur & Karakadılar, 2014). Sharing or re-posting in online marketing media what engaged consumers (users) share about the benefits of the new sustainable practice included the economic asset is the other way to promote this value without losing the sustainability focus. Moreover, identity and peer pressure are seen as a key role in consumption, in both "symbolic consumption and the influence of peers" (Kemper & Ballantine, 2019). Both consumers and green consumers are strongly influenced by the recommendations of friends and family and trusted third parties (Jacquelyn

A, 2017). Therefore, by showing that other consumers, engaged with the practice, think positively about the practice itself and have incorporated that behaviour into their consumption practices can influence potential consumers to be engaged with the practice (Gollnhofer, 2017a; Rettie et al., 2014; Smith Maguire et al., 2017), besides grabbing consumers' attention (Villarino & Font, 2015). As Byrum (2019) states: "as information spreads virally via social media, personal endorsements, and testimonials may attempt to persuade the individual to engage with the content".

In addition, Too Good To Go consumers undertake an active role in communication, conducting "word of mouth" online and engaging with the practice and other consumers in a compelling and persuasive way (Byrum, 2019), creating a community (Gollnhofer, 2017). According to Peattie & Peattie (2009), sustainability marketing represents an evolution from previous efforts to achieve social change as it shares marketing interest in two-way communication, interaction and relationship building (Figure 4-12).

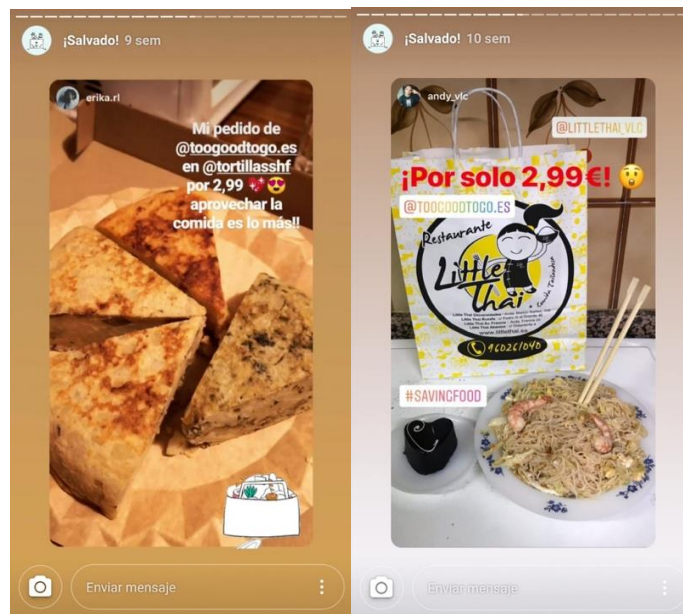


Figure 4-12: Consumers' Instagram stories remarking Too Good To Go low prices and reposted by the official account.

Source: (@toogoodotogo.es Instagram, 2019).

#### 4.5.5 The "Waste Warrior" Community

Building a community has been identified as a key mechanism to enhance normalization of practice, especially related to food waste (Gollnhofer, 2017a), and the Waste Warrior community is a reoccurring theme throughout empirical data. First of all, Too Good To Go has a particular way to call their consumers (users): "waste warriors". Any consumer who uses Too Good To Go becomes a waste warrior, and these are who make the movement alive. In addition, these consumers form part of a bigger community, the "waste warrior community" that goes beyond Spain reaching all points across Europe where Too Good To Go is present. It is, in a way, a form of identity construction" (Fuentes, 2015) that emphasises the association of avoiding food waste with a strong community, that also serves to normalize the practice of bringing back food that was going to be waste otherwise to the consumption sphere (Gollnhofer, 2017a).

*“Download Too Good To Go app and be part of the biggest worldwide community of Waste Warriors”.*  
*(“Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos”, 2019).*

The reason behind the name comes from the whole “to save” and “to fight” words selection that was previously analyzed. For instance, Too Good To Go’s whole purpose is to put an end to food waste, solving this big sustainability problem, by *fighting* it and *saving* nice food for being wasted, while *saving* the planet. In order to fulfil that purpose, Too Good To Go needs its consumers, who are therefore their *warriors*, and as they fight against food waste, then they are “*waste warriors*”. Therefore, in the marketing work Too Good To Go does not speak usually to their consumers as “users” but as “waste warriors” instead. For example, Too Good To Go interacts with their “waste warriors” on social media and posts about the community fully embracing it, mentioning several times in all their marketing. To be a “waste warrior” means to be a warrior for the planet, sustainability and/or social injustice that lay behind the food waste issue. It means to be doing something good for society and the environment with just the act of buying cheap food through a mobile app, which seems something very simple compared to the big positive impact that it has.

In addition, consumers’ behaviour driven by a similar passion or values to form a group has become relevant to the marketing field, as for instance brands can create consumer communities (Cova & Pace, 2006) and hold people together as a community of enthusiasts (Cova & Cova, 2001). Too Good To Go is building a “waste warrior” community, emphasized on consumers’ feeling of being part of a change that is making a great difference, as “*small gestures have greater consequences*” (“*Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos*”, 2019). Inside the “waste warrior” community, values go beyond using an app to get nice, low-price food, but to something as big as saving the environment, caring for the planet, and the desire to do good for future generations. Therefore, being a “waste warrior” is a huge encouragement not only to use Too Good To Go and avoid food waste from their stores, but to become more conscious and incorporate that habit in consumer’s regular daily life.

Finally, that is why Too Good To Go does not encourage consumers to download and use the app, but to “join the fight against food waste” and become a “waste warrior” instead, joining the community and movement. For instance, Too Good To Go is trying to create a shared feeling of belonging among their consumers for two reasons: in order to encourage and normalize the new practice from consumer to consumer, and to make them feel that their individual practice is actually contributing to a major impact: “*Now, you have more than enough reasons to become a Waste Warrior and fight food waste with us*” (“*Declarale la guerra al desperdicio de alimentos*”, 2019). For instance, “engaging with the food surplus is understood as far more normal when consumers see other people like them doing it, and when it is positioned within a community” (Gollnhofer, 2017).

During the next section, it will be analyzed in more detail the potential of Too Good To Go’s marketing to suggest the normality of this sustainable practice until finally, the consumer (user) normalizes it in their own behaviour.

## 4.6 The development of new sustainable practice: avoiding food waste normalization

Too Good To Go is redefining what kind of food should be consumed and also how it is acquired (Gollnhofer, 2017a) by the use of their app. First of all, many of the strategies that Too Good To Go follow in the marketing work to enable the practice (phase three) have been identified to serve as developers of the practice as well. Following the previous “waste warrior”

community analysis, Cova & Cova (2001) states that the “linking value” that links consumers together strengthens the community feeling and sense of belonging (Cova & Cova, 2001). This sense of belonging and feeling to be part of a community that is doing the same practice as the consumer does, which moreover leads to a positive impact towards sustainable development, is one of the greatest features of Too Good To Go marketing work towards the normalization of the practice. Normalization processes imply a category shift from not normal to normal (Gollnhofer, 2017a), and community building has been identified as a strategy to normalize different practices. “Engaging with the food surplus is understood as far more normal when consumers see other people like them doing it, and when it is positioned within a community” (Gollnhofer, 2017a). Social and cultural factors do influence consumers’ behaviour (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002), and by a community creation Too Good To Go is overcoming the barrier by making consumers part of a group with shared values and practices. Therefore, having a community of consumers engaged in the new practice and that have included it in their habits contributes to the social normalization of the practice itself.

Furthermore, Jackson et al., (2018), state that normalization should not be seen as an end-result but as an on-going achievement that requires continual work. For instance, continuous work is required in order to achieve and normalize a practice, and Too Good To Go’s push-marketing work is an attempt to keep the consumer engaged. By the unexpected, spontaneous reminders to use the app, Too Good To Go seeks to call the consumer’s attention and “push” him/her a little to use it. The more the consumer is engaged with the practice of saving food through Too Good To Go’s app, the more the practice will become normal into consumer’s behaviour. Moreover, the continuous interactions with consumers and reposts of other consumers’ content about Too Good To Go and their experience using the app not also leads to the community building, but to the sense of social normalization as well.

#### **4.6.1 Normalization process through time: a promising progress**

A way to know if a practice has been normalized in society (or if it is being normalized) is to measure the incorporation of that practice among individuals. In this case, in order to analyze if Too Good To Go’s work is not only engaging consumers but actually normalizing the practice among them, is to check the business growth through time. Specifically, the development of meals saved and consumers’ development towards using the app. To be an active participant in the research was a huge advantage regarding this aspect, as the access to this data (hidden to the public) has been possible. First of all, Too Good To Go measures the number of meals saved per month from November 2018 to April 2019. The business started operating in September 2018, so in November it reached a total of 2,735 meals saved. Then, the number increased slowly, until it reached a number of 13,361 meals saved in only three months. Later on, the growth is even bigger, saving 21,001 meals in March and even 27,217 in April. Therefore, the number of meals saved with Too Good To Go grew by 25,000 approximately in only a six-month period. The red line refers to the business growth in the country in terms of new cities and stores launched. In addition, if there are more meals being saved it means that more businesses have joined the app, so the supply also grows (Figure 4-13; Figure 4-14)).

## Spain

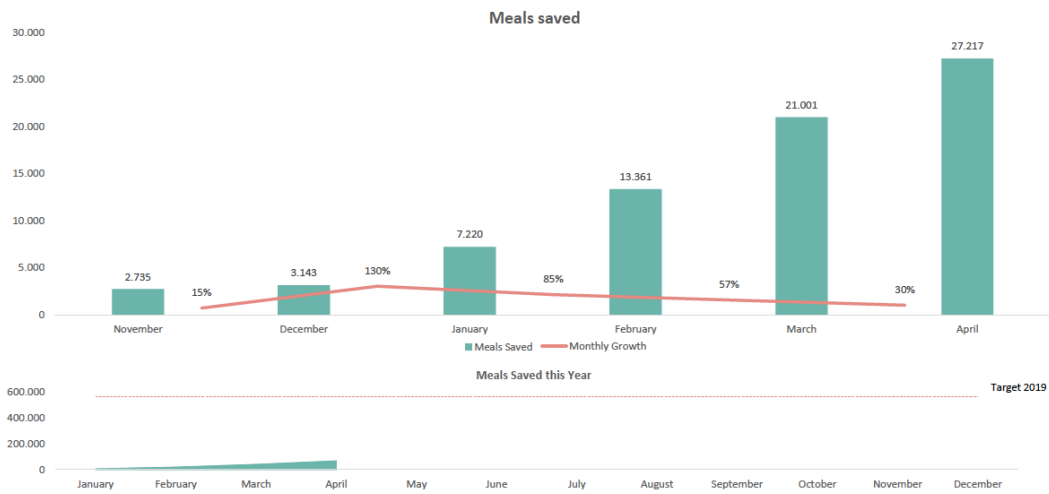


Figure 4-13: Graph representing meals saved in Too Good To Go Spain.

Source: (Field note, 2019).

## Spain

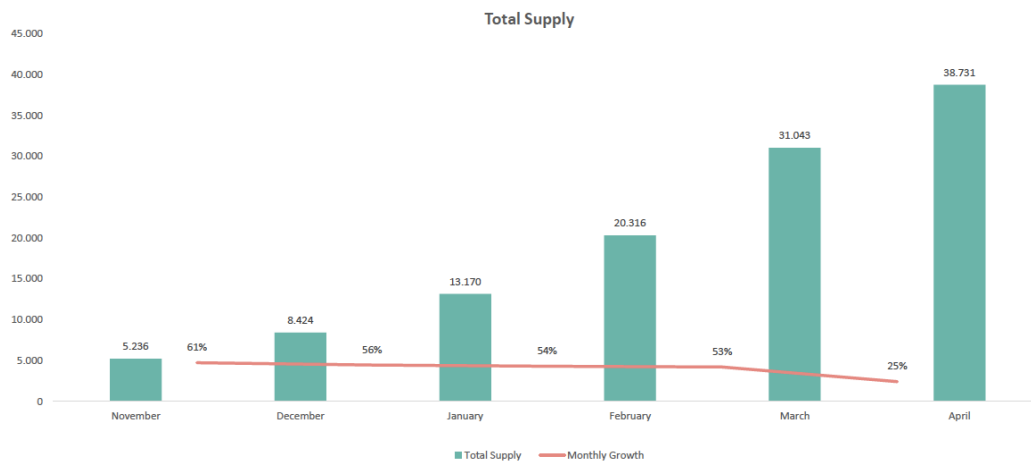


Figure 4-14: Development of Too Good To Go total supply in Spain.

Source: (Field note, 2019).

Also, it is possible to see Too Good To Go consumers' development through time during the same period (November 2018 – April 2019). Here (Figure 4-15), it can be seen the growth of two types of consumers: new active consumers (who have reserved a meal for the first time with the app) and old active consumers (who have purchased in a previous timeframe). The growth pattern of consumers in total (old and new) is very similar to the total of meals saved (Figure 4-15; Figure 4-13). Nevertheless, new active consumers grow higher than old active consumers. This indicates that more consumers have downloaded the app and reserved a meal for the first time, although only a fraction of them do purchase more times in the next time fraction. However, after all the number of active consumers do not decrease either stay stable, it gradually keeps growing.



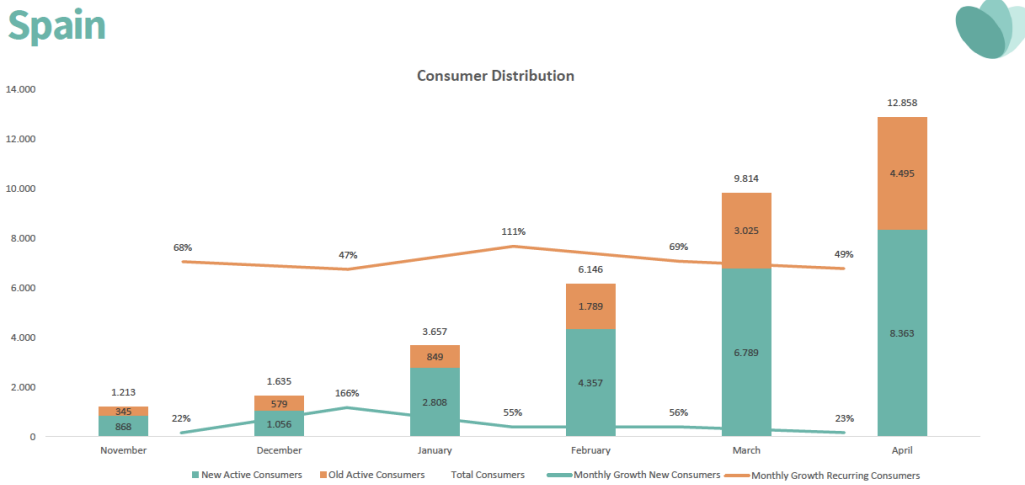


Figure 4-15: Too Good To Go’s consumer distribution graph.

Source: (Field note, 2019).

On the other hand, consumers can be classified according to their purchases each month into another category: casual, recurring and loyal consumers (Figure 4-15). Casual consumers are the ones who order once that month, recurring consumers have two to five orders and, lastly, loyal consumers who order more than five times during that month. During the same period of time, loyal consumers remain stable, with an estimation of 5% to 6% every month. Then, the number of recurring consumers is greater, fluctuating between 40% and 35% through time. Lastly, casual consumers represent the majority of users, with numbers staying stable around 57% every month. Although it is curious to see that the majority of meals are saved by recurring consumers, with a rate twenty per cent superior over the other two types of consumers. Then, in total both casual and loyal have similar rates regarding their meals saved, fluctuating between 20% and 30% each month.

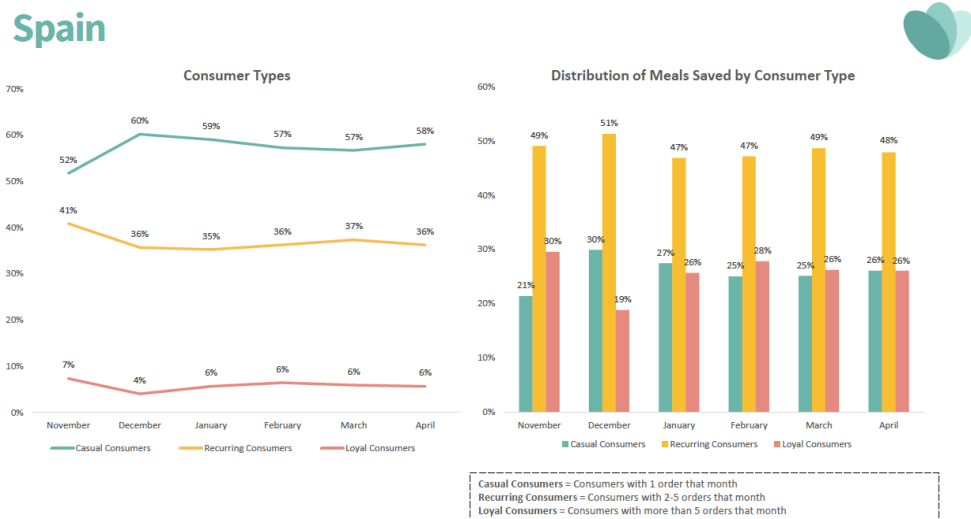


Figure 4-16: Distribution of meals saved according to the second classification of consumer types.

Source: (Field note, 2019).

Consumers are engaging in the new practice, building a strong community and normalizing the behaviour of saving food waste. Marketing campaigns can suggest normality by using product or behaviour placement and, where feasible, by providing selected information about the popularity of the relevant behaviour” (Rettie et al., 2014). Moreover, “when a consumer spends time with the brand and processes information, positive affective responses (emotions, feelings, moods, primary effect, satisfaction) about the brand are evoked in the consumer’s mind” (Merisavo & Raulas, 2004). As consumers are more likely to adopt behaviours that they think are normal (Gollnhofer, 2017; Rettie et al., 2014), the higher the number of Too Good To Go engaged consumers was across time, the higher the number of new consumers was too. Moreover, consumers seem to be engaged with the practice offered once they have used the app more than once. This is when saving food and avoiding food waste becomes a regular behaviour, something that concurs with consumption as practice perspective, where practices are “recognizable entities with some degree of regularity and repetition” (Røpke, 2009). The emergence of a new practice is expected to be characterized by experiments before a “dominant design” that stabilizes the course of gradual future changes (Røpke, 2009). In sum, the analysis presented above is an illustration of sustainability marketing in action, enabling a sustainable practice by a process of normalization. It is clear that Too Good To Go is experiencing increasing growth. It seems like consumers who engage repeatedly in the practice tend to normalized it in their consumption behaviours and, on the other hand, the number of new consumers who start engaging with the practice is increasing through time, as more consumes are already engaged with the practice of avoiding waste, that is being normalized through marketing work.

## **5 Conclusions**

This thesis develops a specific theoretical and methodological approach to understanding efforts to encourage sustainable consumption patterns through a normalization process by marketing work. For instance, it follows the proposition of marketing as a key player in normalization processes, which are relevant to increase sustainable consumption behaviour and practices (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017; Gollnhofer, 2017; Rettie et al., 2014). The research contributes to the emerging field of studies that have examined marketing “discourses, practices and devices”(Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017) role to reposition sustainable consumption practices as normal, encouraging the adoption of this behaviour in two ways: first, it generates insights and contributes to the research gap on empirical studies of marketing (Dangelico & Vocalelli, 2017; Fuentes, 2014; Rettie et al., 2014, 2012; Skálén & Hackley, 2011). Second and more specifically, this research illustrates how sustainability marketing contributes to enable a sustainable consumption practice in action, illustrating the important role of marketing in repositioning sustainable behaviours as normal and encourage them (Rettie et al., 2012).

For instance, this research has been made through ethnographic and active participation research in Too Good To Go’s marketing work in Spain a business aimed to reduce food waste, that is using diverse sustainable marketing strategies to engage consumers into their new practice through a normalization process. It shows how Too Good To Go, a business aimed to reduce food waste, is using diverse marketing work to engage consumers into a sustainable practice through normalization process. First of all, Too Good To Go marketing strategies, both online and offline media, can be categorized as “sustainability” marketing as it suits the definition: “ a matter of adapting marketing techniques as usual to environmental issues” (Fuentes, 2015) and a marketing that “includes both commercial marketing of green products and services, and social marketing of pro-environmental behaviours”(Rettie et al., 2012).

Three main marketing mechanisms have been identified to enable the normalization of avoiding food waste. First, “problematization”, where Too Good To Go’s marketing problematizes the practice of food waste. Then, the second mechanism “offering a solution”, Too Good To Go offers itself as a solution to this problem framing itself with a sustainability image, and responsible consumers including them as part of this solution, empowering them reframing the value of food waste as something “worth to fight for”. Finally, the third marketing mechanism is how it enables the practice through various performances personalized for the consumer, facilitating the use of the app (and therefore, to perform the practice). To conclude, the analysis shows the positive development of consumers that are engaged with Too Good To Go’s practice, who then had normalized the practice of avoiding food waste into their consumption behaviour, purchasing Too Good To Go and saving food waste several times per month. Consumers engaged with the practice are increasing through time, and it shows a direct correlation between the number of consumers that have adopted the practice in their consumption, and the number of those who are starting to adopt it.

This complete mix and set of different marketing and communication strategies have made the normalization and engagement to the practice possible. One of Too Good To Go’s key achievements identified for normalization was that these strategies are not segmented or targeted to green consumers niche but to all, being directed to a broader public, which diverse from common sustainability marketing directed to a small niche that inhibits social normalization (Rettie et al., 2014). Therefore, this is one of the marketing mechanisms that Too Good To Go uses to normalize the sustainable practice through marketing, but social normalization is a gradual process, and sustainable marketing is “carried out through a complex set of marketing practices” (Fuentes, 2015).

In sum, this research shows that Too Good To Go's sustainability marketing is contributing to normalizing a new sustainable practice, avoiding food waste, among both sustainability-conscious consumers and consumers as usual. It shows that the mix of marketing mechanisms to problematize an unsustainable practice, to responsabilize consumers and involve them into the solution that Too Good To Go frames itself as, finally to enable consumers to adopt this new practice materialized in an app, facilitating its use, has served to normalize and engage consumers into the practice. For instance, marketing work has indeed contributed to normalizing the sustainable consumption and normalising the practise of purchasing and consuming food that was slated for destruction, bringing it back into the consumption sphere (Gollnhofer, 2017). The sustainability consumption behaviour of saving food from being wasted, that was once considered to be outside the range of normality, have gradually become normal.

The present research offers many avenues for further research. The concept of social normalization in consumption suggests that "consumers are more likely to adopt behaviours that they think are normal and that what is regarded as normal changes over time" (Rettie et al., 2014) and sustainable practices are currently categorized as not-normal". For instance, marketing does have a key role in normalization processes of sustainable consumption practices and, if it endorses a set of various marketing mechanisms and it is directed towards a broader audience than just the green consumer's niche, its effect on normalization and consumers' engagement can be potentially increased. Further empirical research is needed, to illustrate more cases with the proposed (or different) marketing mechanisms that enable sustainable consumption through normalization. Finally, in order to increase sustainable consumption, marketers in sustainable products and services should take into account normalization and consumption as practice in order to potentiate marketing role to enable and encourage sustainable consumption practices, to make sustainability mainstream and moving towards a sustainable future.

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