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The spark of a paracrisis

Can milk extinguish the flame before the fire spreads?

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Abstract

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This thesis written within the field of strategic communication and digital media, aims to understand how discourse constructs the paracrisis prevailing on the dairy corporation Arla's Instagram account. A social constructivist perspective to reality and a hermeneutic approach to meaning has been the frame of reference for this study. The empirical material has been compiled through a qualitative textual analysis of the most commented posts during the past two years. Subsequently, the comments on the posts have been analysed through a discourse- and rhetorical analysis. The collected material has been contextualised within the framework of paracrisis, new social movement theory, framing and image repair theory. The findings of the analysis show that there is a tension between Arla and a new social movement that deems the industry immoral. These two sides frame two contradicting truths within the existing discourse and their rhetorics: both claiming to cherish the wellbeing of animals, yet clashing on what this actually means. The new social movement was found to be using mostly diagnostic and motivational framing in their discourse with an underlying prognostic frame of becoming vegan. To respond to this new social movement Arla mostly utilised simple denial, good intention and minimisation strategies within image repair theory. Furthermore, we found that Arla's faith-holders were additionally using the response strategy of attacking the accuser when confronting the new social movement commentators. This thesis is an extension to literature within crisis communication on social media in addition to being a contribution to the discursive traits of new social movements in digital settings.

Keywords: paracrisis, new social movements, discourse, Arla, social media, strategic communication, framing, image repair theory

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Sammanfattning

Gnistan av en parakris

Denna studie tillhör fältet strategisk kommunikation och digitala medier och har till syfte att förstå hur diskurs konstruerar den parakris som råder på mejeriföretaget Arlas Instagramkonto. Ett socialkonstruktivistiskt perspektiv gentemot verkligheten och ett hermeneutiskt anseende gentemot mening har agerat som ett ramverk för denna studie. Det empiriska materialet har samlats in genom en kvalitativ textanalys av de mest kommenterade inläggen under de senaste två åren. Därefter har kommentarerna blivit analyserade genom en diskursiv och retorisk analys. Det insamlade materialet har blivit kontextualiserat med ramverket av en parakris, new social movement theory, framing och image repair theory. Resultaten från analysen visade en spänning mellan Arla och en ny social rörelse som anser att mejeriindustrin är omoralisk. Dessa två sidor presenterar två motstridiga sanningar i sin diskurs och retorik: båda sidor hävdar att de värderar djurens välmående men vad detta egentligen betyder råder det ingen konsensus om. Den nya sociala rörelsen visades använda sig mest utav diagnostiserande och motiverande ramar i sin diskurs med underliggande prognostiska ramar kring att bli vegan. Arla har bemött denna nya sociala rörelse genom att till mestadels använda sig utav simple denial, good intention och minimisation strategier från image repair theory. Vidare visar det sig att Arlas faith-holders använde sig av strategin attacking the accuser när de bemötte kommentarer från den nya sociala rörelsen. Uppsatsen är en fortsättning på litteraturen om kriskommunikation på sociala medier och framhävs även som ett bidrag till att förstå de diskursiva dragen inom nya sociala rörelser i digitala miljöer.

Nyckelord: parakris, nya sociala rörelser, diskurs, Arla, sociala medier, strategisk kommunikation, framing, image repair theory

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The contribution to this thesis has been shared equally amongst the authors.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Although some critics claim social media to only be a buzzword after the outgoing era of Web 2.0, the effects it has had on society cannot be dismissed. Eager to take part in the marketing potential that social media brings forth, many businesses have dived head first into the world of digital networking without fully understanding the negative implications it might have on the organisation (Lovink, 2011; Nelson, 2018). Social movements, also eager to make their voice heard on social media, have transformed into bigoted online mobs that can easily assemble without the restraints of time and space. Furthermore, the possibility of anonymity and engagement has fostered an online community continuously crushing the power hierarchy between corporations and consumers one comment at a time (Gehl, 2014). The shift in power dynamics and the force behind some social movements have resulted in the occurrence of online crisis situations, also known as paracrises (Coombs & Holladay, 2012). These situations have emerged through negative discourse created by external stakeholders about a corporation or its practices and they run the risk of developing into an actual crisis if enough force lies behind the negative comments. Nevertheless, many organisations dismiss these negative comments as extreme (Lovink, 2016) and some scholars within crisis communication encourage businesses to simply ignore these online haters (Goldsworthy & Morris, 2013). The implemented course of action to deal with a paracrisis, as well as the level of engagement by loyal company faith-holders, will ultimately determine the future success of the organisation. Can the organisation extinguish the paracrisis or will they only fuel the online firestorm?

1.2 Problem area

1.2.1 Theoretical problematisation

The new information society that we find ourselves in, where we are all connected through globalisation and technology, has created a volatile environment more disposed to crises than ever before (Frandsen & Johansen, 2017). This state in which society finds itself in has led organisations and its stakeholders to accept crises as something unavoidable (Heide & Simonsson, 2016; Frandsen & Johansen, 2017). With crises being accepted as something normative, the management of them have been revolutionised into an institutionalised practice where there are a plethora of theories and models which have been developed to aid communication efforts in situations of crisis (Frandsen & Johansen, 2017). Although these crisis strategies are based on empirical data and theories in a variety of fields, they are unable to be perfectly utilised due to the fast-paced development of the 21st century. The way in which information is able to be distributed to anyone with an internet connection in a matter of seconds has made it necessary for crises to be handled with a different mindset, both in proactive and reactive sense due to the consequences of this instant information dissemination (Heide & Simonsson, 2016; Frandsen & Johansen 2017).

With the rise of social media, a new dynamic has come into play. While there have been some new theories created precisely for social media [often categorised under the umbrella term social mediated crisis communication (SMCC)], most scholars have chosen to apply traditional crisis communication theories upon this new online environment. Nonetheless, the accelerating rate of expansion of social media is placing a strain on crisis communication research since traditional theories and methods are increasingly becoming outdated (Austin & Jin, 2017). In order to bridge the gap between crisis communication on traditional and social media, we see Coombs' (2014) definition of a crisis on social media as a valuable asset to the field of crisis communication in today's digital age. Coombs (2014) describes these cases as paracrises; they seem like a crisis but are simply issues that can potentially become a crisis. He stresses that with the correct call to action, organisations are able to avert the paracrisis from developing further

and thereby do not risk any reputational damage to their organisation. The paracrisis discussion is constituted by multiple stakeholders; the organisation, loyal stakeholders which Johansen, Johansen and Weckesser (2016) refer to as faith-holders and those who are against the organisation. However, since the phenomenon is relatively new, there is a lack of research on how to do this most effectively.

1.2.2 Empirical problematisation

Some would argue that social media has not created users who politely voice their concerns but has rather given rise to a population who actively articulate their resentments on digital platforms. These debates are often labour-intensive acts of lobbying; the comment rich culture often seen as productive discussion is in reality only orchestrated arrangements devoid of any political potency (Lovink, 2011). When masses mobilise and engage in this critical comment culture, corporations are placed in a serious reputational and economical risk (Bosi, Giugni & Uba, 2016; Friedman & McNeill, 2013), mostly due to the public nature of the discourse that proliferates on the internet (Coombs, 2014). Although these social movements have previously been at a resource disadvantage, heavily outnumbered by public opinion (Bosi, Giugni & Uba, 2016), the pressing matters that are brought forward by climate activists and new market sentiments focused on sustainability, give these new social movements (NSMs) a sense of urgency that can not be dismissed by the masses.

Arla is a corporation that has been heavily targeted by a new social movement, namely the social movement of veganism, an ideology that avoids consuming or using products derived from the animal kingdom. The shared sense of moral obligation is a key factor in understanding this NSM's underlying motivation (Carty, 2015) and the discourse that proliferates on Arla's social media channels. Although many may view this movement as radical, their foundational principles have been supported by one of Arla's competitors who has questioned the goodness of the dairy industry through their controversial marketing campaigns. One of the foundational aspects which can explain the allegations made against the dairy industry can be found by

looking back upon the history of milk. The big upswing of milk consumption in Sweden started in 1923 when the association “Mjölpropagandan”, otherwise known as the “Milk Propaganda” in English, was established (Jönsson, 2006). The goal of the association was to inform and promote the many benefits with drinking milk in order to increase consumption and thereby revenue. This was accomplished through a variety of means such as information flyers, competitions and educational films which had a wide reach in many institutions such as education, medicine and politics. In Sweden, milk became a symbolic staple food during the second half of the 20th century due to its political intertwinement; it was the healthy beverage that would not only create strong individuals but also a strong welfare state (Jönsson, 2006). However, the original symbolism in milk consumption has started to diminish, resulting in more skepticism towards the beverage and its perceived health benefits - hence a steady decrease in milk consumption.

The controversial campaigns questioning the goodness of the dairy industry sparked so much controversy that in 2014 the company behind them were sued by the Swedish Milk Association (LTH) for conveying a negative image of the business in their marketing (Kvist, 2015). Even though LTH won the lawsuit, the intense rivalry between the two companies seems to only have begun. Whilst other dairy brands have laid low and opted for more passive marketing messages, Arla has taken a stronger stand on traditional media by creating provoking campaigns like "only milk tastes like milk", making fun of their controversial competitor and other alternative milk brands (Törner, 2018). We emphasise traditional media because these campaigns and other more recent product launches are not found on their social media accounts. Despite not picking a fight on the digital arena, Arla has received a lot of hate and criticism in the online world, mostly on their @arlasverige Instagram account. We identify what is occurring on Arla's social media account as a *challenge* paracrisis (see section 3.1.3 for reference) brought forward by this new social movement and would ultimately consider their reputation of being at risk. Through our case study on Arla's paracrisis, we want to contribute to the field of crisis communication research on social media and broaden the understanding of this phenomenon by showcasing the discourse that prevails and constitutes this event.

1.3 Purpose and research question

The purpose of this research paper is to gain a greater understanding of how a paracrisis is constituted through discourse. Through the use of rhetorics, framing and image repair theories, the paracrisis constructed by the new social movement, Arla and their faith-holders will be discursively analysed. The thesis aims to contribute to the field of crisis communication on social media and the development of the paracrisis theory presented by Coombs (2014), in addition to bringing insight into the discursive traits of new social movements in digital settings.

This endeavor leads to the following research questions:

- What arguments form the paracrisis on Arla's Instagram account and how are they framed?
- How does Arla respond to the criticism brought forth by the new social movement?

2. Literature review

At first glance, the existing knowledge base on paracrises seems relatively limited. This can be explained by the fact that the term was not coined until 2012 (Coombs & Holladay, 2012) and that the concept is often categorised under the phenomenon of crisis communication on social media. In order to broaden our perspective in this literature review, we have focused on existing research on paracrises and crisis communication on social media, supplemented with studies about social movements.

A central discussion in crisis communication research today is how mainstream social media and other digital networking tools affect crisis communication management since it is believed that the traditional strategies for dealing with these situations might not be applicable in this new digital era (Austin & Jin, 2017). Despite social media being relatively new, its implications on crisis communication management and corporate reputation have been studied comprehensively. Studies within paracrises are quite few however and the ones that do have this phenomenon as a focal point have another angle of approach than what we aim to focus upon in our study. For example Lim (2017) studied the development of a paracrisis through the instigation of visual mockery. Pritchard, Waldt and Conradie (2017) also studied paracrises by analysing mockery but the authors focused more upon responses to humorous user-generated content. However, a study regarding a paracrisis that is in line with our academic work is Roh's (2017) research on corporate reputation and negative online comments. Roh (2017) analysed paracrises on Twitter using Situational Crisis Communication Theory to see if classical crisis communication theories were applicable to paracrises. The study looked at how different response strategies had an influence on stakeholders' opinions of a discussion by using an online survey whilst participants were presented with various tweets. However, the study was limited to diminish and deny responses which excludes many of the other response strategies that Benoit (1995) presents in his image repair theory which is one of the theories we aim to use in our study. The conclusion of the study was that a deny crisis response strategy was effective in reducing blame and resulted in reducing the negative reputation assessment of the message sources. Additionally, a determining

factor in the relationship between online discussion intention and vexation was concluded to be social vigitalism, an individual's tendency to propagate their beliefs upon others.

A case study encompassing all of Benoit's (1995) image repair strategies is Johansen, Johansen and Weckesser's (2016) research on the customer complaints crisis triggered on Telenor's Facebook page in 2012 and is a study similar to ours. The focus of the study was to better understand how faith-holders and hate-holders of a company interact as well as how faith-holders assist in the role as crisis communicators. A textual analysis of 4386 posts in addition to an interview with a senior digital manager of the targeted company was the method used in order to gather material. Findings from the study were that complaining customers on Telenor's Facebook page were not only met with responses from Telenor but also from their faith-holders acting in defence of the company. The response strategies were however different between the two. Faith-holders used more often defense strategies such as attacking the accuser and simple denial while Telenor mostly answered with accommodative strategies such as corrective action and apology. The research findings provide insight into the strategies of faith-holders actively defending a company in a crisis online but also with findings that can potentially contribute to the understanding of the phenomenon we are examining.

Another relevant study for our academic paper is Bartley and Child's (2007) research on social movements that target corporations. Through a unique dataset of campaigns targeting apparel companies, the authors shed light upon the dynamics of firm-targeting social movements, or more specifically in their study, the anti-sweatshop movement during the 1990's. The aim of the research was to gain a greater understanding of why some firms are subjected to criticism whilst others escape scrutiny. The study concludes that globalisation of production is a key factor in social movement criticism and that activists tend to "punish" the most aggressive globalizers which tend to be market leaders within the industry. To complement the findings of Bartley and Child's (2007) study we have chosen to include two additional studies in our literature review focusing on strategic corporate response strategies to react and defend brand image when faced with criticism. Using a deductive scientific approach, McDonnell and King (2013) tested their hypothesis that prosocial claims made by an organisation are used as a tactic to dilute negative

media attention, by analysing 221 boycotts around the turn of the 21st century. The authors found that prosocial claims increased when a boycott was announced and that the extent of prosocial claims was dependant on the severity of the boycott, the degree of pre-established corporate reputation and the frequency of prosocial claims before the boycott. Veil, Reno, Freihaut and Oldham (2015) also focused on crisis communication management by looking at online activism and its effect on a company. Through the use of content analysis, the researchers analysed negative comments on Kraft Food's Facebook page. The study concluded that organisations need to move faster if they are to stay above negative comments and confront them efficiently. A strategy of not confronting activists only gave them time to gain strength and thereby increased the likelihood of the negative comments creating a serious crisis. The authors also stress that organisations need to include more than a reactive response in their communication strategy (Veil, Reno, Freihaut & Oldham, 2015).

3. Theoretical framework

In this section we describe the theoretical framework from which the empirical material has been analysed. Initially, we provide a more in depth explanation to crises and the phenomenon of a paracrisis before we highlight response strategies to crises in line with Benoit (1995). The following section brings forth the concept of new social movements by discussing general principles and theories within the notion. Lastly, we present framing theory in its general form as well as how the theory can assist in understanding the discourse behind the arguments of new social movements.

“In its most basic form, a theory is simply an explanation created for something that needs further understanding. Theory is an abstraction of reality, a way of framing, modeling and understanding what is observed to be happening.”

Sellnow and Seeger (2013, p.15)

3.1 Paracrisis

3.1.1 Crisis definition

A crisis is a state of tension that leads to a necessity to take action by the parties involved (Al-Smadi, 2017). The communication efforts undertaken during such a time are most often activated when an organisation’s reputation is perceived to be at stake, in addition to their human, financial, physical and intellectual assets also seeming to be under threat (Austin & Jin, 2017). Although a crisis is often understood as something negative, sometimes even with catastrophic proportions, they are an opportunity for reflection and development which can ultimately be seen as something positive. In other words, there is a palpable contrast within the crisis concept; it is a type of situation possible of both destruction and possibility (Heide & Simonsson, 2016). Crises come in many different forms, but they can generally be categorised into two parts: a real crisis (eg. a death or natural disaster) and a reputational crisis (eg. negative

reviews). These can furthermore be divided into additional four categories: performance crises, disaster crises, attack crises and moral crises (Goldsworthy & Morris, 2013).

3.1.2 Crises on social media

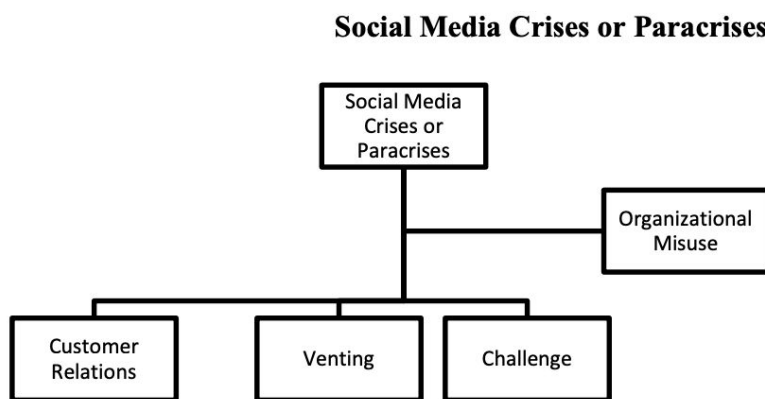
Social media has enabled individuals to express their opinions about an organisation in full view for the public to see. The ease of creating or commenting on a post has inevitably also increased the amount of criticism which is often posted directly on the organisation's online channels (Coombs, 2014). This becomes an issue as stakeholders are influenced more by negative information than positive (Coombs & Holladay, 2012; Austin & Jin, 2017). Furthermore, such information can also easily spread online thereby posing as a risk for corporate reputational damage (McCorkindale & DiStaso, 2013) and even potentially be the foundational factor in initiating a crisis (Austin & Jin, 2017). Austin and Jin (2017) point out that historically the pre-crisis or prevention stage has not been visible to the public in the same way as it is today due to social media. This has led to the uprise of a phenomenon called a paracrisis, a term coined by Coombs and Holladay (2012), as being a "look-alike" crisis that is a publicly visible accusation made by external stakeholders that calls out an organisation for irresponsible or unethical behavior, thereby putting the organisation at reputational risk. Since negative publicity occurs so frequently online, a paracrisis often remains in the pre-crisis stage because it is not clear when to take the criticism seriously and consequently initiate crisis management strategies (Frandsen & Johansen, 2017).

3.1.3 The paracrisis concept

The paracrisis phenomenon is derived from what originally was called a challenge crisis. This is when external stakeholders, often an activist group, claim an organisation to be acting socially irresponsible and challenges them to change their behavior (Austin & Jin, 2017). Nowadays, a paracrisis incorporates challenge paracrises but it also encompasses organisational misuse, customer relations and venting paracrises as displayed below (see figure 1). They differ from each other due to the underlying motivation for the criticism. Organisational misuse and

customer relations can be resolved relatively quickly because they derive from irregular organisational wrongdoing such as posting something inappropriate or due to bad customer service (Coombs, 2014). In contrast, venting is a way for stakeholders to let out frustration which is often done quite aggressively. However, they also fade away and go forgotten relatively quickly meaning that organisational replies are not a must or even desired (Mattila & Wirtz, 2004). Out of these four different paracrises a challenge is the most complicated to respond to as it is grounded on a social issue that consists of different opinions with no correct answer (Coombs, 2014). There are different approaches for handling challenges, therefore, choosing the right approach requires an evaluation of the paracrisis at hand.

Figure 1



(Coombs, 2014, p.7)

Coombs (2014) state that organisations must decide if they want to address a paracrisis and if so, how. Firstly, Coombs (2014) recommends evaluating its importance to decide if a paracrisis needs addressing. This can be done in a couple of different ways. One way of doing this is by looking at stakeholders' power, legitimacy and urgency (Austin & Jin, 2017). Power comes down to the extent of influence stakeholders have and if they can gain favour amongst other stakeholders (Coombs & Holladay, 2014 as cited in Crable & Vibbert, 1985). There is legitimacy if other observing stakeholders perceive the allegations to be of importance and in need of resolution whilst urgency comes down to time limitations and the determination to pursue

change (Coombs, 2014). Moreover, Coombs (2014) identifies five factors which can help define the importance and development of a challenge paracrisis.

1. If traditional media reports on what is being said on social media.
2. If there is a significant increase in negative comments about the organisation.
3. If the negative comments become a topic of discussion on other social media channels.
4. If the communication efforts are coordinated tactics for maximising effectiveness.
5. If the challengers have prior experience of impacting organisations.

Lastly, organisations also need to evaluate the feasibility of solving a specific paracrisis in regards to cost and value-fit (Coombs, 2012). This will ultimately narrow response possibilities and determine if an organisation should use a refute, reform or refuse response. These three responses are broader overviews of that which Benoit's (1995) IRT model delves into. Therefore we have chosen to mainly focus on Benoit's categorisation in our gathering of material.

3.2 Image repair theory

One of the most established theories within crisis communication management is Benoit's (1995) image repair theory (see figure 2). The theory aims to assist in the understanding of how and why actors, on both an individual and organisational level, defend their reputation when accused of wrongdoing (Frandsen & Johansen, 2017). In order to understand how the organisation in our case study communicates and contributes to the discursive dynamics in the face of a paracrisis, this theory will be utilised throughout the analysis. A key factor within image repair theory is having a clear understanding regarding the stakeholders since this will determine the validity and authenticity of the arguments that are presented within crisis communication messages (Sellnow & Seeger, 2013).

Image repair theory largely consists of a typology of strategic communication aimed at projecting a more favorable image in the midst of a crisis. Originally Benoit labelled his theory as image restoration theory, however it was later adapted to its current name due to the nature of a crisis. Benoit argued that the image after a crisis can seldom be restored to a pre-crisis state and

it is therefore more appropriate to expect the image of a company in a crisis to be repaired rather than restored (Sellnow & Seeger, 2013). The theory is largely inspired by two disciplines, namely rhetorics and sociology of accounts, and has contributed substantially to the study of self-defense in a verbal context (Frandsen & Johansen, 2017).

Figure 2

<i>Denial</i>	<i>Evading responsibility</i>	<i>Reducing offensiveness</i>	<i>Corrective action</i>	<i>Mortification</i>
Simple denial	Provocation	Bolstering		
Shifting blame	Defeasibility	Differentiation		
	Accident	Transcendence		
	Good intentions	Minimization		
		Attacking accuser		
		Compensation		

Source: Based on Benoit (1995).

(Sellnow & Seeger, 2013, p.169)

The strategies proposed by Benoit (1995) in his theory of image repair are: *denial, evasion of responsibility, reduction of offensiveness, corrective action and mortification* (Sellnow & Seeger, 2013). Within these five strategies are sub-strategies that aim to further explain the steps involved in image reparation.

Within *denial* there are two categories, *simple denial* and *shifting blame*. The latter strategy proposes that accusations made against the organisation during a crisis should be diverted elsewhere, effectively transferring the spotlight away from the organisation and thereby saving its image (Frandsen & Johansen 2017).

Evasion of responsibility entails evading or reducing responsibility for the undesirable event at hand; the accused admits connection to the crisis but claims their organisation is not to be held accountable for it (Sellnow & Seeger, 2013). Within this strategy there are four

sub-categories: *provocation* (that the accused was provoked to act and that other organisations share the blame for the crisis), *defeasibility* (that there was a lack of information or ability withheld by the accused, therefore the crisis was inevitable), *accident* (the crisis developed due to natural causes where no one is to blame) and finally *good intentions* (the attacked organisation may be responsible for the crisis but their intentions came from a good place of heart) (Frandsen & Johansen, 2017). The third general strategy is reduction of *offensiveness* and it is the most comprehensive out of the five image repair strategies. This strategy is meant to be utilised when neither *denial* nor *evasion of responsibility* are viable options (Sellnow & Seeger, 2013). Reduction of offensiveness includes six sub-categories: *bolstering* (the accused tries to strengthen their ethos by for example referring to previous acts of goodwill), *differentiation* (a comparison between the current crisis and other more severe crises is brought forward by the accused organisation), *transcendence* (the crisis situation is placed in a philosophical context, thereby reducing the perceived offensiveness), *minimisation* (the accused organisation tries to lessen the blow of the crisis at hand by reducing the negative effects of it), *attacking the accuser* (the credibility of the accuser is brought forward by the accused organisation) and *compensation* (a reimbursement strategy aiming to reduce offensiveness) (Compton, 2017; Frandsen & Johansen, 2017). The last two strategies, *corrective action* and *mortification*, stand on their own. The former strategy aims at correcting the problem which they have supposedly created and the latter strategy entails taking responsibility for the crisis at hand, apologising for it and subsequently asking for forgiveness from the public (Frandsen & Johansen, 2017).

Image repair theory has been applied to a wide range of cases and it has been utilised as a crisis communication strategy by a vast number of PR practitioners working with an array of different cases (Sellnow & Seeger, 2013). Although there are limited amounts of cases using image repair theory as a foundation for crises on social media, those that have utilised these crisis communication strategies claim to not have modified the theory to better suit the digital environment in which these crises arise. However it should be noted that some crisis management researchers promote an extension or adaption to Benoit's image repair theory in order to incorporate the new elements of digital communication and social networks (Liu & Fraustino, 2014).

3.3 New Social Movement Theory

Social networking systems have become the medium in which people exchange ideas and express their opinions (Gehl, 2014) and in some regard, social media has become the platform used to express the unmediated voice of the people (Lovink, 2011). Since organisations and stakeholders have come to co-exist in this digital space, the ease in which these two parties can communicate with one another has become easier than ever before. This has resulted in a power dynamic shift between corporations and consumers (Gehl, 2014; Nelson, 2018) since Internet has made it possible for progressive movements to transmit their dismay and scepticism for the world to see (Gehl, 2014). These progressive movements on the Internet have created an overly “discursive” online culture (Lovink, 2011), which has resulted in the formation of “informational politics”; a potential catalyst to a new kind of civil society (Carty, 2015).

As an alternative to more traditional social movements, scholars introduced New Social Movement (NSM) theory to describe how movements arise that do not necessarily want to claim state power, but rather change people’s perception of their own identity and reality through sensemaking and processes of meaning creation. The embracement of what unites us as homo sapiens: shared responsibility and morality, are one of the key factors to understanding the motivation for NSMs (Carty, 2015). By paying attention to the use of signs and symbols as well as the discourse and rituals that form these collective identities, scholars are given the tools to comprehend the social construction of collective action in today’s society (Davis, 2002).

The collective action undertaken by certain individuals within NSMs can be seen as displaying high social vigilantism, to such a degree that they feel socially obligated to propagate their beliefs upon others. The way in which they do this is often through “correcting” opposing and “inferior” opinions by providing a form of enlightenment through various means. Scholars predict there is a greater likelihood that a higher degree of social vigilantism leads to an increased frequency of expressing personal views online, with the ulterior goal of convincing others (Eriksson, 2018; Roh, 2017). This high social vigilantism can explain the lively debates

that often occur online; they are not self-emergent systems but are rather the result of labour-intensive lobbying (Lovink, 2011).

3.4 Framing theory

Entman (1993) defines framing as follows: “*To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation*” (p.52). The concept of framing is very broad, hence it is an applicable theory to many lines of research within social problems and crisis communication and it has also proven to be a theory adaptable to social media (Frandsen & Johansen, 2017; Sellnow & Seeger, 2013). Although scholars have mostly focused on news publicity in terms of framing theory and crisis communication, researchers state that there are opportunities for expanding framing theory within crisis communication to better understand other social dimensions besides media information dissemination (Sellnow & seeger, 2013). For example, framing theory can according to Carty (2015) also be utilised to understand how collective identities are formed resulting in the creation of the new social movements we see today. Since actors within NSMs generally immerse themselves in broader ethical or moral philosophies rather than actions of self-interest, forging a collective identity based on common principles is necessary. One way this is done is through framing issues that resonate with potential participants, in addition to building solidarity by uniting social movement members through discourse about mainstream beliefs and ideologies that oppose their values (Carty, 2015). Within NSMs, frames of “injustice” are often used which aim to appeal to moral principles. Carty (2015), categorise these moral frames into three categories: *diagnostic*-, *prognostic*- and *motivational* frames. Through the use of diagnostic framing, NSM identifies social problems by attributing blame or causality for the issue in order to create a target for their actions. In prognostic framing NSMs suggest solutions for the issue, sometimes utmost specifically. The last frame, motivational framing, is used by NSMs to legitimise, declare urgency and communicate the rationale for the activist movement (Carty, 2015; Davis, 2002). By understanding the principles of framing, the theory becomes a powerful tool for activists to use in their movement since the knowledge about how they should construct

an issue as well as create collective action frames will inevitably shape the success of their movement (Dumitrasçu, 2014).

It is not only NSM that benefit from using framing techniques in order to be successful. Holladay (2010) claims that “[...] *it is imperative that organisations participate in (the) framing process*” since “*the way in which information is framed in news reports can affect public perceptions*” (p.161). Additionally, Holladay (2010) stresses that an organisation in crisis should be tracking what information the public receives about their organisation’s responses since the use of framing techniques can transform the issue and make the public see it in a new light, both in a positive or negative regard depending on how it is discursively orchestrated. Within crisis communication, framing theory has focused on how the media interacts with organisations, both in the way in which organisations frame a crisis in media and also how media chooses to frame the crisis to the general public (Sellnow & Seeger, 2013) through content selection, gatekeeping and agenda-setting (Frandsen & Johansen, 2017).

We as authors to this paper, want to highlight that social media dismantles the hierarchical structures of information dissemination and gatekeepers. This implies that an organisation’s response to a crisis will always be public and whatever is communicated will be a building block in how the public interprets the crisis. Since the media no longer acts as a middle-hand between the organisation and the public in the spread of crisis information, the organisation is solely responsible for how they frame the crisis and own the rhetorical arena.

4. Method and material

In this chapter, we present our methodological course of action by starting with our scientific approach followed by a review of the methods used for gathering and analysing our empirical material. Thereafter, we reflect on our process of gathering material, as well as the delimitations and quality of our study.

4.1 Scientific approach

We chose an abductive approach to our study. This means that we have categorised the empirical material in accordance with our theoretical framework. We have done so until we saw theoretical saturation (see 4.5.2). Keeping in mind that the discourse between Arla and its stakeholders is at the center of our research, we decided that our ontology is most appropriately of the social constructivist nature as the perspective sees the world, not as one reality, but as countless alternative realities all existing simultaneously (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Nevertheless, it is important to note that within social constructivism there does exist a reality but that meaning is generated through different contexts rather than through one objective truth (Lindgren, 2009). Our case study is furthermore characterised by a social movement, meaning that social constructivism is ever more important to highlight since an individual will interpret the discussion differently depending on their moral stances. We intend to find meaning in the analysed discourse through a hermeneutic perspective by interpreting and analysing the discourse language and framing found in the texts, instead of drawing conclusions from measuring and counting (Merriam, 1994). However, we also agree with Richards (2015) who claims that qualitative studies need quantitative elements, for example through the use of descriptive coding, in order to provide information and describe the case that is being studied. With this in mind, we have kept our study in line with what both Merriam (1994) and Richards (2015) have brought to light by using a qualitative approach due to the subjectivity of our

gathered data, whilst simultaneously utilising some quantitative elements in order to place our qualitative data into context.

4.2 Discourse analysis

The empirical data was gathered through a text analysis, which according to Fairclough (2003), is a useful tool within social science research and discourse. This qualitative approach has enabled us to distance ourselves from producing and influencing the empirical data. In this sense, the data has been produced in a natural setting which can be said to reflect an authentic representation of the stakeholders' attitudes and opinions. Within this perspective, the researcher therefore has the flexibility of defining the scope of what is considered textual (Eksell & Thelander, 2014). For our study, we have focused on the textual aspects of the comments found on @arlasverige's Instagram account. Two causal “powers” generally shape texts: social structures and social agents. Since texts are not solely effects of linguistics and grammar, separating these “powers” from the text itself becomes very difficult (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore in order to reach the aim of our study, which is to understand the dynamics of the discourse within the paracrisis taking place on @arlasverige, we thought it only natural to perform a discourse analysis. In its essence, discourse analysis is the study of how language is utilised in given contexts (Flick, 1998). The type of discourse which can be analysed is incredibly broad; it can range from texts in media to everyday conversations. This all-encompassing feature is due to the fact that discourse analysis' focus lies on the linguistic interactions between individuals that create communicative and constructive processes (Flick, 2014). Taylor (2013) states that there is no one way of performing a discourse analysis, it is an explorative process that requires work on the text to be sporadic instead of linear. Beyond the sporadic discourse analysis, we did have a solid framework that consisted of examining discourse fragments, identifying themes, sentences and even individual words that stood out. In addition to working with the discursive practices, we have also tried to give the text a greater meaning by bridging the gap between the discourse and its social context as recommended by Fairclough (2003). However, the starting point for any discourse analysis is perusing the interpretive repertoires (the ways of discussing a specific phenomenon) that individuals create to

communicate a certain type of reality. Interpretative repertoires can be viewed as small parts that assemble into versions of actions, self-identity and social structures. Although it should be noted that what some call an interpretative repertoire, others may see as a narrative (Taylor, 2013). It is therefore subjective to the researchers' interpretation of the text. In our analysis, we used already existing material that had been collected through our textual analysis. Taylor (2013) emphasises that when using already existing material, the problematic part is to delimit it into a manageable amount. We will discuss this further in section 4.5.3.

4.3 Rhetorical analysis

We chose to perform a rhetorical analysis in order to break down the comments in accordance with the linguistic approach of rhetorics. Aristotle is predominately considered to be the most prominent of scholars to ever have written about rhetorics (McCroskey, 2016). He categorises rhetorics into ethos, logos and pathos. It is these pillars of communication that we made use of when analysing the comments. Vigsø (2010) draws attention to the fact that humans are not solely rational beings, therefore rational arguments (logos) aren't always enough to persuade and convince others. This is where ethos and pathos come into play. Ethos is the perceived trustworthiness of the source and the person presenting arguments. In contrast, pathos is about the feeling conveyed in the messages. Sometimes rational courses of action are put aside due to pathos and ethos. It is thereby essential to master all three of these to increase the likelihood of one's communication being accepted. An interesting aspect with performing a rhetorical analysis online is that nonverbal communication in the form of body language is left out. McCroskey (2016) highlights the importance of nonverbal communication from the receiver's point of view. He claims, that without this physical and visual perception of the sender, it is difficult to identify the validity of the sender, thereby making it necessary to emphasise the formulation and construction of comments.

4.4 Course of action

Since discourse analysis is an analysis method which can be used in a wide array of social research, it was deemed fit for us to create our own methodological framework through the combination of elements from various discourse analytical perspectives. This type of multiperspectival work is often viewed positively by scholars within discourse analysis since it enables a situation in a given context to be understood in a more nuanced way, thereby giving it a broader reach of meaning and future applicability (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). By using framing- and image repair theory, in addition to classical rhetorics, we aimed to create our own methodological framework that would understand the discourse prevailing on @arlasverige's Instagram as well as shed light upon the paracrisis phenomenon from a discursive and sociocultural perspective. Our course of action was as followed:

- Descriptive coding resulted in quantitative data, leading to the samples of choice for the discursive analysis. The first post analysed was from April 2019 and thereafter we examined all published posts on @arlasverige dating back April 2017. The posts that had the most amount of comments were selected for our textual analysis.
- A categorisation of qualitative data was done through textual analysis using topical coding based on our theoretical framework. Comments were categorised depending on if the sender was Arla, a NSM commentator or a faith-holder.
- Application of our theoretical framework was utilised upon the discursive analysis in order to understand the discursive forms and elements of the comments as well as the underlying conception of the comments and how they affected the brand image. In addition to this, the theoretical framework assisted in gaining an understanding of how the company and its faith-holders communicate online in a paracrisis situation.

4.4.1 Delimitations

Although a comprehensive examination of Arla's online presence during a paracrisis could potentially add more depth to the phenomenon, we chose to delimit the analysis to Arla's Instagram account @arlasverige due to time restraints. Furthermore, we chose to focus our attention on the posts with the most comments in order to have a rich empirical data with a greater variety of comments to discuss. However, we only analysed comments that were either targeting Arla or defending them, thereby leaving out comments that were outside of the paracrisis discussion. This enabled us to isolate the phenomenon. Moreover, it should be noted that there were three posts that deviated from the rest of Arla's published content on Instagram by being posts with an extremely high engagement. We chose to not include these three posts since we did not deem them as representable in regards to Arla's usual online presence. In addition, the atypically high amount of comments would not have been able to be properly analysed in the given time frame for our work.

4.5 Reflection of method

A qualitative study often incorporates a high level of subjectivity (Merriam, 1994) which makes it hard to comply with the positivistic requirements of reliability, validity and objectivity that go with a quantitative study (Bryman, 2002). Schwandt, Lincoln and Guba (2007) instead recommend four criteria for trustworthiness in regards to qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. In our study, we have tried to increase credibility through adopting the well-established methods of discourse and rhetorical analysis as well as by collecting a large amount of empirical material in order to incorporate multiple aspects of any identified theme. We want to stress that the use of several methods of analysis can result in a more fragmented analysis, thereby decreasing the credibility of our research. Nevertheless, we hope that our more comprehensive method of analysis leads to a more nuanced approach to the phenomenon we are studying and that credibility is not jeopardised through our chosen method of analysis. Increased transferability has been attempted by giving context to our case study (see. 1.2.2) as well as through our descriptive theoretical

framework so that comparisons can be drawn with other studies in the same field. However, since a discourse analysis encompasses subjective reasoning we want to emphasise our discursive power when performing our analysis since it may have decreased the possibility of transferability. Dependability has been considered in our description of the course of action (See 4.5) so that the study can be repeated. By triangulating between multiple methods we attempted to decrease interpretative bias and in that way also increase confirmability. Furthermore, the data that was collected was published online and even though some would consider online comments to be public we have decided to keep the usernames anonymous for ethical reasons.

5. Analysis

In this section, an in-depth presentation of the obtained empirical material will be brought forth. As of introduction, we present the paracrisis on @arlasverige's Instagram by focusing on the general responses of Arla and their faith-holders to the criticism brought forward by the new social movement. Thereafter we present the five themes found through our topical coding which we analysed discursively in order to explain the discursive acts constructing the paracrisis. The application of our theoretical framework in this section is intended to give our analysis more depth and context, thereby providing us with a detailed account of how the involved agents in the paracrisis frame the presented themes as well as how Arla and their faith-holders defend the organisation. Throughout this chapter, the discursive acts will be placed in a sociocultural context in order to understand how the paracrisis is being constructed, not only through linguistic means but also as a stepping stone for the new social movement aiming to revolutionise the morals of society.

5.1 The paracrisis

Arla give up. Don't you get it that you are going to lose this race and stand in front of the Swedish people as animal abusers when we have won?" (NSM, appendix 8.2.1)

This comment published on Arla's Instagram clearly indicates what kind of crisis situation the company finds itself in on social media, especially since it is not unique of its kind. The comment serves as an example of how negative comments found on Arla's Instagram page go beyond the scope of general criticism. When placed in a sociocultural context, the race brought forward by this NSM commentator might refer to as the power struggle between Arla and this new social movement, especially since the commentator refers to *we* instead of *I*, thereby implying that there are more actors involved. Unbeknownst to Arla until the paracrisis started developing, they have through their mere existence entered into a fight with not only one stakeholder but an entire social movement. Moreover, the situation can be seen as a challenge

paracrisis as the NSM comments are repetitive and target multiple posts. Coombs (2014) recommends that, when in a paracrisis situation, organisations need to evaluate the importance and the feasibility of addressing the paracrisis (see 3.1.3.). Regarding the importance of the issue, we have not identified a direct urgency for Arla to reply to the negative comments due to fact that the comments did not start because of a specific happening. Unless, the NSM gains speed and legitimacy then Arla might not have to address the issue more than they have up until now. Furthermore, complying with what the NSM is demanding would mean the end of the dairy industry. This isn't feasible for Arla as it is their one and only business sector. This ultimately limits the response strategies that they can use in their discourse with the NSM.

Through our discourse analysis, we have observed a number of response strategies that Arla utilises to “fight against” this new social movement. One of the tactics we have seen, not through the action of it but rather through the result of it, is Arla’s attempt at suppressing the voices of moral opinions on their own social media channels. But as one commentator highlights, in addition to countless others who have apparently also experienced the same thing: “[...] Just because one comment disappears doesn’t mean that the facts do [...]” (NSM, appendix 8.2.2). Although Lovink (2011) states that online commentary can be seen as a blueprint of a society incused by the practice of commentating on nearly all communication devices and platforms, we argue that online comments on social media can never be seen as a *true* blueprint of the discourse that exists online. This is because social media platforms are built by new authorities such as engineers and not authorities based on moral practices (Lovink, 2011), resulting in that our online life is in many ways dictated by the restraints and limitations created by these data engineers. In the case of this paracrisis phenomenon on @arlasverige’s Instagram, the social media technology works in favour of Arla by allowing the organisation to delete comments, thereby permuting the discussion.

In some cases, Arla acknowledges that different moral identities exist between themselves and the NSM. For example, through a historical and geographical context, Arla tries to make the opposing side understand how milk has become an integrated part of our diet and society (see appendix 8.2.3). Another example is how Arla clearly states “It is up to every

individual to decide if they want to or do not want to eat meat and the opinions about the matter differ.” (see appendix 8.2.4). This form of reply can be viewed as a type of transcendence response in accordance with Benoit’s (1995) Image Repair Theory (see 3.2). This has sometimes been a final response from Arla in order to end the discussion and arguing with the new social movement. For example, Arla concludes one discussion by stating that "they produce milk to consumers who like milk [...] and if one prefers plant-based milk then that's fine. [...]" (see appendix 8.2.33). We perceive these statements from Arla as being a strategy to settle the debate between the two sides by “agreeing to disagree”; a tactic fairer than deleting comments in order to win the debate.

In addition to Arla's replies, many faith-holders to Arla have also commented on their Instagram posts and joined the debate fuelling the paracrisis. These stakeholders often used the same arguments and response strategies as Arla do but they do not necessarily use the same politeness as organisations are advised to do when replying to comments as recommended by Austin and Jin (2017). Without an image or a reputation to protect, faith-holders are able to take the discussion to a more personal level by using the response strategy of attacking the accuser (see 3.2). We found that this is the most common reply strategy for faith-holders. These comments often questioned the ethos of the new social movement by saying that they are taking too much of their information from biased sources or that they are city dwelling vegans who don't know much about the countryside and the dairy industry. Faith-holder responses also expressed a lot of empathy for Arla by referring to all the negative comments that Arla received as well as showing frustration over the presence of the new social movement on Arla’s Instagram account. No matter to what degree aggression is used in communication, generally faith-holders are in consensus about what this new social movement should do; quit complaining on Arla’s Instagram and stop forcing their own ideological and moral values upon others.

5.2 Discourse of the dairy industry

In our empirical material, we find several examples of how Arla and their stakeholders communicate about the dairy industry and thereby construct the paracrisis on @arlasverige’s

Instagram account. The topical coding conducted on the posts which received the most comments on @arlaverige during the past two years are categorised into five general themes. These themes are the health myth of milk, cow insemination, calf separation, milking and slaughter. The first theme, the health myth of milk, is analysed in its own category whilst the other four themes have been categorised into the broader term animal welfare.

5.2.1 The health myth of milk



(Appendix 8.1.2)

NSM collective action frames

Lovink (2011) argues that online discussions tend to happen within “echo chambers” where like-minded people avoid debate with their cultural or political counterparts resulting in that discourse is completely devoid of any political potency. With our discourse analysis, we want to argue against the words of Lovink (2011) and instead suggest that at least in regards to NSMs, online discussions do indeed exist outside of “echo chambers”.

The collective action frames that the NSM brings forward to criticise milk are of the diagnostic framing nature since the comments aim to shatter what the activists consider to be an institutional myth: that drinking milk is healthy. By pointing blame at Arla and the dairy industry for creating false facts NSM commentators diagnose them as the culprit for the spread of these “milk myths”. Additionally, through their in-depth explanations of how milk contributes to osteoporosis the NSMs diagnose milk consumption as the cause for multiple diseases. Friedman and McNeill (2013) claim that industries have always supported research that can translate scientific facts into commercial value. The authors lift forward the funding used for cancer research which was entirely supported by the tobacco industry in order to disguise the fact that smoking causes lung cancer. Friedman and McNeill (2013) claim that similar actions are currently being done regarding research within global warming; the NSM active on Arla’s Instagram account seem to believe that the same thing is being done by the dairy industry in regards to the health benefits of drinking milk. Two examples highlighted below, showcase how the NSM proclaim on @arlasverige’s Instagram account that the health benefits of milk are just an institutional myth created by Arla themselves.

Everyone who still thinks that milk makes us strong needs to open their eyes and read up on the subject!! This is a lie that the dairy industry and the pharmaceutical industry makes a lot of money on... (NSM, appendix 8.2.24)

According to what research? The one Arla has sponsored or? (NSM, appendix 8.2.25)

Considering the intense lobbying campaigns that circulated in Sweden in the 20th century by the “Milk Propaganda” regarding the many benefits of milk consumption (see section 1.2.2 for a more detailed account) it is not surprising, from a historical standpoint, that scepticism regarding milk consumption is starting to occur - especially since the newer generations of today have never experienced the intense lobbying from the “Milk Propaganda”. In our discourse analysis, we also found ways in which the NSM framed the risks of drinking milk. By drawing parallels between countries that consume a lot of milk and high levels of osteoporosis, NSM

commentators intend through the use of logos arguments to question the health benefits of drinking milk as seen below.

[...] In Sweden we drink a lot of milk and still we have a great deal of osteoporosis. Explain how that can come to be if milk is supposedly going to make us strong? [...] (NSM, appendix 8.2.34)

USA, England, Sweden & Finland are the countries that drink the most milk in the entire world, but also the countries where people suffer from MOST osteoporosis. Would be interesting to know what you have to say about that :) (NSM, appendix 8.2.27)

Other comments about the negative health aspects of drinking milk were able to be split into two categories. One type of comments produced by critics were incredibly in-depth and included links to articles and research studies. These comments aimed to inform and persuade through logos rhetorics that the health benefits of milk are simply an institutional myth. The other type of comments prevailing were simply trending hashtags within the subject including #notyourmilk, #stopthelies and #humanmilkisamyth.

Arla frames the issue

When confronted with the claim that the health benefits of drinking milk were a lie created to increase industry revenue, Arla made counterclaims in order to protect their reputation. In the discourse analysis, we found that Arla used three main arguments against the alleged claims made by the NSM. Two of these arguments can be found in the response shown below.

“Milk is one of the world’s most researched foods. There are thousands of studies done on milk and health, therefore it is important to look at the collected research and not single studies. If you do so research will tell you that milk and dairy products have a number of health benefits, just like Livsmedelsverket states in their recommendations.” (Arla, appendix 8.2.28)

Firstly, Arla denied the claims made by the NSM and stated that milk instead contributes to minimising the risk of many of the most common diseases. As a source, Arla mostly referenced to Livsmedelsverket (National Food Association in English). Arla's response is in line with Bradford and Garrett's (1995) recommendations that state that a denial strategy should be used when the accused has evidence to prove the allegations wrong. Secondly, Arla argues that the studies brought forward by critics regarding milk were not widely-spread and that in order to draw valid conclusions about milk it is necessary to have a comprehensive overview of the entire scope of research and not just individual studies. We perceive this to be an argument emphasising logos rhetorics whilst simultaneously questioning the ethos of the counter-arguer. Thirdly, in order to explain the high frequency of osteoporosis cases in countries with high milk consumptions, Arla framed the issue as being unrelated to milk (see appendix 8.2.29). Although we believe they could have used a denial strategy since they have the sources needed to back up their standpoint in accordance with Bradford and Garrett's (1995) recommendations, Arla has instead chosen to utilise the image repair strategy of shifting blame. This is done by acknowledging that there is a high level of osteoporosis in the North but that it could equally be due to genes or vitamin D deficiency.

Arla and animal welfare

Ugh, this industry I mean, it starts with driving your hand in the anus of the cow, then you drag away the calf from its mother and force it to live alone and become a milk machine just like its mum or get slaughtered if it is a bull, stop the lies, this isn't right, this is pure torture, don't believe everything arla showcases and what they want people to believe in!

#notyourmilk #stopthelies (NSM, appendix 8.2.5)

5.2.2 Cow insemination



(Appendix 8.1.4)

NSM collective action frames

The welfare of an animal's life is best understood in its entirety, from birth to death, in order to get a comprehensive view of the elements that characterise a good life. Where life begins is a trivial, philosophical question that has plagued mankind for centuries. The process of how life should be created is also a question with a wide range of subjective answers based on ideological presumptions. Furthermore, differentiating animals from humans within this topic creates an additional element of discussion, making this subject one of the more complicated issues to address with consensus.

In our empirical material, we have found that a lot of discussion on @arlasverige has focused on how the cows are bred. Through our discourse analysis, we have found that many

critics view Arla's practices within the issue as "unnatural" and morally incorrect. In order to frame the issue as such, NSMs place Arla's breeding practices into the context of a human's sexual wellbeing as seen in the comment below.

@arlasverige But the cows only experience heat towards another bull and not a machine, a cow only wants to mate in a natural way as we all do. Isn't that technically rape? (NSM, appendix 8.2.6)

Firstly, the commentator uses the argumentative strategy of pathos in order to provoke emotion by saying that cows only want to mate in a natural way as we all do. It is the last part, *as we all do*, that adds the pathos element to the commentator's reasoning by implying that the will of the cow is the same as all humans, even the same as the reader itself. Another feature of this comment is the use of the framing tactic of anthropomorphism (attributing human traits, emotions or intentions to a non-human being) in order to not only appeal to the emotional side of the reader but also to use technical language that would otherwise be reserved for humans. An example of such is the use of the word "rape" to describe the act of insemination that Arla uses to breed their livestock. Rape is a word with a very negative connotation, predominantly because it is considered illegal in most countries around the world. It is also a very rough-spoken and violent way to describe the act of insemination. Another user describes the act of insemination in a similarly rough-spoken way, in addition to putting the act of insemination in the context of human sexual reproduction:

@arlasverige How do we do it in Sweden? Do we shove our hand in with bull sperm in the cow's vagina in order to make them pregnant? Imagine if we would do this instead on homo sapiens?; Really strange process... (NSM, appendix 8.2.7)

The collective action frames described by Cathy (2015) and Davis (2002) in these examples could be viewed as motivational framing with elements of diagnostic framing. This is done through the use of rhetorical questions aimed at highlighting the absurdity of inseminating cows by depicting the same practice in a human context. The way in which these rhetorical questions

are framed through placing the act of insemination in relation to human sexual reproduction is one way to understand how this particular NSM brings forth their moral stance.

Arla frames the issue

In hopes of reframing the issue, Arla has chosen to portray the issue in another manner. Firstly, in order to justify artificial insemination, Arla has in countless comments proclaimed that bulls are a safety hazard for the farmers and therefore artificial insemination is utilised in its breeding practices. Their second argument is that through artificial insemination, *every cow gets the right bull*. However, despite using this claim several times when answering critical comments, Arla seldom explains the reasoning for this argument. Instead, this sentence is nearly shaped into a type of counter catch-phrase, not far from the ad-like slogans found in comment cultures mashed up by internet critics as discussed by Lovink (2011). An example of such a comment can be seen below.

One doesn't perform insemination with a machine. It doesn't hurt. With insemination it is possible to give every cow the right bull. Bulls are dangerous to handle. A risk of injury.

Kind regards, Inger Arla farmer (Arla, appendix 8.2.8)

In order to counter the argument that insemination is immoral and unnatural, Arla has in some comments emphasised how insemination is a standard procedure, likewise that the procedure is controlled by strict national animal welfare policies (see appendix 8.2.9). We as authors want to stress how the issue of insemination is described and framed in different ways depending on moral stances. For example, critics to insemination frame the process as “driving a hand up the anus of the cow” (see appendix 8.2.5) or “shoving a hand with bull sperm in the cow’s vagina” (see appendix 8.2.7) whilst Arla describes insemination as seen below:

Insemination occurs by a dose of thawed bull sperm being placed in the opening of the uterus under sterile conditions. Even people, dogs, horses, pigs, sheep, goats, hens, fish and bees are fertilised artificially. In Sweden we have strong animal welfare laws. Regards,

Inger Arla farmer (Arla, appendix 8.2.9)

Most of the responses that Arla has utilised to counter the claims made by the NSM regarding insemination have been denial strategies in accordance with Benoit's (1995) Image Repair Theory (see section 3.2). However, in comparison to Arla's arguments regarding the health benefits of milk (see section 5.2.1) we find it more difficult for Arla to use a denial strategy in regards to the topic of animal welfare. The reason for this is because health claims are more related to objective facts rather than subjective moral stances as in the case with animal welfare issues. We believe a strategy that can compensate for this fact is Arla's frequent use of ending their responses with the name of the person writing as well as their profession, which in all cases we have observed has been an Arla farmer. By doing so we believe that Arla's responses not only become more personal but it also raises their ethos, thereby increasing the validity of their arguments. The image repair strategy of good intention was also used to argue for insemination procedures. However, in contrast to focusing on the wellbeing of cows, these replies reflected on the safety hazard of keeping bulls on dairy farms and the risk of inbreeding; both of which were solved through artificial insemination in Arla's opinion. An additional discursive practice that Arla utilises when responding to the NSM is through the utilisation of framing adjectives. Examples include emphasising that the conditions in which the insemination occurs are "*sterile* conditions" as well as that the insemination process is handled by "*educated* personnel". Another example can be seen below through the extra emphasis on the word "*fine*" and the addition of "*many years*" to place the breeding process in a certain light.

Hi there, to succeed with insemination and get a fine calf that one can nurture into a fine cow that can stay many years with us is our goal. (...) Kind regards, Inger Arla farmer

(Arla, appendix 8.2.10)

In summary, Arla frames the necessity for cow insemination with the following arguments: bulls are dangerous to farmers, insemination allows cows to be paired with the right bull, insemination is performed under optimal conditions and strict animal welfare laws and the process of insemination is natural and a frequently used method of practice.

5.2.3 Calf separation



(appendix 8.1.1)

NSM collective action frames

In yet another form of anthropomorphism, NSMs have ascribed human feelings to the cows they discuss vividly on @arlasverige's Instagram page. In the comments found under Arla's posts, activists emphasise how calves are taken away from their mother and how they deserve to be together and not be separated. There are dozens of comments criticising the separation of calves and mothers but the way in which they frame the issue seems to be based on the presumption that a cow and a calf suffer from a separation in a similar way to if a human mother and her baby were to be detached from each other. We view this as a form of anthropomorphism because none of the critics refer to any facts or reasons behind why this might be damaging for the calf or

mother. The only comment of its kind that in some way states a reason why calf separation is damaging can be analysed below.

[...] they don't get cow milk directly from their mother as calves actually should. That is how they come closer to each other. They should suckle from their mother, they should not be separated. (NSM, appendix 8.2.11)

Many commentators attack Arla as being the culprit of this separation, in what Carty (2015) and Davis (2002) would categorise as diagnostic framing. Examples of diagnostic framing made by the NSM can be seen below. For reasons of context, we advise referring to appendix 8.1.1.

Arla separates the calf from the heifer after one day. Don't know how I should compensate that fact with how cute the calf is. (NSM, appendix 8.2.12)

You shouldn't use the cow as a milk machine. To separate the cow and the calf is still not okay. Everyone deserves to be with their mothers. (NSM, appendix 8.2.13)

Terrified over having just been taken away from its mother. Nice Arla!! (NSM, appendix 8.2.14)

The topic of calf separation has been highlighted by the NSM within all three frames discussed by Carty (2015) and Davis (2002). The motivational framing can be seen through the application of anthropomorphism, the diagnostic framing can be examined through the targeting of Arla, not only by posting negative comments on their Instagram page but also by directly blaming them for the issue of calf separation. Although it may be slightly simplified, we also see the use of prognostic framing through the commentators appeal to stop the separation of calf and cow altogether.

Arla frames the issue

Arla does not deny the fact that calf separation occurs and they have even to some degree admitted that the separation between the heifer and its calf can be problematic if not done in the

right manner (see appendix 8.2.15). However, unlike the NSM who claim that it is immoral and not good for the heifer and her offspring to be separated so quickly after birth, Arla pretense that neither the calf nor their mother mind the separation process. The way in which they state this can be seen in the comments below.

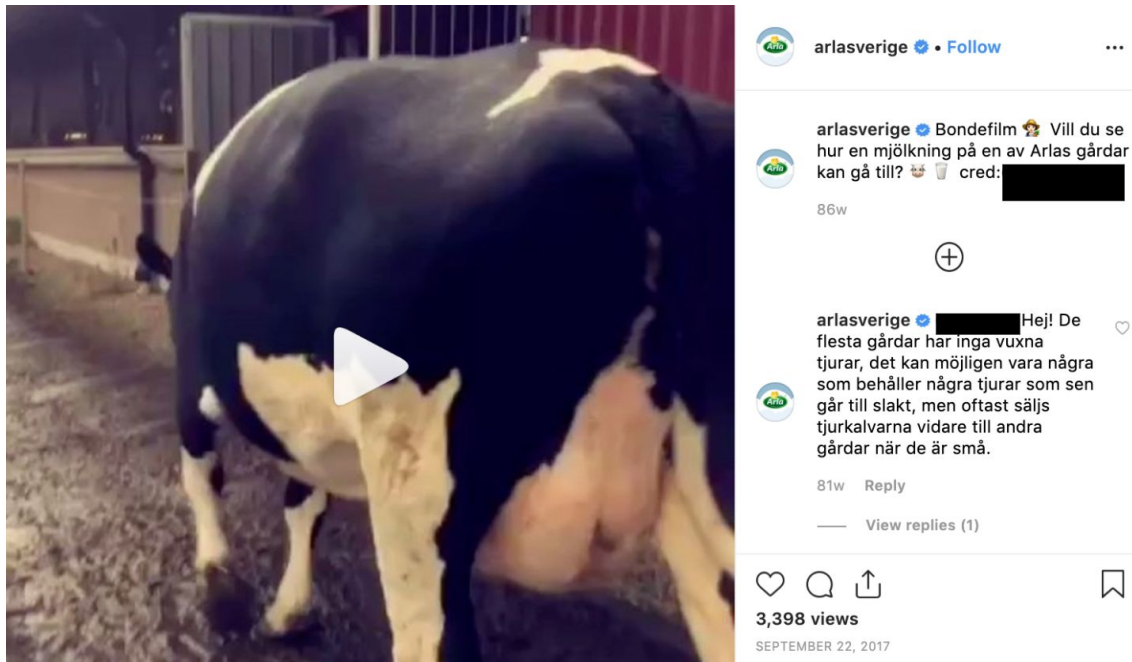
The separation is not difficult for the animals if it is done in a smart manner when the calf is full and satisfied and the cow newly milked. Then it usually works out well. Kind regards, Inger Arla farmer... (Arla, appendix 8.2.15)

At my place, the calves are in a single box for roughly a week so that we can see that the calf eats as it should and that it feels good. Then we release the calves together in a bigger box with 10-12 calves in roughly the same age. The calves don't care that much about its cow mother but is satisfied with having friends and receiving milk and fodder as it should.

Have a good day! Ewa Arla farmer. (Arla, appendix 8.2.16)

Similarly to comments highlighted above, other Arla replies within the topic of calf separation have replied in a manner that communicates from personal experience. We consider this way of framing to both increase Arla's ethos but also pathos since it gives the brand a "face" and makes it more personal and relatable, thereby making the corporation more than just a brand. In terms of image repair strategies, minimisation was the most frequently used tactic in regards to the issue of calf separation. By drawing on the fact that the calf and their mother didn't mind being apart, Arla minimised the issue and framed the way in which NSM commentators portrayed the process as being exaggerated claims that did not depict reality.

5.3.4 Milking



(appendix 8.1.5)

NSM collective action frame

One of the trending hashtags found on all posts that were analysed in depth was #notyourmilk. Another hashtag of similar character circulating on the comment section of @arlasverige's Instagram account is #notyourmothernotyourmilk. These hashtags are what Lovink (2011) would describe as mashed up phrases created by NSMs in a desperate attempt to be heard and make an impact. Two examples can be seen below.

Fuck arla! #notyourmumnotyourmilk. (NSM, appendix 8.2.18)

Poor baby #notyourmilk Arla!!! (NSM, appendix 8.2.19)

The collective action frames used within the topic of milking we perceive as being of the diagnostic framing type since a lot of NSM commentators have pointed the finger at Arla and attributed blame towards them for “stealing” the cow’s milk. The main topic within milking, aside from the two mentioned hashtags, that we found through our analysis was the exploitation of cows and how they have become “milking machines” (see appendix 8.2.5). Another concern brought forward by the NSM in regards to the milking practice of the dairy industry was how societal norms have justified the dairy industry as something acceptable.

Think how tragic it is that this is seen as okay and nice. Milk is produced for young. No animal should be milked by robots [...] they have been bred and fed to produce crazy amounts of milk. That is something even the dairy farmers must see that the cows don’t feel well [...] (NSM, appendix 8.2.35)

Through comparing the life of a dairy cow with the life of another domesticated animal, in this case a dog (see appendix 8.2.22), NSM commentators argue for the absurdity in treating cows in the ways in which it is socially acceptable to do today. In addition to this, NSM commentators often emphasise the use of machines in the milking process, framing the dairy industry as unnatural and as some kind of animal dystopia. In close resemblance to the mentioned hashtags, the overall collective action frame that the NSM have created is of the diagnostic cum motivational kind and revolves around the ownership of milk (see appendix 8.2.17). To put it simply, through our analysis we deem it fit to summarise the NSM view on milking as follows: cow milk belongs to the cow and her calves and any other individual in possession of this drink has committed theft.

Arla frames the issue

Unlike previous animal welfare topics in which Arla has, to the best possible extent, tried to address by answering questions and concerns, the topic of milking has been framed in a very different way in comparison to the collective action frames that the NSM has created. Instead of responding to the concept of milk ownership, Arla has framed the issue of milking by

emphasising that the process of milking is done in a gentle way that caters to the needs of the cows.

Hi and Good morning! The milk machines are technically advanced and milk the cows in a hygienic way. They are served regularly. They can vary in vacuum depending on how the inflow is so that attachment time is short and gentle. Kind regards, Inger Arla farmer.

(Arla, appendix 8.2.20)

Similarly to their ad-like slogan *every cow gets the right bull* which is used to justify insemination, we found through the discourse analysis that the catchphrase *cows that don't feel well don't milk well* was used extensively in Arla's replies regarding the issue of animal welfare and its milking practices (see appendix 8.2.4 & 8.2.23). Arla uses the catchphrase to showcase how their business goes hand in hand with good animal welfare practices. Although Arla does not support this statement with any scientific research, our discourse analysis suggests that this statement was accepted by the NSM since the statement was not furtherly scrutinized for its validity.

An additional way in which Arla has framed the milking process is by incorporating elements of story making into their responses. An example of such can be seen below.

The milk machines milk the cow in a gentle way. It is too tedious to milk 100 cows for hand.

In the evening when we go a last time to the cows to cater to them before the night, I usually think about how cute they are when they lie there and ruminate..... Regards, Inger

Arla farmer. (Arla, appendix 8.2.21)

The effectiveness of story making lies in its ability to give a sense to a set of observations which can thereby be seen as evidence - eventually lead to a conclusion within the given scenario. Story making assists involved parties to order contrasting and conflicting events, facts and experiencing; in summary, it builds up different versions of what is happening in an organisation (Lewis, 2011). We believe that Arla's use of story making can give their side to the issue credibility since the use of personal accounts, as well as descriptive language, creates a

convincing story, thereby strengthening their version of the account. The highlighted response above also shows elements of pathos by stating the tedious work behind milking cows for hand. By mentioning the catering of the cows at nightfall, Arla communicates a sense of emotion and feeling in their message thereby increasing their pathos argumentation. Through Arla's strong emphasis on good animal welfare practices by pathos rhetoric strategies, framing and story making their claim that their dairy cows are treated well may be more readily accepted by sceptics. We believe these linguistic strategies lay as a strong foundation for one of Arla's most common image repair strategies within animal welfare criticism, namely the strategy of differentiation. Arla uses this repair strategy by differentiating the dairy industry in Sweden from others in the world in which many NSM commentators may base their arguments on. By portraying a picture of themselves as nurturing Swedish dairy farmers, with particularly strong animal welfare practices and regulations, they dismiss animal welfare claims that derive from international settings and bring the debate to a national level.

5.2.5 Slaughter



(appendix 8.1.3)

NSM collective action frames

Like all life on earth, death is the inevitable end. Similarly to the moral questions surrounding the beginning of life, equally as many questions arise when discussing the end of it. Although everyone is in consensus that all life will come to cease, conflicting opinions will show themselves when the topic of when and how starts to be discussed. Although Arla is a dairy industry and therefore not directly responsible for the slaughtering of animals, the company is affiliated with slaughterhouses since their own livestock most commonly gets their life terminated there.

In our empirical material, the analysed text regarding slaughter was not much different from the other topics brought forward in our analysis. The use of ad-like slogans that Lovink (2011) characterises as typical NSM behaviour was prominent within the discussion of slaughter

on @arlasverige's Instagram account. As can be seen below, they are short but powerful statements used mostly for effect.

For every piece of meat an individual dies that wants to live. (NSM, appendix 8.2.30)

One doesn't name one's food. (NSM, appendix 8.2.31)

The collective action frames discussed by Carty (2015) and Davis (2002) in section 3.4, can through our analysis on the topic of slaughter be determined as motivational frames which are used to legitimise the movement, as well as communicate the rationality of it. By either using rough-spoken and figurative language or rhetorical questions, the negative comments proliferating on @arlasverige's account is aimed to provoke. The latter of the two comments seen below is a clear example of how rhetorical questions of the pathos nature is used to provoke emotion in the reader.

Shame that he will soon be hanged upside down and get his neck cut off after he has been stuffed with antibiotics and been overfed [...] (NSM, appendix 8.2.30)

[...] Would you have liked to live your entire life in captivity and then be slaughtered for food? [...] (NSM, appendix 8.2.32)

Since Arla is not directly responsible for the slaughter of the dairy cows, no diagnostic frames have been found to be used by the NSM in our analysis in regards to the topic of slaughter. This is one element that differs this theme from the other three topics within animal welfare. Whereas in NSM comments regarding cow insemination, calf separation and milking which incorporate Arla's brand name in the comment (see appendix 8.2.14, 8.2.12 & 8.2.19 as examples) no comments regarding slaughter were of such nature.

Arla frames the issue

In order to shift blame, or at least minimise the threats of the negative comments associating Arla with slaughterhouses, Arla's response to the comments have been constructed by framing that

they take good care of the cows whilst they are alive. By focusing on the wellbeing of the cows while they live, they frame the issue of slaughter by focusing more on the issue of life than of death. Arla does, however, admit that their cows are used in the meat industry but as previously mentioned, the focus lies on the welfare of the cows (see appendix 8.2.4). Another example of how Arla frames the issue of slaughter can be seen below.

Hi! Arla doesn't kill cows and calves. As long as the cows/calves are owned by a Arla farmer and are used for milk production the farmer takes care of the animals. Both the law and the Arla farmer make sure of this. A cow that doesn't feel good, doesn't milk well - which is important for the farmer. (Arla, appendix 8.2.23)

Many of Arla's comments, similar to the one above claiming the establishment of good animal welfare practices, are given additional support by referencing to national animal welfare regulations. We believe that by utilising arguments of the logos nature, Arla contributes to strengthening their ethos. Our analysis on slaughter also found that the already well-used catch-phrase *a cow that doesn't feel well doesn't milk well* was also used in the context of slaughter. This is yet another argument for how Arla chooses to focus on the life of the cows rather than the death of them. In terms of image repair strategies utilised by Arla regarding the slaughter of dairy cows, shifting blame was the most prominent strategy. By acknowledging that cows owned by Arla are indeed slaughtered and used for meat but that they themselves are not responsible for the execution of the dairy cows, the blame for the practice is directed elsewhere. On occasion, Arla uses the image repair strategy of transcendence in order to place the practice in a philosophical context. For example in a quote from Arla (see appendix 8.2.4) the organisation states "[...] calves and cows born through the dairy industry get slaughtered in Sweden today - since we eat meat [...]". The aspect of interest in this sentence from an analytical perspective on discourse is the way in which Arla reinstates the norms that exist in Swedish society by means of identification. Fairclough (2003) proposes that the analysis of the identified element within a text, assists in the discourse analysis process by better understanding how social agents communicate social practices. In the example presented above, the way in which Arla states that in Sweden *we* eat meat rather than phrasing the sentence in a more passive

tone by claiming that in Sweden *many* or *some* people eat meat, the organisation is strongly committing itself to its beliefs of the normative social practices prevailing. However, it is interesting to note how Arla mentions that these are the social practices of *today*. This phrasing can provide hope to the new social movement by implying that the social practices of today might not be the social practices of tomorrow.

6. Discussion and conclusion

Our analysis has led us to the conclusion that the primary driver of negative comments are grounded in morals. Even though morals can be seen as the unchangeable basis of our lives, therefore hard to alter, morals can and do evolve with time (Friedman & McNeill, 2013). Whilst Arla and their faith-holders might not see anything wrong with breeding and milking cows they too one day might deem the practice immoral. This ability to adapt is an underlying factor in our society, that has made it possible for social movements to gain momentum and enforce change (Carty, 2015). If this will become the reality for the dairy industry is yet to be seen. Nevertheless, NSM commentators on @arlasverige's Instagram have continuously depicted the dairy industry as immoral with no sign of them changing their standpoint within the discussion. The social vigitalistic traits of the NSM is evident, not only through the comments brought forth by faith-holders aggressively asking the NSM to quit forcing their moral stance upon others, but also through the intense engagement in commenting. This should in itself be an indicator that Arla needs to find a way to cope with the presence of this new social movement. However, similarly to the NSM commentators Arla has shown no sign of compromising in the discussion as they deem their actions to be with the animals best interest at heart. These contradicting opinions of the same issue have undoubtedly placed tension within the discussion and fostered distinct rhetorical framing between the two.

6.1 The discourse of Arla's paracrisis

The paracrisis was formed through arguments circulating between five identified themes, four of which were related to morals regarding animal welfare. These themes were cow insemination, calf separation, milking and slaughter whilst the fifth was in regards to the health benefits of milk. Arguments regarding cow insemination lifted by the NSM was that the process was unnatural and immoral whilst Arla claimed the process to be a standard procedure that was established for the greater good of both the cow and the farmer. The topic of calf separation was argued as being cruel by NSM commentators while Arla argued that the process did not

negatively affect neither the cow or calf. Milking, argued from a NSM perspective, was the process of theft since the cow's milk belonged to her calves and not humans. It was also highlighted that the milking process was a form of animal exploitation often through the use of changing the word "cow" to "milking machine". In order to minimise the claims made by the NSMs regarding animal exploitation, Arla emphasised that the process of milking was done in a gentle way that catered to the needs of the cow. It was also stressed on multiple occasions that a cow didn't milk well if it didn't feel well, which would thereby affect the dairy farmer negatively. Although this argument was shaped by Arla as logos rhetorics, the truth behind it can be deemed questionable, especially since it recurred so often that in more cases than not, it had completely lost its meaning. Although slaughter is not a procedure that Arla performs, it was a recurrent discussion in their comment section of their Instagram account. NSMs framed the issue similarly to that of cow insemination by using rough-spoken language and rhetorical questions. Additionally, short but powerful statements were used to highlight the topic. In order to counter the claims made by the NSM, Arla highlighted that they were not the organisation responsible for the slaughter of their dairy cows. Additionally a recurring theme within Arla's responses regarding slaughter was the emphasis on how well the animals were taken care of whilst they were alive. By framing the topic in this way we believe Arla tried to devoid themselves from discussing the issue of slaughter completely. In its entirety, it is clear to see how both Arla and the NSM communicate their ambition for the wellbeing of dairy cows but that the idea of what constitutes a good life is not in balance between the two sides.

A consensus between Arla and the NSM regarding the health benefits of milk does not exist either. Within this topic, the two sides throw facts back and forth with no ambition of reaching a unity of knowledge. Instead Arla dismiss the facts and claims made by NSM commentators by referring to them as unreliable; according to them it is important to see the entire scope of research within the subject in order to draw valid conclusions. In contrast, NSM commentators are sceptical to the facts that Arla present; they believe it is solely sponsored research used to propagate the belief that milk is healthy and thereby increase revenue. By examining the history of milk, especially focusing on the time when the "Milk Propaganda" was active in Sweden (see section 1.2.2), in addition to gaining an understanding in how other major

industries such as the tobacco industry have sponsored research previously as discussed by Friedman and McNeill (2013), we find that the NSM may have valid arguments to not believe everything that Arla is saying. In summation, the arguments presented by the NSM fit into all the collective action frames presented by Carty (2015) and Davis (2002) but that the motivational and diagnostic kind was mostly used by the NSM in the paracrisis discussion. This was done through pathos argumentation and pointing blame at Arla. Prognostic frames were scarce but we believe that all the presented arguments were built on one prognostic truth, the liberation from the evils highlighted with Arla and the dairy industry can easily be avoided by becoming vegan.

In regards to how Arla has responded to these collective action frames brought forward by the NSM, we identified that they were not using corrective action nor were they using mortification. This was likely due to a lack in urgency and feasibility in regards to addressing the NSM arguments. It is thus understandable that they have not used response strategies that accept the allegations as truths. This is an indicator that the situation is still handled as if it were a paracrisis. In contrast, they have primarily used the response strategies of simple denial, minimisation and good intentions. Simple denial was often used when the discussion was centered around the health benefits of milk, one reasoning for this is likely because Arla had sources to back up their claims, in accordance with Bradford and Garrett's (1995) recommendations. Minimisation was used to tackle allegations on topics regarding the separation and exploitation of cows. These responses have framed the statements placed by NSM commentators as being exaggerated. However, the response strategy of good intentions was also used to tackle the same kind of allegations yet Arla framed the response differently e.g. focused on the safety hazard and risk of inbreeding if cows were not artificially inseminated. Furthermore, by analysing faith-holder comments in the same manner we discovered that they use the same tactics as Arla yet additionally often used the strategy of attacking the accuser.

What we see is a clash of morals that is taking place between people passionately defending drinking milk and those who would like to abolish the practice. It is due to these findings in our analysis that we have come to the conclusion that Arla is hosting a unique type of challenge paracrisis mentioned by Goldsworthy and Morris (2013) as a moral paracrisis. No

matter what Arla says or does their actions will never satisfy the NSM's demands since their entire business is built upon an industry that the NSM deem immoral. How to deal with a paracrisis of this nature and understand its development is a complex process especially in times of rapid change when even something as fundamental as our morals are evolving like wildfire.

6.2 Future research

This study is based on a discourse analysis of comments that were obtained retroactively. We see that there is immense potential for future research to focus on the effects that paracrisis comments have on observers. One way of doing this would be through a netnography performed in a present setting. This would enable the researchers to understand and even interact with the stakeholders as they express their opinions online. Another suggestion for future research would be a quantitative study of how a paracrisis develops over time. This could provide information on if a paracrisis can simply fade away over time or if organisations has to take them more seriously in order for them not to develop into an actual crisis.

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8. Appendices

8.1 The photo and caption of the analysed posts

8.1.1 Post 1, 5 November 2017



arlasverige • Follow

arlasverige Låt oss presentera, BILLY 🥰💕
Tack till alla er som kommit med namnförslag och röstat 🙏🙏🙏 följ @arlasverige ❤️

80w

+

██████████ Ni är så falska, ni raderar en massa kommentarer bara för att ni inte vill visa verkligheten, ni kommer säkert radera denna också :) stackars Billy btw, ni ger bara vissa av dom namn för att det ska verka gulligt och låta det se ut som att ni bryr er om kalvarna

4,577 views
NOVEMBER 5, 2017

Add a comment... Post

8.1.2 Post 2, 31 august 2017



arlasverige • Follow

arlasverige • Nostalgitripp! 🥰 Mjolk ger starka barn" var länge ett av våra reklambudskap. 🍷🍷🍷 #tbt #throwback #arla #mjolk

89w



arlasverige • @ [redacted] Mjolk är ett utav världens mest beforskade livsmedel. Det finns tusentals studier gjorda på mjolk och hälsa, därför är det viktigt att vi ser på den samlade forskningsbilden och inte enskilda studier. Gör man det så visar forskningen att mjolk och mejeriprodukter har en rad



469 likes

AUGUST 31, 2017

Add a comment...

Post

8.1.3 Post 3, 29 September 2017



arlasverige • Follow

arlasverige • Bondefilm 🥰 Kel är viktigt, och mysigt. 🥰 Korna är olika och vissa vill ha mer kontakt än andra.

85w



[redacted] Ändå utnyttjar ni och dödar dem trots att ni inser att de är fantastiska varelser. Fy fan arla.

82w 4 likes Reply

arlasverige • [redacted] Hej! Arla dödar inte kor och kalvar. Så länge korna/kalvarna ägs av en



3,074 views

SEPTEMBER 29, 2017

Add a comment...

Post

8.1.4 Post 4, 29 October 2017



arlasverige • Follow

arlasverige • Det blev en liten DAISY tillslut, tack för alla fina namnförslag! 🥰💕

81w

Finns det INGEN vegan som är över 12 år mentalt? Väx upp! ..iofs, det finns säkert vettiga, men dom håller förstås inte på att utmåla sina fria fantasier som fakta på arlas instagramkonto..


81w 7 likes Reply

6,547 views

OCTOBER 29, 2017

Add a comment... Post

8.1.5 Post 5, 22 December 2018



arlasverige • Follow

arlasverige • Bondefilm 🤗 Vill du se hur en mjölkning på en av Arlas gårdar kan gå till? 🐄🥛 cred: [redacted]

86w

Hej! De flesta gårdar har inga vuxna tjurar, det kan möjligen vara några som behåller några tjurar som sen går till slakt, men oftast säljs tjurkalvarna vidare till andra gårdar när de är små.


81w Reply

View replies (1)

3,398 views

SEPTEMBER 22, 2017

8.1.6 22 December 2018



arlasverige • Follow

arlasverige • Här kommer en julhälsning från Arlakorna som njuter i snön. Tagga en vän du vill önska god jul!♥

21w

+

arlasverige • [redacted] ♥

Hej! Bifogat har du en länk som visar en separation:
<https://www.arla.se/om-arla/bonden-korna-garden/kossan/skilja-kalvar-och-kor/> .
Här kan du också se hur livet på gården är:
<https://youtu.be/xsCJiSElmcQ>

4,608 views
DECEMBER 22, 2018

Add a comment... Post

8.1.7 25 January 2018



arlasverige • Follow

arlasverige • En liten throwback thursday till 1990 när våra mjölkpaket saknade ränder och såg ut såhär! Någon som minns? 😊 #arla #arlabonde #mjolk

68w

+

[redacted] Wow!

[redacted] What a difference. We do love the cow 🙌

65w Reply

[redacted] 💎💎💎💎👍

61w Reply

857 likes
JANUARY 25, 2018

Add a comment... Post

8.1.8 Post 8, 25 January 2018



8.2 Empirical material from comments

8.2.1 NSM, 31 August 2017

██████████ Asså arla ge upp. 
Fattar ni inte att ni kommer förlora
██████████ detta race och stå som
██████████ djurplågare framför hela svenska
folket när vi vunnit?
82w 9 likes Reply

8.2.2 NSM, 5 November 2017

 Såg nu att ni tog bort min förra kommentar. Bara för en kommentar försvinner så försvinner inte faktan ,så jag skriver det igen.
[#intedinmammaintedinmjolk](#)

79w 9 likes Reply 


8.2.3 Arla, 31 August 2017


 **arlasverige**   


Det handlar om vilka vanor som funnits långt tillbaka i tiden. I nordn och i andra delar av världen med kallt klimat har mjölkprodukter varit en viktig del i kosten då man inte kunna odla året om. Det har varit en överlevnadsfördel att kunna bryta ner laktos i vuxen ålder. -->

82w Reply

8.2.4 Arla, 29 September 2017

arlasverige 

 beroende på om det är en kvigkalv eller tjurkalv ser det olika ut. Absolut slaktas kalvar och kor som fötts fram genom mjölkindustrin i Sverige idag - eftersom vi äter kött. Det är upp till var och en om de vill eller inte vill äta kött och åsikterna går isär. Det viktigaste, och det som djurskyddslagarna finns till för är att se till så djuren har det bra så länge de lever - vilket är oerhört viktigt inom mjölkindustrin. En ko som inte mår bra mjölkar heller inte bra.

 85w 3 likes Reply

8.2.5 NSM, 5 November 2017

 Usch, denna industri alltså, börjar med att man kör in handen i anus på kon, sen släpar man bort kalven från sin mamma och tvingas bo ensam och bli en mjölk maskin precis som mamma eller slakatas om det är en tjur, stoppa lögnerna, detta är inte rätt, detta är rent plågeri, tro inte på allt arla visar och vad dom vill att folk ska tro på!

 [#intedinmjolk](#) [#stophelies](#) 

62w 4 likes Reply

8.2.6 NSM, 5 November 2017

  @arlasverige fast 
korna är bara brunstiga mot
en annan tjur och inte en
maskin, en ko vill para sig
naturligt precis som alla
vill. Det är väl tekniskt sett
våldtäkt?
79w 5 likes Reply

8.2.7 NSM, 5 November 2017

 
@arlasverige Hur är det vi
gör i Sverige? Trycker man
in handen med tjursperma i
kornas vaginor för att göra
de gravida? Tänk om man
istället skulle göra detta på
homo sapiens?; Riktig
märklig process. Det spelar
ingen roll om det "inte gör

8.2.8 Arla, 5 November 2017

 arlasverige   Nej, kor visar även brunst mot varandra (andra kor) och oss djurskötare. Man utför inte insemination med en maskin. Det gör inte ont. Med insemination kan man ge varje ko rätt tjur. Tjurar är farliga att hantera. En skaderisk.
Vänligen Inger Arlabonde

79w 1 like Reply 

8.2.9 Arla, 5 November 2017

 arlasverige   Insemination sker genom att en upptinad dos tjursperma placeras i livmoderns mynning under sterila förhållanden. Även människor, hundar, hästar, grisar, får, getter, höns, fisk och bin befruktas på konstgjord väg. I Sverige har vi en stark djurskyddslag. Hälsningar Inger Arlabonde

79w 1 like Reply 

8.2.10 Arla, 5 November 2017

 arlasverige   

Hejsan, att lyckas med insemination och få en fin kalv som man kan vårda till en fin ko som kan stanna många år hos oss är vårt mål. Kalven slits inte från kon. Det är kon som lämnar kalven. Sen bor den tillsammans med jämnåriga djur och får skötsel av oss. Vänligen Inger Arlabonde

62w 3 likes Reply

8.2.11 NSM, 5 November 2017

 de 

 får komjolk ja men de får inte komjolk direkt ifrån sin mamma som kalvar ska egentligen göra. Det är så de kommer närmre varandra. De ska dia ifrån sin mamma, de ska nt bli separerade

78w Reply

8.2.12 NSM, 5 November 2017

██████████ Arla separerar kalven med kvigan efter en dag. Vet inte hur jag ska kompensera den faktan med hur gullig kalven är? Känns bara som om ni marknadsför för att folk ska tro det är sådär "gulligt" varför visar ni inte videos på hur korna står dagarna i ända nu när dom flesta korna tagit in. Hade folk skrivit hur gulligt det va då? Eller hur gullig mjölkmaskinen är?




79w 14 likes Reply

8.2.13 NSM, 5 November 2017

██████████ Om kalven får mjölk eller inte spelar ingen roll, ni borde inte använda kon som en mjölkmaskin. Att separera kon och kalven är fortfarande inte okej. Alla förtjänar att vara med sina mammor.

79w 10 likes Reply

8.2.14 NSM, 5 November 2017

  Skräckslagen
över att nyss ha blivit tagen ifrån
sin mamma. Snyggt Arla!! 

71w 8 likes Reply

8.2.15 Arla, 29 September 2017

 arlasverige   I Sverige har
vi ett gott djurskydd när det gäller
mjölkproduktion. Avskiljningen är
inte svår för djuren om den görs
på ett klokt sätt, när kalven är
mätt och nöjd och kon nymjölkad.
Då brukar det gå bra. Vänligen
Inger Arlabonde 

85w 1 like Reply

8.2.16 Arla, 22 December 2018

 arlasverige   Hej! Hos
mig är kalvarna i ensambox i ca
en vecka så att vi ser att kalven
äter som den ska och mår bra.
Sen släpper vi ihop kalvarna i en
större box med 10-12 kalvar i
ungefär samma ålder. Kalvarna
bryr sig inte så mycket om sin
komamma utan är nöjd med att ha
kompisar och få mjölk och foder
som den ska ha. Ha en bra dag!
Ewa Arlabonde  

15w Reply

8.2.17 NSM, 5 November 2017

  Usch låt djuren
leva ett normalt liv, de ska inte
behöva bli utnyttjade för deras
mjölk! Mjölken tillhör deras ungar
inte er människor. 

79w 12 likes Reply

8.2.18 NSM, 5 November 2017

  Fuck arla!
[#intedinmammaintedinmjölk](#) 

64w 4 likes Reply

8.2.19 NSM, 5 November 2017

  Stackars baby ... 
[#intedinmjölk](#) Arla!!!

71w 4 likes Reply


8.2.20 Arla, 29 September 2017



8.2.21 Arla, 29 5 November 2017



8.2.22 NSM, 22 September 2017

 Eftersom en hund inte producerar tillräckligt mycket mjölk så gör vi sp att den producerar 3 gånger mera mjölk än vanligt, Och sen när hunden inte längre duger för mjölkning så skickar vi iväg den till slakt, lägg även ut lite bilder på valpar som senare ska slaktas, skriv även hur naturligt det är med hundmjölk.



86w 9 likes Reply

8.2.23 Arla, 29 September 2017



arlasverige   Hej! Arla dödar inte kor och kalvar. Så länge korna/kalvarna ägs av en Arlabonde och används för mjölkproduktion tar bonden väl hand om djuren. Det ser både lagstiftning och Arlagården till. En ko som inte mår bra mjölkar inte bra - vilket är viktigt för bonden.



81w Reply



8.2.24 NSM, 31 August 2017

  Alla som fortfarande tror att mjölk gör oss starka behöver öppna sina ögon och läsa på i ämnet!! Detta är en lögn som mejeriindustrin och läkemedelsindustrin tjänar väldigt mycket pengar på...



67w 2 likes Reply

8.2.25 NSM, 31 August 2017

  Enligt vilken forskning då? Den Arla har sponsrat eller?



88w 6 likes Reply

8.2.26 NSM, 31 August 2017

 arlasverige   --> Det stämmer att vi i Sverige har hög förekomst av benskörhet. Det finns flera olika faktorer som spelar in för att drabbas av sjukdomen. En är gener där man t ex vet att svenskar är långa och har andra vinklar på vissa skelettdelar som är av avgörande betydelse. -->



82w Reply

8.2.27 NSM, 31 August 2017

 @arlasverige om 
mjölk är så bra, varför är då 75%
av världens befolkning
laktosintoleranta? USA, England,
 Sverige & Finland är de länder
som dricker mest mjölk i hela
världen, men också de länder där
folk lider av MEST benskörhet.
Hade varit intressant att få veta
vad ni har att säga om det :)





82w 9 likes Reply

8.2.28 Arla, 31 August 2017

arlasverige   Mjölk 
är ett utav världens mest
beforskade livsmedel. Det finns
tusentals studier gjorda på mjölk
och hälsa, därför är det viktigt att
vi ser på den samlade
forskningsbilden och inte enskilda
studier. Gör man det så visar
forskningen att mjölk och
mejeriprodukter har en rad
hälsofördelar, precis som
Livsmedelsverket skriver i sina
råd. Läs mer här:
[https://www.livsmedelsverket.se/
matvanor-halsa--miljo/kostrad-
och-matvanor/rad-om-bra-mat-
hitta-ditt-satt/mejeriprodukter---
rad](https://www.livsmedelsverket.se/matvanor-halsa--miljo/kostrad-och-matvanor/rad-om-bra-mat-hitta-ditt-satt/mejeriprodukter---rad)

 81w Reply

8.2.29 Arla, 31 August 2017

 arlasverige   Det finns en mängd forskning kring mjölk och osteoporos eller benskörhet. Det man vet är att risken för benskörhet minskar om kosten innehåller mycket kalcium, vitamin D och protein. Givetvis kan man få de näringsämnen på annat sätt men mjölken är extra finurlig eftersom den innehåller alla tre på en gång. Om du verkligen vill sätta dig in i vilken forskning som ligger bakom finns exempelvis en rapport från SBU, Statens beredning för medicinsk utvärdering <http://www.sbu.se/sv/publikationer/SBU-utvarderar/osteoporos---prevention-diagnostik-och-behandling/> 

8.2.30 NSM, 5 November 2017




 Synd 
att han snart ska hängas upp och ner och få halsen avskuren, efter han blivit proppad med antibiotika och blivit övergödd. För varje köttbit dör en individ som ville leva.


79w 10 likes Reply

8.2.31 NSM, 5 November 2017

  Man döper inte
sin mat 
78w 2 likes Reply

8.2.32 NSM, 31 August 2017

  ... 
vad är det för fel på
veganer? ☺ jag jobbar med
djurrättsliga frågor och
försöker informera
människor att djurens lider
otroligt mycket i den
branschen. Hade du själv
velat leva hela ditt liv i
fångenskap och sedan bli
slaktad för mat? Det är
.....

8.2.33 NSM, 5 November 2017

 arlasverige   Aveln i
Norden är inriktad både på kor
med både bra produktion och
goda hälsoegenskaper. Föredrar
man växtdrycker kan man välja
det. Arla ägs av oss mjölkbönder.
Vi tillverkar mjölk till konsumenter
som gillar mjölk. Hälsningar Inger
Arlabonde 
79w 1 like Reply

8.2.34 NSM, 31 August 2017

haha
nej... stort missförstånd
och som tur är det inte jag
som skämmer ut mig. Vi i
Sverige dricker väldigt
mycket mjölk och ändå har
vi enormt mycket
benskörhet. Förklara gärna
hur det kan komma sig om
mjölk nu ska göra oss
starka? Det jag pratar om



8.2.35 NSM, 22 September 2017

Tänk vad tragiskt att
detta anses okej och fint. Mjölk
produceras för ungar. Inga djur
ska mjölkas av robotar och att
korna går till robotarna är ju för
att de lärt sig att det lättar på
trycket. För att de avlats och
fodras så att de producerar galna
mängder mjölk. Det måste väl
även mjölkbönderna se att korna
inte mår bra av. Eller ser
mjölkbönder inga negativa
aspekter alls med kravet på
enormt hög mjölkproduktion?



85w 11 likes Reply