Multimodal Representations of Brand Values on Instagram

Case: Riikka Couture, Hálo and Marimekko

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Tutkielma käsittelee multimodaalisuutta, tekstin ja kuvan suhdetta sekä arvojen viestintää Instagramissa brändinäkökulmasta. Analyysin keskiössä ovat brändien arvojen viestiminen tekstin ja kuvan kautta kolmen suomalaisen muotibrändin Instagram-tileillä. Brändit ovat Riikka Couture, Hálo sekä Marimekko, jonka osalta huomio rajautuu vain muotiin liittyviin postauksiin.

Teoreettisessa viitekehyksessä tarkastellaan kolmea pääteemaa ja niiden käsitteistöä: multimodaalisuus, tekstin ja kuvan suhde sekä visuaalisen ja multimodaalisen viestinnän kasvava rooli eritoten sosiaalisessa mediassa, arvot sekä Instagram sosiaalisen median alustana.

Aineistona ovat arvoja heijastavat postaukset valittujen brändien virallisilla Instagram-tileillä vuonna 2019. Aineistona on ainoastaan ns. perinteisiä julkaisuja ja niissä esiintyviä kuvia, kuvatekstejä sekä aihetunnisteita. Tarkempaan analyysiin on valittu kaksi esimerkkipostausta per brändi.

Tutkimus on laadultaan kvalitatiivinen ja tekstin ja kuvan suhteeseen sekä arvojen viestintään keskittyvä. Metodina on multimodaalinen diskurssianalyysi, ja arvojen analysoinnin ja luokittelun välineenä on Schwartzin (1992, 2006) teoria universaaleista arvotyypeistä, Helkaman (2015) lisäämä ja erityisesti suomalaiseen kontekstiin soveltuva arvotyyppi Työ, sekä aineiston pohjalta lisätyt yksittäiset arvot Onnellisuus, Laadukkuus ja Käytännöllisyys. Schwartzin arvotyyppejä ovat Valta, Suoriutuminen, Mielihyvä, Virikkeisyys, Itseohjautuvuus, Universalismi, Hyväntahtoisuus, Perinteet, Yhdenmukaisuus ja Turvallisuus. Kuhunkin arvotyyppiin liittyy tiettyjä arvoja. Analyysissa tarkastellaan mitä arvoja ja millä tavoin brändit viestivät tekstin ja kuvan kautta.

Keskeisimpiä havaintoja analyysin pohjalta on tekstin, ja siten kielen keskeisyys arvojen viestinnässä myös visuaalisuutta painottavassa Instagramissa, sekä arvojen viestinnän kompleksisuus ja tulkinnanvaraisuus sekä itse arvojen kategorisoinnin haastavuus. Arvojen viestintä on useimmissa postauksissa melko implisiittistä ja äkkiseltään huomaamatonta, ja kielellä on keskeinen rooli kuvissa heijastuvien arvojen selittämisessä ja korostamisessa. Kuva kuitenkin täydentää viestiä ja toimii visualisointina siitä, mihin tekstissä viitataan. Postauksissa luodaan tekstin ja kuvan kautta se maailma ja ideaali, jota brändi haluaa arvoineen edustaa. Postaukset toimivat niin itsenäisinä viesteinä, kuin osana isompaa kokonaisuutta ja yleiskuvaa brändistä ja yrityksestä sen takana.

Arvotyypeistä edustettuna olivat kaikki paitsi valta, ja suomalaiseen kontekstiin linkittyvää arvotyyppiä "Työ" edusti ainoastaan Riikka Couture, joskin myös muut arvotyypit heijastavat suomalaisille tyypillisiä arvoja. Vuoden 2019 postausten pohjalta edustettuna ovat lisäksi Onnellisuus ja Ilo, Riikka Couturen kohdalla myös Laadukkuus sekä Marimekon osalta myös Käytännöllisyys. Aineistossa edustetut arvot ovat sekä instrumentaalisia eli toimintatapoihin liittyviä että terminaalisia eli päämääriin liittyviä, ja edustavat pääosin arvoja, joita jollain – tässä kontekstissa muotibrändillä – on, sekä tuotteen (rahallista) arvoa ja ominaisuuksia heijastavia arvoja.

Arvojen viestinnässä ja ylipäätään Instagram-viestinnässä Riikka Couture nojaa paljon mm. tarinankerrontaan sekä inspiroiviin ja valistaviin, pidempiin teksteihin ja glamouria, itsevarmuutta ja haaveilun tuntua tihkuviin kuviin. Hálo puolestaan tukeutuu runsaahkoon ja säännölliseen aihetunnisteiden käyttöön sekä arktisen luonnon ja seesteisyyden läsnäoloon niin vaatteiden kuosien kuin miljöön ja rekvisiittojen kautta, ja Marimekko keskipitkiin teksteihin ja minimalistiseen aihetunnisteiden käyttöön, sekä rohkeaan väri- ja kuosi-ilotteluun elämänmakuisten ja tunnelmaltaan vaihtelevien kuvien kautta.

Postauksissa nousee esiin niin tuotteiden, niiden ominaisuuksien kuin taustojen esittely, tärkeiden teemojen ja arvojen korostaminen, inspirointi ja kannustus mm. mielihyvään, samoja arvoja edustavien henkilöiden esittely sekä yleisesti brändin persoonan ja identiteetin, ideaalin elämäntavan sekä arvojen korostaminen.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
Multimodaalisuus, tekstin ja kuvan suhde, sosiaalinen media, Instagram, arvot, brändi, muotibrändi, multimodaalinen diskurssianalyysi

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1 INTRODUCTION

With visual communication on the rise and multimodality as the new norm (see e.g. Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001, Jewitt 2014), social media platforms and Instagram especially blooms with a variety of ways to communicate in ways beyond just language. Social media also offers a completely new, efficient marketing channel for brands, enabling them to reach and create bonds with customers all around the globe. With competition of the attention of customers like never seen before on social media, brands need to improve their marketing and especially ways to appeal to customers, with values as one of the core issues. As a research approach, multimodality – different forms of communicating, and of the relations between these different resources of meaning (e.g. Bateman 2014, Bateman et al 2017, Jewitt 2014; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006, 2001, Machin and Mayer 2012) – offers versatile tools for meaningful, multi-layered meaning-making, especially on highly multimodal social media platforms such as the photo-sharing service Instagram. Utilizing a multimodal approach, the aim of this thesis is to identify some of the brand values, and ways to represent them through text and image on Instagram. For a more concise focus, this research is a case study of three Finnish brands from the field of fashion: Riikka Couture, Hálo and the clothing and accessories line of Marimekko. The focus will be on text-image relations in particular.

Values are often considered from the perspective of *perceived* values; as the value *of* something (usually an object), and thus on how the stakeholders – such as customers – view a company. However, to be able to evaluate and understand the (economic) value of a brand it is of importance to study what values they are factually communicating us consumers and by what means. While much focus on research about social media has been on the user-generated content (UGC), the content created by brands in social media represents a modern way of advertising and marketing and is thus an interesting, relevant topic to study more closely. Social media offers a way for companies to communicate directly and even in real-time to and with consumers, compared to traditional media such as TV or print ads.

Since the chosen brands are from the field of fashion, the themes of text-image relations and values also touches upon the topic of fashion and clothing. While being a significant field of study and business, fashion industry also has a major impact on environmental and social level, with excessive use of resources, poor quality, long supply chain, issues in labour and for example excessive consumption and throwaway culture as some of the main issues and

challenges (Pedersen, Gwozdz and Hvass 2015). Indeed, fashion industry as a whole is highly pollutive and wasteful[1] (McFall-Johnsen 2019, Pedersen, Gwozdz and Hvass 2015) alongside with the ethical issues related to labour, especially in Asia. Thus, companies are forced to take more responsibility and look for alternative solutions to improve sustainability and ethical issues in particular, and thus also to (re-)consider their values. In addition to the climate anxiety working as a driving force leading to these changing values – guided by the megatrend [2] (Dufva 2020) of sustainability crisis (Nissinen 2016) – especially for the Generation Z also shifting identities and breaking (gender) molds, individualism and unique style, brand loyalty, new type of functional luxury, and reachability of brands especially through social media are valued (Fab 2019). Thus, companies in the fashion industry are facing several challenges to meet these needs in the multifaceted process of not only producing and selling, but also marketing the products. To this, a carefully chosen set of values can help. The field of fashion thus offers a very fruitful area of study for research, from multiple perspectives – as also Tickner (1977, quoted in Barbard 1996: 21) notes, fashion is "a rich and multi-disciplinary subject, and a point at which history, economics, anthropology, sociology and psychology could be said to meet".

The chosen brands – Hálo, Riikka Couture, and Marimekko – all represent more high-end brands, which focus on providing high-quality, both timeless and unique clothing that is meant to last and is suited for both everyday life as well as festivities, thus represnting the more anti-fast fashion side of the scale. For all of these brands, it is about much more than 'just clothes', or fashion – it is more about passion, and following their own path and encouraging others to do so as well. From the value-perspective, this also means perhaps a higher emphasis on the values than with fast fashion chains; creating value through something more than merely following the trends.

Multimodality, social media, brand values and the field of fashion have all been studied extensively from different perspectives and connected to a variety of disciplines, topics and perspectives. However, there is a gap in extensive research about studies with the focus on multimodal representations of fashion brand values on social media – Instagram, in this case – , with the focus on text-image relations in particular. Multimodal analysis offers means for

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[1] Fashion industry is responsible for 10% of all carbon emissions, 'is the second-largest consumer of the world's water supply, and pollutes the oceans with microplastics.' (McFall-Johnsen 2019)
[2] Megatrends are changes already taking place; "general direction of development, consisting of several phenomena" and help to forecast the future trends and spot more weak signal and smaller trends (Dufva 2020).

more efficient analysis about brands, their implicit and explicit messages about values and the connection between different modes of communication, such as text, image, typography and colours (e.g. Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001, 2006). Multimodal analysis can effectively bring out the benefits of using not only one, but several means of communication, in connection to each other. In relation to social media, the research of photo-sharing services such as Instagram is, as Zappavigna (2016: 272) notes, "in its infancy", with the focus mostly been on the technical affordances and Instagram usage in different context, "rather than [on] the specific visual meanings made in the images", while the focus is also on text on this thesis.

This research partly continues the topic of my Bachelor's Thesis, "Text-image relations and cultural brand identity on Instagram: case Marimekko" (Välimäki 2019). However, this time the focus shifts towards the representations of brand values. Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) is applied to analyse representations of values of Riikka Couture, Hálo and Marimekko on the posts on their official Instagram accounts in 2019. The multimodality, and text-image relations more specifically will be observed to analyse how the brands communicate their values through the posts. The research questions are:

- What values do the brands communicate through their Instagram posts?
- How are these values represented multimodally through text and image?

In the following chapter, theoretical background is presented, introducing the concepts of multimodality, values and social media, each with different subtopics. Following this, the data and methods are presented, alongside with a more in-depth introduction of the brands. Ethics of the research are also included in this chapter. This is followed by the analysis of the data, with two sample posts per brand for close analysis of the values and text-image relations. The values reflected on the data are categorised mainly under the value types and values by Schwartz (1992, 2006), the added value type by Helkama (2015) and with flexibility for added values based on the data. After the analysis, the results are discussed, alongside with comparison of the representation of the values through text and image, as well as of the values themselves between the brands, and within each brand. To conclude, the results and limitations of the study will be discussed, as well as some suggestions for future research are made.

2 THEORETICAL BACKROUND
2.1. Multimodality

Multimodal Analysis was coined in the late 1990's by the linguists Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), when they realized linguistics can also be applied to visual analysis. However, already prior to this, texts were commonly seen accompanied by images, and around 1960's visual media was growing in popularity (ibid.). Thus, no communication has really been purely monomodal for quite a while, i.e. using only single mode – such as language – for creating meaning. Furthermore, as Jewitt (2014: 4) argues, there "is no monomodal culture", especially if looking beyond Western societies.

Multimodality, then, is the counterpart for monomodality, combining multiple modes of expression in communicative situations to create meanings, and putting focus on the relationships between these modes (e.g. Bateman 2014, Bateman et al 2017, Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 & 2001, Jewitt 2015, Machin and Mayr 2012) It could be argued, then, that "especially in the modern society, monomodality has by far been replaced by communicative situations blooming with diversity" (Välimäki 2019: 2). Multimodality raises the issue of communication as much more than just language, especially in digital environments (e.g. Jewitt 2015, Androutsopoulos and Staehr 2018) – even if language might still be one of the most central ways of communication. Multimodality also

> "emphasizes situated action, that is, the importance of the social context and the resources available for meaning making, with attention to people's choice of resources. It foregrounds the forms of communication or 'modes' that people choose to make meaning with….and investigates the social effects of these choices on meaning, asking how choosing to represent something through an image or writing impacts on its meaning." (Jewitt 2015: 69)

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 2) also agree with this, noting that "...even when we can express what seem to be the same meanings in either image-form or writing or speech, they will be *realized* differently", meaning that what in language can be expressed through words and sentences, is visually communicated through colour or layout, for example.

Despite the rise of multimodal communication and growing interest in it among academics and professionals as well (Jewitt 2014), much linguistic research still largely ignores other

means for meaning-making than language, as well as the combinations of different modes of expression (e.g. O'Halloran 2004, Ventola et al 2004). These semiotic "units" are often referred to as "modes" of expression, which are shaped by society and culture and combined to create meanings (e.g. Bateman 2014, Bateman et al 2017, Kress 2010, Jewitt et al. 2016, Jewitt 2014). Modes can be anything between

> "written text, …facial expressions, pictures, …moving images, …layout…and many more" (Bateman et al 2017: 16)

, with all these modes also present in the data of this thesis. In addition, fashion – as written about and photographed (Barthes 1967, 1983) – is considered as a semiotic mode in this thesis. With caption on the Instagram posts, the focus is on both the text as well as hashtags, and with images (both still and moving) on facial expressions but also on pose and gaze, the clothing (including e.g. pattern, colour, material) , accessories, styling of hair and make-up, the setting, environment and objects, connections between the people, as well as the "general feel" reflected on the images, and the layout and built-in structure of Instagram. Furthermore, especially since all of the post include photographs as the image, the aspect and meanings of angle, types of shots (long/medium/frontal etc.) and colours, for example, are taken into consideration.

To summarize the essence of multimodality, Jewitt (2014, 2015) points out some underlying assumptions: 1) all modes (and not just language) have equal potential in creating, distributing, receiving, interpreting and re-making meanings 2) all modes are shaped by culture, history and society; by "the things it has been used to accomplish socially" (Jewitt 2015: 70), 3) all modes are part of a "communicative ensemble" (ibid.) and their interaction is crucial for creating meanings, and 4) meanings are social; "shaped by the norms and rules…[and] influenced by the motivations and interests of sign-maker in a specific context" (Jewitt 2014: 16).

Meaning, as in all communication, is central to the topic of multimodality, and occurs in connection with meaning potential of an "object, environment, and people" (Jewitt 2015: 70). In relation to meaning comes the topic of semiotics, which considers the study of signs and their meanings more broadly, and according to which text and image are "simply a sign that we can interpret for its meanings" (Bateman 2014: 13). Thus, modes and signs are often referred to as *semiotic* modes or signs.

2.1.1. Interdependence of modes of expression

As discussed in previous section, much linguistic research still focuses on the analysis of single modes of expression. In relation to multimodality, it is however of importance to understand also the meaning of a single unit, since when combined, the meaning of a single unit can change (Bateman et al 2017). Or, perhaps even more likely, completely new meanings – beyond the meanings of single units – can be created, when units are combined. This is also referred to as the *interdependence* of modes (Bateman et al 2017: 17), and in this study it can be exemplified what meanings an image can signal when existing on its own, versus putting it into the right context on Instagram, accompanied with caption and hashtags and when related to a certain brand. Bateman et al (2017) also argue that actual field for multimodality is not yet established, while Jewitt et al (2016) also see that a single method for multimodal analysis has not become stabilized yet, with Jewitt (2014: 13) noting that "[m]ultimodality is a relatively new approach to research and some aspects of it remain theoretically and methodologically contested [and] multimodal representations and practices are themselves in constant state of change". Of course, there are also particular methods for certain topics in multimodal research, such as Multimodal Critical Discourse analysis for political context, for example (e.g. Machin and Mayr 2012). Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001), however, offer a contrasting view to Bateman et al (2017) and Jewitt et al (2016) by talking about e*ra* of multimodality, arguing that the line between the modes is blurring and a single interface (in this context, Instagram), and only one multi-talented person using it is often sufficient for managing several modes (such as text and image). These technical advantages are also very present in this research, since especially Instagram is based exactly on combining visual and textual modes within one platform, in many cases with only one (main) producer having the responsibility of creating both the visual and written content. What was considered also by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) and what is of interest in this research is "the question of how this technical possibility can be made to work semiotically" (2).

2.1.2. Text-image relations: text and image as semiotic modes

As the popularity of social media, and in this context of Instagram[3] (Statista 2020) also reflects, the power of and attraction to more visual communication, is "at the peak of a wave of interest" also among academics (Bateman 2014: 5; see also Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001), and has been for a while now. The visual culture is thus on the rise, and thus multimodality

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[3] Amount of global Instagram users has grown from 481,1 millions in 2016 to 766.4 million users in 2019, with the estimated growth to all the way to nearly 1 billion (988.1) by 2023. (Statista 2020)

as well, which applies the "grammar" of visual communication (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001).

While grammar has traditionally been applied to verbal, and more often to written communication, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) suggest there is a "grammar" for visual design as well:

> "Like linguistic structures, visual structures point to particular interpretations of experience and forms of social interaction. […] Meanings belong to culture, rather than to a specific semiotic mode. […] [T]he way some things can, for instance, be 'said' either visually or verbally, others only visually, again others only verbally, is also culturally and historically specific" (2).

The "grammar" in question in this case, as in context of this thesis, is

> "quite general grammar of contemporary visual design in 'Western' cultures, an account of the explicit and implicit knowledge and practices around a resource, consisting of the elements and rules underlying a culture-specific form of visual communication" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006: 3), and thus it should be underlined that this "grammar" is not universal, or universally transparent.

With text-image *relations,* Bateman (2014: 6-7) suggests a similar idea to the interdependence of modes discussed above, but now related especially to text and images: *meaning multiplication.* It occurs when single units, with their own meanings, are combined to create completely new meanings, added to the meanings they already had when existing on their own. This requires finding a balance between considering the similarity and differences between these two modes to reach adequate analysis, while the boundaries of a "mode" should also be defined. When talking about visuality, for example, should this only refer to still *or* moving images, or both? Referring back to semiotics, Bateman (2014) considers also the social and historical influence on modes and how the materials manipulated affect the definition of a mode. In the context of this research, the "material" being manipulated is the Internet, or social media and Instagram more specifically, and mostly still images are included in the visual mode, while also the videos (moving images) were taken into consideration due to their simplicity and shortness. However, with the focus still on *text*-image relations, the linguistic aspects includes only written forms (captions, hashtags and text-in-image), thus excluding the sound in the videos from analysis.

The semiotic mode of image is mostly in the form of photograph in the data of this thesis, with photographic image having a special status of *"a message without a code"* (Barthes 1977: 17, italics original), since what the photograph shows is the very reality (even if it might not seem *realistic*). Thus, it is considered a denoted message; the first and literal, common-sense meaning. However, as it also includes the processes of producing, there is, regarding the techniques, also connotational level of the second, associative meaning. As Barthes (1983: 4) points out, "there is actually no photograph without signification". In general, photograph as a message is formed by 1) the source of origin (in this thesis: the photographers, Instagram account owners, editors, those who actually choose the photo and its caption and post it, etc.), 2) channel for transmission (Instagram as social media platform; the posts with their layout, images and text) and 3) reception (Instagram users who see and/or interact with the posts). (Barthes 1977)

Though much emphasis also in this thesis is on the visual modes as an increasingly popular way of communication, language continues to keep its central role and its analysis still is "indeed a key aspect of multimodality" (Jewitt 2014: 2). With the analysis of texts, the common and one of the easiest starting points is the words; the lexicon. The 'linguistic turn' perspective, as explained by Bateman (2014), sees that language is a broader concept relating to nearly all social and individual life, while it "gives the members of a culture the basic terms and organizational patterns they need for making sense of their world and themselves" (14). However, despite the still central role of language, for example Forceville (2008, quoted in Koller 2009: 49) argues, that "pictures are more easily recognized transnationally than…languages".

Besides text regularly appearing as its own unit, or accompanied with an image, it can also be inserted *within* the image. Text in general, then, remains popular also in the context of multimodality and variety of other modes available, even in platforms such as Instagram, where the primary purpose is not about verbal communication. However, text is increasingly accompanied with other mode(s) rather than appearing completely on its own (Herring & Androutsopoulos 2015). Thus, "…language comes integrated in visually organized environments…and meaning is constructed through the interplay of language and other semiotic means" (Androutsopoulos 2011: 3-4). While verbal modes might be able to better communicate something the visual modes "delivers poorly or not at all" (Barthes 1983: 14) – and vice versa –, all of the modes have their gains as well as losses; "their potentialities and

their limitations" (Androutsopoulos 2011: 31). Indeed, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 19) argue,

> "language and visual communication can both be used to realize the 'same' fundamental systems of meaning that constitute our cultures, but that each does so by means of its own specific forms, does so differently, and independently".

Barthes (1977, 1983), then, reminds that while text and image are co-operative, their *substance* is different, in text consisting of words (the lexicon) and in image of forms, lines, colours, surfaces and shades, for example.

In relation to verbal modes in particular, combined with visual (or other) modes, Barthes (1967) argues that visual (or other) modes and their meanings are always dependent on, or at least related to, a verbal mode of expression. He described these types of text-image relations with functions of relay, elaboration, illustration and anchorage, discussed in more detail later. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) point out, however, that what this notion of the dependence of textual and visual modes misses is that while the visual, or verbal mode may be related to multimodal content and thus other mode(s) as well, they are " independently organized and structured message...in no way dependent on it [the other mode]" (18).

In relation to semiotics, discussed in 2.1., where the notion of "sign" is at the very centre, both visual and verbal modes of expression share the constituents of the signs; idea of *signifier* (form; the physical part of sign) and *signified* (meaning/concept; the mental concept of the signifier) (Saussure 1974), which "are relatively independent of each other until they are brought together by the sign-maker in a newly made sign" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 8). Barthes (1967) describes the concept of signified as "not a 'thing' but a mental representation of the 'thing'. […] [I]t is…'something' which is meant by the person who uses the sign" (42-43). Barnard (1996), then, explains this dichotomy of the "expression" and "content" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001) in relation to human communication and in the context of fashion: the sign "involves the use of one thing to stand for or represent something else" (Barnard 1996: 78). With this more generalized view of the sign and in relation to fashion and clothing, everything from fabrics to collections and images can be considered signs: for example, "A coarse, hairy, woolen tweed may signify rusticity and the countryside" (79), or an open collar without a tie casualness or informality, with tweed or the open collar as signifier, and the rusticity or casualness as signified. (Barnard 1996)

Challenging this traditional semiotic view of sign (e.g. Saussure 1974, Barthes 1977), Van Leeuwen (2005) sees people in more active role in the creation of signs; of meanings:

> "[S]igns are a product of a social process of sign-making…a person (sign-maker) 'chooses' a semiotic resource from an available system of resources. They bring together a semiotic resource (a signifier) with the meaning (the signified) that they want to express" (24).

This view also sounds applicable in relation to communication of values: the brands choose a signifier, such as the mention of "freedom" in the caption, and combine it with the meaning; the signified, such as the loose-fitting dress shown in the image.

In the present-day cultural context, globalization requires that "semiotic, social, epistemological and rhetorical effects of visual communication" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 14), and thus signs and signifiers, specific to different cultures should be understood in any culture or location, "since semiotic entities from anywhere now appear and are 'consumed' everywhere" (14). This is especially due to the technological developments, through which connections across local/national and global/international can be achieved, with also different modes and "multimodal ensembles" part of the "communication landscape" in modern everyday life (Jewitt 2014: 3).

2.2. Values

Values are a multi-dimensional and complex concept, however in rather uniform way in most definitions linked to *action* and thus capable of changing behaviour. Values can indeed be seen as the base of many behavioral actions, as *motives,* or criteria guiding and justifying actions as well as observations (e.g. Rokeach 1973, 1976, Helkama 2015, Schwartz 1992, Williams 1979), as well as the evaluation of people, the self, and events (Schwartz 1992). From this perspective, values are seen as "criteria rather than as qualities inherent in objects" (Schwartz 1992: 1). Values can, in other words, also be thought of as "fundamental ideological and moral 'tastes'" (Ester et al 2006: 3), while in fact it is challenging to try to conceptualize, let alone measure values (Hechter et al. 1993). Indeed, values have been defined variously as related to "interest, pleasures, likes, preferences, duties, moral obligations, desires, wants, goals, needs, aversions and attractions" (Williams 1979: 16). Values are difficult to even observe, although they tend to change slowly (Ester et al 2006).

Despite the difficulties of conceptualizing values due to the multiple perspectives and points of highlight, they can be perhaps more easily distinguished from other, somewhat similar concepts, such as an *attitude*. While values can be linked to attitudes especially on an individual level, these two concepts should not be seen as interchangeable, since values are often *underlying* attitudes (Rokeach 1976). Or, as Rokeach (1973) describes it,

> "…values occupy a more central position than attitudes within one's personality makeup and cognitive system, and they are therefore determinants of attitudes as well as of behavior" (18)

Furthermore, values are usually higher up in the "hierarchy of beliefs" (Ester et al 2006: 8), and can be organized in a hierarchical order of importance (e.g. Rokeach 1973, Helkama 2015). Schwartz (1992) also points out, that while attitudes can be either positive or negative, values are always considered positive – while the clash of values usually has a negative impact. Values in a short-term time span act as guidelines in our daily lives, whereas their less immediate functions are related to basic human needs. In addition to behavioural (leads to action), cognitive (to know how to behave) and affective (values can raise emotions for and against) components, values also have motivational functions, and is thus also more dynamic concept than attitude, for example. (Rokeach 1973)

Values should not be confused with social norms either: while values may refer to both behavior or end-states, social norms only refer to modes of behavior. Furthermore, as Williams (1979) explains, while values go beyond specific moments and "are not concrete rules of conduct" (16), social norms guide or forbid us to behave in a certain way, in a certain place or situation. Values, in fact, provide us with a base to choose whether to accept or not to follow certain norms (Williams 1968, in Rokeach 1973: 19).

To explain the concept of values further, there are two dimensions: *terminal* and *instrumental* (e.g. Rokeach 173, Williams 1979). Terminal, "ends" values, reflecting a preferred end-state, divide into two types: personal (self-centered; intrapersonal, such as "peace of mind") and social (society-centered; interpersonal, such as "world peace"). In both social and personal context, however, a value is something preferable when considering one mode of behaviour, or end-state, over some other (usually an opposite one), and as such describes the "ultimate goal".(Helkama 2015, Rokeach 1973, 1979, Williams 1979) With instrumental, "means" values, reflecting preferred means of behaviour, distinction is made between moral

(intrapersonal, the need to behave honestly and responsibly) and competence values (personal focus, need to act in a logical, creative or intelligent manner) (Rokeach 1973: 7-8).

To summarize, values have, as noted by Schwartz (2006), six formal main features appearing extensively in related research and literature: 1) Values are beliefs, connected to emotions, 2) "Values refer to desirable goals [or behaviors] that motivate action", 3) Values do not refer to "specific actions, objects, or situations", 4) "Values serve as standards or criteria… [and] guide the selection or evaluation of actions, policies, people, and events", 5) Values are hierarchical; "ordered by importance relative to one another" and 6) "The *relative* importance of multiple values guides action". (Schwartz 2006: 3-4, italics original. See also Schwartz 1992). What then distinguishes these values from each other, then, is "the type of goal or motivation that the value expresses". (Schwartz 2006: 4) Furthermore, a value, or a value system – a prioritized, organized set of these beliefs – is enduring, and thus neither completely stable, or completely unstable (Rokeach 1973, Williams 1979).

In this thesis, "brand values" are considered as the (human) values that a brand has. In fact, the function of values as seen by Marimekko, one of the chosen brands, is also in line with many of the ideas and definitions already presented: in their website (Marimekko 2020b), they describe values as something that "inspire and motivate us, guide our choices and help us to achieve our vision".

In the context of brands – and of this thesis – both preferred behaviour (instrumental values) and the end-states (terminal values), are considered. With the value "Enjoying life", for example, a company might want to promote both, or either, the enjoyment of life in itself, and/or the enjoyment of life reached by purchasing and using the product. Both instrumental and terminal values are also included in the value types and values (Figure 1, Table 1) suggested by Shalom Schwartz (1992, 2006) in his theory of basic, universal values. The extensively cited, 1992 version is a modified and extended revision of the previous 'Theory of the universal content and structure of human values' (Schwartz and Bilsky 1987, 1990, in Schwartz 1992) which had data from 7 countries. The study from 1992 includes already 20 countries "from cultures on every inhabited continent" (Schwartz 1992: 18) – including Finland, where, among some other countries, some values were also added to the usual 56. This theory is partly based on Rokeach's (1973) list of values and adopts some of the similar procedures, such as the extensive explanation of the values, while also including 21 values directly from the Rokeach list under the value types, and combining some values. The 2006

survey by Schwartz, then, is an even more extended and revised version with as much as 70 countries included, and some specific values added or categorized more flexibly.

Shifting the focus back to brands, although a brand usually represents product(s) of some kind rather than people, there are always humans (in the company) behind the brand. This is also indicated through the metaphor "brands are living organisms", or "brands are people" (Koller 2009: 51), suggesting that "a brand is supposed to incorporate the ideal characteristics the consumer wishes to be seen as having" (51). Thus, also in this thesis the nature of *human* values is considered. Furthermore, even if the brand values usually represent values of a group of people – to which Rokeach (1979) would refer to as *supraindividual* values, including also institutional, cultural and organizational values – rather than of an individual, it is still the one, same set of values the brand as a whole represents Thus, regardless of whether they are linked to actions or decisions of an individual or of a company, values affect the solutions just the same. (Helkama 2015) Values, in general, are connected to society and institutions, culture and personality (Rokeach 1973), and the concept of value has often been considered from two perspectives: as someone (a person, or a group or society) having *a* value (or usually values), or as something (an object) that has value (in the positive-negative continuum) – as a value *of* something; a perceived value. (Rokeach 1973, also Helkama 2015) In this thesis, in addition to the inclusion of both terminar and instrumental values, since the focus is on the brands as well as their products as presented on Instagram, values as both "a value" and "value of" are considered, although more focus is on the values that someone – in this context, a company as an entity – has.

As already briefly discussed above, Schwartz (1992, 2006) has developed a theory and a set of basic, universal value types and values. In his surveys, ten main value types were identified: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity and security values (Figure 1, Table 1 in Appendix). In the 2006 revised value theory, Schwartz also added "self-indulgent" under the hedonism value type, and argued that the following values have motivational end-states of more than just one value type: "self-respect" fits both self-direction and achievement types, "intelligence" both self-direction and achievement, "social recognition" achievement and power, "moderate" security and tradition and "sense of belonging" security and benevolence types – while this might be true for other values as well. Schwartz and Sagiv (2000, in Schwartz 2006: 5-6) also

noted that, while happiness is an important value, it "is not included [under hedonism value type], because people achieve it through attaining whatever outcomes they value".

These universal, basic value types, and the four main dimensions – exceeding/enhancement of, versus foregrounding oneself, and conformity versus. flexibility ("openness to change") (Schwartz 2006: 10) – reflecting the "dynamic relations among the values" (Schwartz 2006: 9) are presented in Figure 1 below.
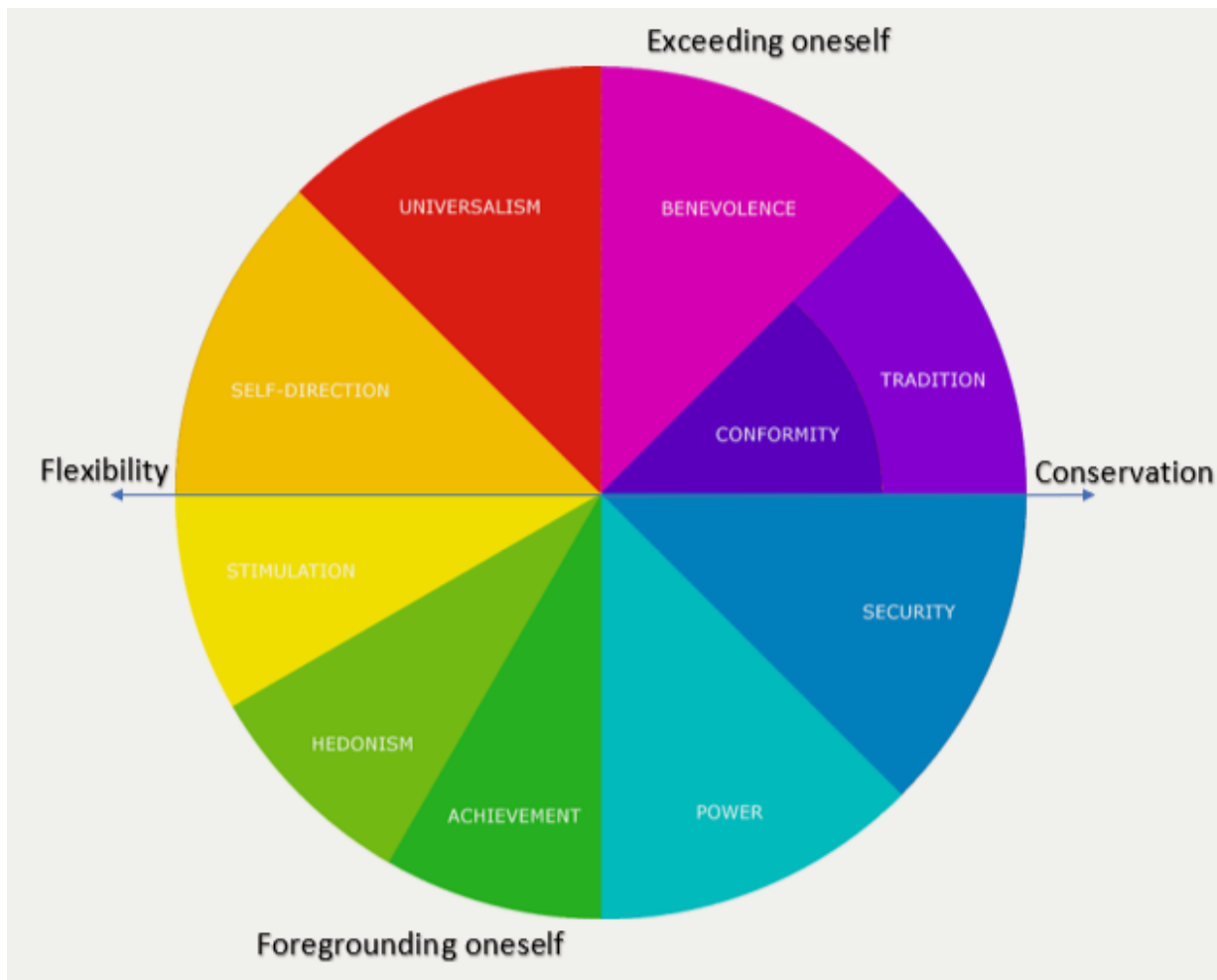

Figure 1 Universal value types. Adapted and translated from Helkama (2015), based on Schwatz's (1992) Universal value theory.

As Schwartz (2006) notes, pursuing one value will conflict with some, and be congruent with some other values. For example, seeking exciting life and independence are both towards the dimensions of openness to change and thus in congruence with one another, while a conflict is formed between seeking equality and authority; the very opposite dimensions in the scale of exceeding/foregrounding oneself. Also, tradition and conformity values both share "the same broad motivational goal" (Schwartz 2006: 10) of respect and humbleness, while hedonism

values share features of both flexibility and self-enhancement (see Figure 1). These value types and values, with the addition of a value type "Work" suggested by Helkama (2015) and suited for the Finnish context in particular, are used as an analytical tool for categorizing the values found to be reflected on the Instagram posts of Hálo, Riikka Couture and Marimekko.

2.3. Social media

Social media is a form of Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) and an umbrella term for Internet-based sites that offer, and encourage for social networking and interaction (Page et al. 2014). Different types of social media sites include, for example, discussion forums, blogs, wikis, social networking sites, and content-sharing platforms, like the photo-sharing application Instagram, with all of these however having the potentialities for social interaction, even if it is not the primary purpose of that site. Besides this sociality, what makes it stand out from mass media, is the principle of not one-to-many broadcasting, but as anyone having the chance for production, while possibly also reaching mass audiences. (Page et al. 2014) In the following sections, topics of social media in relation to Computer-Mediated Discourse (CMD), Instagram as a social media platform and multimodality in social media, as well as very briefly the function of hashtags will be discussed.

2.3.1. Social media and CMD

In the context of social media, multimodality also falls under the category of *Computer-mediated communication* (CMC), or more precisely *Computer-mediated discourse* (CMD), interaction via digital communication devices (Herring & Androutsopoulos 2015). CMD focuses on language use with the method of discourse analysis, which multimodality supplements with various other modes in Web 2.0 – and more recently, and especially with a primarily smartphone, portable media app Instagram, the Web 3.0 – environments in particular. The notion of 'mode' in CMC can stand for, for example, Internet forum, chat, email or blog, which all are "socially as well as technologically defined, each having their own unique affordances, histories, and cultures of use" (Herring & Androutsopoulos 2015: 129) Digital technologies, then, offer interesting possibilities for multimodal research due to their wide variety of modes for creating meaning. They have also made the distribution and production online easier than ever, as well as enabling "mass-scale cultural participations" (Androutsopoulos and Staehr 2018: 119)

In social media, such as the photo-sharing platform Instagram, the type of discourse that takes place can be categorized as "conversational", even if the primary function on the site is not about keeping up conversations. (Herring & Androutsopoulos 2015, see also Boyd and Ellison 2008) As a social media platform, Instagram caters for diverse audiences – especially if considering the public accounts – and not only supports "the maintenance of pre-existing social networks, but [also]… help strangers connect based on shared interests, political views, or activities" (Boyd and Ellison 2008: 210). Instagram can also be considered an *interactive multimodal platform* (IMP) (Herring 2015) that enables interaction between users, which in many cases simply means the act of "Liking" a post.

These new Web 2.0, and 3.0 environments have "technological, sociological, and structural features" (Androutsopoulos 2011: 6) that differentiate them from the previous platforms – aspects which will become evident also in this thesis, even if the focus is only on the production side of social media posts. It can also be argued that in social media there is no "clear-cut role distribution between professional content production and read-only consumption" (ibid.).

2.3.2. Instagram as social media platform

While Instagram falls under the umbrella term "social media", which, as the name suggests, is inherently social (e.g. Page et al. 2014), Bateman et al. (2017) emphasizes that to achieve a high-quality multimodal analysis, it is important to realize the vagueness of the concept of social media in itself: "[W]e must again make sure we enforce the clear separation of media, modes and genres to make headway into understanding communicative situations in social media" (359). Thus, the next step is to provide a more in-depth introduction of Instagram as one of the social media platforms.

Instagram is a photo-sharing social media platform launched in 2010, with especially visual built-in structure. Unlike other social media applications, such as Facebook and Twitter, Instagram requires visual element (an image or video) in every post, while the caption, hashtags (#) and name- or location tags are optional. Also, on Instagram content can be only posted from a mobile device, while it can be viewed also from other devices, such as laptops. Otherwise, the main principle is similar than in Facebook and Twitter: you can create a profile, through which you can share content on your personal feed, as well as comment, share, re-post, save and like other people's posts. Accounts can be set private or public, and the account owners can be individual people, companies, bigger organizations, celebrities or

other public figures. Anyone can join Instagram even if there is no interest in creating content yourself, since liking, commenting, tagging or just looking at others' posts offers lots of possibilities to be as active or passive as desired. In most cases, social media is not merely consumed, but also generated by the user (generally referred to as user-generated content, USG), bringing the roles of producer and consumer closer and deviating from the more traditional mass media principle of "one to many" (Page et al. 2014) and instead offering anyone equal chances to reach the audiences – at least in principle. For the purpose of this study, the focus is on the content produced by companies. Especially since Instagram is primarily a portable, smartphone application and thus constantly carried with us, enabling to post the content in "real time" – thus also the name, "Insta(nt) (tele)gram", with the platform drawing its inspiration from both instant polaroid pictures and telegrams (Instagram 2014, in Zappavigna 2016: 273). This more real-time type of use of media gives also the brands, and customers, feel "closer"; more intimate and less hierarchical with each other, making the communication easier, but also more demanding and stressful, for both parties.

While visual elements are the main focus and the only compulsory part of each post on Instagram, most still like to include at least some hashtags or a short, or longer and story-like caption text to compliment or explain the image. Other Instagram users can also be tagged to the pictures with the @ symbol before the username, which then acts as a direct link to that user's profile. A location can also be tagged in the post, and it can be chosen to share the post directly to other social media sites (Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr) as well. It is also possible to send private messages, and there are also several filters available for an easy editing of the images, and different applications to allow, for example, creating collages, or to be able to re-post someone else's post on your own feed. Several images can also be posted under the same post. Instagram also offers several options for posting moving images, and feature also the 'Story' -section with possibility to post temporary content that disappears after 24 hours, similarly to the function of Facebook and Snapchat 'Stories'. However, since the focus of this research is only on the traditional posts on the feed, these features will not be discussed further.

Due to its highly visual aspects, Instagram falls into the category of co-create – resonance – imagery/album on Brian Solis and JESS3's (2013) "conversation prism" (Figure 2, in Appendix) that is a "visual map of the social media landscape […] [and] an ongoing study in digital ethnography that tracks dominant and promising social networks and organizes them

by how they're used in everyday life". In this category, Instagram is more oriented towards "persona" than "brand", and is also under the category of "livestreaming", which also follows the direction of co-create – resonance – persona. Instagram is also, however, categorized under co-create/listen – messaging, which is then more brand-oriented. In this thesis, the interest is towards the aspects of imagery/album, but as brand-oriented.

For the purposes of this study, the focus is only on the posts on the general feed, and on the visual and textual aspects; on the image (moving and still) and caption (including hastags), excluding the focus on sound on images. Thus, Instagram Stories, comments, likes, shares and such are excluded from the scope of this study.

2.3.3. Multimodality on Instagram: social media as a "canvas"
Bateman et al (2017) discusses the concept of social media "canvases" that the platforms offer. The Instagram "canvas" consists of subcanvases, many of which act as user interfaces that constitute the platform and its many immutable (non-modifiable) features (ibid.). Instagram offers possibilities for research from both the producer's as well as consumer's perspective, and in both cases the interface consists of the following features: username with the @ -sign – such as @marimekko – , a possible location tag, the actual main content in any form of moving or still image, most often accompanied by caption text, emojis and hashtags, optional tagging of other users – by their username – , as well as the 'like' (heart icon), share (arrow icon), save (bookmark icon) and comment (speech bubble) -section Actual visualizations of the posts are presented in the analysis section, with the view of Instagram when used from a laptop and when looking at the posts from the profile page of an account (Figure 5-10), as well as one smart phone version in Figure 3 (Appendix) for comparison. Usually, the like, share and comment -section is located *under* the image, and username above the image. From the user's perspective, all but the interaction -section (like, comment, share and save functions) are non-modifiable, leaving the control of the post mostly for the producer, since the structure and actual content of these sub-canvases cannot be changed by the user. From producer's perspective, then, all but the share and save -functions are modifiable, since even the comments can be deleted. The number of likes, then, offer direct statistics of the popularity of each post.

While the content on the Instagram canvas is mostly photography, it can also be anything from moving image to illustration to statistics or text – anything that can be uploaded as an image. The possibility to add caption text, emojis, hashtags and tag other users on the lower

side of the content canvas widens the possibilities for multi-layered and meaningful communication and elaborating on the meaning of the image(s). The sub-canvas that enables interaction through commenting is the only one that is open for modifications for both consumer and producer, making direct communication and shifting roles directly from producer to consumer possible. Due to the availability and possibility of emojis as part of commenting besides text, the act is usually multimodal in nature.

Due to the features of Instagram with its built-in structures, in both smart phone (Figure 3, in Appendix) and laptop versions – the former being the primary device, and thus the layout normally seen for Instagram users– the image comes first, with full visibility of longer captions only by clicking "See more". In this context, then, the caption functions, in terms of Barthes (1977), as an *anchorage* of the image, giving a more precise description of it and which is one of the two types of *elaboration* in the context of text-image relations. Elaboration restates what is already present in the image, but in a more precise way, as in the very case of captions of an image. This also applies vice versa; as the image elaborating on the content of the text. In some cases, the caption functions as an *extension* of an image – or vice versa –, adding new or different meanings to complement the other mode and its meanings. (Barthes 1977) While anchorage – the image coming first – is the "regular" sight on Instagram on both smart phone and laptop versions, when visiting the profile page of any account, the only thing to see (besides the profile text, profile image and some other features) are images. Only by clicking on the images, the caption can also be seen, and here comes a difference between smart phone and laptop versions: while in the smart phone application the image still comes first, in the laptop version, as also seen on the sample posts (Figure 5-10) in this thesis (chosen for their convenience), the image and text are side-by-side with caption on the right and image on the left. Although seemingly equal in their order of appearance, with focus commonly shifting to the right side first, the caption is thus easily focused on first – a relation of the image Barthes (1977) would identify as *illustration* (of the text)*.

2.3.4. Functions of hashtags

Hashtags (#) are often central in constructing (online) identity and creating connections, but also in tracking discussion on a particular topic or area of interest; thus, as organizing units of data (Zappavigna 2018). Other common usage for hashtags, "a form of social tagging", as proposed by Michele Zappavigna (2018: 1-5) are: "coordinating social media discussion referencing ideas, cracking jokes, […] producing metacommentary…[and] unfolding

discussion about relevant topics". While for example a brand name is often used in hashtags to connect the posts to their own brand, it may also be used by the consumers – of both social media and possibly the brand in question – to connect themselves and their identity, and likely at least some of the values, to the brand through the use of that hashtag.

3 DATA and methods
3.1. Data

The data used for this research consists of the Instagram posts of three Finnish fashion brands: Riikka Couture, Hálo and the clothing and accessories line of Marimekko from 2019. Because the focus of this study is on what values are reflected on their Instagram posts, and how they are communicated through text and image, only the traditional posts are analysed, excluding the analysis of comments, likes, shares, Instagram Stories and such. The focus is on both caption texts (including hashtags) and images (still and moving), however not including the sound in the videos. In addition, the descriptions of the brands found on the profile page of the Instagram accounts are used as a reference, due to their close approximation, and thus connection to the posts. Next, the data collection process will be explained, followed by a closer introduction of each brand.

3.1.1. Data collection
The data was collected manually from Instagram, by looking through all the posts of each brand during 2019 – in Marimekko's case including only the posts with fashion items– and writing down all the references to values through text and image on Excel sheets (see Figure 4, in Appendix). The amount of posts found to reflect values in the 2019 posts, and thus collected, were around 58 with Hálo, 100 with Riikka Couture and up to around 135 with Marimekko. In addition, for a more detailed analysis of the text-image relations, two sample posts from each brand's Instagram account are included in the thesis (Figure 5-10).

After the collection of references to values on Excel, an initial grouping of the value items of each brand was done. This was followed by categorization of the value items guided by value types and values suggested by Schwartz (1992), as well as Helkama (2015) in Table 2, 3 and 4 (in appendix)

3.1.2. Meet the brands
In this section, the brands chosen for the analysis of this case study – Hálo, Riikka Couture and Marimekko – are presented more closely. A "brand", in itself, includes all that a company does, communicates, how it looks and sounds, and how it is talked about – it is the immaterial capital of a company (Malmelin and Hakala 2007), and also a "particular sort of class of goods, as indicated by the trademarks on them" (OED 2020a). Company, then, is an active

participant behind the brand; the "organizational" or "corporate body" of a trade, institution or profession (OED 2020b).

Choosing the brands within the same (Finnish) cultural context and within the field of fashion likely helps to neutralize some of the possible cultural effects, as well as those of a specific field of business, which might then have affected the type of communication. Nevertheless, each of the brands are their own personalities and highly distinguishable from each other, as well as with a completely different histories and timelines. Furthermore, Marimekko as a lifestyle, and not just as a fashion brand gives brings an added dimension and point of comparison.

To start the introductions, Riikka Couture is the namesake brand of its founder, Riikka Ikäheimo. As introduced in the company website (Riikka Couture 2020a), the Helsinki-based brand is founded in Paris by Ikäheimo, a self-taught clothing designer and seamstress. Riikka Couture started its journey with elegant, glamorous and timeless, custom-made dresses, made with fine fabrics and combined with Parisian lace and Swarowski crystals. Nowadays, the brand has two hearts, with made-to-order dresses from the *Ateljé* collection, as well as timeless T-shirts, blouses and accessories from the *Classic* collection. This collection is sold online globally, as well as in-store in different location in Finland. (Riikka Couture 2020a) As I have also witnessed through media, Riikka Couture designs have been seen on Paris fashion week, as well as worn by many Finnish and other celebrities. Riikka Couture designs have also been the choice of brand for many Finnish women on the Finnish Independence Day reception.

Hálo, or Hálo from north (2020a), is a Finnish, Helsinki-based fashion brand established in 2017 by two friends, Marta Valtovirta and Jukka Puljujärvi, both professionals in the field of fashion. Hálo gets its inspiration from the Finnish Lapland, its eight seasons, arctic wilderness and the name-sake light phenomena, *hálo*. As stated in the website (Hálo 2020a), all of the prints are designed by Hálo, and the brand offers timeless but unique, high-quality pieces for both festivities and everyday living. Production is in Estonia and Italy, and materials are sourced from suppliers from Italy, French and Germany. Hálo has been the brand of choice for several celebrities, stylists and artists, featuring for example in Italian Vogue. (Hálo 2020a) In addition, Halo has made collections with prints inspired the artwork of the Finnish, Lapland-based painter Reidar Särestöniemi (1925-1981 (Hálo 2020b). Hálo is the youngest of the brands.

Marimekko is the oldest, and most iconic of the brands, established in 1951 by Armi Ratia. As stated in the website (Marimekko 2020a) and as is familiar to many, Marimekko is a lifestyle brand and a design house with the main goal of bringing joy to everyday life – true to its origins even in the present day. In the 1950's, Marimekko wanted to bring freedom through clothes, with bold and abstract prints and colours. This was seen as revolutionary, and Marimekko was also considered one of the world's first true lifestyle brands, combining fashion, accessories and home decór into one unity; a way to live. It has always reflected the *zeitgeist,* the spirit of the time, however staying true to its core ideas and values. Ratia had considered Marimekko as an international brand in her visions right in the beginning, and saw the items more as design, than fashion. (Marimekko 2020a) Marimekko, the brand name, reflects how "it all started with a dress", and comes from 'Mari's dress' (Mari + mekko (dress)).

3.2. Methods

As for the method for this research, Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) will be used, with a more specific focus on text-image relations. The type of (primary) research and analysis conducted in this thesis is qualitative and interpretive (e.g. Brown 2004, Paltridge and Pakhiti 2015), focusing on discourse analysis from the multimodal perspective, and as a case study.

3.2.1 Multimodal Discourse Analysis

MDA is discourse analysis that reaches its scope beyond the study of language; to combinations of different modes of expressions (O'Halloran 2011, Page et al. 2014), such as images, colours, gestures and sound. MDA have also been referred to as "'multimodality', 'multimodal analysis', 'multimodal semiotics' and 'multimodal studies'" (120). 'Discourse', simply defined, refers to the socially formed ideas about reality; the shared values, ideas, identities and such of a society (e.g. Kress and van Leeuwen 2001, Machin and Mayr 2012), and is one of the "four domains of practice [the "strata"] in which meanings are dominantly made" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001: 4), the three others being design, production and distribution, all of which also part of creating an Instagram post. In the context of this thesis, the discourse in question is largely that of discourse of fashion. The analysis of fashion in relation to the brands and their values is the analysis of fashion (or, clothing) as *photographed;* iconic; "plastic"*,* and as *written about*, while the third system, clothing as *worn*; as the real garment, can not be reached through text and image; but only the

representations and descriptions of it (Barthes 1967, 1983). While fashion photography, as seen in fashion magazines, has its own "rules" and units (Barthes 1983), in many posts on the data sets the image content is rather different; more realistic and down-to-earth in a sense, with rather the rules of social media applying. With "image-clothing", it is the only structure with "no practical or aesthetic function…it is entirely constituted with a view to a signification" (Barthes 1983: 8)

To guide the analysis and collection of multi-layered, multimodal data in digital environments, the seven steps as described by Jewitt (2015) are applied.

1 Collecting the data

While the data comes from public Instagram accounts and is thus created and existing prior to this research, the post included in the data were chosen, collecting parts (or descriptions) of the data relevant for my topic on Excel sheets as well as including two sample posts per each brand as screenshots in my analysis. After this, the data collected was processed, analysed and categorised.

2 Viewing the data through research questions

This paper relates to the issue of multimodality and brand values, with the focus on text-image relations in particular. For this purpose, the research questions are framed as:

- What values do the brands communicate through their Instagram posts?
- How are these values represented multimodally through text and image?

3 Sampling data

Due to the limitation of the scope of this paper, only the posts from year 2019 were analysed, categorising the features reflecting values under one table per each brand (Table 2-4, in appendix), also including two sample post (Figure 5-10) per brand for closer analysis of the text-image relations and more implicit reflections of values in particular.

4 Transcribing the data

While there was no need to really transcribe anything, the sample posts chosen for this paper were frozen as screenshots, thus in a sense dislocating them from time as well as making them static and immutable.

5 Analysing the modes individually

While images get more "stage" on Instagram, the captions, and thus language, often carry the task of clarifying, or emphasizing something on the image. Especially in the case of very short hashtags, often including only just one word (e.g. #arctic), the lexical analysis focusing on the words is central. Also, the sentence-level structures will be analysed, with focus on how the values are reflected through language: through straight-forward stating of them, through story-telling and emphasizing what is important, et cetera.

With images, this paper is leaning partly on the analytical framework of "Reading Images" by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). The mode of image also includes, in this context, at least the modes of colour, layout, pose, and gaze, as well as fashion/clothing, for example.

6 Analysing across the modes

During this step, the multimodal ensemble, or the interplay between the modes, is analysed. Attention is paid to the devices, as well as to the materiality and affordances (i.e. how modes affect communication and social relationships (Kress 2003, in Jones 2005) of modes, i.e. to the multimodal layering. The co-presence of different modes is central also in this thesis.

7 Connecting multimodality to social theories

For deeper understanding of sociological aspects, multimodality needs to be combined with social theories (Jewitt 2015). For a paper of such limited scope, not much detailed connection can be made. However, the topic of values is highly connected to the social context especially in the case of brands, and while the deeper meanings or implications of the values are touched upon only briefly from rather surface level, the ways, as well as importance of communicating about them is directed more.

3.2.2 Value types and categories – Universal Theory of Values
The items reflecting values on the Instagram posts through text and image were categorized mainly unde the value types and values suggested by Schwartz (1992) seen in Table 1, with descriptions of the motivational goals (such as "personal pleasure") and sets of values (e.g. "pleasure", "enjoying life") included. Also, the additional value type "Work" is included, suggested by Helkama (2015) and suited for the Finnish context in particular. In the revised version and based on extended amount of data, in the 2006 version Schwartz added the value

Table 1 Value types and their motivational goals. Adapted and translated from Helkama (2015), based on Schwartz's (1992) Universal theory of values. Schwartz has based, or taken directly some of his values from the (Value Survey) list by Rokeach (1973).

VALUE TYPES	MOTIVATIONAL GOALS & SETS OF VALUES
POWER	social status and prestige, control of people and resources values: authority, wealth, social power and recognition, preserving public image*
ACHIEVEMENT	personal success by demonstrating competence according to social and cultural standards values: success, ambition, competence, influence, intelligence*
HEDONISM	personal pleasure/sensational pleasure values: pleasure, enjoying life
STIMULATION	excitement, novelty, challenges in life values: diverse and/or exciting life, daring
SELF-DIRECTION	independent thinking and choice of action, creating, exploring values: creativity, freedom, choice of own goals, curiosity, independence*, self-respect*
UNIVERSALISM	'understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of *all* people and for nature' (Schwartz 1992: 12) values: equality, world peace, connection to nature, wisdom, 'world of beauty' (the beauty of art and nature), broad-minded, social justice, protecting the environment', inner balance*
BENEVOLENCE	'preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact' (11) values: honesty, helpful, loyalty, forgiveness, responsibility, true friendship*, mature love*
TRADITION	respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideologies of cultural heritage and of religion values: respect for tradition, humbleness, devotion, moderation, accepting one's portion in life
CONFORMITY	restraining such actions, inclinations and impulses that upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms values: obedience, self-discipline, politeness, respect of parents and elderly
SECURITY	'safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self' (9) values: social order, national and family security, reciprocity of favors, cleanliness, sense of belonging*, health*
WORK**	Values: Diligence, conscientiousness, punctuality, systematic, perseverance, being economic
**value type used in Finnish context and research (Helkama 2015), not included in the value theory by Schwartz (1992)	*these values are non-universal, so they are understood a bit differently in different cultures

"self-indulgence" under hedonism value type, and discussed more about the flexibility of some values fitting more than one value type.

3.3. Ethics

The main focus of the data of this research, and thus also of ethics, is on the social media platform Instagram. Since social media is a rather new field of study, there is no clear legal framework for researchers yet. However, the key ethical concerns arising when doing research, in this context with social media as the data in particular, are presented through the following questions as guided by "Social Media Ethics Framework" (Townsend and Wallace 2016):

- Have the terms and conditions of the chosen social media platform, as well as the disciplinary, legal or institutional guidelines been consulted?
- Is the data considered, or set private or public by the social media user being observed?
- Is the data considered sensitive, or produced by a child or a vulnerable, or not sound-of-mind adult?
- Can the data be shared or published? If published, will the data be anonymised?

The first point relates to legal issues of conducting a research, while the second and third are concerned with privacy and risk factors and the last one with possible publication and re-use of the data. (Townsend and Wallace 2016)

Starting the ethics of this research with consideration of the source of the data – Instagram as a social media platform –, all of the chosen accounts are public, and thus accessible and available to see for any Instagram user. Even non-registered Instagram users can see some of

the content (on public accounts) when searching for a particular account from the Instagram, however only the images and profile pages can be seen and creating an account is required for further exploring.

Regarding the third question, none of the data is – to the best of my knowledge – produced by a child or a vulnerable adult, and does not include sensitive data (e.g. political or religious stance). Considering also whether there is possibility for causing harm, risk, embarrassment or even prosecution if using the data in another context than the original, especially due to the

focus mainly on the *communication of* the values rather than on the analysis of the values themselves (except for the identification and categorization of them), and using only data from public accounts, such risks are minimised. Confidentiality, as Moreno et al. (2013: 711) point out, is "a key to any social media research approach", and thus the protection of participants and their identity is crucial, and avoiding, or using only the necessary identifiers is recommended.

While choosing social media as the source of data is a low-cost, effective option and only requires the use of Social Media Websites (SMWs), this new type of data does not come without challenges either (Moreno et al 2013). Considering all of the above and the general ethical research principles, including also the citation right of scientific research (22§ in Finlex 2020), it can be concluded that it is permitted to use the chosen data for research purposes. However, the legal issues, addressed in the first question, complicate matters to some extent. Although the terms of use and platform policies of Instagram (one of the Facebook products) (2020a, 2020b), does not prohibit the use of the data for research purposes and puts emphasis on the responsibility and choice of the Instagram users to decide whether to make their data public or private and choose carefully what to publish (Instagram 2020a), especially the General Data Protection Regulation, or GDPR (Intersoft Consulting 2020)[4], is a legal matter and requires some extra caution when dealing with personal data. While the chosen data is public, it includes some data (e.g. name, photograph, occupation/workplace, home country) considered personal and that can be used to identify particular person(s) directly or indirectly.

Addressing the final question, the data (as part of my thesis) can, and will be published and can thus be re-used as well. While traditionally the anonymization is one of the core ethical principles of research, due to the multimodal nature and focus on text-image relations, it is necessary to include visual as well as textual data to support and visualize the analysis. For this purpose, two sample posts per brand (as screenshots), are included in my thesis (Figures 5-10, also Figure 3. Since some of the direct identifiers (name, photo) are be included in these posts, and following the GDPR regulations as well as copyright principles, the photographers and people appearing in the images of the sample posts (Figure 5-10) were contacted to request consent to use this data as part of my research, with the permission received from

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[4] "The European Data Protection Regulation is applicable as of May 25th, 2018 in all member states to harmonize data privacy laws across Europe." (Intersoft Consulting 2020)

each. Additionally, since one of the brands, Riikka Couture, is so closely connected and associated with its founder, Riikka Ikäheimo – with her name appearing already in the name of the brand – and because some of the content can be considered more personal and linked to her personal life as well, Ikäheimo was informed of the research. Requesting, and receiving consents as well informing of the research was done via email prior to starting the analysis, and a Data Privacy Notice (in receiver's first language) was sent in all cases. The decisions of legal matters were made under the guidance of, and in agreement with the research services of the University of Helsinki.

Finally, what still should be considered is my own role as a researcher – is there a clear division between me as a researcher and me as a participant when observing and possibly interacting with these accounts? As I am only planning to observe the data, and if I were to react in any visible way to the social media posts (liking, commenting, sharing etc.), it will be completely outside my research and done by me as a social media user for my own pleasure, and not as a researcher to seek more information. Furthermore, as I do not analyse the comment or like-section, this would not affect my analysis in any case.

4 ANALYSIS

Interestingly, while Instagram is particularly visual platform and images are indeed the first and sometimes nearly the only item seen on a post, the values were however mostly – or more explicitly – reflected through the language. In many cases, images acted as the visualization of the values and ideas presented through caption text, but alone did not carry as clear messages relating to values. Textual items, then, acted as an interpretation of and complementary to the images, with the combination of text and image offering the most fruitful way to reflect brand values in a versatile and appealing, but concise way.

If considering Instagram as a channel for communicating text-image relations from the technical perspective, due to the built-in structure and layout the image (usually) comes first – supporting the role of Instagram as a photo-sharing platform, with the initial focus on the visual aspects. From this view, the caption acts as an anchorage (Barthes 1977); describing the image more precisely; "anchoring" its meaning and thus controlling the interpretations of it (Bateman 2014) and thus gives the brand control on what they want the consumer to focus on. However, as seen in the sample posts (Figure 5-10), on laptop version – when looking at the posts from the profile page of an account – text and image come side by side. Considering this more equal position, and if focusing purely on the on the reflection of values through text and image, the caption can also be seen as an *elaboration* of what is seen - or implied - in the image (Barthes 1977). Caption as elaboration makes the (hidden) meanings and feature of the garment, or some other aspect shown in the image, more explicit to the viewer. The image, then, acts as a form of illustration Barthes (1977) referred to as *illustration*, supporting and elaborating what the caption states and highlights. Together, caption as an elaboration and anchorage of the image, it can both determine the point of focus on the image, as well as elaborate on its meanings.

Shifting the focus on the values identified and analysed, reflections of the values on Instagram posts of each brand during 2019 are curated under one table per brand for a more concise presentations of the observations of the data, and to get an overview of the features analysed. The categorization of the value items on text and image is guided by the universal basic value types by Schwartz (1992, 2006) and Helkama (2015), however with flexibility of altering or adding values based on the data. While related to values, this study will be "value-free" and thus objective as such, with no personal values affecting the analysis or results. The values

will also be studied merely on the surface level, since although the values are identified and categorized, they will not be studied or analyzed much further. However, since the data was collected and is observed by one person only, it adds a subjective, interpretive dimension to the analysis. Although, especially with connotative; second/associative meanings, "it is almost impossible to be either incomplete or mistaken in giving an account of that meaning" (Barnard 1996: 83), i.e. to say that what someone associates with something is "wrong". Furthermore, with images as even more interpretative than text, Barthes (1983) describes the struggle of the analysis and use of each mode as follows:

> "[T]he meaning of an image is never certain. Language eliminates this freedom, but also this uncertainty…The image freezes an endless number of possibilities; words determine a single certainty", giving the language more authority to determine the point of focus" (13)

While the data is from *fashion* brands, the products – and the Instagram posts – are also about more than fashion, and thus the term "clothing" is also used when referring to the products, with both fashion and clothing as means of communication (Barnard 1996). Even clothing, in some of the posts, is "more than a matter of 'aesthetics' or of 'style'", in the words of Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001: 25) as they discussed the aesthetics of living and decoration.

To keep the tables easier to follow and less heavy, not all forms of expression were included if a similar idea had been expressed more than once in different words (e.g. "working hard", "working hard works", "Dreams come with hard work", "you receive all of them [miracles] by working hard", etc.). In these cases, only one such example is included

4.1. Analysis: Hálo

On their Instagram account profile, @halofromnorth (Hálo 2020c) Hálo uses the slogans "Design like nothing else" and "From the cool side of the world", with corresponding hashtags. These slogans – mostly as hashtags – are also used throughout the posts, highlighting the inspiration from the arctic Finnish Lapland and the high-quality, exclusive designs.

The general atmosphere in the posts from 2019 reflects calm, fresh, joyful and relaxed feel, as well as the close connection to (Arctic) nature and the Nordic – or Finnish – ideals of pureness, simplicity and functionality, combined with exclusive designs. Many of these

features are reflected especially through the caption, in many cases through the variety of hashtags. In Table 2 (Appendix), the items reflecting the values are categorized, with the values "support", "timelessness", and "sustainability" added under the value types to better describe the values reflected on the posts, while "happiness/joy" was added as a completely new value outside of the value types. All in all, the value types reflected on through text and image on Hálo's Intagram posts in 2019 were hedonism, tradition, benevolence, universalism, conformity and security values, with the more specific values stated in Table 2.

As mentioned above, in captions Hálo relies much on the use of hashtags as indicating relevant and important topics, such as references to the Nordic/Arctic/Finnish Lapland through #nordic, #lapland, #hálofromnorth, #finland, #nordicdesign and #arctic to mention a few. In addition, references to Finnishness and thus to respect of (own) culture is a rather organic part of the Instagram posts, and the brand in general, with the use of Finnish product, such as #kaarnapants or #ruskacoat, often mentioned through hashtags. Also in the other parts of caption, the focus is often on indicating what is found important, and thus valued, such as "concern about the destruction of the Arctic". Furthermore, the captions include encouragements to, for example, relax and "Have a lazy weekend", as well as elaboration on the features, function or (hidden) meanings of a product, which is often presented in the accompanying image: "'softest wool silk', 'timeless piece', '100% VEGAN certified fabric', 'recognition to a famous Finnish painter'. These aspects are also communicated through hashtags, such as #classic, #paintercollaboration, #veganfabric and #nordicminimalism.

In images, the presence of moderation and minimalism is rather prominent. For example, simple and/or natural(istic) settings, moderate make-up and hair styling. serious or neutral facial expressions and neutral, or harmonious tones are general. With settings outside, the Nordic location is often implicated: warm coats and scarfs reflecting colder; more Arctic weather, the presence of hare's tail cottongrass ("tupasvilla") as a common plant growing in Lapland, and snow in some of the photographs. The presence of nature itself, then, indicates the connection to, and beauty of nature, with some people bare-feet to emphasize the unity with nature. This naturalness, as well as feel of enjoyment and pleasure, is highlighted in the natural make-up and styling of the people, as well as through the natural-seeming smiles, laughter and tranquillity reflected through the facial expressions and relaxed poses. In relation to the clothing; to the fashion itself, perhaps the clearest communicative signals are the loose fit, neutral colours and nature-inspired patterns, indicating the appreciation of freedom, unity

with and beauty of nature, and moderation, while also more colour-rich designs are seen, with even those appearing as harmonious ensembles. Some of the designs also reflect appreciation of art – although, without the caption, the artwork or painter Reidar Särestöniemi will be recognizable only for those with prior knowledge of his works.

While in many cases the image acts as a visualization of what is communicated through language, and could also stand on its own representing the fashion, style, products and general atmosphere of the brand, with such complex concept as values, they would hardly be sufficient alone. With the company of language in the captions, more and deeper meanings can be revealed of the image, although the values are usually not explicitly stated in the captions either, as in telling "Our values are…", "We value…", or through other such expressions. The caption also brings the attention to what Hálo wishes to highlight, such as the pattern or design, the surroundings (e.g. nature), the person(s), or the atmosphere. Next, two sample posts by Hálo will be analysed more closely, with the focus on text-image relations in particular.

In Figure 5, the main focus in on conformity and universal values, expressed most clearly through the caption and hashtags. "Hálo in the lead and proud to announce to be the first one to use 100% VEGAN fabric" as well as the hashtag #veganfabric indicates towards the value type of conformity and/or universalism by likely referring to animal protection by using vegan, "cruelty-free" option, while choosing vegan fabric might also be related to, for example, climate issues. The conservation of nature and concern about climate change as universalism values also comes through the mention of donations being made to protect the Arctic areas, and through the hashtag #preventglobalwarming. While – considering the weather conditions – the photo is not likely taken by the actual Arctic Ocean, it however foregrounds the importance of, and connection to nature.

The direct, captivating gaze of the model – in Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) terms when focusing on the systems established relationship between the viewer and participant – implies a *demand* (a system of "Contact"), catches the viewer's attention, with the rather serious expression suited for the important and current issues presented in the text. The direct, determined gaze could also be seen as ambitious, reflecting the achievement values and most likely directed towards the goal and achievement of being the first brand to use fully vegan fabric. As in most of the sample posts in this thesis, the photograph is taken from a frontal,
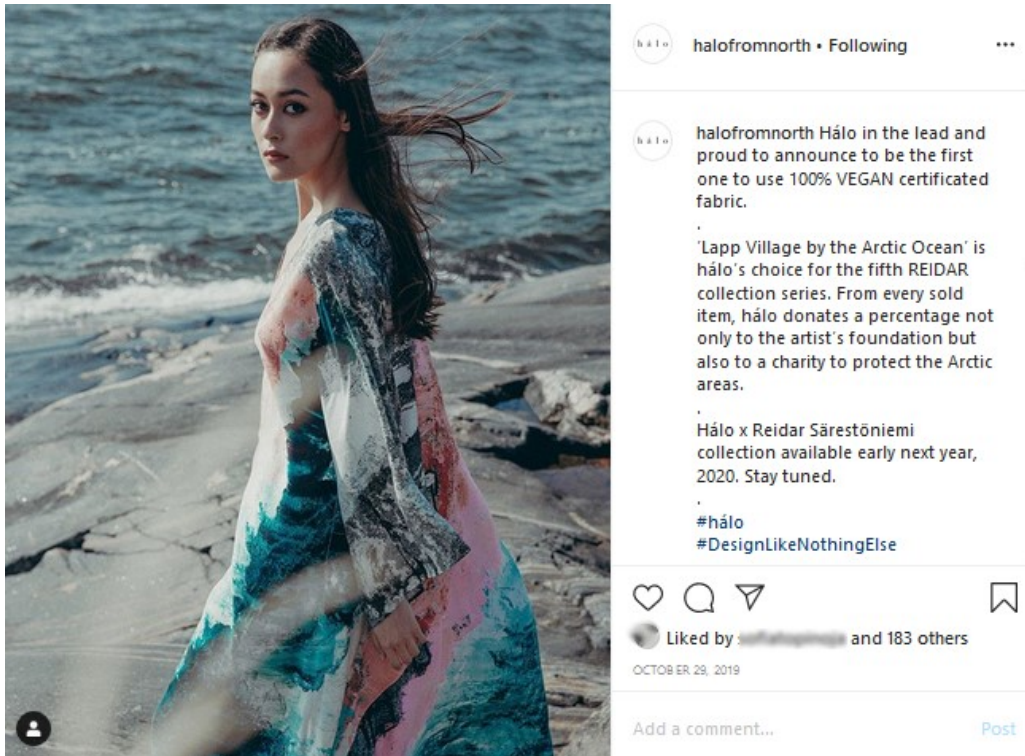
Figure 5 @halofromnorth, 29.10.2019. (Screenshot) https://www.instagram.com/p/B4M7-saB38i/
Photographer: Lauri Laukkanen

Hálo in the lead and proud to announce to be the first one to use 100% VEGAN certified fabric.
"Lapp Village by the Arctic Ocean" is hálo's choice for the fifth REIDAR collection series. From
every sold item, hálo donates a percentage not only to the artist's foundation but also to a charity to
protect the Arctic areas. Hálo x Reidar Särestöniemi collection available early next year, 2020. Stay
tuned. #hálo #DesignLikeNothingElse #FromTheCoolSideOfTheWorld #háloxreidarsärestöniemi
#reidarsärestöniemi #myhalo #ss20 #veganfabric #charitycause #arcticareas #preventglobalwarming
#ラップランド　#フィンランド　#北欧　#北欧デザイン

eye-level angle (systems of "Involvement" and "Attitude"), the first indicating *involvement*
*(*in this case of the consumers of social media), and the latter giving the image the dimension
of *equality* (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006), adding yet another layer to the value- laden post.
In a platform considered inherently social – while being first and foremost a photo-sharing
service – Instagram posts highly encourage for the user to involve in the liking, commenting,
sharing and other actions, as well as getting involved, and familiar with different brands – and
their values. To complement this social function, the medium shot, indicating *sociality* and
included in the system of "Social distance" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) is used – as in
most of the other images of the sample posts –, in this post inviting other social media users to

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think about, and possibly share their thoughts about the vegan fabric, among other things referred to in the post.

In this post, a reference to the Nordics – or the #arcticareas –, an area of interest and source of inspiration near and dear for Hálo, is through the hashtag #FromTheCoolSideOfTheWorld, which the usual colour palette of cool tones, and the almost touchable feel of the fresh, chill ocean breeze also enhances. Furthermore, the last four hashtags – in Japanese – promote the importance of the Nordics further, with the hashtags roughly meaning: #ラップランド 'Lapland'
#フィンランド 'Finland', #北欧 'Nordics' and #北欧デザイン 'Nordic design'.
The choice of Japanese target audience especially is likely connected to the shared love of nature in both Finland and Japan, as well as the general enthusiasm of the Nordics in Japan. Foregrounding the source of inspiration and home base for Hálo, the value of respecting the tradition of (own) culture and thus locality is also reflected, while simultaneously appealing to a global audience (Thurlow and Aiello 2007) especially through the use of English as a "global language".

In addition to the conformity and universal values, this post also reflects the value of ''World of beauty': in the caption it is stated that '[f]rom every sold item, hálo donates a percentage...to the artists foundation', indicating the appreciation, and thus value of art for the brand. The design on seen on the dress of the image is one example of the items made in collaboration with Särestöniemi. The reference to the donations made for each purchase in general, then, reflect the value of benevolence, characterized by acting helpful and responsible. Use of the hashtag #charitycause also foregrounds the importance of this topic. While the image does not state the issues discussed in the caption, it does however have the same elements present in the photograph: clothing made of the 100% vegan certified fabric and portraying the artwork of Särestöniemi, what *could,* in the viewers´s imagination, be an Arctic Ocean in the background, and nature which relates to the topic of global warming as well as the Arctic areas. It is thus an illustration of what is said, while the caption is an elaboration of what is show in the image. The loose-fitting of the dress, then, for example, can be seen as signifier, signifying (the value of) freedom, and together forming a sign of "liberating silhouettes", as is also the case with many – if not most – of Marimekko´s designs.

The post in Figure 6, consisting of series of four images and the caption, catches the consumer's eye with the eerie and calm, relaxed atmosphere and the natural feel and connection to nature and inner peace. This is achieved especially through the images with relaxed, natural pose and styling of the model, setting in nature and with bare feet in one of the photos, connecting the model also physically to her (natural) surroundings. The calm, thoughtful and hopeful gaze of the model in this image, and the natural smile in another hint
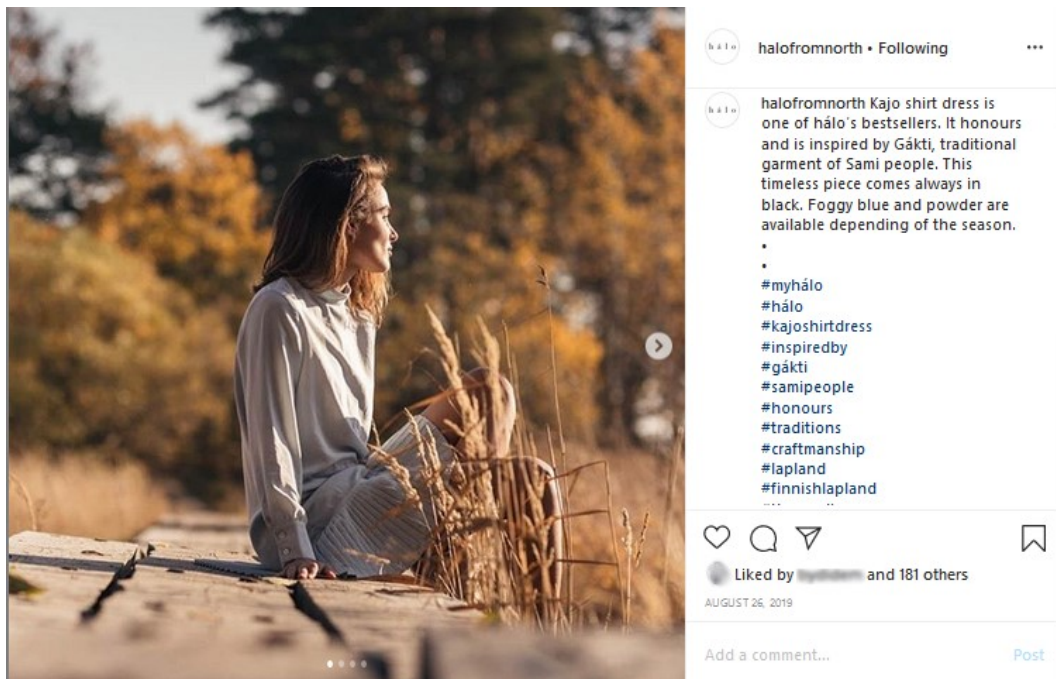

Figure 6 @halofromnorth, 26.8. 2019. (Screenshot) https://www.instagram.com/p/B1ol8UxhrIx/

Photographer: Angelina Ilmast (4 images altogether)

Kajo shirt dress is one of hálo's bestsellers. It honours and is inspired by Gákti, traditional garment of Sami people. This timeless piece comes always in black. Foggy blue and powder are available depending of the season. #myhálo #hálo #kajoshirtdress #inspiredby #gákti #samipeople #honours #traditions #craftmanship #lapland #finnishlapland #thenordics #háloinspiration #stories #storiesbehindhálodesigns #designedinfinland #pleateddress #womenswear

towards the hedonism and universalism values of pleasure, enjoying life and inner balance, through joy and calmness. In contrast to the previous sample post, there is a lack of gaze to the viewer in this post, presenting the image as an *offer* (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006). The image also communicates something between social and *impersonal* nature (ibid.) of the photo, with what seems like a medium long shot, with full visibility of the person and yet not much of the surroundings included, with the content of the image, with only one person, itself highlighting more of the value of independence.

The "timeless piece" she is wearing represents not only tradition values given to it verbally in the caption, but also the value of freedom – the apparent freedom to move freely in the dress, with the hem moving and the relatively loose fit coming through even more clearly in two of the photos in the series. Tradition values, and especially that of respecting a culture, is expressed as a reference to the inspiration behind the dress: "It [the dress] honours and is inspired by Gákti, traditional garment of Sami people". This reference to Sámi people, along with the hashtags #gákti, #samipeople, #lapland, #finnishlapland, #thenordics and #designedinfinland, foreground tradition values and the value of culture and roots, with #kajodress again including a Finnish product name as well. Respect for culture and its habits can also be seen present in the hashtag #craftmanship and #pleateddress, likely referring to the techniques and skills required for making a Gákti, thus also highlighting competence. As mentioned above, respect for tradition is also expressed in "This timeless piece", with the dress indeed representing rather minimalistic, common shape of a (loose) dress. Tradition values and their importance in general are further emphasized with the hashtags #traditions, #honours and #háloinspiration.

The image acts as an illustration (Barthes 1977) of the caption by supplementing and helping to truly understand it. The image visualized Hálo's idea of a dress that draws its inspiration from, but is not, an actual Gákti.

4.2. Analysis: Riikka Couture

While the Nordicness, closeness to nature, modesty and exclusive pattern designs, among other things, were on the focus on Hálo's account, the posts on the account of Riikka Couture in 2019 reflect a luxurious and glamorous , elegant, timeless, ambient and empowering atmosphere. Riikka Couture relies much on story-telling and encouraging words in captions, with the slogan "Timeless Glamour With Kindness" on the Instagram profile (Riikka Couture 2020b) and also included in the namesake Classics collection. With less reliance on the hashtags but rather on more personal voice through text, the presence and personality of the founder of the brand comes through more clearly and intensively, with many images featuring Ikäheimo herself and foregrounding this.

The value types reflected on @riikkacouture are achievement, hedonism, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity and work values (see Table 3), reflecting the most value types out of the three brands, and as the only brand reflecting the value type

"Work" specific to Finnish culture (Helkama 2015). In addition, the value 'High quality' was added outside the value types due to the unsuitability of these categories – when analysing values in the context of a brand, it is almost inevitable that not *human* values alone can match all the values represented by a brand that is also about *products.* While high quality is a value appreciated *by the brand,* and thus by the company (and people) behind the brand, it is also more of a quality "inherent in objects" (Schwartz 1992: 1). This value is reflected through statements of the careful quality control of the products – "The quality is tested every time we receive a new model by the founder Riikka, and she wants to make sure each piece lasts through life" – as well as implied through expressions like "long-lasting classic" and "custom-made". In the images, there are indications of the hand-made, and thus high-quality features of the products with photographs featuring the designer herself working on a dress, or cutting lace, for example, while high quality can be seen as reflected through the luxurious materials (lace, silk, etc.) as well. In addition to high quality, the values "happiness/joy" and "doing things with love" were added outside of the categories. Although Sagiv and Schwartz (2000, in Schwartz 2006) did not include happiness in the hedonism – or under any other – value type as they see it is achieved through the outcome of any value, it is included (in combination with "joy") due to it being rather highly present in itself on the posts. It comes through, for example, smiling people and expressions such as "Do things you love", "Do things with love", "enjoy life the fullest!" or "onnesta kasvaa kaiken tarkoitus" (from happiness grows the meaning of everything). As in the case of Hálo, also with Riikka Couture some more specific values – "support" and "timelessness" – were added under the value types to better describe the values reflected on the data.

In captions, as mentioned above, Riikka Couture relies more on longer, in-depth texts, many of which in the form of story-telling or as an encouraging, inspirational and/or informative text, such as in the sample posts (Figure 7 and 6). In cases where there is a relation to the story of brand, and thus directly related to the founder, Riikka Ikäheimo, the caption is usually accompanied with a photograph of her as well, tying the post clearly and intensively to more personal aspects and viewpoints.

Through images, the luxurious and glamorous, timeless, dreamy and ambitious world of Riikka Couture truly comes through, with the caption highlighting and elaborating on these features: luxurious settings and details (with e.g. pillars, golden and silver details, roses, pearls and other jewellery, estate/palace-like decor and buildings, etc.) glamorous dresses,

luxurious materials (e.g. lace, silk), carefully styled hair and make-up, and also the logo "Riikka Couture". These features indicate especially the values of self-indulgence and pleasure, timelessness, and ambition – as well as aesthetics (see e.g. Gaus et al 2010), which however is not explicitly indicated, or discussed in caption. More textual/visual features reflecting values on Riikka Couture's posts can be seen from Table 3 (in Appendix).

The post in Figure 7, alongside with many of the others at @riikkacouture account, encourages the audience for reaching for, and believing in their dreams. The confident pose and direct gaze, *a demand* (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006), captivates the eye and invites to familiarize with the content of the post more deeply. The confidence and ambience coming through the image is reinforced in the caption, reflecting self-direction and achievement values of choice of own goals, independence, self-respect and ambience by encouraging to "make it happen" by following your passion or "grind", knowing your worth and believing in yourself, which "keeps you going when no one is watching". The especially Finnish value of resilience is reflected in advising to reach for the dreams "Step by Step. Moment by moment. [Since] [n]othing valuable is ever given, it's build. Nothing valuable comes easy, it takes time." Ikäheimo also directly encourages to believe in yourself, emphasizing the self-direction values. Her confidently wearing own design enhances this message further.

In addition to achievement and self-direction values, universalism value of equality is also communicated as advising "not just...women but…each soul" to "work hard and know your worth", as well as through the eye-level angle (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006). At the same time, Ikäheimo also supports especially women's place in business, as a business woman herself, and through the hashtag #womeninbusiness. The hashtags #gracekelly and #oldhollywood, as well as the dress, styling and setting reflecting the traditional old Hollywood glamour style also suggest the tradition values of timelessness and appreciation of, and inspiration from the past, while the silky material of the dress, roses and generally luxurious setting imply towards hedonism value of self-indulgence and (sensory) pleasure.
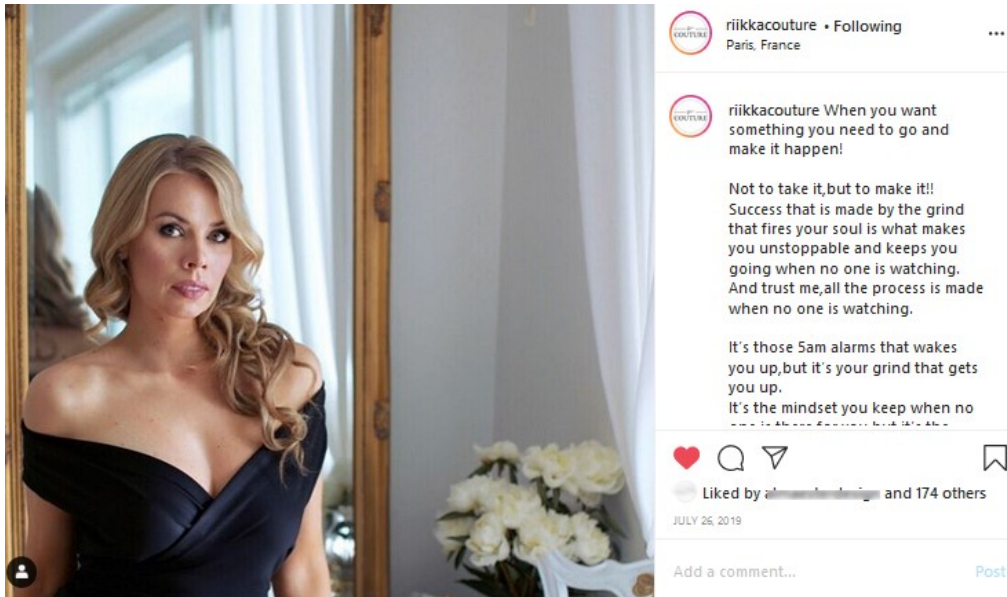
When you want something you need to go and make it happen!
Not to take it, but to make it!! Success that is made by the grind that fires your soul is what makes you unstoppable and keeps you going when no one is watching.
And trust me, all the process is made when no one is watching.
It's those 5am alarms that wakes you up, but it's your grind that gets you up.
It's the mindset you keep when no one is there for you, but it's the same grind mindset that makes the same ones follow you later…because it got you that far.

What gives you that grind feeling?
Go for that thing and reach it!
Step by step,
Moment by moment.
Nothing valuable is ever given, it's build.
Nothing valuable comes easy, it takes time.

I have always been very driven.
But things changed massively when I trusted myself and started to grind towards my dream and followed that fire couple years ago.
Now next month new brand concept will be released and I hope you guys will like it.

I never say women work hard and know your worth! Simply because I believe it's an advice to everyone.
Not just to women but to each soul that is walking this journey called life.
Know your worth and grind with that value!
Ps I'm wearing Nightsky dress colour black from my new collection.
Photo my dear friend @saarataussi #riikkacouture #fashiondesigner #helsinkifashionweek #gracekelly #oldhollywood #womeninbusiness #fashionlabel #brand #saarataussi

In the post in Figure 8, the values represented are tradition, achievement, benevolence and hedonism values. While the text carries most of these meanings, the image enhances the idea of especially benevolence value of support (of the customers), in what seems like a portrayal of a shopping situation, where the sales person is presenting the T-shirt to a (potential) customer. In the caption, this is expressed in "support many people", "we collaborate with many other finnish entrepreneurs" and "we thank you for your support".

The achievement value of ambition is indicated in descriptions of different people working for their dreams and knowing what they want from life and "trying to build her dream future", and can be thought to be implicitly present in the image as well: the T-shirt with the brand's logo as embodiment of achieving dreams by having the products sold at stores.

The tradition value of respecting (own) culture comes through in "we collaborate with many other finnish entrepreneurs", and humbleness in "we thank you" and "Our dream is all we have" – while collaboration in itself can also be seen as reflecting, for example, value of support, reciprocity of favors, or true friendship/loyalty.

In this post, the value *of* – an object – is also highly present, since the price, or the (economic) value; the worth of the T-shirt is opened up in the caption, alongside with the visualization of what the customer could get by buying the product. The values of the brand itself; what guides their actions and is held valuable; is explained and tightly linked to the physical product, indicating that it is not "just" a T-shirt, but a high-quality product that also helps to support many other entrepreneurs and their dreams besides Riikka Couture, as well as encourage and empower the customer themselves to reach for their own dreams and goals. "High quality" as a value in itself is both the ultimate goal, and thus a desired feature of a product, as well as linked to the process and motivations behind the actions, leading to this end-state. In this post, high quality is indicated through the promise "The quality is tested everytime we recieve a new model by the founder Riikka, and she wants to make sure each piece lasts through life". In the image, high quality can be inferred from the style of the logo, and the word "couture" indicating this, along with the hints of a more high-end store: the white box with golden detailing, other more fancy-looking details on the background, glass tables, and indications of proper customer service. Lastly, the hedonism value of enjoying life and self-indulgence is expressed through "those happy moments inside of it [life]" as well as the implication of a (virtual) shopping experience of luxurious products.

Figure 8 @riikkacouture, 19.10.2019. (Screenshot) https://www.instagram.com/p/B3yU29JBrOD/
Photographer: Jere Viinikainen
The price of our T-Shirt:

It's our best selling product.
The one that goes with everything.
For the classic business woman walking at the rush hour to her life changing meeting, or a sport lover who's training towards her dreams at the gym or for a student knowing what she wants in life and who is trying to build her dream future.
It's made for you guys, you really have found our brand.
But mostly you have found yourself from our brand.
And that is amazing!

We wanted to open up the price of the Shirts for you and let you know why they are priced from 90€ and up.
By buying our shirt you are not just supporting our brand.
It's not the price that goes to our founders pocket.
It's a price you pay and support many people in so many ways.
We collaborate with many other finnish entrepreneurs like our retailers ,their workers, photographers, models ,and many other.
It's alot of people with dreams involved to the process from the moment we recieve the product until it arrives to your closet.
The quality is tested everytime we recieve a new model by the founder Riikka, and she wants to make sure each piece lasts through life and those happy moments inside of it.
The price you pay is not just money.
It's a dream of many of us that have come together working towards our dreams.
And we thank you for your support.
Our dream is all we have.

Sincerely,
Riikka Couture Team #riikkacouture #dotshelsinki #dotsturku #mymiloustore #mymiloutampere #hämeenlinna #helsinki #womenentrepreneurs #entrepreneur #vaateliike #yellowstore #jyväskylä

While the oblique – that is, indirect – angle, from the perspective of the person in the photograph, would communicate *detachment* (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006), the perspective of the image is actually frontal and taken from an eye-level, thus communicating involvement and equality instead – well suited for the social, inclusive purposes of the posts, and foregrounding the relationship between the company and the consumer when it comes to consumption of products. This relationship is also created through the contrast between the image and text, and also within each mode. While the text focuses mostly on the product and the reasoning behind its pricing – also appealing to the customer as to what power they can have by buying this product –, the image then creates the sense of a (supposed) customer perspective, enhanced by what is more of a close shot (from the "customers" perspective) and thus making the effect more *intimate/personal* (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006).

4.3. Analysis: Marimekko

On their Instagram profile description, Marimekko keeps it simple with the statement "Bringing joy to everyday life through bold prints and colors since 1951", accompanied with the hashtag #marimekko, also included on many – if not most – of the posts.

When it comes to the actual posts on the Instagram feed, Marimekko brings in a colourful, creative set of posts through its multi-coloured, bold patterns alone, with their values also reflecting creativity, joy and boldness to be "true to your nature", with "Bold by Nature" as their theme for 2019. These, as well as especially connection to nature and freedom through the "power of liberating silhouettes" shines through the images in particular. Overall, the values reflected in Marimekko's Instagram posts in 2019 through text and image are (Table 4, in Appendix) stimulation, hedonism, self-direction, universalism, benevolence and tradition values, as well as the added values of joy/happiness, functionality and high quality outside of the value categories by Schwartz (1992). In addition, as with Hálo and Riikka Couture, more specific values were added under the value types, such as the stimulation value of "(sensory) stimulation", with items such as "rich and nuanced [print]", "multifaceted [print]", "Versatile [dress]", "vibrant colours" and the actual representations of these in images – which, some might say, could also be seen as reflecting creativity, for example.

While the added values "happiness/joy" and "high quality" is reflected on the Instagram posts of both Riikka Couture and Marimekko, "functionality" was also present on Marimekko's

posts, mostly through descriptions such as "a functional bag series", "for all moments in life", "works in every weather", "a perfect balance of function and style", and in images through the freedom to move in the clothing, also reflecting the self-direction value of "freedom".

The captions in Marimekko's 2019 Instagram posts are generally medium-length of around few sentences, while hashtags are used rather sparsely, with often only – or at least – including the hashtag #marimekko and thus connecting each post tightly to the brand. The parts of captions reflecting values included, for example: suggestions to achieve something through the items (e.g. to "Spice up your style"), descriptions of the products (e.g. "rich and versatile patterns and colours", "forest-inspired prints", "made from wool", "minimalistic yet flattering"), indications of what more the products can offer than "just clothing" (e.g. "brings joy to everyday life", "Set your creativity free", "Even stripes for equality"), bringing up topics important and central for Marimekko (e.g. "liberated not only from unyielding waistlines but also narrow thinking", "Our theme for 2019: Bold by Nature", "promoting equality since 1968"), or introductions of inspiring, "creative individuals" that reflect what Marimekko values, and admires, such as someone who "follow[s] her passion" or "walked their own path and created their own fate". In addition, as with Hálo, Marimekko also uses Finnish pattern and product names (e.g. Unikko, Pilvipuutarha, Kivet, Viidakko, etc.) and thus includes Finnishness and through that the respect for culture as organic part of the posts, and the brand. (see Table 4, Appendix)

In the images the values, and ideals are represented through, for example, the rich, joyful, creative, bold and versatile patterns and colours, smiling and laughing, relaxed people, soft-looking materials, natural settings or materials (such as wood), loose-fitting clothing, nature-themed patterns, minimalistic; natural hair and make-up and posing; joyful, calm, relaxed, minimalistic or bold atmosphere created through the setting and surroundings, styling, posture and facial expression, and for example people showing friendship or love through holding hands, leaning onto each other or hugging.

In figure 9, the values represented are self-direction values of freedom, creativity and independence, achievement value of and ambience, universalism values of equality, open-mindedness and connection to, and beauty of nature, and art, respect for tradition, as well as the sensory stimulation through the variety of bold, bright colours and patterns.

Figure 9. @marimekko, 19.5.2019. (Screenshot)

https://www.instagram.com/p/BxplUGuFT0r/ Photographed by musla.fi team

We are in love with this gorgeous picture of the inspiring Enni, Kirsikka, and Mia from @musla.fi wearing our Viidakko patterned summer dresses. (Enni: Ainainen Viidakko -dress, Kirsikka: Väkevä Viidakko -dress and Mia: Kutitus Viidakko -dress.)

This season is all about the power of liberating silhouettes. The impressive Viidakko (jungle) pattern was designed by Pentti Rinta in 1981. Explore dress arrivals at marimekko.com and in-store. #marimekko

The value of freedom is most clearly stated through the caption "all about the power of liberating silhouettes", which is enhanced by the loose, liberate fit of the dresses as seen on the image. The dresses also reflect the self-direction value of creativity through their creative patterns, the universalism value of connection to, and beauty of nature in the nature-inspired pattern – and name – of the dress prints, with the artistic touch suggesting the value "beauty of art". Bright, "joyful" and contrasting colours as these are also often thought to brighten up a day and bring joy, or reflect a light-hearted mood (Barnard 1996: 57), thus hinting towards the value of happiness and joy. In contrast to these, the facial expressions and gaze of the three women are direct and rather serious and even a bit grim, leaning more towards the look of, for example, determination and thus perhaps towards ambitiousness. However, these types of features are highly interpretative, a priori assumptions and not implied in the caption, and thus can not be said for sure.

Presentation of three woman as part of the same team leans towards the representation of the security, or tradition value of belonging to a group, while it is also a versatile, yet equal-seeming group of women of different looks and sizes, thus reflecting the universalism value of equality; one of the important topics and goals of Marimekko, as well as open-mindedness for different kinds of people. While the women are situated in different levels and do not have for example eye contact between each other on the photo, there is a connection between them through the physical, though discreet, contact. The photograph is taken from a frontal angle, again a signal for involvement (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006), while both eye-level and low angle (indicating *equality* and *power*) are present: the eye-level angle is clearest with the woman in front, while also the brunette (back, right) is looking at the viewer on eye-level,

although lifting her chin, while the woman in the back is the only one standing and has a low-angle perspective in relation to the viewer, indicating more power. These different angles and placing of the women create tension in the photo, foregrounding the individuality as well as group dynamics between them; the post in whole reflects them more as a group of individuals, each as unique but still working as a team – doing things *together*. This unity is also created through the same pattern, while again also highlighting their individuality through different shapes and styles of the dresses.

Lastly, by stating that the "impressive" print is from the 1980ʹs, a value for the past (and thus tradition) is shown, alongside with signs of respect for (Finnish) culture, since the print is by a Finnish designer Pentti Rinta, and all of the women from Musla are Finnish as well – as is the brand itself, of course. These aspects are only really present in the caption, while the women in the photo do portray some of the stereotypical features of Finnish (or Nordic) people at least to some extent, through what seems like (dark) blonde hair on two of the women, typical facial features and relatively fair skin, for example.

In the Marimekko post in Figure 10, the values reflected are hedonism and universalism values of enjoying life and unity with, and beauty of nature, as well as the value of respect for tradition. The caption "perfect choice for that laid-back summer mood" as well as the loose dress, relaxed smile and pose capture the hedonism value of pleasure and enjoying life. The loose fit of the dress also reflects freedom, and the classic, nature-themed Unikko pattern reflects the connection to nature, while the abstract, creative form of the flower can be seen as reflecting the self-direction value of creativity, and/or beauty of art.

Figure 10. @marimekko, 30.6.2019. (Screenshot)

https://www.instagram.com/p/BxplUGuFT0r/ Photographer: Viena Kangas

Brace yourself for the summer festivities with the pink and orange Unikko (poppy) pattern, Maija Isola's beloved flower from 1964. The Utelias crepe dress @jennipupulandia is wearing is the perfect choice for that laid-back summer mood – complete your look with the matching Aallo Pieni Unikko hat. Find yours at marimekko.com and in-store. #marimekko

As in the previous Marimekko post, also in this post the caption highlights designs and designers from the past, in this case the iconic, "beloved", Unikko (poppy) print by the Finnish Maija Isola from 1964, as indeed likely one of the most beloved and recognized prints also around the globe, thus showing tradition values of respecting tradition (the past) as well as culture (Finland and Finnish designers). Finnishness, and respect of the (local) culture is also visible in the image through the very Finnish/Nordic-look, with very fair skin and blonde hair, typical facial features and height, in addition to the "shy smile" regular among "us Finns". Additionally, the rather minimalistic and modest setting, and pose, reflect humbleness and modesty, also rather common among Finnish people.

5 DISCUSSION

While multimodality, as well as social media platforms offer versatile means for multi-layered, meaningful communication, the communication of the complex concept of values is not that straight-forward – especially, if wanting to include values as an organic part of the message. However, as shown through the data, both explicit and implicit signs of values could be found through both text and image, especially through closer analysis of the sample posts.

5.1 Brand values on Instagram: case Hálo, Riikka Couture and Marimekko

The values found to be reflected on the Instagram posts of Hálo, Riikka Couture and Marimekko in 2019 were mainly categorized under the universal basic value types by Schwartz (1992, 2006) and the added value type work added by Helkama (2015) based on his research of values in Finnish context. However, when applying human values to brand context, the need for extension of these values is nearly inevitable. Thus, the values joy, happiness, functionality and high quality were suggested by me, based on the data. The latter two did not fit any of the value types, while Schwartz (2006) did not want to include "happiness" under the hedonism (or any other) value type. Furthermore, functionality and high quality are more of qualities of an object, rather than principles guiding action. They are more about the end-state, while the goal in itself may also act as motivator guiding the actions. Also, while high quality may be rooted into something more than the quality of a product in itself (e.g. sustainability or being economic by making long-lasting products), functionality might also be a reflection of something more, such as the goal of freedom and "liberating silhouettes", as with Marimekko. Of these added values, happiness and joy were reflected with all the brands, high quality also with Riikka Couture and Marimekko, and functionality with Marimekko alone. In addition to these completely new values, some values (e.g. support, timelessness, sustainability and animal rights) were added also under the value types to better describe the features reflected in the posts.

All in all, to answer the first research question, the value types reflected in the Instagram posts from 2019 in the accounts of @halofromnorth, @riikkacouture and @marimekko through text and image were: hedonism, self-direction, achievement, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity and work value types, with the list of values under the value types curated under Table 2, 3 and 4 (in Appendix). The value type power was not reflected in any of the 2019

posts, and value types work and achievement were only reflected in Riikka Couture's posts, while stimulation values were only reflected by Marimekko, and security value(s) only by Hálo. Value types reflected by all the brands were hedonism, universalism, benevolence and tradition values, however with variation within each value type. For example, of self-direction values only equality was represented by all brands, while protecting the environment/sustainability by Hálo only. From benevolence values true friendship and mature love, and from tradition values respect for culture/tradition, humbleness, moderation and timelessness were represented by all brands, while hedonism value type (with values enjoying life, (sensory) pleasure and self-indulgence) was the only one with all the values represented by all the brands – values in a sense representing a sense of (Finnish) "hygge" in different ways. The other values were represented by one or two of the brands (see Table 2, 3 and 4, in Appendix), with conformity and self-direction as the only value types represented by two (and not one or all three) of the brands. Conformity value type, then, was the only category represented by more than one brand, but with the brands reflecting different values within that type (Hálo: cleanliness, Riikka Couture: politeness).

When comparing the represented values by locating them within the value circle (Figure 1, in 2.2.), the differences as well as similarities between the brands and their values come through even more clearly. From value types leaning towards foregrounding oneself, hedonism value type was the only one fully represented by all the brands. Interestingly, then, the rest of the value types on this side of the circle were only represented by one brand: stimulation values by Marimekko, achievement values by Riikka Couture, and security value(s) by Hálo. The rest of the value types (and in fact the most values/value types represented by the brands), then, lean towards the opposite, more "selfless" and socially oriented side of exceeding oneself, with universalism and benevolence values most strongly oriented towards this. On the horizontal axis, Riikka Couture and Marimekko lean most towards the direction of flexibility and thus openness to change, while at the same time both brands, and Hálo as well, reflect the tradition values on the opposite end, representing the conservation side of the value spectrum. In between the most conservation-seeking and self-enhancing values, Hálo is the only brand represented, however rather minimally with only reflecting the security value cleanliness, and even that very minimally and/or implicitly on the posts. All in all, then, the brands truly show variation in the values they reflect on their Instagram posts, as well as the general versatility (and complexity) of values. While some of the values represented by a

brand may seem to be in total conflict, especially if analysing them through the value circle, the analysis conducted on this thesis and the categorisations of values and value types does not tell hierarchies of the values within each brand, and the relevance that each value has in different situations and circumstances. It does show, however, that different values may indeed be the different sides of the same coin, and as Schwartz (2006) also noted, may be more dependent on the priorities set upon them, than on the actual values that someone possesses, or does not possess.

Most of the posts analysed included reflections of several values and/or value types, with some values standing out as some of the most common within each brand, such as values relating to Arctic nature and Finnish Lapland with Hálo's, boldness with Marimekko, and ambition to reach dreams with Riikka Couture. Some features were common among all, or two of the brands – at least to some extent, and in one form or another: encouragements and/or representations of self-indulgence, pleasure and enjoying life; moderation and timelessness (e.g. in hair and make-up styling, setting, poses), close relation to nature (Marimekko and Hálo), spreading happiness and love and showing true friendship, equality (e.g. the (ethnic) versatility of people in the photos, and the theme discussed in caption) and connections to, and reflections of Finnishness and thus respect for culture.

Shifting the focus of brand values to fashion, while there were encouragements for choosing your own style, boldly being true to your nature and self-expression through clothing (reflecting self-direction values independence and choice of own goals), the products are also marketed to wide, global audiences and thus also relates fashion as larger part of the society. This is in line with Simmel's (1971, quoted in Barnard 1996: 11) ideas about fashion as a social construct, between "adaptation to society and individual departure from its demands", and thus between union with, and isolation from the society. It is thus interesting to note that while all the brand accounts reflected the tradition value of timelessness, they also clearly encourage, and aim for, uniqueness and individual style. It is often the reality among consumers and consumerism that while there is an ideal and aim for individual style, for example, these preferences are in fact shared by millions globally (Machin and van Leeuwen 2005: 578-9). Also, while beauty and aesthetics (see e.g. Gaus et al 2010) – especially that of clothing – is presumably an (underlying) value for all the brands, it was not (explicitly) reflected or referenced to in the posts. While it might be "there" in the posts and especially

present in the images, this feature can not really be analysed further with no clear indications towards it.

While the prominence or importance of each value for each brand cannot be determined purely based on the data collected or analysis conducted in this thesis, the amount of different types of expressions or implications (in both text and image) referring to certain value can give some idea of the relevance of that value for that brand. However, it needs to be reminded that not every single expression, detail image was included in the tables. For example, expressions or other features reflecting the Arctic/Nordic/Finnish nature and design, encouragements to reach for the dreams or representations of the theme "bold by nature" were in much greater numbers presented on the posts in 2019, than seen on the Tables 2-4 (in Appendix). Also, only the sample posts (Figure 5-10) were looked at in such detail, and for example the aspects of angle and the type of shot (e.g. medium/long; frontal, eye-level) and what they indicate were only discussed on the analysis of these sample posts.

5.1.1. Brand values on websites vs. Instagram

While Instagram posts offer more of glimpses about different aspects (e.g. values) of brands, websites usually offer more compact, explicit understanding of the brand's identity and values. Compared to more traditional marketing channels, such as print or TV ads (or websites), instead of stating "Our values are…" or "We value…", on the data analysed in this thesis the values were reflected through, for example, description of the product and its features (seen in the accompanying image), through story-telling or inspirational words, through the abundance of hashtags with important themes included, or through the clothing; the fashion itself, as well as the settings, colours and general mood of the images. While social media truly is a versatile, efficient platform for modern marketing, the role of more traditional websites has not lost its significance either. Usually, a brand/company website includes a "About"-section, consisting of, for example, the values – or "vision, mission, philosophy and strategy" (Koller 2009: 53) and thus indicating the values more directly and clearly. Thus, for comparison, the values indicated on the brand websites are briefly referred to next, to see how much there is correlation between the values reflected on Instagram.

With Hálo, the "About" section in their website (2020a) states that they are "Inspired by the wilderness of Lapland, the diversity and phenomena of the Arctic light" and thus the brand was "born in the need of high quality, timeless yet unique clothing." The products itself are described to be "timeless treasures, everyday silks, life-long investment pieces and exclusive

collections", with all the prints "designed exclusively by hálo". Valtavirta and Puljujärvi summarize the essence of Hálo as follows: "We value silence, pureness, high quality and true friendships". (Hálo 2020a) Especially the values related to the respect of culture, connection to and beauty of nature, timelessness, and true friendship are highlighted, and reflected also on the Instagram posts, with several other values represented as well (Table 2, Appendix). Interestingly, high quality does not come through (at least explicitly) on the Instagram posts, while it certainly is "there" in the products seen in the images and/or as a motivator behind the other values communicated. What the website also highlights more are the values silence and pureness, which are only really present on the Instagram posts through the images: silence with the calm settings, portrayal of calm and soundless activities (e.g. reading), and with the presence of mostly only one person in the images. Pureness, then, while mentioned in the hashtag #cleanestairintheworld, is mostly present through the seemingly pure, Arctic nature.

With Riikka Couture, on the "About"-section (2020a), it is stated that the brand was established "from the passion to create something beautiful and elegant", with the story of the founder Riikka Ikäheimo, a self-taught entrepreneur and designer "who has built her dreams to come true" also included. It is described that the use of high-quality, functional fabrics and luxurious crystals with an elegant touch "provides not just fashion but dreams". Timeless glamour, combined with kindness summarize the essence of Riikka Couture, and are said to be reflected in each product (Riikka Couture 2020a). In addition to ambition and aesthetics (see e.g. Gaus et al 2010), the values of high quality, functionality, self-indulgence, timelessness and politeness are indicated on the website. While most of these values are well represented also on the Instagram posts, politeness (kindness) is less actively communicated in the 2019 posts, however clearly being one of the very central themes as brought out in the website, and with the slogan "Timeless Glamour with Kindness" also included in some of the designs. Aesthetics, or "world of beauty" (universalism values), then, is surely "there"; reflected in the products at least while not highlighted as such in the 2019 posts. Other values reflected on the Instagram posts can be seen on Table 3, in Appendix.

With Marimekko, the values are stated most explicitly and extensively on the website – in fact, on their company website there is a "Core values" section (2020d), with also a completely separate heading focusing on sustainability and its dimensions alone (Marimekko 2020e). The carefully chosen values, as presented under the words "Marimekko spirit", are:

"Living, not pretending", "Fairness to everyone and everything", "Common sense" (including creating "meaningful products"), "Getting things done – Together", "Courage, even at the risk of failure", and "Joy" (including "authentic flavour of life"). Of these values, all but sustainability and honesty are (clearly) referred to in the 2019 Instagram posts as well, with also other values reflected (Table 4, in Appendix). Especially with sustainability, while there is a whole page with subsections owned to it on the website, there is rather lack of implications to it on the Instagram posts. However, again it does not mean they are not reflected on the Instagram posts before or after 2019, or through Instagram stories, for example. It can also be noted that the numerous references to boldness on the Instagram posts may be seen, following the value described as "Courage, even at the risk of failure", to also reflect the stimulation value of daring life (besides choice of own goals and independence).

While the information related to values (and in general) is more scattered on Instagram than for example on websites – and thus some might say it represents less effective channel for marketing – it should be remembered that indeed "[n]ew media are not invented to meet the needs already catered for. They are invented to meet new needs" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001: 90).

5.1.2. Brand values and brand identity

Shifting the focus back to Instagram posts alone, the photo-sharing platform offers a fruitful chance for the creation, and communication of visual identity of a brand. While it is easier and easier, and made more approachable to produce and edit images, alongside with the growing value of them as part of design and communication, not using them can in fact be considered outdated (Bateman 2013: 19). While both image and text have their losses, especially when it comes to communicating an *idea* of something, images might serve the semiotic purpose more efficiently (Machin and Mayr 2012: 9). This is often also the case with, for example, *visual identity,* reflecting the "difference..continuity…recognizability…and industrial, economic and social values of the company" (Floch 2000: 33). With fashion brands especially, visuality plays a central role in creating their identity, and reflecting values. Consider, for example, Marimekko and its "elements for an immediate identification" (Floch 2000: 86): the loose fit indicating freedom, practicality and the hedonistic feeling of comfortability; the bold and colourful patterns encouraging for, and reflecting joy and enjoying life, creativity, boldness to express yourself; and the connection to nature through the nature-inspired patterns.

In addition to visual identity, the identity of a brand in general is closely connected to communication – and values. While a brand in itself represents all the company does and communicates, looks like and is talked about (Malmelin and Hakala 2007), brand identity can be considered an "image the company wishes to convey to its stakeholders [such as customers]" (Koller 2009: 50), also in agreement with Aaker (2010), considering it in terms of how the company wishes to be perceived in the future. Brand identity considers the following aspects: product and company attributes, personality of the brand, and visuality (Aaker 2010). Brand identity is the very base and starting point of building a brand; it is a choice of goals to be achieved and maintained, summarizing the values and associations related to the brand that the company wishes to communicate to the stakeholders (Aaker 2010)

The "core identity", as Aaker (2010) describes, captures the very meaning and central, timeless issues of a brand; the *soul* of it. It is not dependent on external factors, such as the markets, and is thus stable. It combines all the basic values and beliefs, while reflecting these and the strategy as well. The extended identity reflects what *else* the brand is; reflecting the brand personality and the things the brand *is not.* (Aaker 2010)

With brand values (as part of the brand identity) are often rather abstract concepts, and values in general more linked to human actions, this "abstraction [is made] graspable by linking it to human personality as the source domain" (Koller 2009: 62). With multimodal elements of text and image, these brand values – or "metaphoric personality traits" – can be expressed through verbal modes, which pinpoint the focus and interpretation of visual modes (ibid.). Multimodality acts as an efficient tool for communication of values also due to its "potential for further persuasion by reinforcing the desirable characteristics in two modes" (Koller 2009: 62).

5.2 Communication of brand values through text and image

While each brand, and their Instagram account have a distinguishable style, there is also great variation *within* the brands. Even so, also similarities can be found between the brands and means by which they communicate values through text and image. However, not all these features apply to each post, but rather highlight some of the features reflecting values.

Starting the comparison from captions, Hálo relies on the use of hashtags the most, using them regularly and especially to carry the focus on Arctic nature and (designs from) Finnish Lapland throughout the posts, or otherwise indicating relevant and important topics. While Marimekko also uses especially the hashtag #Marimekko regularly, it rarely uses other hashtags, and with only a couple reflecting values. Riikka Couture does not use hashtags as regularly, but usually has several of them when included in the caption, and occasionally referring to values as well. In other parts of caption than the hashtags, the brands share some similar topics of discussion: what is found relevant and near and dear by the brand (e.g. protection of nature, reaching for and believing in dreams, equality), addressing the audience directly by, for example, suggesting to "Have a lazy weekend" or asking "What goals are you going to reach today?", or elaborating on the features, function or (hidden) meaning of product(s). In addition, Riikka Couture includes story-telling and inspirational, encouraging words in many of the captions, while Marimekko also tells stories from the past, and how they reflect to present day. For Hálo, with less history behind as youngest of the brands (est. 2017, Hálo 2020a), the caption is more of a place to discuss the inspirational aspects behind the products, and goals and new innovations.

With all of the brands, the captions help to indicate what more the products are, or can offer, than "just" clothing: for example, what values they represent (e.g. freedom, beauty of and unity with nature, timelessness, functionality). In the case of Marimekko especially, captions also indicate what some of the people represent: in 2019, Marimekko (2020c) had a campaign where they introduced "creative individuals" who are "bold by nature" on a journey around the world, in line with their theme for 2019. These people are an inspiration for Marimekko as well as represent some of the values Marimekko also stands up for. With Hálo and Riikka Couture, it is not as explicit whether the people in images – especially the more recognizable ones, e.g. celebrities or influencers – represent a shared set of values, although it could be assumed that it is (at least partly) the case.

All in all, the captions can help the reader interpret the image – and importantly, in the way the brand intended. The values are not stated explicitly in the posts, but the captions provide the brand's interpretations of the images in a way that they seem to explain what values they wish to convey with their products.

While the images may reflect the values more implicitly, they do convey multiple, layered meanings as well. While realized in different ways, all the brands had similar features and

values reflected through the values, at least to some extent, such as moderation and timelessness (e.g. through hair and make-up styling, poses and facial expressions, settings, the clothing, etc.) With Hálo, this generally comes through as naturalness and often harmonious settings, looks and designs, with Riikka Couture as luxurious, but really harmonious and simplistic, or "clean" settings, styling and designs with not too much "going on", and with Marimekko as naturalness and modesty of especially hair and make-up, some settings as even a bit "rough" and urban; showing also the not-so-glamorous side(s) of life. Also, while in Hálo's posts the Nordic setting is often implied visually, in Riikka Couture´s the luxuriousness of the settings is on focus, and with Marimekko showing glimpses of more everyday life in all its forms. With Hálo and Marimekko, the presence of nature is rather prominent both through the settings and the nature-inspired patterns, while also showing artistic features, and the loose-fit design of both brands conveying freedom. With Riikka Couture, the meaningfulness of the patterns is rather replaced with the central role of the materials and the feeling they give, and how they look – while viewers cannot actually touch the materials and surfaces in the image, they can "linger on its texture(s), both visually and haptically" (Aiello and Dickinson 2014: 309). The print products in the Classics collection carry also more meanings, especially the products with the slogan "Timeless Glamour with Kindness". In the posts of all of the brands, there is also meanings related to happiness and joy, equality and open-mindedness, as well as true friendship and mature love, all coming through the presence of people: with Hálo, the happiness and enjoying life is more of a peaceful and silent type, with Riikka Couture the feeling is more dreamy and content, but also confident and determined, while many of Marimekko's posts reflect authentic bursts of joy and playful attitude. Equality and/or open-mindedness comes through the ethnic, and other types of versatility of people (mostly women) in the photos with all the brands, and the love, friendship and/or sense of belonging is reflected through people holding hands, hugging, leaning on to each other or otherwise showing close connection. Marimekko has this the most, while it appears more occasionally in Riikka Couture's and Hálo's posts.

In addition to the versatility of values reflected per post, also the text-image relations had some variation, and could be roughly categorized, based on the data, as: 1) implicit meaning between text and image, 2) explicit meaning, or 3) no clear connection between the text and image, with all relating to the communication of values. These categorizations were also used in my Bachelor's thesis (Välimäki 2019), fitting the purpose in this thesis as well. The last

category might be applicable to only some values, while some other values within the same post might have an implicit or explicit connection– for example, the image in the first sample post (Figure 5) does not really represent values related to vegan items (discussed in the caption) while it does reflect e.g. closeness to nature more clearly. However, the dress still clearly is a representation of the vegan fabric that is discussed in the caption. Interestingly, many of the posts do include at least some rather explicit connections between text and image when it comes to reflecting values, with the sample post in Figure 9 as one example: the caption mentions the "power of liberating silhouettes", while the image represents three, powerful-seeming women in loose-fit dresses that give freedom to move. There are not really examples of implicit connection in the sample posts, but for example posts with hashtags relating to nature and the image locating in natural setting, or including clothing with nature-inspired patterns display this type of connection: both text and image do imply the close connection to, and inspiration from nature, but neither says it directly.

Based on the data, the relation between the text and image, in the context of social media, is in line with how already Barthes (1977) saw the reversed role of the modes:

> "]T]he image no longer *illustrates* the words; it is now the words which, structurally, are parasitic on the image. […] Formerly, the image illustrated the text (made it clearer); today, the text loads the image, burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination. Formerly, there was reduction from text to image; today, there is amplification from the one to the other" (25-26).

Thus, while the caption vocalizes the values (and what the image can not tell), the image displays how the values realize in material; physical form, such as through the clothing and the overall "world" that is created visually; through setting, objects, people and such. In relation to how captions also function on the Instagram posts, Barthes (1977: 26-27) notes that, "in the movement from one structure to the other [from text to image] second signifiers are inevitably developed. […] [T]he text [is] most often simply amplifying a set of connotations already given in the photograph" (Barthes 1977: 26-27). Within the image itself, a connotational meaning can be, for example, what "liberating silhouettes" mean for Marimekko: they are about more than freedom to move in your clothes; about liberation "not only from unyielding waistlines but also narrow thinking" (Marimekko 2020c).

Despite the visuality of Instagram, it is the text that first reflects the values, (only) after which the potential of the image as a carrier of meanings relating to values comes through. Also, since Instagram is primarily a portable, smartphone application, and thus mostly looked at on smaller screens, not all details are as easily or immediately seen.

5.2.1. Fashion, values and multimodality

Fashion and clothing are communicative and generate meanings (Douglas and Isherwood 1979, in Barnard 1996), and have thus also been considered as semiotic modes in this thesis. As all the brands have reflected through their values and other aspects, fashion is about more than "just clothes". As with image (and text), fashion and clothing also have two-dimensional set of meanings; denotation and connotation, or the "first" and "second" (interpreted/ associational) meaning (Barnard 1996: 70). In relation to the fashion; the clothing itself, there was two forms, or in terms of Barthes (1967, 1983), two "systems" of clothing represented in the data: clothing as *written,* and clothing as *photographed.*

In a cultural setting, new meanings can be given to a garment, different to those it originally had (Barnard 1996). Fashion and clothing can thus also be considered not only as (non-verbal) communication but also as a cultural phenomenon, especially if considering fashion within a multilinear perspective of culture (ibid.): "[C]ulture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values, not only in art an learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour" (Williams 1961, in Barnard 1996: 35). Furthermore, Barnard (1996:36) argues that culture can be

> "understood as signifying system, as the ways in which society's beliefs, values, ideas and experiences are communicated through practices, artefacts, practices and institutions that constitute a society's beliefs, values, ideas and experiences".

Thus, fashion and clothing can communicate, besides feelings and moods, "also the values, hopes and beliefs of the social groups of which they are members" (ibid.). Following this, the items (the fashion items in themselves) are neutral, but their use and functions make them social and cultural and can act as "bridges" or "fences" (Barnard 1996), or in Simmel's (1971, in Barnard 1996: 38) terms as "differentiating" and "socializing"; as elements separating, or connecting (groups of) people.

While the focus also with Marimekko was on the posts relating to fashion, as a lifestyle brand Marimekko brings the essence of their ideal life(style) also to the posts relating to clothing and accessories, while not as intensely as if the focus was on all the posts and from several years (cf. Välimäki 2019) Indeed, for Marimekko the marketing is about much more than just the products; it is about reflecting a whole lifestyle, with the values associated with it. This is also reflected in what Lash and Urry (1994), and Zablocki and Kanter (1976) argue, that material and social class are being replaced by lifestyles. While Hálo and Riikka Couture are not lifestyle, but purely fashion brands, they do share the elements of reflecting and including their values also in their communication, as well as seem to market their products as beyond their material dimension; as representing something much more than just clothing, such as dreams, courage, freedom, connection to nature, supporting animal rights or equality, for example, or simply indulgence and pleasure, to mention some.

5.2.2. Globalisation and localisation in communication of values

In addition to the role of multimodality, and fashion, the contrast, and connection between globalisation and localisation also plays a part in relation to values. All the brands are appealing very much globally especially through the use of English as a "global language", and with including people of what seems of different races and backgrounds in the images, and with for example Hálo reminding of their world-wide shipping. However, the marketing is also directed to, and all of these brands have also become the favourites of many Finns, and all brands have roots, and at least some of the production and/or design in Finland. Marimekko and Hálo also have their pattern and product names in Finnish, and especially Hálo implies its inspiration from, and appreciation of the Finnish Lapland regularly as more organic part of the posts, while Riikka Couture states its appreciation for Finland more sparsely, but also a bit more explicitly, such as through the words "still created in Helsinki Finland", "Finnish company", "congratulations Finland. I'm so proud to have home like ours" and hashtags related to Finland (e.g. #suomidesign, #ostasuomalaiseltayrittäjältä). While all of the brands seemingly want for the people in their home country to find and familiarize, and eventually fall in love with the products, there is also clear indications of wanting to promote not only the products, but also the origin country with its culture the global audience as well. This is done both explicitly and more implicitly, with the explicit ways including, for example the direct discussion of Finland or Finnishness (as with the examples from @riikkacouture above). The implicit ways consist of, for example, the inclusion of (stereotypically) Finnish-looking people in the photos, or what seems like Finnish nature (with e.g. birches, hare's tail

cotton grass) and closeness to and inclusion of nature in general, presence, or implications of calmness, modesty, minimalism and simplicity stereotypic for Finns or references to, for example, functionality or freedom, valued in the Finnish culture. In other words, there are many references to values particularly common for Finnish people. Also, the value type work is reflected on Riikka Couture's Instagram posts, as a value type added to fit the Finnish context in particular (Helkama 2015). In addition to specifying Finns as a particular group of consumers being targeted, Hálo has also rather explicitly chosen the Japanese audience as one of the target groups through the use of Finland/Nordic-related hashtags in Japanese (see Figure 5, and Table 2 in Appendix)

While the connections to Finnish context are rather clear to everyone through some aspects of the posts, they are more implicit and culturally bound in others. These meanings related to particular contexts only, where the meanings are "activated", are referred to as "meaning potentials" (Machin and Mayr 2012: 11). For example, to notice features common for Finnish culture, such as the "shy smile" reflecting modesty or the naturalness and minimalism of styling or setting, it may require a cultural knowledge, or actually being part of that culture. As being part of Finnish culture, it likely has helped me to recognize the features reflecting particularly Finnish values. From semiotic point of view, the focus has been on symbolic aspects of (cultural) signs (Barthes 1973).

As a conclusive remark, while generalisation was not the purpose of this research to begin with, the small sample size of three brands, as well as the temporal limit of focusing on the posts from 2019 only does set some limitations for deeper and layered implications to be made. It should also be noted that only one cultural perspective (Finnish) is represented here, with the larger focus also limiting much to Western societies. As a qualitative discourse analysis focusing on the Instagram posts already produced, and with only considering the production side of them, the analysis is highly interpretative and thus inevitably somewhat subjective, especially since the values were rather 'hidden' in the posts, and analysed from the perspective of one person only. Thus, much of my own interpretation takes place, however with the analysis leaning only on the content of the Instagram posts, combined with relevant theoretical background and previous research to support understanding of the values in general, as well as the communication of them multimodally on social media environment. By making the analysis process transparent and clearly connected to the actual content of the

Instagram posts, as well as parts of the theoretical background, the subjectivity of the research is also indicated more openly. Furthermore, different people might have different interpretations of the posts and values reflected in them, and also in general it can not really be predicted how most people will see and interpret the text and image (Machin and Mayr 2012). Thus, while some of the interpretations might not seem clear or relevant, or I might have read too much (or too little) into the meanings of the posts, when it comes to interpretation, what one sees in, or associates with an image or text can hardly be said to be "wrong".

While the focus is on the brands and their marketing and thus not on the consumer perspective, some brief interviews of other perceptions of the brands, or interviewing representatives of the brands themselves could have been conducted to tackle some of these problems. However, in the way this study was conducted the interpretation of values is based purely on the content of the Instagram posts, and thus reflecting more genuinely what values are *seen* and thus interpreted*,* and not *known* to be reflected in the posts.

6 CONCLUSION

Even in highly visual social media application such as Instagram, language plays a central role in conveying messages more clearly, while the images do also have multiple, layered meanings when looking more closely. Together, text and image offer the most fruitful way of communication – also for concepts as complex as values. Values, then, can be rather "hidden", implicit in the social media posts, and brought up less directly than for example on websites. In the data, values were communicated more as an organic part of the post than indicating directly that 'we value….': values were shown as something that is important and desirable, and guide the action and choices the companies behind the brands are making. Values were reflected more explicitly through language, with images often functioning as visualisation of what is discussed through language, and with captions as interpretation of or elaboration on, and complementary to images. While meanings are interpretive also with language, with images it is the case even more strongly, while the multimodal ensemble brings out the best of both worlds.

In this thesis, the focus was on identifying the values reflected on the 2019 Instagram posts of three Finnish fashion brands; Hálo, Riikka Couture and Marimekko (focusing only on posts related to fashion). Around 58 (Hálo) to up to around 135 (Marimekko) posts per brand were used as data, with also two sample posts per each brand used for close analysis. The focus was on the traditional posts and the caption and image (still and moving) in them. The modes analysed were text – including hashtags – and image, mostly in the form of a photograph and including the modes of pose, gaze, facial expression, layout and colour, with the setting/environment, styling of hair and make-up, and objects/other details also taken into consideration. In addition, fashion and clothing were also considered as semiotic modes in this thesis. Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) was used as the choice of method, with the research in general as qualitative and interpretative case study.

All in all, Schwartz's (1992, 2006) value types achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity and security, as well as Helkama's (2015) addition of work value type were represented, with hedonism value type as the only one with all the values represented by all the brands. The conformity, security, achievement and stimulation value types were represented by only one of the brands, while at least some of the other values and/or value types were reflected on the Instagram posts of all the three

brands. While the value type work is suited for Finnish context in particular, many of the other value types by Schwartz also included values typical for Finns. In addition to these value types, the values happiness and joy, high quality and functionality were added outside these categories based on the data, with Marimekko's posts reflecting all three of these values, Riikka Couture happiness/joy and high quality, and Hálo only happiness/joy. It should be noted, however, that while some values were not reflected by some brands in the data, it does not mean they are not represented by the brand at all and and reflected on, for example, the posts before/after 2019, on Instagram stories, or their websites. Indeed, as the comparison with values reflected on company websites and Instagram posts showed, while some values were (mostly) only reflected on the website, there were numerous other values that were reflected only, or mostly on the Instagram posts instead.

While, as seen from the results, there are various ways to communicate values, the values itself are also multi-layered. Even opposite types of values can be represented within one brand, with the hierarchies of them determining their relative importance, rather than possessing (or not) some values in general. However, these hierarchies cannot be determined based purely on the data on this thesis, while some implications may be reflected through the extent of features reflecting particular values.

To answer the *how* the values were reflected through text and image on the Instagram posts of Hálo, Riikka Couture and Marimekko, in caption this was done by indicating relevant and important topics through hashtags (especially Hálo) or by discussing them through the text, through story-telling or inspirational, encouraging words (esp. Riikka Couture) or stories behind the designs and pattern (esp. Marimekko and Hálo) , elaborating on the features and/or meanings of the product(s) (usually also seen in the accompanying image), or by addressing the audience directly (e.g. to encourage for self-indulgence), and in general through indicating what more the products are, or can offer, than "just clothing". The captions help the reader to interpret the image, and more importantly, in the way the brand intended.

Communicating the values through images, all the brands had at least some elements of moderation and timelessness (of e.g. styling, facial expression/pose, setting), although in rather different ways. Especially in Hálo and Marimekko's posts, the presence of nature both through the settings and environment, and the nature-inspired patterns was significant, while with Riikka Couture the glamorous, luxurious and high-quality settings and clothing are more central. With all the brands, the feeling of happiness and joy, as well as indications of true

friendship also comes through, however again in different ways. Equality is rather equally reflected with through the ethnic, and other variety of people (mainly women) featured in images with all of the brands.

While sharing some similarities in values reflected, and in the ways to communicate them, each brand has its own, distinguishable style and "world" with its values that is created through the post with visual and verbal devices. With Hálo, it is a world closely connected to Arctic nature and art; a world with peace (of mind), harmony and moderation. Riikka Couture, then, represents a dream-oriented world filled with timeless glamour, luxury, passion, ambition and kindness, while Marimekko's world – or lifestyle – is all about the authentic taste and way of life, with boldness to be true to your nature, bringing people together, connecting to nature, and bringing joy to everyday life through bold, creative prints and colours. With all the brands, the text-image relations on the Instagram posts can be divided into three types, in relation to communication of values: implicit, explicit or no clear connection between the text and image.

In addition to the reflections of values through text and image, and the values itself, some other themes also arose and were discussed: values as part of brand identity, multimodality on social media, fashion as communication and semiotic mode and globalisation/localisation; and especially Finnishness of the values and brands.

Multimodality offers effective means for multi-dimensional communication and also for marketing and branding, in both explicit and implicit ways. Social media, the highly visual social media platform Instagram offers fruitful resource for multimodal analysis , especially for the study of text-image relations. With fashion being also highly visuality-centered, the platform offers a perfect match for fashion brands. This research also indicates the challenges to communicate the complex and multi-dimensional topic of values, while also trying to keep the posts appealing and aesthetically pleasing, and simultaneously meaningful.

Considering the growing role or multimodality, social media as modern channel for marketing and communication, as well as the importance of values in marketing, business and among field of fashion in particular, the future research could see more studies and perspectives on representations of (brand) values and brands on social media, and on multimodality on social media – and especially on these both aspects combined. Also, more and research of the actual values of brands, rather than the perceived (economic) value of them is suggested.

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Appendix

Figure 2 Conversation Prism 5.0 by Brian Solis and JESS3 (2013)
https://conversationprism.com/

Figure 3 Smart phone version of Hálo's Instagram post, @halofromnorth. 29.10.2019.
https://www.instagram.com/p/B4M7-saB38i/
Photographer: Lauri Laukkanen

References to values on caption	References to values on image	Date
"Hare's-tail cottongrasses are the insppiration behind our delicate Neva' series [Finnish for fens]. These cotton ball like beauties grow in the silent landscapes of Finnish Lapland', 'exclusively designed by hálo, printed on 100% viscose in Germany and produced in Estonia with carefully hand-picked manufacturer. .', #haloinspiration #halofromnorth #thenordics #nordic #arctic #lapland #cottongrass #harestailcottongrass #printdesign #printdesignbyhalo #womenswear #finnishlapland #tupasvilla + japanese hashtags ("finland" and "lapland")	tupasvilla' [hare'stail cottongrass]: real, and on pattern	18 Jul
#nightlessnight #nordicstyle #nordicdesign #womenswear #flowers + japan	celeb wearing Hálo, summer field, cool tones	26 Jul
"every pattern designed has a story" >> "our vision" #grateful #thenordics #strongstories #storytelling #arcticdesign #womensclothing #design #FinnishLapland #sustainabledesign #slowfashion #styleinspiration #style	a Nordic-looking celeb wearing Halo (2 images), minimal (and a bit "rough"; "real life") setting, bare feet, blonde hair	1 Aug
"hálo's Neva frill dress and vintage Chanel. A perfect combo if you ask us" #thenordics #arcticdesign #womensclothing #sustainabledesign #slowfashion #style	a celeb wearing Halo, blonde hair, cool tones, no face visible	3 Aug
#halofromnorth #premium #premiumlabel #thenordics #nordicdesign #nordicstyle #scandinaviandesign #womenswear #FinnishLapland #Lapland #halofromnorth #sustainable #sustainablefashion #madeineurope #tradeshow #style #tradeshow	tradeshow ad: "ethnic-looking" model wearing Hálo , cool tones, nature-themed layout/backround	6 Aug
#nordicdesign #printdesignbyhalo #cottongrass #tupasvilla	an influencer wearing Hálo dress, in garden, natural smile, warm tones	18 Aug
#nordicstyle #nordicdesign #cottongrass #womenswear	a model wearing Hálo, no face visible, cool tones, nature-themed patterned dress	23 Aug
It honours and is inspired by Gákti, traditional garment of Sami people. This timeless piece comes always in black. ' #inspiredby #gakti #samipeople #honours #traditions #craftmanship #lapland #finnishlapland #thenordics #haloinspiration #stories #storiesbehindhálodesigns #designedinfinland #womenswear	a celeb wearing Hálo (4 images), nature, bare feet, natural smile & look, warm tones	26 Aug

Figure 4 A sample of the data collection on Excel sheets, with values reflected on the caption, values reflected on/a description of the image, and the date of the post.

Table 2 Values on Hálo's Instagram posts (2020c), @halofromnorth, in 2019.

Value type and values included (in this context)	References to values in captions (incl. hashtags)	References to values in images
HEDONISM		
Enjoying life, *(sensory)* pleasure, self-indulgence	* #cozy, #lazyweekend * "Have a lazy weekend" * 'softest washed silk", "softest wool silk", "luxurious"	* tranquil-looking people * relaxed general feel * calm tones and colours * soft/warm-looking materials (e.g. wool, silk, winter clothing)
UNIVERSALISM		
World of beauty, beauty of nature, unity with nature:	* nature and seasonality-inspired/themed product names (in Finnish), e.g. #ruskacoat, #Nevamaxidress, #kaamoslongcoat, #kaarnapants, etc. * "perfect weather", "Neva series [Finnish for fens]", "Winter Descends From the Fells to the Fens" (+ in Finnish), "conservation of nature", "a charity to protect the Arctic areas", "cotton-ball like beauties" * #kaamos, #winterwonderland, #neva, #ruska, #tundra, #fells, #lightphenomena, #arcticlight, #endlesssummernights, #cottongrass, #forest, #harestailcottongrass, #tupasvilla, #ruska, #nature, #northernlights, #fallfoliage	* Arctic nature and seasons, Lapland sceneries * natural elements, e.g. wooden items and reindeer hide as decorative elements * bare feet emphasizing human connection to nature * trees (birches etc.), hare's tail cottongrass + other plants, fields, flowers, sea side, lake, fells * images with nature only, images taken outside, fall foliage * Nature-themed/inspired patterns
Protecting the environment/*sustainability*	#sustainabledesign, #slowfashion, #sustainablefashion, #preventglobalwarming	Reflecting the importance of nature by the presence of it in settings, and reflecting human connection to it
Beauty/appreciation of art	* "halo donates a percentage…to the artist's foundation", "recognition to a famous Finnish painter", "In honor of painter Reidar Särestöniemi" * #paintercollaboration, #pieceofart	artistic/art work-inspired patterns
Equality	Empowering women: #womenswear, #powerwomen, #yesgirl	* Ethnic/other versatility of people (mostly women) in images
BENEVOLENCE		
Helpfulness, loyalty, honesty, *support*	* "teamwork", "respect", "trust", "donation", "a charity" * #trust, #tradeshow, #charitycause	* people (friends) supporting each other; leaning on to each other
Responsibility:	"concern about the destruction of the Arctic", "a charity to support the Arctic areas"	Reflecting the importance of Arctic areas by including them in the settings
True friendship, mature love	* "a true friendship", "Remember your loved ones" * #friendship, #love	two people; friends, leaning on each other; laughing/ smiling together

TRADITION		
Respect of culture & **(cultural) tradition**	* "honours and is inspired by Gákti, traditional garment of Sami people", "every pattern designed has a story" [about the Arctic] (Hálo's vision) * #gakti, #samipeople, #traditions, #craftmanship *appreciation for & inspiration from the Nordics/Finnish Lapland: * #nordic, #lapland, #hálofromnorth, #finland, #nordicdesign, #scandinavianminimalism, #nordicminimalism, #scandinaviandesign, #nordicdesign, #nordicstyle, #arctic, #finnishsummer, #thenordics, #arcticdesign, #FinnishLapland, #designedinfinland, #happiestcountryintheworld, #designedinLapland #fromFinnishLapland, #designsfromLapland, #designfromArcticLapland, #FromTheCoolSideOfTheWorld, #arcticareas, #winterwonderland, #arcticlight #ラップランド "Lapland" #フィンランド "Finland" #北欧 "Nordics" #北欧デザイン "Nordic design" * hashtags in/with Finnish, e.g. #ruska, #kaarnapants, #kajodress, etc. * "magical Lapland", "Happy Independence Day Finland"	* Gakti-inspired jewelry and clothing * Nordic-looking people (fair skin, Nordic-type facial features or body type, height etc.) * cool/cold, "Nordic" tones and colors * typical Nordic/arctic nature/plants, e.g. hare's tail cottongrass, birches, lichen/moss *Arctic settings: nature, snow, feel of cold (e.g. frozen eyelashes, winter clothing)
Moderation, humbleness, *minimalism*, timelessness*	* #classic, #scandinavianminimalism, #nordicminimalism, #neutraltones, #neutral, #neutralcolours, #minimalism, #grateful * "we are loving the neutral hues", "timeless piece", "timeless style"	* minimalist/neutral settings * neutral facial expressions, poses, colours and tones * feel of silence: mostly only one person in each photo, silent activities (e.g.reading, enjoying the scenery, just "being") * minimalistic/neutral hair, make-up & styling
CONFORMITY		
Animal protection; "cruelty free"	* "the first one to use 100% VEGAN certified fabric" * #veganfabric	*no clear reference; except the vegan fabric itself*
SECURITY		
Cleanliness	#cleanestairintheworld	* clean, fresh settings, especially in pure Arctic nature
ADDITIONAL VALUES		

Joy & happiness	* "great sense of humour' * #happytime, #happiestcountryintheworld	smiling & laughing people

* values *in cursive* added based on the data, and not included in the original values listed by Schwartz (1992, 2006); but similar to those.

Table 3 Values on Riikka Couture's Instagram posts (2020b), @riikkacouture, in 2019.

Value types and values included (in this context)	References to values in captions (incl. hashtags)	References to values in images
ACHIEVEMENT		
Ambition:	* encouragements to work hard and reach for your dreams, e.g. "dare to dream big", "never giving up", "Keep believing, keep achieving", "believe in miracles", "sky is not the limit", , "what goals are you going to reach this week!", "Work with purpose on your mind", "it's about consistency and a plan mixed with passions, kindness and determination that takes dreams forward and finally into a reality", "Go forward, reach dreams", "endless determination and power", "dreams coming true", "chasing dreams", "this is just the beginning", "you sure can do it!", "Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them (Shakespeare)" "working towards our dreams", "be determined", "everything is possible if you believe enough", "When you want something you need to go and make it happen", "Be powerful, add heels and be ready to conquer the world", * #dream	* Determined look in the eye; direct gaze * confident poses * hopeful gaze/look in the eye (e.g. ooking into upper corner) * text-in-mage: "The designer creates from passion", "One can not be found, but rather must be created"
Competence	* "skills", "handmade couture", "handmade" * #selfmade	* making a dress; cutting lace etc. + the "tools" (e.g. scissors, measuring tape) as indicators of competence
HEDONISM		
Enjoying life, self-indulgence, *(sensory)* pleasure	* "chilling with your cozy clothes", "sipping coffee at your couch and let shopping just be this easy", "comfy but fashionable", "feel warm but still glamorous", "treat yourself", "enjoy the service", "sometimes it's about the experience", "treat yourself this fall", "having a cozy Weekend at home?", "Have a great and luxurious Saturday", relaxed adventurer [a bag] * "soft cotton material", "extra luxurious with soft materials", "so warm and soft",	*relaxed-looking clothing, e.g. loose jumper * pampering oneself (e.g. indications of taking a bath, shopping, having coffee) *luxurious settings (pillars, carvings, palace-like settings , golden/silver items, roses, pearls & other glamorous jewellery) *glamorous, elegant dresses *luxurious materials (e.g. lace, silk, embroidery) * soft/warm-looking materials, e.g. cotton

SELF-DIRECTION		
Choice of own goals, independence, self-respect	* "dream big", "When you want something you need to go and make it happen", "working towards our dreams", "chasing dreams", "believing in yourself", "self-define yourself", "challenge yourself to follow your own rule before sharing it to others", "BE the inspiration", "Inspire yourself first and the rest will follow", "know your worth" "your way, your style" "You choose! Your style!", "Strong, independent women" * "selfmade entrepreneur", #selfmade	*seemingly 'strong, independent (women)' in images * Mostly only one person in images * Ikäheimo wearing own designs; showing confidence and respect of her work * Featuring in Cosmopolitan magazine; the magazines association with "Fun, fearless, female"
UNIVERSALISM		
Equality	* "it's an advice to everyone. Not just to women but to each soul" * #naistenpäivä #nostanainenpäivässä #womenpowerwednesday #womeninbusiness #womenempowerment	* Ethnic/other versatility of people (mostly women) in images
BENEVOLENCE		
Helpfulness, *support*	* making good (charity): "helping children and teenagers", "donating", making good (fundraiser; MET gala, "is so important") * "It's a price you pay and support many people in so many ways", "thank you for your support", "supporting small entrepreneurs and businesses" * statements of showing & receiving support, believing in others * #charitygala * #naistenpäivä #nostanainenpäivässä #womenpowerwednesday #womeninbusiness #womenempowerment	* celebs & "ordinary" people showing support by wearing Riikka Couture; Riikka Couture sharing their posts
Loyalty	"we will reward our loyal fans", "loyal customers who keep trusting us"	* Artists wearing Riikka Couture designs several times
True friendship, mature love	* expressing love for the customers, friends, business partners etc. *"my dear friend", "Love you lots", "With love, Riikka" * encouraging for love; thoughts about love, e.g.: "Love is two souls knowing they are one", "Love like	* A couple in love holding each other, models/other people leaning onto each other/holding each other

	never before", "Cold days. Warm hearts", "love whispering to us"	
TRADITION		
Respect for culture & tradition	* "still created in Helsinki Finland", , "Finnish company", "congratulations Finland. I'm so proud to have home like ours", "supporting…also other amazing finnish entrepreneurs", "Let's keep the fashion industry alive by buying from Finland" * "handmade couture", "handmade" * #suomidesign #suomimusiikki #suomi #finnishfashion #suomenkesä #ostasuomalaiseltayrittäjältä #suomimuoti #helsinkifashion #suomibrändi #laplandfinland	* Nordic/Finnish-looking people: blonde hair, fair skin, height, particular facial features, etc. * Nordic setting: snow *showing glimpses of making the dresses by hand
Humbleness	* showing gratitude and respect for customers, business partners, friends, photographers, dreams, etc: "end your day with thankful [thoughts]", respecting dreams when they come true, "blessed", "kiitos mun koko sydämen pohjasta", "mua on siunattu niin monesti", "thank you for your support", "Sincerely", "I want to thank each one of you", "Our dream is all we have"	* "regular" people in some posts (selfies etc.); more "real-life" photos * sharing other Instagram users' posts
Moderation, *timelessness*	* "classic", "everyday essentials", "Timeless Glamour", "something timeless for all occasions", "Glamour is timeless!", "Timeless Shirt" * #timelessstyle #casualstyle	*minimal settings, poses/facial expressions, simple hair&make-up * simple & pure aesthetics *classic, timeless designs (e.g. the classic "Hollywood glamour" look, "little black dress")
CONFORMITY		
Politeness	* emphasizing the importance of, and encouraging for kindness, e.g.: "a kind heart", "Timeless Glamour with Kindness" (a collection), "have kindness"	* text-in-image: "The designer…gets inspired by kindness", "I believe kindness is true beauty. It's timeless because it comes from our hearts" *peaceful&friendly atmosphere in images: gentle smiles, etc.
WORK		
Diligence, conscientiousness, perseverance	* expressing passion for work/dreams; importance of motivation for work/reaching your dreams; encouragements to work hard and reach for your dreams, e.g.:	* Showing the designer at work & taking care of business even in the midst of an event

	"work hard, do my best", , "working hard and never giving up", "Keep believing, keep achieving", "persistence", "it's about consistency and a plan", "let your actions speak louder than words", "Nothing valuable is ever given, it's build. Nothing valuable comes easy", "Never give up" "small steps lead into this", "work hard for your dreams", "boost to go forward even harder", "strong mind" * #entrepreneur #entrepreneurlife #yrittäjä	
ADDITIONAL VALUES		
happiness, joy, doing things with love	encouraging to pursue happiness, inspiration, expressing feelings of happiness, e.g.: "wake up with happy thoughts", "sharing happy moments in life", "made lots of happiness to my heart", "enjoying all of it [miracles]", "[made] with happiness and love", "Do things you love", "Do things with love", "enjoy life the fullest!", "onnesta kasvaa kaiken tarkoitus", "joy the ride"	*smiling people * text-in-image: "The designer…hopes to spread happiness with her dresses"
High quality	* indications of the high quality of products: "always tests all her products and dresses before they are available", "long-lasting classic", "The quality is tested everytime we receive a new model by the founder Riikka, and she wants to make sure each piece lasts through life", "custom-made"	* High-quality, luxurious materials & details, e.g. lace, silk, golden/silver details, crystals, embroidery, pearls * luxurious setting and accessories enhancing the feel of high quality & luxury

* values *in cursive* added based on the data, and not included in the original values listed by Schwartz (1992, 2006); but similar to those.

Table 4 Values on Marimekko's Instagram posts (Marimekko 2020c), @marimekko, in 2019.

Value types and values included (in this context)	References to values in texts (including hashtags)	References to values in images
HEDONISM		
Enjoying life, self-indulgence, *(sensory)* pleasure	"laid-back summer mood", "create a cosy feel to your home", "relaxed Vajanto trousers", "keep yourself warm with cosy Marimekko knitwear", "the loose-fitting Onnekas pullover", "the loose fit", "painted in relaxed brushstrokes", "One of our biggest principles here at Marimekko is that you should be able to move freely and feel comfortable in your clothes.", "Wear your comfiest pajamas and slip under a warm blanket" ,"a relaxing weekend", easygoing approach to style, "relaxed adventurer [a bag]", "it's time to relax", "all about immersing yourself in comfiness" * "made of cotton", "made of silk", "made from viscose crepe", "made from silk", "silk shirt", "made from wool", "soft viscose jersey", "Give a gift of softness and warmth"	* relaxed pose (e.g. leaning on a wall, laying on bed) * soft/warm-looking materials (e.g. wool, silk) and settings (e.g. a bed, pillows)
STIMULATION		
Diverse, exciting life, *(sensory) stimulation*	* "a journey around the world", "discover", "Join the journey", "exploring", "some exoticism to everyday life", "Spice up your style" * diversity of colours and prints, e.g. "bold prints and colours", "bring vivid colours…to your wardrobe", bold mix of colours, "rich and nuanced [print]", "multifaceted [print]", "Versatile [dress]", "vibrant colours"	* variety of colours and patterns * different locations around the world
SELF-DIRECTION		
Creativity	* e.g. "Set your creativity free", "creative individuals", "thoughts on…creativity", "Marimekko's creative community", "the amazing creative pulse of New York, in which city do you feel most creative in?, "Marimekko flowers represent…creativity and playfulness" * a playful design, "play with colours", "pattern represents rich and ornamental idiom", playful…use of the print, ,	* creative; abstract patterns * acting silly; "playing around": making funny faces, jumping around, etc., playful behavior (e.g. adults eating candy, making silly movements)

	spontaneously painted, spiced up with a hint of playfulness, playful approach, "playful, abstract patterns in bold colours	
Freedom	"pattern evoke freedom", "what freedom of expression means", "liberated not only from unyielding waistlines but also narrow thinking", (power of) liberating silhouettes, "the original idea of Marimekko: liberating and colourful dresses", "liberated essence", "liberate yourself from boundaries"	* loose-fitted clothes; freedom to move (models running, playing around etc.)
Choice of own goals, independence, self-respect	* "Our theme for 2019: Bold by Nature", "chic and confident", "self-expression", "empowering new outfit", "can-do attitude", Reboot yourself with a bold new dress with a bold print", "different interpretations of boldness and empowerment", "To be bold is to be true to your nature", "follow her passion", "encourage you to take a chance and depart from familiar paths, "putting together an outfit is a form of self-expression", "the iconic [Unikko] pattern stands for… courage and faith in oneself", "Find your bold style", "story of… faith in oneself", "capturing the empowered essence of the Marimekko dress", The Marimekko women have always walked their own path and created their own fate", "Marimekko dress has been for women who are bold in expressing their personality through their choice of attire", "expressing themselves through distinctive/bold prints and colours", "stands out from the crowd", "bold choices", "You decide" * "be kind to yourself", "a new culture around sustenance and well being", "emboldens people to be kind to themselves" * #boldbynature	* text-in-image: "to be bold is to be true to your nature", "bold by nature" * confident poses & facial expressions; direct gaze * bold prints and colours * one person standing out from the crowd (with Marimekko clothing)
UNIVERSALISM		
Equality, open-mindedness	* "Tasaraita (even stripe) pattern is Marimekko's/Our symbol for equal rights", "we continue taking action for equality", "equality for girls", "Even Stripes for Equality Since 1968", "This is our dream and our will: Equality for everyone", "promoting equality since 1968	* text-in-image: "even stripes for equality", "join us supporting equality" * Tasaraita (even stripe) pattern, rainbow colors representing equality & inclusiveness * ethnic & other types (size, age, etc.) of versatility of people

	clothes that suited everyone", "regardless of age or gender", ensure girls have an equal opportunity to educate", "Join us supporting equality!", "Unisex Marimekko Jokapoika (every boy) shirt", "evenly striped", expressing equality", "Jokapoika meets Jokatyttö (every girl)", "we support Finland's greatest....human rights event, Helsinki pride", "Equality has been an important value for Marimekko since our early days" *#tasaraita #marimekkowithpride	
Unity with nature, beauty of nature	* nature and seasonality-themed/inspired patterns and colours, e.g.: "forest green", "sunny yellow", "tribute to the sun", "print in sky blue", "ode to greenery and floral abundance, floral, pattern evoke summer, grass green, fruits capsule collection, plant-themed print, inspired by the big rough-edged stones, bold blooms, lovely small florals, forest-inspired prints, season's palette, flowers in the sky, organic theme, the iconic flower, botanical energy, flowering springs, earthy tones, botanical patterns, patterns familiar from the world of animals

* closeness to nature and seasonality in other ways: nature's positive energy, Choose flowers, let flowers lead your way, mutual appreciation for nature [between Finland and Japan], season's layered look, Let the temperatures drop, makes the mind wonder to lush gardens
* nature-themed pattern/product names, e.g.: Unikko (poppy) print, Pilvipuutarha (cloud garden) pattern, Viidakko (jungle) print, Kivet (stones) pattern | Connection to & beauty of nature: nature settings (e.g. blue skies, trees, beach, sea shore, field, desert, greenery & plants on background, garden)
* bare feet enhancing the connection to nature
* nature & animal-themed patterns/prints & colours: e.g. Unikko (poppy) pattern, Viidakko (jungle) pattern, green flower print, Fruit Capsule collection, lemon pattern, Juhannus (Midsummer Day) pattern, green, Kottarainen (starling) pattern, Kivet (stones) pattern
* natural materials on settings, e.g. wood |
Beauty of art, world of beauty	"art of print making", "beautifully tailored", "expressed herself through her artwork"	* artistic prints
BENEVOLENCE		
true friendship, mature love	*"spending time with loved ones", "carries a meaningful message of 'love'", "celebrating the warm friendship between Finland and Japan", "relax with loved ones", "encourage people to get together",	models/other people showing friendship/love: leaning on to each other, or holding hands, or hugging
TRADITION		

respect for culture	*Finnish pattern/product names, e.g. Unikko, Jokapoika, Kivet * "printed in Helsinki", "inspired by the magic of Finnish midsummer" * explaining Finnisn cultural events, e.g. Juhannus (Midsummer)	* Nordic/Finnish-looking people (e.g. fair skin, blonde hair, facial features, height) * shy smile & neutral pose; characteristic for a Finn
respect for tradition (past), *timelessness*	"timelessness", "timeless everyday clothes", "the iconic pattern/shirt", "the essence of the dress has remained unchanged", classic piece", "special smocking technique from our archives", "archive-inspired smocking technique", "since/from XX (e.g. 1970), "renowned Marimekko classic", "Inspired by archive pieces and Marimekko designs from the past", "timeless companion [a bag]", "a classic was born", "legendary, "timeless pieces", "iconic patterns", "created in 1974", "dates back to 1967", "A good print never gets old", "explore our online archive", "tailored"	* retro-style prints * Marimekko classics, e.g. Unikko print * vintage-style filter
moderation, humbleness	"subtle", "minimalistic yet flattering", "beige shades, "simple shapes", "charm of imperfection – the ingredients of a good life"	* minimalist; natural looks; hardly any make-up in many photos * minimal, simple settings, e.g. single-coloured backround * unembellished, "real-life" settings, e.g. at home with "normal life" (e.g. crinkled sheets), city streets, metro, grocery store * rough (urban) settings * signs of humbleness/shyness (e.g. hiding face under hat, shy smile/neutral facial expression, neutral pose,
Sense of belonging	"I [Armi Ratia] only want to bring people together", "importance of togetherness", "encourage people to get together"	People together in images; showing close connections (e.g. leaning onto each other)
ADDITIONAL VALUES		
Happiness, joy	"through joy", "inspired by…positive energy", "add brightness to any day", "joyful ode", "brings joy to everyday life", "Innokkuus shirt", "enjoy", "rejoice", "Iloita	* smiling & laughing people * text-in-image: "I always get smiles on the streets whenever I'm in my [Marimekko] colours and prints"

	dress", "sure to brighten pup your day", "start the party season with joy"	* bright; joyful colours and patterns
Functionality	"Smart bag", "a functional bag series", "for all moments in life", "perfect for day or evening wear", "functional yet contemporary", "works in every weather", "festive moments and everyday life alike", "practical", combines functionality with flair", "designed for all moments in life", "a perfect balance of function and style", "Designed to carry all your essentials", "functional…complemented by clever details", "a practical charmer"	* Clothes and accessories in use in different situations; in "real life" and not (only) festivities * details of products, e.g. functional-looking, detachable strap, variations of bags in one image; suited for different occasions
High quality	"tailored", "durable", "designed to carry us through life", "designed to last", "stand the test of time", "Together – for years to come (related to products)", "Marimekko bags – forever yours", "stand[s] the test of time"	* The "sensory" feeling of the quality through the image: high-quality-looking (heavier) materials, traditionally high-quality materials (e.g. wool, silk, leather)

* values *in cursive* added based on the data, and not included in the original values listed by Schwartz (1992, 2006); but similar to those.