

**FRAMING SUSTAINABLE LIFESTYLES
- ORGANIC CONSUMPTION IN A WOMEN'S
MAGAZINE**

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ABSTRACT

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Abstract	
<p>Forms of sustainable lifestyles and more responsible ways to consume have become more popular in recent years. This is reflected also in that mainstream media discusses about sustainability. Similarly, there is a growing interest on organic produce, the organic market has grown steadily from the turn of the century. Due to the growing popularity of sustainability, the way media communicates about the issue, is of interest.</p> <p>This thesis studied how women’s magazines communicate about sustainable lifestyles, and sustainability in general. Especially, how the use of organic goods is reasoned and presented in a magazine is studied. The aim of the thesis was to uncover the frames, which the magazine used to communicate their view on organics. The study was conducted as a qualitative document analysis with a longitudinal approach. The theoretical framework was built on the concepts of sustainable lifestyle and analysed by the frame analysis method. Particularly, the frame devices presented by Robert Entman were utilised in analysing the data. Research data was derived from a Finnish women’s magazine MeNaiset. The data presented a mainstream media outlet, reflecting the views of the Finnish society.</p> <p>The results suggest that organics are associated with health, ethics, trends and presented also as options. The findings support a common view that women’s magazines mostly focus on promoting sustainable lifestyles by means of green consumerism. Their motives rise from the need to support the current status quo i.e. society’s support of consumer culture. This study contributes to the knowledge that currently women’s magazines tend to maintain the status quo and fail to communicate sustainability in a way, which would be more sustainable in long term.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

There have been drastic lifestyle changes in recent decades. The amount of consumption, pollution, a growing population and the uneven distribution of wealth and resources has pushed the boundaries of sustainability, both from environmental and social perspectives. The consumption culture of today's world urges companies and manufacturing to increase production and this in turn oppresses the environment and can have questionable social aspects as well. All of this has escalated to a point, where Earth's resources are overindulged. Overshoot day is a term used to demonstrate Earth's carrying capacity. It calculates the abundant resources of the globe and how well they stretch to cover current lifestyles over the course of a year. Each year overshoot day takes place earlier. In 2016, earth's resources were utilised by the beginning of August and from that point forward extractions were made "on credit". To be able to cover the consumption pattern of today's desires, a globe, 1,6 times more resourceful would be required (Global Footprint Network 2016; Earth overshoot day 2016). To manifest the fast pace, conspicuous consumption culture, a more considered style of living has begun to emerge, at least for some. There are growing number of people more conscious with their consumeristic patterns, their choice of products and non-consumption viewpoints. Ethical consumption and environmentally more considered lifestyles have become more common as well as more fashionable in recent years.

As environmental and social issues have raised to central topics of today's discussions, they are being studied to gain understanding of and debated over to find possibilities and options to be utilized in the fight over matters such as environmental degradation and global warming. More sustainable and responsible consumerism is seen as a potential choice to combat some of the issues society faces today. However, consumption itself is one of the sources of the problem. Today, citizens are being educated and informed about the effects their choices are causing to the environment and to other people. For example, since sustainability has gain media attention, citizens have been informed about air travel pollution effects or environmental issues relating to meat consumption. By now the general population should be aware that current lifestyles are

unsustainable and overconsumption is one relevant aspect of it. Still, it is a safe assumption that not everyone is interested in being sustainable or have interest in self-evaluating their lifestyle choices. Moreover, it can be argued that mainstream media does not question the current consumer culture, and thus citizens are not being presented with a more sustainable choice for a lifestyle and so lack external motivation to take the leap forward.

However, organic goods are widely regarded as one of the more environmental considered options for consumption, over conventional ones. The belief raises from the ideology of organic agriculture, which places importance on natural lifecycle systems for farming and providing natural habitat -like environments for animals. This can be seen as a less environmental destructive way of producing food. Organic products have gained interest as well as popularity, not only among the environmental enthusiasts, but even among the mainstream consumers. Even though the regular consumer has found the sustainable option among the conventional products and the segment is growing by the year, the overall coverage of organic products is still rather small (Pro Luomu 2017).

This thesis studies and discusses the way a mainstream women's magazine presents organics to the general public and more specifically to a female audience in Finland. The way organics are presented should give an idea of how the ideology of organics is seen among the general population at a certain time. As the magazine concentrates on recent events, current discussion and upcoming fashion trends, the role organics is given, should reflect its position in the society at that point in time.

1.1 Motivation for the research

Motivation to study sustainability matters in women's magazines draws from an interest to investigate how an issue, which could be perceived as anti-consumption at best, can be presented and discussed in a mainstream publication. It is believed that the way the magazine presents organics is twofold; it is either presented in the way the general population already sees the subject or it strengthens trend-setting aspects and presents organics as new and upcoming trends. It is estimated that neither of those promote true sustainability in essence.

1.2 Research aim and research questions

The aim of the research is to understand how sustainability and organics, in particular, are described in a women's magazine. The study focuses on how the Finnish women's magazine, *McNaiset*, presents and portrays organics in its

articles. The research aim, especially, is to reveal underlying frames related to organics in the women's magazine and describe them. The task is to understand what type of frames emerge in connection to organics, their use or consumption. Additionally, once a group of frames are uncovered and identified, their occurrence and existence can be reflected on different volumes and the potential changes of dominant frames are compared to each other.

Frames analysis is a way to study media texts for their selection and salience of selected topics. It is used to identify packaged messages communicated in media for example. It studies how topics are presented and how they are communicated to the audience. Frame analysis was originally developed by Erving Goffman for social sciences, and today it is used by many scholars to study media messages e.g. in political communications. Frames are rather stable as they are often constructed utilising societal norms and beliefs. Therefore, any changes in frames should also reflect development on societal level.

The research data is studied for longitudinal aspects as well. The potential changes in the discovered frames could reflect the recent changes, i.e. the growing interest, the organics have experienced. As a more conscious consumption has become more popular in recent years, it is expected to show in the data as well. Nevertheless, it is not expected that the role or motives of the magazine have change during the same time period. It is possible that in the magazine, the recent uprising of organics is still based on trends and not on true sustainability attributes.

In order to fulfil the research aim, the following research questions are imposed:

1. What type of organic frames can be identified from the magazine?

and the sub questions are:

2. What roles or associations do organics have in the frames?
3. What type of changes can be recognised in the frames over the time period?

Studying the status of sustainability and organics, in particular, is interesting, because favourable presentation on media does not always encourage true sustainability, but could rather emphasizes its fashion status and thus promote purely consumption oriented patterns, instead of sustainability. As it is not always the case that discussion about the intend of conscious consumerism would always result in sustainable consumption, there is a need to understand the images or lifestyles, which are associated with the use of sustainable or organic goods. Therefore, the use of organic in different contexts is studies and emerging frames are analysed to gain understanding on how organics are seen as being part of one's life and what roles do they play in it.

This study should provide information on how organics are presented and communicated to audiences by a mainstream medium aimed for women. The way a mainstream magazine portrays an issue, can reveal how the subject is seen, discussed, and reflected among the general population, as media is a powerful influencer in public opinion. By recognising different frames, the current state and status of organics in the Finnish society in general and especially among women, should be discovered.

2 KEY CONCEPTS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following chapter will define and develop the central themes and concepts in the thesis, which are sustainable lifestyle, organics, and women's magazines. The main objective is to draw from existing literature and previous studies and later reflect that information on the research data. First, the theme of sustainable lifestyle is developed by examining the concepts of sustainability and lifestyle. This section will also consider issues with consumption. After that, definition on organics will be provided and short review on the background and current state of organics is explored. Finally, this chapter will close with a discussion on the role of women's magazines and their relation to sustainability.

2.1 Sustainable lifestyles

The notion of sustainable lifestyle derives from the concept of sustainable development, which is defined as: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (United Nations 1987). The concept of sustainable development gained popularity after the World Commission on Environment and Development introduce the United Nation committee report, *Our Common Future*, in 1987. Also, known as the Brundtland Report, it emphasised the need for shared efforts to address environmental and social issues (United Nations 1987).

In addition to the intergenerational considerations of sustainable development, it also contemplates social, environmental as well as economic aspects (The Finnish National Commission on Sustainable Development 2006, 16). This is called the three pillars of sustainability or the triple bottom line (James 2015). Figure 1 demonstrates the three pillars and the potential they possess, if implemented successfully. There is a profound understanding of the significance to find a balance between all three aspects, so that one would not be over-dominating to others. This is based on the understanding that all the aspects are

greatly interconnected and are necessary for fair and healthy societies. (The Finnish National Commission on Sustainable Development 2006, 32).

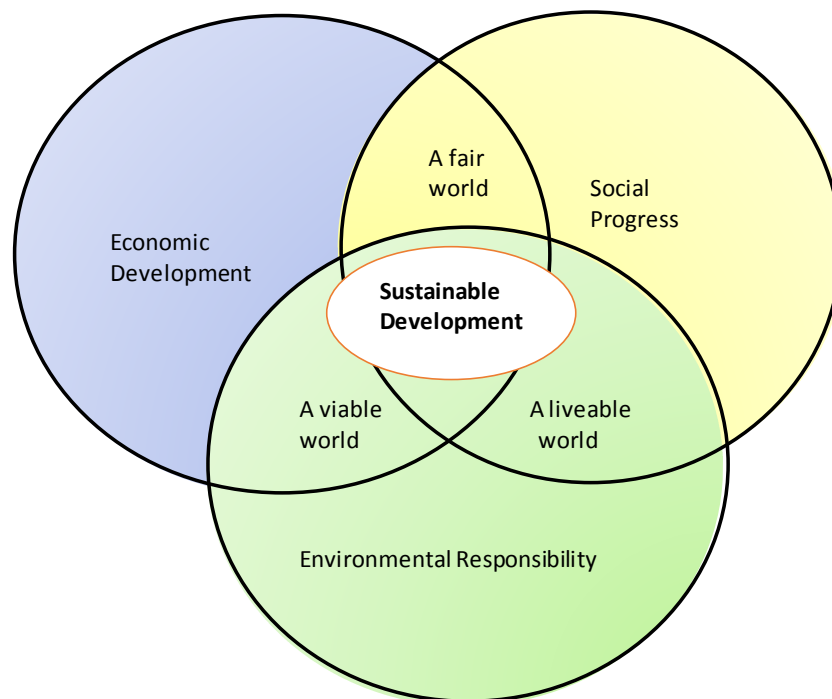


Figure 1 The Aspects of Sustainable Development

The concept of sustainable development has since its introduction been incorporated into various missions and visions from corporate level to governmental and cross-national goals for the future (Baker 2006). For example, The European Union sees sustainable development as an essential element of the union's future and it has incorporated sustainable development into various policies and initiatives to address the issue comprehensively (Lafferty and Meadowcroft 2000, 1; European Commission 2016). The United Nation's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which was developed to continue and improve the agenda of the Rio+20 Conference, is another example of organisational commitment to sustainable development. (European Commission 2017a; European Commission 2017b; European Commission 2017c). Still, with all the integrating, little has been achieved to implement it on a global level and in an effective manner (James 2015).

The principles of sustainable development are relevant in order to understand sustainability in a wider scale. On a more mundane level, the citizens are the ones who can actualise and practice sustainability as part of their lifestyles, if they are able and willing to do so. Hereby, let us explore a more concrete level of sustainability.

At its simplest, lifestyle can be defined as "the way in which a person lives his life." (the Oxford web-dictionary). According to Giddens, lifestyle reflects self-identity and it is a way of seeking self-actualisation and self-fulfilment.

Choices and daily activities again reflect lifestyle (Giddens 1991, 5). Lifestyles comprehend group of practices, some patterned and some not, as well as habits and tendencies. Lifestyle is projected through what individual eats, wears, how he acts and where and with whom he interacts. In addition, Giddens mentions that group pressures are an integral part of how lifestyles are chosen and shaped. (Giddens 1991, 81-82) Hence, lifestyle includes individual's or group's way of life, habits, relations, and the way they choose to express themselves. Also, behaviour and values, occupation and family relations mirrors chosen lifestyle.

Sustainable lifestyle can also be viewed as the way an individual lives his life, while being conscious of the fact that his ecological footprint affects the state of the environment i.e. carbon dioxide emissions, water and other natural resources use, and dietary choices. Sustainable lifestyle should comprise patterns of consumption, commuting, and social interactions, which reflect the responsibility to ensure that future generations are also able to survive on the globe. The elements of modern life and lifestyle, which cause the most damage in terms of sustainability include: housing, commuting, energy, water, food, travel and consumption. Consumers can choose to adjust those aspects of their lives to be more sustainable. Some habits may be easier to change and others more difficult. Still, with the attitude of continuous improvement, citizens can acquire the most sustainable options and habits, which will be suitable for their regional needs as well as their lifestyles. Of course, these are issues highly affected by personal preference, convenience, and taste, not to forget the external demands of place of residence, and financial or infrastructural influence on possibilities. Additionally, social relations and group pressure mould how an individual sees these elements and how they are valued (Giddens 1991, 82). The need to belong is indeed a powerful factor in shaping one's opinions and behaviour.

Then how do individuals adopt sustainable habits? How pro-environmental practices expand and are strengthened? Pro-environmental behaviour has been studied abundantly. The likelihood of one environmental habit to encourage other environmental habits has been studied as spillover of pro-environmental behaviour. Reasons pro-environmental spillover has been studied is to gain knowledge for different policies and learn how to best influence and induce such behaviour. Proven positive pro-environmental spillover would more likely result in adoption of policies, which aimed to benefit the cause. (Truelove et al. 2014)

Truelove et al. (2014) studied how pro-environmental spillover occurs and what are the matters affecting it. They suggest that there are different routes towards spillover of pro-environmental behaviour. They argue that whether people pursue further environmental habits or not is affected by their reasoning to participate in such an act, their view on how it benefits them or how in-line it is with their values, and how the behaviour or habit is actually performed or delivered. Positive spillover is more likely to occur when and individual is already performing a certain environmental activity, and a similar activity is

about to be added. It was discovered that if the additional activity was especially difficult or easy to perform, it affected the likelihood that the activity was adopted. Truelove et al. (2014) state that previous pro-environmental behaviour does not determine if positive spillover occurs, however, if an individual has a strong environmental identity, she is more likely to commit to several environmental habits, since the participation enforces that identity. Similarly, Lorek and Fuchs (2011) mention that positive spillover is more likely to occur when person's values on environmental or social issues are addressed rather than by emphasizing financial or status aspects of the affair.

Thogersen and Ölander (2003) studied if pro-environmental behaviour has spillover potential in consumption habits. They discovered that there is both positive and negative spillover of pro-environmental behaviour, however the spillover effect was rather small. This supports the view that once an individual has participated in an environmentally favourable activity, it may create the feeling that participating to other activities is not necessary, since he has already contributed to the issue. Truelove et al. (2014) refer to this as single action bias. Moreover, to change consumption habits may be more difficult compared to recycling for example, because of the simplicity of the act to recycle, whereas consumption requires understanding the actual environmental benefits of one product over the other.

There have been attempts and some successes to motivate pro-environmental behaviour and normalisation of certain elements of sustainable lifestyles, for example recycling of household wastes (Thomas and Sharp 2013). Recycling has reached a level of normalcy in many countries, even if the extent to which different types of wastes is recycled varies. This development has required both efforts from individuals and the cities and governments, which have built the infrastructure and policies to support and encourage such an activity. Recycling can be seen as an easy starting point for further environmentally friendly habits. As Evans and Abrahamse (2009) discovered, once an individual has acquired pro-environmental habits, he wants to further adopt other environmental habits as well. However, this may be limited to an environmentally conscious group of people, as studies have shown that spillover of sustainable behaviour can pursue further environmental behaviour, but also limit the involvement in other areas of sustainability.

As there are three pillars of sustainability, which are environmental, social, and economic dimensions, there are also three types of actors that affect sustainable development, consumption, and lifestyles. Those are governments, businesses, and citizens. Whether responsibility is pushed from top-down or bottom-up, it is often considered impossible to reach sustainability, if only one actor is actively pursuing it. The continuous debate over individuals' responsibility to make the change towards more sustainable lifestyles and towards a more sustainable world in general, is flawed in that, this way responsibility on sustainable lifestyle change is mainly placed on those citizens, who are already pursuing sustainability. They alone cannot balance the

unsustainability of other citizens or industries (Sustainable Consumption Roundtable 2006). Moreover, scattered consumers do not create enough power to make profound changes to the system. (Moisander 2007). Even though consumers do have influence on markets, companies and markets are similarly powerful, and do manipulate and encourage consumers to act in a certain way. Politics and business manipulate by presenting consumption as desirable and affordable. They aim to make production and trade more efficient and lower in unit costs, so that more goods can be bought cheaper (Zaccaï 2007, 4). Thus, markets and mass consumption is focussed on the unethical and harmful patterns of today's lifestyle (Heinonen in Ahlqvist and Raijas 2004, 175).

Many see that governments or consumer community should be the force to make the change and purely free market mechanisms are not able to create sustainable solutions. It is considered a joint effort to address the unsustainable lifestyles of today's societies, and all actors are needed for the change towards sustainable societies and lifestyles to be comprehensive and effective. (Barr and Gilg 2006; Moisander 2007; UNEP 2001; European Commission 2016; Heinonen in Ahlqvist and Raijas 2004, 187). The European Commission recognises the urgent need to address unsustainable consumption patterns and the need to move forward towards sustainable societies (European Commission 2016). Therefore, as the importance has already been addressed, governments and businesses should use their power to motivate consumers and simultaneously create infrastructure for sustainable products to have market access. (Sustainable Consumption Roundtable 2006; Evans and Abrahamse 2009)

When considering consumption and sustainability, it can be regarded as somewhat contradictory, as Zaccaï (2007, 3) points out. Consumption itself is one of the major issues when discussing sustainability and what are the man-made stress origins causing environmental degradation at the moment. As significant sustainability effects arise from consumption, the current way of living and consuming simply cannot continue unchanged forever (Autio in Ahlqvist and Raijas 2004, 103). Overconsumption is highly unsustainable and it has many ecological and social effects which burden the environment and people as well. Therefore, the amount of consumption needs to be decreased (Heinonen in Ahlqvist and Raijas 2004, 187) and the ways societies consume needs to change. There is dearth of knowledge or interest among the consumers about the effects of their consumption habits have on the environment or to other people (production and labour), at the same time, they are largely unaware or uninformed about the possibilities and options they could have to live more sustainably (Autio in Ahlqvist and Raijas 2004, 103). Mostly the problem lies in that consumer are largely uninterested in making efforts to question or compare their decisions (Heinonen in Ahlqvist and Raijas 2004, 175).

Sustainable consumption is perhaps best seen as the efforts of consumers to choose the best possible options from the lined-up possibilities. The Oslo Symposium on sustainable production and consumption was held in 1994 and it defined sustainable consumption and production (SCP) as follows:

"the use of services and related products, which respond to basic needs and bring a better quality of life while minimizing the use of natural resources and toxic materials as well as the emissions of waste and pollutants over the life cycle of the service or product so as not to jeopardize the needs of further generations". (United Nations n.d.a)

It is worth noting, that sustainable consumption is often combined with production as sustainable consumption and production (SCP), this is often seen e.g. in policies and agendas of official organisations. The focus of the SCP concept tends to be on the technological solutions to production and consumption. The ideology "doing more and better with less" applies to SCP (United Nations n.d.b). However, sustainable consumption itself aims further pass the technological aspects of sustainable consumption and production. The difference between technology focused solutions and solutions suggesting changes through new systems and habits, were defined as negative and positive sustainability by James (2015) and as strong and weak sustainability by Lorek and Fuchs (2011).

James defines negative sustainability, not as bad, but as being solely concentrated on reducing the bad and harmful substances (methods) that are being produced i.e. through technical solutions. Positive sustainability, in the other hand, is focused on integrating good and useful practices, which have proved to work in the past, into the present "fight against unsustainability". (James 2015, 21-23) Also, Lorek and Fuchs (2011) discuss the same issue, only they have named it weak and strong sustainable consumption. In their definition, weak sustainable consumption is based on market mechanisms and favouring of technological solutions, thus it focuses on efficiency gains and technological benefits. Sustainable consumption and production (SCP) is being developed enthusiastically, but fundamentally it serves the ideologies of "best practices". Strong sustainable consumption, on the other hand, is seen promoting societal change and practices, a good life, beyond ownership, and citizens as part of communities and societies and not solely as consumers. It challenges the current consumer culture and seeks to find fulfilment and solutions through other means than consumption and ownership.

Perhaps the strongest hindrances in integrating sustainability in a lasting manner to citizens' lives lie in the present cultural values and norms. Particularly conspicuous consumption, a way of life displaying one's wealth and prosperity, has become a desired lifestyle and element of envy (Monkhouse and Dibbs n.d.). The western world, especially, has grown into value and pursue a lifestyle based on consumption and identities are strongly symbiotic with how an individual chooses to consume and can consume his income. Even though it has been criticised and questioned, the current western culture relates consumption with happiness, and pursuing happiness and wellbeing is seen possible through purchasing and ownership (Zaccai 2007, 4). The value western society places on conspicuous consumption is presented in e.g. how rich and famous can influence consumers by posting their lifestyles and wealth in their Instagram profiles:

expensive cars, houses, jewellery, and fashion items. It is about displaying products citizens learn to desire and expect they need to have to become popular themselves. Furthermore, it is not only about if the consumer is interested in becoming more sustainable, there are multiple hindrances, both internal and external factors, which make sustainable practices more difficult to adopt. Some external factors include lack of infrastructure or systems to enable such activities. Also, the effects of social influence on consumption and lifestyle habits is definite. (Barr and Gilg 2006)

As well as hindrances, there are also multiple different ways to pursue a more sustainable lifestyle. Evans and Abrahamse (2009) introduce a view that sustainability consists of many parts, and individual's lifestyle can, and most often does, contain both sustainable and unsustainable elements. A single change towards sustainable options, does not make the whole lifestyle sustainable, but Evans and Abrahamse (2009) studied that once a change had been made, it motivated to make even more changes. This occurs because people learn, they see the benefits and they learn how much effort it takes or does not take to make the changes. This demonstrates how greening of one's lifestyle is "a journey" or a constantly developing state: one learns and adjusts beliefs and behaviour to reflect the understanding and values of that moment and later adjusts them again. (Evans and Abrahamse 2009) It is often problematic to define what sustainable lifestyle is in actuality. As sustainable lifestyle is an ongoing, never ending process, perhaps that is what makes it difficult to distinguish and obtain - there is always more to include and develop. Yet, Evans and Abrahamse (2009) were able to find a common nominator for sustainable lifestyles and it seem to involve spectrum of social practices about health, frugality, animal and human rights as well as social justice. (Evans and Abrahamse 2009)

As mentioned, there are multiple directions consumer can choose from, when considering sustainable lifestyle and consumption. However, there is also a constant struggle present, since the consumer has to make multiple decisions between unsustainable and sustainable options as well as amongst different sustainable options. (Moisander 2007; Evans and Abrahamse 2009; Barr and Gilg 2006 on Hobson 2002, 113) Personal preferences affect how products are chosen. For example, one consumer may find responsibility in animal rights and welfare, whereas another might see social justice and humane working conditions as more relevant. A third might attempt to address all issues of sustainability through consumption choices. Still, knowledge and understanding of the potential effects that products and production have on environment or societies is required, for a conscious decision to take place. Consequently, a conscious consumer faces many difficult decisions and struggles whether to support this ideology or the next (Moisander 2007; Evans and Abrahamse 2009; Hobson 2002). Moreover, issues rise when there is lack of supply or availability of sustainable goods, or if infrastructure or political climate does not support the option, which would be the most desirable action to take. Individuals are willing to participate in sustainable action, some more than others. But if they feel that their contribution

does not matter, there lies the temptation to disregard the responsible option, if it has been made too difficult to obtain (Moisander 2007). This naturally, does not contribute to a sustainably functioning society at all.

There is also an image issue, which might have created resistance to the normalisation of sustainability in societies. The former image of sustainably living individuals can be odd or suspicious at best. The general discourse on alternative lifestyles has painted the picture of dirty hippies, who are living as outsiders within the civilised societies (Moisander and Pesonen 2002). However, to live a more sustainable or environmental lifestyle, has never been more fashionable than now. Sustainability and sustainable goods have not only become more fashionable but also more common. Businesses and advertisers have introduced products, which are not only guilt-free to choose, but also fashionable and chic. Once it might have been that natural cosmetics or recycled goods were viewed as being dirty, awkward or undesirable, and only preferred by small number of alternative lifestyle practitioners. Today, sustainable goods are fashionable, available and preferable, even luxurious. (Lundahl 2014; Winge 2008)

The solutions an individual can make to pursue and commit to a sustainable lifestyle vary and include elements from all aspects of life. Individuals habits, routines, and norms act as a hindrance or as an advantage towards a more sustainable lifestyle. Even though, technical solutions can aid transitioning towards sustainability, the way people consume and behave has the most effect. For example, technical solutions have improved cars (lower emissions), fridges and other appliances, but if units are bigger, several in use or if they are used more, the gained benefits from technological development are lost and no environmental benefits are gained (Sustainable Consumption Roundtable 2006). This is called the rebound effect (Johnsson-Latham 2007, 13). Moreover, it is said that 4/5 of household impacts on the environment come from housing, eating, commuting and travel (Sustainable Consumption Roundtable 2006). Therefore, to become more sustainable, negative, or weak forms of sustainability are not going to have the required effect, which is needed to generate positive change. Thus, citizens need to be aware of their consumption patterns and learn what type of social and environmental effects chosen products have. It is important to be mindful of the use of energy and water, commuting and transport. Similarly, distinction between the joy of owning and joy of experiences should be revisited; material goods are important, but immaterial experiences can be more sustainable, and more memorable as well.

As stated, consumption is a source of unsustainable patterns. Sustainable consumption aims to address that unsustainability by evaluating choices more consciously. One of the more sustainable options is believed to consist of organic goods and products. Organic goods are considered sustainable because the farming methods aim to preserve the environment, (re)create natural conditions and balance to the farming systems. Next the definition of organics is introduced and further discussion on the current state of organics is explored.

2.2 Organics

Organic or organics refer to a type of an agricultural good or products made from organically grown goods, which have been produced in line with the organic principles and objectives. Organics can be both unprocessed or processed goods from agricultural production origins. The range of organics, nowadays, is wide: fresh produce as in vegetables, fruits, grains, cotton, but also processed products made from those produce e.g. wine, cheese, clothing and cosmetics. Organic goods and products can be found anywhere from restaurants to super markets, speciality stores and community gardens.

Organic production requires that certain rules and styles of growing or farming are followed. The basic principle is that farming is meant to be done as naturally as possible without using synthetic chemicals (European Commission 2017d; IFOAM 2012, 3) and farming aims to utilize natural processes and nature's own cycles in different stages of vegetation growth. It also aims to minimize the human impact on the environment and protect and conserve nature (European Commission 2017d; IFOAM 2012, 3). Mainly the organic principles and regulations demand that the farming or growing of organic goods utilize crop rotation, have limitations on synthetic pesticide and fertiliser use and processing aids. It is also absolutely forbidden to use genetically modified organisms (GMOs) or any products with GMO residues in organic production or products (European Commission 2017e). Also, animal welfare and access to natural surroundings and organic feed for the animals is important (European Commission 2017d).

Organic goods are also often under a strict supervision and monitoring. For example, the European Union has defined what organic is and how it should be grown, manufactured, or processed for it to be "organic". EU regulation sets the minimum requirements and direction to organic issues for the Member countries. The governments and other organisations can develop tighter regulations. The Finnish organics, or *luomu*, production comply with the EU regulation and certification criteria for organics. Any organic labelled products sold within the EU need to meet the EU standards and regulations. (IFOAM n.d.) As a proof of monitored and proved production, certified organic products are labelled and carry official organic logos. For example, the USA and the EU have official organic labels.



Figure 2. The EU Organic label

The European Union introduced an official EU organic logo in 2010. Today packaged organic goods produced within the EU must carry the same logo, with few exceptions of fishery, game, wine and processed foods with less than 95% of organic produce, as well as cosmetics and clothing products. (IFOAM 2012, 6; Finnish Food Safety Authority 2016). Figure 2 shows the official organic logo of certified organic goods used in the European Union. Alongside the logo, the EU country of origin must be mentioned.

It is also monitored that labelling or marketing of organic products is appropriate and pertinent. The use of organic labels is not allowed if the goods are not certified. Similarly, the use of suggestive pictures or wording, which would suggest that a product is organic is forbidden, if the product does not have the label and certifications. Marketing has to be either clear in its association with organics and with the use of words such as eco or bio, or it needs to be explicitly distinguishable from the method of production, in order to prevent misleading consumers to assume that products would be organic, if they in fact are not (The Council of the European Communities 1991, 5). The motives for such a strict regulation is to protect the integrity of organics. They are guarded by certification schemes as well as monitoring of both farming and marketing. The aim is to guarantee trustworthy, quality goods and reassuring consumers for the true state of products, which are easy to recognise as organic products from conventional ones. (IFOAM 2012) Figure 3 shows the Finnish “Sun sign” or “Luomu” – *controlled organic produce* label. It is granted by the Finnish Food Safety Authority (Evira) and complies with the EU regulations and such products are produced, packaged or labelled in Finland. (Environmental administration of Finland 2016) In addition to the pictured labels, there are multiple other labels, on national and international level as well as in different product segments.



Figure 3. The Finnish organic label, Sun sign

Early forms of organic agriculture started to form in the beginning of the 20th century in Europe and later in the United States (Kristiansen et al. 2006; Kuepper 2010). Kristiansen et al. (2006) mention that Sir Humphrey Davy and Justus von Liebig were the original scientist who discovered the primary scientific principles utilised in organic farming. This discovery was found already in the 19th century, however, their work did not result in organic agriculture as an alternative form for farming at that stage. In the early parts of the twentieth century, a few individuals started to form the bases, which eventually resulted in the modern-day form of organic farming. Robert McCarrison and Sir Albert Howard were separately researching the linkages between soil conditions and health effects of

consuming plants grown in that soil. At the same time, Rudolf Steiner developed biodynamic farming practices based on his philosophy of anthroposophy. (Kristiansen et al. 2006) The mentioned discoveries may have attributed to the modern-day organic agriculture, however they did not gain much momentum at the time.

In the 1970's the practice began to gain new momentum, when organic farming was seen as an option for conventional farming. Especially in the 1970's and 1980's those, who were concerned of the effects that conventional farming might have on soil, animals and people or those with an overall concern for the state of the environment, organic farming seemed like a preferable option. (Mononen 2007, 34) In the 1980's organic agriculture was scattered in Finland and only started to find common ground. In 1985 *Luomuliitto* (The Finnish organic association) was organised and started to gather same-minded people and share information about organic principle in agriculture. *Luomuliitto* was not the only organisation in the field, e.g. Bios and Biodynamic associations were also founded to support the organic agriculture cause. (Mononen 2007)

Organic farming has experienced its share of negative sentiments. It has been associated with mysticism, due to biodynamic farming approach has a more philosophical perspective on farming. Additionally, organic farming has been viewed as inefficient production method. Some of the reasons for the negativity lie in the past failures and lack of knowledge, but there has also been a relatively popular view that organic farming is not something to be taken seriously. Still, organic farming started to gain interest in the middle of the 1990's. Especially once Finland joined the European Union, many farmers switched from conventional farming to organic. (Mononen 2007)

Today, organic farming shows positive trend both in Finland and globally: acreage and volumes in production are increasing, consumer interest is growing and consumption of organics is increasing (Pro Luomu 2017). In 2016 in Finland, organic farming covered 240 614 hectares, which grew by 7%. Organic farming occupied 10,7% of the total cultivated land area. The acreage has grown steadily in the twenty-first century. In 2016, Finland had 4415 organic farms and the most important horticultural products were organic carrots, tomatoes, onions, and cabbage. Containing about 2% of the total yield in Finland in 2016, organic grains contributed to 80 million kilograms, more than half of this was oats. The grain fields covered 42 800 hectares. Organic animal husbandry or cattle farming was practiced in 959 farms, which produced organic beef, milk, pork, chicken, and eggs. Organic meats in 2016 constituted to 4,36 million kilograms and the production grew by 5% from the previous year. (Pro Luomu 2017)

In recent years, organic produce has gained market share and in 2015 the global organic markets were estimated at \$81,6 billion dollars. The markets have grown especially in North America and Europe. In 2015, North America bought over half, and Europe almost 40 per cent of the total global organic markets. The Nordic countries grow in the organic markets each year, Denmark being the

leading Nordic country in organic consumption. Similarly, in Finland, organic market share increases by the year. Still, Finland is behind other Nordic countries especially Denmark and Sweden. In 2016, the organic market shares in retail were about 10% in Denmark, over 7% in Sweden and in Finland the organic groceries reached 2%, respectively. (Luomu.fi 2017)

Even though, the Finnish organic market is behind the other Nordics, it seems to experience a successful period. The sales of organic goods have increased annually from the beginning of the century. Figure 4 shows the growth of organic sales in Finland between 2011 and 2016. The organic segment has shown stronger growth than retail in general. (Luomu.fi n.d.a) In 2016, the Finnish organic market valued around 273 million euros. It is estimated that the sales went up by 14%, and the market share of retail groceries was 2%. Out of the sold organic goods, 55% percent were of Finnish origin. (Luomu.fi n.d.a; Pro Luomu 2017) The largest segment in organics in Finland, is fruit and vegetables, which contribute 20% of sales. The second largest segment is milk by 15% and third largest is eggs. (Luomu.fi n.d.b)



Figure 4. Sales of organic products in Finland 2011-2016 (Pro Luomu 2017)

The most important organic products in exports are organic oat products, bread, potato flour, birk sap, berries and organic liquorice. Organics are exported mainly to Germany, France, Denmark and Sweden. (Pro Luomu 2017)

Denmark and Sweden have two of the biggest organic markets in Europe. On Denmark's part, it is assumed that the success has come from the hard and continuous work to support organics on national level. Sweden's success is said to be due to the changing consumer markets, the Swedish consumers see organics as an option to address the environmental challenges of today. Additionally, more than one third of Swedes are also interested in health and sustainability issues. Stores also enable the Swedish success, as they have widened their selection and promoted organic products. (Luomu.fi 2016) Also Finnish consumers see organic as a responsible alternative (Luomu.fi 2017)

So, why are organics perceived as the more sustainable alternative? It has been stated repeatedly that organic goods are chosen because they are more sustainable, better for the environment, and for the farm animals in general, additionally they are regarded as healthier and tasting better than conventional goods. The value to consumers in organics lies in that consumers perceive organics as less environmentally burdening, animals have the chance to live more in line with their natural habitat, and as organic farming does not use chemical pesticides, there is no additional chemicals, which could accumulate in the consumers' bodies.

Consumers are looking for healthy, safe, and ethical food, and see organic to answer these requirements. They distinguish organic as nutritional and environmentally friendly, quality alternative. (Meyers and Abrams 2010; Shafie and Rennie 2009) Zanolli and Naspetti (2002) identified health and wellbeing as key motives to purchase and consume organic goods. Taste was also associated positively, whereas appearance was sometimes seen negatively. Organic consumers want satisfying food and even though health is a driving force, the pleasure to enjoy delicious cuisine should be equally embraced. (Zanolli and Naspetti 2002) The perceived view on organics come from communication, which repetitively enforces such associations.

Particularly, organic agriculture, and therefore organic produce and products, are seen as more sustainable options because organic production in its principles set to conduct farming as naturally as possible and by utilising natural lifecycles and systems in production phases. Most importantly, organic agriculture protects wildlife, biodiversity and eco services, since it mimics natural cycles, utilises crop rotation and has forbidden genetically modified organisms in farming. The utilised soil mater ensures soil is fertile even without the use of artificial chemicals or pesticides. What is added to the soil, is all natural. Additionally, crop rotation, soil fertility and responsible water management benefit in that they protect from erosion. (European Commission 2017d) These elements sustain natural environments, treat animal in a more humane manner and provide clean food.

For example, the president of International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movement (IFOAM) in the EU region stated that organic farming practices have always emphasized sustainability. It can answer to the challenges of scarce resources, soil erosion and climate change, among other things. (IFOAM 2012, 4) No wonder, consumers have chosen organics as a favourable alternative. It has also been suggested that organic and local food trends have gained interest recently to resist intensive food and animal farming practices. (Piironen in Ahlqvist and Rajas 2004, 47).

However, organics are not always the only obvious choice for healthy produce. It has been discovered that, for example in Finland, locally produced food is already seen as very clean and thus safe to consume. Therefore, the extra effort to interchange conventional to organic food is not always seen as a

necessity, even though organics as well are seen as safe to consume. (Pironen in Ahlqvist and Rajas, 2004, 47)

There seems to be as much opposition to organic agriculture than there is favour for it. There are research findings both for and against organic farming and the superiority of organic produce has been appeased by many studies. Any definite proof for benefits or disadvantages of organic agriculture have not been found, and thus the arena remains divided: there still are those who view organic as an option for future agriculture, and those who see no value in it, but only wasted resources.

Suomen Kuvalehti published an article which discussed organics for its positive and negative attributes. It was mentioned several times that studies on organic products and organic farming has not proven organic produce to be superior in relation to health or purity. However, it was also stated that research has not condemned organics either. (Leivonniemi 2011) There is relatively large body of research which have revealed aspects to organic farming and products, which are not always environmentally favourable. There are some research findings which make organic produce superiority debatable.

An Oxford based study investigated environmental impacts of both organic and conventional farming. Findings suggested that there is no single method, which would be more ecological than the others, but rather both conventional and organic farming practices have their benefits and disadvantages. Additionally, the study placed importance on “the management choices” of the farmers, which eventually have the most effects on the environment. (Tuomisto et al. 2012) However, this study found both positive and negative aspects to organic farming. Overall, the negative side was that due to the smaller crop yield, organic farming has more emissions per product unit than conventional farming. However, the actual emission per surface area were lower in most cases when it came to organic farming. The study considered nitrogen leaching, nitrous oxide, phosphorus, energy use, greenhouse gases, eutrophication potential, ammonia, acidification potential as well as biodiversity, land use and soil matter and compared them between organic and conventional farming methods. It was discovered that for example, greenhouse gases in production of olive, beef and some crops were lower, whereas milk, cereals and pork produced higher greenhouse gas emissions. (Tuomisto et al. 2012)

Organics have also been blamed for not been founded on scientific knowledge and wasting precious resources due to its inefficiencies (Leivonniemi 2011). Additionally, a study conducted in Sweden in 2009, stated that due to organic farming's smaller yield compared to conventional methods, it actually is less sustainable as more farm land is required to make up the difference. (YLE 2009) This is an aspect to organic farming, which is often mentioned (Tuomisto et al. 2012; Leino 2014). Due to a smaller yield, organic farming cannot produce food for the growing population. (Leino 2014) For example, plant breeding is mentioned as an option to provide enough food for the whole population and to

assure plants ability to adopt to different climates. (Leivonniemi 2011; Tuomisto et al. 2012) However, the professor of the Finnish Organic Research Institute rejects the opposition as a misunderstanding or ignorance. She stated that in contrary, organic farming can produce better yield than conventional farming. (Liukkonen 2013)

Moreover, research has also resulted in favourable findings. Some research has found organic produce to contain less harmful and more of the preferable micronutrients. Results showed that by consuming organic produce, the consumer can have more natural antioxidants and less heavy metal or pesticide residues. Additionally, it was discovered that organic produce contains less cadmium, a classified carcinogenic substance, due to the difference in use of fertilizers between organic and conventional agriculture (Baranski et al. 2014; Srednicka-Tober et al. 2016) Finally, a German study found that organic farming has lower carbon dioxide emissions per surface area than conventional agriculture (Luomu.fi 2013). These findings are similar to Tuomisto et al. (2012) study which demonstrated that organic farming is generally more environmental, if comparisons are done per surface area, not per production unit.

Any true environmental or health benefits of organic produce are demanding to show, since research methods have their challenges. It is difficult to study for example, the benefits of certain food substances, as causalities are difficult to determine. Similarly, studies usually concentrate on one variable, whereas, in reality, multiple variables are in operation at the same time. Moreover, it has been discovered when studying organic consumers that they tend to maintain a healthy diet, therefore it is difficult to conclude if the health benefits come from organic consumption or from other healthy dietary choices. (Pelo 2015; Kesse-Guyot et al. 2013)

Overall studies on the benefits of organic goods or those against, seem to influence the media and citizens more than it needs to. There even seems to be selective reporting of the research conducted on organics. A study by Tuomisto et al. (2012), which results presented also disadvantages from organic farming, raised unproportioned news storm and strong opposition towards organics, even though the study itself was rather neutral towards the issue (Talouselämä 2012). Due to the contradictory nature of research on organics and its benefits, it is difficult for consumers to build trust on the products or even gain a comprehensive picture of the matter. It can be impossible for a regular consumer to comprehend a wider picture of the issue, if the knowledge comes solely from the media. To gain a more profound understanding, would require both time and interest as well as more diverse sources of information.

In addition to organics' environmental attributes, there is a substantial amount of studies and research conducted about organics and consumerism. A significant amount of research has been done on identifying who is the organic consumer and why consumers choose organic goods over conventional ones. Previously it was discovered that demographics seemed to have an influence on

who and for what reasons some choose to support sustainable products and other fail to recognise them. Gender and social status did have correlation with the level of interest and intent to buying organics. It was identified that women, in particular, with higher level of education and good level of income are more likely to be the ideal demographic in the sustainable segment. (Lea and Worsley 2005; Shafie and Rennie 2009)

Nevertheless, as knowledge spread and increase and both sustainable knowledge and better access to products has been gained, also other demographic groups are gaining foothold in the sustainable segments. More recent studies have noticed that lifestyle and attitudes define consumers more than socio-demographic factors (Shafie et Rennie 2009 on Lockie et al. 2004). Similarly, it was previously assumed that consumers were capable of rational decision-making while shopping. The rational decision-making approach and rational choice theory on consumer decision making have been however, rejected (e.g. Uusitalo in Ahlqvist and Rajjas 2004, 14; Niva and Timonen 2001). Nowadays it is understood that purchase situations are multi-layered in nature: consumers use their cognitive side (knowledge, perception, beliefs) but both conscious and automatic processes take place as well (Zanoli and Naspetti 2002 on Grunert and Grunert, 1995). So, even with all the information and knowledge, buying decisions are also done based on feelings, assumptions, chance and “rules of thumb”. Since consumer are bombarded by information, marketing and recommendations, they simplify information flow. Consumers sort out difficulties to comprehend information by creating “rules of thumb” or “simplifying strategies”, for example to memorise the most important product attributes (Niva and Timonen 2001, 332).

In this thesis, Sustainable lifestyles and sustainable consumption is approached from a different angle. This thesis considers and assesses sustainability in terms of how the media presents it. The way sustainable lifestyle is formed and communicated in the media, especially the way organics are influencing the view of sustainability and sustainable lifestyles in the magazine, is being studied.

2.3 Women’s magazines and sustainability

This thesis studies a women’s magazine in relation to sustainability. There has not been abundance of research conducted on this linkage. Women’s magazines have been previously studied in relation to e.g. body image or advertisement influence. However, viewing sustainable lifestyles, or sustainable consumerism has not achieved wide interest just yet. The theme should have justifiable bases for research, as it has been previously acknowledged that it is mainly the women who tend to be more interested in sustainable, responsible, and ethical consumerism. (Akerhurst et al. 2012; IFOAM 2016). Even a McNaiset article

stated this: “Especially women are interested in ethical consumerism.” (“Reilua tukea kehitysmaille” 43/2001:58-59). Therefore, it is only appropriate that this thesis acquires its data from a media, which is especially directed to women, a women’s magazine.

Media is a powerful actor in communicating societal views and it has powerful influence on how citizens can have access to information or how citizens formulate their opinions. Therefore, media as a source for data is a justified and interesting source of societal messages. Holmes (2007, 510) mentions that women’s magazines strengthens the societal norm on gender and identity, as well as consumption. This is most likely why women’s magazines have been studied in relation to feminism for example (Freeman and Bell 2013; Holmes 2007).

Women’s magazines aim at entertaining, educating or engaging the reader in different ways. They are a form of pleasure, relaxation, and leisure shopping. Women’s magazines create a world, where readers can either dream of lifestyles or products, use them as reference for future projects, or simply use the magazine as a manual for shopping trips. (Stevens and Maclaran 2005) The magazines can provide a light-read but also a deeper connection, if that is what one needs.

Depending on the magazines theme and focus and targeted consumer group, the content can include informational, educational, or more informal articles. The covered topics may only cover gossip or they can be more serious or scientific in nature. Moreover, the magazines can offer advice on mundane issues, but also give example on norms, “woman identity” or even provide support (Fung 2002; Freeman and Bell 2013). It all depends on the reader, how she wants to experience it, what she is looking for, what she needs at the moment and what she values in life.

Women’s magazines have a history in offering women a place where they can feel empowered. In the turn of the 19th century, women’s magazines began to view women not only as readers, but as consumers. Thus, magazines have presented consumption as a “pleasurable recreation”. (Stevens and Maclaran, 2005, 284) The media is a strong influencer in reinforced women’s consumption habits, the underlying message seems to be that consumption is enjoyable and highly acceptable in a capitalistic society (Fung 2002).

From the media’s perspective, the focus is on “the needs, desires, hopes, fears and aspirations” of the audience. This creates “a bond of trust” with their audience. This bond is utilised in building a community from the audience which is in interaction with the magazine as well as with the other readers. This bond and trust is useful when the magazine wants to assure advertisers of the magazine’s ability to promote their products (Holmes 2007, 514-515). When considering the promotion of sustainability or sustainable lifestyles, it is important to remember that magazines’ dependence on readership is twofold: they need the audience for popularity as well as for funding their activity through subscriptions and newsstand copies, but more importantly, funding is

accumulated from advertisements (Holmes 2007). Depending on the publication, the dependence on advertising differs. Women's magazines are most often filled with advertisements of cosmetics, clothing, and décor. Depending on the style of the magazine there can also be advertisements on food, beverages, and different types of supplements.

Women's magazines have realised that even though they are portraying the societal picture of the modern woman, they still need to offer alternatives as the modern woman requires options. Therefore, women are being presented with choices and alternatives, be it products, menus, investments, or whatnots. (Freeman and Bell 2013, 345) Interestingly, even as empowered women who make their own decisions, women want their alternatives preconfigured by an expert into a somewhat limited set of options, due to time constraints. (Stevens and Maclaran, 2005)

Women's magazines have always reflected the societal norms on acceptable or appropriate behaviour, appearance and roles women are expected to fulfil. (Smith 2010) Today, the themes are more about the juggle to combine family life and professional ambitions (Freeman and Bell 2013). If media is still "encouraging appropriate behaviour", then the messages are pointing to that women are to "conform" to conspicuous sustainable consumption (Smith 2010, 69;79).

There is some previous research conducted on women's magazines and sustainability themes (Lundahl 2014; Smith 2010), even though not abundantly. For example, the way women's magazines portray sustainability issues was studied by Lundahl in 2014. Two different Finnish women's magazines were studied and the scope of the study included a wider area of sustainability, not only organics. Lundahl studied the reasons for which media promotes sustainable consumption as trendy. She found that the trend promoting supported the "ideology of consumer culture" and thus supports the magazine's business logic. (Lundahl 2014, 1)

Lundahl noticed that mostly magazines discuss environmental messages in connection to products or consumption in general (Lundahl 2014, 3). She also noticed that sustainable consumption as a trend was often stated aloud such as "the trend of the year". The way media frames sustainable consumption, is actually by selecting and placing salience on strengthening the societal status quo on consumption. (Lundahl 2014, 4) This is done by describing more sustainable options as responsible and fashionable. Lundahl mentions that one of the ways magazines promote sustainability as trendy is through "eco-chic" frame, which basically combines the environmentally considered aspects with fashion trendiness. This is a "weak" form of sustainability, as it promotes consumption, but packages the message as being environmentally conscious. Additionally, it creates the mentality in which consumers can have them both, being environmentally friendly, but not having to lose being fashionable. The "eco-

chic” is basically form of “conspicuous sustainable consumption”. (Lundahl 2014, 2)

For media, promoting such conspicuous consumption makes sense as it relies on both advertising and consumers’ support. This way, magazines can continue to support the status quo present in society, but make it seem like consumers can become sustainable by making educated decisions while shopping. (Lundahl 2014) Moreover, Lundahl recognised that the magazines were not too eager to support anti-consumption. Issues, which bring forth sustainability beyond “eco-chic”, the conspicuous sustainable consumption, were marginalised or silenced. This again, communicates the media’s need to stay within the status quo of consumer culture. (Lundahl 2014, 5)

Another study on women’s magazines and sustainability connection was conducted by Smith (2010). Smith suggested that due to the role of a caretaker, women are still mostly responsible of choosing what is being consumed at home. This gives the women a responsibility to make the decisions to consume in an environmentally responsible way. This role and responsibility is strengthened in the media: the caretaker is responsible for the wellbeing of the family. Smith also found that media packages its sustainability messages as green consumerism, or a form of conspicuous sustainable consumption, as if choosing more sustainable options would make consumption an environmentally sound habit. (Smith 2010)

Smith states that green consumerism is highly preferred by both the media as well as the consumer, as it offers them a simple solution and a chance to participate in environmentally sound activities and thus have the feeling of supporting environmental causes (Smith 2010). However, this type of behaviour does not benefit the environment, as it does not provide any solutions to address overconsumption or environmental degradation in a greater sense. The consumers are made to believe that the transition to sustainability is easy and green consumerism is the answer. Moreover, as no relevant information is given by the magazine as to why or how certain products would be environmentally friendlier (Smith 2010, 74), the consumers are not learning to evaluate their decisions. Similarly to Lundahl, also Smith noticed that magazines’ recommendations are mostly products and that anti-consumption as an alternative was distanced from the reader (Smith 2010).

Naturally, there are many different types of magazines aimed for women, some are more general lifestyle magazines, some more about fashion, décor or hobby magazines. Magazines, such as those, which discuss handicrafts might in fact promote certain types of sustainable practices more actively e.g. in the form of utilising recycled materials for arts and crafts. However, the magazine chosen for this thesis is more general in nature, therefore the previous assumptions are reflected on that magazine.

3 METHODOLOGY

The following chapter will discuss the methodological choices made to conduct this study. Any research requires a strategy to map the road ahead. Research design acts as that strategy, as it is formulated based on the best practices, tools and methods, which are utilised to find answers to the imposed research questions. As the aim of this thesis is to uncover and describe frames related to sustainable lifestyles and organics in the magazine, *MeNaiset*, and reveal potential development of the frames, the research design of this thesis was chosen as a qualitative document analysis with a longitudinal approach.

3.1 Research design

A qualitative research approach was chosen for the study, as it is used to describe "real life". In qualitative research, the data is viewed comprehensively (Hirsjärvi et al. 2004, 152) and it aims at describing events or phenomena, understand actions (Eskola and Suoranta, 1998, 61) and explain reality (Hirsjärvi et al. 2004, 152). In order to gain a "theoretically meaningful interpretation of a phenomenon" (Eskola and Suoranta, 1998, 61) or describe reality, the data is gathered from actual sources and real situations. These include research data collected by making observations, conducting interviews, or studying documents and texts (Hirsjärvi et al. 2004, 155).

Even though qualitative study does not aim at presenting generalised theories, it does aim at introducing some generalisations. Through inductive analysis and data led analysis, data can present common themes which can be utilised in forming preliminary generalisations of the topic in narrow surroundings. (Eskola and Suoranta 1998, 19-20) While statistical generalisations are not the aim in qualitative research, it aims at producing content that can be later tested in wider concepts. Qualitative research study focuses more deeply on the content and depth of the data, rather than measuring clearly calculable

content. Thus, samples can be relatively small compared to quantitative samples. Still, the data needs to be large enough to be able to produce some level of generalisations (Eskola and Suoranta 1998, 60), e.g. some clustering of common themes.

Therefore, it can be suggested that the data size is not a focal issue. Rather as saturation point is reached, that will eventually inform that the sample is large enough. Saturation occurs, when all relevant theoretical fabric is found and understood and no new, relevant information will be gained by widening the sample size. Thus, the sample is enough and introducing more data will not significantly modify the results. (Eskola and Suoranta 1998, 62-63)

Hirsjärvi et al. (2004) mention that qualitative research serves more as a tool for uncovering facts than testing existing theories or hypotheses (Hirsjärvi et al. 2004, 152). As qualitative research lacks hypotheses, it is considered essential that it is conducted so, that no pre-set assumptions exist, and that the study should begin with a clean slate. Only during the process of the study, the researcher learns about the phenomena and what type of interdependences, relations or correlations exist. That is followed by the reporting of findings. (Eskola and Suoranta 1998, 19-20)

Both qualitative and frame analyses can be blamed for being highly subjective in nature. This is true in some sense, Hirsjärvi et al. note that, values and knowledge does affect how study is delivered as researcher's subjectivity is always modifying how the world and issues are seen (Hirsjärvi et al. 2004, 152; 155). Similarly, both Altheide (1996) and Eskola and Suoranta (1998) mention that during the research process, multiple decisions need to be made, which affects the direction the study will take and the concluded findings. As the decisions for the direction of the research is being made, the world view of the researcher (assumptions, individual's prejudice) affects, which decisions are seen as more relevant than others. This is how qualitative research can seem subjective: every researcher may slightly modify it to their own, individual style.

Moreover, in qualitative research, researchers are allowed to use their better judgement or careful consideration in the selection of data and sample. It can be selected to best represent the chosen research questions and topic. This however, does not mean favouring certain sample to distort results, but choosing wisely and taking an educated selection. Eskola and Suoranta give an example in choosing sample for a study on "lifelong learning": random sample is rejected and those individuals who do represent "lifelong learning" are chosen to be part of the sample. To be able to choose relevant sample, requires knowledge of the topic and central concepts of the theme. (Eskola and Suoranta 1998, 18)

In conclusion, as viewpoints may differ, qualitative research does not produce one, exact outcome, rather different interpretations or constructions of the studied topic (Hirsjärvi et al. 2004, 152). Therefore, pure objectivity cannot be reached as the knowhow of the researcher is the basis of the research. Hirsjärvi et al. mentions that qualitative research can produce "only explanations, which

are connected to the time and place” . (Hirsjärvi et al. 2004, 152) Also, Eskola and Suoranta (1998, 16) reminds that qualitative research produces results, which are highly connected to the era when it was conducted in, there is a situational relevance to the era.

The research data chosen for this thesis was collected from an existing magazine, therefore the data consists of documents. Document analysis is simply a method to recognise documents for their meaning. For example, by studying documents, culture and meanings of a society can be deciphered. (Altheide 1996, 2) Altheide defines that documents do exist regardless of the researcher, however the interpretation and meanings of those documents in a study relate to the researcher. In order for the document to become data, it is studied for its meanings and relevance regarding the conducted research, and the importance the researcher gives to that document is influenced by the researcher’s perspectives. (Altheide, 1996, 2)

As the potential changes in dominating frames are of interest in this thesis, a longitudinal study perspective is applied on the formed frames. Longitudinal research approach is conducted, when the aim is to recognise changes and developments of a certain phenomenon in the course of time (Hirsjärvi et al. 2004, 166-167). The longitudinal aspect can reveal for example trends and how and when those occurred. To be able to study change, comparisons need to be made. The changes or developments of discovered frames will be viewed and compared to each other volume by volume. Dominating frames will be studied and their development and presence in the magazine is discussed. Any reasons for change and developments can also be considered and analysed.

3.2 Research method

There are many methods that can be used to analyse documents or media texts e.g. discourse analysis, content analysis, and frame analysis. For example, frame analysis and discourse analysis both can be used in media analysis and they have similarities. Both approaches deal with human behaviour and underlying social patterns and norms. Discourse analysis aims to describe the way people behave and what are the underlying social patterns of behaviour or norms (Remes 2006, 289) and frame analysis aims to reveal the meanings, messages of texts or human behaviour, which are often based on socially and culturally accepted patterns. Additionally, frame analysis aims to understand a packaged message, often framed by shared social norms and deliver to audiences for influence.

Although discourse and frame analysis share similarities, they come from different disciplines and have different foci (Karvonen 2000, 83). Discourse analysis originates from the discipline of linguistics (Karvonen 2000) and centrally deals with lingual aspects. It studies how language is used as a way to reconstruct reality (Eskola and Suoranta 1998, 195). It is also constantly in motion

and changing. Frame analysis, on the other hand, is originally from social sciences, is more stable and constant, and seeks meaning past the linguistic expressions. Frame analysis studies texts and its meanings, however to uncover frames, it is equally important to study what is being said that what is not said. Framing is about underlying messages, which do not necessarily require linguistic notion in texts, but a cognitive key to rouse reader's schemata -an individual's internal association with the topic (Van Gorp 2007; 2010), which then connects the topic within the audience members. Thus, frame analysis is about a way to communicate a message, which is used to construct reality. Karvonen (2000, 84) mentions that one of the most significant differences between frame analysis and discourse analysis is that discourse analysis finds meaning from dissimilarities whereas frame analysis drives to find similarities within data.

In order to provide an angle or perspective for the data analysis in the thesis, the frame analysis method was applied for a deeper analysis. Discourse analysis was rejected as a research method as it focuses on lingual aspects. Frame analysis focuses deeper in finding a message inside a message or "communication on communication" as Van Gorp mentions (Van Gorp 2007, 65). As the aim of the thesis was to uncover deeper messages of McNaiset magazine, the frame analysis provides a more useful tool for this. It can be used to analyse what is the stand of the magazine on organic goods and sustainable lifestyles and what are the messages the selected media aims to communicate on different themes to their audience.

Frame analysis was originally made famous by sociologist Erving Goffman. The concept of frame analysis was introduced in North America in the late 1970's. The original frame analysis was developed to explain human behaviour or the experience of it, in face-to-face situations. In general, frame analysis aims to describe how people behave in a certain setting and how their behaviour can be seen and interpreted by others. Moreover, frames are strongly interconnected with culture and social norms (Goffman 1974). Goffman describes framing as being something that emphasizes certain elements of the generally shared reality, and leaves some parts of reality in darkness. This emphasized reality thus becomes the new reality in the case of that particular frame. Framing can, for example, give mundane actions meanings and perspective by putting them on a pedestal in the frame context. (Goffman 1974)

A foundational part of frame analysis is considering: "what is it that is going on here?" (Goffman 1974, 25). One of the examples to demonstrate frames is the story of "the man on the ground". Karvonen describes a situation, where a man is lying on the ground. The situation can be thought to represent at least two or three different scenarios or frames: a man with a medical issue, who needs help, has fallen on the ground. Or a drunk is lying on the ground and most likely is ignored by others. Additionally, the man might be just jokingly lying on the ground and attempt to make a joke about the situation, for example. (Karvonen 2000, 79) Whatever the reason and whatever the interpretations, this example demonstrated that people are used to reading different situations and searching

for explanations to understand circumstances. These interpretations are frames, in this case activated by the lying man and formed by the viewer asking the question: “what is it that is going on here?”

Framing is also used in media. Framing is mentioned to be a tool for journalists to handle and structure large amounts of information (Van Gorp 2007). In news framing, the way in which information is being presented and how some pieces of information are emphasized, when other aspects of the topic might be silenced, is framing (D’Angelo and Kuypers 2010). Fundamentally, media framing is creating connections between different issues and presenting them to the audience as the truth. The readers learn about the suggested existence of that connection and some start to believe that to be true. Once audience begin to make mental associations, or build schemata, with the frame and the reasoning of that connection, the frame has become successful. (Nisbet in D’Angelo and Kuypers 2010, 47)

It is worth noting that how media frames an issue is media framing. However, the way the audience experiences the frames is an audience frame, and the two can be very different. When the message has reached the audience as it was meant to, the framing has been successful, but this is not always the case. This thesis studies the frames created by the media, the women’s magazine, thus the media frames are under investigation. The frames which the readers of that magazine associate with the articles is not included in the study. The audience frames are therefore excluded from this study.

For some time now, frame analysis has been utilised by scholars to analyse media content and how news frame certain issues. It has been utilized in number of studies on different topics from newspapers and other printed publications i.e. political communications and politics in news media, for example news on terrorism, wars or elections have been studied by frame analysis methods.

As media texts have been studied through framing analysis in abundance, the method has developed. There are various modification of the method and it has been debated how framing of documents or news should be analysed and how to create a unified model. As frame analysis has wide range of interpretations, it has been referred to as “a shattered paradigm” (Entman). A purely methodological approach, which would guide the process in structured phases, has not been developed to represent framing in general. Thus, there are many attempts to map the framing process (e.g. Van Gorp 2007 and 2010; Entman 1993; D’Angelo 2002; D’Angelo and Kuypers 2010).

Moreover, frame analysis methods have been questioned for subjectivity. It has been debated if the researcher finds the frames he is looking for. Furthermore, it is reasoned that if only some frames are expected to be there, other frames, which might still exist in the data, stay uncovered as the researcher is not looking for them. If frame analysis method lacks a clear methodological structure, the reasoning for found frames can be difficult to demonstrate. Therefore, it should be acknowledged that frame analysis does bear the burden

of subjectivity, however so does other types of analysis methods. Thus, reporting of the different decisions and directions of the analysis is important.

The less subjective approaches to framing method are the computerized and strictly coded approaches, where frames are search through key words. This approach provides that the words can be found and calculated easily and large amounts of data can be processed faster. However, the weakness in this method is in that words can be recognised by coding, but meanings which relate to a frame might not. Those deeper messages, which might have left uncovered as they are not expressed in a written form, would be lost. As Van Gorp mentions, frames do not need to be linguistically present in the documents for the readers to catch them (Van Gorp 2007; 2010), a coding method would still need them to be written out.

As the Goffmanian frame analysis was developed to study human behaviour and sociological issues in daily social situations, the Goffmanian frame analysis is not enough on its own for this thesis. The method requires some assistance to best describe the media aspect and analysis of written documents, which the women's magazine involvement brings into the study. The media aspect can be studied with the inclusion of Robert M. Entman. According to Entman, the essential elements of framing are *selection* and *saliency* (Entman 1993 and 2003). The framing process requires selection in highlighting those elements that are seen as more relevant, or salient, than others. A connection is created between certain issues to produce a linkage, which creates associations within the audience (Entman 2003, 417).

Entman, (1993, 2003) mentions that there are four functions that are utilised in framing. D'Angelo referred to them as framing devices (D'Angelo 2002, 881) and Van Gorp as reasoning devices (2007, 64). Often a single frame has several devices at place simultaneously, at times an individual sentence might include several of them, at times none at all (Entman 1993, 52). The devices are essentially tools to both build and decode frames. The devices by Entman are:

- *Problem definition - Defining effects or conditions as problematic*
- *Causal interpretation - Identifying causes*
- *Moral evaluation - Conveying a moral judgment of those involved in the framed matter*
- *Treatment recommendation - Endorsing remedies or improvements to the problematic situation* (Entman 1993, 52; Entman 2003, 417)

The framing devices ultimately form the message in the frame. They provide definitions, present problems and give explanations, and solutions for those problems. Additionally, they give reasoning and suggested interpretations on issues. This is how frames communicate the connections or relationships between different matters. (Van Gorp 2007) Consequently, it can be stated that frames are packaged messages.

However, it is not axiomatic that even though message is sent, that it would be received. Entman mentions that when communicating a framed message, it occupies as least four venues: “the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture” (Entman 1993, 52). In any point, the message may be lost. The message of the frame can be misinterpreted or simply ignored by the audience members (Nisbet in D’Angelo and Kuypers 2010, 51) or the readers may even fail to recognise the message altogether. Of course, it depends on the receiver’s background, value system and experiences how easily the frames are recognised. Entman mentions that the more inline the message is with the receiver’s own reality, the easier it is to get the message across (Entman 1993).

For framing to be the most effective, Entman describes three ways the communicator can communicate the relevant, or salient, reality to the receiver. These are *repetition*, *placement* or *association with culturally familiar symbols*. (Entman 1993, 53) Entman mentions that especially messages associated with cultural aspects have the most potential in connecting with the audience. The reason is that those are familiar for the audience and therefore, they are easier to recognise, understand and remember. Perhaps most importantly they bear an emotional linkage within the audience member and can thus have a strong reaction on people. (Entman 2003, 417)

All cultures have their own set of shared frames, which reflect the society’s norms and values. Therefore, the media, as it most often applies those common frames in their communication, simultaneously acts as a reinforcer of those frames. (Van Gorp 2010) Entman mentions that the reason frames do not get challenged in a wider sense in general, is due to the fact that receivers are not that informed or active in processing such information as to challenge it with e.g. previous knowledge or linkages with other topics or issues. (Entman 1993, 56) Moreover, as frames are often structured based on common cultural norms, they are part of that shared societal reality, which is difficult to question.

3.3 Data collection

This section discusses the data collection phase of the study. Additionally, the scope of the research is defined and clarified and finally, the primary data source of the thesis, the magazine, is introduced.

The preliminary data collection was done manually from a Finnish women’s magazine, *MeNaiset*. The magazine’s issues were read or browsed through manually, as no virtual e-magazines were available for the whole period. All of the issues were available in the Jyväskylä University library, except for numbers 16-20 and 39 from volume 2008. The volumes from 2000 up to 2013 were covered and total of 667 issues were read.

The preliminary data for the research consists primarily of different articles and texts: interviews, reportages, information pieces and different product, fashion, health or décor features and advertisements. The data was collected according to the appearance of chosen search words. The search words were decided in the beginning of the study and as they appeared in any connection in the magazine, the pages of those articles, or advertisements were scanned, to save and store the data for later analysis. The search words included any combinations or formations from the Finnish words: organic (*luomu*, *luonnonmukainen*), ecological (*ekologinen*) or eco (*eko-*), and biodynamic (*biodynaaminen*).

Table 1. The Collected data on selected volumes

Volume	Number of Preliminary Data	(No of Adds)	Remaining after Preliminary elimination
2000	44	(8)	28
2001	66	(14)	42
2006	50	(5)	43
2007	75	(2)	68
2012	124	(20)	97
2013	92	(21)	66
Total	451	(70)	344

As the thesis studies the development and potential changes of frames through the years, out of the complete collected data of 2000-2013, total of six volumes were chosen for closer investigation. The sample comprises of volumes 2000-2001, 2006-2007 and 2012-2013 as representation of the data. The volumes were chosen to demonstrate variations and developments of the topic and as they covered the beginning, middle and ending periods of the collected data, that should give an overview of potential changes in the way organics are presented and discussed in the magazine. Table 1 shows the selected volumes and the total number of articles per volume, also the number of relevant articles is presented.

Here, some clarification of different terms is needed. There are a few different words, which are associated with or are used in relation to the term, which refers to organically grown produce. These are: *organic* (*luomu*, *luonnonmukainen*), *ecological* and *eco-* (*ekologinen*, *eko-*), *biodynamic* (*biodynaaminen*) and *of organic quality* (*luomulaatuinen*). Depending on the level of certification, the style and extent of sustainable practices in the farming processes, the used term varies. For example, as all organic production is not certified, uncertified organics can be called *of organic quality* (*luomulaatuinen*), which would mean that the basic principle of organic production has been used, but certifications have not been applied for by the farmer or granted by the

authorities. In addition, in colloquial style, all the mentioned words are often used as synonyms.

It is important to clarify that the primary focus in the study is on sustainability and organics. As the data was initially collected based on the appearance of the search words, once an initial analysis was conducted it was discovered that the Finnish word, *luomu* (organic) was also used in other relations, which referred to non-organics. Therefore, some educated selection was needed to polish the material to represent relevant data. The representative data emphasized the word *organic* to mean organic products or other organic goods made from organically-grown produce, and such lifestyles, which includes organics as part of it. Because of that, the word organic in this thesis, means that the origin of the good complies with the regulations or ideologies of organic agriculture, farming or production. Thus, the selected data sample includes only those articles, which use the term as defined here, and disregarded those texts, which used the search words arbitrarily or in nonrelative connection e.g. *luomu synnytyks* (natural childbirth), *luomu rinnat* (natural breasts).

Hereby, the scope for this research was drawn to include those articles, which *actually meant* organic goods, product or lifestyles. Additionally, those articles, which developed the message about organics were chosen for the sample. There were articles, which would mention organic in a single notion, but would not discuss or develop it in any direction. Therefore, if the search word could not be placed in any reference, the article was left out. Similarly, outside of the scope of the thesis was the different variations of the word ecological, when it was used to mean recycled or reused or otherwise environmentally sound products, goods or lifestyle. These were left out of the study as this type of ecological perspective does not connect with organic products.

Likewise, it was chosen that the study would exclude all advertisements, which appeared in the magazine. Advertisement is usually produced by a third party and even if chosen due to being in-line with the magazine's content, the underlying messages of the articles are not made by MeNaiset, but by the companies which are being advertised in the adds. Similarly, any pictures or illustrations were left out of the scope of the study. A superficial look on the images in the chosen articles seemed to support the message of the text and was thus in-line with the overall message of the article.

Finally, the study investigates the frames of the magazine, it does not intend to understand how the readers felt about them. As only the media frame aspect is included in the study, the individual's perception or interpretations of those frames is not considered and is left out of the scope of this thesis. Table 2 shows the selected articles, which included the relevant articles chosen for closer analysis.

Table 2. The Selected data for sample

Volume	No of Articles
2000	15
2001	30
2006	33
2007	44
2012	74
2013	50
Total	246

To conclude this section, the primary source of data is introduced. The primary data was collected from MeNaiset, which is the largest weekly women's magazine in the Finnish market. The magazine mentions that their reader profile consists of women between 20 and 39 years old, most of them living in the south of Finland or in the biggest cities in Finland. In 2017, readership was mentioned to be 264 000 in total, out of which 219 000 were women (Media Sanoma 2017). Readers are mentioned to be interested in fashion, beauty, décor and cuisine as well as sports, interior and fashion (Media Sanoma 2015). The target group for the magazines is mentioned to cover:

“the active, open-minded and brave women, who love fashion, beauty and shopping. They perceive advertising as positive and are eager to test out new things, whether bargains or luxurious products.” (Menaiset Webpages 2015)

The magazines' webpages inform that the magazine aims at challenging common ways of thinking and wants to offer new perspectives on different topics. It discusses even the difficult topics. MeNaiset keywords, according to the magazine, are “forerunner, bravery, active, trendy, joyful/conviviality”. It is mentioned that the magazine provides ideas and shopping tips for fashion, beauty, health and wellbeing, cooking, interior and travel. (Menaiset Webpages 2015)

Overall, the studied magazine is general in nature. It discusses general topics, which any Finnish women might face in course of their lives: health, wealth, aging, career, education, and family issues. The magazine covers both light-hearted topics as well as life struggles and other survival stories and gives information pieces on health, finance, or other topics. Additionally, current light and non-serious content is also offered as it does write about fashion, makeup tutorials, design and decor, gardening and DIY projects. MeNaiset is thus a magazine which covers various sides of life and topics to offer information and knowledge to readers in different stages in their lives. The MeNaiset advertising consisted mainly of different types of adverts of mundane commodities such as food products and cosmetics.

The McNaiset magazine is suitable option to measure sustainability in terms of organics, as the magazine includes plenty of food topics and recipes. Similarly, the magazine discusses themes such as cosmetics, clothing and fashion, décor and travel. All of these topics include mundane, consumable commodities and most of them are part of normal everyday lives. The women-focus-perspective is also interesting, when thinking about organics, their advertising and consumption, as its been studied that out of the consumers of organics most are “women, foodies or younger people” (IFOAM 2016). Studies have shown that women tend to be more environmentally oriented or at least more likely to purchase sustainable or responsible goods (Akerhurst et al. 2012), one of the reasons for this is seen in that women are still in charge of the daily grocery shopping (Smith 2010). Additionally, women’s magazines are known to have influence on women and their consumption choices, thus the way organics and sustainable lifestyles are presented should communicate how women would most likely feel about them.

3.4 Data analysis

The data analysis has been done in different stages, in total of six, in fact. The initial stage in the analysis was done during the data collection, when the data was being skimmed to gain an overall view of the material. Later the documents were read and a general view of the content was formed. This initial analysis gave a generic picture of the data in total. After that, a more thorough examination of the documents was done and early-stage frames were outlined. Before any further framing took place, additional research was conducted: a comprehensive literature review was conducted to compile basis for the theoretical background for the study, and the volumes representing the longitudinal perspective of the study were chosen. As the sustainable lifestyle concept was clarified and the relevant volumes chosen, the next stage in the analysis focused on how the magazine stated sustainability through organics. Here, the central topics and key words/ themes of sustainable lifestyles and use of organics were reflected on the data. This was the stage when the primary frames started to format. All the stages were documented on excel and notes were written on the contents of the texts. The last two stages were about structuring coherent and relevant frames. The individual articles were distributed under the proper frames and adjustments were made.

As mentioned previously, frame analysis can be conducted through rigorous coding and computing. However, it was felt that the coding approach would not provide that sensitivity that was essential for a comprehensive understanding of the magazine content. Some sensitivity would be needed to recognise also what is not being said, and thus the coding approach was disregarded and a less strict method was chosen. This meant having to deal with

the researcher's internal schemata and subjectivity in terms of frame recognition and understanding of the underlying messages and linkages of the articles.

The main focus when analysing the data, will aim to understand the magazine's reasoning for presenting organics in the way it does. Therefore, the aim is to find reoccurring themes, which are mentioned with organics and could reflected sustainable lifestyles. Thus, analysis will follow an inductive analysis approach, where data is being analysed as in individual cases and developed towards prevalent themes. The data should first present separate and sporadic topics, which later would form an understandable collection of regularities and similarities among the data (Hirsjärvi et al. 2004, 155-157; Eskola and Suoranta 1998, 19).

The data will be analysed by utilising both the Goffmanian principles and Entman's framing devices. Initially, each article or text is being considered based on the Goffman's question of "what is it that is going on here?". However, as this alone would suggest multiple frames, a deeper analysis is of course required. As the magazine's way to build frames is being studied, Entman's frame functions are applied as an analysis framework.

As mentioned previously, the framing devices by Entman are:

- *Problem definition - Defining effects or conditions as problematic*
- *Causal interpretation - Identifying causes*
- *Moral evaluation - Conveying a moral judgment of those involved in the framed matter*
- *Treatment recommendation - Endorsing remedies or improvements to the problematic situation (Entman 1993; 2003)*

Hence, the sample articles are studied for the occurrence of the mentioned devices. They are observed for ways problems are being presented, for the suggested causes for the problems, and for the possible moral judgements, which are made. Additionally, how or in what ways the magazine suggests the issues can be dealt with is being studied. The devices will assist in discovering and understanding how organics are placed and how their use or existence is justified, reasoned or explained.

4 RESULTS

This chapter will discuss the findings of the research. The aim of the research was to recognise and extract different frames from McNaiset magazine's articles. A total of four dominating frames were discovered, which dominated the data throughout the chosen period. These frames are Health Frame, Ethics Frame, Trend Frame, and Option Frame. Some other frames did unfold as well, however, they were neither as dominating nor did they withstand the test of time. First, the found frames will be introduced and later, the longitudinal aspects will be discussed.

4.1 Formed frames

Through studying the six chosen volumes, a total of four dominating frames were discovered. The frames were present in all volumes, except for the Ethics frame, which did not exist in 2000, however 2001 onwards it was a clear member of the set. Table 3 shows the number of articles per volume, which were part of the frames. Please note, that the Health and Ethics Frames share same articles in 2001 (2) and 2006 (1). Those are marked separately with +x, which separates the shared articles from the frames individual articles.

Table 3. Data distributed into Frames

Number of Articles with relevant content							Total
	Volumes						
Frames	2000	2001	2006	2007	2012	2013	
Health	5	8+2	10+1	7	20	16	66+3
Ethics	-	3+2	3+1	7	7	3	23+3
Trends	7	14	16	23	31	21	112
Option	3	3	3	7	16	10	42
Total	15	28+2	32+1	44	74	50	

4.1.1 Health Frame

The first identified frame was the Health Frame. This frame places salience in organics that are or can be related with health, being healthy and maintaining healthy lifestyle in general. The health aspect was strong from the first volume onwards and included a wide range of texts. There were four most often visited article types which related to health, which included interviews of famous Finns, who mentioned organics in health-related way (e.g. "Arvaa kenen lautanen" 16/2012:93-96; "Kaikki keinot käytössä" 1/2012:48-52). Another type of text was different magazine features, which discussed overall wellbeing from different aspects i.e. hormones, detoxes or stress-relieving issues, and those articles mentioned that favouring organic produce, to balance or maintain wellbeing with organic food, would benefit the search for health (e.g. "Hittipaastolla hoikemmaksi" 20/2013:50-53; "Hapan laihduttaja" 8/2007:56-57). The third type of text would be investigative journalism reporting on current themes in e.g. the food industry. Consumer concern on food additives and processed foods would be investigated for e.g. e-numbers (e.g. "E-epäily lautasella" 4/2012:35-36; "Salapoliisina kauppareissulla" 5/2012:51). Finally, some articles were written about visiting foreign cities, which are forerunners in organic markets, production or have conscious society, which favours sustainable lifestyles e.g. organic foods or plant based diets (e.g. "Luomuloma Lontoossa" 42/2006:36-40).

Organic were often considered pure, clean, even authentic food, which are chemical-free and pesticide-free. The consumers often mention that organics even tasted better compared to conventional alternatives ("Tuulin kevyet" 21/2001:48-50; "Kuplaamme on vaikea päästä sisälle" 31/2012:6-11). The organic-health connection was upheld by people who wanted to maintain their own health, but it was also recognised by mothers who looked after that their children would not be burdened by chemicals. In these cases, organics were chosen as they were associated as safe, and would not encumber their young with

chemical loads to their bodies (“Meikit vaihtoon” 40/2013:44-47). Organic options were also regarded as superior in quality (“Forza Italia” 14/2000:50-52), and even though it is often addressed as being more expensive, it is still considered worth the difference (“Kasvisruokaa ja ekologisista valintoja” 16-17/2001:52-55; “Kuplaamme on vaikea päästä sisälle” 31/2012:6-11). Some even mentioned that they recognise that they are fortunate or privileged in that they can choose organics, even with the higher price (“Arvaa kenen lautanen” 16/2012:93-96; “Yö on minulle parasta aikaa” 18/2012:10-14). People acknowledge the effort and worth of choosing their produce, and taking the time to prepare their meals from scratch (“Minusta ei saisi kotirouvaa” 8/2012: 8-11, “Tuulin kevyet” 21/2001:48-50; “Ateria on aina juhlaa” 22/2012:62-63).

Another aspect to organics and health was provided by the several articles discussing poverty and low income in the Finnish society (Ihan tavallinen torstai 2006, Kuukausi köyhänä 2012, Ei varaa mihinkään 2013). An article, “Ei varaa mihinkään” (50/2013:48-53), introduced a single woman with a low income. She mentioned: “A small salary does not pay for organic, because you get *makkaraaperunat* (sausage and fries) with the same money for several days.” (“Ei varaa mihinkään” 50/2013:53)

In a reportage from 2012, a *MeNaiset* journalist made an experiment, where she was living on the same amount of money, which the basic unemployment allowance would grant her in Finland. The journalist soon noticed that fresh produce costed more, organic produce even more so, thus she was soon turning to processed foods to keep the budget and filling her stomach (Kuukausi köyhänä, 37/2012:48-53).

“My poor man’s diet is not based on healthy foods. The seasonal produce is expensive, one euro cheese burger is cheap. Avocados and walnuts would have healthy fats, but those seem so far away. They belong to the same upmarket food categories with organic, local, Fair Trade and fresh food.” (Kuukausi köyhänä, 37/2012:51)

Another article, “Ihan tavallinen torstai”, introduced a woman with a low income and her son was preparing fries in the oven. In the article, she mentioned that if she would suddenly get more money, she would buy more organic produce and help friends and family. (“Ihan tavallinen torstai” 10/2006:28-33).

All of the articles shared the same connecting thread about organics: none of the individuals with low income would afford organic produce, not necessarily even fresh produce, as it is relatively more expensive and does not “fills you up” the same way. They were choosing cheap processed foods, which would provide enough to eat to feel full. Moreover, in the reportage, the journalist interviewed an unaffluent woman, who had been confronted for not actually being poor as she was not skinny. The journalist states that “nowadays being poor does not equal to starvation (necessarily) but equals to consuming bad quality, cheap food.” (Kuukausi köyhänä, 37/2012:48-53) Similarly, in the

other article, the journalist states that “the unhealthy options are cheaper” (“Ei varaa mihinkään” 50/2013:48-53).

It was mentioned several times that eating clean and healthy affected the eaters’ wellbeing, coping mechanisms, and energy levels. Meyers and Abrams called this “an elevated health status” (Meyers and Abrams 2010). The elevated health status made the individuals felt better, they were feeling more energetic and were rarely ill (e.g. “Arvaa kenen lautanen” 16/2012:93-96; “Kuplaamme on vaikea päästä sisälle” 31/2012:6-11). Some mentioned that once transitioning to clean food, they learned how awful and nutritionally poor, their previous diet had been with fast sugars and processed foods (“Arvaa kenen lautanen” 16/2012:93-96). Working hard and coping with busy schedules was mentioned to be easier once one began to pay attention to the foods that were being consumed (“Elintasoni säilyttäminen vaatii paljon työtä” 41/2013:10-14). Health was also an element to consider when choosing a vacation destination. After a hard and busy schedule at work, vacations should offer chance to concentrate on one’s wellbeing e.g. through mindful experiences, or quiet retreats with healthy organic foods (“Kentälle, kiitos!” 41/2006:61-67).

Besides, being part of coping better with busy schedules, health was also mentioned in relation to slowing down and choosing better-suited lifestyle choices. There were couple of articles, which discussed how some individuals chose to leave their busy city lives and retrieve to a more quiet and simple life (“Selviydyimme päivä kerrallaan” 32-33/2012:22-25,” Stressistä vapaaksi” 7/2013:46-48). These were cases where families were either battling diseases or felt out-of-place in their everyday lives. Their decision was to move further away from big cities, find peace of mind in nature, simplify their lifestyles and turn to simple but fulfilling hobbies e.g. gardening. This also included reconsidering their values and what was important to them (work, health, family, time etc). Organics were often connected to the reconfigured dietary choices, which were mentioned to include plant based foods and organic produce (e.g. “Uuden ajan uskovaiset” 30/2012:6-8). Overall, health and wellbeing was often communicated as in the overall health of the individual. Physical, mental, and spiritual wellbeing were often discussed together. Table 4 shows the central discussed topics within the Health Frame. As a reminder, the Health and Ethics Frames share same articles in 2001 (2) and 2006 (1). Those are marked separately with +x, which separates the shared articles from the frames individual articles.

Considering the devices presented by Entman, problem definitions and remedy recommendations were rather easy to recognise in this frame. Problem definitions presented situations with individuals and their ill health, lack of energy or a desire to feel better in general. Causalities were described and they mainly focused on the effects certain foods, activities or habits had or can have on one’s health. Furthermore, causal interpretation was demonstrated between poverty and lack of healthy options, resulting in poorer diets.

Moral judgement was not a significant element in this frame. Perhaps it was an underlying thought in that, a person has the right and responsibility to make the choices, which benefit his or her health and wellbeing. Suggested remedies described organics as part of the solution to seek healthier choices in life: better food, more natural cosmetics or more serene lifestyles were recommended in search for an elevated health status.

Table 4. The Health Frame and discussed themes

Volume	Number of Articles	Themes
Volume		
2000	5	hormone balance, diet, detox, relaxation, stretching
2001	8+2	natural balance, wellbeing, diet, detox, relaxation, natural materials, mothers, vegan
2006	10+1	energy, less sick, relaxation, non-toxic, additives, natural ingredients, ethical?
2007	7	energy, health/less sick, diet, health benefits
2012	20	energy, better wellbeing, less sick, weight loss, additives
2013	16	stress release, energy, detox, diet
Total	66+3	finding energy and balance through non-toxic, non-hormone disturbing clean diet

It is clear from studying the data, that being conscious of the consumed food and health issues in general has become increasingly popular, even trendy. It was also highlighted in one of the articles in MeNaiset: "Now one must be good looking and healthy also at work" ("Saippuaa ja sielunhoitoa" 42/2006:72-75, -77). Healthy eating habits and trends were discussed with famous people (e.g. "En ole koskaan suostunut seinäruusuksi" 12/2013:30-32; "Epävarmuus on hyödyllistä" 48/2012:38-41) and the trendiness did show in many of the articles (e.g. "Luomuloma Lontoossa" 42/2006:36-40). Besides developing into a trend, it was also considered responsible, and acceptable to be concerned and take time to look after one's self, be it dietary, fitness, meditation or beauty treatments which enforce the overall wellbeing of the individual.

The trendiness of health issues is clearly present in many articles, and that creates a connection with the articles in the Health and Trend frames and shows how some articles can contain more than one frame. However, it was chosen that

as some articles focused more on health and others more on trends, there would not be any double-entry system for the Trend Frame and thus the articles were divided accordingly. Nevertheless, double-entry was used with couple of the articles, which discussed both health and ethics. The double-entries are illustrated in Table 3 and additionally in Table 4 and Table 5.

4.1.2 Ethics Frame

The second frame was identified as the Ethics Frame. What is different about the Ethics Frame compared to the other dominating frames was that it did not exist in the first volume in 2000. In 2001 and onwards it was a rather small in size but strong (in message) frame in the magazine. The Ethics Frame emphasized issues such as animal rights and animal welfare, social justice and human rights, as well as development aid.

Considering animal welfare matters, there were some women, who mentioned that they were vegetarians because they did not approve of the way intensive animal farming was handled or that they preferred organic milk or organic meat, because they would know that being organically grown animals, the animals were treated as well as they could be treated due to the organic farming methods and philosophy (“Ujo ja herkkä siilinainen” 13/2012:36-39; “Tähteestä tähdeksi” 49/2013:72-77; “Amerikan herkkuja ja karppausta” 8/2013:82-84; “Luottamus katosi” 46/2012:28-30; “Kasvisruokaa ja ekologia valintoja” 16-17/2001:52-55).

Other mentioned issues within the Ethics Frame were sustainable and ethical choices in food and consumption. Even the magazine had recognised that women in particular are interested in ethical consumption (“Reilua tukeaa kehitysmaille” 43/2001: 58-59). One text mentioned that “ethical dieting is on the rise” in an article discussing about low-carbohydrate diet, which has originally utilised meat as a protein source, and now is mentioned to have developed towards a more plant based and organic meat favouring direction (“Hyvästit pekonille” 9/2012:67).

“Eat ethically. Who would like to destroy the environment, oppress people or make animals suffer with their eating (choices)” (“Syö eettisesti” 51-52/2007:63)

This example article discussed ethical choices in brief and gave clear examples and explanations why to choose so. The text demonstrated ethical issues by giving an 8-point list to give ideas for better choices. The listing mentioned ways to decrease food wastage, recommended to decrease the amounts of meat and processed food consumption as well as to be mindful of heavily packaged products. Supporting Finnish labour for local jobs and organic products for its smaller chemical load on the environment, and more natural habitat for animals was also recommended. Finally, the article reminded that some other than plastic bags should be favoured while shopping. It was noticed that both texts were less

than a page long and although contained colourful pictures, were easy to pass and miss.

Social issues were covered throughout the period. For example, ethical labour conditions were discussed in few respects. Labour conditions were discussed in an article, which compared the unsustainable production aspects of the produce farming in the Netherlands and Spain ("Tomaatti depatti" 45/2006:10). Also, a Finnish fashion designer was mentioned to be mindful of her responsibility in terms of human and labour rights. It was mentioned that by supporting farmers of organic cotton, her business contributes to the development of the farmers' communities ("Ekoyrittäjän tulenpunainen lieska" 41/2001:74-77).

Referring to ethical issues in the clothing sector, fashion seemed to develop towards a more sustainable direction from the raw material point of view, as organic cotton or organic fabrics and Fair Trade cotton were mentioned several times, i.e. in connection with H&M, Nanso and Stella McCartney. Fashion was not only used to support Fair Trade and organic or ethical labour but also funds from the sales of clothing were used to support ethical causes ("Tukea naisille" 10/2012:31; "Viikon tyyli" 21/2012:47).

Several articles discussed development aid and how it had developed over time, also its accomplishments were discussed. Couple of articles discussed how developing nations have been helped and how the locals have benefitted from it ("Käyhänapua sinun rahoillasi" 44/2006:36-31). Several articles also discussed development aid and Fair Trade e.g. coffee farmers. The articles educated readers about how Fair Trade organisation operates, how the local farmers benefit from it and how it has been greeted in Finland or Europe for example. Overall, Fair Trade was used as a concrete example to demonstrate the possibilities to distribute social justice down the supply chain ("Käyhänapua sinun rahoillasi" 44/2006:36-31; "Matkalla parempaan maailmaan" 32/2006:22-27; "Reilua tukea kehitysmaille" 43/2001:58-59).

Ethical issues rose also in tourism. There was a clear tendency to emphasize how the traveller can choose the destinations and attractions ethically i.e. so that they would benefit the locals and not multinational hotel chains ("Matkalla parempaan maailmaan" 32/2006:22-27). Moreover, there was an article, which promoted ethical travel by mentioning that holidays could be spend in voluntary work ("Kentälle, kiitos!" 2006/41:61-67).

Other social fairness matters were discussed in supporting others financially or morally. This was demonstrated e.g. by mentioning that supporting the Finnish and local producers and employees was important (e.g. "Tienan hyvin, mutta rahaa myös palaa" 9/2012:8-12; "Kasvisruokaa ja ekologisia valintoja" 16-17/2001:52-55) Similarly, by reminding that choosing products from the developing nations' farmers provides them with important support ("Ruuassa en nuukaile" 19/2007:79). Additionally, there was a clear and growing concern about where, how and from what goods are made of. Concerns

of product origins, production conditions and utilised raw materials has given birth to a more conscious and critical consumer group. It was mentioned that young adults are often the first ones to suggest or demand responsible products. They are willing to pay more for it, if they can support a responsible and sustainable options (“Uudet ruokasankarit” 5/2012:52-57; “Turhan tuntematon Gent 24/2012:66-68).

Poverty was also discussed or rather stated in ethical relation. An article took an ethics stand, when presenting an opposing Christmas: others are able to choose organic pork for Christmas, whereas there are still many who get their only Christmas meals in soup kitchen offered by e.g. Christian organisations (“Herkullista jouluruokaa” 51-52/2007:10).

In addition, there was an article, which discussed genetically modified organisms (GMOs). The discussion focused on if GMOs should be utilised or banned and if consumers have the right to know, if GMOs are used in products. In one of the articles it was mentioned that GMOs are ethically questionable for two reasons: firstly, it could potentially affect the natural balance of organisms and threat biodiversity, and secondly, the business side to GMO seeds, deal with patents and is therefore limited only for those who can afford it. This could distort farming as a business and farmers’ access to seeds (“Mikä ihmeen GM-ruoka” 36/2007:40-41). Table 5 shows the central discussed topics within the Ethics Frame. Please note, that the Health and Ethics Frames share same articles in 2001 (2) and 2006 (1). Those are marked separately with +x, which separates the shared articles from the frames individual articles.

Table 5. The Ethics Frame and discussed themes

Volume	Number of Articles	Themes
2000	-	-
2001	3+2	development aid/Fair Trade, animal treatment
2006	3+1	development aid, tourism, responsible farming in EU
2007	7	responsible consumption, and eating. GMO, "others have nothing".
2012	7	animal, ethical treatment of workers, supporting women and children
2013	3	animal treatment, living conditions. chemical load on mother and unborn child
Total	23+3	threatening animals and other people with respect, aid and support, living conditions and compensations correctly.

Considering the devices presented by Entman, the articles' problem definitions included inequality or unbalanced distribution of wealth, inhumane treatment of animals or labour. Especially development aid and labour articles gave historical background and causal interpretations on issues. The animal treatment articles did not describe causalities or relevant information in much detail, except for the point of view, why organic animals were believed to be the better alternative.

The Ethics Frame presented themes in such a way that it is morally just that the audience support better farming practices, better treatment of animals or Fair Trade organisation, because that is the right thing to do. Moreover, the importance of the western support to developing nation's entrepreneurs and the development of their wellbeing was accented. It was mentioned at times that it did not require that much more from the Finnish consumer to choose e.g. Fair Trade products, but the benefits of the support for the farmer were significant ("Reilua tukea kehitysmaille" 43/2001:58-59; "Oletko sademetsäsyöppö?" 48/2007:35).

Treatment recommendations, which were presented included choosing ethical options and making educated decisions in order to support rightful and humane practices and development. Therefore, the remedies were product interchange based on the ethical attributes of products.

4.1.3 Trend Frame

The third discovered frame was the Trend Frame. This frame was obvious and ranged from current topics to product feature articles. It often was easy to recognise, as the magazine revealed it simply by mentioning what are or were to be the upcoming trends or what was fashionable at that moment. This was similar to Lundahl's findings that women's magazines quite clearly state what is fashionable or trendy (Lundahl 2014). Similarly, MeNaiset mentioned trends openly, but not always.

The Trend Frame mainly discussed themes such as food and cuisine, beauty, health, and wellbeing as well as fashion, clothing, and travel. Besides covering themes that were simply trendy or fashionable, the Trend Frame included relevant, current issues and topics, which would have been topical discussion points at that time. These topical themes included certain environmental or social matters, e.g. the climate change or organic farming. Climate change was mentioned with Al Gore's documentary "The inconvenient truth", about the subject and included expert and non-expert comments on what they felt climate change was about ("Ilmaston muutoksen ABC" 45/2006:34-36). Similarly, the magazine published a rather long article about organic farming in Juva. It gave an overall picture of cattle breeding, milk production and farm life. It explained how organic milk production was different from conventional one and showed caring and educated farmers ("Terveisiä luomujugurтин alkulähteeltä" 21/2001:104-108).

Another topical article discussed the Finnish summer and different traditions and activities, which take place during the summer in Finland. Environmental aspects were under discussion in this article and it basically demonstrated how to enjoy the Finnish summer and still be mindful of the environmental choices available. The article stated that being environmentally conscious did not mean that one could not enjoy life. The aspects covered recycling, eco-electricity, biking, seasonal foods, second hand and quality fashion. The article stated: "the holiday season -time to think about consumption choices" ("Ekotekoja luonnon ja omantunnon tähden" 29/2001:46-47). These types of articles seemed to educate the reader about current themes.

One interesting aspect in the Trend Frame included supporting and favouring small scale or artisanal production and handicrafts. The artisanal approach seemed to favour quality ingredients, skilful and passionate manufacturing processes, which would result in quality products which are good, durable, enjoyable and (now) trendy to support. ("Jätelöön hurahaneet" 27/2012:24-31; "Kesäpäivä Söderissä" 22/2007:60-65). Artisan and small businesses were also favoured in articles, which discussed traveling and visiting bigger cities mainly in Europe. The articles focused the attention on organics or other sustainable aspects of those cities. Themes such as recycling and repurposing, city gardening, local foods, greener transport and laidback attitudes were all themes reported in the trendy cities (e.g. "Uusien ideoiden Amsterdam"

10/2013:62-65, "Rohkeasti muuttuva Rotterdam" 30/2013:48-51; "Maailman luomuin kaupunki" 47/2012:68-71; "Kevääksi Tukholmaan" 12/2013:71). Organics were particularly mentioned in an article "Luomuloma Lontoossa" (42/2006:36-40), which presented the astonishing variety London had on organic goods i.e. organic foods and organic cafés, organic and natural cosmetics. Additionally, the article acknowledged that the organics had developed into a lucrative business. Similarly, an article about California, mentioned that farmer's markets were a new, up and coming phenomena at the time and that "organic foods are especially preferred by a health-conscious niche" ("Auringon, ruokailon ja makunautintojen Kalifornia" 43/2000:50-54).

Similarly, to small artisanal entrepreneurship, also do-it-yourself (DIY) projects, i.e. soap making, baking, became more popular and trendy around 2012. In a fast pace society, where everything from freshly baked bread to cooked meals is available, it can be considered fulfilling, luxurious or even meditative, when one can have the time to prepare and make something by himself. ("Kädet saippuassa" 39/2012:56-60; "Tunnetta taikinasta" 11/2007:68-70)

As sustainable themes become increasingly trendy, the magazine provides discussions and examples of the "modern times ecoists". Total of two articles discussed sustainable lifestyles, but one of the articles could be demonstrating the trendier side of it. The article provides examples for sustainable living through introducing a young woman and how she lives her life. Living, commuting and consuming were the main topics under discussion. The young woman was described as living in the city in tiny apartment, mainly using a bike or the public transportation if necessary, utilizing inexpensive entertainment and being a conscious consumer while shopping. The article named this type of a lifestyle practitioner as an "austere hedonist", as she did enjoy what life had to offer, but was wise about the choices she made ("Uuden ajan ekoeläjä" 33/2006:12).

Another aspect to the Trend Frame was the way sustainability trends were strengthened by introducing famous individuals who are conscious with their consumption and considered with their choices. Celebrities were presented as practitioners of sustainable lifestyles or conscious consumers. This method is very common in media and it creates both the desire to pursue similar behaviour or products and the moral support for behaving in such a way. (Winge 2008; Holmes 2007) This model behaviour aspect was, however, utilised mainly to promote solutions for the readers, which focused on range of products. (e.g. "Työ on opettanut sietämään häpeää" 4/2012:12-16; "Luomulikka Losissa" 51-52/2006:28-31).

There were also less dominant frames, which needed deeper analysis to be recognised as part of the Trend Frame. For example, smaller subthemes of the Trend Frame included; quality, exotic, enjoyment/indulgence and luxury. Quality was one of the central trend-orientated associations with organics. For example, the enjoyment of good, clean, quality food was mentioned ("Forza

Italia” 14/2000:50-52; “Naiset suklaan pauloissa” 8/2001:54-56). In addition, organics were presented as an exotic choice (“Elintarvikkeita ja eksotiikkaa” 15/2001:79; “Perttu Tampereen kahvikunkku” 12/2001:79; “Syrjäkylän sydän” 7/2007:24-28).

Quality and luxury were connected to organics in several of the “gift guide” features, which were presented before Christmases and often before mothers’ days or fathers’ days as inspiration to give ideas for present ideas. Gift guides often described organics as luxurious and indulgence i.e. with facial or body cremes and other cosmetics (“Joulua jokaselle” 48/2013:51-57). One article was even headlined as “organic is luxurious” (“luomu on luksusta” 13/2007:56-58). The article basically gave information about what organic is, recipes on couple of meals and comparisons of the prices of the organically or conventionally prepared meals. In this case, it seemed that what made organic luxurious, was the mentioned nutritional value of the organic option and the fact that it was more expensive than the other option. Table 6 shows the central discussed topics within the Trend Frame.

Table 6. The Trend Frame and discussed themes

Volume	Number of Articles	Themes
Volume		
2000	7	status (being seen in restaurant), food, quality, conscious consumer, topical issue
2001	14	food, restaurants, topical issues, making responsible choices, quality, exotics
2006	16	food, cosmetics, topical issues, famous individuals
2007	23	food, fashion, cosmetics, cover pages, quality, exotics
2012	31	food (also street food), health trends, cosmetics, fashion, normalisation > markets, quality, cover pages, famous individual
2013	21	food, health, energy, cities, fashion, luxury, quality, slowing down/ simple lifestyle, relaxation
Total	112	from products and items to lifestyles

Considering the devices presented by Entman in the Trend Frame articles. Firstly, the problem definitions in the articles presented two different approaches. The current global phenomena i.e. climate change, environmental degradation, were

presented in a more serious manner, they were given explanations and historical backgrounds to the issues and at least some causalities were explained. Moreover, potential solutions were mentioned, however, remedies included both reader relevant and more distant solutions. These types of topical articles were scarce.

The other approach, clearly more popular one, presented articles about light-hearted, purely trendiness based topics, where problems were more superficial in nature and were easier to resolve, often through fulfilling consumeristic tendencies. It can be questioned, if those were problems per se, but rather about the current developments of the consumer culture and choice, and how the readers can incorporate that into their lives. Causal explanations in the trend feature pieces were minimal. It seemed that simply presenting issues as trendy was the exhaustive explanation needed.

Moral judgement seemed to base on the view that as educated and compassionated individuals, the readers should do something and doing something is better than ignoring things altogether. However, as women are already juggling with the demands of home and work, there are other things that also need their attention. Therefore, issues are presented in a way that doing little is enough, the reader is not burdened with responsibilities to convert to sustainability. Remedies were, once again, often range of new products or services available.

4.1.4 Option Frame

The fourth and final of the dominating frames was the Option Frame. Lundahl called a similar frame as Free to Choose Frame, and her frame included the consumers right and power to make her own decisions and feel good about them, without the guilt of choosing unsustainable choices (Lundahl 2014). In this thesis, the frame was named after the manner the magazine used in presenting issues in their articles, i.e. the variety of options the audience was presented with.

The Option Frame essentially presented organics and more sustainable options as being part of the whole variety of choices. It was applied when organics or more sustainable options (often products) were introduced among other alternatives. Moreover, the organic options were evaluated similarly to conventional products and if negative features were noticed, they were also mentioned. Sometimes it could be displayed in a preferable light, other times more critic was given. In this frame, organics were treated equal, as opposed to superior, and were just like any other option. The reader will decide if the fact that it is organic is a preferable attribute or not, the magazine does not place salience on that fact.

The frame was not mentioned in the magazine in the same way that trends were mentioned aloud, rather notion of options rose from the selection or range of goods presented in the articles. Organic options were in the selection, but they

were not necessarily highlighted as in “the organic version”, although this also took place couple of times. The Option Frame consisted mainly of product reviews for different product segments. The most common types of articles for this frame consisted of cosmetics or wine reviews e.g. wine was reviewed and various choices were offered for the reader. Similarly, beauty products from makeup to facial creams and oils were displayed with different features or attributes, some being organic. Other articles discussed fashion, food, and recipes or for example natural remedies.

One rather interesting example of the Option Frame was presented in 2007. In an article, an extreme example of an ecoist was introduced (“Muovipussit boikottiin” 16/2007:14). The whole article began with a comment that the young woman had never bought plastic bags. The article continued to describe her choices: vegan, eats potatoes with peels on them, produces very little trash, and environmentally conscious in every respect. This young woman was presented as very sustainable in her lifestyle choices, however the magazine chose to balance the scales, by mentioning: “Even if we ordinary consumers choose to peel our potatoes in the future...” (MN 16/2007:14) The magazine chose to distance the individual from the readers and gave the readers the power to choose the best sustainable aspects but still maintain their usual lifestyles. Table 7 shows the central discussed topics within the Option Frame.

The Option Frame function in the magazine is two-fold: it gives the magazine a chance to serve both the conservative and conscious audiences. The magazine can promote sustainable products, but it does not want to solely concentrate on those, as not all readers value or interest themselves with sustainable goods. However, those, who are interested in finding more sustainable options, are also offered something. Moreover, by displaying also organic options the magazine can offer something new, exciting, and fashionable to those who look for changing trends. This is the reason the Option Frame is useful for the magazine.

In addition, the magazine cannot base its views on sustainable lifestyles or alternative products, as it would threaten its own existence as a mainstream publication. Therefore, the magazine remains the status quo and gently promotes alternative views, but bases its foundation on current societal discourse.

Table 7. The Option Frame and discussed themes

Volume	Number of Articles	Themes
Volume		
2000	3	health, beauty, restaurant
2001	3	wine, restaurant
2006	3	wine, beauty, food
2007	7	beauty, food, other
2012	16	cosmetics, food, décor
2013	10	cosmetics, wine, GMO/food
Total	42	You choose how you consume

Considering the devices presented by Entman, the Option Frame was often delivered by a clear structure in the articles. The structure would present an issue, give a problem, causes and remedies. For example, an article discussing effects the winter weather has on one's skin. It is stated that "winter skin" is suffering and it needs to be nursed. Another example would be an article about flue and how to treat it or avoid it.

Interestingly, the Option Frame presented moral judgement device in reverse. It did not place moral judgement as in, bad behaviour from the environmental perspective, but encouraged the readers to choose what suits them. This is similar to Trend Frame's view that women should be encouraged to participate, however they are not made responsible for radically changing their habits. Similar to other frames, the Option Frame also presented remedies as mainly selection of products.

Finally, Table 8 presents the general associations of organics of each frame. It primarily gathers the previously discussed associations conceived by consumers about some elements of sustainable lifestyles and organics.

Table 8. Frames and associations

Frames	Cues, Keys Associations with Organics	Associations with Sustainable lifestyle
Health	clean, pure, additive-free, safe, quality. energetic, feeling good, taking care of yourself and others, own time, slow down, find beauty in nature etc. Goods origins, ingredients, how grown	simple life, enjoyment and relaxation from simple things, basic, simple unprocessed foods, utilising natural ingredients to maintain health simplifying, finding balance, back to the roots
Ethics	moral, ethics, fair, being considered towards others, treating others with respect. Supporting small producers, locals or 3 rd world. environmentally friendly, easing environmental load. Goods origins, production conditions.	conscious, shared, open societies, community thinking, support instead of separation, all deserve respect, we are all the same
Trends	trendy, fashionable, cool, in, you too are a conscious consumer, luxurious, quality, green, eco-friendly...	is trendy to be green /support sustainable options (questionable long-term value)
Option	it is your decision, how do you feel about it, what do you prefer, what you like to try	sustainability ignored or emphasised (questionable long-term value)

4.2 Longitudinal Aspects to Frames

As one of the research aims was to include the longitudinal effects of frames and the potential changes those frames might experience, the second section of the results will discuss precisely that.

The longitudinal changes in the magazine's organic-related themes seemed to have a rather natural, issue life cycle development: topics were introduced, they developed and later they lost ultimatum and became rather common and mundane, perhaps were even forgotten. Even though organics in this case, did not become extinct, it was noticeable that the topic had become very common: the number of mentions had multiplied from 2000 to 2013 and

discussed topics were more civilised and refined. Finally, they covered many more topics and overall area in the magazine.

Throughout the data period there were strong frames that persisted over time and were present in all volumes, except for the Ethics Frame, which was absent in 2000, but shortly joined the dominating frames in 2001 and stayed on until the end. Additionally, some less dominating frames did appear and they became part of the trend frames subthemes like quality and enjoyment were present in all volumes, whereas exotics were present only in 2001 and 2007. These subthemes did not provide as many articles or strong stand, but were clear in their message.

Few emerging frames started to flicker in the later part of the chosen period. In 2012, organics started to appear alongside with negative comments and critique. This was a very small, but significant change, as organics had been previously associated with positive traits and now mentions began to emerge in relation to something negative. Organics were compared the modern-day version of sales of indulgence, and it was mentioned that organics are nice, if one can afford them. Additionally, a short feature was written about a study, which did not support the view that organics would be healthier than conventional options (“Amispojasta Michelin mieheksi” 34/2012:104; “Yö on minulle parasta aikaa” 18/2012:10-14; “Se vain tuntuu niin hyvältä” 37/2012:55; “Luomupissaa päässä” 22/2012:14-15) Also in 2013, it was mentioned that organics did not provide any additional attributes to taste, it was just more expensive (“Tienaan hyvin, mutta rahaa myös palaa” 9/2013:8-12). This change in the tone of communication could suggest frame breaking and potential new frames in the future, however that development is outside of the scope of this study.

In the early parts of the collected data sample, the themes around organic goods seemed to involve educational value to the readers. Even advertisement included explanations and information what organic meant. For example, in the beginning of 2000 organics were often mentioned together with informational pieces about what is organic and how it is different from conventional goods. Later, the informational style changed towards a product centered and consumeristic communication approach. The volumes had more organic products featured, and it can be expected that by now the readers were already more familiar with organics, therefore educating about them was not as necessary. Moreover, as organics become more popular, availability and variety had increased, it became easier for the magazine to present selection. Additionally, the latter period of the data included justification for choosing organic products or favouring organics. Overall, the clear trendiness of the topic could be seen in the amounts of covered topics and varying themes, which were all growing in number.

The Figure 5 is a representation of the total number of articles present in each frame. When comparisons of the distribution of frames from each volume was conducted, it was discovered that the distribution among the frames was

very similar. Overall, the Trend Frame was about half of all the articles each year. The Health Frame was the second biggest, giving room for the fluctuations of the Ethics Frame and the Option Frames respectfully.

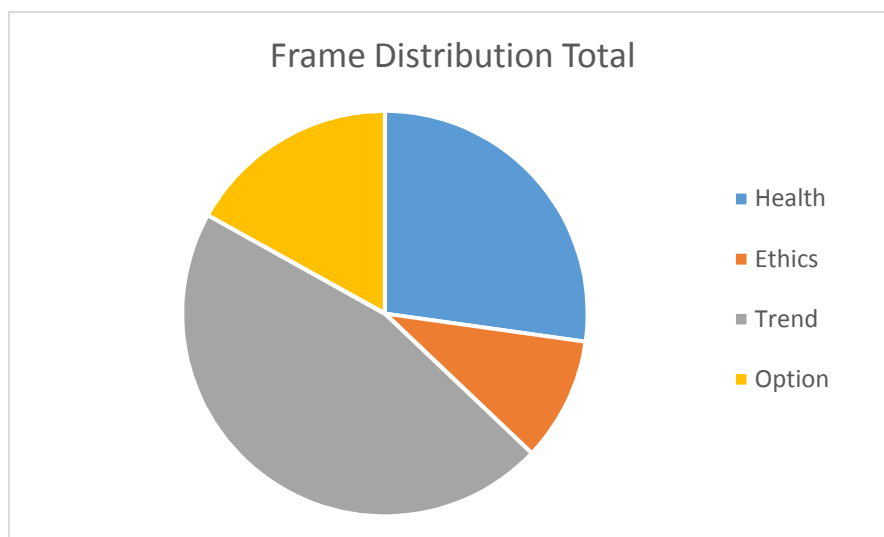


Figure 5. Dominating frames distributed

The Health Frame developed from rather one-dimensional detox articles into more diverse discussions on finding a balanced, non-toxic dietary choices, which support the overall wellbeing of an individual. In addition, health was not only considered as what one ate, but balanced wellbeing was seen more diversely as a combination of dietary, exercise, stress release, relaxation, and enjoyment of life. The frame was also strengthened by the growing number of famous people who acknowledged the association between health and organics. The Ethics Frame developed from a development aid centered frame towards animal treatment considerations. The development aid articles faded away and socially and ethically responsible ways to consume were offered instead.

The Trend Frame developed in number of mentions as well as in content. The covered topics and product categories grew noticeable. The focus moved from a single product or issue towards sustainable cities with many green aspects to them. The Trend Frame did stay the same in terms of its consumeristic tendencies. As mentioned previously, The Option Frame was basically limited to food, mostly wine, and cosmetic products. It is rather clear that no profound development occurred. The number of mentions and the range of products or product categories did vary a little, however there was no significant development from one to another. Therefore, it can be stated that the Option Frame stayed the same throughout the period of the study.

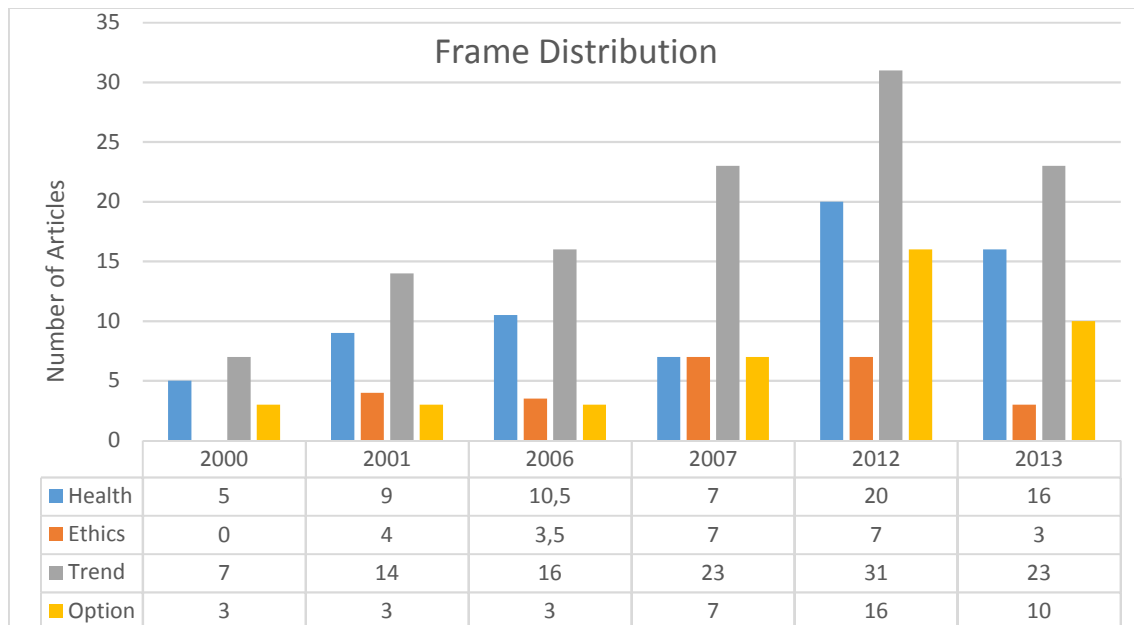


Figure 6. Frames and articles distributed into volumes

The figure 6 shows the frame distribution as well as their evolution in size during the period. The figure demonstrates how the popularity of organics increased during the period, and even though there are clear fluctuations on yearly bases, the growing trend is visible. The Trend Frame was by far, the largest frame in the set, followed by the Health Frame. The Ethics Frame appears to be both the smallest and the frame, which fluctuated the least. This can seem odd, referring to the growing ethical consideration among consumers. Perhaps organics was not the best variable to measure it, Fair Trade could have been a stronger contender. In total, it can be stated that the largest share of the articles presented trendiness and options. Therefore, the communication can be seen as based on commercial value and consumption.

Overall, the frames did not change. Even though the topics and themes developed over time, the dominating frames stayed the same. This was somewhat surprising to notice. However, Van Gorp (2007) mentioned that frames typically experience few changes over time, and this seemed indeed to be true. The stable nature of frames originates from the fact that frames are drawn from culture. The norms and values, which constitute culture is where frames find their essence and structure. As culture and societies develop very slowly, also changes in beliefs and habits take time. (VanGorp 2007)

Similarly, Shmueli et al. (2006) state, that frames are rather stable as they “are embedded” in the individuals’, communities’ and societies’ “shared knowledge” and thus being embedded in society and culture, change takes time and requires significant or extreme events or situations in order to change. Reframing issues could help people to change their views and accept new frames, however, as frames act as a way to reinforce the existing schemata and the frames themselves, the process is slow. (Shmueli et al. 2006)

In conclusion, as the underlying motives to change social practices towards more sustainable lifestyle was still underdeveloped and society continue to pursue conspicuous consumption, it should not become as a surprise that the frames did not experience significant changes.

5 DISCUSSION

The aim of this thesis was to understand how sustainability and organics were described in a women's magazine. This thesis intended to discover how McNaiset magazine presented sustainable lifestyle through the medium of organics. Therefore, the central research task was to study how organics are framed as part of sustainable lifestyle. Additionally, the data was reflected for any changes in the way the magazine pictured sustainability during the chosen period.

The set research questions were:

1. What type of organic frames can be identified from the magazine? and
2. What roles or associations does organic have in the frames?
3. What type of changes can be recognised in the frames over the time period?

So, how were organics framed as a part of sustainable lifestyles? The findings support previous research in that organics were associated with health (e.g. Smith 2010) and ethics (Meyers and Abrams 2010) and are mostly framed as trendy (Smith 2010; Lundahl 2014). As mentioned, sustainable lifestyle comprises many different elements, so it can be expected that the use and promotion of organics in a favourable light did support sustainable lifestyles in some respects. However, promotion of sustainable lifestyles stayed weak and consumption of organics reflected more of the trendiness of the concept than a true concern for sustainability.

The topics and themes discussed in the Health Frame resonate the global discussions on motives to choose organic goods, especially in the categories of food and cosmetics (e.g. Meyers and Abrams 2010; Zanolli and Naspetti 2002). The global atmosphere seems to favour organics for health reasons, as organics are often associated as a safe and healthy option, especially in food or cosmetics, even though health related research on organics are contradictory. Still, those concerned, are looking for options to replace pesticide heavy produce or intensive animal farming, and the alternatives seem to guide them towards organics. Health and particularly eating healthy was mentioned in several

occasions in the magazine. Some people wanted to attend to their own health, others mentioned especially their children. It was mentioned that by being conscious about what one ate, choosing unprocessed “real food”, people were more energetic, felt better and were full of energy compared to previous dietary habits (“Elintasoni säilyttäminen vaatii paljon työtä” 41/2013:10-14; “Arvaa kenen lautanen” 16/2012:93-96).

Smith mentions that women’s magazines have the tendency to push health related content to women. It is not only the women’s health but also their families, and it is the responsibility of the women to assure that healthy habits are part of everyone’s lives in the family. The cultural norm of mothers as caretakers, responsible for providing children with nutritional, healthy food and keep them safe from external and internal harm, still exists. As caretakers, they must see that the whole family is safe and well. (Smith 2010, 75) Therefore, “safe” food, which does not contain additives or additional chemicals is understandably a preferable option. Moreover, home-cooked meals with little sugar or salt is also valued. Additionally, Smith mentions that “the desire to eat organic” has been associated with pregnancy and prenatal diets (Smith 2010, 75). This supports the view that women as caretakers are responsible for the health of their children.

Sandilands (1993) states that as the woman’s role is considered to embrace soft values, women are thus more likely to take interest in responsible and environmentally friendly practices. Similarly, Smith states that women have been identified as being generally interested in sustainability issues. This is being utilised in the media communications: green consumerism and environmental marketing of goods have been directed towards women. It was mentioned that the way magazines communicate about sustainability, can mainly be achieved by wise consumption choices, not by other means e.g. change of habits. (Smith 2010, 75) Media packages messages in such a way that women would feel obligated to participate in the so-called sustainable consumption and participate in environmentally concerned actions. In a way, women and their soft values are required to consider green products. (Sandilands 1993)

Organics were also associated with ethics. Similar to Meyers and Abrams (2010, 32) findings, the Ethics frame supports the idea that organic consumers are concerned about the environment, sustainability and social issues. By choosing wisely, they can support sustainable practices e.g. ethical treatment of labour or supporting small businesses. Johnsson-Latham (2007) mentioned that sustainability also includes meeting basic needs, just resource distribution, resource conservation and decoupling, which focuses on resource efficiency and gross domestic product (GDP) growth without environmental degradation (UNEP 2011; Johnsson-Latham 2007). Therefore, by favouring artisanal or small-scale businesses and entrepreneurs, consumers can distribute wealth more evenly. Aiding and supporting small businesses creates the potential for wellbeing, development, and self-supporting communities, where people can meet their needs and support themselves.

The magazine presented Fair Trade or development aid articles from the angle that the end consumer or reader would not see a significant difference in prices when purchasing products, but the farmer, producer or artisan will get a better compensation for their work and can better support their families and develop their communities (e.g. "Käyhänapua sinun rahoillasi" 44/2006:36-31; "Matkalla parempaan maailmaan" 32/2006:22-27; "Reilua tukea kehitysmaille" 43/2001:58-59). By supporting directly local, small scale businesses, especially in the undeveloped or developing countries, is supporting sustainability. It is not only ethical to reduce poverty, but also sustainable as poverty is one significant threat to sustainability, together with overconsumption. Poverty creates unsustainability in that it threatens the natural environment, social wellbeing and decreased possibilities and alternatives for rapid or flexible changes. Even though, those less affluent use less resources and consume less, their scarcity on goods can create unsustainability in e.g. illegal logging or disputes. Moreover, poverty creates obstacles to pursue life in a balanced manner e.g. health care, education, safety, flexible alternatives, basic resources. These become more difficult to acquire or maintain, when one is less affluent.

Another ethical factor in organic farming has been the meat production aspect. It has been seen as a more ethical way to produce meat as the principle of organic animal husbandry state that animals need to live in a way, which represents their natural habitat as much as possible. It is often considered for example, that intensive meat production is unethical and cruel. Therefore, based on the organic principles, those animals which are produced under organic farming practices, are being treated better compared to conventionally grown stocks. ("Ujo ja herkkä siilinainen" 13/2012:36-39; "Amerikan herkkuja ja karppausta" 8/2013:82-84; "Tähteestä tähdeksi" 49/2013:72-77)

Finally, it is also ethically correct to leave a healthy environment for the future generations and wish nature stays vital to be able to provide ecosystem services for all its occupants. Therefore, environmental responsibility, in that individuals take responsibility for their own actions and make changes that benefit in environmentally less harmful habits, is ethically sound. Environmental responsibility was addressed in the magazine in e.g. rational resource use and recycling perspective as well as favouring organics due to the reputed environmentally friendlier farming practices. However, the magazine's articles communicated ethics more in terms of social justice than environmental issues. This can be either because Finland has relatively pure nature and the urgency to save the environment is not as visible here, then elsewhere, or perhaps communicating stories and describing other people's lives is easier and more interesting in a magazine. The humane perspective can contribute to better stories and helping other people, in lieu of the environment, is understandably easier to connect with the readers.

As mentioned previously, along with health and ethics issues, the magazine communicated organics also in relation to trends and options. These formed absolutely the strongest message the magazine wanted to communicate.

The magazine fundamentally package organics by fashioning them and their use. This is similar to Lundahl's (2014) findings of media's promotion of "eco-chic", which basically promotes more sustainable options as the solution for the current environmental crisis. As the Trend Frame and the Option Frame contained most of the articles in the magazine, this message seems to be the way media communicates about sustainability and sustainable lifestyles in general.

The way organics were presented, appoint an easy and simple solution for all the ills. By making consumption appear as an easy act towards being more sustainable, the magazine creates the feeling that readers can do their good deeds for sustainability by participating through consumption. Sandilands (1993, 45) states that promoting sustainable consumerism is actually about making readers feel that they are being green, not about the products or the actual environmental impacts of those products. This is a form of ostensible sustainable consumption. Lundahl (2014) refers to it as conspicuous sustainable consumption and Smith as conspicuous green consumption (Smith 2010, 80).

The message has basically been packaged to present environmentally concerned statements and moral, however the solutions are not addressing sustainability but rather promote consumer markets: "if you buy this product, you can help to save the world." as Sandilands mentions (1993, 45). While ostensible sustainable consumerism does address some environmental issues, and can influence some responsible behaviour, as discussed previously in this chapter, it is still based on the current consumeristic approach. But, the fundamental issues, which overconsumption creates, are not addressed by any form of consumption.

Even though, these frames place salience in consumption, they can influence sustainability favourably in a minor fashion. A positive aspect to trends and options is that when they are durable and have enough time to settle in with consumers, they become common and normalised to some groups of people. By introducing sustainable products on the pages of magazines, the consumers become more sensitive in recognising those products while shopping. This makes it more likely that consumers start to choose sustainable options as their first choice. Moreover, normalisation usually means that the markets have matured, and therefore products have better availability and a greater variety, which gives the consumers better access and more options.

There is the chance, that once media has highlighted sustainability and the methods to live more sustainably long enough through repetition, those methods become habits and part of people's lifestyles. Just recently there was piece of news that the Finnish youngsters are less interested in drinking alcohol or smoking cigarettes than before (Merikallio 2017; Syrjälä 2017), fair to note that media's involvement in the change was not mentioned. This type of behaviour and uninterested towards certain issues, surrenders time and commitment to other habits. This type of positive development among young could include normalisation of sustainable lifestyles in the future.

Still, at the moment, even if the Trend and Option frames do promote organics in a favourable light, the preferable long-term effects of that promotion are questionable or ineffective at best. As the focus is merely based on consumer culture, and as the mentioned frames encourage to continue consumption habits in a similar manner, the sustainability aspects are fast lost. Therefore, the way the Trend frame promotes consumerism does not support true sustainability.

Smith (2010, 74) mentions that magazines way to communicate about environmental products is focused on trends and desirability of those products. The communication lacks explanations of the sustainability features of the products and reasons why they are environmentally friendlier than other options. While, MeNaiset did provide some explanations for environmental or social attributes of products, a deeper reasoning was discussed only in few articles. Abundance of articles used few repetitive explanations for sustainability features i.e. organics have no pesticide residues, and are therefore safer to consume. However, more often than not, the magazine failed to give any reasons. The lack of reasoning appears to indicate that readers are not truly urged to think for themselves or the actual environmental effects of the products. To the readers, it is presented as an obvious deed that participating in sustainability, requires simply choosing the best alternative products. (Smith 2010) It is evident that this type of ostensible sustainable consumption serves mostly as the weak form of sustainable consumption as Lorek and Fuchs (2011) defined it.

On the contrary to promoting weak sustainability, anti-consumption stories were minimised in the magazine. Similar to Lundahl (2014) and Smith (2010), aspects of anti-consumption were almost non-existing in the magazine. The tone of the magazine focused on consumption as a solution and silenced the side of sustainability which promotes non-consumption. Few examples of sustainable lifestyles were discussed in the magazine, e.g. “muovipussit boikottiin” (MN 16/2007:14). This article does present a sustainable lifestyle option, but whereas presenting it in a favourable light, the magazine chooses to undermine it and distance it from the readers.

The example was about a young woman, who posted in her blog that she had never bought a plastic bag. The magazine contacted her and the article discussed how she lived her life. She explained how she was able to produce such a small amount of waste. The magazine chose to side with the common consumer and explained that a layperson would need to make drastic changes in order to achieve similar records. The article mentioned that the woman was a vegetarian and she even ate her potatoes with the peels on. The article was finalised with a statement that the readers could still peel their potatoes in the future, but they should buy plastic bags only, when they have used up their current supply. (“muovipussit boikottiin” 16/2007/:14).

This habit of distancing those who practice sustainability on a more deeper level, is also known as “otherness” (Smith 2010; Lundahl 2014) or “the others” (Moisander and Pesonen 2002). The way otherness is silenced is mainly

created by presenting the habits or behaviour as extremist, suspicious or otherwise opposing to societal norms. The example article silenced the topic by belittling the content as extremist environmentalism. Moreover, the articles, which discuss such issues are given minimal space and less attractive location in the magazine, which makes it easy for readers to pass the article altogether. This fact was also noticed by Smith (2010).

It is common in mainstream media to silence anti-consumption or more considered forms of consumption. Similarly, it is highly common for magazines to promote sustainable or responsible lifestyles through consumption. Then why do magazines and media promote consumption? The reasons for this is said to base on the business logic of the magazines. As mentioned previously, magazines are highly dependable on readership and advertising income: a more considered approach to consumption, would not necessarily engage advertising partners in a same manner. Therefore, it is beneficial for a mainstream magazine to reflect the general societal values and norms and only cautiously test the ground for new ideas. The current culture of the westernised societies is still heavily focused on conspicuous consumption and basing happiness on equity. Thus, to change that would mean challenging the status quo.

Smith states that green consumerism presents an opportunity for the media to promote consumption, but still address current and relevant themes in society (Smith 2010). Therefore, green consumerism serves several purposes: readers and consumers can have the feeling that they are participating in an important cause by an easy and simple act, which is both familiar and most likely pleasant to them. The magazine has the chance to make itself relevant by publishing news and popular topics as well as creating desire over consumer goods, thus making itself even more important among consumers who want easy access to trends and timely themes.

This is understandable behaviour from the magazine. For now, it maintains the status quo and protects its survival. No magazine would want to make their readers feel guilty about participating in the current form of consumer culture, but rather the magazine prefers an angle which makes the readers feel as if they were participating in a responsible behaviour. And this is exactly what they have been able to create, a form of "painless change in personal behaviour" as Smith (2010) states.

If something positive should be said about green consumption, it would be that if participating in sustainable actions is made seem easy, more people are expected to participate. That is a small step, which can be made into the right direction. If any pro-environmental behaviour or further interest rises from that first step, that has potential to grow into a considered sustainable behaviour. However, the disadvantage is that if relevant sustainability issues are not being addressed, no real sustainability is gained.

There is the chance, that some individuals think that they, by participating in an ostensible sustainable consumption, have done their share of "good deeds"

and fail to question any other habits for their environmental effects. This type of negative spillover of pro-environmental behaviour can be common, but combined with ineffective ostensible sustainable behaviour, is simply devastating. Education about the true environmental issues and sources of environmental degradation is needed desperately. Moreover, society at large should learn to questioning consumption. As Smith states: “women can’t expect to simply buy their way into environmentalism, despite popular messages to the contrary.” (Smith 2010, 80).

So, to reflect how organics were framed as a part of sustainable lifestyles and how sustainable lifestyles were communicated in the chosen women’s magazine, it would be through green consumption. Organics themselves were communicated through health, ethics, trends and options, but sustainable lifestyles failed to develop further past the ostensible sustainable consumption, i.e. green consumerism.

To conclude, it can be stated that the McNaiset magazine promotes “business as usual” and weak forms of sustainable consumption. Any deeper or stronger forms of sustainable consumption are not being presented in a favourable light, even if they would be mentioned in the paper. Therefore, strong sustainability was communicated as unfashionable or unreasonable. This aims to silence any guilt readers might begin to feel based on such articles and that is the reason sustainability is made seem easy, so that anyone can participate. It is understandable that questions rise, if women’s magazines are even able to promote sustainable lifestyles in their more extreme form. It is fair to question, if actual sustainable lifestyles are given a chance in the magazine at all. As for now, it has appeared to favour marketing gimmicks and focus on creating desire for consumer goods (Smith 2010; Lundahl 2014).

6 CONCLUSIONS

This thesis intended to study how mainstream media communicates issues relating to sustainable lifestyles. The study focused on how the MeNaiset magazine framed organics and this was chosen as a representation of sustainable lifestyles.

The main motivation to study sustainability matters in a women's magazine stemmed from an interest to investigate how an issue, which can be perceived as anti-consumption oriented at best, can be presented and discussed in a mainstream publication. This was a guiding thought during the research process, since favourable presentation of sustainability issues in media, does not necessarily encourage true sustainability. Instead, it can emphasize its relevance based on trendiness and thus promote purely consumption oriented patterns, in lieu of sustainability.

The data analysis revealed generally perceived association on organics and the reasons for their use. The results would suggest that organics are mostly associated with health, trends and ethics among the consumers. Additionally, the magazine presented them as an option amid other conventional products. The findings support a shared view, that women's magazines are initially a commercial entity, and as such struggles to communicate against the status quo.

The longitudinal effects on the frames was also studied and it was discovered that essentially, there were no changes in the frames during the period. What was obvious, however, was that during the chosen period, organics and sustainable lifestyles became more common. The concepts grew more familiar among citizens, the market grew bigger and different product segments developed. In the early years, there was merely discussion on organic foods, whereas the latter part discussed organics in wide range of consumer segments i.e. food, drink, snacks, cosmetics, clothing, tourism/travel. This demonstrates the state of organics in the markets and this did reflect in the magazine by the number of mentions and in the tone organics were discussed. However, the increase in content did not change the frames and little development was noticed altogether. Still, some additional themes started to appear in the latter part of the

data, which could be a signal that bigger changes were just about to happen, but were outside of the scope of this thesis.

This study contributes to previous research in that it supports former assumptions and findings of the way women's magazines and mainstream media in general, communicates on organic goods and sustainable lifestyles. The general view seems to be that currently women's magazines tend to maintain the status quo and fail to communicate sustainability in a way, which would be more sustainable in long term. Nevertheless, even when the findings do resonate previous research on the topic, the limitation of this study should be reflected. The study bears limitations firstly, in that the data focused on one magazine. As the chosen data covers only a limited period and the chosen magazine covers only the Finnish perspective, the results should be reflected solely to the general view on organic consumers and consumerism in Finland.

Secondly, as mentioned previously, qualitative research as a research method can provide merely interpretations of the studied phenomena and therefore can be viewed as being highly flexible in the hands of the researcher. The research process does indeed require that multiple decisions are being made, which affects the direction the study will eventually take. Thus, this study, though in line with previous research, present only one interpretation on the subject. Finally, some critic should be place on the fact that organics were studied as a form of sustainable lifestyle, when consumption habits were criticised. As it happens, organics are basically solely consumable goods, as in tangible objects. Thus, the focus on organics is almost always on products. If a more profound analysis on sustainable lifestyles and especially anti-consumption would be made, it should concentrate on more intangible elements or habits of sustainable lifestyles.

As this thesis was limited only to investigate the organics part of one magazine, it would be beneficial to widen the perspective to cover sustainability issues in wider perspective. Additionally, a wider selection for primary data, not only women's magazines, but for examples newspapers could provide a deeper perspective on the topic. Moreover, it would be for the interest of a more divers research, if both the media frame and the audience frame would be examined. This would offer valuable insides to how media messages are perceived in reality, and if those affect the readers in a significant way.

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