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Beyond Milk

Framing milk and oat-drink campaigns in Sweden

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Abstract

The growing demand for products that cause minimal environment impact and follow a sustainable production system allow new brands and marketing concepts to compete with traditional companies and well established products on the market. By analyzing 50 online publications from two Swedish companies, Oatly producing oat-drink and Arla producing milk, it was possible to identify the different frames used in their social-media when communicating environmental issues and socio-cultural values in relation to milk production and consumption in Sweden. Through a content analysis and by applying the framing theory, it was possible to outline and interpret the standpoint Oatly and Arla shared online with their customers. The findings suggest that, milk in Sweden is culturally accepted and play an important role in the Swedish diet, especially considering its health benefits. While oat-drink challenge the conventional frames presented by the milk industry, being set as a sustainable option and an alternative to animal milk, focusing its marketing towards a newer generation that is interested in creating new habits and changing social patterns.

Keywords: Framing Theory, Social-Media, Milk, Oat-drink, Environmental Impact

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1 Introduction

Throughout this study it was possible to notice that little attention has been paid to how milk and non-dairy milk are culturally presented, circulated and mediated through social media in Sweden. However, in contrast, many studies have shown the environmental impacts caused by the production of milk (Cederberg, 1998; Boer, 2003; Elmquist, 2005). As a way to diminish the environmental impacts caused by the dairy industry, plant-based drinks are being consumed as an alternative to animal milk, since plant-based drinks are often portrayed as having a production system less harmful for the environment (Nijdam et al., 2012). Even though the demand for plant-based ‘milk’ is growing, it seems that this product won’t be able to create a large-scale mobilization involving enough social and economic changes to address the environmental issues caused by the milk industry (Mikkola & Risku-Norja, 2014). Swedish companies like Oatly, founded in the 1990s cherish for the individuals to “turn what they eat and drink into personal moments of healthy joy without recklessly taxing the planet’s resources in the process” (Oatly, 2018). The sustainable practices within Oatly business are expressed in different ways and through different methods, such as social-media campaigns and by constantly emphasizing the benefits of their oat product to both human health and environment. Oatly make sure that their sustainable practices are communicated and visible throughout the organization, supporting and giving feedback for their employees in how they contribute to the environment (Jonsson, 2017). For instance, actions like monitoring their waste and measuring their greenhouse gas emissions within the office and as well their production (a.a.). With the goal of delivering products with minimal environmental impact and as an alternative to milk, Oatly competes with the traditional milk companies in Sweden, like Arla. Which in turn, opened their first dairy cooperative in Sweden in 1881. Now a days, Arla is not only a dairy cooperative but a major food manufacturer. The organization is aware of acting responsible “throughout the chain from farm to finished products. [They] conserve the environment, contribute positively to society and work for long-term sustainable development” (Arla, 2017). Moreover, Arla (2017) is aware of the negative impact milk farms have on the environment and because of that they say that they work in every way possible to reduce the climate and environment impact their farms produce. In that sense, the company emphasize that animal farming is also positive to the environment, helping with biodiversity, as “grass and herbs, insects, butterflies and birds thrives and increase in numbers. Without our cows the landscapes would overgrow and Sweden would become a country poor in species” (Arla, 2017). Besides, Arla is also concern about the wellbeing of their cows and their production system, including the milk-farmers that are both the association owners and suppliers of the milk. Arla farmers follow the vision of this state-owned cooperative that is to “create the future in dairy to spread health and inspiration in the world, naturally” (Arla, 2017).

This study will analyse the frames presented on the campaigns published on the social media of these two Swedish brand, Arla and Oatly. Here, I argue that their campaigns play a role of great symbolic importance on social behaviour and environmental awareness. Arla campaigns advertise the consumption of cow’s milk by giving much attention to animal welfare and emphasizing the benefits derived from milk products to human health. While, Oatly campaigns invite us to be critical toward the taken-for-granted knowledge of milk production and the environmental impacts this industry cause, challenging the conventional frames the milk industry offers to consumers.

1.1 Aim and Research Question

The aim of this research is to identify and analyse the frames Arla and Oatly use in their social media in order to refer to environmental issues caused by especially, the animal farming production system. Thus, the main research question in this study will focus on *what environmental arguments does Arla and Oatly use to frame milk and oat-drink as a sustainable beverage option in Sweden through social media?*

Additionally, this study aims in understanding how the communication is done by those companies in order to refer to social and cultural experiences attached to milk by answering *what similarities and differences exist between the ways Arla and Oatly communicate their product?*

1.2 Research Problem

In developed countries, consumers demand for higher quality and safer food that are produced in a sustainable way, causing minimal environmental impacts and providing necessary conditions for animal welfare is rising (Boer, 2003). According to Cederberg (1998) it is important that in the future when designing milk production systems, environmental aspects are seriously taken into consideration.

This study will contribute with understanding environmental issues from the stand point of a milk and oat-drink company. That is relevant for the environmental communication field since, most studies focus on the consumer response to certain types of product in relation to health aspects (Visioli & Strata, 2014; Dinkçi et al., 2015) and the environmental topic itself (Smedman et al., 2010; Rööf et al., 2016). Leaving on the side the role and the point of view companies share with their audience, which through social media publications, can influence and modify sustainable behaviours and beliefs.

1.2.1 Environmental impact of milk production

The production of milk contribute for the emission of three important greenhouse gases: carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄) and nitrous oxide (N₂O) (Cederberg, 1998). In the production of conventional and organic milk, Cederberg (1998) identified the key environmental impacts such as, the use of phosphorus and pesticides, global warming, especially due methane (CH₄) and nitrous oxide (N₂O), land use occupancy, acidification and eutrophication. Both types of production are harmful for the environment, on one hand the organic milk production have a higher emission of methane (CH₄) since the cows consume more roughage fodder. On the other hand, the conventional milk production have a higher emission of nitrous oxide (N₂O) “due to the higher fertilizer rates” (Cederberg, 1998, p. 78). In line with Cederberg (1998), other scholars have also identified the major environmental impacts caused by both conventional and/or organic milk production (Elmqvist, 2005; Nordborg et al., 2017; Sasu-Boakye et al., 2014; Sonesson & Berlin, 2003). Boer (2003) explain that *acidification* of ecosystems is caused by the combination of several harmful gases (SO₂, NO_x, HCl, NH₃) that can affect the water quality, the growth of roots and plants, increase the chances of drought and diseases and in high concentrations, is toxic for animals and humans. When it comes to *eutrophication*, Boer (2003) explains that it “includes emission of substrates and gasses to the water and air that affect the growth pattern of ecosystems” (p. 72). Besides acidification and eutrophication, Boer (2003) emphasize global warming or in other words, the increase level of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions in the atmosphere. The main contributors from the livestock sector are carbon dioxide (CO₂), from the energy used in agriculture and the changes occurred in the

environment due land use, nitrous oxide (N₂O) from fertilizers and animal manure and lastly, methane (CH₄) from the cow's gastric fermentation (Mäkinen et al., 2015). Nijdam et al. (2012) concluded after a lifecycle assessment that "food products of animal origin have higher climate- and land use related impacts than vegetable products" (p. 768). In that sense, the plant-based alternatives to cow's milk are associated with lower environmental impact than milk. Although, there is still a lack of studies on environmental impacts caused by the production of plant-based drinks that are produced as an alternative to milk (Röös et al., 2016). When it comes to nutritional information of milk and oat drink, Röös et al (2016) argued it to be nutritionally different. For instance, if the case was to increase the protein quality of the plant-based drink (oat drink 0.4–1% protein and cow's milk 3.3–3.4%), it would also increase the product cost and the environmental impacts (Mäkinen et al., 2015). The study from Röös et al. (2016) analysed the production between milk and oat drink in Sweden and its environmental impact by calculating and comparing six of the environmental quality objectives the Swedish Parliament adopted for a sustainable agricultural production; Reduced Climate Impact, Natural Acidification Only, Zero Eutrophication, A Non Toxic Environment, A Varied Agricultural Landscape and A Rich Diversity of Plant and Animal Life. This exploratory study concluded that there is "great potential for reduced climate impact through production of oat drink instead of cow's milk" (Röös et al., 2016, p. 23), not only that but the study also revealed that by producing oat drink instead of dairy milk there's a potential in reducing acidification and eutrophication as well as ecotoxicity impacts. Dahllöv & Gustafsson (2008) emphasised in their lifecycle assessment study with the company Oatly that the environmental impacts caused by the oat drink value chain varied between conventional and organic cultivation, "with the exception of the eutrophication potential" (p. iv). In sum it is possible to conclude that there are many environmental hotspots on milk production. Such as the use of energy and photo-oxidant formation, resource and land use, pesticide use, acidification and eutrophication and global warming. As a partial solution to these issues there are alternative beverages for milk that "resemble milk in appearance and function" (Röös et al., 2016, p. 23) and as well feeding strategies and fodder cultivation methods that have a "strong influence upon the key environmental impacts of milk production" (Cederberg, 1998, p. 80). That can be improved with new technologies and behaviour change, promoting a sustainable development. Especially considering that milk is still an important drink in the diet of many individuals both nutritionally and culturally and the transition to a plant-based drink involve much more than just a lifestyle choice, as further discussed below.

1.3 Background

Milk is an important product in the Swedish diet and its consumption is supported by The Swedish National Food Administration, who "recommends daily consumption of 0.5 litres milk or a corresponding amount of other milk products" (Sonesson & Berlin, 2003, p. 253). Before 1920 the marketing of basic food in Sweden such as milk was perceived as unnecessary, since it was already part of Swedes everyday life and seen as a God-given product (Martiin, 2010). Moreover, at that time most of the Swedish population lived in the countryside and was engaged in farming. From 1920, propagandas encouraging milk consumption in Sweden started to become a big phenomenon. During that epoch, Sweden begun to experience an early phase of urbanization, which lead to a growing demand for products within cities and urban spaces. Consequently, this new 'urban' consumption behavior affected farmers, scaling down their milk demand (Martiin, 2010). To solve that problem farm products were handled in similar ways to urban products. For that to happen in a successful way, a dairy marketing group

was created and it was managed by the 'Milk Propaganda' (*Mjölpropagandan*) association, which "marketed milk with modern arguments and managed to load their marketing with intertwined references to public health, the farmers' economy and the survival of the countryside" (Martiiin, 2010, p. 213). Posters and diverse campaigns were present in both urban and rural areas and the project was represented by dairy producers, besides politicians and medical experts that help in improving the association legitimacy across the country (a.a.). The conventional milk production in the late 1990s in Sweden was characterized by being an intense production, moreover the dairy cows were one of the highest yielding in Europe (Cederberg, 1998). Also during the 1990s the market for organic milk in Sweden grew substantially, not only due to a consumer's interest but also a political interest for these ecologically labelled products (Cederberg & Mattsson, 2000). According to Berlin et al. (2008, p. 97), "organic agriculture, which is supported by governmental decisions within the EU, has consequences for the environmental impact at the farms that differ from those of conventional production". The eco-labelling system KRAV is an environmental marketing system for organic products in Sweden. The label is "Sweden's most well-known environmental label for food and beverages, based on ecological principles with especially high standards for animal welfare, health, social responsibility and climate impact" (KRAV, 2018). Nutritional and health claims on food products has increased over the last decades, moreover "the beverage industry has taken a serious jump into the future by introducing a broad range of new, convenient, natural, and functional beverages" (Decloedt et al., 2017, p. 1), such as plant-based milk alternatives. Mäkinen et al. (2015) stated that for a variety of reasons 15% of consumers in Europe avoid ingesting dairy products. That being for medical reasons such as lactose intolerant, allergy of cow milk or cholesterol control. As well as a personal lifestyle choice, including a vegan and/or vegetarian diet, animal welfare and human health concerns, like the abuse of hormone and antibiotics in cow's milk. The non-dairy milk products or the plant-based alternatives for the cow's milk present a variety of options in flavour, as for instance oat, coconut or rice drink.

2 Literature Review

This section will present previous studies that focused on how milk and plant-based drink are framed and its relation to environment impacts. Throughout the literature review it was possible to notice that the amount of articles discussing milk is considerably abundant than articles discussing oat-drink. Moreover, most of the articles that study oat-drink have been published in the last few years and are normally studied in combination with other plant-based drinks and as well in comparison with animal milk. Therefore, on section 2.2 the emphasis will be given to studies focusing on oat-drink and as well on the company Oatly. The section 2.3 is a review from the work done by Mikkola & Risku-Norja (2014) that explain the frames involved in the transition between milk to plant-based drink.

In summary, the studies presented in this section offered different takes on the milk and oat-drink research, with emphasis on social science studies. The aim was to provide a different view from the background (section 1.3), which presented the natural science part of the environmental issues caused by the milk production.

2.1 Cow's Milk

The research from Visioli & Strata (2014) reviewed the role of milk and the dairy products in human health overall. They start by explaining that even though mammals produce milk only when generating a new life, its consumption continue to be part of the diet of billions of people after growing up. Visioli & Strata (2014) discussed the milk effect on body weight, its influence on specific health issues as diabetes, blood pressure, cholesterol concentrations, cancer and cardiovascular health by stating that milk and dairy products are beneficial throughout one's life cycle and when consumed within a balanced diet has no contraindications. Emphasising that milk and its derivatives has been wrongly flagged as "potentially detrimental food items, especially in terms of cardiovascular health" (p. 138). Encouraging the consumption of milk "particular during childhood and adolescence, when their contents of calcium, protein, phosphorus, and other micronutrients might promote skeletal, muscular, and neurologic development" (p. 138). Following the same positive line of thought, Wiley (2007) frame milk as a globalized commodity that benefits nations and individuals from its market growth and industrial and technological transformations.

Another approach to milk is given by the scholar Milburn (2018), who explain that institutions, individuals, especially the ones adapt to veganism and other actors supporting animal rights frame milk as disrespectful to animals, not made for humans and professing "human superiority over cows" (p. 261). Wrenn (2017) also present a critical view on milk consumption, stating that it is strange that many individuals "can't see through one of the greatest corporate-sponsored scams against humanity ever successfully conducted: the taken-for-granted notion that human animals require or otherwise greatly benefit from the dietary intake of the flesh or lactations of other animals" (p. 78). The welfare concern of the animals, specifically cows, used in the dairy production systems is tackled by Heewagen et al. (2013), who frame organic milk as "healthier, better for the welfare of cows, tasty and better for the environment" (p. 505), since it allow the animals to express natural behaviours, if compared to non-organic productions systems and animal agriculture in general.

Another review relevant to this study was done by Retzinger (2010), who studied the representation of food production and processing on contemporary reality television programs, covering subjects as capitalism and advertising. He argued that the production of agricultural commodities, such as milk, has been converted from

pastoral ideals to “modernist conditions of production” (p. 445), in which high amounts are produced in a fast pace to supply the demand of the product. Emphasis is then given to modernization of the milk production system, the high technology and industrial features presented nowadays, which displaces any human action throughout the production stages. As Retzinger (2010) states, “reminiscent of a sequence from a science fiction film, the state-of-the-art equipment cleans the barn floor and milks a cow without any human intervention at all” (p. 448). When it comes to animal welfare the cows are pictured as happy and stress free, since they are not confined to stalls. This modernist utopia presented on the television programs that show the dairy sector as being “so bright and antiseptic and devoid of humans” (ibid.) can also be interpreted as a satire in which treat the cows as “willing participants in this enterprise, contented visitors to a sort of cow paradise or day spa” (ibid.).

In a more specific context, Olausson (2018) presented the polarization in the ways Swedish individuals “(re)produce legitimizing representations of livestock production for meat and dairy consumption” (p. 39), such as the contrast between livestock production with other environmental issues and Sweden with other countries. Here, frames like culturally analogies and emotional arguments were used in favour of livestock production, displacing it as an environmental issue. Another frame supporting livestock for meat and dairy production was identified by the use of national ideologies, which considers livestock production as a Swedish tradition, being “allegedly a vital part of Sweden’s cultural heritage” (p. 40).

Overall, the studies presented here vary in scope and in the way milk is framed. Displaying a range of topics on such as, social behaviour studies and individual beliefs on matters like animal welfare, production systems, capitalism, cultural behaviour and more. There are beverage alternatives to milk, as for instance oat drink, which will be presented next.

2.2 Oat-drink

Önning et al. (1999) study discussed about the new technology that was able to transform oats into a drink and the health benefits it provided to humans once introduced in their diets. Similar results where oat drink was pursued as beneficial to health was presented in the study from Dinkçi et al. (2015), who stated that “oat has been reported to be effective in moderating the effects of hypertension, lowering the total serum- and LDL-cholesterol, regulating blood glucose and insulin levels, controlling weight and promoting gastrointestinal health” (p. 177). Another point of view is given by Smedman et al. (2010), who stated that oat beverages provide “low amounts of many nutrients relative to [dietary] recommendations” (p. 5). Despite that, they suggest that in order to reduce GHG emission, food consumption patterns should alter from animal to plant-based foods. In addition and encouraging the oat-drink consumption, Angeles-Agdeppa et al. (2012) stated that after 4 months of consuming oat-drink fortified with iron, zinc and vitamins it was possible to notice the “effectiveness of the fortified oat drink in alleviating anaemia in young children” (p. 1299).

Aside from the health related aspects of the oat drink and in a more specific context, the Swedish brand Oatly was analysed by Bengtsson Sonesson (2017) as being able to influence many individuals in changing their consumption behaviours from cow’s milk to oat-drink. Besides, provoking changes within frames such as sustainability, health and nation ideologies. Bengtsson Sonesson (2017) explains that “Oatly gains discursive power by mimicking conventional dairy discourse and placing themselves firmly in opposition to the incumbent” (p. 24). When it comes to sustainable actions, Jonsson (2017) stated that Oatly has “a clear view of their objectives and a plan of how to achieve them” (p. 63). Furthermore, Fuentes & Fuentes (2017) argued that oat-

drink consumption is part of a vegan diet by studying how Oatly engage with marketing devices, such as digital media to qualify vegan products. Stating that, “Oatly’s online marketing devices is primarily aimed at framing the company and inscribing its products with a range of qualities that sets it apart from its main competitors and their dairy products” (Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017, p. 10). Moreover, they explain that Oatly’s online platforms are very important for the brand, since it allow the company to market their products and as well connect with their current consumers and attract potential ones. For instance, oat-drink can also be consumed by individuals who follow a non-vegan diet, but bold slogans like ‘We Don’t Do Animals’, ‘Wow No Cow’ and ‘The Post-Milk Generation’ aims toward vegan consumers by connecting with “a specific subculture and framing itself as a rebellious brand” (Holt, 2003 in Fuentes & Fuentes, 2017, p. 10). Fuentes & Fuentes (2017) also explains that through their campaigns, Oatly market themselves as a sustainable company with a green morality and present a certain level of proudness in being a Swedish company, producing local and in small scale (when compared to dairy companies). Besides, Oatly present themselves as being a healthy beverage option, as explained by Fuentes & Fuentes (2017) Oatly products are “low in sugar and fat, enriched with calcium and vitamins, contain beta glucans and fibres, and are soy- and milk-free is repeated again and again on the packaging, on the website, on Facebook and Instagram, and on in-store signage” (p. 12).

Overall, the studies presented here covered topics such as the health aspects of consuming oat-drink, the behaviour change of milk consumers towards a plant-based drink and how Oatly portrayed themselves through their marketing campaigns. Next I’ll cover the transition from milk to plant-based drink.

2.3 Milk and Plant-based drink transition

Mikkola & Risku-Norja (2014) argued that the transition between milk to plant-based drink is “economically and culturally challenging” (p. 62), since this conversion require changes across the food chain, from farming practices to consumers’ behaviour. The study identified three different discourses for milk and plant-based drink altogether: market, sustainability and bioregion.

The *market discourse* “emphasised the role of consumer and business interests” (p. 66). Here, milk was framed as not being the only product responsible for GHG emission, as supporting individual’s nutrition by securing the ingestion of calcium, vitamins and protein, as being a feasible product “to buy across various income levels and easy to consume by all age groups” (p. 67) and as being a product with multipurpose in the culinary. Besides, offering ecologically and lactose-free options, representing a drink available to all ‘niche markets’ and types of diets. On the other hand, the frames within this discourse for plant-based drink, presented the individual’s lack of care for environmental issues, a drink prescribe by doctor’s orders, “a niche market and not eligible for EU school” (p. 67), since it alters the food culture and individual’s nutrition. But, the plant based-drinks were also portrayed as providing interesting benefits for health, as a tasty ‘milk’ option and as a green sustainable product, considering that the “GHG emission information was seen as a possible success factor to be capitalised on” (p. 68). The *sustainability discourse* “appealed broadly to individual actors as well as societal institutions for adaptation to new climate friendly food culture” (p. 66). Here, the change from milk to plant-based drink was discussed as an educational matter, as education being the start point of behavioural change. According to Mikkola & Risku-Norja (2014, p. 69), “school meals could offer optional food and develop sustainable habits by test weeks, using oat milk for cooking”, explaining to the children the health and environmental benefits a plant-

based drink offer. Therefore in this discourse, the consumption of a plant-based drink was framed as a positive behaviour change, combining both health and environmental aspects. While milk was framed as part of a cultural industry which should reduce its production scale over the next years. The *bioregion discourse* “claimed the cultural appropriation of naturally conditioned production-base with limited adaptation to climate concerns” (p. 66). Here, the tradition of consuming milk was explained because of its status of being a ‘given by nature’ product. The food culture in northern Europe is “heavily constructed on milk, embodied in today’s high technology industrial products” (p. 70).

Overall, Mikkola & Risku-Norja (2014) study identified particular discourses, “each presenting a different way to relate to the sustainability challenge set between dairy and plant-based milk products” (p. 73). This debate is relevant for this thesis since it provides a background to analyse the frames presented on Arla and Oatly’s online campaigns in relation to environmental issues, cultural and social experiences attributed to milk and oat-drink.

3 Theoretical Framework

In this section the theory used in this thesis, which helped in guiding the data analysis, will be explained.

The Framing theory was chosen because it allows me, as a researcher, to analyse, structure and build on different contextual meanings, as for instance involving subjects such as milk and oat-drink. It was used as a cognitive process to identify how environmental issues are portrayed by Arla and Oatly through their social media and how these companies construct meaning in their milk and oat-drink products online. The terms, words, metaphors and images used by both companies show their perceived reality on the topic studied in this thesis. As explained by Goffman (1974, p. 21) those frames are “schemata of interpretation that help actors reduce socio-cultural complexity in order to perceive, interpret and act in ways that are socially efficacious”. By defining the fundamental categories that take place in Arla and Oatly’s marketing of milk and oat-drink it is possible to determine their worldview on socio-cultural aspects and as well their interaction with environmental issues.

3.1 Framing Theory

Framing theory has its roots in the interpretive sociology, which considers how one’s interpretation of reality is influenced and defined by the interaction with others in different processes and situations (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). Framing can be defined as a process that give prominent attention to some aspects of reality, including all the thinking and talking individuals do, besides the ability of unifying thought and words (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015; Lakeoff, 2010; Entman, 1993; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996).

The first scholar mentioning framing theory was Goffman (1974), who believed that individuals’ interpretation of reality is expressed through basically two primary framework, a natural and a social framework. The primary framework assist individuals to interpret and give meaning to events happening around them, separating thoughts and ideas into different frames. Goffman (1974) explains that natural frameworks “identify occurrences seen as undirected, unoriented, unanimated, unguided, and purely physical” (p. 22). In other words, this framework has natural determinants with no attribution to social forces and are mostly found within physical and biological sciences. The social framework, on the other hand, look at events as socially driven episodes with a live agency in control that “provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence” (p. 22). Goffman (1974) continue by explaining that such agency can be “coaxed, flattered, affronted, and threatened” (p. 22). Both frameworks and the frames created by them in our communication influence how individuals interpret, processed and communicate any information in visible form. Additionally, social frameworks are constructed on natural frameworks, as in “any segment of a socially guided doing can be partly analysed within a neutral schema” (p. 23). Besides, Goffman (1974) assumes that individuals are intelligent agents capable of these frameworks, whether consciousness or not, on a daily basis. Overall, frames for him produce meaning and systematize experiences through how events are defined by its agent, which can be multidimensional and presenting as much layer as one background and knowledge allow. Another relevant and contemporarily scholar was Entman (1993), who explained that framing “consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communication text” (p. 51). For him, framing is about selecting certain aspects of a perceived reality and salience them in a communicating text “in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (a.a., p. 52). Fairhurst & Sarr (1996) were influenced by Entman’s work and defined framing as:

“The ability to shape the meaning of a subject, to judge its character and significance. To hold the frame of a subject is to choose one particular meaning (or set of meanings) over another. When we share our frames with others (the process of framing), we manage meaning because we assert that our interpretations should be taken as real over other possible interpretations” (p. 3)

D’Angelo (2002) argues against Entman’s (1993) work by stating that there is no need for a single paradigm in framing research. Instead, he believes that the theory has “benefited the communication discipline by encouraging researches to use specific theories to progressively explicate a complex process” (p. 870). Or in other words, framing has the potential to bring together disciplines that present different perspectives, unifying research domains and alerting researchers about the available possibilities within other research fields (Reese, 2007). According to Ardèvol-Abreu (2015), framing focus on applicability, meaning that “the concepts connected in a message will also tend to connect with each other in the audience’s mind during the process of opinion-formation” (p. 427), influencing variables such as attitudes, ideologies and behaviour (Scheufele, 1999; Lakeoff, 2010). Moreover, frames are directly connected with emotional responses, as explained by Lakeoff (2010, p.72) “when there is neither, like or not-like, nor any judgment of the emotional reactions of others, you cannot make rational decisions”. Besides, if individuals cannot make sense of facts presented to them, or it is not part of their system of frames, these facts will be completely ignored by its audience (Lakeoff, 2010). Thus, framing can be used to widen our understanding of media effects, involving studies on constructions of social reality, the contrast between media frames and audience frames, frames as independent and dependent variables and framing typology (for an overview, see Scheufele, 1999).

4 Methodology

Content analysis was the method applied in this thesis to describe how the content from 50 social-media publications from Arla and Oatly reflected on social, cultural and environmental phenomena. Such as presented on the study from Mikkola & Risku-Norja (2014) that identified different frames to explain the transition from milk to non-dairy drink, as for example: the role of the consumer, the role of societal institutions in caring from a sustainable development, business interests and traditions involving consumption of milk. Or the study from Rööß et al. (2016) that discussed the environmental impacts caused by both milk and oat-drink production in Sweden. Or the study from Wiley (2007) that focused on the benefits milk, as a globalized commodity, add to nations. All these scholars present different frames in relation to milk and plant-based drink and it was important for me that the method used in this thesis, to analyse the data, allowed generating meaning from the selected material content, providing deeper understanding of the implicit and explicit environmental and social arguments made through milk and oat-drink marketing. Entman (1993) explains that it is important to develop a consistent concept of framing that helps illustrate the empirical and normative controversies in a communicated text. Content analysis is one of the examples that he gives to study frames in mass communication. In his own words:

“The major task of determining textual meaning should be to identify and describe frames; content analysis informed by a theory of framing would avoid treating all negative or positive terms or utterances as equally salient and influential. (...). Unguided by a framing paradigm, content analysis may often yield data that misrepresent the media messages that most audience members are actually picking up” (p. 57)

This next section will cover the methodology used for the analysis.

4.1 Content Analysis

In order to analyze the campaigns from Arla and Oatly the gathered material was evaluated through a content analysis, which is one out of many methods used to examine communication messages that are either written, verbal or visual (Forman and Damschroder, 2007; Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). According to Krippendorff (2004) content analysis consists of three distinctive characteristics. First, it is an ‘empirically grounded method’ that analyzed data in order to “understand what they mean to people, what they enable or prevent, and what information conveyed by them does” (p.xviii). Second, content analysis “transcends traditional notions of symbols, contents, and intentions” (p. xviii), allowing communication skills to develop and increasing individual’s knowledge on communication methods. Third, content analysis has, throughout the years, been “forced to develop a methodology of its own” (p. xx). In the literature, however, there is disagreement on a specific definition of content analysis. Some authors believe that the analysis entails of “counting words or categories to detect patterns in the data, then analyzing those patterns to understand what they mean” (Forman and Damschroder, 2007, p. 40). While, other authors believe that the method also “include techniques in which the data are analyzed solely qualitatively, without the use of counting or statistical techniques” (ibid.). Content analysis is explained by Schreier (2012) as presenting three specific characteristics, it “reduces data, it is systematic, and it is flexible” (p. 170). When applying this method the amount of data to be analyzed will reduce because, it requires the content to be analyzed by certain aspects of meaning, which

create different categories that goes beyond the specifics of a message. Aggregating multiple passages that are compared and related to each other with a higher degree of abstraction (Schreier, 2012). In addition, content analysis is highly systematic, since it requires the researcher to exam the material thoroughly, from multiple points of view in order to code the data as clearly and unambiguously as possible (a.a.). Furthermore, the method presents flexibility on the coding frame that allows the merge of varying parts of both data and concepts together (a.a). Weber (1990) explains that content analysis is a research method that “uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text. These inferences are about the sender(s) of the message, the message itself, or the audience of the message” (p. 9). Now that content analysis is explained I’ll present next how I applied this concept to the material.

4.2 Data sample and analysis

Fifty (50) publications from Arla and Oatly were randomly selected on the companies’ Facebook and Instagram. The material include 50 pictures from the years between 2014 and 2017 (Appendix 1). The choice to start the selection of the material from the year 2014 was because that was the first year Oatly post online on their social media. It is also important to mention that other than milk, Arla and Oatly sell different products, therefore in order to follow the aim of this paper I strictly selected campaigns that presented milk and oat- drink.

For this study I used the content analysis procedure explained by White & Marsh (2006); to guide the research and consequently influence the gathered data a *research question* was formulated. As presented before, the main research question in this study is *what environmental arguments does Arla and Oatly use to frame milk and oat-drink as a sustainable beverage option in Sweden through social media?*, followed by a sub-question *what similarities and differences exist between the ways Arla and Oatly communicate their product?*. Both questions were developed based on the research problem, which is in sum the role the milk industry has in contributing with environmental issues. Consequently the data gathered was focused on the online marketing campaigns Arla and Oatly has done focused on their dairy and non-dairy beverage. As previously said, the data was randomly selected but aiming particularly on figures and texts that presented milk and oat-drink in it (for more detail see Appendix 1). That was an important factor for my analysis since I wanted to focus mainly on the beverage topic in relation to environmental arguments and not involve other products, such as yogurt and cream.

Next, the material was *sampled* and *coded*, focusing on “creating a picture of a given phenomenon that is always embedded within a particular context, not on describing reality objectively” (White & Marsh, 2006, p. 38). The sample and the coding was done separately in each of the companies’ gathered material. This is because I wanted to be able to capture how Oatly and how Arla framed their products individually and without any prejudice or biases from my personal point of view on the subject. At first, the material was coded within main categories that grouped relevant content aspects of the data. For instance, for the Arla material it was possible to create nine (9) different main categories, which included the following frames: Tradition, Lifestyle, Culture, Made in Sweden, Animal Welfare, Millennials, Sport, Environment and Sustainability and Organic. In its turn, from the Oatly material it was possible to develop eight (8) main categories, as follow: Health, Millennials, Behaviour Change, Environment and Sustainability, Irony, Made in Sweden, Culture and Sports. The main categories represented all the relevant and most obvious aspects presented in the publications. After exhaustively analysing the content of the campaigns, the frames were clustered considering the similarity in the data, as it can be seen on Section 5. The next step explained by White & Marsh (2006) is the *method of analysis*, which was very likely integrated

into the coding phase. Here, the emphasis was given in answering the research questions based on the results from the coding, presented in the next section.

On the Findings Section I also present the analysis of the most used words within the campaigns. Here, the data was analysed independent of the coding categories/frames, it was done as a quantitative description of the content. As explained by Hodgetts & Chamberlain (2013) a “quantitative content analysis can be used to conduct more in-depth analysis” (p. 382). The process involved compiling together all the text presented in the campaigns and summing up the words one by one. Even though some words, letters, prepositions and pronouns such as “the”, “and”, “to”, “a”, “of” “in”, “for”, “on” “it”, “this”, “that” were mentioned more times than the words selected for the analysis, they were not considered due its relevance (for more details, please see Appendix 2). This was an important finding because by studying the most written words within the online publications from Arla and Oatly it was possible to measure and translate its real meaning. Next section will cover the findings from this content analysis.

5 Findings

This section will cover and explore the most used words and the frames identified during the content analysis within the two companies, Oatly and Arla.

5.1 Oatly

Within this category the four (4) most used words within the publications from Oatly and what kind message they send to their audience will be describe. Next, it will be presented the four (4) major frames identified during the coding analysis: Lifestyle Behaviors, Humor & Sarcasm, Environment & Sustainability and Sports.

5.1.1 Word meaning present in Oatly's marketing campaigns

In Oatly campaigns it was possible to identify the use of around 1450 words. Being the most and relevant used words: *you*, *we*, *milk* and *oat*.

You can be both singular and plural and it was mostly used by Oatly to directly address the reader and influence him/her to follow the information that comes after it in the campaigns' written sentences, which by default place the reader as a compliant follower of the campaigns appeal. As for example: "Time for the Oatly Coffee Tour. One could also call it the 'saving the planet' tour. Because in addition to the fact that you'll probably drink the best cappuccino you've ever had (unless you've had a #cappoatccino before), you'll reduce the greenhouse gas emissions by 69% when choosing oat drink instead of cow's milk" (O-10, 2016). The use of the word *you* in the sentence clearly demonstrate the direct contact Oatly is trying to achieve with its audience. The message aim at communicating certain instructions that the readers may or may not comply with, as for instance drinking the "best cappuccino" and reducing greenhouse gas emissions once oat-drink is the beverage of choice. Further, the overall statements made by Oatly using the word *you* are presented as a fact and not as an invitation, influencing its readers to feel responsible for their sustainable actions. It is at certain point, a friendly interaction between Oatly and the reader, where Oatly gives advices or suggestions for better attitudes towards general health concerns and the natural environment. As through this campaign, in which it was possible to notice that it is implicit stated that if one choose to drink a plant-base drink they will also be able to save the planet.

The use of the word *we* referred to the organization Oatly itself. Here, it is interesting to notice that the company referred to themselves as *we* but, *we* could also represent those readers that already acknowledge Oatly's beliefs, creating a feeling of inclusion, gathered or even a movement individuals can be part of. For example: "We believe that we should eat stuff that we can grow instead of growing stuff to feed animals and then eat them. We also believe that everyone on this planet is of equal worth" (O-7, 2015). Therefore the use of the word *we* assert Oatly the possibility to act on two levels as moral agents; one as 'organizational *we*', assuming the position of institutional professionals that are able to dictate facts due their expertise on the field; and one as 'representative *we*', voicing Oatly's own consumers, environmentalists, to-be Oatly customers, etc.

The words *milk* and *oat* were written exactly the same amount of times. As a mean of clarification, the word *Oatly* was not counted together with the word *oat*. Here, even though *oat* and *milk* were mentioned in equality within Oatly campaigns, the words have different connotations. When the word *milk* is used, a negative implication is present, for instance: "By swapping cow's milk for Oatly you are doing the planet a big favour and since the planet can't speak for itself we thought you'd like to know" (O-12, 2015). This sentence demonstrate,

by insinuating the environmental impacts caused by the animal agriculture, the bad press Oatly display when using the word *milk*. On the contrary, when using the word *oat* the sentences indicate something positive, such as: "Monday, you can't beat us. We have the oat power!" (O-1, 2014). The choice of words suggests not only a relation to the natural environment, as it mentions the natural raw product but as well it implies its benefits to the health, after all the drink is powerful enough to encourage individuals in facing the first work day of the week. Given that Mondays are normally portrayed as a bad day since it is "the start of five long days of work after two days of leisure, and many people begin their work week with a certain amount of reluctance" (Rystrom & Benson, 1989).

5.1.2 *Oatly Campaign Frames*

As mentioned before, out of the 25 publications I've randomly selected from Oatly's social media it was possible to identify 4 major frames, which are presented next.

5.1.2.1 *Lifestyle Behaviors*

Oatly use an unusual approach to communicate its products, as for instance when referring to children who are dairy free, "kids who can't tolerate milk are awesome" (O-23, 2017). Here, Oatly emphasize the benefits the children who are not able to consume animal milk, for most likely health concerns have in comparison to those who drink milk. In their view it is good if you are not able to consume animal milk and more than that, you are seen as awesome. The sentence continue by stating scientific data, providing information on nutritional and health questions that many Swedes share when discussing the importance of having animal milk in children's diet, as you can see: "researchers figured out that getting enough vitamin D is important for dairy-free kids, which is cool since our very own researchers have made sure that our enriched oat drink contains D-vitamin so those awesome kids who can't tolerate milk are totally good" (O-23, 2017). The comparison between milk and oat-drink nutritional benefits is done 'between the lines'. The analogies continue in other campaigns, as for example: "The 100% Swedish oats in this carton look and act like milk" (O-18, 2017). Oatly emphasizes how animal milk can easily be changed for oat-drink. The aggressive marketing done by Oatly against the milk industry and encouraging Swedes in changing their lifestyle behavior goes further: "Whether you're drinking them [referred to oat-drink], or using them in a recipe, or sneaking up on them when they least expect it, they never stop looking and acting like milk. Which, when you think about it, might possibly make milk obsolete (excuse us, are we allowed to say that?)" (O-18, 2017). This playfulness with words and colloquial language allow Oatly's readers to engage in the campaign since the way Oatly writes is the way its majority audience writes in social media. Further, it is possible to notice that Oatly when writing "excuse us, are we allowed to say that?" they are implicit referring to the fact that in 2014 the milk industry in Sweden (LRF Mjölke) filed a lawsuit against Oatly for its marketing approach that, according to the dairy lobby denigrated animal milk by writing slogans such as 'It's like milk, but made for humans' (for more information: Mccrow-Young, 2016). Moreover, Oatly is very keen in stressing individuals' choice about their lifestyle and consumption behaviors, this is even emphasized by the CEO Toni Petersson participation on their campaigns, in which he is the main protagonist and act in name of the company, representing not only Oatly's name but as well their beliefs. As for example: "This is our CEO, Toni Petersson, the original Swedish oat punk, standing up for kids in Swedish schools who should

have the right to choose between cow's milk and plant based milk without having to provide a doctor's certificate. If you agree that such a suggestion sounds logical, let us know right here, because we'll be listening" (O-21, 2017). Another way to look into that is by the use of a personal possessive pronoun "our" that makes the text very personal to the reader and at the same time the word "CEO", representing the opinion of each and every one at Oatly about the subject in topic. Moreover, by saying "the original Swedish oat punk", Oatly indicate the rebellious attitude their CEO had by starting a controversial company based on the production of oats as an alternative to milk. Further on the campaign it's possible to notice the irrationally, unreasonableness tone used in the text to express that children in Sweden cannot opt for plant-based milk in their diets when in school without a doctor note. Encouraging a movement that represents individuals that fight for their life choices. In the same line, the campaign presenting the slogan "Post milk generation" (O-9, 2016) support individuals in finding their own tribe, a group of people that even not being the majority are still in line with your beliefs and following the same lifestyle one do. As follow "perhaps this is the very moment when you realize that your entire life has been an endless search for a movement that you can become part of" (O-9, 2016). Further, Oatly explain the individuals who are looking to be part of this movement and what they stand for, "something grand for the planet and for the people who live here" (O-9, 2016). To finalize, Oatly focus especially on the millennial generation by using social media as a way to connect individuals with the same ideas and using colloquial language, as stated "then you see this Instagram picture and instantly know that this is your destiny. You and the post milk generation united as one. 4ever" (O-9, 2016). This sentence not only give hope for the ones who feel as being an 'outsider' in their own societies but as well target a younger generation, who most likely are still looking for their own identity and are most likely the future of the world.

One last slogan relevant for this frame is the "Swedish Independent" (O-2, 2014). Here, Oatly alludes to the Declaration of Independence from USA, which was used as the official proclamation for its independence from Great Britain in 1776. In short, by using this literary interpretation, Oatly manages to compare the company with the first Americans who had the courage to face and battle their opponents for independence. This implies that Oatly is testing new morals in the food sector, as expressed further on their campaign "we're not your ordinary multinational food company" (O-2, 2014), this sentence also elevates Oatly's status as a good company compared to other food organizations. Not only that, but once again Oatly emphasize on millennials by stating "we are born in the 90's and have been independent oat nerds ever since" (O-2, 2014). Supporting my claim for the last campaign, Oatly uses a specific group, the nerds, to refer themselves as part of some movement created by them. Which is interesting here is that within Oatly campaigns they embrace two groups that in the past were seen as unlikely to be together, as per the figure (O-2, 2014) that shows a completely tattooed man, presenting aspects of what is called a "hipster" and as per the text also being a "oat nerd". Therefore, this movement Oatly claim in their campaigns are directed to individuals who probably don't fit in the groups already established by society. Bringing us back to the reference to the Declaration of Independence and their idea of accepting new philosophies and the right human beings have in their pursuit of happiness and freedom (United States & Jefferson, 1952).

5.1.2.2 *Environment & Sustainability*

Oatly has a clear position when it comes to the environment & sustainability frame. They are aggressive in their communication, clearly stating problems caused by the animal industry to the environment. Here, campaigns like

“Google milk” (O-13, 2016) are present. Oatly encourage its readers and their social media followers to search online about the dairy industry and its impacts to the environment. As per their text: “google the internet regarding the sustainability (or lack thereof) of milk” (O-13, 2016). Leaving their followers to decide by themselves about the action they would take after getting educated/ informed on the milk process. Another campaign relevant in this frame was the “Look how cozy creating 80% less greenhouse gases can be. 1 liter of oat drink creates 80% less CO₂ than 1 liter of cow’s milk” (O-25, 2017). In the visual representation of the campaign 2 glasses of oat-drink with Christmas decoration around it is portrayed, representing the Christmas spirit of positive affect and comforting feeling. However, the focus here is on the emissions of carbon dioxide (CO₂) and the contribution that livestock production has to increasing greenhouse gases (GHG), as later stated “including the word milk definitely wouldn’t have been as cozy” (O-25, 2017). The attack toward dairy production is once more stated. One last example on how Oatly frame the natural environment and praise for more sustainable actions is by propagating and participating on global movements, as for example the ‘People’s Climate March’ (O-19, 2017). In this campaign, Oatly’s approach is to raise awareness by calling the reader’s attention by mentioning the president of USA, who is well known for his policy changes in environmental matters, as to increase the fossil fuel use and shifting the priorities and goals for environmental regulations in the country, as reducing carbon emission. As follow: “at first you might think this is another one of those anti-Trump marches but it’s not really” (O-19, 2017). The political connotation then shifts and the focus is back to individuals who do not fight against those who cause harm to the environment, or just don’t take any action whatsoever; “it’s an anti-anyone who doesn’t respect the importance of science, equality and sustainability, both in regard to the planet and people who live here” (O-19, 2017). The campaign continue by diminishing the position and role Donald Trump have as president, by saying “this movement is so much bigger than Donald Trump, because he won’t be president forever” (O-19, 2017), and also insinuating that even after Trump’s mandate we will still face environmental problems. Followed by Oatly’s concern in doing all they can to protect the Earth and its natural environment at present date, claiming help by stating “this planet needs taking care of forever or there won’t be any serious Instagram posts like this one to make in the future” (O-19, 2017) Their approach don’t just appeal to political matters, it also overemphasize and, one can even say exaggerate, on suggesting that without this type of movement and without civilian cooperation to protect the planet interests and its sustainable development we will all die because there will be no more planet to live on.

5.1.2.3 Humor & Sarcasm

These frames satirize many common subjects and use a ‘polite irreverence’ approach, as explained by Hubionova (2016) it is normally used to attract the attention of the so called millennials, being used as new-age marketing and being a “slightly more aggressive marketing tactics that our parents were not used to when marketing, as a sales communication methodology, was officially born in the last century” (p. 242). This approach provoke individuals to challenge their knowledge on what has always been known about milk and its production, creating a greener movement for behavior change and environmental awareness.

After facing the lawsuit due to the misuse of words, Oatly developed a new slogan: "Liquid oats made for our human friends" (O-5, 2015). Throughout this frame the ethical and sustainable stance Oatly present over milk production is many times an affront to old traditions and beliefs, as for example: "humans can be perfectly

healthy without drinking any bodily fluids of cows. If you do find it surprising, it just means the milk industry has been doing its job, but don't worry, there are steps you can take at home to deprogram yourself. Start with deep breaths while sipping oat drink and repeating 'Wow no cow, wow no cow'" (O-22, 2017). The reason for that is the will Oatly have in changing cultural and social behaviors towards animal agriculture. Once the consumers change their mind and purchase behavior Oatly marketing strategies have worked. Another example aim at the purchase habits individuals have when ordering products at for example, a coffee shop. Oatly's approach to the lack of drinking options available to mix with coffee is expressed through this phrase: "One coffee please, no cow" (O-17, 2017). The sarcasms present on this sentence is clear and direct to individuals that don't consume dairy and that constantly face this problem when wanting to consume coffee with something else then animal milk. Also, it is possible to notice that there is no allure to drinking milk itself but instead to where the milk come from, cows. Provoking an uncomfortable reaction to the readers that many times disassociate the final product with its origins.

Further in this frame, and without the exaggeration present in the other texts that expose and criticizes the milk institution, Oatly 'jokes' about the Swedish weather with the campaign: "Thank God for the terrible Swedish weather" (O-11, 2016). Here, the company tease about how Swedes feel in relation to their summer time, which can be enjoyed for fewer months than countries in the south of the world and it is not uncommon with a lot of rainy days. As explained by Oatly, "you probably didn't know this but summer time is when we all go the beach but there are parts of the world where beach days aren't in abundance. Like Sweden. Some summers you don't even get to put on shorts before it is time to break out the winter jacket" (O-11, 2016). The campaign continues by explaining to their readers what they mean with being grateful for the Swedish weather since so far it appeared they only condemned it: "These are the summers that are the best for growing oats. You see oats need a little sun and a little rain all summer long and not too much heat which is why some of the best oats in the world grow in Sweden because Sweden has some of the worst weather in the world. How about that for turning a negative into a positive?" (O-11, 2016) The satire is a great example to how Oatly plays with the way they communicate random facts that are important for the brand. As for instance being a Swedish company and producing local.

5.1.2.4 Sports

The communication done by Oatly in this frame is also written by using a 'cool' and millennial language. Campaigns like, "next time you head out for a walk, er...hike, maybe try drinking a glass of oat drink first, which is like super tech-y sports gear for the inside of your body" (O-15, 2016). There is again a sense of humor in the sentence and their approach tries to be close to the reader by referring to us when writing. Besides, Oatly 'modernized' the category of the sport by insinuating that hiking is a little more advanced/ up-to-date than just walking, and that their oat-drink is in the same "super tech-y sports" level. Oatly enhance the quality of their product by doing this sports analogy with the health benefits it provides. In other words, they suggest that if you are practicing sports and living a contemporary lifestyle you need a drink within the same standards. Another example is the way Oatly stimulate its readers in practicing physical activities, the company is aware of the busy schedule many individuals have on their day-to-day life due to our globalized world and many of their target audience is very familiar to the use of social-media, therefore Oatly campaign starts as follow: "Finding time to work out can be hard, especially when you'd rather be sitting around looking at Instagram" (O-16, 2017).

Further they market their product by stating its benefits in case their readers decide to go out and exercise, “but finding the energy to work out is easy. You can just pour a glass of liquid oats” (O-16, 2017). Oatly also suggests that this action will benefit the reader not only physically but as well in their online profile, since they will be able to post a picture about what they are about to do and others will check that up, receiving the attention a social media offers to its users, as follow: “[it] might also make a nice subject for a photo that you could post on Instagram, then drink the glass of liquid oats and go workout because now you have the energy, and anyway, it will take time for all the great comments to come in regarding that photo you just posted of the glass of liquid oats” (O-16, 2017). This approach seems to be directly to millennials and their social habits, the interesting thing here is that Oatly tackles many subjects in one. The focus is to gain energy to exercise, the will for doing that will come by drinking a glass of Oatly, which by posting a picture online will encourage you to exercise since comments on your photo will come as you work out. Which is basically Oatly asking its readers to exercise and in the way, market their product online.

5.2 Arla

Within this category the three (3) most used words within the publications from Arla and what kind message they send to their audience will be describe. Next, it will be presented the three (3) major frames identified during the coding analysis: Traditional & Cultural, Sustainable Dairy Farming and Sports.

5.2.1 Word meaning present in Arlas’s marketing campaigns

In Arla campaigns it was possible to identify the use of around 930 words. Being the most and relevant used words: *milk*, *we* and *cow*.

Different from Oatly, Arla used the word *milk* in their campaigns to represent something positive. As for example "Milk is life" (A-20, 2017). Here, *milk* is idealized as a necessity for survival, a symbol of tradition and a drink that nourish both body and mind. Not only that, but as well representing *milk* as part of the farm-to-table chain, vital for keeping the economy flowing and dairy farmers alive. The word *we* is mostly used to refer to Arla when in a physical place, where consumers can enjoy their products in a determined space, as for instance in this sentence “the cow is ready for the Vasaloppet week! We will be in place and offer milk as recharge. Go/Cheers!” (A-13, 2016). Here, Arla is offering support (and milk) for athletes participating in a very traditional cross-country ski race in Sweden. The word *we* attribute meaning to the employees of Arla that work in collaboration and support the race environment and its participants by offering them a high-quality protein and a nutritional drink. Moreover, *we* is also noted as representing not only Arla, but as well all milk consumers. This statement is represented by their campaign: “Good morning! We start the day with a glass of milk!” (A-11, 2015). The use of the word *cow* symbolize both the animal and Arla’s logo. When representing the living animal states like "Ingrid loves to hug with her favourite cow Fröken at the family's milk farm" (A-18, 2017) are pertinent. From this sentence it is clear the relation Arla have with their farmers and it also seems that the wellbeing of Arla animals is an important part of the process, expressed in their campaigns by the love (and cuddles) Arla farmers and their families show the their cows. When it comes to the use of the word *cow* for representing Arla’s logo, the following sentence can be used as example; “Did you know that the Arla cow has been around since the 40's?” (A-3, 2014). The *cow* in here represents tradition. In other words, when a Swedish

person visualize the red cow they, in most cases, associate it with the company Arla and what Arla represent for them individually. That reaction is explained by Goffman's (1974) definition of a social framework, in which frames are socially driven occurrences that derived from individuals' goals, inclinations, desires and needs, applied with intent and motive and guided by social interactions with society and overall social relations.

5.2.2 Arla Campaign Frames

As mentioned before, out of the 25 publications I've randomly selected from Arla's social media it was possible to identify 3 major frames, which are presented next.

5.2.2.1 Traditional & Cultural

The frame *traditional & cultural* was many times used by Arla within its campaigns as a synonym for the Swedish nation and people. Representing traditional and cultural ideas through their content as a consequence of "the marked ethnocentric conception we have from our societies, a conception which had a notable thrust through romanticism" (Martí, 2005, p. 3). As for instance: "This year is the 100 anniversary that some wise Swedish farmers joined forces to sell milk" (A-5, 2015). This sentence emphasizes the great initiative, the old and smart Swedish farmers had in commercializing a product good for both body and mind, which are still available today. The campaign continues by reminding its readers of how Arla's products looked in the past through pictures posted on their social media, as follows: "To celebrate 100 years as a cooperative in Sweden, we will publish lookbacks of products, campaigns and fun events during the year. Follow!" (A-5, 2015). This approach revives old memories, arousing a nostalgic feeling in the more traditional consumer Arla have. It also suggests how far Arla has come, its improvements and changes during the 100 years they have been active in Sweden. An older consumer can even feel proud of the company for what it is and share their memories of old products and campaigns with a newer generation.

This frame is also characterized as a representation of history in favour of institutionalized systems, such as "Today the school-milk-day is celebrated. In Sweden, the school has served milk for the children for 60 years" (A-16, 2016). Arla does not only reify the past, cultivating the children's habit of consuming milk at school by celebrating it with a special day during a year, but also leads its readers into essentialism. Or in other words, this sentence suggests that it is right for children to drink animal milk at school, since it has been done for the last 60 years. Another example of being part of historical moments is by the campaign in which Arla states that "in 1991, Arla Sweden launched its first organic milk, initially on a small scale, as there were not so many farmers who had switched their production to organic" (A-6, 2015). They engage on a modest discourse, emphasizing the small scale production they had on organic milk and suggesting the support and maturity they gained throughout the years, as the campaign continues: "today, Arla is the world's largest producer of organic dairy products" (A-6, 2015). Here, in this last motto the focus is on presenting the importance Arla has gained on the organic market of dairy products, shifting the reader's attention from presenting Arla as being a small and ordinary organic producer to being an accomplished and experienced company. Emphasizing the worldwide social status and prestige the company has now-a-days by being the largest producer of organic products.

Arla also does campaigns that remind their readers about commemorative or special days, as for instance "Cinnamon bun's Day! It is obviously celebrated with cinnamon buns and milk!" (A-12, 2015). This statement

invite its reader to feel enjoyment, casual and nurturance. This is because the consumption of cinnamon bun with milk is a classic habit of consumption for Swedes. Conveying to the tradition appeal. Further, this sentence also express love, to feel deserving. Or in other words, it suggest Arla readers to take a break and enjoy a cinnamon bun and a glass of milk. Another example of a traditional event is the cow release (*kosläpp*) performed by Arla farmers in the beginning of the spring/summer. Arla interacts with its followers and animal lovers through the following campaign: “This weekend there are many cow release (*kosläpp*)! Upload your photos from the cow release on Instagram, tag with #arlakosläpp and you can win a year's milk consumption and get your photo published on millions of milk packages” (A-8, 2015). In this sentence, Arla encourage their consumers to market their event by asking them to post online pictures of their experience with the cow release. Here, Arla assumes that their readers are part of a younger generation that are active on social media and know how to use the hashtag, which categorized different themes on social media for others to see or follow, engaging users that are interested on the same content. Besides that, Arla also assumes that the contest participants are milk drinkers, since the prize is a year worth of milk and that the winner would enjoy having the attention from millions individuals around Sweden. Overall this tradition reinforces, in different ways, the milk consumption and the interest in animal welfare Arla provides.

5.2.2.2 Sustainable Dairy Farming

This frame focus on topics such as animal welfare and wellbeing, besides environment and sustainability. This frame was enforced by the constant reference Arla did to the cow's way of living in the farms. Besides, Arla farmers have their own space on Arla's social media for commenting and publishing on their cows' behaviour, sentience and overall necessities. For instance, in one of the campaigns an Arla farmer named Ingeli was asked about her relationship to her cows. Out of many positive attributions and soft words when referring to farming the cows, she states that "Some cows are more withdrawn than others, but some like to be cuddled and snuggle. You must give the cows time." (A-17, 2016). By presenting this type of statement Arla gain the trust of those consumers that are concerned about the way the cows are handled by the dairy industry. Proving to its audience, in certain degree, that their animals are not only used as a milk producers but they also receive love and affection, which suggests that Arla acknowledge that animals also have feelings. In addition to that, the campaign reinforces that their farmers love what they do; “Ingeli has always liked animals and nature - that's why she became a farmer” (A-17, 2016). Here, Arla explain the business side of the production system, reminding in a subtle way to its readers that it is a job to be a farmer and that the farmers also need an income to survive. In addition to that, Arla show the importance of always improving the production system, which consequently also help the business to succeed, as stated: "It's important to be curious about new research that comes, one has to constantly learn new things. Research we monitor can for example be new findings in animal behavior or feeding" (A-17, 2016). Arla campaigns suggest that they are aware of the negative impacts caused by the dairy industry to the animal's life. Therefore, in order for that to be minimized they focus on sustainable processes and publicize what really goes on in their dairy production system, emphasizing the positive side of enduring animal agriculture by exposing their moral concern. As an example, Arla communicate in a very educative way the nourishment their cows received; "Cows can transform grass into milk and what they eat is of course extremely important. A cow chew 40-70 times in each bite and always receives high quality GMO-free

forage" (A-23, 2017). Those campaigns make clear to Arla's reader that the cooperation value the animal's sentience and health, by offering them high quality food. Moreover, Arla utilize their social media to create a direct contact with their consumers. For instance in this campaign: "New week and a new calf in the barn, but what should her name be?" (A-25, 2017). This personal relationship is created by allowing their followers to choose the name of the newborn calf. As a consumer you feel part of the farm and Arla's working atmosphere by being able to see through a picture the perfect and cute calf.

Instead of focusing on the environmental impacts caused by the dairy production system, Arla campaigns focus on the actions they take to benefit the environment, supporting a sustainable development. As for example: "Because we do not think a regular plastic cap belongs to the eco milk, we have chosen a smarter option. A cap made of renewable raw material. Of course, we also change to the same wise cap on our conventional milk packages" (A-2, 2014). By tackling issues like plastic pollution and solutions like recycling, they increase their status with "greener" consumers. In that line, Arla also express their concern with climate change. The campaign "New carton" (A-24, 2017) demonstrate that Arla is engage in reducing its climate impact, as stated: "What do you think of the new brown carton? That it has 24% lower climate impact clearly makes it better - but is it better looking?" (A-24, 2017). Arla is once again engaging with its customers by asking them their opinion on the new product image, considering that Arla is already aware of the environmental benefits the new box has to offer. This approach is often repeated in other campaigns and suggests that Arla is motivating its readers to participate and discuss about their products and overall production system, being able to improve and please certain demands in accordance to its online/ social media audience. Creating a relationship to a newer generation, that is normally able to engage in online debates and also accepts new trends.

Arla also present several strategies that promote a positive relation between animal farming and the Swedish ecosystems, one of these projects is for instance 'Flowers for bees'. As explained in their publication during last summer: "now it's blooming for the bees! 30 Arla farms has participated in the project 'Flowers for bees', where the farmer cultivates flowering plants for the bees in places around their farm" (A-21, 2017). The project started since the number of wild bees had decreased in Arla's landscapes throughout the years. The project not only help improving the natural environment with the help of the bees that act as 'gardeners', pollinating wild flowers and tree, but also raise awareness to many individuals. Through this campaign Arla express their concern with the Swedish natural environment and also share knowledge and encouragement to their farmers in improving their farming techniques, who in turn work together and improve the ecosystem.

5.2.2.3 Sports & Health

The last framing pattern to be analyzed is concern with general sports and health benefits milk has to offer. Sentences like "Now it's time for the final in the World Cup! We warm up with a glass of milk!" (A-4, 2014) and "Recharge during the Olympics with milk - Nature's own sports drink!" (A-1, 2014) are present on Arla campaigns due to the vitamins, nutrients and protein contained in milk that support our immune system and, according to Arla is a perfect exercise beverage. Those campaigns cherish not only for milk consumption but as well for an active and better social lifestyle, encouraging its readers to exercise and participate in sports events and competitions, such as Vasaloppet. In that sense, Arla often publish campaigns encouraging its online followers and as well, anyone in site that consumes milk to meet with them after the races or sport events to interact and drink milk, as follow: "The elite has crossed the finish line! We are on site and handing out milk as a

recovery all day. Come by and say hi!” (A-14, 2016). This campaign shows that Arla cares for the social relationships between the company and its customers. Besides, they also stimulate children, families, friends and the overall Swedes to improve their life habits by both consuming milk, practising sports, or just being active. Moreover, in one of the publications Arla advertises a sports bottle which (of course) contains milk instead of water. It can be argued that “milk represents a more nutrient dense beverage choice for individuals who partake in strength and endurance activities, compared to traditional sports drinks” (Roy, 2008). Arla presents the relation between milk and sports as being a healthy beverage to consume before or after any activities, emphasising the health benefits milk offers to athletes and individuals who like to exercise for either, build-up energy before practising sports or for their recovery.

6 Discussion

In this section the main findings from this thesis will be reviewed. This will be done by discussing the research questions in relation to previous studies and the framing theory. As previous explained, the aim of this study was to identify and analyse the frames Arla and Oatly used in their Instagram and Facebook to refer to environmental issues caused by especially, the milk production system. In that sense, by applying framing theory it was possible to describe and explain in depth the point of view Oatly and Arla shared with their audience. Specifically when referring to milk in their social media publications, considering environmental issues caused by the dairy industry and as well, how they communicate the social and cultural values relevant in the topic of milk production and consumption. The frames illustrated in the findings (section 5) show how an issue, as for instance environmental issues, can be “viewed from a variety of perspectives and be constructed as having implications for multiple values or considerations” (Chong & Drunkman, 2007, p. 104). The way Arla and Oatly communicate with their consumers promote particular definitions of their own interpretation of reality (Goffman, 1974; Entman, 1993). Here I’ll cover how Oatly and Arla use environmental arguments to frame milk and oat-drink as a sustainable beverage option in Sweden and I’ll also discuss the similarities and differences that exists between the ways Arla and Oatly communicate their products.

6.1 Frames and Communication approach

As presented before, it was possible to identify the following frames for the brand Oatly: *lifestyle behaviors, humor & sarcasms, environment & sustainability* and *sports*; and the frames *traditional & cultural, sustainable dairy farming* and *sports* for the brand Arla.

I argue that those frames reflect, in part, the history of each company. Arla has been around since the 1880s and Oatly start their business around the 1990s. The companies have between them a difference of more than 100 years in the Swedish beverage sector. Entman (1993) explains that culture is the “stock of commonly invoke frames” (p. 51) and therefore, in my understanding, that is the reason why the major frame in this study for Arla was the *traditional & cultural*. The milk consumption and as well the milk production in Swedish farms are part of an old tradition and it is rooted in the Swedish culture, especially because of the benefits milk offer to human health (Marttiin, 2010; Visioli & Strata, 2014). In that sense and adding other factors, such as economy and business interests, the transition from milk to plant-based drink is a challenging transformation within the food system towards sustainability (Mikkola & Risku-Norja, 2014). In view of this complex transition scenario and in order to gain space and compete with the milk industry, Oatly frames are used, as explained by Entman (1993, p. 53) to “highlight some bits of information about an item that is the subject of a communication, thereby elevating them in salience”. More than that, Oatly campaigns present strong arguments against traditional habits and as a result the majority of their publications falls into the *lifestyle behaviors* frame. The company target a younger audience, whom are known for being the millennials or the Peter Pan generation, which is overall characterized as having “hyper-inflated egos and unrealistic expectations” (Geyer, 2017).

My findings suggests that Oatly present a completely different approach than the one proposed from Arla in their social media campaigns. For instance, Oatly focused especially in individuals who are interested in promoting and acting in a sustainable way by, for example, changing the course of their life by joining this “post milk generation” movement. These findings are in line with Bengtsson Sonesson (2017), who explain that the

growing demand for greener products allowed Oatly to “construct an alternative narrative on dairy and develop a proto-regime which challenges the status quo” (p. 24). This is mainly represented by the aggressive and rebellious approach Oatly used in communicating their ideals and beliefs (O-22, 2017), advertising the oat-drink by many times diminishing the milk product, which is done indirectly and often through ironies and humorous texts and pictures (O-17, 2017). Provoking individuals to think ‘outside the box’, to look into different perspectives and to study and get familiarized with environmental issues and animal agriculture, as presented on the campaign “Google milk” (O-13, 2016) in the *environment & sustainability* frame.

Controversially, I suggest through my findings that Arla do not propagate the environmental issues the milk industry causes in Sweden, even though they are aware of the negative impacts involved in the production of milk (Arla, 2017). Retzinger (2010) explains that the dairy industry don’t present the environmental consequences caused by its production system because they maintain a capitalist approach. In other words, the advertising the dairy industry promote is essentially to sell their products, which won’t be as successful as if they advertise negative impressions towards the animal’s welfare or the environment. As stated by Retzinger (2010, p. 458) “repetitive-strain injuries, polluted air, water, and land, antibiotics in livestock, and living creatures ‘treated like any other manufactured good’ are the legacy of modernism, the consequences of industrialism”. Therefore, I argue that the campaigns from Arla avoid talking about the negative effects that occur throughout the milk production promoting, instead, how they will become more sustainable. By for instance, working on developing better and more sustainable farmer and production practices as presented in the *Sustainable Dairy Farming* frame through the campaigns that developed projects that help minimize the environmental issues caused by their cows (A-21, 2017), promoting renewable material and ecological products (A-2, 2014) and engaging in environmental issues such as climate change (A-24, 2017). From another perspective, none of the selected campaigns for this study presented the descriptions given by Retzinger (2010, p. 448) of a “modernist dream factory”, where technology allows for equipment to do the human work. Arla, instead, present in many of their campaigns the farmer’s day-to-day interactions with their landscape and relation with the cows. My statement can be supported by the explanation of how “frames are instruments of society that allow people to maintain a shared interpretation of reality” (Goffman, 1974 in Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, p. 428). As for instance on the campaign A-17 (2016) and A-25 (2017), which allow Arla’s consumers to feel close to the production system, to see with their own eyes what really goes on in the farms and how their milk is produced. Oatly, on the other hand, try to reach milk consumers in changing their beverage consumption behavior by presenting health facts about the oat product that are similar to milk, as in nutritional and vitamins added to their oat-drinks (O-1, 2014). Here, the concept of frame become useful considering that social media “have a great capacity to generate and modify the social frameworks of interpretation, by intervening in the creation of a shared social discourse” (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, p. 428). I also suggest that Oatly use the word ‘milk’ in their campaigns as many time as the word ‘oat’ because milk, as explained before, is rooted in the Swedish lifestyle and even though it is used in a negative way in Oatly’s campaigns they do it as a way to set them apart from their main competitors, the milk industry. This finding is in line with the study from Fuentes & Fuentes (2017), who explained that the online marketing Oatly do qualify their products as different from traditional dairy products. Not only that but it also qualify the brand as a more sustainable choice. As stated by Fuentes & Fuentes (2017, p. 11), Oatly products are presented as “food products of interest to consumers who are seeking to reduce the environmental impact of their consumption and/or who are looking to live a vegan animal-cruelty-free lifestyle”. In that sense, I argue that the

approach used by Oatly in their campaigns present an ideological view on aspects such as the food industry and behaviour change towards the consumption of greener products.

So far I've discussed that the approach used by Arla and Oatly in the way they frame their campaigns are distinct. However, when it comes to the *Sports* frame I suggest that both companies are committed to improving their readers overall health, by supporting physical activities and encouraging a nutritional diet, as present on the campaigns O-16 (2017) and A-1 (2014). Nevertheless, the way the companies communicate with their readers is still distinct. For instance, Arla campaigns are short and mostly encouraging the athletes in consuming milk before and after physical activities because of the great health benefits milk can offer, besides being present in events such as races and ski competitions (A-14, 2015). While Oatly, uses humor and focus on a very colloquial language when referring to exercise (O-15, 2016), aiming at the millennial generation by connecting working out with gaining attention on social media by promoting healthy habits online (O-16, 2017).

In sum, I have shown here that both Arla and Oatly use environmental arguments to frame milk and oat-drink as a sustainable beverage option in Sweden through social media and that, even though Oatly and Arla follow different communication approaches in their online campaigns, it was evident that both companies are engaged in environmental practices, considering their respective production system, line of business and target audience. More than that, through the framing theory it was possible to determine how these companies refer to social and cultural experiences attached to milk and how they communicate their product based on their product's similarities and differences.

7 Conclusion

Through a specific theoretical framework and a methodological approach this thesis aimed at identifying and understanding the frames used by Arla and Oatly when referring to environmental issues caused by the dairy industry and how both companies communicated their social and cultural experiences in relation to animal milk.

The social media campaigns from the brand Oatly emphasized the many benefits in consuming oat-drink, especially for the environment and the human health. That was done mainly by using a very colloquial language, sarcasm and satire about animal milk. Oatly campaigns emphasis in given to individuals who are keen in changing old habits and breaking traditional social patterns and in order to call the attention of this target audience, Oatly uses an aggressive marketing approach, with trendy and unusual texts and pictures.

In turn, Arla campaigns main focus is given to how milk resemble and are intrinsic to Swedish traditions and cultural values. Their campaigns often remind their consumers about the ‘good old days’, promoting a nostalgic feeling on their consumers by illustrating Arla as a long-established company. Arla also emphasize in their social media campaigns how much they value the physical and mental health of their animals, by accentuating the close relationship the farmers have with the animals throughout the production system. Besides, focusing on the benefits their farms offer for the Swedish environment and economy.

This thesis contributes to existing research by proving insights of how two distinct companies in the beverage sector market their products to a mass audience, advertising milk and oat-drink as sustainable and part of a socio-cultural practice. Moreover, it produces insights into the potential for behavior change in the milk sector, illustrating the role social media play in influencing and informing their consumers about environmental issues and the practices involved in green marketing, which can simultaneously involve multiple group of consumers.

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Appendix 1

1. Oatly Publications



O-1. Photo by Sara Hansson, Oatly AB - June 9, 2014



oatly

oatly Monday, you can't beat us. We have the oat power!



O-2. Photo by Fredrik Nilsson, Oatly AB - August 29, 2014



oatly

oatly We're not your ordinary multinational food company. We were born in the 90's and have been independent oat nerds ever since.



oatly Having a fika break two times every workday. That's so Swedish. Just like us.

O-3. Photo by Sara Hansson, Oatly AB - February 11, 2015



oatly All of our products are based on one guiding principle: Deliver maximum nutritional value for minimal environmental impact.

O-4. Photo by Fredrik Nilsson, Oatly AB - February 12, 2015



oatly Liquid oats made for our human friends.
Photo by Nadja Obeka.

O-5. Photo by Nadja Obeka. - April 20, 2015

The image has now been deleted from Oatly's social media due GDPR regulations and therefore it is blurred.



oatly For the same amount of calcium as in a glass of cow's milk, you can have two tablespoons of dried, ground basil. Or a glass of this.

O-6. Photo by Fredrik Nilsson, Oatly AB - June 29, 2015



O-7. Picture by Oatly AB - November 13, 2015



oatly We believe that we should eat stuff that we can grow instead of growing stuff to feed animals and then eat them. We also believe that everyone on this planet is of equal worth. We also believe that Bigfoot is real. Well, maybe not the last.



O-8. Photo by @fredrikskogkvist - January 25, 2016



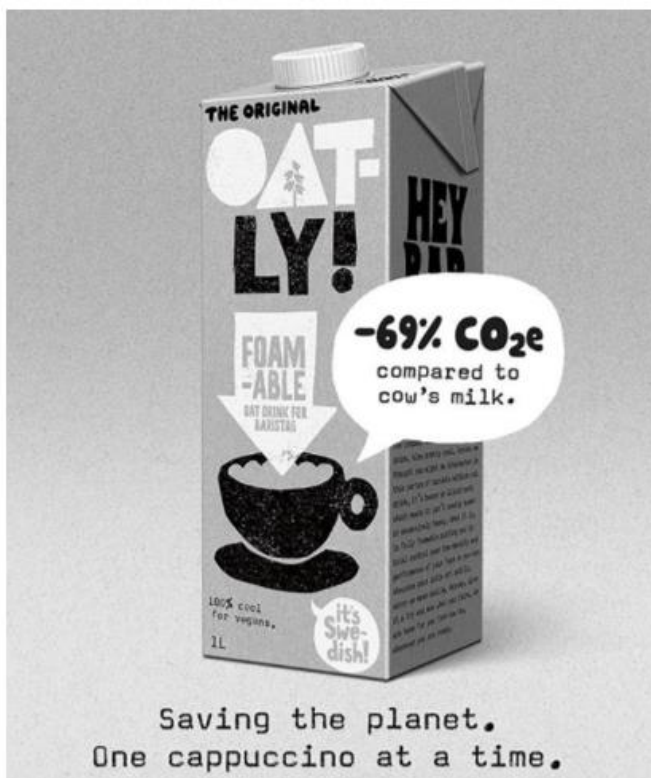
oatly There's a fine line between genius and insanity. Take Sweden's most successful surfer @FreddieMeadows for example. He's genius because he surfs all the time and he never turns down a carton of Oatly. He's also totally crazy because he surfs in Sweden in the winter in freezing temperatures on waves the size of apartment buildings. Well almost the size of apartment buildings. Thanks Freddie, you are an insane genius. Photo by @fredrikskogkvist



O-9. Picture by Oatly AB - February 17, 2016



oatly Perhaps this is the very moment when you realize that your entire life has been an endless search for a movement that you can become part of, something grand for the planet and for the people who live here and then you see this Instagram picture and instantly know that this is your destiny. You and the post milk generation united as one. 4ever.



O-10. Picture by Oatly AB - March 16, 2016



oatly Time for the Oatly Coffee Tour. One could also call it the "saving the planet" tour. Because in addition to the fact that you'll probably drink the best cappuccino you've ever had (unless you've had a [#cappoatccino](#) before), you'll reduce the greenhouse gas emissions by 69% when choosing oat drink instead of cow's milk. Yup. And first stop is Amsterdam. See you there coffee lovers.



O-11. Picture by Oatly AB - April 20, 2016



oatly Just to be clear on this, God can be whatever God you choose to believe in. Now to the terrible weather. You probably didn't know this but summer time is when we all go the beach but there are parts of the world where beach days aren't in abundance. Like Sweden. Some summers you don't even get to put on shorts before it is time to break out the winter jacket. These are the summers that are the best for growing oats. You see oats need a little sun and a little rain all summer long and not too much heat which is why some of the best oats in the world grow in Sweden because Sweden has some of the worst weather in the world. How about that for turning a negative into a positive?



O-12. Photo by Fredrik Nilsson, Oatly AB - May 23, 2016



oatly Absolutely nothing to add whatsoever.



O-13. Photo by Alice Schoolcraft, Oatly AB - August 16, 2016



oatly
Way Out West

oatly And then all of sudden you look up and who is taking his time to google the internet regarding the sustainability (or lack thereof) of milk if it wasn't for Mr Saucedo. Of course when he was done he walked back into the festival showing his support in this blue Googla MjölK tee. Thanks @dannysaucedo



O-14. Photo by Alice Schoolcraft, Oatly AB - November 10, 2016



oatly

oatly This is Toni. He is our CEO and a couple weeks ago he was with us in LA at @stockholm_ca hanging out with some of Sweden's most amazing artists as well as our friends at @intelligentsiacoffee. We thought if we put him in front of our giant Wow No Cow sign and took a photo that we could use it later for something but we weren't sure what really and then we got this earth shattering idea: Instagram! Yeah, Instagram!



oatly

oatly It seems like there's sports equipment for pretty much anything, even fancy gear designed just for hiking, which when you think about it, is really just walking outside. Next time you head out for a walk, er...hike, maybe try drinking a glass of oat drink first, which is like super tech-y sports gear for the inside of your body.

O-15. Photo by Olle Enqvist, Oatly AB - November 28, 2016



oatly

oatly Finding time to work out can be hard, especially when you'd rather be sitting around looking at Instagram. But finding the energy to work out is easy. You can just pour a glass of liquid oats, which might also make a nice subject for a photo that you could post on Instagram, then drink the glass of liquid oats and go workout because now you have the energy, and anyway, it will take time for all the great comments to come in regarding that photo you just posted of the glass of liquid oats.

O-16. Photo by Olle Enqvist, Oatly AB - January 4, 2017



O-17- Photo by Alice Schoolcraft, Oatly AB - February 16, 2017



oatly

oatly One coffee please. no cow.



O-18- Photo by Fredrik Nilsson, Oatly AB - April 21, 2017



oatly

oatly The 100% Swedish oats in this carton look and act like milk. Whether you're drinking them, or using them in a recipe, or sneaking up on them when they least expect it, they never stop looking and acting like milk. Which, when you think about it, might possibly make milk obsolete (excuse us, are we allowed to say that?).



O-19. Photo by Alice Schoolcraft, Oatly AB - April 23, 2017



oatly • Following

oatly In case you forgot, we are Swedish and our capital is Stockholm and in Stockholm on the 29th of April (that's this Saturday) the city will be joining a global manifestation for the planet—the People's Climate March. At first you might think this is another one of those anti-Trump marches but it's not really. It's an anti-anyone who doesn't respect the importance of science, equality and sustainability, both in regard to the planet and people who live here. This movement is so much bigger than Donald Trump, because he won't be president forever, and

oatly (...) This movement is so much bigger than Donald Trump, because he won't be president forever, and this planet needs taking care of forever or there won't be any serious Instagram posts like this one to make in the future. Spread the word by spreading this post or spreading your beliefs, both work.



O-20. Photo by Fredrik Nilsson, Oatly AB - August 22, 2017



oatly

oatly We're an honest company. So we want to let you know up front that this product makes it ridiculously easy to go totally dairy-free. It all starts as a fun experiment, making your coffee amazing. Soon, your morning cereal is dairy-free too. Before you know it, this isn't just a breakfast thing anymore. You start using it to cook dairy-free dinners. A lot of really delicious dairy-free dinners. Then naturally, you'll look around and wonder what other Oatly products are out there...um, so anyway, we just want to let you know it's not "entry point into your life for a new category" marketing tricks or anything. It's just amazing liquid oats.



O-21. Photo by Alice Schoolcraft, Oatly AB - October 3, 2017



oatly

oatly This is our CEO, Toni Petersson, the original Swedish oat punk, standing up for kids in Swedish schools who should have the right to choose between cow's milk and plant based milk without having to provide a doctor's certificate. If you agree that such a suggestion sounds logical, let us know right here, because we'll be listening.



O-22. Photo by Fredrik Nilsson, Oatly AB - October 10, 2017



oatly

oatly If you didn't step inside our Brainwash-o-matic (patent pending) this summer, it may come as a surprise to you that humans can be perfectly healthy without drinking any bodily fluids of cows. If you do find it surprising, it just means the milk industry has been doing its job, but don't worry, there are steps you can take at home to deprogram yourself. Start with deep breaths while sipping oat drink and repeating "Wow no cow, wow no cow," and we hope to see you next summer at the

oatly (..) Start with deep breaths while sipping oat drink and repeating "Wow no cow, wow no cow," and we hope to see you next summer at the festivals for a good old-fashioned professional-grade instant milk industry deprogramming.



oatly Kids who can't tolerate milk are awesome. They're one of the reasons Oatly was invented back in the 90s by researchers at a famous Swedish university. Since then, some other researchers figured out that getting enough vitamin D is important for dairy-free kids, which is cool since our very own researchers have made sure that our enriched oat drink contains D-vitamin so those awesome kids who can't tolerate milk are totally good.

O-23. Photo by Alice Schoolcraft, Oatly AB - November 27, 2017

The image has now been deleted from Oatly's social media due GDPR regulations and therefore it is blurred.



oatly Thanks to science, humans have the technology to make nourishing food from plants instead of the old, unsustainable system of feeding plants to animals then eating them or drinking their milk. And the more plants we eat, the better it is for our planet so we can continue to explore, bike, swim and ski (see? we got to the skiing part) fueled by all our tech-y plant-based foods. #sciencematters

O-24. Photo by Adam Klingeteg, Oatly AB - December 16, 2017



O-25. Photo by Fredrik Nilsson, Oatly AB - December 18, 2017

oatly

oatly Look how cozy creating 80% less greenhouse gases can be.* *1 liter of oat drink creates 80% less CO₂e than 1 liter of cow's milk. Yeah, we could've stuck that fact up in the main sentence instead of using a dorky asterisk (probably number 3 on some social media blogger's 10 Worst Mistakes) but while the word gases up there seems okay, including the word milk definitely wouldn't have been as cozy.

2. Arla Publications



A-1. Image by Arla - February 11, 2014

Translation: arlasverige Now Arla's sports bottle is finally here! Recharge during the olympics with milk - Nature's own sports drink! The sports bottle is now available as a buy and get campaign in selected stores around the country. Buy six liters of milk (6x1L or 4x1,5L) and you will get a 750ml sports bottle. A smaller version of the sports bottle (500 ml) is available for sale at our webshop: <http://bit.ly/arlasportflaska>



A-2. Image by Arla - April 30, 2014

Translation: arlasverige Now we have put a long awaited cap on our eco milk! But because we do not think a regular plastic cap belongs with the eco milk, we have chosen a smarter option. A cap made of renewable raw material. Of course, we also change to the same wise cap on our conventional milk packages. Read more at www.arla.se/skruvkork



A-3. Image by Arla - May 14, 2014

Translation: arlasverige Did you know that the Arla cow has been around since the 40's? Here is all Arla cow logos over the years! Today Arla cow stands for 100% Swedish milk from Swedish cows.



A-4. Image by Arla - July 13, 2014

Translation: arlasverige Now it's time for the final in the World Cup! We warm up with a glass of milk!



arlasverige 1 år är det hundra år sedan några kloka svenska bönder slöt sig samman för att sälja mjölk. För att fira 100 år som kooperativ i Sverige kommer vi under året publicera tillbakablickar på produkter, kampanjer och roliga händelser. Följ med! #arla100år #tbt #throwbackthursday

A-5. Image by Arla - March 12, 2015

Translation: **arlasverige** This year it is 100 years ago that some wise Swedish farmers joined forces to sell milk. To celebrate 100 years as a cooperative in Sweden, we will publish lookbacks of products, campaigns and fun events during the year. Follow!



arlasverige 1991 lanserar Arla Sveriges första ekologiska mjölk, till en början i liten skala eftersom det då inte fanns så många bönder som ställt om sin produktion till ekologisk. Idag är Arla världens största producent av ekologiska mejerivaror. #arla100år #tbt #throwbackthursday #eko #arlaeko #ekologisk #mjolk

A-6. Image by Arla - March 19, 2015

Translation: **arlasverige** In 1991, Arla Sweden launched its first organic milk, initially on a small scale, as there were not so many farmers who had switched their production to organic. Today, Arla is the world's largest producer of organic dairy products.



Nu lanserar vi en ny ursprungsmärkning för svenska mejeriprodukter! Alla produkter märkta med den blågula Sverigekannan är gjorda på 100% svensk mjölk från svenska Arlagårdar. Sverigekannan kommer införas löpande på Arlas produkter under 2015-2016.

A-7. Image by Arla - April 29, 2015

Translation: **arlasverige** Now we are launching a new origin mark for Swedish dairy products! All products labeled with the blue-yellow Sverigekannan are made of 100% Swedish milk from Swedish Arlafarms. The Sverigekanna will be introduced on Arla's products in 2015-2016.



I helgen är det många kosläpp! Ladda upp dina bilder från kosläppen på Instagram - tagga med #arlakoslapp och du kan vinna en årsförbrukning av mjölk och få din bild publicerad på miljontals mjölkförpackningar! Läs mer på arla.se/koslapp

A-8. Image by Arla - May 15, 2015

Translation: **arlasverige** This weekend there are many *kosläpp* ("cow-release")! Upload your photos from the *kosläpp* on Instagram, tag with #arlakoslapp and you can win a year's milk consumption and get your photo published on millions of milk packages! Read more at arla.se/koslapp



arlasverige När vi på Arla började producera ekologisk mjölk såg Sverige väldigt annorlunda ut. 24 år senare har mycket förändrats. Idag är Sverige inte bara ett öppnare land, förra året var Sverige också det land där konsumtionen av ekologisk mjölk ökat mest i hela världen. Och vi tror att det hänger ihop. För grunden för ett bra och hållbart samhälle är omtanke. Omtanke till djur, natur och varandra. Det landet kallar vi för Landet Ekomjolk. Ett Sverige som är på väg åt rätt håll. Se filmen om Landet Ekomjolk på vår Facebooksida! #landetekomjolk

A-9. Image by Arla - July 30, 2015

Translation: **arlasverige** When we started producing organic milk at Arla, Sweden looked very different. 24 years later much has changed. Today, Sweden is not just a more open country, last year Sweden was also the country where the consumption of organic milk increased the most in the world. And we think it's connected. The foundation for a good and sustainable society is caring. Care for animals, nature and each other. We call that country for Country Eko Milk. A Sweden that is heading in the right direction. Watch the film about Country Eko Milk on our Facebook page!



arlasverige När Mjölkcenralen bildades för 100 år sen levererades mjölken direkt till hushållen. För hygienens skull tappades mjölken man sålde i glasflaskor eller plomberade bleckflaskor, som sedan kördes ut i staden med särskilda hästecipage. #arla100år #tbt #throwbackthursday #mjölkcenralen

A-10. Image by Arla - September 3, 2015

Translation: **arlasverige** When the Milk Central was formed 100 years ago, the milk was delivered directly to the households. For the sake of hygiene, the milk sold was in glass bottles or sealed bottles, which were then driven out in the city with special horse carriages.



God morgon! Vi startar dagen med ett glas mjölk!

A-11. Image by Arla - September 5, 2015

Translation: **arlasverige** Good morning! We start the day with a glass of milk!



arlasverige

arlasverige Kanelbullens dag! Det firas självklart med kanelbulle och mjölk!
#kanelbullensdag #mjölk

A-12. Image by Arla - October 4, 2015

Translation: **arlasverige** The cinnamon bun's Day! It is obviously celebrated with cinnamon buns and milk!



 Arla
 Kon är redo för Vasaloppveckan! Vi kommer finnas på plats och bjuda på mjölk som uppladdning. Hej!

A-13. Image by Arla - February 27, 2016

Translation: **arlasverige** The cow is ready for the Vasaloppet week! We will be in place and offer milk as preparation. Go/Cheers!



 arlasverige

arlasverige Eliten har gått i mål! Vi finns på plats och delar ut mjölk som återhämtning hela dagen. Kom förbi och säg hej!
 #vasaloppet

A-14. Image by Arla - March 6, 2016

Translation: **arlasverige** The elite has crossed the finish line! We are on site and handing out milk as a recovery all day. Come by and say hi!



arlasverige Kom ihåg att följa arlasverige på Snapchat! Våra unga bönder visar livet på gården. 🏠💚🐮

A-15. Image by Arla - September 20, 2016

Translation: **arlasverige** Remember to follow Arlasverige on Snapchat! Our young farmers show life on the farm.



arlasverige Idag firas skolmjölkens dag. 🐮
 ★ I Sverige har skolan serverat mjölk till barnen i 60 år. Fantastiskt, eller hur?

A-16. Image by Arla - September 28, 2016

Translation: **arlasverige** Today the school-milk-day is celebrated. In Sweden, the school has served milk for the children for 60 years. Fantastic, right?



"Vissa kor är mer tillbakadragna än andra, men vissa gillar att bli klappade och gosa. Man får ge korna tid."

Hur är Arlaböndernas relation till sina kor? Vi frågade Ingeli Ivansson på Rugtorps Lantgård. Hon berättar att alla kor är unika individer med egna intressen och personligheter.
"Man måste vara intresserad och lära sig djurens språk."

Ingeli har alltid tyckt om djur och natur - det var därför hon blev bonde. Hon berättar att hon känner sig som en allkonstnär eftersom bondeyrket kräver att man kan lite om mycket. Hennes vardag präglas av allt från den mjuka relationen till korna till högteknologiska maskiner och ekonomi. Dessutom är det viktigt att hålla sig uppdaterad kring utvecklingen.

"Det är viktigt att vara nyfiken på ny forskning som kommer, man måste ständigt lära sig nya saker. Forskning vi bevakar kan t.ex. vara nya rön inom djurbeteende eller foder."

A-17. Image by Arla - December 7, 2016

Translation: arlasverige "Some cows are more withdrawn than others, but some like to be cuddled and snuggle. You must give the cows time. "

How is the Arla farmers relationship to their cows? We asked Ingeli Ivansson at Rugtorps Lantgård. She tells us that all cows are unique individuals with their own interests and personalities.

"You have to be interested and learn the language of the animals."

Ingeli has always liked animals and nature - that's why she became a farmer. She tells that she feels like an all-artist, because the farming profession requires you to know little about much. Her everyday life is characterized by the soft relationship with the cows to high-tech machines and economics. In addition, it is important to keep up to date with the development

"It's important to be curious about new research that comes, one has to constantly learn new things. Research we monitor can for example be new findings in animal behavior or feeding."



arlasverige

arlasverige Idag är det Kramens dag. Ingrid älskar att kramas med sin favoritkossa Fröken på familjens mjölkgård. 🐄 Vem vill du ge en kram? ❤️

A-18. Image by Arla - January 21, 2017

Translation: arlasverige Today is the hugs day. Ingrid loves to hug with her favorite cow "Fröken" at the family's milk farm. Who do you want to give a hug?



arlasverige Kossan är redo. 🐄🧊 Mjölken är redo. Är ni redo? ⭐ Swipe för fler bilder. 🍷 Tack alla som besökte vår pannkaksbar under premiären av Nattvasan 🏃 #vasaloppet2017

A-19. Image by Arla - March 4, 2017

Translation: **arlasverige** The cow is ready. The milk is ready. Are you ready? Swipe for more pictures. Thanks to everyone who visited our pancake bar during the premiere of *Nattvasan* (nightly skiing race).



arlasverige Mjolk är livet. 🐄🌱🌞 #tbt #arla #viärla #mjolk

A-20. Image by Arla - August 3, 2017

Translation: **arlasverige** Milk is life.



arlasverige Nu blommar det för bina! 🍀
 🐝 30 Arlagårdar har i år varit med i projektet "Blommor för bin" där bonden odlar blommande växter för bina på platser runt sin gård. 🌸
 Här är några bilder från Småland och Örebro. #arla #naturbetesmarker #bin #mjolkproduktion

A-21. Image by Arla - August 9, 2017

Translation: **arlasverige** Now it's blooming for the bees! 30 Arla farms has participated in the project "Flowers for bees", where the farmer cultivates flowering plants for the bees in places around his farm. Here are some pictures from Småland and Örebro.



arlasverige Nostalgitripp! 🐮 Mjolk ger starka barn" var länge ett av våra reklambudskap. 🇸🇪 🇬🇧 🇩🇪 #tbt #throwback #arla #mjolk

A-22. Image by Arla - August 31, 2017

Translation: **arlasverige** Memory lane! "Milk gives strong children" was an advertising message we used for a long time.



arlasverige Bondefilm 🐄 - Kor kan omvandla gräs till mjölk och vad de äter är såklart oerhört viktigt. En ko tuggar 40-70 gånger för varje tugga och får alltid GMO-fritt foder av hög kvalitet. 🐄🌾 Läs mer om foder och vatten via länk i profil.

A-23. Image by Arla - September 8, 2017

Translation: arlasverige Farmer's film - Cows can transform grass into milk and what they eat is of course extremely important. A cow chews 40-70 times for each chew and always receives high quality GMO-free forage. Learn more about forage and water via link in profile.



arlasverige Vad tycker ni om den nya bruna kartongen? ☺ Att den har 24 % lägre klimatpåverkan gör den helt klart bättre - men är den snyggare? 🌱 #miljö #arla #mjölk

A-24. Image by Arla - October 12, 2017

Translation: arlasverige What do you think of the new brown carton? That it has 24% lower climate impact clearly makes it better - but is it better looking?



arlasverige

arlasverige Ny vecka och en nytilkommen kalv i ladugården, men vad ska hon heta? Kommentera gärna ditt namnförslag och glöm inte att följa @arlasverige, på söndag presenterar vi hennes nya namn! 🐮❤️

A-25. Image by Arla - October 23, 2017

Translation: **arlasverige** New week and a new calf in the barn, but what should her name be? Please comment on your name suggestion and do not forget to follow @arlasverige, on Sunday we will present her new name!

Appendix 2

Oatly	
Words	Sum
the	60
you	41
of	38
and	32
a	31
to	29
for	26
we	26
in	23
is	22
that	20
this	20
it	17
milk	17
oat	17

Arla	
Words	Sum
the	59
milk	30
and	23
a	22
is	20
to	20
for	17
in	17
of	16
we	16
cow	12
on	12
Arla	11
with	11
are	9