THE COOL GUY'S GUIDE TO SWAP TO NON-DAIRY

The Swedish oat product company Oatly's brand identity representation on Twitter

Master's thesis

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Sosiaalinen media on muuttanut sitä, kuinka viestimme, mutta myös tapaamme suhtautua kieleen sekä koko meitä ympäröivään maailmaan. Näiden muutosten lomassa myös markkinointi on muuttanut muotoaan ja on nyt lähempänä kuluttajaa kuin koskaan aiemmin. Tutkimalla brändejä sosiaalisen median kontekstissa saamme lisää tietoa siitä, kuinka brändit rakentavat identiteettejään diskursiivisesti ja monimodaalisesti ja kuinka sosiaalinen media vaikuttaa sekä identiteettien rakentamiseen että niiden edelleen viestimiseen. Lisäksi voimme tarkastella miten käyttämämme diskurssit vaikuttavat siihen, millaisina identiteettimme muille näyttäytyvät sekä kuinka suhtautua kriittisesti sosiaalisessa mediassa esitettyihin identiteetteihin.

Tässä tutkielmassa tutkin ruotsalaisen kauratuoteyrityksen Oatlyn joulukuussa 2018 julkaisemia twiittejä, jotka koostuivat niin kirjoitetusta kielestä, kuvista kuin videoista. Tarkoituksenani oli selvittää, millaisia diskursseja Oatlyn twiiteissä on sekä kuinka Oatly sosiaalisessa mediassa markkinoidessaan rakentaa brändi-identiteettiään ja millaisena se näyttäytyy. Lisäksi olin kiinnostunut siitä, kuinka entekstualisaatio ja resemiotisaatio ilmenevät Oatlyn twiiteissä, jotta näkisin käytännöllisellä tasolla, kuinka identeettityötä sosiaalisessa mediassa tehdään.

Analysoin Oatlyn twiittejä monimodaalisen diskurssianalyysin keinoin ja löysin aineistosta kuusi erilaista diskurssikategoriaa: kasvisruokamyönteinen, me vastaan muut-, ympäristöystävällinen, kansallinen ja kulttuurillinen, siisti tyyppi- sekä fanidiskurssi. Näistä kasvisruokamyönteinen ja ympäristöystävällinen diskurssi erottuivat joukosta muita selkeämpinä, ja niitä painotettiin eniten. Nämä kaksi aatteellisesti toisiaan lähellä olevaa diskurssia osoittautuivat myös Oatlyn brändi-identiteetin rakentamisessa merkittäviksi. Osoitin twiiteistä myös useita esimerkkejä entekstualisaatiosta eli siitä, kuinka kielellistä aineistoa oli irrotettu asiayhteydestään tekstinä ja edelleen siirretty toiseen asiayhteyteen. Lisäksi nostin aineistosta esiin esimerkkejä resemiotisaatiosta eli siitä, kuinka semioottiset resurssit voivat muuttaa muotoaan, kun niitä käytetään eri diskursseissa. Vaikka brändit, kuten tässä tapauksessa Oatly, toimivat sosiaalisessa mediassa pohjimmiltaan kaupallisista syistä, niiden tapa viestiä ei ole aina pelkästään kaupallisuuteen perustuvaa. Yksilöiden tavoin brändit rakentavat ja viestivät identiteettejään sosiaalisessa mediassa ja samalla välittävät aatteita ja jopa kulttuureja seuraajilleen.

Asiasanat – Keywords
multimodal discourse analysis, social media marketing, brand identity, entextualisation, resemiotisation

Säilytyspaikka – Depository JYX

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1 INTRODUCTION

According to Kress (2012: 47), the domain of meaning-making has changed due to the rapid social, cultural and technological changes the world is now witnessing. Amid these changes, also the way that brands market themselves has taken new forms and one of the major changes is the increased use of social media. Agresta & Bough (2011: 2–3) compare social media marketing to salespeople having a dinner party with their customers, as brands are now closer to consumers than ever before. It can be said that social media has enabled marketers to invade deeper into our lives as in a sense we now consider brands to be our friends and even willingly follow them on social media.

A considerable amount of research on brands' social media use (e.g. Karjaluoto, Munnukka & Tiensuu, 2016; Godey et al., 2016; Dijkmans, Kerkhof & Beukeboom, 2015) has been conducted in the past but the majority of prior research seems to focus on the strategies, results, or effectiveness of social media marketing rather than the actual process, that is, how a brand's marketing is constructed. I, however, will focus on *how* brands market themselves on social media rather than *why* they do it. I intend to take a look at the issue by taking a qualitative discursive approach and find out how a brand's identity is multimodally constructed in social media. It is the difference in aims that separates the present study from a great deal of the previous research on brands' social media use or brand identity.

To be more specific, I am focusing on the Swedish oat product company Oatly. The brand has become internationally noticed during the past few years and is known for their original way of marketing that may occasionally even cause heated arguments between groups of people. In addition, the current atmosphere towards the issues regarding the environment and the ethicality of food manufacturing has in many cases resulted in the polarisation of attitudes and opinions. Oatly is no stranger to these discussions. I collected my data from Oatly's Twitter account and therefore, I am analysing multimodal social media discourse. The present study includes analysing different modes of meaning making, such as writing, images and even music.

Hemonnet-Goujot and Manceau (2016: 11) hold the view that one aspect of a brand cannot completely explain its identity as meanings stem from multiple different sources. Therefore, what I aim to do here, based on a relatively short period of social media marketing content, is to find out what types of discourses Oatly creates in their tweets during that certain period of time to then examine how Oatly's brand identity is constructed by the creation and use of the derived discourses. I aim to focus on the discourses created only by the brand. Therefore, I am omitting comments that other Twitter users might have published on Oatly's posts although it could be argued that the most crucial part of social media is how the communication is shaped by interactions between users. However, studying social media, even only as a channel for marketing and identity representation and not for its unique way of interaction, is important due to its massive effect on our everyday lives. As Seargeant and Tagg (2014: 2) explain it; social media have greatly affected the structures of engaging, considered both from a linguistic and a communicative perspective. Social media have not just given us new possibilities for communicating but changed how we see communication altogether, as they point out.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The key terms of this study are brand and brand identity as well as social media. In addition, the concept of social media also includes social media marketing as well as identity in social media. To keep my focus on brand identity in social media particularly, I am in this chapter presenting a very selective scope of identity. However, it has to be noted that identity is such a vast concept that it could be discussed in a much greater extent than what I am capable of doing here. In this chapter, I am also taking a look at previous studies that concern brands' social media use, brand identity or identity representation in social media.

2.1 Brands and identity

2.1.1 Defining 'brand'

The era of brands did not start until the 19th and 20th century with the industrial revolution and some of the best-known brands such as Coca Cola or Heinz beans date back to that time, as explained by Blackett 2004: 15. Looking back to where brands and the act of branding took their first steps, we should take into consideration what Blackett (2004: 13) tells about the origin of the word *brand*. He brings to attention that the word comes from the Old Norse word *brandr* which means to burn. Blackett further explains that ownership to livestock was marked by burning and as some owners had a better reputation than others, their brands were in higher demand. Already in ancient Etruria, Greece and Rome, the potters marked their work using either their fingerprint or drawing a symbol. Therefore, it can be said that symbols were the earliest visual form of brands. (Blackett 2004: 19). Viewed in the context of today, it can be said that whenever someone creates a name, a logo, a design or a symbol for a new product, they simultaneously create a brand as pointed out by Keller, Aperia and Georgson 2011: 4. Keller et al. (2011: 47) state that brands are meant for differentiating products from those designed for the same need.

According to Keller et al. (2011: 4), brands can however be seen as more than just a new product with a name or a symbol. They point out that brands might have broader meanings such as created awareness, reputation or prominence. This also comes apparent in the way Wheeler (2013: 32) calls symbols "vessels of meaning." Wheeler (2013: 2) states that brands are companies' ways for creating emotional connections with customers and thus forming relationships that last for life. She brings to attention that people can even fall in love with brands. Having a personality is something that is characteristic to successful brands, according to Budelmann, Kim and Wozniak (2010: 66). They add that brands can build their personality by keeping up a consistency in different fields such as advertising and products. Kapferer (2012: 158) sees personality as a part of a brand's identity, which will be explained in more depth in the next chapter.

Keller et al. (2011: 16) describe branding as creating mental structures and thus helping consumers in their decision-making. They add that brands play a key role whenever consumers make a choice. One of the elements of the brand that helps people recognise the brand and differentiate it from others is brand identity, according to Wheeler (2017: 4). I will discuss brand identity in chapter 2.1.2. Wheeler (2013: 32) states that the best brands have a meaning and that they stand for something such as their ideas or values. Also Keller et al. (2011: 47) point out that the brand's differentiating aspects might not only be rational but symbolic and emotional as well. In other words, in some instances, consumers might value a brand for what it represents rather than its performance. Keller et al. (2011: 7) mention Coca Cola as an example as in 1985, they launched a product called New Coke, which then proved out to be a failure as customers were not able to emotionally connect with it. The old version was linked to nostalgia and seen as an American icon in their minds which was something New Coke could not do. According to Budelmann et al. (2010: 60), brands today are best described as promises and strong brands should keep in mind what promises they make in their stories as transparency is now highly appreciated. What marketers should also remember is that people might associate brands with multiple different things, such as what it means to them psychologically as well as physiologically. All of these kinds of different aspects

should be acknowledged when making marketing decisions, as reminded by Keller et al. (2011: 7).

2.1.2 Brand identity

Very close to the term brand is brand identity. Despite the closeness of these terms, they are not synonymous. Brand identity forms a part of a brand and thus how people see a brand's identity can be then applied to the entire brand. Aaker (2010: 68) describes brand identity as a unique set of associations that represent the brand's stance and beliefs. Wheeler (2017: 4) explains brand identity to mean accessible ideas and meanings that are formed by unifying different elements such as logos, products and slogans. If we now consider how Wheeler called symbols "vessels of meaning" (see chapter 2.1.1), it can be said that brands work as the vessels and identities carry the meaning.

Mindrut, Manolica and Roman (2015: 395) define brand identity as how the company is identified. To make brand identity as a term easier to comprehend, they draw an image of it being transformed into components of a brand such as its logo, packaging or its messages and actions and compare the different components to a vehicle and brand identity to a direction that the vehicle needs to follow. Picturing a brand as a vehicle composed of multiple parts and brand identity as its direction seems to fit how Aaker (2010: 68) sees brand identity as well as he points out that brand identities provide direction, purpose and meaning. In addition, he states that a person's identity functions similarly. The similarity between brand identity and an individual's identity will be further discussed later in this chapter.

According to Kapferer (2012: 158), brand identity can be divided into six different facets that should be represented by a hexagonal prism as presented in Figure 1. The six facets are the brand's physique, personality, culture, relationship, customer reflection and self-image. As Kapferer (2012: 158–162) continues, physique stands for what the brand is, what it does and what it looks like. Brand personality is how the

brand talks about itself or its products and is built along in the communication. Brands can be a culture, which not only determines how they themselves act but can be conveyed to consumers as well. Culture is more important that the physique or personality of a brand as it can even be described as an ideology. As he moves on to relationship, he explains that brands can find themselves where exchanges between people collide. The relationship facet in the prism tells us how a brand acts or relates to its customers. He adds that brands are also customer reflections. To explain this further, he tells how brands tend to build a reflection of the customer in their products and communication. Finally, by self-image, Kapferer is not referring to how the brand sees itself but how we as customers feel when we have a certain attitude towards a brand.

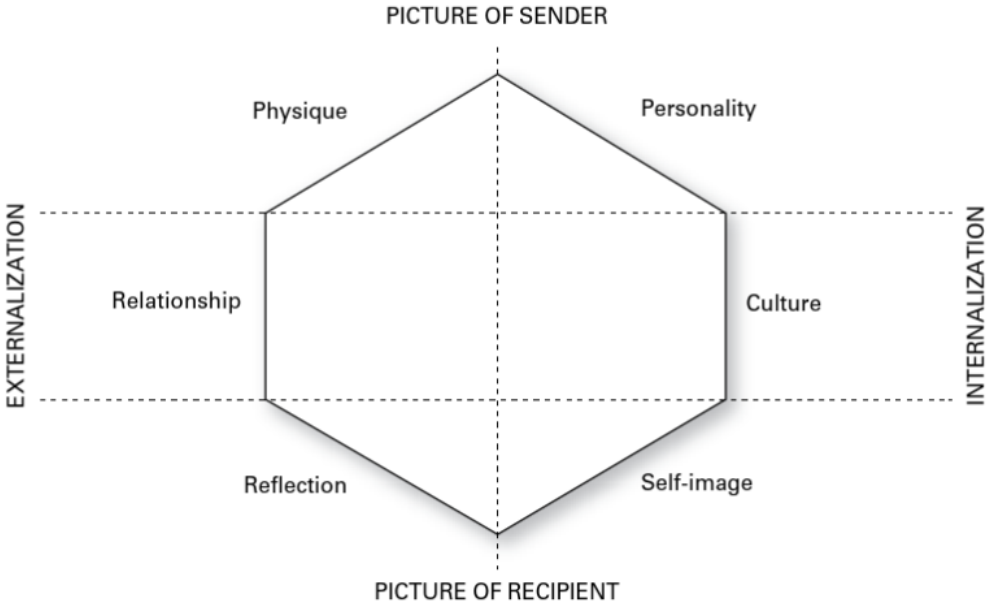

Figure 1. Brand identity prism (Kapferer 2012: 158)

The facets in Kapferer's brand identity prism can be further divided by internal and external means (see Figure 1). Physique, relationship and reflection are the social facets and personality, culture and self-image are incorporated in the brand, as brought to attention by Kapferer (2012: 163). Looking at the divisions that Kapferer articulates together with the earlier definitions of brand identity, it can be said that the different aspects of brands are very much human-like. These kinds of similarities between

brands and people is also acknowledged by Vincent (2012: 117) as he states that identity has the same function with brands as is does with individuals. Our identities let people see how we place ourselves in relation to others, whether we are talking about an individual's identity or the identity of an entire brand.

According to Vincent (2012: 117), brand identity is constructed in what the brand is and what it does. Brand identity represents the brand's promises and is only meaningful when applied consistently in communication, as Vincent (2012: 127) points out. Kapferer (2012: 163) adds that behind any communication there is a sender whose image the communication builds and conveys. Personality and physique in Kapferer's (2012: 158) brand identity prism help in defining the sender. According to Kapferer (2012: 163), communication also builds a recipient as messages always seem to be addressed to a certain type of person and looking at the brand identity prism, reflection and self-image are the facets that define the recipient. In the present study, I intend to use the brand identity prism as a model to guide my analysis as it offers a thorough view on how brands are constructed by representing a multi-level view on them. However, as the self-image facet in Kapferer's (2012: 158) prism communicates what customers themselves feel, I am omitting it from my analysis and focusing on the other five facets. The brand identity prism can thus be adjusted to fit the present study in particular as the rest of the facets are concerned in what the brand itself communicates.

2.2 Social media

2.2.1 Defining social media

As Comm (2009: 1) mentions, a while ago "all" it took to be a media publisher was millions of dollars, a team of editors and writers, a printing press and a ready distribution network. However, as Comm adds, that only counted for print publications and making it on radio or television was even more challenging. Today it can cost nothing to create content and subsequently, social media are now a part of

everyday life across different demographics. As Harquail (2011: 250) mentions, social media include platforms such as public community networks, publishing platforms and micro-blogging sites. Treadaway and Smith (2012: 26) add crowdsourcing products and image and video sharing sites to the list. Hinton and Hjorth (2017: 32) point out that some of the sites, such as Twitter and Facebook, themselves represent the most well-known and valued brands.

Social media can be described in several ways, depending whether we are looking at it from the perspective of the actions we make or the technologies that enable them, for instance. According to Hinton and Hjorth (2017: 32), social network sites are a series of commercial and cultural practices and artefacts. Although Hinton and Hjorth talk about social network sites particularly, what they say is suitable for mobile applications as well. Their definition includes both the environment and the actions that take place in social media. Another practical way of looking at social media can also be found in Agresta and Bough's (2011: 2) definition as they explain social media to be creating and posting content for friends or followers and define social media as a verb.

Treadaway and Smith (2009: 26) describe social media as technologies that capture communication across their users. Lomborg's (2013: 22) description of social media is services on the internet and mobile phones that enable and encourage social behaviour for maintaining relationships on a daily basis. Looking at the last two descriptions in more detail, it can be noticed that both describe social media as an active entity, something that might either capture or enable communication among users. However, there are differences as well. Lomborg's definition speaks for social media offering something, whereas Treadaway and Smith seem to indicate that social media somehow takes into possession the information that its users create.

To add yet another perspective, we might consider how Comm (2009: 3) mentions social media to mean exchanging stories within a community, which seems to agree with how Lomborg and Agresta and Bough see it, at least in a sense of sharing content

to other users. However, Comm as well as Agresta and Bough, rely on the action of sharing whereas Lomborg's definition speaks more for the services instead of how they are used. In addition, according to Comm, social media can also simply stand for a way in which marketers put out a message for consumers, which then agrees with Hinton and Hjorth's notion of the commercial side of social media. In other words, social media can be thought of as something practical or be even described as an enactment itself. The use of social media might stand for a one-way message as well as the process of reciprocal exchanging of stories. The term might also stand for the technological artifacts and socio-cultural environments in which social actions take place.

Lomborg (2013: 22) criticises the term *social media* as according to him, the 'media' part of the term implies that they are based on different technologies. However, although the actual platforms are all based on the idea of social sharing, how they function varies greatly. Also, I think that regarding the use of social media, there are different technologies as we might engage in social media with our computers or mobile applications. In addition, there are major differences in the mobile devices people use. However one might see social media, it seems to be problematic to divide it under already-existing terms as its multidimensional nature is something we have not experienced before. It is also continuously changing and according to Hinton and Hjorth (2017: 1), social media continually creates new forms for itself. They describe the nature of social media as bleeding across different platforms. Although each social media platform has its own features, all of them have some things in common: user interactivity, constant streaming and easy sharing, as brought to attention by Harquail (2011: 250–251). According to Lomborg (2013: 22), social media are a subgroup of digital media that may differ in their software and communicative features but share similar technology.

Zappavigna (2014: 211) points out that social media hosts a specific kind of communion where direct interaction among participants is not necessary but is better defined as simultaneous talk about the same subject. Zappavigna explains her idea

further by pointing out that microblogging sites such as Twitter are good examples of such behaviour. Treadaway and Smith (2009: 32) state that social media users are motivated by a combination of human needs which are love, self-expression and emotion, sharing opinions and influencing friends, showing off, fun, escapism and humor, memories and nostalgia and making money. In addition, as Lomborg (2013: 22) states, social media is not only used for individuals' relationship maintenance but can also be used for information sharing or branding, for example.

When looking at social media from a semantic viewpoint, we can notice that social media and social media users utilise semiotic resources other than language as well. This is also what Leppänen et al. (2014: 113) point out about communication in social media. These resources, according to them, can be still or moving images, sounds or cultural discourses. That kind of resources are evident in Facebook messages, fan fiction, or YouTube videos for instance as presented by Leppänen et al. (2014). Iedema (2003: 33) mentions that when it is useful to take semiotics such as image and sound into account and not just focus on language per se, we are then dealing with multimodality. He also brings to attention the fact that the internet is one of the developments that has generated interest towards the "multi-semiotic complexity of representations we produce and see around us." Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 21) see the meanings expressed by individuals in different forms as particularly social meanings. They also mention that as societies are composed of varying groups, it is likely that the messages they produce in writing or images show the differences between different groups.

2.2.2 The social media platform of the present study: Twitter

According to Comm (2009: 18), Twitter was founded by Evan Williams, Jack Doursey and Biz Stone in 2006. It is a microblogging service with approximately 335 million active users (Statista 2018). Twitter users can write text-based posts of up to 280 characters. However, the allowed number of characters can still vary based on location as the limit was originally 140 characters. Now it is also possible to add other content

such as images and videos on the posts on Twitter, more familiarly known as 'tweets.' Originally, tweets were meant to describe what users were doing at the time of the tweet but now they might include opinions and announcements as well. Users can also share links in their tweets, as added by Comm (2009: 67).

Kwak et al. (2010: 591) draw attention to Twitter having its own markup culture that consists of retweets or "RTs", @ signs (at signs) to address a certain user and # signs (number signs) followed by a word to represent a hashtag. They add that together with the limited amount of characters, this markup vocabulary encourages brief expressions. Therefore, unlike the more traditional blogging sites, Twitter does not require a great deal of its users' time or deep investment to create content, as pointed out by Java et al. (2007: 57). They suggest that the frequency of posts is what differentiates Twitter and other microblogging sites from regular online blogging as microbloggers might post several times a day. Comm (2009: 161) mentions that when used for branding purposes, tweets should be posted at least once a day.

Comm (2009: 103–104) suggests that there are two types of tweets that a user can post: broadcasts or conversations. He continues by explaining that broadcasting means conveying information and a reply in this case is not to be expected. What he adds however, is that broadcasts can be informative and entertaining as well. According to Comm (2009: 104), conversation tweets can spark a discussion or work as a part of a discussion. He adds that they might consist of questions or answers, but discussion may arise from tweeting something interesting or controversial as well. However, using Twitter is not only for creating content but also paying attention to what other users manifest in their posts. In Twitter, people monitor what interests them whether it is a celebrity, a representative of a brand or an expert of some field, as mentioned by Treadaway and Smith (2012: 28). Kwak et al. (2010: 591) point out that Twitter is unlike most online networking sites in terms of the relationship of following and being followed as there is no need for reciprocation.

2.2.3 Marketing in social media

Although social media are originally meant for maintaining and forming relationships between individuals, companies have started to look for ways to represent themselves in social media to generate similar relationships with their stakeholders as Harquail (2011: 245) points out. According to Smith and Llinares (2009: 70), particularly Twitter is useful for brands as it lets them keep customers informed and create and promote the brand but also quite effortlessly makes them aware of what people are saying about the brand. The content that companies post should aim toward connecting with their followers rather than informing them, as suggested by Harquail (2011: 251–252). It is the different quality of interaction between organisations and individuals that shows how social media has changed marketing communication as Harquail (2011: 250) specifies.

Comm (2009: 7–9) draws attention to the fact that social media enables businesses to market their products to exactly the type of people they wish to reach. He adds that one reason behind that is the diversity in the forms of social media. This enables companies to reach different demographics. In addition, social media usually shows one's updates only to those who are interested in them, hence the people who see a brand's updates are already engaged. Although it is now possible to spread straightforward advertisements on social media as well, those are normally based on algorithms and are shown to users who have shown to have interest towards similar products or services.

It does not matter whether the user is an institution or a person, the ways of creating content are similar for everyone. This is in accordance with what Rață, Clitan and Runcan (2013: 20) point out, as, according to them, institutions become persons in social media. They add that it makes institutions seem more accessible to other users of the platform. Another way of looking at the equal positions in social media is what Budelmann et al. (2010: 116) state when they mention that in social networks, there is no reason for companies to have any more influence on their followers than an

individual would have. Although they are only talking about graphic identity's ability to influence, the statement can be seen to fit other aspects of brands' social media marketing as well. In social media, everyone has the same toolset for marketing themselves or their companies.

Comm (2009: 148) recommends brands to be human in social media. This can be enhanced by showing that they listen as well as talk. More practically speaking, that means reciprocally following one's followers. In addition, to appear human on social media, the social media profile of a brand should show who is truly behind its messages and updates, as Comm (2009: 149) argues. It is beneficial for the company to be (or seem) as authentic as possible. Authenticity makes the company's stakeholders trust how the company is presented, as pointed out by Harquail (2011: 245–246). She adds that social presence, in other words, "humanness", is a key factor is making communication authentic in social media contexts. Regarding the representation of brand identity, social presence is also important as according to Harquail (2011: 246), social presence allows organisations to show who they are. Simultaneously, this makes it possible for brands as well. Creating social presence happens via "psychological engagement and behavioral interdependence", as Harquail (2011: 254) states. This cannot happen if the company's social media representatives have to use ready-planned scripts in the content they post. Comm (2009: 151) mentions that being human in social media always involves posting in an informal and friendly manner.

2.2.4 Identity in social media

As De Fina (2010: 263) points out, one part of human communication is conveying who we are and which communities we belong to. According to Kress (2010: 174), identity can be seen as an outcome of engaging with the world. He continues by explaining that this type of act of engagement enhances our capacities for doing so, which also results in changes in our identities. When we are communicating with the world, we are forced to place ourselves in it and observe not only others but ourselves as well. As Seargeant and Tagg (2014: 5) point out, identities are constantly discursively

constructed and reconstructed. According to Leppänen et al. (2014: 114), individuals construct their identities and act in a particular way in relation to the physical and social environment in which they are situated. Identity construction is thus both active and contractual, as they add. Not only the construction but also representation of identities varies across contexts, as pointed out by Seargeant and Tagg (2014: 5). This also suggests that identities are fluid.

According to Leppänen et al. (2014: 114), one dimension of identity is how it involves comparing oneself to others and characterising oneself in relation to them. In addition, a part of identity construction is also how people view each other. Individuals seek for things they share with others when attempting to determine whether they are connected to them, as Leppänen et al. (ibid.) mention. To belong to a group, individuals must share these types of commonalities and connectedness with its other members, pointed out by Leppänen et al. (ibid.). De Fina (2010: 263) draws attention to how we use language to align ourselves with certain groups or to distance ourselves from them. She adds that such procedures show that language and discourse are deeply woven into the construction of identity. Leppänen et al. (2014: 114) point out that communicating in social media can reveal the semiotic constructions that index commonality, connectedness and groupness. In other words, the process of identity construction is on display in social media. For instance, we could look at what Zappavigna (2014: 212) says about hashtags. She suggests that they may be used to indicate the 'aboutness' of a post in social media, but they can also be used to convey the user's identity. She further explains that using a specific hashtag indicates that the user assumes how their audience might react and whether he or she thinks they share the same values.

In social media, identities are performed in activities or interactions, according to Leppänen et al. (2014: 113–115). Social media as a channel for identity construction is particularly interesting as the means for performing identity online differ quite drastically from how identities are performed offline, as pointed out by Seargeant and Tagg (2014: 6). Social media even has its own toolkit for communicating of which

hashtags are a good example. Seargeant & Tagg (2014: 9) add that social media's unique environment fosters freedom of expression and individuality as in social media, people (and organisations) have freedom in choosing how to present themselves and have novel resources for doing so. It can even be argued that the act of performing identity is critical to the interactive communion that occurs in social media's microblogging sites, as suggested by Zappavigna (2014: 212). The points listed above make social media one of the best environments for the study of identity construction.

As Leppänen et al. (2014: 113) bring to attention, entextualisation and resemiotisation are important resources for identity performance in social media. The two practices highlight different aspects of meaning-making, as mentioned by Leppänen et al. (2014: 115–116). However, they state that both entextualisation and resemiotisation enable tracing how social media activities are formed around "the active recirculation and appropriation of complex multi-semiotic material." Hence, I will next be talking briefly about both resemiotisation and entextualisation.

Resemiotisation is one of the phenomena that multimodal discourse analysts are interested in, as mentioned by O´Halloran (2011: 121). Leppänen et al. (2014: 116) describe resemiotisation as "semiotic change in the flow of discourses across social and cultural boundaries." Iedema (2003: 41) explains resemiotisation to also be about how meaning making changes according to context and practice. Resemiotisation enables tracing how semiotics are translated from one into another but also why certain semiotics are chosen to do certain things as Iedema (2003: 29) points out. According to Leppänen et al. (2014: 116), resemiotisation is about unravelling the meanings across modes in which they were articulated, from a group of people to another. Iedema (2003: 49) provides an example about how resemiotisation enables us to examine how documentaries, for instance, themselves work as semiotic constructs as a documentary does not merely capture the sounds and images but the semiotics that played a role in its creation in the minds of writers and filmmakers as well. He also brings to attention that while concentrating on the content when analysing representations is obviously

important, equally as important is looking at the materiality, that is the expression. According to Iedema (2003: 50), emphasizing the material dimensions of representation together with the historicized ones is the purpose of resemiotisation. He states that together with multimodality, the two perspectives form a powerful toolkit for doing socially relevant discourse analysis.

Bauman and Briggs (1990: 70) explain entextualisation in terms of audience talking about a performance afterwards. They add that these type of entextualisations might, for instance, be reports or refutations. In more detail, entextualisation means the process of "making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit –a text– that can be lifted out of its interactional setting", as described by Bauman and Briggs (1990: 73). They continue by stating that discourse is in such a case decontextualized. When applied to today's context, Leppänen et al. (2014: 115) explain entextualisation in terms of social media identity performance to be relocating "instances of culture", such as cultural semiotic material into new contexts. Bauman and Briggs (1990: 73) add that some aspects of old contexts might however exist in entextualisations. Social media 'moments' can be seen as communicative acts that entextualise an event, as Androutsopoulos (2014: 6) brings to attention. Androutsopoulos (2014: 8) also states that when these moments are entextualised repeatedly, they are of significant value to the one who shares them. As gaining followers on social media often requires regular activity, the most popular brands (and people) usually share content and thus entextualise moments repeatedly. Sharing content on social media can be described as a discursive process consisting of the stages of selecting, styling and negotiating, as Androutsopoulos (2014: 8) points out. He adds that the stage of styling is where entextualisation takes place. Leppänen et al. (2014: 115) call this stage recontextualisation.

2.3 Previous research on brands in social media, brand identity, social media identity, and Oatly in particular

As I mentioned earlier, a significant amount of the research on brands' social media use focuses on issues other than identity representation. Moreover, as brands and branding as terms point to the direction of business and marketing, also the studies involving their analysis are mostly based on profitability or marketing tactics. When taking a look at brand identity, the studies still often focus on more traditional media or branding channels (e.g. Karjalainen, Heiniö & Rahe, 2010; Farhana, 2014; Phillips, McQuarrie & Griffin, 2014) and not so much on social media. Lastly, there obviously are studies on identities in social media conducted in the past, but they tend to look at how personal identity is constructed instead of focusing on entire companies and their marketing. However, as brands can be thought to have very human-like qualities as mentioned by Kapferer (2012: 163) and Vincent (2012: 117), I have looked at studies that focus on personal identities on social media as well. Although each of the studies I am next about to introduce differ from the present study, they have something in common with it as well. In more detail, the following studies focus on identities in social media, brand identity, companies' social media communication, or Oatly in particular.

In her doctoral dissertation, Lillqvist (2016) studied interaction that happens in social media between organisations and consumers. Her aim was to understand the discursive processes that take place in that type of interaction as well as to take a look at the cultural and technological affordances that are involved in it. She studied discourse on corporate Facebook pages, Reddit and YouTube. Lillqvist's findings suggest that organisations take advantage of manipulative communicative processes in social media. Organisations can use coercion, diversion or persuasion when dealing with uncomfortable customer communication and when they are trying to discursively modify customers' impressions of them in social media.

Vernuccio (2014) studied corporate communication on social media. She wanted to find out how much interactivity and openness were present in communicating brands on social media and what strategies were used in that type of activities Vernuccio 2014: 213). She collected social media data from 60 leading multinational brands after which it was subjected to quantitative content analysis. She found out that the themes in online dialogue were either company or user and company-focused (Vernuccio 2014: 221). The ways that companies encouraged their stakeholders to join the online discussion were either rational or emotional. The more rational ways of encouragement included sharing information about products, initiatives and co-creation of knowledge. To motivate their stakeholders emotionally, the companies might have articulated a social need or used a personal way of self-expression. (Vernuccio 2014: 224). Vernuccio formed four distinct groups of the companies based on their performance on social media. The groups were cautious beginners, confident communicators, selective strategists and finally, rising stars. As one might guess, the largest group was cautious beginners but contrastively, the second largest group was confident communicators of which 85% were American.

Farhana (2014) studied a Swedish lifestyle magazine called Sköna hem and how its brand identity showed in its marketing communication. In the study, marketing communication included how the brand marketed itself but also what type of brands wanted to be associated with the magazine and hence had chosen Sköna hem as a marketing platform. Farhana looked at Sköna hem's brand identity from six different aspects introduced in Kapfefer's brand identity prism, which is similar to what I intend to do in the present study. However, she also examined how the brand's self-image was constructed in its readers' mentions of the magazine. After taking the six different aspects into consideration, the brand identity of Sköna hem was seen by Farhana as stylish, trendy, as well as keen on tradition and Swedish values and linked with words such as joy and creativity. Sköna hem's readers were depicted as trendy and decor amused. Farhana (2014: 24) stated that her aims included examining the issue from the point of view of customer-brand relationship and how a magazine's brand identity is linked to the behaviour of its readers.

Zappavigna (2014) studied how people use social media to construct their identities and thus align into value-based communities. She had three key bonds around which her study was built. The bonds were self-deprecation, frazzle and addiction. Her data included a 100 million-word corpus of social media posts and a Twitter stream of a particular user. Zappavigna (2014: 211) introduced the term ambient communion that takes place in social media. By ambient she meant a form of communion that does not necessarily involve direct interaction. With her study she showed that identities can be seen as patterns of bonds or values, depending on whether they are approached in terms of social relations or their discursive meanings. What Zappavigna found out, was that the bonds might inflect different values depending on the community to which it was presented.

Hämäläinen (2017) studied Finnish managers' brand performance on Twitter. She collected two months' worth of tweets and retweets from 12 Finnish managers' Twitter profiles and looked at how their personal brands are constructed in social media settings. Hämäläinen (2017: 44) argues that in social media, personal brands are always a product of conscious identity work. Hämäläinen (2017: 27–39) studied her data using discourse analysis and ended up with five different identity images that were patriot, philanthropist, fan, "me behind the scenes" and winner. Patriots utilized the Finnish national identity, philanthropists communicated discourses such as helping and caring, being a fan meant talking about one's interests and passions, "me behind the scenes" was displaying the managers' life outside work, and winners expressed their development and performance. What should be noted here is that she actively chose to use the term identity image instead of identity. Hämäläinen (2017: 27) justified her decision by pointing out that such narrow data cannot fully represent the identities of all Finnish managers. Similarly with most of the previous studies on corporate social media use, Hämäläinen's study was also a part of a business-related context.

In addition, Oatly has been studied quite extensively in Swedish Bachelor's level theses. The studies focus on Oatly's marketing communication (Hallén 2017) and identity (Kjellström & Eriksson 2018) or Oatly's customers' attitudes towards the

brand (Viklund & Sällberg 2017). Although Kjellström and Eriksson (2018) focused on Oatly's identity, they looked at the issue from the point of view of commercials, advertisements and Oatly's brand manifesto rather than social media marketing. Hallén's (2017) data is retrieved from social media as in the present study but her data consists of the social media posts of three companies. Hallén's study considered how the companies digitally market themselves and communicate with their customers. She utilised online ethnography and content analysis to draw assumptions from the data. (Hallén 2017: 1). Similarly, Viklund and Sällberg's (2017) study was based on social media data but they analysed how consumers utilise the brand in their own identity construction on social media and did not look at the issue of identity from Oatly's point of view.

3 METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will describe the methodology of the present study. First, I will introduce my research questions and discuss the aims of the study. Second, to clarify my research questions, I will explain what I mean here by the term discourse. I will also form a brief description of Oatly in order to provide some background information to my data as well as give context to my research questions. After that, I shall talk about how my data is constructed, why I chose to study it particularly and how it was collected for the present study. Next, I will discuss the methodology further as I will discuss multimodal discourse analysis and relate it to the present study. Finally, I will talk in more detail about the transcription process I carried out in order to transform all of the dimensions of my data into a more easily analysable form.

3.1 Research questions

The following are the research questions of this study:

1. What types of discourses can be identified in Oatly's social media marketing communication?
2. How is Oatly's brand identity multimodally created in its social media marketing communication?

I aim to find out how and what type of discourses Oatly seems to use in its marketing communication and whether the discourses created by Oatly are linked to certain groups, ideologies, societal events or cultures and thus share information about Oatly's brand identity. Regarding the second research question, I am also interested in entextualisation and resemiotisation and how they are visible in Oatly's social media marketing and identity work. Seeing the practices in use offers more information about how Oatly, in the context of social media, constructs and represents their brand identity.

Why I have chosen to focus on these questions particularly, is that social media gives the user the possibility to represent oneself how one wishes. To be able to actively make choices regarding identity representation and to thus shape how others might then view one's identity makes social media as a resource for identity studies worth considering. As the construction of identity on social media is based on freedom of expression, the identities represented on social media could even be regarded to capture their essence, assuming that is ever possible. Furthermore, as identity, even as a concept, is most of all diverse, describing one's identity is not a simple task. As I am aiming for a deeper understanding of Oatly's social media content and the brand's identity representation, it can be said that the present study is qualitative.

3.2 Defining the term discourse

Next, to make clear what I mean by discourse, I will discuss how it has earlier been approached by scholars. I will focus on Fairclough's (2004) and Gee's (2010, 2015) views on discourse and attempt to shortly introduce the main ideas behind their views. Why I have chosen to rely on these two scholars particularly, is due to the significant contributions they have made to the fields of both discourse analysis and sociolinguistics and the fact that their works serve as foundations to the fields.

Fairclough (2004: 26–27) states that representations are a part of social practices. He also mentions that representation and discourse go hand in hand. Discourse, in the way Fairclough (2004: 27) describes it, is acting, representing and being. He introduces three major types of meaning: action, representation and identification. According to him, all these three types of meaning can be found in texts and it is helpful to keep them in mind when carrying out text analysis from a social perspective. Fairclough (2004: 124) states that discourses show us how the world can be seen from different perspectives as they are always associated with how different people see the world, what type of relations they have to the world, their different identities and relationships to others. However, discourses also represent possible worlds and can

show us a mirror image of how one might wish to change the current world, as Fairclough adds.

Another way of looking at discourse is presented by Gee (2010). He describes Discourses as ways of saying, doing and being (Gee 2010: 30). However, Gee (2015) separates "Big 'D' Discourse" from discourse (with a little "d"). He explains his idea further by saying that discourse means language use among people whereas Discourse is conversation among different significant groups or people. According to Gee (2010: 34), Discourse is always language plus "other stuff." Therefore, big 'D' Discourse can be used to assist in looking into how people enact and recognise identities and thus it sets a larger context for discourse analysis, according to Gee (2015). Gee (2010: 37) states that Discourses have no boundaries because they are constantly being created, changed and expanded. Gee (2010: 37–40) says that people can be in multiple different Discourses and complementary, Discourses can involve several identities. Situated identities, ways of performing and recognising identities and activities, ways of coordinating as well as characteristic ways of acting, interacting, writing and feeling are all involved in Discourses, according to Gee (2010: 40). He argues that an utterance only has meaning when it communicates a socially situated identity and an activity that the utterance itself helps to constitute. This can not only be applied on individual persons but institutions as well, as pointed out by Gee (2010: 30).

Although Fairclough and Gee have their distinct ways of looking at the issue of discourse (or Discourse), there are similarities in how they describe its essence. Despite the differences in how discourse as a term is determined, what can be observed from both Fairclough's and Gee's definitions is that they point out how language use is not merely saying things, but it also stands for doing and being. Both also mention identities as they are always embedded in language use and conversation among people. Therefore, the two perspectives can also be seen complementary to one another. In the present study, when using the term discourse, I am referring to both Fairclough's and Gee's ideas, however in the case of Gee, I am particularly referring to the big 'D' discourse. I regard Fairclough´s (2004: 27) statement about discourse

meaning acting, representing and being very accurate but simultaneously, I also agree with how Gee (2010: 40) describes big 'D' discourse as language use that includes, for instance, performing and recognising identities and activities and as language conversated among different groups. Therefore, the definition of discourse in terms of the present study could be language use that includes acting and being as well as representing and recognizing identities and activities. Individuals' or brands' characteristic ways of interacting are linked with discourses (see Gee 2010: 40).

3.3 Introducing Oatly

To give the reader an idea of who or what has generated the data I am studying, I will next briefly introduce Oatly. They are a Swedish company that specialises in oat products. The company was founded in the 1990's and was based on university research (About Oatly, n.d.). According to Oatly's sustainability report (2017: 14), they promote the wellbeing of individuals and the planet with their products and they mention that they want to produce nutritious products with minimal impact on the environment. They acknowledge that they share their values with their customers and wish to be transparent in whatever choices they make. On their website, they also highlight their Swedishness and the Swedish origin of their products (The Oatly Way, n.d.).

Many might have seen Oatly's advertisements on bus stops and street corners as their products are available in 27 different countries, according to Oatly's sustainability report (2017: 8). The way Oatly communicates their ideology is often described as original and daring, although some might find it even shocking. Lewis (2018) mentions that Oatly's advertising has even caused problems as in Sweden in 2014, they faced a lawsuit against them for campaigning their products using a slogan "It's like milk, but made for humans." LRF Dairy Sweden, the dairy department of the Federation of Swedish Farmers, claimed that Oatly painted a negative picture of cow's milk. As a result, Oatly lost the case but gained support on news and social media. During spring 2019, the phenomenon was also witnessed in Finland as Oatly spread the same slogan

around the country on street ads and social media and even rented an entire side of the Helsinki Central Railway Station building to display it. As approximately five years earlier in Sweden, their social media were filled with rather polarised debates in addition to the Finnish Food Authority contacting Swedish authorities due to the slogan including the word *milk* despite their products being plant-based, according to Tammilehto (2019).

3.4 Data

The data of the present study consists of Oatly's social media posts on Twitter. The posts include written text, images and moving images together with music. There are a couple of reasons for choosing Twitter as a source for data collection particularly. Firstly, when reading about social media, Twitter as well as Facebook are the platforms that appear most regularly (e.g., Hinton & Hjorth 2017, Treadaway & Smith 2012, Budelmann et al. 2010). Secondly, despite both Twitter's and Facebook's frequent appearances in the literature, Twitter is clearly the most used platform for Oatly´s marketing communication. During December 2018, Oatly published eight posts on Facebook, whereas on Twitter they posted original content on 27 different occasions. I wanted to focus on as recent social media content as possible, but I also wanted to collect data during an active time period and it is usually around Christmas when companies' campaigning is quite frequent. Oatly was no exception as compared to November 2018 and January 2019, there were seven to eight more tweets posted on December. Hence, my data consists of Oatly's tweets from December 2018. During that time, Oatly's tweets included three different videos, one of which appeared twice. All of the videos were relatively short as they only lasted for 15 seconds. In addition, they were all structured similarly. The videos were multimodally transcribed to help with the analysis process and to enable pointing out certain elements that appeared in them in practice. I will explain how I transcribed the videos in more detail in chapter 3.7.

To study brand identity, one might also want to include Oatly's products and their packaging, different forms of advertisement and the company's website as all of them

represent their brand identity as well. However, my focus here is on social media because I am particularly interested in social media marketing discourse. Moreover, all the five facets in Kapferer's (2012) brand identity prism that I focus on can also be found on the different social media sites. In addition, one might also want to take a look at how consumers shape Oatly's social media content and their brand identity by including comments and responses from social media posts. It has to be admitted that interaction with consumers is characteristic to social media marketing but as I aim to focus on the discourse created only by the brand, I am omitting the comments on the posts. I am also only looking at posts that are publicly available to everyone, and on Twitter, seeing the responses requires registration.

3.5 Data collection

As my data was publicly posted on Twitter, I was able to take screenshots of the posts and store them for further analysis. As most people now use social media on their phones, I wanted my data to present the mobile view of Twitter rather than the computer version. I collected a month's worth of social media posts, which consisted of 27 tweets. As December 2018 was quite an active month for Oatly's Twitter account, there should be enough information from which to make further conclusions. One month is also a distinct amount of time which made the data collection process quite clear. Focusing on just one calendar month also prevented one from picking the most interesting and content-rich posts regarding the study. By that I mean content that clearly places Oatly's brand as a part of a certain group, ideology, or nationality for example and thus 'reveals' parts of their identity.

3.6 Ethical aspects of the present study

The field of social media research is developing as new studies are being conducted. Similarly, the ethical aspects on using social media data are under constant consideration. A great deal of the questions at hand concerns the ownership of social media data. As far the present study is concerned, the use of Twitter for academic

research is at the moment considered to be acceptable as according to Twitter's privacy policies, most activity on Twitter is public and the content is not owned by the company. Due to the public nature of Twitter, viewing public profiles and tweets does not require an account. The users of the platform are aware of and have accepted these terms of use. When it comes to the legislations on using social media data, it should be noted that the directive 96/9/EC by the European Parliament was updated on April 2019. The directive concerns databases in any form and, according to the European Parliament (2019), "the author's own intellectual creation shall be protected as such by copyright." They add that stretches to the exclusive rights to the creation can however be made for scientific research "as long as the source is indicated and to the extent justified by the non-commercial purpose to be achieved." Hence, it can be considered acceptable to use Oatly's tweets as data in the present study as well as present examples from the data in order to explain the points I will make in upcoming chapters.

3.7 Method of analysis: multimodal discourse analysis

The data, consisting of Oatly's tweets, is created by the use of multiple semiotic resources and is thus multimodal in nature. Therefore, I will look at the issue using multimodal approach and, to be more precise, I will utilise multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) in my further analysis. Next, I will present a more thorough view on multimodal discourse analysis.

> "MDA is concerned with theory and analysis of semiotic resources and the semantic expansions that occur when semiotic choices combine in multimodal phenomena."
>
> (O´Halloran 2011: 121)

Kress (2010: 174) reminds us that the world of meaning has always been multimodal but now, for several reasons, the multimodal view draws attention to itself again. Multimodality was introduced to point out the importance of semiotic sources other than language, as mentioned by Iadema (2003: 33). According to Kress (2012: 37), the aim of multimodal discourse analysis is to "elaborate tools that can provide insight

into the relation of the meanings of a community and its semiotic manifestations." Kress (2012: 36). points out that texts show how our communities are organized by manifesting social principles via semiotic principles that are material and visible. It is possible to ask questions about the construction of identity in sign- and meaning making if multimodality is viewed in the domain of social semiotics, as brought to attention by Kress (2012: 38).

Language, image and music are all different semiotic resources that can integrate across sensory modalities such as visual and auditory, as explained by O´Halloran (2011: 121). The multimodal approach, according to Kress (2012: 38) sees language as only one resource among many of representing or making meaning. This is in accordance with what O´Halloran (2011: 120–121) says about multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) as she explains that MDA extends the study of language alone to the study of language combined with other semiotic resources. One reason for this shift are the "contemporary interactive digital technologies", as O´Halloran adds. What can be concluded from O'Halloran's observations is that social media has influenced what can be analysed from the perspective of MDA but also how MDA is conducted today.

Modes can be looked at as distinct entities on the basis of their material characteristics, as pointed out by Kress (2012: 39). He adds that there is nothing material that links speech and writing, for instance, but links between them have been forged and forms of image representation are now representing speech. Kress (2012: 36) explains that forms of speech or writing are weaved together in such a way that it results in a coherent whole – a text. In MDA then, Kress adds, studying texts includes the questions of who the weaver is and what types of coherences are shaped by them.
When interpreting texts, we are simultaneously making our own on coherences, as pointed out by Kress.

If viewed through the lens of multimodality, all modes in a text are seen as one domain and treated as a connected resource. Multimodal approach sees all the resources for making meaning equal and therefore, the findings of analysing merely speech or

writing would be partial, as pointed out by Kress (2012: 38). Hence, as social media data is constructed by the use of multiple different resources, it would most likely not serve the researcher's purposes to focus merely on one of the 'building blocks' of social media communication. According to Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 21), multimodal texts might carry multiple sets of meanings as their different components can all have their own set. An image in a text, for example, can sometimes even clash with what is denoted there verbally. Kress (2012: 36) acknowledges that as in discourse study in general, in MDA there is interpretation and thus one can never be certain whether the interpretation will match the original meaning.

The coherence of the textual entities mentioned earlier enables asking questions about how texts are organised, what is made salient, in what ways they are arranged and what is linked with what, as pointed out by Kress (2012: 36). As Machin and Mayr (2012: 32) suggest, one might begin with multimodal discourse analysis by taking a look at word connotations – what kinds of words are used and whether certain types of words appear regularly. The created discourses subsequently signify identities and values, as they point out. Machin and Mayr (2012: 37–42) list other aspects in verbal and written texts on which one should focus. They are overlexicalisation, structural opposition and lexical choices. Overlexicalisation is used to refer to discursive over-persuasion that indicates a disagreement in ideologies, most often found in news speak. By structural opposition Machin and Mayr mean opposing concepts in language, in some cases however only the other one is mentioned. Saying a person is old, for instance, tells us what they are and what they are not. Finally, lexical choices are made to indicate authority or co-membership. Marketers might use technical terms to sound more convincing or, on the contrary, use everyday language to give the impression that they are just like everyone else, as Machin and Mayr conclude.

In images, there are multiple modes such as layout, colour, writing, image and font. Each mode has its own role as writing tells, image shows, colour frames and highlights and layout and font are used for composition and chosen by taste, as are the all other modes as well, as explained by Kress (2012: 39). Regarding images and multimodal

discourse analysis, one should take a look at what they denote and connote as well, what type of attributes and settings there are in the images and what is made salient, pointed out by Machin & Mayr (2012: 37–55). Also van Leeuwen (2015: 451) draws attention to the fact that denotative and connotative meanings do not reveal the entire meaning of images as also the way that people, places and things represented are organised and what type of relationships are depicted between them play a part in an image's meaning.

The effects of music have been studied for decades, but a significant amount of the studies are carried out in the field of psychomusicology, differing from the study of all sound and speech, for example. According to Bolivar, Cohen and Fentress (1994: 48), there is a systematic interaction between visual and auditory when looking at moving images. In their study, they described the music selections as "stings, links, promos and jingles", after which the music was evaluated by how friendly it sounded. Bolivar et al. (1994: 48) add that music can modify how visual images are evaluated but the effect was in their experiment shown to be greater when the music could be described as friendly rather than aggressive. Also Ellis and Simons (2005) studied the influence of music on image interpretation. Their findings suggested that there was an additive relationship between music and film on some self-report measures and that music's ability to bind to the visual might have enabled music to modify the emotional response. Ellis and Simons also presented a table (see Table 1) on how musical structure can affect emotions.

Table 1. The relationship between musical structure and perceived emotion (Ellis & Simons: 2005: 18)

Structural features	Rated emotion
Major key, consonant harmonies	Positive valence
Minor key, dissonant harmonies	Negative valence
Slow tempo, regular rhythm or meter	Low arousal
Fast tempo, irregular rhythm	High arousal

In my analysis of written text and images, I am relying on the views of Machin and Mayr (2012) and Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). I will examine the music in Oatly's videos very generally, focusing merely on the key, tempo and rhythm. The areas of focus are based on the table provided by Ellis and Simons (2005: 18). After forming transcriptions from the videos and approaching the data from the points of view presented above, I will organise it further by dividing it into categories based on themes that occur regularly and take a look at what type of discourses are used. In addition, after recognising different discourses that emerge from the data, I am utilising the brand identity prism introduced by Kapferer (2012) that I mentioned in chapter 2.1.2 to analyse and determine what kind of an identity Oatly communicates in its social media posts.

3.8 Model for video transcription

As I have mentioned earlier, the data of the present study also includes videos. To be able to offer more detail for multimodal analysis, the videos in the tweets are transcribed. The transcriptions will be formed in a similar manner to Pennock-Speck and del Saz-Rubio (2013). Their transcriptions are however based on the transcription pattern presented by Baldry and Thibault (2006). The same pattern was also used by Mustonen (2017). Pennock-Speck and del Saz-Rubio (2013: 42) tell that in the tables presenting transcriptions, each column shows a different dimension, such as visual frame or visual transitivity. They add that presenting such a table enables the reader to better understand what happens in the video. We are still, however, unable to demonstrate sound in other than written language, as Pennock-Speck and del Saz-Rubio (2013: 42) add. To describe the transcription process of the present study in a more practical manner, it can be said that the content of the videos is divided based on what happens on screen instead of timewise. The reason for such approach is the shortness and simplicity of the videos in question. There are columns for on-screen images as well as on-screen text, a column for what takes place in the video as well as a very brief and simple description of music and when it can be heard.

4 FINDINGS

The tweets were looked at as pieces of interconnected semiotic modes instead of being dissected by text type or divided under categories such as written text, images and videos. The reason for this is that approaching the data multimodally includes the idea of looking at multimodal sources as one entity. For instance, one tweet might consist of a written text part and a video and separating the two would inevitably alter its original appearance and meaning. Hence, the data samples I will present in this chapter are tweets as how they were presented when I collected them. However, as I am presenting my findings, I will mention the different elements of the tweets to make my points clearer to the reader.

4.1 Discourses identified from the data

To be able to answer the first research question of this study, I will, from a multimodal perspective, analyse the discourses that emerged from Oatly's tweets. I was able to retrieve six distinct discourses from the data: pro plant-based discourse, "us vs. them" discourse, environmental discourse, national and cultural discourse, "the cool guy" discourse and lastly, fan discourse. However, it should be mentioned that in some cases, the discourses might overlap, and one tweet might fall under several different categories. This is what Gee (2010: 37–40) mentioned could happen as he stated that discourses have no boundaries and that in discourses, several different identities can all be present simultaneously.

4.1.1 Pro plant-based discourse

Being an oat product company, it is natural for Oatly to promote themselves as plant-based, but their tweets and the discourses communicated in them also foster a certain ideology according to which plant-based options are better than dairy. This kind of ideology is broadcasted in Oatly's tweets in multiple different ways, in some cases this is carried out more blatantly than others. For instance, Oatly's tweets during December

2018 included three videos. The videos are very similar in terms of structure and revolve around the topic of using oats rather than dairy. The suggestion to make that kind of a dietary change already speaks out about the ideology with which they identify. All of the videos introduce a recipe that originally would have had dairy products as an ingredient, but which is now changed to Oatly' products. In the videos, the music pauses when dairy is taken out of the frame, as can be seen in Table 2:

Table 2. Seconds 6 to 9 from the transcription of Oatly's video tweet on 17th December 2018

Time	Frame	Shot	On-screen text	Music
00:06–00:07		Hand appears and takes the milk pot	–	↓
00:07–00:08		Same cooking station with no milk pot	–	Music stops
00:08–00:09		Hand appears and places an Oatly carton on the cooking station	–	Same music continues

As people usually become more attentive when something is different from usual, it is the "swapping" process that Oatly most likely wishes to make the centre of attention.

Although it is the prepared dish instead of one of Oatly's products that is placed in the centre of the picture frame in the video, the only movement that the viewer is able to see happens around the product, thus getting the viewer's attention (see Table 2). To

introduce the theme, to support the video's message, and to distinctly articulate a pro plant-based discourse, there is a written text part in the beginning of the video that says "How to swap to non-dairy" as can be seen in Table 3. Giving instructions for such an act can be seen as an explicit way of speaking for the preference of plant-based over dairy.

Table 3. Seconds 0 to 3 from the transcription of Oatly's video tweet on 17th December 2018

Time	Frame	Shot	On-screen text	Music
00:00–00:03		High angle shot of a cooking station with a casserole, spices, a milk pot, a stick of butter and a spruce twig	How to swap to non–dairy	Cheerful, up-beat music

The fact that the recipes introduced are all vegan also points towards the direction of a plant-based ideology. What should also be mentioned is the notion that Oatly only incorporates plant-based food items in their images and videos. In addition, Oatly's tweets often address "plant-based eaters" as in Image 1.

Image 1. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 6th December 2018

Image 2. A Screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 26th December 2018

They also mention their followers having "a progressive worldview", as in Image 2, which is quite an explicit statement of plant-based products being superior in their opinion. *Progressive* is also a rather strong word, particularly when it is used to divide groups of people. A plant-based diet is also linked to the bettering of the state of our planet (see Image 8), which I will talk about in more detail later in chapter 4.1.3 on environmental discourse. Although the discourses here overlap, helping the planet stay inhabitable can surely be considered as pro plant-based as well.

In addition, the easiness of using plant-based products instead of dairy is often highlighted. The videos in the tweets are recorded in a simple manner and accompanied by a simple and cheerful tune which seems to work in favour towards the easiness-angle that they represent in the videos themselves. In the videos, a dairy product is taken out of the frame and replaced with Oatly's product.

Table 4. Seconds 10 to 12 from the transcription of Oatly's video tweet on 19th December 2018

Time	Frame	Shot	On-screen-text	Music
00:10–00:12		Candle is being lit	–	↓
00:12–00:15		Cooking station with Oatly carton and lit candle	That's it.	↓

As mentioned before, the main event is the replacement that takes place, but it can be added that the actual process is pictured in a very simple, efficient, and effortless way (see Table 2). All of the videos end with a written text saying "That's it", which also

indicates that Oatly wishes to promote the simplicity and easiness of using their products instead of dairy (see Table 4).

The simplicity and easiness of using plant-based products is promoted in other than the video parts of the tweets as well. For instance, they often mention the word 'easy' (see Images 3 and 4).

Image 3. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 14th December 2018

In addition, the picture's setting in Image 3 seems to speak for easiness as we can see herbs simply floating into the Oatly container. This seems to indicate that it would not take a lot of effort to use their products. The lemon in the picture is also already cut in half but there is no kitchen equipment, such as knives or scissors on the table. Incorporating such objects might take away from the easiness they wish to promote.

Image 4. A screenshot from Oatly's tweet on 19th December 2018

4.1.2 "Us vs. them" discourse

It can be said that embedded in the pro plant-based discourse there is another discourse with which Oatly discursively builds a group, or a community, consisting of people who eat plants rather than animal products. This type of behaviour is one of the most basic identity-constructing acts as it is about creating in-groups and out-groups, as mentioned in chapter 2.2.4. Another explicit group they discursively create is mentioned later in the upcoming chapter 4.7.

Oatly might address different groups of people such as "vegan cooks", "maybe-going-vegan-cooks", "weekend-vegan-cooks", and "definitely-not-so-vegan cooks", as in Image 5:

Image 5. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 18th December 2018

It can be noticed that in some cases, the tweets are meant for those who already follow a plant-based diet (see Image 1) as Oatly addresses them particularly. In some cases, however, they are promoting the diet to people who are not (yet) following it, as can be seen in the tweet in Image 6 (see also Image 9). There Oatly uses Santa Claus as an example of someone who prefers plant-based foods. It seems that in this case, Oatly is not addressing people who follow a plant-based diet and the 'you' in the tweet, the recipient, refers to people who use dairy as the tweet introduces the idea of giving Santa Claus cow's milk. However, when we look back at what Machin and Mayr (2012: 37) said about overlexicalization, we can in this particular example see a clash of ideologies. Although Oatly seems to be addressing people who use dairy, they have actively chosen to use the term cow's milk. It can be assumed that the people who use dairy, refer to cow's milk only as milk. This raises questions of the true recipient of the post. Using a term that is only widely accepted and used by people who follow the plant-based ideology makes it uncertain whether the post was addressed to them or some other group.

Image 6. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 24th December 2018

Despite the ambiguity of the true recipient of Oatly's tweets, the pro plant-based attitude mentioned in the previous chapter places Oatly in a certain group of people. This is enhanced in the text part of the tweet in Image 2, where they tell their followers to show their progressive worldview to the masses. As according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary (the masses, n.d.), *the masses* is used to refer to "ordinary or common people." Therefore, Oatly seems to indicate that the brand and the people who use their products are not common or ordinary but themselves form a group that share values and have their own kind of (progressive) view of the world. This is a clear example of forming out-groups and in-groups, creating an "us vs. them" discourse.

4.1.3 Environmental discourse

I have decided to incorporate two separate perspectives on nature under the same discourse category as despite being different, they are both about how people view

and treat the nature and the environment. The first of the two is about incorporating nature into urban life and thus making a point according to which people are (or should be) not separated from nature. That type of perspective is most frequent in the photographs included in the tweets. Oatly incorporates natural elements in their photographs representing their products and might use separate items such as twigs or leaves (see Image 7).

Image 7. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 25th December 2018

In addition, the materials used as backgrounds to the smaller items are often made from natural elements such as wood or stone (see Image 5). The use of colours in the images that Oatly uses is naturalistic and although they might use high amounts of contrast in some cases, the natural colours of the elements in the images are not changed or massively edited, as can be seen in the examples. Also the fact that they choose to use photography more compared to illustrations, for example, speaks for the intention of representing things as natural as possible.

However, it is the setting of the images that particularly speaks for combining nature and urban life. This can be noticed in Image 2 as the person carrying the backpack and

the Oatly product is surrounded by paved streets but on the right we can see a park with trees. The surroundings in the background of Image 8 are similar:

Image 8. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 22nd December 2018

Oatly might have chosen to only use urban streets or, on the contrary, taken the photographs amongst the trees in the park rather combining the two. Looking at December's tweets as a whole strengthens the idea of this type of combining taking place as they might as well post a photograph of a farmer holding oats in their hands or present take-away coffees on a table. It could be concluded that such a combination is incorporated in their social media marketing to remind their followers that their products are originated in nature, albeit being sold on cardboard packaging on market shelves or stirred into their take away coffees by baristas.

The other point they make about nature and the environment involves taking a stand in environmental matters as Oatly takes part in the discussion about the state of the environment. They might use a phrase such as "helping out the planet" as in Image 9:

Image 9. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 31st December 2018

Oatly has also used phrases such as "creating less greenhouse gases" in Image 7 or "thinking about the future" in Image 6. Although the latter cannot automatically by itself be accounted as a part of environmental discourse, when looking at the phrase in its original context, the connection can be found. "Thinking about the future" has been linked with "going plant-based", which has later been said to be an environmental act. The tweet in Image 6 was posted on December 24th, whereas the other two environmentally driven tweets that might perhaps explain the content of the first one, were posted after it, on the 25th and the 31st.

We can again see how discourses overlap with each other. As can be noticed, the environmental discourse is tightly linked with the pro plant-based discourse as a plant-based diet is suggested as a way to help the planet. The connection is however logical as at the moment, environmental reasons seem to be one of the key reasons for choosing a plant-based diet and thus a reasonable discourse for Oatly to create. In addition to the phrases mentioned above, "helping out the planet" is linked with "replacing dairy with liquid oats." Although it is logical, being a plant-based brand does not necessarily mean they should speak out their concern for the environment. As they have however chosen to do this, they are allowing their followers to see what

they value and with who they identify. Therefore, this is a clear statement about being concerned about the state of the environment.

4.1.4 National and cultural discourse

This discourse constitutes from different aspects that Oatly uses in their tweets to differentiate themselves from others. Firstly, I will talk about how they broadcast their Swedish heritage. Oatly's Swedishness is highlighted in all of the elements in their tweets. For instance, when looking at the tweets that include a video, it can be noticed that each written text part of the tweets accompanying the video mention the word Swedish at least once. In addition, not do they only choose to use Swedish Christmas recipes in them, they have also written the *Swedish* part to the on-screen text in a different manner visually when they introduce what is being prepared as in Table 5:

Table 5. Seconds 4 to 6 from the transcription of Oatly's video tweet on 24th December 2018

Time	Frame	Shot	On-screen-text	Music
00:04–00:06		↓	Swedish (green banner) Christmas rice pudding	↓

Swedish is placed on top of a green banner that is placed diagonally in relation to the accompanying text and is thus attention-grabbing. It should also be pointed out that the recipes introduced are all Swedish and linked to their culture. In addition, the berries and twigs they introduce in their tweets can be located to the Northern area of Europe. To further draw a distinction between Oatly as Swedes and other people, they have a tweet that starts with "Hey America." Including a greeting such as that implies that they do not consider themselves to be a part of American people or culture but as something else, that something else being Swedish.

What is telling more about the culture in which Oatly places themselves, is the fact that the recipes in the videos are Christmas recipes particularly. As it is fairly well-known which cultures practice Christmas traditions, Oatly can be quite effortlessly placed as a member of those cultures. Images 6 and 9 mentioned in the previous chapter are both placed in quite a culturally driven context as Oatly has utilised the traditions of New Year's resolutions and Christmas's Santa Claus when communicating the discourse about the environment. To be more precise, they mention the tradition where milk and biscuits are offered to Santa Claus on Christmas eve (see Image 6), making a distinction between the cultures that practice such tradition and those that do not. Having Christmas in such a big role in their marketing communication might also speak about their religious beliefs. In addition, despite pointing out that they do not practice the tradition themselves, they mention New Year's resolutions (see Image 9), again communicating a certain cultural indicator. As New Year and Christmas are celebrated across the world, using them as examples might help Oatly connect with a large amount of people.

Another aspect representing the cultural in Oatly's tweets is the use of traditions. In addition to the introduced recipes being Swedish, they also cater a link from the past to this day. Examples of such traditional recipes can be seen in Table 5 and Image 4. In Table 5, we see a part of the transcription of Oatly's video tweet where they introduce a rice pudding recipe whereas in Image 4, there is a picture of saffron buns (lussekatter). Both of the examples are traditional Swedish recipes, usually baked or cooked around Christmas time. In one of their videos, of which there is a transcription in Table 4, the viewer can see a candle being lit. Candles are important for the traditional Swedish way of celebrating Christmas and incorporating them enhances both the traditional as well as the cultural aspects of Oatly's social media communication. However, what should be mentioned is that traditions cannot ever be separated from but rather form a foundation to the culture in which they appear. In some instances, traditionality is combined with newer elements such as in the still-image in Table 4, where a rather traditional-looking plate is used for the rice pudding, however the setting is styled in a way we often see in social media food posts. In

addition, the high-angle shot is very common to the food posts we see today on social media.

4.1.5 "The cool guy" discourse

This discourse is formed by instances where Oatly, via different approaches, attempts to raise interest in their followers. They might oppose rules, look for a way to entertain or simply display their casualness but what these actions have in common is the aim to seem interesting and "cool" to people. The aim of being the "cool guy" is not always explicitly expressed, however. Next, I will be presenting some instances of "the cool guy" discourse.

What is worth noting, is the fact that although using hashtags is common in Twitter and social media in general, during December 2018, Oatly only used hashtags once. Therefore, they have chosen not to convey their identity via hashtags albeit the simplicity and easiness it might offer. Instead, it can be said that they are even parodising the common tradition as can be seen in Image 10:

Image 10. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 11th December 2018

Oatly's way of using hashtags in the tweet of Image 10 can be interpreted as nonchalant or even rebellious as they take a structure we have all become to know and then twist it to fit their purposes and to amuse their followers. In addition, the lack of hashtags can also be considered to have a meaning. As the use of hashtags works as a type of foundation to the use of social media, it can be said that not using them is an attempt to stand out and to break the norm, thus communicating "the cool guy" discourse.

The same kind of attitude can be seen in Image 1, where Oatly has decided to incorporate a profanity in the tweet, however censoring it. They have not used any letters to indicate that it actually is a swear word but rather utilised the censoring tradition, that is the asterisk use. When we see asterisks used in such a manner, we assume it stands for profanities. Whether we truly consider swearing to be cool or not, using profanities on Twitter might not be rare but for a food manufacturer it is exceptional and thus interesting. What should also be noted is the fact that swearing is in some instances linked to being more honest as a person.

The kind of nonchalantness often linked to being cool can also be seen in the two tweets where Oatly either talks about how their followers might think or start acting but then end it by saying "then cool." This can be seen in Image 9 as well as in Image 11. The saying makes it seem as if they had an indifferent attitude towards their followers' thoughts and actions when in fact, they are promoting their products and the saving of the planet. Pairing "then cool" with a remarkable deed such as the latter can be interpreted to emphasise their coolness and nonchalantness.

Image 11. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 13th December 2018

Such a contrast in tone can also generate humour, however. What combines all of the tweets I have mentioned in this discourse category (as well as some outside of it), is the use of humour. Although being cool does not in every circumstance stand for being funny as well, it can be said that in the case of Oatly, their coolness and wittiness generate humour regardless (see also Image 12).

4.1.6 Fan discourse

It should be pointed out that it is very uncommon for a company such as Oatly to have fans or for them to refer to their customers as fans. This can however be seen in Oatly's social media marketing (see Images 12 and 13):

Image 12. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 7th December 2018

Image 13. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 6th December 2018

In this particular discourse, there is an embedded idea that they see themselves as celebrity-like, as something that people admire and cheer for, which is visible in the way they use the word *fan* instead of *customer* or *follower,* for example. The word choice works here as a community-creating tool as well as having fans can indicate that there is an entire fan base of people who are psychologically, and often financially, willing to support their idol. However, when the idea is examined further, we could say that the behavior of those who frequently purchase popular brands' such as Adidas or Apple products, for instance, does not drastically differ from how the fans of actors and artists behave. We might own their products, go to see them in events or follow them on social media. In other words, that is supporting their brand. Perhaps we are just not as used to seeing the word *fan* next to companies and brands, particularly those that work in the area of food manufacturing.

In addition, the manner in which Oatly talks about their fans is similar to how celebrities do it. Celebrities often use superlatives as well as very emotionally charged verbs and adjectives when talking about their fans which we can also see in Images 12 and 13. However, Oatly takes it further by catering an example of an everyday-situation (see Image 13) and picturing how they would treat their fans in real life. Sending a text is however something that requires a closer relationship, which seems to balance out the hierarchy in the relationship between the fan and the idol.

Apart from praising, how Oatly describes their fans includes the notion of it being probable that they might get new jobs (see Image 13). Therefore, Oatly's fans are most likely not children nor retired for whatever reason there may be. This is not to say that those particular groups of people could not be fans of Oatly but to form a generalisation, a stereotype of their fan. Based on the idea of Oatly's fan starting at a new job, it cannot however be assumed that they are of a certain age as working culture has changed rapidly and people of all ages are seeking for employment. What should also be noted is the fact that they see their fans getting jobs rather than looking for them. This draws an image of their fans being successful adults. To look for more clues about the nature of their fans, we might take a look at Image 14. In the tweet on Image 14, Oatly gives examples of events they might attend. Simultaneously, they are also giving information about what their fans would enjoy doing. The people who go to festivals and concerts are most likely interested in music and culture and have the resources that are required to attend such events. The image of Oatly and their fans high-fiving suggests that their fans are also social.

The fact that Oatly would "high-five with their non-pouring hand" implies that they would be busy during such an event due to there being so many fans. If we draw back to the notion of Oatly seeing themselves as celebrity-like but balancing out the hierarchy by giving examples of concrete actions they would take to make their fans feel appreciated, in the case of high-fiving it is hard to determine where they place themselves. Celebrities might high-five (or low-five) their fans, and the fact that Oatly again refers to their customers as fans works in favour of such a perspective. However,

high-fiving can also be considered as a friendly act that demands a certain level of physical approximity that is not typical in celebrity-fan relationships.

Image 14. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 31st December 2018

4.2 Determining Oatly's brand identity

In order to answer the second research question of the study, the discourses that emerged from Oatly's tweets as well as the information they provided will be placed into a model first introduced by Kapferer (2012). When trying to determine what kind of a brand identity Oatly has, examining the distinct discourse categories drawn from the data plays a key role as they can give a more in-depth view on what the brand is in fact communicating. When we think about the social aspects of brand identity, in other words its physique, relationship and reflection facets (see page 8), we can notice that they can all be found in the data. In addition, two out of three of the built-in facets can also be retrieved.

Using Kapferer's (2012) brand identity prism as a guide, I have divided this part of data analysis into sections based on the different facets. Physique and personality form the picture of the sender as pointed out by Kapferer (2012: 158). In this case the sender

is Oatly. However, the physique and personality facets do not reveal Oatly's brand identity in its entirety as it involves taking a look at other aspects of the communication as well. What forms an image of the recipient are the reflection and self-image facets (Kapferer, 2012: 158). As the reflection facet however consists of the brand's communication, it is included in the analysis. In more detail, as mentioned in chapter 2.1.2, the self-image facet will be left out of the analysis as it cannot be defined and described based on the data of the present study and the information it offers. As I am using Kapferer's (2012) brand identity prism to guide my analysis instead of diligently obeying it, I have taken the liberty to modify the prism by leaving out one facet.

4.2.1 Brand physique

The physique facet simply tells us what the brand is, what it does and what it looks like (Kapferer 2012: 158). What Oatly is and does is explicitly stated in Oatly's tweet when they say they only know oats and turn them into products (see Image 10). In addition, they can be defined as an alternative to dairy. As pointed out via the pro plant-based discourse, their products are also easy to use. What Oatly looks like is a more difficult question to answer as they use a wide range of imagery in their tweets but based on the images they tweeted during December 2018, they could be described as simple but original.

4.2.2 Brand-customer relationship

It is the relationship prism that truly differentiates Oatly from other brands as it shows how they relate to their customers. As Oatly seems to create several different groups, perhaps the relationship between Oatly and its followers should not be thought of as one single relationship but multiple different kinds. One type of relationship between Oatly and their customers is similar to a fan-idol relationship. As mentioned in chapter 4.1.7, Oatly often refers to their customers as fans and thus discursively places itself on a pedestal. This type of speech could even be perceived as arrogant, and as if to balance out the "arrogance", Oatly often praises their followers (or fans) and speaks out their

love for them. Even in one single tweet, they might talk about their fans (see Image 13) but also how they would like to send them supporting text messages. This type of a contradiction between the communicated relationship between the brand and their customers makes it multi-levelled and complicated which makes defining the relationship challenging.

In chapter 4.1.2 as well, I have described how Oatly discursively creates different groups. It is possible that the community creation simultaneously generates different kind of relationships between Oatly and their followers as they do not address a single group exclusively. The instances where Oatly directly addresses plant-based eaters shows how they are indicating belonging to the same group with them, thus acting as a type of a leader figure to guide them on the path they have chosen. Hence, Oatly could even be described as a cult leader (see also the upcoming chapter 4.2.5 about their culture). When Oatly is speaking to other than plant-based eaters, they are convincing them to share their values and view of the world and promoting their ideologies. For instance, in Image 9, Oatly suggests that the recipient should follow a plant-based diet for the sake of the environment, although expressing it rather vaguely. However, the link between a plant-based diet and bettering the state of our environment clearly shows through. Therefore, also a promoter-listener relationship is established in the tweets.

4.2.3 Customer reflection

Kapferer (2012: 162) mentions that when talking about the customers of the company, it can be confusing to try to separate reflection and target from one another. He adds that while target describes a brand's potential users, reflecting the customer should be carried out in a way that he or she wishes to be seen. A customer reflection is not an image of a consumer but something with which they wish to identify. Based on the fan discourse (see chapter 4.1.6) where Oatly directly talks about their customers (or fans) it could be said that in Oatly's customer reflection there is an adult who is most likely successful and social as well as interested in music and culture. As this definition is

still rather superficial and most likely does not describe Oatly's customers only, we might seek information from the other derived discourses as well as they also cater examples of how one might see the world and how Oatly's customers would want to see themselves.

Based on the pro plant-based, "us vs. them" and environmental discourses, it could be said that Oatly's customer reflection draws an image of someone who eats plant-based food, has a concern for the environment and takes action to help the planet. They might even be considered as a spokesperson for the environment. They might see their way of life as a justification to think they are ahead of the others, or, as Oatly puts it: "the masses" (see Image 2). Oatly's customer reflection could thus include the sense of one willingly being a misfit. As Oatly's idelology and culture are so strongly linked to these discourses, it can be argued that these particular discourses work as the foundation for their customer reflection as well.

If we take a look at the other discourses that emerged from the data, we might find a reflection of someone who lives in an urban environment but still has high respect and concern for nature (see chapter 4.1.3). In addition, there is a reflection of a person that takes pride in their national and cultural heritage and shares their traditions with their friends (see chapters 4.1.4 and 4.1.5). They have a good sense of humour and their friends most likely see them as "cool." One might also try to look for actual depictions of people in Oatly's tweets. The photographs however do not have humans in them except twice, however their faces cannot be seen in either of the photographs (see Images 2 and 15). What can be said of the two individuals is that they can both be considered male and are most likely in their 30s or 40s. What should be noted however, is the fact that Oatly uses the word person instead of man or guy for example, when referring to the individual in one of the pictures. The person in Image 2 only shows his back to the camera whereas the one in Image 15 strikes a pose in a wrestling suit and a cow's head mask:

Image 15. A screenshot of Oatly's tweet on 15th December 2018

In addition, what should be noted here is that the viewer is informed that the person in the photograph is vegan, which strengthens the assumption of the customer reflected in Oatly's Twitter being pro plant-based.

4.2.4 Brand personality

Personality, one of the aspects that is incorporated in the brand itself rather than being something social, is how the brand talks about itself and the products. Brand personality is the factor that determines whether consumers identify themselves with the brand (Kapferer 2012: 159). According to Kapferer (2012: 159), a brand's personality can be seen in the tone and the style of advertising. Regarding the nature of this particular prism, it is very noticeable in Twitter as it is based on communication.

Oatly's social media marketing is original, straightforward, and even entertaining. The style is very informal as can be seen in chapter 4.1.5. Oatly uses language that is normal in the social media environment alone, but not yet as normal in marketing practices. If we consider what Machin and Mayr (2012: 42) said about lexical choices, we can assume that Oatly is using such language to show that they are one of us, a normal Twitter user. In addition, Oatly's tone on Twitter is rather subjective, intimate and humorous (for instance, see Images 1, 6 and 11). This is similar to how non-professional social media profiles are. Such as in the case of Oatly, normal people on social media share their subjective view of the world, share intimate thoughts and attempt to entertain others.

Oatly trusts their products and speaks about them confidently, but in their own words they are "modest in that Swedish way and never brag" (see Image 11). However, the tweet in question can be seen as an act of *humblebragging*, that is, according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary (humblebrag, n.d.), "making a seemingly modest, self-critical or casual statement or reference that is meant to draw attention to one's admirable or impressive qualities or achievements." What adds to the level of confidence that Oatly communicates, is the fact that a fan discourse could be emerged from the data. As pointed out by the discourse, it can be said that they see themselves as something that can even be idolised. To conclude, there is a contradiction between how they describe themselves as modest and the way they otherwise speak about themselves and their products.

Kapferer (2012: 159) mentions that brand personality stands for what kind of a person a brand would be. Taking into notice what has been said about Oatly so far, it could be said that Oatly as a person would be informal, straightforward, humorous, and confident. If we consider the information that we got from "the cool guy" discourse, we could add the adjective nonchalant to the list as it forms a basis from which Oatly then creates their posts on Twitter. It can even be said that the type of carefree attitude is characteristic to Oatly and Oatly's tweets even when communicating serious matters

such as climate change. This adds to the view of Oatly attempting to fit in with the non-professional Twitter users.

4.2.5 Brand as a culture

Brands can be a culture, which not only determines how they themselves act but can be conveyed to consumers as well (Kapferer 2012: 159). In some cases, brands can even be described as ideologies and cult brands have become what they are due to their ideological foundations and the tendency of people to form groups around ideas and values as noticed by Kapferer (2012: 160). As pointed out in chapters 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, Oatly's Twitter is tightly linked with the pro plant-based ideology. Therefore, it is inevitable that the linkedness simultaneously affects how Oatly works as a culture. Perhaps it could even be more appropriate to say that Oatly is founded by the plant-based ideology rather than merely acknowledging the link between the two.

The environmentally-minded ideology communicated by Oatly can also be thought of as a part of their culture as it requires a certain way of acting and living and is conveyed from Oatly to its followers. Once again, it could be said that the environmentally-friendly attitude overlaps with the plant-based ideology, but it can also be thought of as a separate ideological "adhesive" that holds the brand's way of acting and its communication together. Oatly's culture would not be the same if the environmental aspect was deleted.

Oatly's culture surely determines how they themselves act but is also quite clearly communicated to their followers on Twitter. For instance, we might take a look at the pro plant-based, "us vs. them" and environmental discourses. Above all, the point they made about their consumers having a progressive worldview in Image 2 speaks for a cult-like agency. It cannot be denied that Oatly creates explicit groups by their social media communication. Due to the ideological basis of their communion creation, it can be argued that they in fact are a cult-like brand, even without considering the position they hold outside their tweets and how they are perceived by people.

Not the least important aspect of culture is the Swedishness in Oatly's social media marketing. Although the way they express their national and cultural heritage does not have similar cult-like tendencies as discussed above, it is certain to affect how Oatly acts but also conveyed to their followers via Twitter. As mentioned in chapter 4.1.5 particularly, Oatly incorporates their heritage in the videos, photographs as well as the written parts of their tweets. The fact that they have chosen to share Swedish recipes, imagery and traditions on their Twitter is conveying their culture to their followers and thus counts as what Kapferer (2012) sees as a part of the cultural facet in the brand identity prism.

To form a conclusion to the chapter and to illustrate Oatly's brand identity as how it was constructed by the discourses derived from the data, I have, based on Kapferer's (2012) brand identity prism, constructed a simplified figure (see Figure 2). As everything I have pointed out in this chapter cannot be fitted into the prism, I have attempted to take into consideration the most prominent aspects of each of the facets in Oatly's identity.

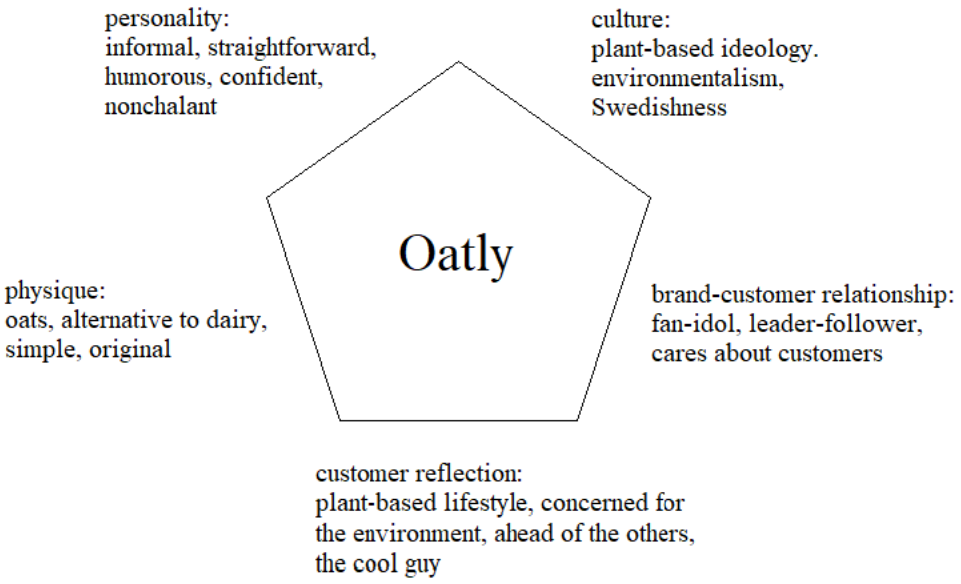

Figure 2. Oatly's brand identity prism

5 DISCUSSION

5.1 Answering the research questions

The research questions of the study were:

1. What types of discourses can be identified in Oatly's social media marketing communication?
2. How is Oatly's brand identity multimodally created in its social media marketing communication?

I approached the data from the point of view of MDA to determine what type of discourses the Swedish oat product brand used on their tweets to then determine, with the aid of Kapferer's (2012) brand identity prism, how their brand identity could be defined. I was able to identify six different discourses in Oatly's tweets from December 2018. Discourses that could be derived from the data included the pro plant-based discourse, the "us vs. them" discourse, the environmental discourse, the national and cultural discourse, "the cool guy" discourse, and the fan discourse.

Looking at the different discourses derived from the data as a unified group, it could be said that they form a rational, yet somewhat surprising set. Keeping in mind they are an oat product brand, it seems logical for them to promote the fact that they are plant based in addition to the fact that they acknowledge the current state of the environment. The "us vs. them" discourse is also understandable as it includes a great deal of ideas from both of the before-mentioned discourses in addition to it creating an in-group that might make certain groups of people favour the brand. The national and cultural discourse that was derived from the data is something that brands seem to broadcast quite frequently now. One reason for it might be that it helps them stand out in the international market. The more unconventional discourses that were present in the data were the fan discourse, but also "the cool guy" discourse, particularly when looking at the created discourse in its original context. To look at them in the light of

what we have perhaps become used to in the field of food manufacturing, Oatly clearly stands out with these discourses.

As the discourses in Oatly's tweets often overlapped, it is very challenging to say how many times each appeared and was thus the most prominent. In addition, what should be pointed out is that the present study was qualitative in nature and hence did not include quantitative analysis of the data. Instead of counting the number of appearances, I was able to focus on the overall image and consider whether some discourses stood out more compared to others, or, in other words, which discourses stroke as the most powerful and pronounced. This also makes it possible to determine which discourses speak out about Oatly's brand identity the most, or, in other words, what sides of their identity are the most communicated and thus essential. Although identity is a multilayered phenomenon, expressing one's identity on social media enables seeing the "pillars" of one's identity as their social media presence is always a result of active negotiation of identities.

After looking at the data and the findings from such a perspective, it could be argued that the most prominent discourses on Oatly's Twitter account during December 2018 were the pro plant-based and environmental discourses. The pro plant-based attitude was present on everything they said or portrayed, which has been illustrated by examples from the data. This makes it safe to assume that it is also a vital element of their brand identity. Similarly, Oatly expressed their concern for the environment regularly, making it another key element of their social media communication and thus their identity as well. In addition, many of Oatly's brand identity facets also revolved around the two topics (see Figure 2). The facets concerning culture, physique, and customer reflection all deal with the pro plant-based movement. In addition, the culture and customer reflection facets include the notion of environmentalism as well. What separates Oatly from others is the way they communicate to their customers or, in Oatly's words, their fans, as well as their nonchalant use of humour and straightforwardly expressed views. In addition, their emphasised Swedishness also works as a distinguishing tool.

5.2 Resemiotisation and entextualisation in the data of the present study

In addition to the actual research questions set for the study, I also wanted to find out how entextualisation and resemiotisation were related to Oatly's identity and marketing communication. Resemiotisation and entextualisation were described by Leppänen et al. (2014: 113) as important resources for social media identity representation and therefore, paying attention to how they are used in Oatly's tweets enables closer examination of their brand identity. In addition, the instances of resemiotisation and entextualisation in Oatly's tweets offer valuable information about the practices of brand identity work taking place in social media. Both resemiotisation and entextualisation were regularly performed by Oatly. To start with resemiotisation or, according to Iedema (2003: 29), how semiotics are translated from one to another to do certain things in the case of Oatly, it is enough to concentrate on one tweet only. The tweet in Image 14 shows how Oatly mentions tv-show montages, a tradition where the message is translated into images. It can be said that they see their year as images, as a montage typically shown on tv-shows, and then present these so-called imaginary images verbally. Although the montage never truly existed, it does not take away from the fact that in the case of that particular tweet, Oatly has explicitly taken a certain visual mode and translated it to written text. This instance might not be the clearest example of resemiotisation, but it shows that it can also be done in a manner where the process is explicitly explained to the viewer.

Let us then think about how Oatly's tweets are often most often consisted of a still or a moving image and a verbal text. Social media posts are most often created in an order where the image is taken first, and the verbal text written after it. Therefore, it can be argued that a process where the image is translated into words by the written text, can take place when creating social media posts. During that process, the image is resemiotised, translated from one semiotic mode to another. Looking at Image 15 for instance, we can see a photograph and a section of written text. Here, the visual is translated into written text as Oatly writes about "this vegan person who eats only plant-based protein and who's wearing a cow head for no apparent reason." What

should be noted here is images and written texts can also be thought to complement each other to create constructs of unified modes, which is how it is typically seen from the point of MDA instead of looking at them as translations of one another.

Continuing with Image 15 as our example, it can be said that by viewing the two modes together as one construct, we are able to see a semiotic construct that depicts the world in which the post was created, however filtered through the wants and needs of its creator(s). Therefore, we might form conclusions about what they themselves were thinking about and what they wanted its viewers to see. As Iedema (2003: 49) pointed out, analysing what is represented includes concentrating on the content, but it is vital for analysis to also focus on *how* the content is presented, that is the expression. In the case of Oatly, we might see a photograph of a body builder in a cow's head mask or a video of how Christmas rice pudding is made but focusing on the content alone does not give us much information about the reasons behind such choices. Therefore, it is important to look beyond the concrete and try to determine why we see what we see.

To then focus on why certain semiotics are chosen to do certain things, we might take a look at a larger set of Oatly´s tweets. It can be said that Oatly uses images, whether still or moving, quite often. However, they are always accompanied with written text, which makes written text the most popular form of expression in Oatly's tweets. It should however be noted that Twitter as a platform was originally meant for written text rather than images which makes using such a form of expression more natural than striking. Still images are used more than videos, might it be due to what certain semiotics offer or what it takes to produce them.

To generalise the findings, it could be said that based on December 2018, the still images in Oatly's tweets are most likely used to present their products, whereas videos are used to portray the "swapping" process from dairy to oats. This seems logical and practical as presenting activities usually requires more explaining (and image screens) compared to presenting a static material entity; a concrete object or a product.

However, I do not mean to say that portraying an object would only stand for what it is and not have any meaning beyond that. What I mean here is that the reasons for choosing certain semiotics to present certain things might sometimes be very practical. Why some choices may then seem impractical might be due to their purposes to entertain or offer artistic value. Looking at Image 15 gives a concrete example of this as a great deal of the purpose of the tweet is left for the photograph to explain. The reason for doing so seems to be to entertain, above all. Why they wish to entertain ultimately comes down to their brand identity. Hence, we can form a conclusion based on which identities regulate or even dictate the ground rules for social media performance.

To then view Oatly's tweets in terms of entextualisation, it is enough to focus on one tweet only to be able to understand how big a role entextualisation plays in creating content for social media. Androutsopoulos (2014: 6) mentioned that social media moments entextualise and event. Oatly has events entextualised in photographs, videos and written texts. In fact, Image 14 shows how they have entextualised an entire year in one piece of written text. However, the instances where one single tweet contains both an image and a written text, raise a question whether there are more than one events that are entextualised in the constraints of one single tweet as an image already is an entextualisation that captures an event. However, when an image and a written text are perceived together as a unified construct, they are a part of the same context and entextualise one event. Again, we might take a look at Image 15 to understand this. Lifting the image out of its current setting, taking it apart from the written text, the image would be decontextualised and it would not have the same value it now has, although it would still be an entextualisation of an event. By combining the written text with the photograph as has been done in Image 15, the photograph has been "given" another context that is appropriate for the purposes of the tweet.

Leppänen et al. (2014: 115) pointed out how entextualising is taking semiotic material out of its original context and replacing it into one's own context. This is very

noticeable in the way Oatly communicates their national and cultural discourse as they entextualise Swedish traditions as well as Christmas and New Year's celebration practises. In a great deal of their tweets they also entextualise ways of acting that benefit the state of the environment. In these instances, Oatly has utilised semiotic material to communicate discourses that fit their own purposes. However, these are mere examples from such action as in social media identity performance in general, there is a great number of entextualisations in the case of Oatly as well. As Leppänen et al. (2014: 115) described entextualisation being relocating "instances of culture", it is very challenging to tell where the line between entextualisations and other semiotic material can be drawn. Sometimes it is impossible to determine where the discourses we have created origin as we absorb words, phrases and discourses as well as styles and tones to express them from countless different sources and contexts.

5.3 The findings in relation to previous studies

If we now look at how my findings relate to the previous studies on the matters of brand identity, brand performance on social media as well as identity in social media, we might first take into consideration the fact that the present study differs from the earlier in terms of the aspect of combining brand identity and social media identity representation. We can, however, examine whether the present study and its data support the earlier findings and whether the earlier research might be able to offer different perspectives to the findings of the present study. What Aaker (2010: 68) pointed out about the concept of brand identity when he stated that identities serve the same function with individuals and brands as well as the fact that marketing communication can now be executed on social media, justify mirroring the present study and its findings to the previous studies introduced earlier (see chapter 2.3).

Starting with how companies use social media, we might consider Lillqvist's (2016) study on interactive social media behaviour. Her conclusions on organisations' use of coercion, diversion and persuasion can be mirrored to the findings of the present study. Lillqvist pointed out that apart from dealing with unwanted communication,

organisations act in such ways when trying to modify the impressions they give out on social media. It could be argued that modifying customers' impressions forms a great deal of marketing communication, whether it happens on social media or not. Therefore, it is safe to assume that Oatly might also use the types of communicative processes Lillqvist (2016) mentioned. In fact, persuasion can be used to describe some of Oatly's tweets from December 2018. This can be seen particularly in the environmental discourse as they give examples of ways to help the environment. To do so, they are suggesting the use of plant-based products. As saving the planet can be considered something most would like to see happen, making such a suggestion can be counted as persuasion. Whether it could also be considered as a coercive act most likely depends on the receiver of the message.

Vernuccio (2014: 224) listed emotional and rational ways of motivating that companies might use to encourage their stakeholders to join online discussions. Although the present study did not focus on interaction per se, it can be assumed that Oatly also wishes their followers to interact with them on Twitter as conversation generates interest. Therefore, we might consider whether the ways of motivating documented by Vernuccio (2014) were also evident in the data of the present study. Sharing information about products, initiatives and co-creation of knowledge were rational ways of encouragement, according to Vernuccio (2014: 224). In the case of Oatly, we have seen that they share some information about their products, but it is the initiative that would, as one word, better describe how Oatly communicates to their followers. The initiatives are linked to the two most prominent discourses found in my data; the pro plant-based and environmental discourses. Oatly regularly reminds their followers that the planet is struggling and that switching to plant-based products can help. Although they are not explicitly telling their followers to make the switch, they do communicate a very strong suggestion. Emotional motivation can mean expressing a social need or using a personal way of expression, according to Vernuccio (2014: 224). As we have witnessed, Oatly's social media marketing communication relies greatly on their personal way of speaking about their products, the environment and the world in general.

Moving on to brand identity representation, let us consider Farhana's (2014) study on a Swedish magazine in terms of the present study. As Farhana (2014) studied a magazine instead of a social media platform, her study differed from the present study considering the data already. In addition, her study was organised to first focus on the issue of brand identity and to then examine how the magazine's brand identity was shown in its marketing communication. Therefore, the general findings of Farhana's study were very different in nature when compared to the findings made here. The present study really works in contrary to that of Farhana's (2014) as I approached my data from the point of MDA and introduced myself to the way Oatly used language before attempting to understand Oatly's brand identity. The starting points to the present study are language and discourse, whereas Farhana explores the brand identity of a magazine from the context of reader-brand relationship.

Next, we might consider how the results of earlier studies on social media identity were reflected on the data and findings of the present study. To start with, the term ambient communication that Zappavigna (2014) introduced is noticeable in the data of the present study as well. The sort of communion without direct interaction is explicitly present in the way Oatly talks about their fans and how they create different groups. Although other Twitter users might have later commented on their posts, the fact that such communion can be performed without directly interacting with the responses suggests that it exists in the case of Oatly as well. Zappavigna's idea of identities as patterns of values that express meanings is also applicable to my findings as the most prominent features of Oatly's brand identity are based on explicit values. However, even the less noticeable sides of Oatly's identity can all be considered to negotiate values. For example, the fact that they express love towards their followers or that they like to use humour show certain values they might see as important.

Hämäläinen's (2017) study on Finnish managers' personals brands lead her to five different identity images. Particularly the identities of patriots and philanthropists can be seen as similar to the findings of the present study. Similarly to the way the patriots

in Hämäläinen's study took advantage of their Finnish national identities, Oatly expressed their Swedish national and cultural heritage quite frequently, possibly to differentiate themselves from competitors. The way Oatly spoke about helping the environment but also how they expressed love towards their fans indicates a likeness to the identities of Hämäläinen's philanthropists. In addition, hints of the fan and winner type of identities can also be found in some of Oatly's discourses, however they do not define their identity. To go back to the way Hämäläinen (2017) used the term *identity image* instead of identity, it can be considered accurate that one study is unlikely to give enough information based on which to make assumptions of every Finnish manager's identity. However, the decision to use the term suggests that her findings are, above all, about her own interpretations on the personal brands. Although it has been acknowledged that discourse analysis is always about interpreting data and thus it is possible to be exposed to errors in judgement, deciding to use such a word choice suggests a shift in the focus of the research to be more about her subjective perception of the identities in question rather than the actual identities represented. Image as a word itself contains the idea of subjectivity as an image is always something that the receiver creates based on the information he or she gets.

6 CONCLUSION

In the present study, I was aiming to identify different discourses that the oat product company Oatly had used on their tweets as well as determine how their brand identity was multimodally constructed in their social media marketing communication. To further examine how they represented their brand identity, I was interested in how resemiotisation and entextualisation were realised by Oatly in their tweets. I was able to identify six discourse categories: the pro plant-based discourse, the "us vs. them" discourse, the environmental discourse, the national and cultural discourse, "the cool guy" discourse, and the fan discourse. From this group, the pro plant-based and the environmental discourses could be considered the most prominent as they were the most pronounced out of the six. They also formed the base for Oatly's social media marketing communication on Twitter.

After looking at the data from MDA's point of view and figuring out what type of discourses Oatly had communicated, I was able to start using Kapferer's (2012: 158) prism as a guide to find out what elements were included in the construction of Oatly's brand identity and ultimately create a figure (see Figure 2) that depicts it. The figure included five facets introduced by Kapferer (2012) and it can be said that the information in the figure supported the view of the prominence of the pro plant-based and the environmental discourses as ideas presented by the use of the two discourses could be found in more than one facet as well. Oatly's use of humour, their straightforwardness and confidence as well as their Swedishness and caring attitude towards customers were also vital elements in constructing their brand identity.

In addition to figuring out what elements were included in the construction of Oatly's brand identity, I also took a closer look at how identity work was carried out in their tweets. I found out that Oatly's tweets contained multiple instances of the practices of entextualisation and resemiotisation, which supports what Leppänen et al. (2014: 113) said about their importance for social media identity performance. By more closely considering the instances where such practices took place, I was able to get a better

understanding of how the represented brand identity was created in practice but also perceive how social media offers new means for identity work and thus shapes how we represent our identities. It can be argued that multimodal discourse analysis played a key role in the present study as it enabled answering the research questions considering both the discourses communicated by Oatly but also their brand identity in social media.

In the context of social media research, there is plenty of accessible data, such as the public posts created by the users of social media. Looking at social media content created by a brand or an individual, it can be said that it portrays them in a way in which they themselves wish to be seen. The posts in social media are created based on the users' own wants and needs and thus also give an insight into the identities they construct in social media. However, when focusing on brands, their social media posts are most likely not posted in a spur of the moment but considered carefully in terms of content, context and timing as they tend to have commercial purposes and are based on strategic decisions. Therefore, it should be kept in mind that brand identity also is most often a result of careful research carried out by marketing teams in order to meet the agenda of the company instead of something that is expressed unconsciously and out of heart.

To look back on the present study and the ways in which brand identity was studied here, we might view how Kapferer's (2012: 158) brand identity prism fit the study and its purposes of discovering how Oatly's brand identity was constructed and what type of a brand identity they seemed to have. What must be pointed out is that it is challenging to use a ready mold, that in this study was the brand identity prism, for a concept such as identity due to its fluid and multidimensional nature and as "one identity" might involve several identities. However, the fact that the prism itself involves many angles and dimensions from which to look at brands, makes it a useful tool for analysing brand identity. As the prism focuses on multiple elements that are physicality, personality, the relationship(s) between brands and consumers, the brand's culture that they might also convey to others, the reflection of their customers

and the customers' self-image, it offers a comprehensible cross-section of brand identity. I was not able to find earlier studies using the prism in a similar, discourse-oriented manner as I did in the present study but modifying it to fit my purposes was rather effortless. Although I was not able to use the prism as it was originally presented, I feel confident to say that focusing on five elements instead of six did not make the prism any less effective.

Detecting the essential building blocks of a brand's (or a person's) identity is not simple and as Kress (2012: 36) pointed out, it is inevitable that one's own interpretation plays a key role when carrying out multimodal discourse analysis. Therefore, what I was able to derive from the data was most of all based on my own interpretations on Oatly's tweets. In fact, how I myself view the entire world affected how I saw the data and the findings and consequently, which conclusions I was likely to make. However, I have presented examples from the data to serve as justifications to the points I have made and for the reader to decide whether they agree or not as there is no certainty that my interpretation is the "right" one. In addition, as the idea behind one single tweet might have been resemiotised multiple times before its final publishing, it has inevitably been exposed to interpretation even before the present study and evolved according to it.

In addition, the limited number of tweets also restricted the scope of the study. As my focus was on one month's worth of tweets, the represented brand identity of Oatly might have appeared different on the following month already. That type of fluidness is however characteristic to identities, not least because they are created in discourses and in a certain time and place, in (or for) a specific environment, surrounded by certain types of communities. Therefore, it can be questioned whether one can ever really get a grasp of an individual's or a brand's identity. What further limited the scope of the present study, is the focus on only one marketing platform. However, within these limits, I attempted to choose the most informative platform as possible and as I have pointed out, focusing on Twitter particularly was a justifiable choice. A study such as the present one could also be carried out as a quantitative study, which

would enable focusing on more extensive data, and thus capture a wider perception of brand identity in social media or perhaps offer a more continuous view into the identity of a single brand.

Rațǎ, Clitan and Runcan (2013: 20) pointed out that in social media, brands become persons. It is important for everyone to realise the fact that although brands use the same tools as individuals do in social media and might sometimes even seem human, the main reason for them to exist there is to market themselves and their product and to consequently gain profit. However, brands' communication on social media is not necessarily based on persuasion, nor does it aim to sell something directly. Such as individuals, brands construct and communicate their identities in social media. In the case of Oatly, the most prominent aspects of their brand identity and the discourses they put forward were based on ideologies that demand a certain mindset and the re-consideration of certain cultural habits. Whatever their main reason for using social media might be, they are also rather explicitly conveying their ideology and culture to their followers. To now look back on how in the first chapter, I pointed out that my focus was not on *why* brands use social media but *how* they do it, it could be said that we must first understand how something is done to then be able to ask why.

Another reason why I consider it important to study social media, and identity representation in social media particularly, is that it mirrors the present day and the world we live in. As the link of identities and discourses is well recognized, we understand that neither of them exists in a vacuum but are created in and as a result of today's world. Therefore, studying identities in social media can give us valuable information on how identities are constructed in the context of social media, and how social media affects both the construction and representation of identities, how we can on a practical level see how the discourses we create affect the perception of our identities and, finally, how to critically view the representations of (brand) identities on social media. The topic could be studied further with different brands, organisations, institutions and even individuals as most have a profile on at least one social media site or application. It would also be interesting to include a larger variety

of social media sites or applications, such as ones that are based on video sharing or to compare two or more brands in terms of the discourses they create and/or the brand identities they communicate.

I hope to have produced information that is relevant to the sociolinguistic research community studying social media discourse and multimodality. Perhaps this study is able to offer some insight for marketing researchers as well. I also hope that the study offers information to practitioners in the field of marketing in terms of how marketing language can be seen as a part of a brand's identity representation. As social media truly is a part of the current environment on multiple levels, perhaps this study could, in addition, make any social media user think about what kind of an identity or identities their social media content represents and whether it is something they wish to communicate to others.

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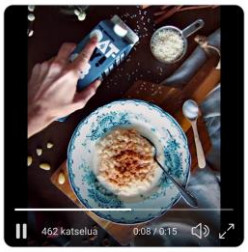
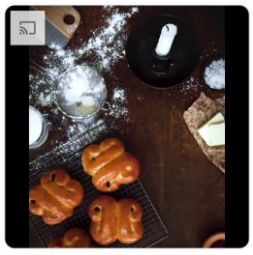
APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Transcription of the video in Oatly's tweet on 24th December 2018

Time	Frame	Shot	On-screen-text	Music
00:00–00:01		High angle shot from a cooking station with a bowl of rice porridge, almonds, milk and rice	–	Cheerful music, medium tempo, regular rhythm
00:01–00:04		↓	How to swap to non-dairy	↓
00:04–00:06		↓	Swedish (green banner) christmas rice pudding	↓
00:06–00:07		Hand appears and takes milk away	–	↓

Time	Frame	Shot	On-screen-text	Music
00:07–00:08		Same cooking station with no milk	–	Music stops
00:08–00:09		Different hand places Oatly carton on the cooking station	–	Cheerful music continues
00:09–00:11		Cooking station with Oatly carton	–	↓
00:11–00:14		↓	That's it.	↓
00:14–00:15		↓	–	↓

Appendix 2. Transcription of the video in Oatly's tweet on 19th December 2018

Time	Frame	Shot	On-screen-text	Music
00:00–00:03		High angle shot from a cooking station with buns, flour, a candle, sticks of butter and a milk pot and assorted baking equipment	How to swap to non-dairy (appears letter by letter)	Cheerful, up-beat music
00:03–00:04		↓	–	↓
00:04–00:06		↓	Swedish (green banner) christmas saffron buns	
00:06–00:07		Hand appears and takes the milk pot	–	↓
00:07–00:08		Cooking station without milk pot	–	Music stops

Time	Frame	Shot	On-screen-text	Music
00:08–00:09		Hand appears and places an Oatly carton on the cooking station	–	The same music continues
00:09–00:10		Cooking station with Oatly carton	–	↓
00:10–00:12		Candle is being lit	–	↓
00:12–00:15		Cooking station with Oatly carton and lit candle	That's it.	↓

Appendix 3. Transcription of the video in Oatly's tweet on 17th December 2018

Time	Frame	Shot	On-screen-text	Music
00:00–00:03		High angle shot of a cooking station with a casserole, spices, a milk pot, a stick of butter and a spruce twig	How to swap to non-dairy	Cheerful, up-beat music
00:03–00:04		↓	–	↓
00:04–00:06		↓	Swedish (green banner) Christmas casserole	↓
00:06–00:07		Hand appears and takes the milk pot	–	↓
00:07–00:08		Same cooking station with no milk pot	–	Music stops

Time	Frame	Shot	On-screen-text	Music
00:08–00:09		Hand appears and places an Oatly carton on the cooking station	–	Same music continues
00:09–00:11		Same cooking station with Oatly carton	–	↓
00:11–00:15		↓	That's it.	↓