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Advertising for Sustainability – Promoting Sustainably Produced Food to Finnish Consumers

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Abstract

The objective of this research is to analyse the amount and the content of food advertisements from three Finnish magazines from the years 2006-2007 and 2010-2012. Moreover, the aim is to outline what are the values reflected in the appeals used to advertise sustainably produced food to Finnish consumers. The diffusion of innovations –theory together with a theoretical framework consisting of three value orientations related sustainably oriented behaviour is used. A gradual increase in the popularity of sustainably produced food is indeed visible in the quantity as well as the content of advertisements from the years 2010-2012 compared to 2006-2007. The appeals of the earlier advertisements were often rational and more related to egoistic or altruistic values. Whereas, in the advertisements from the years 2010-2012, positive emotional appeals were used containing both egoistic and altruistic values; and biospheric values were related to positive emotional appeals. The findings of this research yield new information about how sustainably produced food has been marketed to a larger group of Finnish consumers.

Keywords

Sustainable consumption, Advertising, Appeals, Values, Food

1 Introduction

It is widely agreed upon that consumers' consumption choices contribute to ecological and social problems both directly in the form of emissions from the consumption of goods and services and indirectly in the form of demand for products and services that cause adverse impacts along the value chain. Although there still is no common understanding on what sustainable consumption is, it cannot be denied that the negative impacts of excessive consumption in the affluent countries need to be reduced in order to strive towards sustainability. (Schrader & Thørgesen, 2011) Moreover, voluntary sustainable consumption should be encouraged by, for instance, educating consumers on desirable behaviour and allowing them to make choices in the marketplace. Food is one of the key consumption contexts in terms of environmental and social impacts in the World sustainable food consumption and sustainably produced food should therefore be promoted actively to consumers. (Belz & Peattie, 2009)

In the research on sustainable consumption there is still an on-going debate on whether the availability of sustainable alternatives to products and services and the availability of information, for example in the form of advertisements, or individual values, attitudes and motives are more important for motivating behavioural change towards sustainability. (Schrader & Thørgesen, 2011) Nevertheless, the key to successfully marketing sustainably produced products and, in particular, if seeking to expand sustainable-oriented consumption into the mass market, is to connect the product features and the brand message with the values that consumers find appealing. (Ottman et al., 2006; Belz & Peattie, 2009) Values are relevant also to the appeals used in advertising, since most of the basic human values can be, to a certain extent, related to the direction of the food choice motives (de Boer et al., 2007).

While a considerable amount of literature has been published on marketing sustainably produced food and values influencing consumer behaviour, these studies have focused on the environmental aspect of sustainability and the values related to that leaving out the social aspects of sustainability (Stern, 2000; Thørgesen & Ölander 2002; de Groot & Steg, 2007; Buenstorf & Cordes, 2008; Verain et al., 2012) or on (eco)labels as a means of informing consumers (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002; De Pelsmacker, et al., 2003; D'Souza, et al., 2006; Karstens & Belz, 2006). So far, however, there has been little discussion about how the values significant to sustainable consumer behaviour are portrayed in

advertisements for sustainably produced products. In order to fill this research gap, this article examines the values reflected in the appeals used to advertise environmentally and socially sustainably produced food to Finnish consumers.

The objective of this paper is to analyse, by using qualitative content analysis, both the amount as well as the content of food advertisements from the years 2006-2007 and 2010-2012 from three Finnish magazines. The aim is, therefore, to outline what are the values that are reflected in the appeals used to advertise sustainably produced food to Finnish consumers. Print advertisements are chosen, since they may convey more detailed information than television or radio advertisements. Moreover, print advertising can be more pleasing to the consumers than television and radio advertisements, since the consumer can decide oneself how much and how long one wants to pay attention to the advertisement and its message. (Rogers 2003; Belz & Peattie 2009)

The diffusion of innovations –theory (Rogers 2003) is used as theoretical framework. In addition, this paper draws upon a framework consisting of three value orientations - egoistic, altruistic and biospheric - that have been found to be significant when explaining beliefs and intentions related to environmentally significant behaviour. It can also be extended to explain beliefs and intentions related to behaviour connected to sustainability (Emery, 2012).

In this paper the term ‘sustainably produced food’ is used to refer to organic food, locally produced food and food produced in line with the principles of Fair Trade. These three types of so called alternative foods can be considered as sustainably produced, since in their supply chain the social and/or ecological aspects of production are taken into account more so than in the case of conventional products (D’Souza et al., 2006). The term sustainable consumption is used to refer to such consumption patterns that, in addition to consumers’ wants and needs, take into account the economic, environmental and social impacts of production and consumption.

This paper has been organized in the following way: first, a brief summary of the literature relevant to this paper’s topic is presented together with a concise introduction of consumption of sustainably produced food in Finland, followed by the Material and Methods –chapter. Then the results of an empirical study are presented and discussed. Finally conclusions are drawn and further research questions posed.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Advertising and Sustainability

The objectives of advertising are classified according to their aim. The aim of advertising can be to inform, persuade, remind or reinforce. The main purpose of advertising is to get consumers to think about a product or react to the product or company in a certain way. In general, people will react only if they think that they shall benefit from doing so. Thus, customer benefits, either functional or emotional, are effective when used as advertising appeals. Good advertising appeals should be meaningful pointing out the product's benefits that make it more desirable to consumers; appeals should also be believable so that the consumers believe that the product delivers the promised benefits; moreover, advertising appeals should be distinctive and tell why the product is better than the competing brands. (De Pelsmacker et al., 2007; Kotler & Keller, 2009; Kotler & Armstrong, 2012)

Advertising is traditionally associated with the conventional marketing principles that emphasise the generation of demand. Advertising may also be seen as means for companies to persuade consumers to purchase and consume even more products that they do not necessarily need. Indeed, this does not harmonise with the ideals of sustainability and sustainable consumption. In addition, it may be a challenge to communicate in a clear and understandable, yet engaging manner about the complex environmental or social aspects and consumer benefits from a sustainability perspective in a single printed page or using a limited radio or television time slot. Furthermore, advertising does have its limitations, since it communicates a unidirectional message to a large audience at once (Belz & Peattie, 2009).

However, advertising does have a role in informing consumers and moulding consumer behaviour by influencing attitudes and beliefs. In this role marketing, as well as advertising being part of the marketing mix, can be said to recognise the role of consumers as decision makers when moving towards sustainability. (Jones, et al., 2008.) Advertising has, indeed, been widely used as a part of sustainability marketing strategies in many product and service categories (Belz & Peattie, 2009).

2.2 Raising Consumer Awareness

Consumers form their initial understanding and become aware of a product partly based on the information initiated by the marketer. This information can be, for example, in the form of advertising or labels. (D'Souza, et al., 2006; McDonald & Oates, 2006.) Information, contributing to the education and awareness, can be accessed from several sources, such as personal sources, commercial sources, public sources and experiential sources. Usually consumers receive the most information about a product or service from commercial sources that are controlled by the marketer. However, the most effective sources of information tend to be personal. Commercial sources generally inform, whereas personal sources legitimise or evaluate products. (Kotler & Armstrong, 2012)

In the case of sustainably produced products, such as food, the sustainability itself – whether the organic origin, locality of production or fairness of employee treatment – is a so called credence feature of the product. These features are not directly visible or something that the consumers can ascertain by themselves. Thus, they have to trust the information given by others. (Buenstorf & Cordes, 2008; Karstens & Belz, 2006; Weatherell et al., 2003).

Although, research has shown that the amount of information does not necessarily correlate with the consumers' willingness to purchase sustainably produced food, the lack of awareness about sustainability aspects and the more sustainable alternatives to conventional products is, indeed, considered a barrier to pro-environmental or more sustainable behaviour. (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002). Thus, information may function as a means of raising consumer awareness about different alternatives, either sustainable or conventional, and it does, therefore, unquestionably provide the prerequisites for consumer choice consequently facilitating sustainable consumption. (Thøgersen, 2005)

2.2.1 Mass Media and the Diffusion of Innovations

In this paper sustainably produced food is considered to be an innovation, since consumption of sustainable food has until recently been somewhat a niche phenomenon in Finland. Moreover, the assortment of sustainably produced food in conventional grocery stores and supermarkets has been rather limited until lately and the only place to purchase these products would have been a health food shop or farmers markets. Consumption of sustainably produced food has therefore been practiced by the sustainably oriented consumers who can be also described as innovators or early adopters.

According to Rogers (2003) mass media can aid the diffusion of innovations, since it can reach a large audience rapidly creating knowledge, spreading information and changing weakly held attitudes. Moreover, mass media channels, such as print advertising, are somewhat more important in the knowledge stage of the innovation decision process¹. (Rogers 2003)

Different communication channels have different roles in the innovation-decision process. Mass media channels, such as print advertising, are important notably at the knowledge stage whereas interpersonal communication channels are more important at the persuasion stage. Moreover, advertising has been said to accelerate the diffusion process of a new product. (Rogers 2003) This may be applicable not only to the diffusion of a new product, but also to the diffusion of an existing product to new adopter categories or consumer segments.

According to Rogers (2003), adopter categories are the classifications of individuals within a social system based on innovativeness. The five adopter categories are: innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. The rate of adoption, i.e. how fast an innovation is adopted by the members of a social system, depends on the perceived attributes of an innovation. In addition to the product attributes the communication channels used to diffuse an innovation may also influence the rate of adoption. (Rogers, 2003)

¹ Innovation decision process is *“the process through which an individual passes from gaining initial knowledge of an innovation, to forming an attitude towards the innovation, to making a decision to adopt or reject the innovation, to the implementation of the new idea, and to the confirmation of this decision”* (Rogers 2003, 168).

2.2.2 Consumption of Sustainably Produced Food in Finland

The consumption of and the demand for sustainably produced food has increased steadily in Finland. In 2007 the market share of organic products was 0,8 % and in 2012 it was 1,6 %. The amount of organic products in the portfolio of supermarkets is between 1500 and 2000. Statistics are not compiled on the sales of organic products, but the size of the organic market has increased more than the sales of fast moving consumer goods on average and the consumers' interest in and their willingness to purchase organic food are on the increase. (ProLuomu, 2013)

The sales of Fair Trade products increased by 48 % from the year 2011 to 2012. Fair Trade products have been available in Finland for 15 years and both their demand as well as the product assortment has steadily grown. (Fair Trade Finland, 2013) Although exact statistics are not available, it can be said that the demand for locally produced food has been on the rise in the past few years. It has been claimed that currently the demand for locally produced food is greater than its supply, since Finnish consumers are increasingly interested in the traceability of food as well as experiencing new foods and tastes. (Ruokatieto, 2012)

2.3 Values and Sustainability

Schwartz (1992, p.21) defines a value as: "a desirable transsituational goal varying in importance, which serves as a guiding principle in the life of a person or other social entity". Values reflect the desirable end-states of existence, they are abstract and transcend specific situations, and values serve also as a guiding principle and are grouped in a system of value priorities (de Groot & Steg, 2007). Moreover, numerous previous studies have linked values to sustainable consumption (Thøgersen, 2001; Thøgersen & Ölander, 2002; De Pelsmacker et al., 2003) and more sustainable food choices (de Boer, et al., 2007).

In consumer behaviour research it is assumed that consumer motivations and behaviour are often driven by underlying values through beliefs and intention (Solomon et al., 2006; de Groot & Steg, 2007). Moreover, values are one of the psychographic variables that companies utilise to identify the

ecological consumer segment (Fraj & Martinez, 2006). Previous research indicates that out of the ten universal value types introduced by Schwartz (1994) self-transcendence values, particularly universalism (Thøgersen, 2001; Thøgersen & Ölander, 2002; Pepper et al. 2009) and benevolence (Thøgersen & Ölander, 2002; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2008), were associated with sustainable consumption and sustainable behaviour. However, self-enhancement values or egoistic value orientations, such as achievement, power and hedonism, are negatively related to beliefs, attitudes, preferences and behaviours related with sustainable consumption (Stern, 2000; Thøgersen & Ölander, 2002; Steg et al., 2012). Nevertheless, both individual and collective values are claimed to be important in influencing sustainable consumer behaviour (Verain et al. 2012).

In addition to the aforementioned, traditional value types introduced by Schwartz, a framework consisting of three value orientations has been created. This framework has been used in environmental psychology to explain beliefs and intentions related to environmentally significant behaviour. The three value orientations are: egoistic, altruistic and biospheric value orientations. Egoistic values focus on maximising individual outcomes and benefits, altruistic values reflect concern for the welfare of others and the biospheric value orientation consists of value orientations that emphasise the perceived costs and benefits to the environment and the biosphere as a whole. (Stern & Dietz, 1994; Stern, 2000; Kollmuss & Agyemang, 2002; de Groot & Steg, 2008; Steg et al, 2012; Emery, 2012) This value orientations framework can also be extended to explain beliefs and intentions related to behaviour connected to sustainability, not only limiting it to environmentally significant behaviour (Emery, 2012).

Consumers' values influence their behaviour and responses during purchasing as well as how consumers perceive and react to communication campaigns (Belz & Peattie, 2009). Moreover, values may play an important role in consumer decision-making processes when choosing a sustainable product or brand (Burgess, 1992 cited in Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006, p. 173), since connecting product features related to sustainability to consumer values may help consumers identify the benefits of the products (Ottman et al. 2006).

2.4 Sustainability Appeals in Advertising

Although, consumer markets and consumers as a group are heterogeneous, sustainable products, such as food, can be promoted to a broader public through communication efforts. In order to gain and hold the consumers' attention, advertising messages should be well planned, imaginative, entertaining and emotionally engaging. Moreover, advertisements should provide information that is interesting, useful and entertaining and in order to produce a desired response, a marketer has to find an effective appeal or a theme. (Kotler & Armstrong, 2012)

Appeals used in marketing communications can be divided into three categories: rational, emotional and moral appeals. *Rational appeals* pertain to the consumer's self-interest and show that a product has the desired features and it will produce the expected benefits. Messages relying on rational appeals highlight the product's quality, economy or performance. (Kotler & Armstrong, 2012)

The objective of *emotional appeals* is to stimulate either negative or positive emotions that may motivate purchase. Emotional appeals used in marketing communications range from love, joy and humour to fear and guilt. It is claimed that emotional messages are effective in reaching the audience's attention, since consumers often feel before they think rationally. The third type of appeals – the *moral appeals* – tap into the audience's sense of what is "right" and "proper". Moral appeals are often used to encourage people to support social causes, such as a cleaner environment or aiding the ones in need. (Kotler & Armstrong, 2012)

Previous research has shown that using a combination of emotional and rational appeals is the most effective strategy when trying to advertise 'green' or environmentally sustainable products to consumers. As a matter of fact, studies have shown that non-emotional, rational appeals are neither liked nor understood by consumers. (Hartmann et al., 2005; Thøgersen, 2005). This is not only true for 'green' products, but can also be applied to communicating and advertising sustainability at large (Emery, 2012).

Traditionally sustainably produced products have been marketed to consumers who already are interested in sustainability or environmental issues. However, this group is small and in order to successfully market sustainably

produced food, advertising and other marketing activities should also be aimed at the early and late majority or consumers that are potential 'green' or sustainable consumers by attaching features such as health and naturalness to the products instead of relying chiefly on sustainability aspects. (Meyer, 2001; Kronrod, et al. 2012)

Indeed, Hüser (1996) and Belz (1999) (cited in Meyer, 2001, p. 319) have stated that the so called 'green' products will remain a niche phenomenon for only the ecologically active or "pure green" consumers if they appeal only to the consumer's environmental awareness and fail to provide other benefits in addition. These other benefits can be for instance the concrete, functional and sensorily perceptible benefits of the product or the self-esteem benefits; how purchasing the product makes you feel. This is also referred to as a feeling of well-being, a 'warm glow' (Ritov & Kahnemann, 1997, cited in Hartmann et al., 2005, p. 11), which is associated with acting in an altruistic way and contributing to the improvement of the common good or the personal satisfaction that environmentally conscious consumers get from manifesting their environmental awareness to others by purchasing green brands. (Hartmann et al., 2005; Buenstorf & Cordes, 2008)

3 Material and methods

The purpose of this study was to analyse both the amount as well as the content of food advertisements from the years 2006-2007 and 2010-2012 from three Finnish magazines². In addition, the aim is to outline what are the values that are reflected in the appeals used to advertise sustainably produced food to Finnish consumers.

Advertisements for organic, Fair Trade and locally produced food from three Finnish magazines from 2006-2007 and 2010-2012 were collected and analysed. Only food advertisements were taken into consideration leaving out advertisements of alcoholic beverages, diet or meal replacement products, sweeteners and sweets.

² N.B. Only the issues of year 2007 and 2012 were available of the weekly family magazine.

The three magazines chosen were: Finland's most popular women's magazine with 24 issues per year; a 'high-end' food and wine magazine with 8 issues per year; as well as a traditional weekly family magazine. The focus of the analysis was on the textual content: the words and expressions used in the advertisements. The words and expressions were identified, coded and finally categorised. Three categories - rational, emotional and credence - representing the different types of appeals used in the food advertisements (see chapter 2.4) were formed.

Environmental and social aspects can be rather abstract and complex for consumers to understand and grasp the connection between these problems and (food) consumption (Moisander, 2007; Belz & Peattie, 2009, Emery, 2012) and the 'sustainability' of products is seldom of a sensory nature or tangible, but more a question of trust. On this account instead of the moral appeals –category the third category of appeals was named the credence category, since the credence based appeals encompasses both the trust related appeals as well as the appeals related to doing what is 'right' or 'proper' in terms of sustainability. These three categories of appeals were further grouped under the three different value orientations introduced in chapter 2.3. The results are presented in the next chapter.

4 Results and discussion

The results of this study indicate that, despite the ample amount of food advertisements, there are rather few advertisements of sustainably produced food in 2006-2007. However, the gradual increase in the popularity of sustainably produced food is indeed visible in the quantity, as can be seen in Figure 1, as well as the content of advertisements from the years 2010-2012. It is worth noting that all the advertisements of sustainably produced food were either advertisements of organic food or Fair Trade –products and locally produced food was not advertised in the magazines.

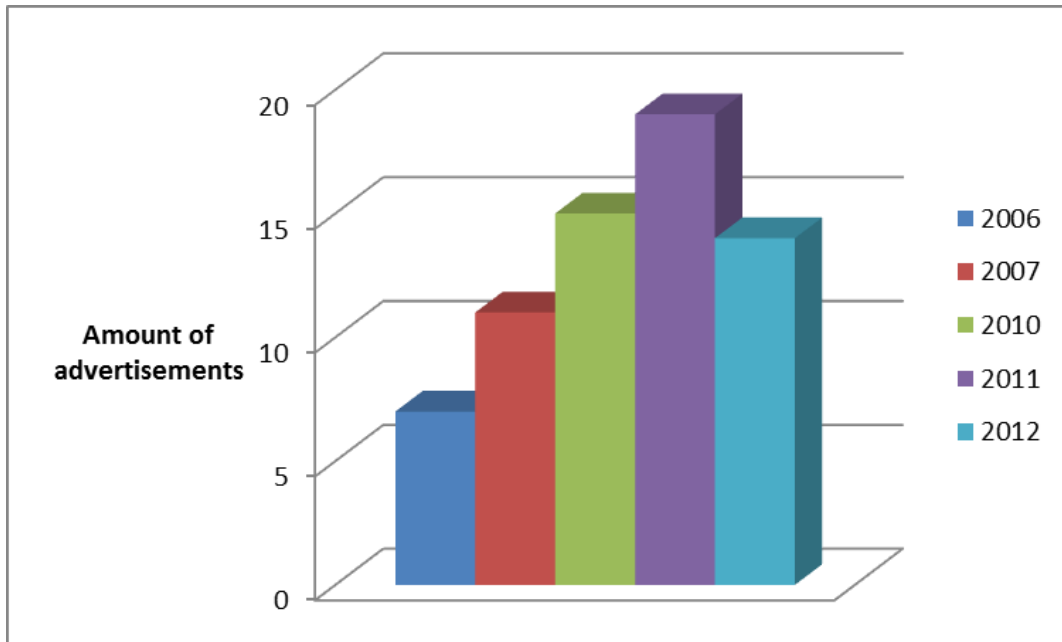


Figure 1: The amount of advertisements for sustainably produced food

As mentioned in the literature review, advertising accelerates the diffusion process of new products. The increase albeit a slight one, in the amount of advertisements of sustainably produced food indicates that sustainably produced food is perhaps no longer a niche phenomenon appealing only to the innovators and early adopters. Interest towards sustainably produced food is perhaps starting to become a mainstream phenomenon, thus becoming more profitable for companies. It is therefore worth advertising it in magazines that are aimed at consumer segments that can be described as early majority, late majority, and even laggards in terms of sustainable consumption.

The key content of the advertising appeals was analysed and the results show that the appeals used for advertising sustainable food have undergone a change from the year 2006 to 2012. In 2006-2007 appeals related mainly to safety, responsibility and health as can be seen in Figure 2. The appeals were mainly emotional ones stimulating positive emotions associated with the 'warm glow' of acting in an altruistic way. However, fear- and guilt –related appeals were also used for example when referring to the 'dangerous' additives in conventional food, organic food being the 'safe' alternative. Moreover, rational appeals were also used in advertisements focusing on the quality of the food, whereas good taste was not emphasised.

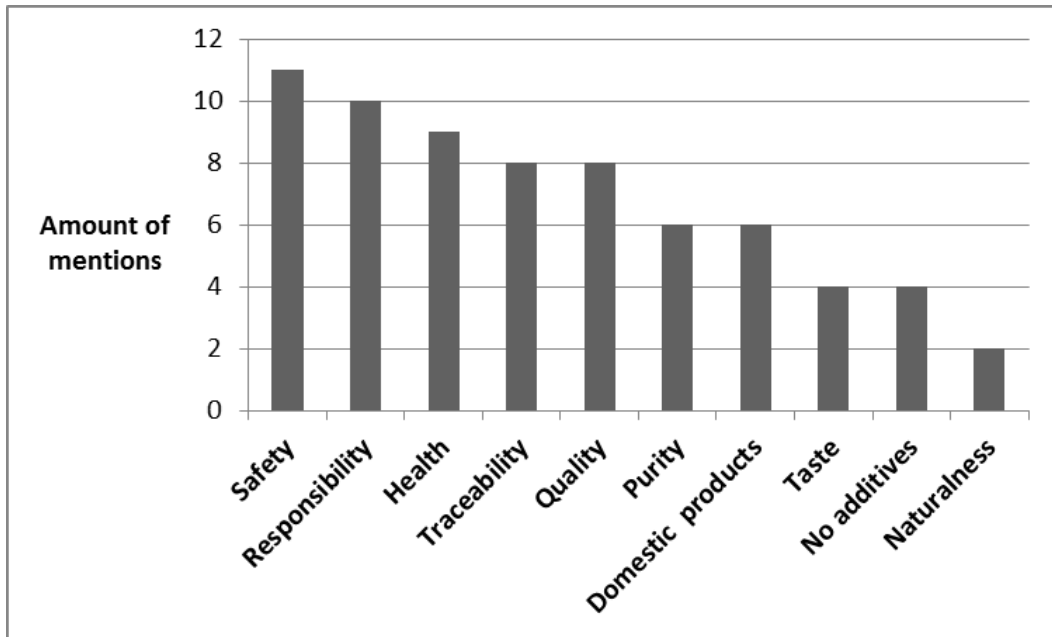


Figure 2: Key content of appeals 2006-2007

In the advertisements from 2010-2012 sustainably produced food was depicted as an enjoyable choice, since the appeals used were mostly based on good taste, doing good and the naturalness of the products as shown in Figure 3. As in 2006-2007, the appeals were still emotional ones, but they were positive and no fear- and guilt –based appeals were used. Rational appeals were also used, but their focus was on the superior taste of the products rather than the quality. However, the use of the ‘warm glow’ of acting in an altruistic way as the basis of advertising appeals had increased markedly when comparing the 2006-2007 data with the 2010-2012 one. In the latter data concrete product features were used in the appeals together with emotional appeals related to nostalgia and authenticity. The safety or healthiness of the products was no longer the main focus. However, the main aims of the advertisements in both 2006-2007 and 2010-2012 were either to inform consumers about new products or to persuade them that the products are superior to conventional food.

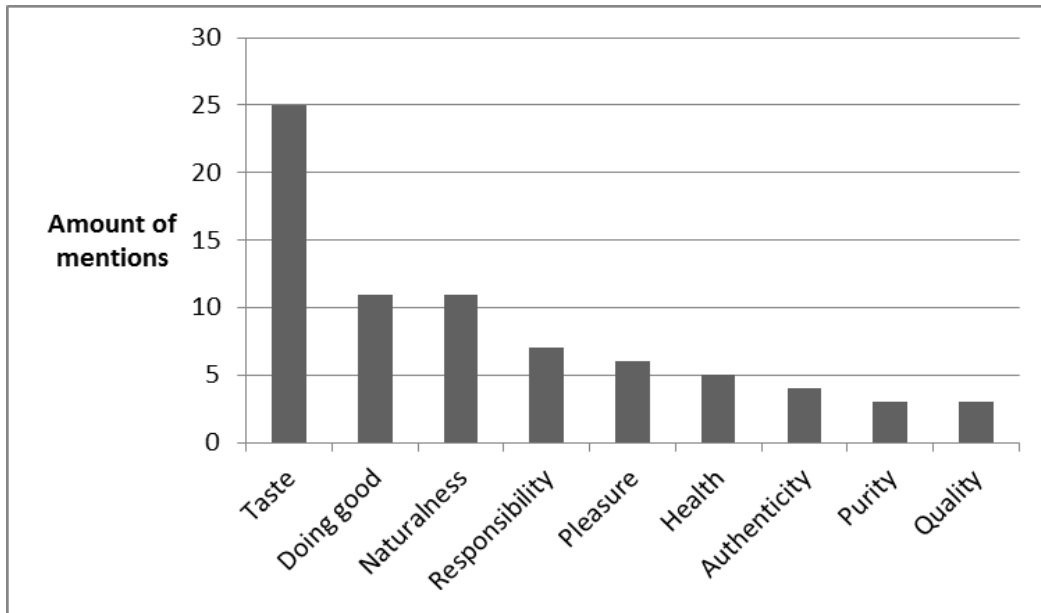


Figure 3: Key content of appeals 2010-2012

The results are consistent with the previous studies that suggest that the most effective advertising strategy for sustainably produced products is to use the combination of emotional and rational appeals. However, since sustainability is very much a credence feature of products, appeals based on credence aspects should not be left out. Moreover, appealing to positive emotions is said to be a more successful strategy than appealing to feelings of fear, shame or guilt.

The aforementioned appeals were further grouped under three categories based on rational, emotional and credence appeals and different value orientations introduced in chapter 2.4 in order to illustrate what are the values reflected in the appeals used to advertise sustainably produced food to Finnish consumers. The results are presented in Table 1 (years 2006-2007) and in Table 2 (2010-2012). As can be seen from these tables, the appeals in advertisements for sustainably produced food were not only related to the environmental dimension of sustainability, but the social dimension of sustainability, such as equitable treatment of employees and partnerships with farmers, was also referred to.

Table 1: Appeals and value orientations 2006-2007

Appeals ↓	Value orientations →	Egoistic	Altruistic	Biospheric
Rational		Good taste, no additives, quality		
Emotional		Safety, naturalness	Domestic (safe but also good for the economy), responsibility	
Credence		Health, purity, traceability	Partnerships with farmers, taking care of the employees, taking into account the welfare of people	Protecting the environment, animal welfare, environmentally friendly

Table 2: Appeals and value orientations 2010-2012

Appeals ↓	Value orientations →	Egoistic	Altruistic	Biospheric
Rational		Good taste, no additives, deliciousness, freshness, no preservatives		
Emotional		Fairness, enjoyment, naturalness, reliability, nostalgia, luxury	“Doing good”, good consciousness, “show that you care (for the future generations)”, traditionality (keeping the traditions of a community alive), authenticity, responsibility, domestic (adding an enjoyment dimension: good for you, good for Finland...)	Doing good to the environment, “show that you care (for the environment)”. “produced together with nature”
Credence		Health, purity, traceability,	Partnerships with farmers (Fair Trade), “produced close to you/locally”	Animal welfare, ecological (i.e. environmentally friendly), organic, free range

Appeals related to egoistic, altruistic or biospheric values were visible in the advertisements for sustainably produced food. However, differences between the years 2006-2007 and 2010-2012 were clearly observable. The appeals of the earlier advertisements were more related to egoistic or altruistic values and they referred to the safety, traceability and the healthiness of the food as well as the safety of the environment and the even the economic 'safety' of Finland. Biospheric values were not visible in the emotional appeals. However, the appeals based on biospheric values were found in the credence category.

As for the advertisements from the years 2010-2012, positive emotional appeals were used and associated with both egoistic and altruistic values. Moreover, contrary to the advertisements from 2006-2007, biospheric values were related to emotional appeals. In addition, the altruistic values related to emotional appeals were more diverse, not focusing solely on the different perspectives of safety.

In reviewing the literature, self-transcendence values were associated with sustainable consumption and sustainable behaviour, whereas self-enhancement values or egoistic value orientations were negatively related to beliefs, attitudes, preferences and behaviours related to sustainable consumption as stated in Chapter 2.3. This would suggest that self-transcendence values would be utilised as the only basis for the appeals advertising sustainably produced food, while appeals based on egoistic value orientations would not be used when promoting sustainable consumption.

Moreover, as mentioned in the literature review, prior studies have indicated that sustainable products are seldom a source of other than credence benefits such as the benefits to the environment (see for example Buenstorf & Cordes, 2008). These products, such as organic food, would therefore be appealing only to consumers with strong altruistic values and who are willing to sacrifice for instance good taste, provided that the environmental performance of the product is good.

However, the most interesting finding of this study was, that egoistic values i.e. 'personal pleasure' do not necessarily rule out altruistic or biospheric value orientations i.e. the 'greater good' as the basis of advertising appeals related to sustainability. Although the advertisements from 2006-2007 were rather conventional focusing either on the egoistic values or the altruistic values, the data from 2010-2012 showed that sustainably produced food was advertised by

using appeals based on egoistic AND altruistic or biospheric values: by linking personal pleasure, enjoyment or good taste with good consciousness or the idea of doing good to the environment.

This indicates that these different value orientations are not necessarily mutually exclusive and that sustainable consumption can be associated with personal enjoyment AND the greater good. Thus, making the advertising appeals and hence the benefits of purchasing sustainably produced food perhaps more tangible and appealing even to those consumers whose main priority might not be to make as sustainable food choices as possible.

5 Conclusions

This study has set out to analyse if the increasing demand for sustainably produced food is visible in the amount of print advertisements. In addition, the aim was to outline what are the values that are reflected in the appeals used to advertise sustainably produced food to Finnish consumers.

The findings suggest that the gradual increase in the popularity of sustainably produced food is visible in the quantity as well as the content of advertisements from the years 2010-2012 when compared with the amount of advertisements from the years 2006 and 2007. The appeals of the earlier advertisements were often rational and more related to egoistic or altruistic values. Whereas, in the advertisements from the years 2010-2012, positive emotional appeals were used and associated with both egoistic and altruistic values and, unlike in 2006-2007, biospheric values were related to positive emotional appeals.

This study has gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of the values on which the appeals used in advertisements for sustainably produced food are based. One of the most significant findings to emerge is that not only emotional appeals tapping into altruistic values are used, but the analysed advertisements utilise a mixture of appeal-types based on different underlying value orientations. For instance a sustainably produced product may be advertised appealing to the egoistic values in the form of enjoyment and good taste, but at the same time indicating that the product is a responsible choice for

those who want to 'do good'. Consequently, in the advertisements the greater good does not rule out personal pleasure and enjoyment.

The current study has only examined food advertisements in three Finnish magazines. Further research is therefore required to elaborate this issue. However, the findings of this research yield new information about how sustainably produced food has been marketed to a larger group of Finnish consumers and what values are reflected in the advertisements for sustainably produced food.

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