

regarded as lovable pets while others are perceived as products or edible foods. However, this connotation is only identified by investigating the latent meanings of the image and is not openly stated in the ad, though it is very much implied.

Figure 38

Provamel 'Pro Animals Of All Sizes'



Furthermore, while most European brands distance themselves from using shocking images of animal cruelty such as for example the campaign by BE Vegan in Belgium showing posters stating that “milk is deadly” (Johnston, 2019) mentioned at the beginning of this paper, they still make use of slight passive-aggressive marketing methods. Some examples of this include Provamel’s “Milk from mother earth, not mother cow” campaign (Figure 39) and Oatly’s “It’s like milk but made for humans” (Figure 40) and “Wow no cow!” (Figure 41) campaigns. Even without directly mentioning the animal cruelties and unethical treatment in the dairy sector, these ads succeed in conjuring up mental images in its audience concerning cow’s milk not being suitable for humans to drink as it is inhumanely obtained and originally intended for calves rather than for human beings.

Figure 39

Provamel 'Milk From Mother Earth, Not Mother Cow.'



Figure 40

Oatly 'It's Like Milk But Made For Humans'

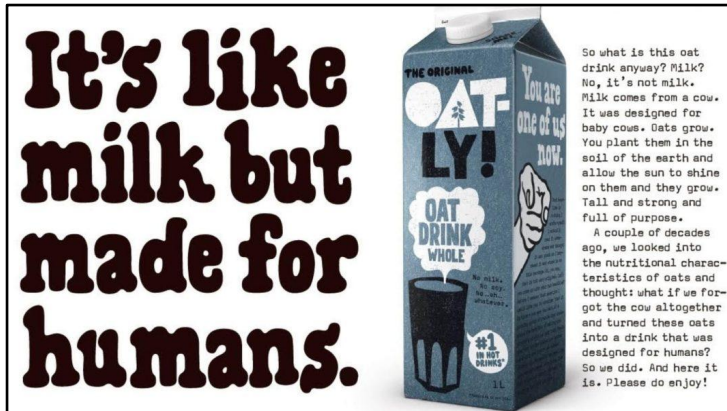
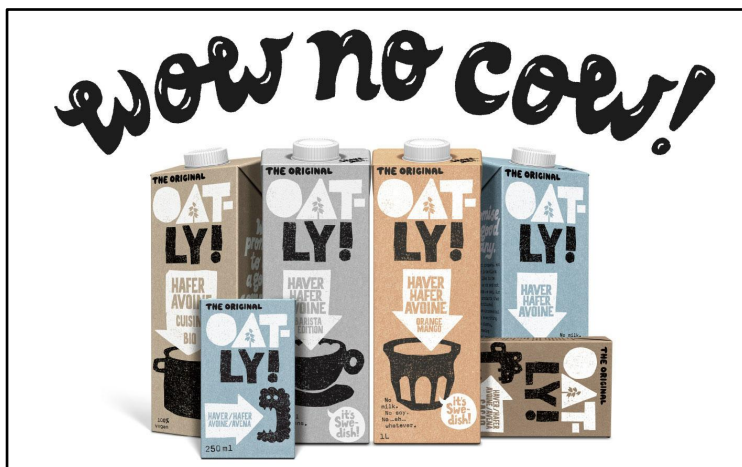


Figure 41

Oatly 'Wow No Cow!'



4.2. North American Plant-Based Dairy Alternatives Advertising Discourses

4.2.1. The Discourse of Health: Promoting a Healthy Lifestyle

Like advertising of plant-based dairy alternatives in Europe, the discourse that stands out most in North American advertisements of PBDAs is the discourse of health and a healthy lifestyle. While some ads directly advertise the health benefits of their plant-based products in the text, for example “living a healthier lifestyle is easy with our delicious, refreshing range of Almond Breeze dairy free products” (Figure 42), “the healthy alternative” (Figure 43) and “healthy and light” (Figure

44), others are somewhat less explicit. In Figure 45, for example, the visual elements precede the textual elements in the bottom left corner through size and positioning. The visual aspects in the advertisement, referring to the carton of Silk Vanilla from which a white liquid is poured into a glass in the bottom right corner of the image, are made more salient through their size and by taking up most of the space in the image which attracts the attention of the audience immediately. However, only after reading the accompanying text “Pour on the power to help your heart and lower cholesterol” does one understand the complete underlying message, which is that drinking Silk soy milk leads to lower levels of cholesterol and thus a healthy or healthier body. Only then do the heart shapes and the swimming person shaped using the soy milk become clearer and does the reader understand the key message of the ad.

Figure 42

Blue Diamond Almond Breeze ‘Finding A Delicious Alternative To Milk’



Figure 43

Blue Diamond Almond Breeze 'The Healthy Alternative'



Figure 44

Califia Farms 'Healthy And Light Holidays'



Figure 45

Silk 'Lower Cholesterol'



Another way how the discourse of health is communicated in North American advertisements of PBDAs is by highlighting the products' ingredients and nutrients. This is visible in Figure 46, 47, 48, and 49, which include messages of low sugar contents, low calorie counts, the ingredients being all natural and plant-based, and being the “skinny” version of skim milk, respectively. In the advertisements by Milkadamia, the primary focus is on the text, which is foregrounded and made more salient through its larger size compared to the visual elements (the beverage cartons). In Figure 48, the ad by the brand Not Milk employs the visual elements more than the textual elements, with the focus on the ingredients in the left part of the glass bottle, which connote that the product is all-natural and made with natural ingredients. These findings align with studies conducted by Mylan et al. (2019) and Schiano et al. (2020) which have stated that plant-based milk alternatives frequently promote its ingredients being all-natural to demonstrate healthfulness.

In addition, the examples in Figures 48 and 49 also portray a link between plant-based milk alternatives and dairy milk by visually presenting the former in the same type of bottles and glasses and using the same type of terminology to describe their characteristics. Both advertisements also

mention “milk” in some form, which creates an immediate mental connection in consumers’ minds between plant milk and dairy milk. These identified patterns are discussed further in the next section.

Figure 46

Milkadamia ‘0 Grams Of Sugar’



Figure 47

Milkadamia ‘Only 50 Delicious Calories’



Figure 48

Not Milk ‘This Is Not Milk’



Figure 49

Silk ‘We’ve Got The Skinny On Milk’



4.2.2. The Dairy Discourse: Comparing Milk and Non-Dairy Milk

The analysis revealed that plant-based dairy alternatives are regularly compared to fluid milk in taste, texture, consistency, as well as packaging, labelling and use in recipes. This discourse is referred to as the dairy discourse and includes all comparisons or similarities between how non-dairy milk and dairy milk are marketed. A possible reason for why PBDA are marketed similar to how milk is marketed, could be that fluid milk marketing has long been established and successful in getting its message across to the public (Harwood & Drake, 2018). The message generally communicated by dairy marketing campaigns is that milk is nutritious and necessary for maintaining good health (Harwood & Drake, 2018). By resembling dairy marketing and highlighting the similarities between plant-milk and cow's milk in its ads, PBDA advertisers are attempting to convince consumers that plant-milk is just as good as dairy milk.

According to previous research, milk has become a staple food, especially in American households, because of the effectiveness of the dairy marketing campaigns (Harwood & Drake, 2018). Consumers connect various positive feelings, including happiness, with drinking a glass of milk (McCarthy et al., 2017), making it a valuable association to tap into, thus explaining why PBDA marketers are so keen on making PBDA and PBDA marketing resemble dairy milk. By tapping into this already established dairy discourse and the associated positive feelings, North American plant-based milk advertisements are making use of the pre-existing beliefs to communicate the idea that switching to plant-based milk is a small effort, but with the same returns in terms of taste, texture, and nutrition. The company Milkadamia in its “Skip the bad stuff” advertisement in Figure 50 shows how there is no visible difference between dairy and non-dairy milk and that its milkadamia milk can be drunk from a glass, just as regular milk. In addition, their message “Skip the bad stuff. Keep the flavour. Dairy-free macadamia milk” adds another dimension to the dairy comparison, in that it communicates that macadamia milk tastes and looks just the same as milk but does not include the so-called harmful ingredients that regular milk contains, thus implying that macadamia milk is superior to dairy.

Also, Figure 51 shows an ad by Califia Farms portraying text that is written in a font imitating milk and stating that their products are “worth crying over” if accidentally spilled. Combined with the text in very small letters, “45% RDA of calcium per serving and only 80 calories per serving”, the key message of the ad becomes clearer. By comparing the nutrients in plant-milk to the nutrients most promoted in dairy milk, this ad is yet another embodiment of the dairy comparison discourse whereby plant-milk is marketed like how dairy is marketed. The text “With

45% RDA of calcium per serving and Only 80 calories per serving Califia Farms Horchata is the perfect beverage to enjoy on its own or mixed into milkshakes and lattes. Explore the rich Central American flavour and embrace the freedom of living and eating liberated” connotes health, and also refers to the usage of the product, its taste and flavour, and feeling free and liberated from drinking as a result of consuming almond milk instead of dairy milk. Further examples of this are also found in Figure 52–59.

Figure 50

Milkadamia ‘Skip The Bad Stuff’



Figure 51

Califia Farms ‘Spilt Milk’



Figure 52

Ripple 'Something Better'



We set out to make something better

We decided to focus on dairy for a few reasons. Non-dairy milk is usually one of the first things people try when they want to eat a more plant-focused diet.

- 8g protein per serving
- Zero sugar (Ripple Unsweetened)
- 50% more calcium than milk*
- 32mg DHA Omega 3s
- Vitamin D & Iron

*SILK VANILLA SOYMILK: 450MG CALCIUM/SERV; REDUCED FAT DAIRY MILK: 293MG CALCIUM/SERV. USDA, ARS, FOODDATA CENTRAL, 2021.

Figure 53

Ripple '8g Of Plant Based Protein'



8g of plant based protein

NOW AVAILABLE AT **COSTCO WHOLESALE**

ORIGINAL UNSWEETENED PLANT-BASED MILK
Dairy-Free. As It Should Be.[™]
8g PROTEIN

Figure 54

Silk '50% More Calcium'



50% MORE CALCIUM THAN DAIRY MILK & 6 GRAMS OF COMPLETE PROTEIN PER SERVING

MADE FROM WHOLE-HARVESTED SOYBEANS

SOYMILK

*SILK VANILLA SOYMILK: 450MG CALCIUM/SERV; REDUCED FAT DAIRY MILK: 293MG CALCIUM/SERV. USDA, ARS, FOODDATA CENTRAL, 2021.

Figure 55

Califia Farms 'Grow Remarkably'

Grow Remarkably
with Califia Farms Almondmilk

Upgrade your dairy case with the fastest growing plant-based milk in the category in the U.S. (SPINS)

ONLY 70 CALORIES PER SERVING

CALIFIA FARMS

CREAMY ORIGINAL SOY FREE Pure ALMONDMILK LACTOSE FREE

GLUTEN FREE PASTEURIZED • HOMOGENIZED 50% MORE CALCIUM THAN MILK

CALIFIA FARMS.COM

DRINK REMARKABLY

©2020 Califia Farms Beverage, Natural and Generous. 100% DAIRY FREE

Figure 56

Not Milk 'Milk Pour'



Figure 57

Elmhurst 'Milked Cashews'



Figure 58

Dream 'Delicious Non-Dairy Beverage Options'



Figure 59

Silk 'It's Tastier Than Milk'



4.2.3. The Sustainability Discourse: Environment, Sustainability and the Planet

The sustainability discourse in North American advertisements covered environmental sustainability and references to the planet, as well as more specific references to greenhouse gas emissions, land and water and use, and climate change concerns. The plant-based food brand Earth's Own places the emphasis on its products being more environmentally friendly than dairy due to the way they have been produced. In Figure 60, the key message is "Waaay better for the planet!", which is supplemented with the secondary message "produces 3x less greenhouse gases than dairy, uses 10x less land, and oats grown using 7x less water", further illustrating the environmental sustainability characteristics of plant milk. In addition, Figure 61 and 62 exhibit the brand foregrounding the quantified sustainability characteristics in numerals and draws the viewer's attention to the objects made more salient in the image through size. The use of numbers instead of only using phrases or slogans to present levels of sustainability is strategically done to enhance credibility of the sustainability claims made. This is supported by previous research stating that consumers perceive food products that quantify greenhouse gas emission and environmental impact as more authentic, more credible, and ultimately are increasingly likely to trust the sustainability claims made by that brand (Dangelico & Pujari, 2010).

Moreover, the sustainability discourse that is communicated by PBDA marketing campaigns can also be explained as a result of increasing concerns among consumers regarding biodiversity loss, deforestation, deterioration of water quality and climate change, which are connected to farm animals raised to produce milk (Stoll-Kleemann & O'Riordan, 2015).

Figure 60

Earth's Own 'Waaay Better For The Planet!'



Figure 61

Earth's Own '86% Less Water Than Dairy'

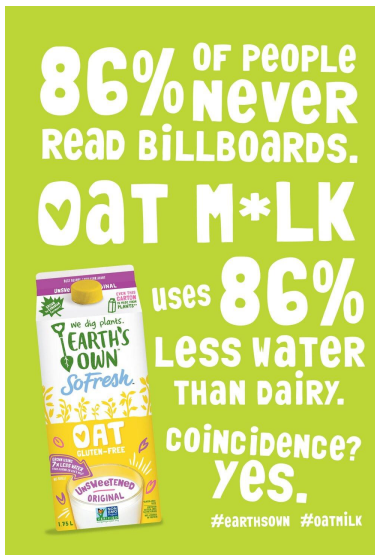
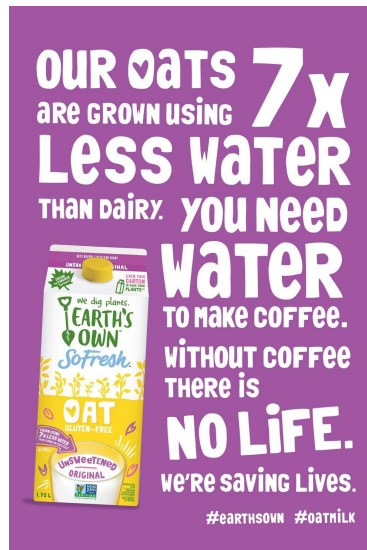


Figure 62

Earth's Own '7x Less Water Than Dairy'



In addition, Milkadamia in Figure 63 makes a textual reference to sustainability by stating that it is “defiant when it comes to protecting our trees [and] regenerating our patch of the planet”. Through key message “Moo is moot” made more salient through its size and positioning at the top of the image, the ad connotes that dairy production is the cause for environmental degradation and biodiversity loss. This is consistent with previous findings in the literature which found that livestock farming to produce meat and dairy is a significant source of greenhouse gas emissions due to land clearing for pasture and feed production (Evans, 2021; Park, 2021; Lazarus et al., 2021; Runhaar et al., 2020; The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2020).

Figure 63

Milkadamia 'Moo Is Moot'



Finally, a remarkable result to emerge from the data is that unlike in Europe, the sub-discourse of change and family, future and role models was not reflected in North American advertising of plant-based dairy alternatives. These findings are significant, because until now, European and North American PBDA advertising appeared to be relatively similar in the discourses that are communicated and in the order of prominence in which these discourses appear. The absence of these two sub-discourses of change and of family could be explained by cultural differences in advertising images and that some themes are more appealing in some cultures while less appealing in other cultures (Margariti et al., 2019). Assuming that this is the case and that there is not another reason for the absence of the sub-discourses of change and family, for example because there were simply no ads included in the sample containing these messages, then this could indicate that Europeans are more likely to respond to messages of change and of family than North Americans are. However, this differs considerably from McCarthy et al. (2017) who have argued that the value of family and good parenting is strongly associated with cow's milk consumption and how milk is promoted to consumers in the United States. Therefore, this leads one to question why PBDA advertisers have chosen to resemble generic dairy advertising in all its forms, as discussed in the previous section, except appealing to the value of family which consumers in North America highly appreciate according to McCarthy et al. (2017).

4.2.4. The Animal Welfare Discourse: Ethics and Animal Cruelty

The final discourse identified is the animal welfare discourse. This includes more nuanced portrayals of animal welfare being communicated as well as advertisements that made use of shock advertising to call attention to animal cruelty concerns in the dairy sector. An example of the more implicit and subtle ways in which this discourse is represented in North America is portrayed in Figure 64. The primary message "Moo is moot" implies that cow's milk is no longer relevant. Opposing this subtle reference to the animal welfare discourse is the more direct and aggressive way the brand Silk advertises its plant-based milk products. The advertising image in Figure 65 portrays a captivating slogan "Wanted for murder" above an illustration of a cow in a green field. At first glance, the image leads one to believe that the cow is wanted for murder and makes the viewer wonder why that is the case. Only after reading the accompanying textual elements at the bottom of the advertisement, does the underlying meaning become clear. Contrary to the brand in Figure 64,

Silk utilizes a much more aggressive marketing technique by emphasizing the more negative sides of dairy production and consumption. This message is regarded as aggressive for the terminology it uses, including the words “murder”, “injected”, “hormones”, “steroids”, “antibiotics”, and “cancer”, all of which are associated with extremely negative connotations. The ad by Silk also attacks the dairy industry in a very direct way, and tackles statements made in generic dairy advertising campaigns regarding dairy milk being healthy. More specifically, the image in Figure 65 addresses and discredits the claims made by dairy promotion campaigns involving dairy being a cancer-fighting food (Overend, 2016) and the representation of dairy farms as an idyllic environment where cows are enthusiastic producers of milk and the dairy industry is portrayed as loving, caring, and compassionate (Linné, 2016; Olausson, 2017).

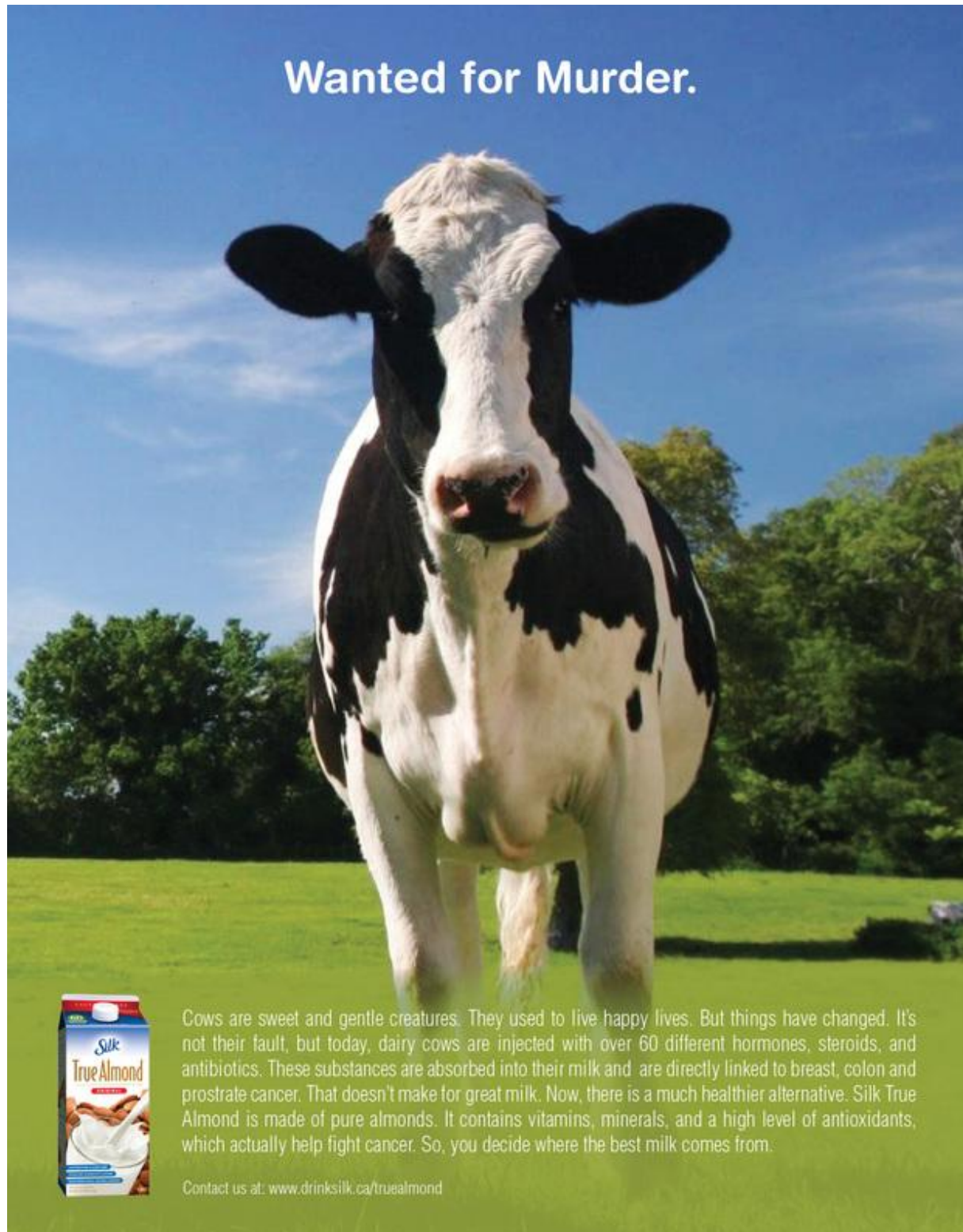
Figure 64

Milkadamia 'Moo Is Moot 2'




Figure 65

Silk 'Wanted For Murder'



Wanted for Murder.



Cows are sweet and gentle creatures. They used to live happy lives. But things have changed. It's not their fault, but today, dairy cows are injected with over 60 different hormones, steroids, and antibiotics. These substances are absorbed into their milk and are directly linked to breast, colon and prostate cancer. That doesn't make for great milk. Now, there is a much healthier alternative. Silk True Almond is made of pure almonds. It contains vitamins, minerals, and a high level of antioxidants, which actually help fight cancer. So, you decide where the best milk comes from.

Contact us at: www.drinksilk.ca/truealmond

It must be noted, though, that the advertisement in Figure 65 originates from an advertising campaign by the plant-based brand Silk that was launched and ran in 2016 and may be somewhat outdated compared to other more recent examples of the animal welfare discourse in both North America and Europe.

4.3. Embedding Dairy Alternatives in Europe and North America

Last, this study sought to find out how plant-based milk alternatives are being embedded into mainstream society regardless of the amount of backlash and obstacles they experience from the dairy sector (Mikkola & Norja, 2014; Mylan et al., 2019; Schiano et al., 2020). That plant-based dairy alternatives are undoubtedly successful at becoming mainstream can be seen by evidence from previous research which suggests that more than half of dairy consumers also purchase plant-based dairy alternatives (Wolf et al., 2020). This is an indication that PBDAs are rapidly evolving from a niche market to becoming products for the masses (Dalgic & Leeuw, 1994; Mylan et al., 2019). In the analysis of European and North American PBDAs advertisements, some interesting findings were revealed concerning mainstreaming plant milk.

In addition to the previously discussed discourses of health, dairy, sustainability and animal welfare, a pattern was also detected in the marketing techniques utilized. What was found is that both European and North American plant-based milk brands very frequently and consistently employ irony in their ads to promote non-dairy milk. This rhetorical tool is used by expressing a meaning using language that signifies the opposite to create a humorous or emphatic effect, or deliberately states the opposite of what is meant to be amusing. The advertising images by the North American brand Califia Farms in Figures 66, 67 and 68 provide examples of the type of irony often employed in PBDA ads. In the same ads (Figure 66–68), there is also a hint of sarcasm detected towards the dairy industry and the argument made by the milk lobby that plant-based milk should not be allowed to be called or labelled as “milk” because nuts do not lactate (Janner, 2019; Leialohilani & de Boer, 2020). The images in Figure 76–78 more explicitly address the argument and provide examples of how plant-based brands employ ironic visuals and text to respond to the dairy and milk lobby’s criticisms. The following figures (Figure 66–82) present additional examples of the use of irony in PBDA advertising. This study finds that this marketing strategy is utilized as frequently in Europe as it is in North America.

Furthermore, the analysis also showed heavy use of intertextuality in PBDA advertisements. As described in the methods, the use of intertextuality was one that was of primary interest in this

study for its significance and importance in marketing and advertising (Rivas, 2017). In this case, intertextuality refers to the relationship between the advertising images, and implies that all images are influenced by preceding ones (Alfaro, 1996; Panigrahi, 2013; Rivas, 2017). Intertextuality was commonly found in almost all PBDA brand advertising campaigns not only amongst the discourses communicated, as also suggested by Ledin and Machin (2020a), Mylan et al. (2019) and Schiano et al. (2020), but also in the type of marketing technique used, such as irony and sarcasm, and the humorous style of each of the brand campaigns. Such intertextual commonalities within brand campaigns can be seen in ads in Figure 66–68, 69–72, 73–75, and 79-82. Additionally, Figure 76-78 portray examples of irony and sarcasm being used by PBDA ads to tackle arguments set forth by the dairy industry and ultimately create emphatic connections with the audience and gain legitimacy and acceptance as mainstream products.

Figure 66

Califia Farms 'When A Daddy Almond Tickles A Little Too Hard'



Figure 67

Califia Farms 'When An Almond Jumps And The Bungee Cord Is A Little Too Long'

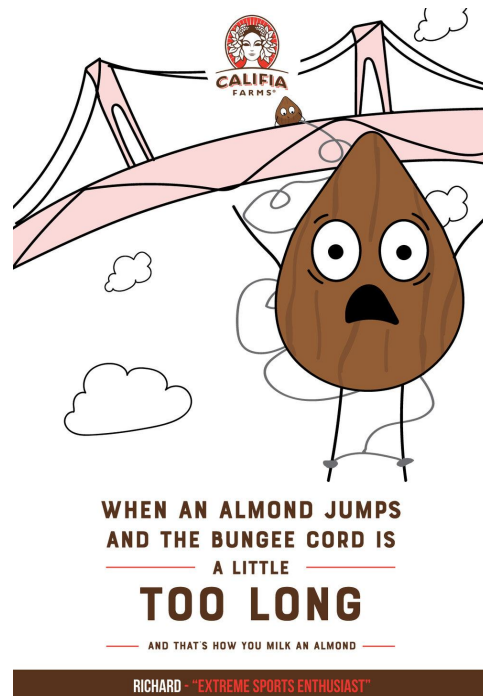


Figure 68

Califia Farms 'When An Almond Plays Badminton And Is Mistaken For The Birdie'

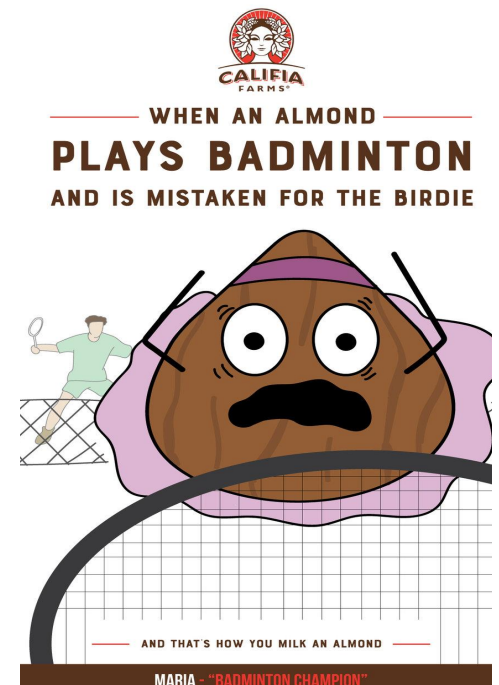


Figure 69

Oatly 'Are You Stupid?'



Figure 70

Oatly 'Ditch Dairy On The Daily'



Figure 71

Oatly 'It's Like Milk But Made For Humans'

It's like milk but made for humans.

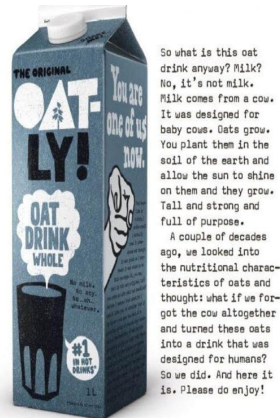


Figure 72

Oatly 'This Tastes Like Sh*t! Blah!'



Figure 73

Earth's Own 'Oat M*lk Uses 86% Less Water Than Dairy'

86% OF PEOPLE NEVER READ BILLBOARDS.

OAT M*LK uses 86% LESS WATER THAN DAIRY. COINCIDENCE? **Yes.**

#EARTHSON #OATMILK

Figure 74

Earth's Own 'Sometimes We Wake Up And Think Maybe We Won't Have Coffee Today?'

SOMETIMES WE WAKE UP & THINK "MAYBE WE WON'T HAVE COFFEE TODAY?" THEN WE **LAUGH & LAUGH** BECAUSE IT'S GOOD TO START YOUR DAY WITH A REALLY FUNNY JOKE.

#EARTHSON #OATMILK

Figure 75

Earth's Own 'Grown Using 7x Less Water Than Dairy'

OUR OATS ARE GROWN USING **7x** LESS WATER THAN DAIRY. YOU NEED **WATER** TO MAKE COFFEE. WITHOUT COFFEE THERE IS **NO LIFE.** WE'RE SAVING LIVES.

#EARTHSON #OATMILK

Figure 76

Blue Diamond Almond Breeze 'Where Are The Nipples?'

where are the nipples?

milk - this good doesn't need an explanation

Figure 77

Alpro 'How Do You Milk An Almond?'

How do you milk an almond?

feed your curiosity enjoy plant power

Figure 78

Alpro 'How Do You Drink A Hazelnut?'

How do you drink a hazelnut?

if you like the sound of this one, you'll love the taste. Made with the plant goodness of hazelnuts and spring water, new Alpro® hazelnut drink is a refreshing liquid snack with calcium, vitamins D & E and no animal milk. Try some - you'll drink, well, and feel uplifted too.

feed your curiosity enjoy plant power alpro

Figure 79

Califia Farms 'I Don't Answer When My In-Laws Call'

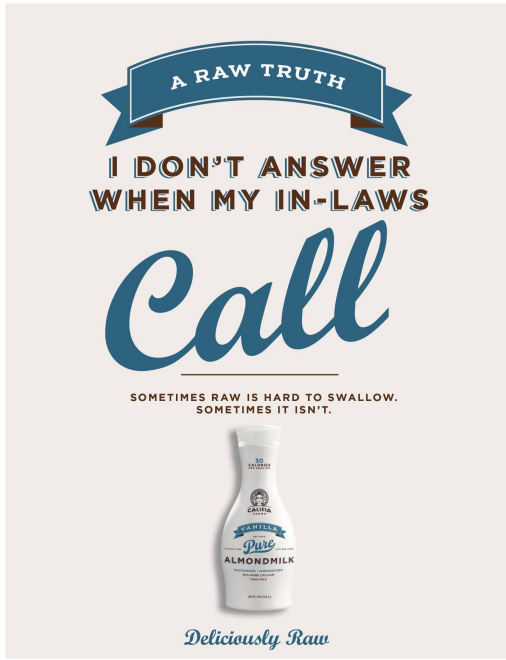


Figure 80

Califia Farms 'The More You Post, The Less You're Liked'



Figure 81

Califia Farms 'Your Grandparents Still Have Sex'



Figure 82

Califia Farms 'Oh Yes, He Saw Your Text'



5. Discussion and Conclusion

This research aimed to identify how plant-based dairy alternatives are collectively advertised to consumers in Europe and North America. Based on a qualitative multimodal critical discourse analysis of plant-based dairy alternatives advertising images, it can be concluded that there are four discourses along which plant-based dairy alternatives are promoted which are respectively and in order of greatest importance: (1) the discourse of health, (2) the dairy discourse, (3) the sustainability discourse and (4) the animal welfare discourse. The results indicate that these discourses identified are the most prominent ones in both regions and are present in the same order of prominence in European and North American plant-based milk advertisements.

These discourses are aligned with findings from previous studies on the underlying causes of the increasing interest in plant-based foods and protein alternatives (Mylan et al., 2019; Schiano et al., 2020; Sethi et al., 2016; Zhang et al., 2020) and marketing of plant based dairy alternatives along the lines of animal welfare and environmental sustainability (Ledin & Machin, 2020a; Mylan et al., 2019). Statements such as being “earth-friendly, eco-friendly, sustainable and creating a smaller footprint” (Sexton et al., 2019, p. 55) were clearly reflected in the analysed PBDA advertising images to promote plant-based milk as a better alternative for the environment and for the welfare of dairy cows. It is also through the communication of these discourses that plant-based milk brands aid in shaping or raising awareness of societal issues in the dairy industry and promote transformation to more sustainable food systems (Mikkola & Norja, 2014; Ledin & Machin, 2020a).

Furthermore, Sexton et al. (2019) also previously found that the primary narrative around which plant-based alternative foods are communicated is that it is good for people’s health and contributes to a healthier body, which corresponds with the current study and the discourse of health which was identified as most prominent. However, even though some earlier studies had already alluded to the discourses mentioned before, these studies were rather fragmented and unfocused in terms of discourses and narratives and concentrated on plant-based foods as a whole instead of solely on dairy alternatives as this research has done. The present findings provide tangible results and examples from a relatively large sample of dairy alternatives’ advertisements and the comparative element between the European and North American regions is valuable as it adds additional substance and nuance to the findings.

In addition to the other three discourses, the dairy discourse which was found to be strongly present in Europe and North America, was also an outcome of this study. Scholars, including Haas et al. (2019) and Binnekamp and Ingenbleek (2008), found that plant-based milk

brand advertisers often adopt the underlying traditional messages of dairy marketing initiatives to attempt to change consumer perceptions of fluid dairy milk. This thesis confirmed the prevalence of this discourse of plant milk which is often marketed similarly to dairy milk whereby PBDA products imitates dairy milk advertising. It was found that many PBDA brands still choose the nostalgic pastoral style of cow's milk to promote their products.

Animal welfare was another key discourse communicated by advertising images in Europe and North America. However, this final discourse was much less present than the aforementioned ones. Though some advertising images do communicate the animal rights and welfare discourse, highlighting the cruelties that farm animals endure in the dairy industry, these images were much more limited in comparison to the other identified discourses. This opposes the findings from previous studies (Ledin & Machin, 2020a; Mylan et al., 2019; Schiano et al., 2020) stating that plant-based milk advertising images for the most part communicate about animal welfare and animal welfare issues in the dairy sector. Instead, what was found is that many of the PBDA advertisements investigated in this study chose to focus on and communicate about the more positive aspects of plant-based dairy alternatives such as their health and nutritional benefits and ingredients, and how much more environmentally friendly these products are in comparison to fluid dairy products.

When comparing the advertisements communicating the animal welfare discourse in North America with those in Europe, it becomes apparent that the former still employs shock advertising to convey their message and promote plant milk. Ultimately, brands making use of ads such as these attempt to inspire behaviour change among the audience by acting as the messengers of truth who unveil the unethical treatment of dairy cows as a means to gain authenticity (Matusitz & Forrester, 2013). This was one of the key and few differences found between European and North American advertisements of plant-based dairy alternatives. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of this method has been refuted for alienating consumers and eventually not being effective (Matusitz & Forrester, 2013; Urwin & Venter, 2014; Yan & Chapa, 2018), which could be the reason current PBDA advertisements in Europe have discontinued using this method.

Furthermore, although the main discourses were all identified in the same order in both European and North American advertisements, some slight differences can be observed in the sub-discourses. For example, some European advertisements communicated along the sub-discourse of *trust* in their food products and the origin and ethical and sustainable production of their ingredients, alluding to the declining consumer trust in the food industry (Macready et al., 2020). This sub-

discourse was not reflected in the North American advertisements. Additional differences observed in sub-discourses between the regions are discussed in respective sections on the main discourses.

The final purpose of this research was to explore how plant-based dairy alternatives are marketed to transform from a niche product to becoming more mainstream and embedded in society. Findings indicate that this is done in two ways. First, by utilizing a marketing tactic of irony and by making excessive use of intertextuality. Moreover, the trend of PBDA advertisers tapping into the dairy discourse and utilizing messaging and already established fluid dairy promotion campaigns to market PBDAs can also be seen as a method to move from the niche to the mainstream. This discourse, however, could be reinforcing a dairy-centred culture rather than encouraging consumers to move away from dairy, similar to what is seen in the meat alternatives industry (Rödl, 2018). Future research should consider investigating this further. One way this could be accomplished is through the exploration of consumer perceptions of non-dairy milk advertising which imitates fluid dairy milk advertising.

In closing, this paper presents valuable insights into the relationship between plant-based dairy alternatives advertising encouraging public involvement through social activism and its influence on policies. At the time of completion of this thesis, Amendment 171 was officially withdrawn by the EU following criticism by the PBDA food industry who involved and actively rallied consumers to protest it (Barry, 2021; Gantt, 2020; Leialohilani & de Boer, 2020; Waldersee, 2021). Almost half a million consumers signed the petition to overthrow Amendment 171 (Barry, 2021). This demonstrates the influence PBDA brands have on raising awareness for socio-political issues through their advertisements. Future research should further explore consumer social activism through niche products seeking to encourage transitions to more sustainable food production systems. Such research may provide intriguing discoveries and add to the current study as well as the existing body of literature on sustainability transitions in the food sector.

5.1. Limitations

Several limitations should be noted when evaluating the findings of this research. First, the qualitative nature of the study limits its generalizability and transferability to different contexts and regions. If the study were to be replicated in other parts of the world, due to cultural differences and different advertising techniques, it is also highly likely that findings will differ significantly or that other discourses are identified. Nonetheless, it was attempted to achieve the criteria for increasing credibility of qualitative data set forth by Guba (1981) by incorporating analytical triangulation and

being as reflexive as possible in the data analysis process. Ultimately, qualitative research is characterised by being of a highly subjective nature, and the findings of this study should thus be interpreted with care.

Moreover, another limitation in analysing qualitative data with latent and connotative meanings, as was the case in this study, is that the advertising images were thoroughly analysed and interpreted by the researcher, though no certainties could be given regarding how the audience perceived the advertisements. Thus, this is also a limitation that should be considered. To mitigate subjectivity somewhat, the researcher attempted to document the process of analysis in as detailed and reflexive a manner as possible, using reflexive memos and by keeping a digital research diary to document all the steps and analytical decisions made. Future research should take these limitations into account when considering qualitatively investigating plant-based dairy discourses further.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Data Collection Keywords and Search Terms

Table 2

Keywords and Search Terms

Keywords		
Plant-based dairy	Alpro	Advertisement
Plant-based dairy alternatives	Oatly	Advert
Plant-based dairy drink	Provamel	Ads
Plant-based dairy beverage	Innocent	Advertising
Plant-based milk	Plenish M*lk	Advertising campaign
Non-dairy milk	Rebel Kitchen Mylk	Advertising posters
Plant milk	Good Hemp	Marketing
Vegan milk	Rude Health	Campaign
Milk substitute	Wunda	Marketing campaign
Milk alternative	Califia Farms	Promotion
Dairy alternative	Silk	Promotional campaign
Almond milk	Blue Diamond Almond Breeze	Publicity
Almond drink	Earth's Own	Marketing communication
Oat milk	Elmhurst	Europe
Oat drink	Milkadamia	United States
Soy milk	Ripple Dairy-Free	America
Soy drink	Tempt	American
Rice milk	Dream	USA
Rice drink	Not Milk	Canada
Nut milk	Starbucks	Canadian

Appendix B: Sample of Advertising Material Collected and Analysed

Figure 83

Advertising Image Alpro 'Powered by Oat'



Figure 84

Advertising Image Alpro 'Our Range'



Figure 85

Advertising Image Innocent 'Definitely Contains Nuts'



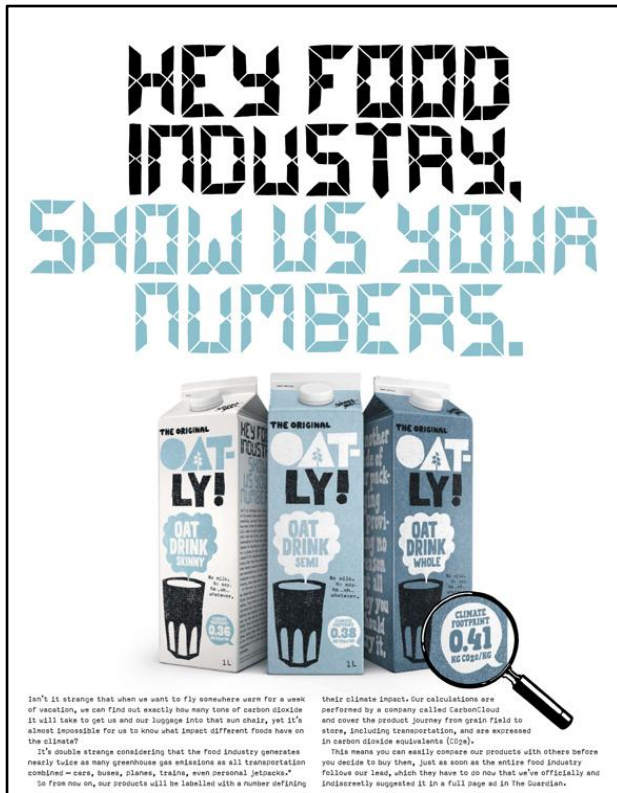
Figure 86

Advertising Image Innocent 'Mornings Meet Your Maker'



Figure 87

Advertising Image Oatly 'Hey Food Industry, Show Us Your Numbers'



HEY FOOD INDUSTRY, SHOW US YOUR NUMBERS.

THE ORIGINAL OATLY! OAT DRINK BRNNY 1L

THE ORIGINAL OATLY! OAT DRINK SEMI 1L

THE ORIGINAL OATLY! OAT DRINK WHOLE 1L

CLIMATE FOOTPRINT 0.41 kg CO₂e/100g

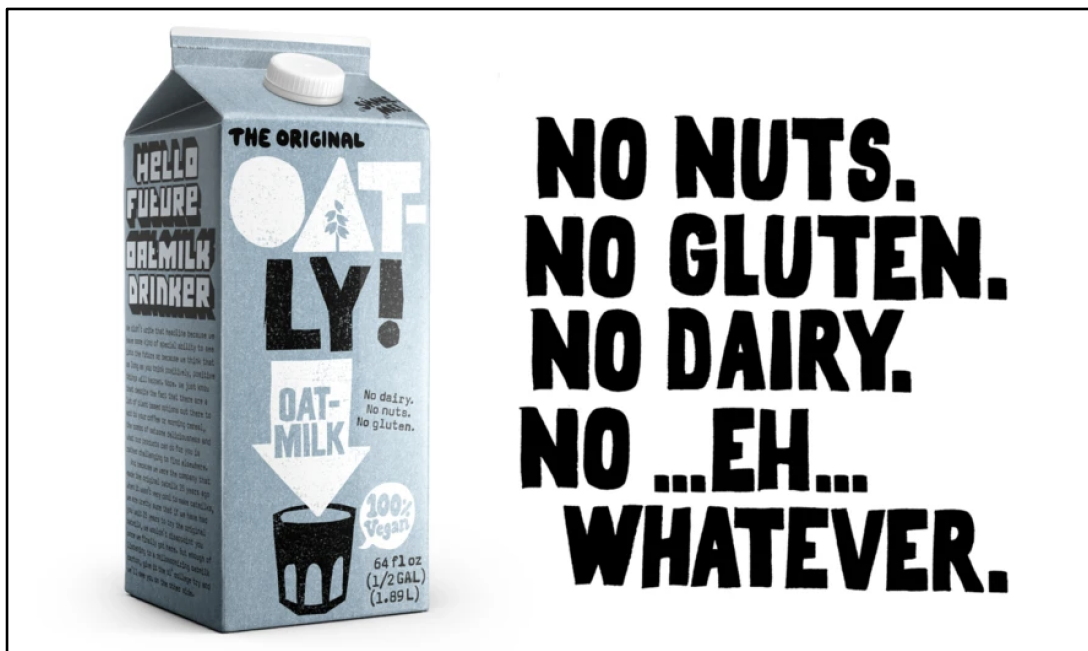
Isn't it strange that when we want to fly somewhere even for a week of vacation, we can find out exactly how many tons of carbon dioxide it will take to get us and our luggage into that sun chair, yet it's almost impossible for us to know what impact different foods have on the climate?

It's double strange considering that the food industry generates nearly twice as many greenhouse gas emissions as all transportation combined – cars, buses, airplanes, trains, even occasional jetboaters? So from now on, our products will be labelled with a number defining their climate impact. Our calculations are performed by a company called CarbonCloud and cover the product journey from grain field to store, including transportation, and are expressed in carbon dioxide equivalents (CO₂e).

This means you can easily compare our products with others before you decide to buy them, just as soon as the entire food industry follows our lead, which they have to do now that we've officially and indiscreetly suggested it in a full page ad in the Guardian.

Figure 88

Advertising Image Oatly 'No Nuts. No Gluten. No Dairy.'



HELLO FUTURE OAT-MILK DRINKER

THE ORIGINAL OATLY!

OAT-MILK

No dairy. No nuts. No gluten.

100% Vegan

64 fl oz (1/2 GAL) (1.89 L)

**NO NUTS.
NO GLUTEN.
NO DAIRY.
NO ...EH...
WHATEVER.**

Figure 89

Advertising Image Almond Breeze 'Where Are The Nipples?'

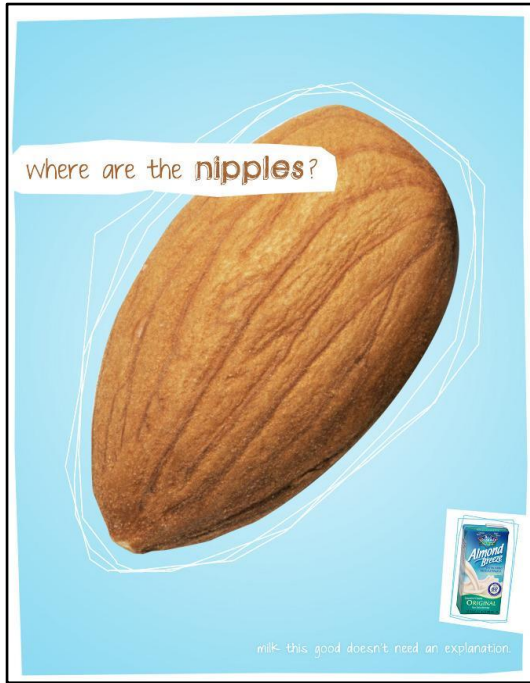


Figure 90

Advertising Image Califia Farms 'When An Almond'

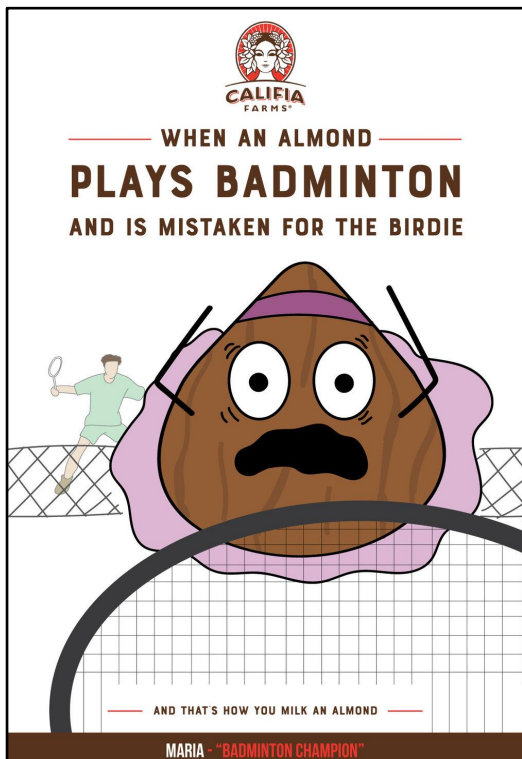


Figure 91

Advertising Image Earth's Own 'Less Water'

OUR OATS ARE GROWN USING **7x** **LESS WATER** THAN DAIRY. **YOU NEED WATER** TO MAKE COFFEE. WITHOUT COFFEE THERE IS **NO LIFE.** WE'RE SAVING LIVES.

#EARTHSONN #OATMILK

Figure 92

Advertising Image Silk 'Strength in Every Pour'

Also available in Chocolate and Original

Pour on the power to help your heart and lower cholesterol.

Silk is made from one of Nature's Perfect Proteins to help you stay strong, and delivers a smooth vanilla taste that keeps you deliciously satisfied.

Silk Strength in Every Pour™

SilkSoyMilk.com

Appendix C: Data Analysis Framework

Table 3

Data Analysis Framework

Step	Documentation Method	Procedure
Study the image carefully	Quotations	Select each part of the image and create quotations to be analysed.
Identify objects and attributes	Quotations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Create a quotation for each object. ● Give each quotation a title (name of each object). ● List and summarize objects in quotation comment.
Identify setting	Quotations	Give quotations a name or title. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● List setting in quotation comment.
Identify salience	Quotations	Give quotations a name or title. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● List identified salience features in quotation comment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Potent cultural symbols - Size - Colour - Tone - Focus - Foregrounding - Overlapping
List denotations	Image comment	List each of the objects and attributes previously identified.
List connotations	Image comment	Describe, interpret and analyse connotations in the image based on previous steps in the same image comment.
Preliminary coding of possible discursive patterns	Codes	Code the key message(s) or preliminary discourses communicated by each image.
Analyse intertextuality per brand	Memo	Investigate all images per brand and document intertextual elements that are repeated and form a pattern.

Turning codes into discourses: Generate discourses	Codes and Code Groups	Investigate “discourses” or “patterns” identified in the codes and categorize codes per discourse into code groups.
Analyse intertextuality between brands in each geographical area	Memo	Investigate all images for intertextual elements that are repeated and form a pattern. First for European brands, then for North American brands.
Review discourses generated		<p>Ensure that the discourses identified are useful and accurate representations of the data. Here, return to the data set and compare the discourses against it.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Investigated if anything is missing. ● Are these discourses really present in the data? ● What can you change to make the discourses work better? <p>If encountering any issues with your discourses, you might split them up, combine them, discard them or create new ones: whatever makes them more useful and accurate.</p>
Define and name discourses	Memo	Give each discourse a title that accurately reflects what it represents.

Appendix D: Sample of Analysed Advertisement in ATLAS.ti

Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives Advertising

Documents | Quotations | Codes | Memos | Networks

Document 3
alpro_3.jpg

Documents (153)
Codes (48)
Memos (23)
Networks (2)
Document Groups (2)
1.1 Europe 77
1.2 North America 76
Code Groups (10)
Memo Groups (9)
Network Groups (3)
Multimedia Transcripts (2)

need / plant-milk generation
renewed

environmental activities

use / recipe / breakfast

health

Ingredients

Document 3
alpro_3.jpg

In Document
1. Europe

Status
Created: 10 May 2021
Allison Duxler
Changed: 10 May 2021
Allison Duxler

Comment

Denotations:

- A woman and a boy are depicted with food bowls and cutlery (one spoon on the table and one piece of cutlery which is only half-visible in the bowl that the woman is holding).
- The boy is smiling/ giggling while looking at the woman drinking out of her bowl.
- On the right side of the ad, there is a beverage carton with the words "Alpro Soya packed with protein, low in sugars" written on it as well as the nutritional contents (sugar, fat, calcium, etc), though the numbers are not filled in ("x" is used).
- In the middle part of the ad, there is a block of text. Most is in white, and the last line is in blue and is a slightly larger font. The same font is used in all parts of this block of text.

Connotations:

- The title anchors the preferred meaning—"You became an eco-warrior over breakfast"—this corresponds with the action in which the characters are engaged in (i.e. having or had breakfast with Alpro Soya milk). The relationship between the boy and the woman refers to the relationship between a mother and her child, and the mother being an (eco-warrior) example for her child to follow. This signifies the next generation drinking plant-based milk instead of cow's milk.
- The additional text—"Good for you!"—strengthens this and indicates both a sense of pride (i.e. Alpro is proud of the characters in the image), satisfaction and/or reward for the action taken (drinking soy milk instead of cow's milk) and also indicates that plant-based milk is good for your health and that of your children.

Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives Advertising

Documents | Quotations | Codes | Memos | Networks

Document 3
alpro_3.jpg

Documents (153)
Codes (48)
Memos (23)
Networks (2)
Document Groups (2)
1.1 Europe 77
1.2 North America 76
Code Groups (10)
Memo Groups (9)
Network Groups (3)
Multimedia Transcripts (2)

need / plant-milk generation
renewed

environmental activities

use / recipe / breakfast

health

Ingredients

Quotation #4
setting and sentence

In Document
alpro_3.jpg

Status
Created: 13 May 2021
Allison Duxler
Changed: 16 May 2021
Allison Duxler

Comment

Setting

- The image of the woman and boy including the text and beverage carton is set against a light blue background.
- The setting of the woman and the boy having breakfast is at a table. It is indicated that this is a dinner table or kitchen counter (coenestatio, people usually have breakfast at the dinner table or kitchen counter). The depicted utensils and cutlery support this as well.

Salience

- **Cultural symbols:** the woman and boy are associated with being a mother and a son; connotating that the mother is setting an example for the son to "become an eco-warrior" as the accompanying text suggests.
- **Size:** the beverage carton is foregrounded, which is seen by its size compared to the woman and boy. Though there is no overlap, the beverage carton is clearly foregrounded.
- **Color:** bright, whites, creams, and bright blues which are associated with open spaces, freedom, intuition, inspiration, expansiveness, inspiration, and sensitivity. Blue also represents meanings of depth, trust, loyalty, sincerity, wisdom, confidence, stability, faith, and intelligence. This corresponds with the connotation of the mother being an example for her son, as he trusts her the most and looks up to her, and subsequently will follow her example.
- **In addition,** there is some green on the milk carton, which symbolizes nature and the natural world. Because it has a strong association with nature, green is often thought to represent tranquility, good luck, and health. This corresponds with the message of Soya milk being "Good for you".
- **Tone:** Use of brightness to attract the eyes and lots of whites and hues of white and bright blue. Also, the spotlight is put on the woman and boy through lighting. This also aids in putting the focus on the people in the ad rather than the product.
- **Foregrounding:** The beverage carton is foregrounded through its size and placement half in front of the blue background. There is some overlap between the carton and the blue background, but not with the other objects in the ad.

Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives Advertising

Documents | Quotations | Codes | Memos | Networks

Search

- Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives...
 - Documents (19/9)
 - Codes (48)
 - Memos (27)
 - Networks (0)
 - Document Groups (2)
 - 1. Europe
 - 2. North America
 - Code Groups (10)
 - Memo Groups (0)
 - Network Groups (0)
 - Multimedia Transcripts (0)

Quotation 3.9

woman and boy eating

In Document

alpro_3.jpg

Code Groups

- next / post-milk generation
- resemblance
- environmental activism
- use / recipe / breakfast
- health

Status

Created: 14 May 2021
Allison Dunker

Changed: 14 May 2021
Allison Dunker

Comment

Objects / attributes

- boy and woman sitting at a table and having breakfast
- it is suggested that the woman in the boy's mother: he is looking at her with a sense of amusement and pride, and looking at her as an example to be imitated (connotation), indicating that he is looking up to her as a rolemodel (connotation)

Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives Advertising

Documents | Quotations | Codes | Memos | Networks

Search

- Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives...
 - Documents (19/9)
 - Codes (48)
 - Memos (27)
 - Networks (0)
 - Document Groups (2)
 - 1. Europe
 - 2. North America
 - Code Groups (10)
 - Memo Groups (0)
 - Network Groups (0)
 - Multimedia Transcripts (0)

Quotation 3.2

text / key message

In Document

alpro_3.jpg

Code Groups

- environmental activism

Status

Created: 13 May 2021
Allison Dunker

Changed: 14 May 2021
Allison Dunker

Comment

Objects / attributes

- Text: "You became an eco-warrior over breakfast. Good for you!"
- The text indicates the key message of the ad, which is that by having Alpro Soya milk for breakfast, the figures in the ad become eco-warriors: The term eco-warrior is a self-description for an environmental activist that adopts a hands-on effort to do something positive for the environment.
- The second part of the text "Good for you!" is used to express praise or approval of having soy milk for breakfast; it also connotes that the product is good for a person's health, i.e. "It is good for you."
- Size of the text indicates that it is the key message. Especially when compared to the size of the people in the image and other objects such as the beverage carton, which are significantly smaller in comparison, as is the text in the bottom left corner (the disclaimer)

Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives Advertising

Documents | Quotations | Codes | Memos | Networks

Search

- Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives...
 - Documents (19/9)
 - Codes (48)
 - Memos (27)
 - Networks (0)
 - Document Groups (2)
 - 1. Europe
 - 2. North America
 - Code Groups (10)
 - Memo Groups (0)
 - Network Groups (0)
 - Multimedia Transcripts (0)

Quotation 3.3

boy giggling with fingers in front of mouth and bowl in other hand

In Document

alpro_3.jpg

Status

Created: 13 May 2021
Allison Dunker

Changed: 14 May 2021
Allison Dunker

Comment

Objects / attributes

- boy giggling with fingers in front of mouth and bowl in other hand
- his gaze is focused on the woman sitting next to him who is drinking out of a bowl
- the boy looks amused at the woman
- the spoon laying flat on the table next to his bowl indicates that he has finished his meal and is waiting for the woman to finish hers
- the accompanying text indicates that he just had breakfast

Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives Advertising

Documents Quotations Codes Memos Networks

wpn_3.jpg

Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives Advertising

- Documents (153)
- Codes (48)
- Memos (23)
- Networks (2)
- Document Groups (2)
 - 1. Europe 77
 - 2. North America 76
- Code Groups (7)
- Memo Groups (2)
- Network Groups (2)
- Multimedia Transcripts (2)

YOU BECAME AN ECO-WARRIOR OVER BREAKFAST. GOOD FOR YOU!

alpro SOYA

need / post-milk generation
 responsible
 environmental activism
 use / recipe / breakfast
 health

Ingredients

Quotation 3:8
 bowl and cutlery
 in Document
 wpn_3.jpg
 Status
 Created: 14 May 2021
 Allison Dunker
 Changed: 14 May 2021
 Allison Dunker

Comment

Objects / attributes

- Bowl and cutlery connotes having food (breakfast in this case, indicated by the accompanying text), even though the viewer/reader does not actually see what is in the bowl and if there even is anything in the bowl.

Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives Advertising

Documents Quotations Codes Memos Networks

wpn_3.jpg

Master Thesis: Plant-based Milk Alternatives Advertising

- Documents (153)
- Codes (48)
- Memos (23)
- Networks (2)
- Document Groups (2)
 - 1. Europe 77
 - 2. North America 76
- Code Groups (7)
- Memo Groups (2)
- Network Groups (2)
- Multimedia Transcripts (2)

YOU BECAME AN ECO-WARRIOR OVER BREAKFAST. GOOD FOR YOU!

alpro SOYA

need / post-milk generation
 responsible
 environmental activism
 use / recipe / breakfast
 health

Ingredients

Quotation 3:4
 woman holding a bowl in both hands and drinking out of it
 in Document
 wpn_3.jpg
 Status
 Created: 13 May 2021
 Allison Dunker
 Changed: 14 May 2021
 Allison Dunker

Comment

Objects / attributes

- Woman drinking out of a bowl and looking straight in front of her; it is suggested that she is drinking the soy milk depicted in the ad
- The cutlery in the bowl is likely a spoon, since soy milk is liquid, and she is likely having (or just finished having) breakfast. This is strengthened by the accompanying text which states "You became an eco-warrior over breakfast. Good for you!"

Appendix E: Code List and Code Groups

Table 4

Codes Grouped by Code Groups

Code Groups	Codes
Animal welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Animal welfare ● Cow / animal / cultural symbol ● Drinking milk is inhumane
Change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Change ● Change is easy ● Ditch dairy / switch to plant-based milk
Dairy comparison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Challenging food industry ● Dairy free ● Milk and plant-milk difference ● Milk lobby ● Mocking dairy industry / how do you milk and almond ● Next / post-milk generation ● Not milk ● Plant-milk equals milk ● Plant-milk surpasses cow's milk ● The term milk / dairy ● Variations of the word 'milk'
Environment, sustainability and planet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Climate footprint / numbers ● Environment ● Environmental activism ● Land / water usage ● Planet ● Responsible / ethical production ● Sustainability ● Transparency ● Trust
Family, role models and sentiment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cultural symbols / transferable qualities ● Family ● Feelings / sentiment / nostalgia ● Good / doing the right thing / moral high ground ● New you ● Role model ● Testimonials
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Health ● Milk is deadly ● Trust your instinct, you know what is good for you
Ingredients	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● How it's made ● Ingredients

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Nature / plants / natural● Quality
Marketing methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Apology marketing / advertising● Credibility● Reverse marketing
Sensory aspects	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Taste / flavour / sensory aspects / texture● Visual appeal / appearance
Usage and recipes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Use / recipe / breakfast● Use / recipe / coffee● Use / usage / recipe / versatility

Appendix F: Code-Document Frequency Tables

Table 5

Code-Document Frequency Table

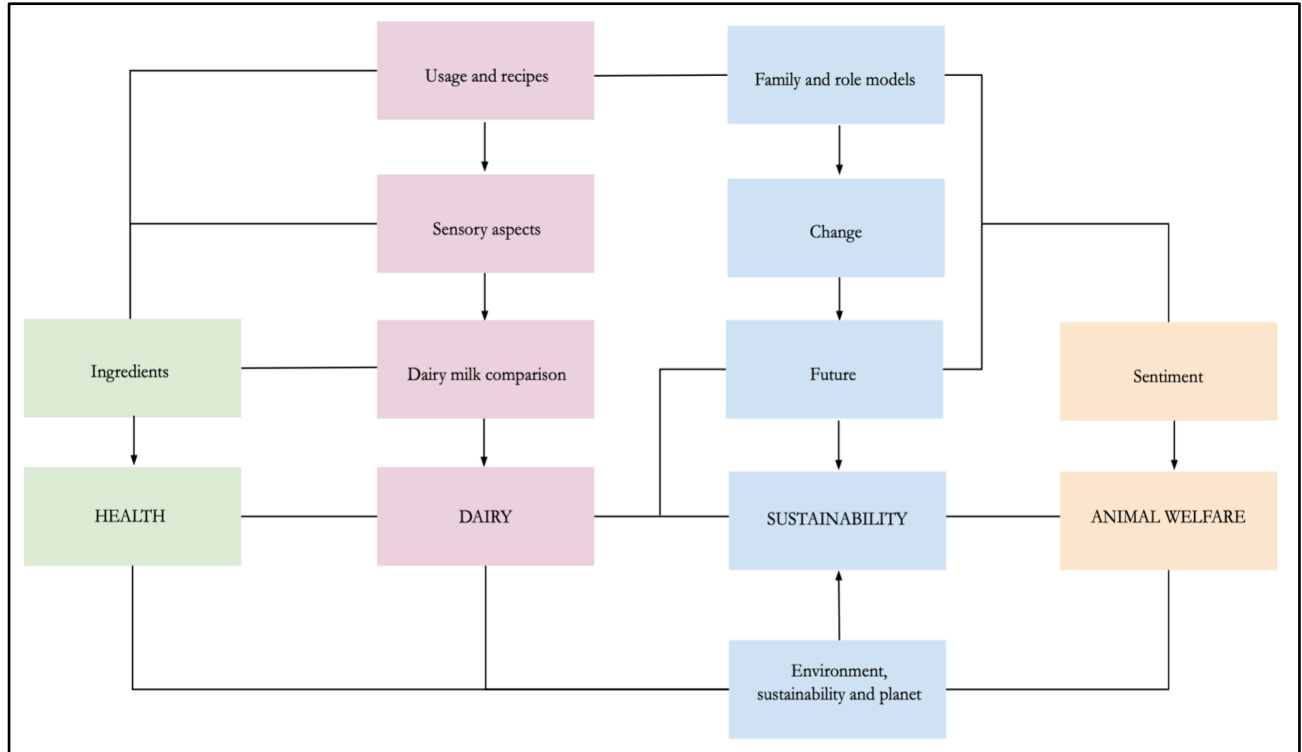
Code Group	Coding Frequency		Total
	Europe	North America	
Ingredients	59 (10.9%)	67 (12.4%)	126 (23.3%)
Dairy milk comparison	44 (8.1%)	63 (11.7%)	107 (19.8%)
Health	34 (6.28%)	31 (5.7%)	65 (12%)
Family, role models and sentiment	31 (5.7%)	13 (2.4%)	44 (8.1%)
Usage and recipes	28 (5.1%)	23 (4.3%)	51 (9.4%)
Sensory aspects	25 (4.6%)	28 (5.2%)	53 (9.8%)
Environment, sustainability and planet	22 (4%)	14 (2.6%)	36 (6.7%)
Change	15 (2.8%)	16 (2.9%)	31 (5.7%)
Animal welfare	10 (1.8%)	12 (2.2%)	22 (4.1%)
Marketing methods	4 (0.7%)	2 (0.4%)	6 (1.1%)
Total	272 (50.3%)	269 (49.7%)	541 (100%)

Note. Coding Frequency refers to frequency count of the number of codings. This differs from the number of quotations, as some quotations are coded by multiple codes. The percentages represent the relative frequencies and were useful in comparing code distributions across and within document groups (i.e. *Europe* and *North America*). Both numbers, the coding frequencies and the relative frequencies, were ultimately investigated to get an indication of the prevalence of the discourses identified and aided in identifying which discourses were more prevalent in each of the regions.

Appendix G: Concept Map

Figure 93

Relationship Between Discourses and Key Messages



Appendix H: ATLAS.ti Data Analysis Report

Link to the report: <https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/9qy7hyaymyti337wzb11r/ATLAS.ti-Data-Analysis-Report-Master-Thesis-Plant-based-Milk-Alternatives-Advertising-Allison-Dunker-Master-Media-Business.docx?dl=0&rlkey=nz8eu6eneqkb73klc7pcpbsz>