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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

PUT YOUR MONEY WHERE YOUR MOUTH IS?

A qualitative study investigating attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax

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Abstract

In order to curb negative externalities from meat production and meat consumption policy measures have been investigated and were elaborated on by the Swedish board of agriculture in 2013. Due to subsequent inaction despite increasing awareness of serious consequences for animal welfare, the environment and for human well-being caused by the meat industry, this thesis aims to investigate the grounds for political hesitancy. Assumed lack of popular support being the main suspect for political inaction structured/semi-structured interviews have been performed with persons described as conscious and concerned carnivores for a deeper understanding of possible correlations between on the one hand beliefs, attitudes and behaviors in regards to meat production and meat consumption, and on the other hand attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax. While numerical generalizations cannot be made from the small and *critical sample* interviewed, the finding of support for a meat tax from all respondents implies a reason for further research to be performed in order to expand the mapping of people's attitudes within this policy area, and for a greater understanding of the cognitive-behavioral mechanisms that may influence their attitudes.

Key words: beliefs, attitudes, behavior, meat tax, policy, cognitive dissonance, sustainable development

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Abbreviations

AFOLU	Agriculture, Forestry and Other Land Use
AWBU	Animal Well-Being Unit
CCC	Conscious and Concerned Carnivore
CO ₂	Carbon Dioxide
CO ₂ -eq	Carbon Dioxide Equivalents
COP	Conference Of the Parties
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GHG	Green House Gas
TPB	Theory of Planned Behavior
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WHO	World Health Organization

1. Introduction

The historically unparalleled, and still steadily increasing, number of people on the planet and the stress that the consumption of resources by the human population implies for the planet and its eco systems, threatens the attainment and sustenance of prosperous and healthy lives among humans as well as other beings and life forms. The human population, and its effect on the earth's life-support system, is even recognized as a geological force that has given name to a new geological epoch – the Anthropocene – which can be described as the human impact on earth through cognitive-behavioral strategies (Albert 2015:1542), and which implies leaving the stable epoch – the Holocene – in which human societies as we know them have developed (Rockström et al. 2009). Considering the consequences of human behavior and consumption that the Anthropocene implies it is important to analyze what determines human behavior, and what human behavior and consumption as a collective globally amount to, as well as to steer this geological force in a direction that is in line with prosperity and sustainability, which possibly may only be assured to be accomplished through joint efforts across borders, through administration and governance internationally and globally. This thesis is limited to the study of a particular form of human behavior and consumption, namely the consumption of meat, which arguably needs policy attention in order to be in line with a prosperous and sustainable development (Graça 2016: 152-153), considering its consequences in terms of: 1) animal welfare¹; 2) environmental sustainability; and 3) human well-being.²

¹ The link between animal welfare and sustainable development might not be obvious, as sustainable development most commonly is described as a simultaneous concern for the environmental-, the economic- and the social spheres of society, and as sustainable development is usually presented as an anthropocentric concept. However, despite this limitation, animal welfare and human well-being are intertwined, and even without attributing animals intrinsic value; environmental, economic and social benefits for humans as a result of animal welfare is recognized among scholars (Appleby and Fuentesfina 2015:100-102).

² An account of the relevance of the affect of meat consumption for these three categories of concern follows in chapter two. Also, there may be other categories of concern that make the issue of meat consumption important to address, however this thesis is focused on these three based on their relevance as pointed out in recent studies (Clonan et al 2014, Graça 2016:156-157,

In the endeavor of addressing any issue in need of attention, the policy maker has three main avenues of influence, namely to apply the following, separately, or in combination: 1) informational instruments such as educational information, labeling, and recommendations of different sorts, 2) administrative instruments such as quotas, age limits, performance standards, or rationing, and 3) economic instruments such as taxation or other economic sanctions (Wirsenius et al. 2011:161), which hence is the case with the issue of meat consumption as well. While recognizing the availability of these three alternatives, this thesis focuses on one of the economic instruments, namely taxation.

Seeking answers to questions concerning what grounds there might be for support of policy aimed at reducing meat consumption this thesis is devoted to investigations of psychological character, more specifically investigations of the relationship between 1) people's beliefs, attitudes and behaviors in regards to meat production and meat consumption; 2) cognitive dissonance and means for cognitive consonance; and 3) attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax.

Beliefs, attitudes and behavior may be commonly known more or less what they refer to, but perhaps the same cannot be said about cognitive dissonance and cognitive consonance. Let me therefore in this introductory chapter say that in terms of theory, there are two main theoretical concepts that are used in this thesis that stem from the psychological field: first, the theory of planned behavior (TPB), and second, the theory of dissonance. An account of the meaning of these theoretical concepts will follow in the theory chapter, chapter five, but shortly; according to the TPB; people's attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control, result in an intention to behave in a certain way, which in turn is what determines certain behavior. Then, the theory of dissonance can be summarized as stipulating that when there is a discrepancy between a person's attitude and behavior – in other words when a person does not practice what ze

159) and statements by institutions such as the World Health Organization (WHO) (WHO 2015, WHO 2016) and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (FAO 2016).

preaches – then there is cognitive dissonance, which may give rise to a sense of unease, and a willingness to resolve the dissonance into consonance.

In answering questions such as those mentioned or touched upon in this introductory chapter – which will be more explicitly formulated as research questions in chapter three – this thesis will be limited to investigating the propensity among a selected group of people that can be labeled as conscious and concerned carnivores (CCCs)³. CCC is a term that describes people that are conscious of the negative effects of meat consumption, and concerned with the consequences of meat consumption, while they at the same time eat meat. In this thesis, the CCCs are concerned about the negative effects of meat consumption especially for one out of three reasons, namely animal ethical, environmental, or human health reasons.

In order to investigate the matters at hand in this thesis, interviews have been performed, and the theories just introduced have been used in the analysis of the answers from the respondents.

The final direction, and more precise topic selection, of the thesis was inspired by an interview with Annika Carlsson-Kanyama, research director at the Swedish Defense Research Agency (FOI) and adjunct professor at the Department of Energy and Environmental Systems Studies at Lund University (LTH), where she stated that there is an assumption that there is a resistance among the Swedish population toward a meat tax, but that research is needed to find out if that is actually the case. The endeavor in terms of contribution of this thesis to answering that question is to investigate how the interviewed

³ Interestingly the term carnivore may in everyday speech be used to describe the same thing as omnivore. “Carni” originates from the latin word for “flesh” – carne – while omni originates from the latin word for “all” – omnis. Then both words share the ending “vore”, which also originates from the latin word “vorare”, meaning “to devour”. The meaning of carnivore is however not that the persons in question only eat meat, but that their diets include meat. In this sense the people interviewed in this study are both carnivores and omnivores. The reason for choosing to use the term carnivore as opposed to omnivore is not merely because it allows for a neat abbreviation (CCC), but because it also serves to highlight the behavior of the persons interviewed, which is of central interest for the investigations in this thesis, namely their consumption of meat.

CCCs reason and elaborate when asked questions that are aimed at gaining a deeper understanding of their position on the spectrum from support to resistance toward policies that are directed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax. This thesis is thus qualitative, and the data used in the analysis will be corroborated with previous research on the topic.

To sum up and to conclude this chapter, recognizing that meat consumption is a global phenomenon, with local-global inter-affectedness, which poses challenges for sustainability goals to be achieved, this thesis investigates the grounds for attitudes within a specific subject, and policy field – meat consumption and sustainable development policy – of a selected group of people within the limited geographical area that is Sweden, more specifically inhabitants of Sweden’s second biggest city, Gothenburg. More on the topic of method in chapter 6.

Next follows an account of the background of this study, in turn followed by chapters with more in depth information that embellishes, and expands on, the information provided in this introductory chapter.

2. Background

In 2013, the Swedish board of agriculture produced a report elaborating on the possibility to introduce a tax on meat in combination with information and labeling, first and foremost due to the negative impacts that the meat industry has on the climate through its substantial contribution to global anthropogenic green house gas (GHG) emissions.

Summarizing their report in three bullet points, they write⁴:

“

- We in the western world ought to eat less meat first and foremost with regards to meat production being resource intensive and causing large amounts of green house gas emissions. We ought to also choose the meat we eat with care.
- A consumer [i.e. rather than a producer] carbon tax in combination with information and labeling about how the meat was produced could affect the consumption in a more sustainable direction.
- Swedish meat production is relatively good in several sustainable development perspectives, for example use of antibiotics and animal welfare. But as well in Sweden as in the rest of the world measures are needed in order to stimulate the producers to use more sustainable production methods.” (Jordbruksverket 2013:1)

The meat tax has however not been realized in part because of assumptions that there is resistance among the Swedish public against regulation in the sensitive issue of what to eat, in turn leading to hesitancy from the government and most political parties, toward championing the issue (Wijkman 2016). The broader aim of this thesis is to contribute to answering the question whether such an assumption is warranted, and more specifically, if so, how that resistance can be understood, as well as if, and how it can possibly be resolved.

⁴ Translated from Swedish by the author of this thesis.

The hesitancy of introducing a tax on meat in Sweden is understandable considering that it has never been done before, in any country in the world. This serves as another reason why it is exciting to investigate what CCCs actually think of introducing a tax on meat, and what the grounds are for their position.

This thesis furthermore springs out of an interest in the phenomena of; people on the one hand identifying themselves as animal friendly, and on the other hand actually are eating animals; or those who at the same time identify themselves as environmentally friendly, are aware of the environmental impact of the meat industry, but continue eating meat to an extent that the consequential environmental impact is not in line with their attitudinal position in terms of care for the environment; or lastly those who are concerned with human health and are aware of the health risks associated with meat production and meat consumption, and at the same time continue eating meat beyond suggested levels for avoiding heightened risks for disease such as colorectal cancer.

There are of course reasons for these seeming paradoxical attitude-behavior relationships presented by CCCs. One of the questions that this thesis asks is what those reasons may be. Some of the previous scholarship would suggest that the persistence of these phenomena could be a result of cognitive dissonance being disregarded – the behavior or attitude being justified or defended through various reasons and excuses (Festinger 1957, Krantz 2001). However, even if this is a good explanation, the question remains how the cognitive dissonance is constituted among the sample group in this study; What is in the hearts and minds of CCCs? How do they make sense of their eating behavior vis-à-vis their eating attitudes? And do the answers to these questions seem to be meaningfully related to their attitudes toward policy directed at reducing meat consumption?

2.1 Three perspectives on why meat eating may be considered an important issue to address

Below follow a few examples of the significance of dietary choices among humans, due to its implications for animal welfare, environmental sustainability, and human well-being.

- Animal welfare

Through evolution wild animals have evolved to be social and sentient beings capable of being happy as well as of suffering, and are programmed with instincts such as that of attachment between mother and offspring at birth, without which the offspring would not survive. In terms of needs, although today's domesticated animals have inherited physical, emotional and social needs necessary for survival from their wild ancestors, those needs are redundant in farms as farmers provide farm animals with necessities for survival, such as food, shelter and protection from predators. However, beyond ensuring survival, humans too can cause suffering to farm animals, not least through neglecting their physical, emotional and social needs, but also through ending their lives prematurely (Harari 2015). Nevertheless, the *raison d'être* of farm animals from your average industrial farmer's perspective is not primarily to live natural lives as if they were wild animals, but to live and die effectively as domesticated animals and profit bringing commodities whose value of existing is instrumental rather than intrinsic.

Farm animals now constitute the majority of the planet's large creatures, and domesticated animals constitute more than 90% of all large animals⁵. To get an idea of the ratio between wild animals and domesticated animals, together all large wild animals in the world weigh about 100 million tons, while together all domesticated animals in the world weigh about 700 million tons. Furthermore, the fate of farm animals is something that concerns tens of billions of beings (Harari 2015). These perspectives in numbers serve to show the magnitude in aggregation of the welfare or suffering that these sentient beings enjoy or endure.

How then can the treatment of animals in industrial farming be viewed upon morally? Turning to moral philosopher Peter Singer for a response to that question, the argument for moral consideration in regards to animals is not based

⁵ "Large" means an animal that weighs at least a few kilos.

on the ability to reason or the ability to speak a human language, but on the ability to suffer and the ability to enjoy.

“The capacity for suffering and enjoyment is a prerequisite for having interests at all, a condition that must be satisfied before we can speak of interests in a meaningful way. /.../ The capacity for suffering and enjoyment is, however, not only necessary, but also sufficient for us to say that a being has interests – at an absolute minimum, an interest in not suffering (Singer 1990:7-8).

What is described above can be summarized as sentience being necessary for having interests, and in turn interests being necessary for having moral standing. Thus, a being such as a cow, a pig, or a chicken, which are all members of species that are sentient, at least has the minimal interest of not suffering. Consequently, when that interest is neglected, so is the moral standing of that being. So, to answer the question how the treatment of animals can be viewed upon morally, according to Peter Singer the answer would be that causing animals suffering is morally wrong since it neglects the animal’s interest in not suffering.

Therefore, chick culling (the process of killing male baby chicks shortly after birth because of their worthlessness to the farmer since they do not lay eggs); having bred, and feeding, chicken so that their legs cannot carry their own weight; neutering (castrating) pigs without anesthesia, keeping them in tight spaces severely limiting their ability to move, and subjecting them to circumstances causing them to chew off each others’ tails, or subjecting them to poor conditions causing them to develop infections or disease; separating cow from offspring shortly after birth in order to reap the milk produced for the offspring, or killing them, in the same surroundings as other cows, causing severe anxiety; are all morally wrong practices that billions of sentient beings are being subjected to, everyday, continuously.

- Environmental sustainability

Recently the insight has gained momentum that livestock production is one of the greatest contributors to anthropogenic GHG emissions. When comparing economic sectors, livestock production, which is part of the Agriculture, Forestry and Other Land Use (AFOLU) sector, by itself at least nearly ties with the entire transport sector in terms of total anthropogenic GHG emissions globally.

Although great uncertainties exist when it comes to calculating GHG emissions from livestock production, calculations have been made, concluding that about 12% of all anthropogenic GHG emissions (Westhoek et al 2011:51) can be attributed to livestock production, and examples of other calculations reach the conclusion that the figure should be 14.5% (FAO - Gerber et al. 2013:15), 18% (FAO, Livestock's Long Shadow 2006), or even 51% (Goodland and Anhang 2009:11), while the transport sector contributes with about 14% (IPCC 2014:44⁶).⁷

The contribution from livestock production to GHG emissions are mainly due to a mix of great areas of land-use and land-use change, such as deforestation in order to make room for growing fodder for farmed animals⁸, methane gas emissions resulting from the digestive process of above all cows, and nitrous oxide produced in the process of growing fodder (Cederberg et al 2011:1773, Voget-Kleschin and Langanke 2013:367).

The seriousness of the state of the climate and the necessity for curbing emissions was not least stressed at the climate conference in Paris in 2015, COP21, where a

⁶ IPCC 2014:44

⁷ Although the different conclusions when it comes to these numbers to some extent can be attributed to being based on different years, the point here is not to determine what the best or correct estimate is, but to show that all of these estimates point to the livestock sector being one of the greatest contributors to anthropogenic GHG emissions, and that the size of the emissions are comparable to that of the entire transport sector.

⁸ Among other things, deforestation implies carbon stored in trees being released, and carbon being released from the soil due to soil erosion.

new goal was set, to limit global warming to 1,5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, which formerly was set to 2 degrees Celsius (UNFCCC 2015). This heightened political ambition for improving the chances for a continuously stable climate that provides opportunities for prosperous lives for humans, animals and other life forms also needs to be met with ambitious action cutting down on GHG emission-intensive activity if the political ambition is to be worth something. In this endeavor, considering its significant contribution to anthropogenic GHG emissions, livestock production is arguably to be given utmost attention, and action for reducing production and consumption of meat taken.

Action becomes all the more important considering projections by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) that in 2050 the demand for meat will have increased with more than 73% compared to 2010 year's levels, due to an increase in the world population to 9,6 billion, income growth, and urbanization (FAO – Gerber et al. 2013:1). This furthermore implies a considerable increase in the strain on other environmental factors beyond GHG concentration in the atmosphere, as the animal industry weighs heavy in terms of usage of land, freshwater, energy, nutrients, and soil organic matter, and not least in terms of biodiversity loss (Westhoek 2011:53-54, 50; Herrero et al 2013:20888; Gerber et al. 2013:40-41; Goodland 1997: 195).

Future GHG emissions from food production are strongly affected by changes in diets, and the potential to reduce GHG emissions from food production have been shown to be substantially higher through changes in diet than through technical measures, although a combination of the two, perhaps naturally, make for the greatest reductions (IPCC 2014:840, Popp et al 2010:456, 459). When comparing dietary changes to a business-as-usual scenario, diets adopting to “no ruminant meat”, “no meat” (vegetarian diet), and “no animal products” (vegan diet), imply savings of 34-64% in GHG emissions compared to the business-as usual scenario,

while maintaining nutritionally sufficient diets through replacing animal protein with for example soy and pulses. (IPCC 2014:840, Stehfest et al. 2009:87-90)

- **Human well-being**

For humans the risks involved when consuming processed- or red meat include a higher risk of colorectal cancer, which is a form of cancer that in nearly half of the cases of disease leads to death (Bjerselius et al. 2014:3). The risk of getting cancer generally increases with the amount of meat consumed. More specifically it is estimated that for every 50 grams of processed meat⁹ consumed daily there is on average an 18% increase in the risk of getting colorectal cancer (WHO 2015). While the evidence is not as strong for red meat (limited evidence) as opposed to processed meat (convincing evidence), there are positive associations between eating red meat and developing colorectal cancer. If the association between red meat consumption and colorectal cancer were confirmed with greater certainty, then the studies performed furthermore suggest that the risk of developing colorectal cancer increases by 17% for every 100 grams of red meat consumed daily (WHO2015). Nevertheless, the World Health Organization (WHO) at the same time points out that red meat has nutritional value, and recommends balancing risks and benefits (IARC 2015). However, although red meat has a certain nutritional value such as high levels of protein of good quality, the Swedish board of agriculture contends not only that other animal products such as milk, eggs and fish can have at least as great a significance for the intake of protein of good quality as meat, but also that this is true for vegetables and leguminous plants, and that it therefore is possible to acquire necessary proteins through a vegan diet (Jordbruksverket 2013:15-17).

⁹ Processed meat is meat that has been transformed through methods such as salting, curing, fermentation, smoking, or other processes for enhancing flavor or for improving preservation. Processed meat include hot dogs, ham, sausages, corned beef, and biltong or beef jerky as well as canned meat and meat-based preparations and sauces (WHO 2015).

In Sweden the consumption of meat has increased with 40% since 1990, and today the issue of colorectal cancer is something that afflicts about 6000 people every year, making it the third most common form of cancer (Livsmedelsverket 2014). The same trend is followed globally, colorectal cancer being the third most common form of cancer, afflicting a total of about 1.4 million people every year (WCRFI 2014).

The animal industry furthermore implies other health risks for humans such as spread of disease. 75% of new diseases that have affected humans over the past 10 years originate from animals or from products of animal origin (WHO 2016). Examples of such diseases from the not too distant past are the mad cow disease, the bird flu and the swine flu. Moreover, because of the amount of antibiotics used in the animal industry, there is a heightened antibiotic resistance brought about, which potentially poses great challenges to human health and survival of those in need of antibiotics (Jordbruksverket 2013:33-36).

3. Research aim and research questions

Bearing the information provided thus far in mind, the thesis holds it to be an interesting point of inquiry, the witness of people who consider themselves to be conscious of, and concerned about at least one out of the three categories; animal welfare, environmental sustainability, or human well-being, and at the same time eat meat to a degree that does not match their attitudes. There are in this case two cognitive elements that stand in contrast to each other, 1) “I am concerned about the consequences of eating meat for at least one of three reasons”; and 2) “I eat meat” (more than I should). This raises questions such as; what are the *causality and seriousness beliefs* of this category of people when it comes to the affect of meat consumption on the three categories mentioned above? And how do they handle the *cognitive dissonance* that they are subject to? And how may the

answers to these two questions relate to their attitudes toward policy directed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax?

3.1 Research aim

The central aim of this thesis is to investigate how the level of support for policy aimed at reducing meat consumption among the interviewed CCCs can be explained, and how it can possibly inform policy.

3.2 Research questions

- 1) Among the interviewed CCCs, what is the relationship between 1) causality and seriousness beliefs, in regards to the effects of meat production and meat consumption on animal welfare, the environment, and human well-being, and 2) attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax?

- 2) Among the interviewed CCCs, what is the relationship between 1) the cognitive dissonance and its dissonance reduction mechanisms, and 2) attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax?

4. Prior scholarship

In a study by Krantz (2001), the question of the relationship between beliefs regarding the environmental effects of car driving, and attitudes towards policy aimed at reducing car driving, such as road tolls and emission taxes, was tested in Sweden. As illustrated in figure 1, one of the main findings of the study was that 1) the causality and seriousness beliefs in regards to the environmental effects of car driving, affects 2) attitudes towards transportation policy initiatives.

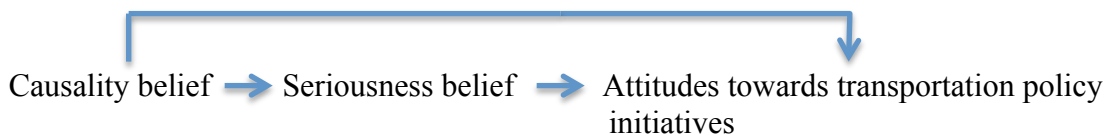


Figure 1. (Krantz 2001:49, 248)

Interestingly, however the study finds no support for the idea that information provision may increase support for transportation policy initiatives, which would otherwise seem like a reasonable assumption considering the close relationship between information and beliefs. This is explained by reference to that the beliefs of a fairly large portion of the Swedish population cannot be much “greener” than they already are. Furthermore, even among those with the “greenest” beliefs there was resistance to transportation policy initiatives due to either lack of ability, or willingness, to travel by other means than by car.

Moreover, while uneasiness due to cognitive dissonance appeared among the sampled population as a consequence of their car driving, the study shows that the feelings of unease were reduced by reference to good reasons and excuses for the behavior (see figure 2 on the next page).

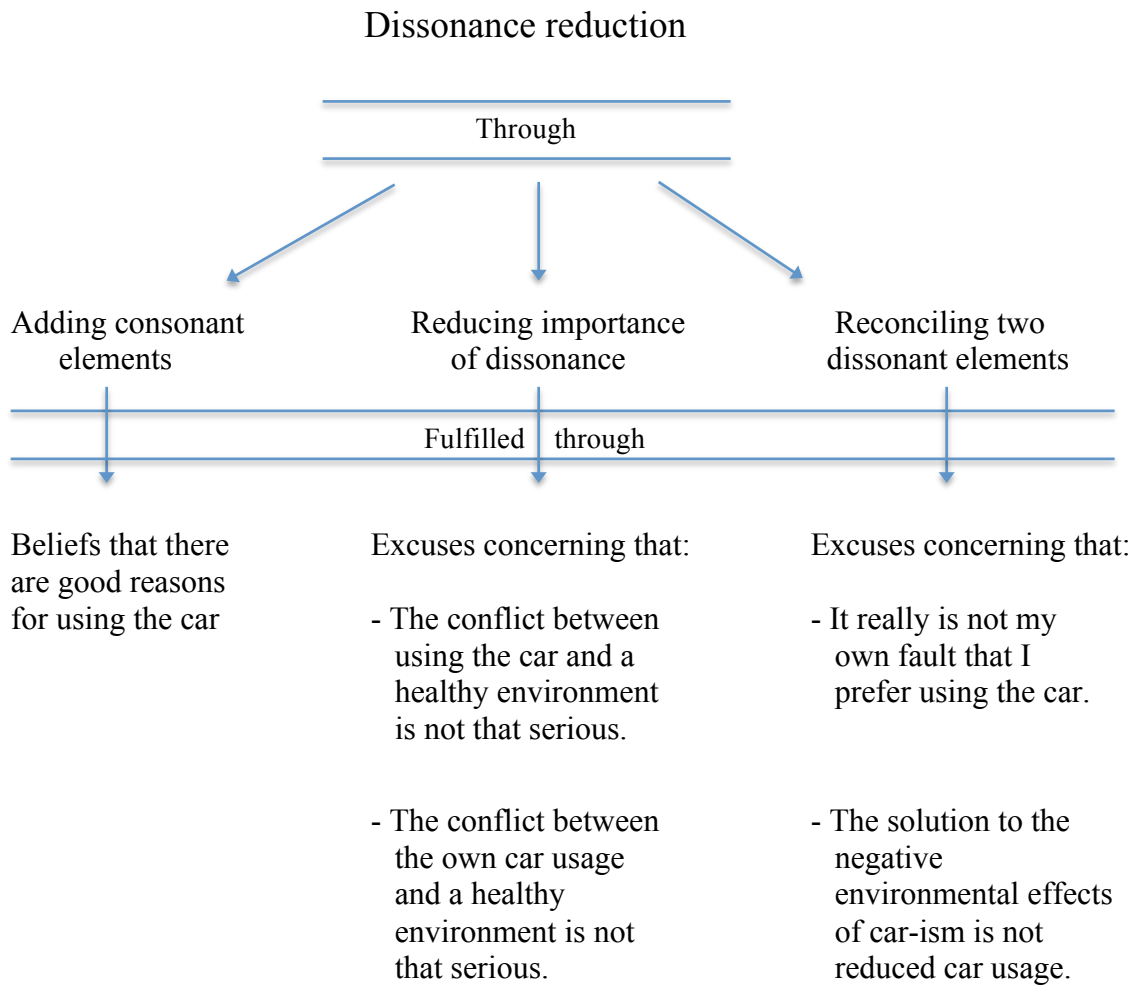


Figure 2. (Krantz 2001:159)

The study concludes that in the endeavor to decrease car usage it would be necessary to not merely provide alternatives to traveling by car, but also to influence the extent of people's beliefs that there are circumstances that excuse using the car (Krantz 2001).

The conclusions of this study serve as valuable input for this thesis, where it will be investigated if similar results may be found when replacing the issue of car driving with that of meat production and meat consumption.

Research pertaining to attitudes and behavior in regards to consumption of meat suggests that there is a difference between different groups of populations, such as there being a lesser extent of meat consumption among women than among men, as well as there being a difference between different countries in the world, which depend on factors such as culture, religion and income levels (Green-Finestone et al. 2007, De Backer and Hudders 2014). Further research shows that human health and animal welfare are more common motivations for avoiding processed meat and red meat than environmental concern, which result in suggestions to increase public awareness of the environmental impact of consumption of meat, if the goal is to reduce meat consumption. Furthermore, in these awareness efforts it is suggested that in dietary guidelines, where nutritional guiding is common, also environmental- as well as animal welfare components be integrated so as to be in line with a sustainable diet also from environmental and animal welfare perspectives (Clonan et al. 2015:2446).

There is also research that point to the complexity of the issue of how people regulate their behavior when it comes to what they eat. In order to gain greater understanding in this realm, one way is to investigate both macro-level factors, such as historical, cultural and economic factors, and micro-level factors, such as psychosocial and psychological factors, through a full and integrated approach, that takes different levels of explanation into account (Graça 2016:152). See figure 3 for an example of such a full and integrated approach.

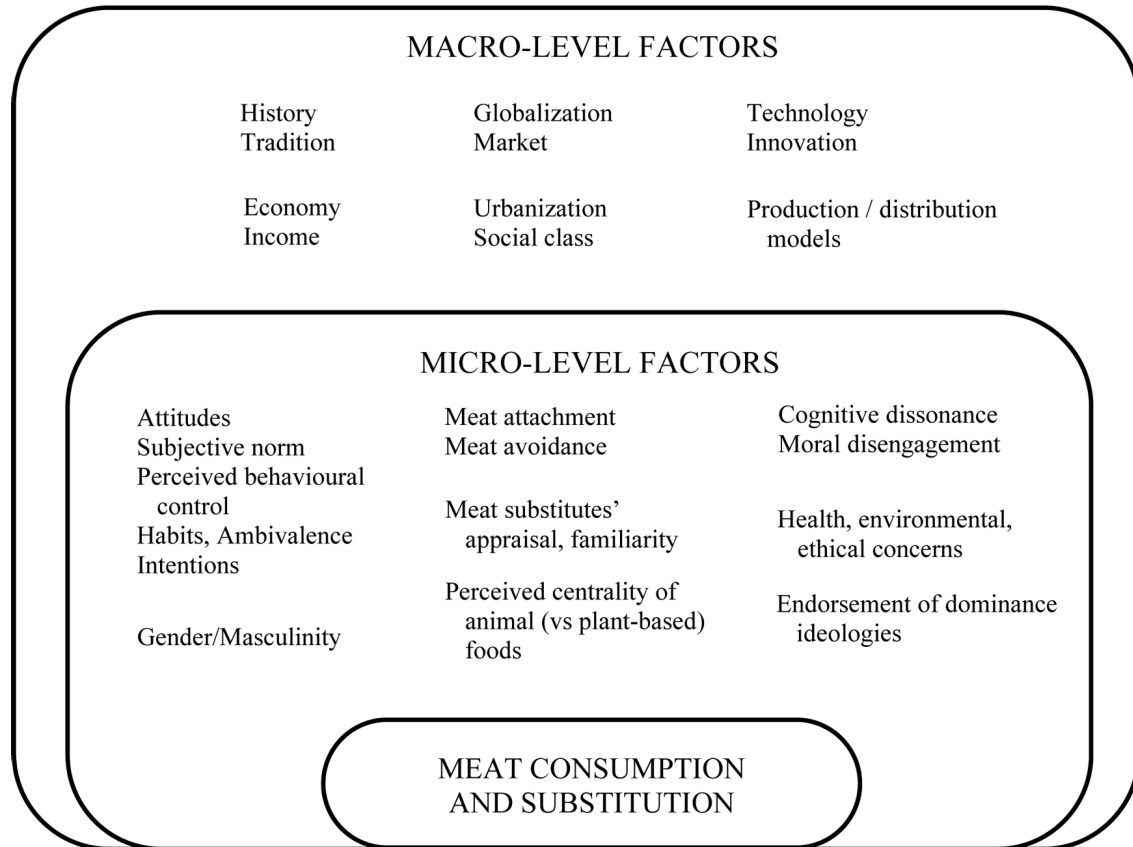


Figure 3. Macro- and micro-level factors affecting diet behavior (Graça 2016:161)

When investigating the issue of how people regulate their diet behavior along the meat or non-meat spectrum, operationalizing such a full and integrated approach-model that is as encompassing as the one portrayed in figure 3 would reasonably be desirable in order to be as richly informed as possible. However, managing to cover all of the factors included in figure 3 might prove to be a challenging task if simultaneously the aim is to accomplish analytical depth. Therefore, while recognizing the value of such an overview, and while this thesis chooses to include figure 3 for the purpose of portraying the multifaceted and complex nature of the issue of diet behavior, for this thesis the choice has been made to limit the focus to micro-level factors, especially to the following: attitudes; subjective norm; perceived behavioral control; habits, ambivalence, intentions; cognitive dissonance; health, environmental, ethical concerns; and endorsement of dominance ideologies.

Pertaining specifically to cognitive dissonance and meat consumption, prevalence of cognitive dissonance was supported by a study that confirmed that oftentimes people both like eating meat, not least for its culinary enjoyment, while they at the same time are reluctant to harm things that have minds and that are capable of suffering. The study in question, by Bastian et al. (2012), calls this a “meat paradox”, and argue that meat eating is morally significant behavior, but that meat eating still rarely is conceptualized as a moral choice. One of the conclusions of the study is that people mentally separate meat from animals, that mental disengagement from the origin of meat is a strategy applied as a way of dealing with the unpleasant sensation of cognitive dissonance, and that denial of animal harm and origin of meat was stronger when actual samples of meat for eating was present in an experiment setting – that is, when heightening the motivation for eating meat (Bastian et al 2012: 247-248, 252). Some people reduce the cognitive dissonance by altering their behavior, for example vegetarians or vegans, who stop eating meat. However, some people reduce their cognitive dissonance by changing their beliefs concerning animal’s abilities to suffer, mind capacity and moral standing – that is, through increasing the degree to which they deny animals to have these abilities (Loughnan et al 2014:106).

* * *

While previous research on beliefs, behavior and attitudes in regards to different issues, and its correlation with attitudes towards policy, as well as research pertaining to behavior and attitudes in regards to diet and meat consumption, is fairly extensive, research is lacking on the relationship between beliefs, food attitudes and food behavior on the one hand, and attitudes towards policy aimed at reducing meat consumption on the other hand, especially in the Swedish context. It is this area of research that this study seeks to contribute to. Moreover, among the studies encountered in the previous research such as those mentioned above there is an overrepresentation of quantitative studies that are based on surveys. Considering that this study is qualitative and based on interviews there is also a value in the contribution of this thesis from a methodological perspective.

4.1 Previous scholarship on meat tax – possible schemes: how might a meat tax be designed more precisely, and why?

4.1.1 Internalization of externalities through reversal of current subsidies, and taxation according to an environmental and bioethical food chain ranking

In an article by Goodland (1997), different types of food are compared in terms of efficiency of conversion, and in terms of if they are high or low in the food chain. For example the author points out that in order to produce one kilo of liveweight, feedlot cattle need to consume 7 kilos of grain, pigs 4 kilos of grain, poultry and fish about 2 kilos of grain, and for cheese and egg production, 3 and 2.6 kilos of grain are needed respectively (Goodland 1997:194-195). Beyond this, Goodland accounts for negative health and environmental effects that can be brought about as a consequence of meat consumption, such as: cancer, heart disease, obesity, diabetes, hypertension and food borne illness; GHG emissions, substantial water-, and energy usage, top soil depletion, deforestation, wildlife habitat destruction, and pollution of rivers and lakes (Goodland 1997:199-200, 195). He thinks meat production externalities such as social and environmental costs ought to be internalized, that is, included in the price so that the total costs of the production of the good in question is reflected in the price (Goodland 1997:197). These points form the main basis for his elaboration on a tax to be implemented, where food characterized by “Most Impact/Most Sentient/Least Efficient/Least Healthy” would be taxed highest, while food characterized by “Least Impact/Least Sentient/Most Efficient/Healthiest” would be tax exempt. Put differently, it is a tax based on an “environmental and bioethical food chain ranking” (See figure 4 below) (Goodland 1997:196). In the article it is also recognized that there is a correlation between on the one hand people eating food higher up on the food chain, and on the other hand affluence among that population, while the opposite is the case for people eating food that is lower on the food chain, which is why Goodland argues that rich people ought to be encouraged to move down the food chain, and that poor people ought to be encouraged to stay at the position of the food chain where they are, while adding vegetables, fruits and nuts to their diets, as diets of the poor would improve nutritionally through such a dietary change. He furthermore proposes that a first step in the economic

incentives for this transition in diets is to remove subsidies that the livestock sector enjoys¹⁰, which imply a reduced, rather than an increased price on food high up on the food chain (Goodland 1997:197).



Figure 4. Environmental and bioethical food chain ranking (Goodland 1997:196).

¹⁰ These subsidies include: “full social and environmental costs of topsoil loss, erosion, siltation, biodiversity loss, and deforestation due to cattle; water prices (water prices it is said, would increase the cost of one pound of protein from steak to \$89); sewage disposal from feedlots; medical costs associated with diets rich in animal products, loss of work, taxes, etc. due to animal-rich diets; antibiotic resistant infections induced from routine antibiotic feeding to cattle; transport costs; internalization of GHG costs in transport, diesel, fertilizers used for cattle feed production.” (Goodland 1997:197)

4.1.2 Consumption taxes based on GHG emissions per food unit

In an article by Wirsenius, Hedenus and Mohlin (2011) it is argued that, in the EU “...consumption taxes on animal food differentiated by GHG emissions per food unit would change the average diet and could be a cost-effective policy for mitigating agricultural GHG emissions...” (Wirsenius et al. 2011:160). In the article there is also a discussion on the difference between taxing emissions and taxing consumption, and the authors argue consumption taxes to be preferable since emission taxes would imply high transaction and monitoring costs. Furthermore, while emission taxes would potentially bring efficiency gains, there is limited GHG mitigation potential via technological advancements in the agricultural sector. In other words, the efficiency advancement potential is limited in the agricultural sector. Thus, an overall decreasing demand for GHG intensive agriculture products – such as meat – brought about through an increase in the price, induced by consumption taxation, would be the better option in this case. Something that further supports this conclusion is that the possibilities for output substitution are great, with dietary substitutes to meat available (Wirsenius et al. 2011:161-163).

The way that the tax would be determined according to their research is through GHG emission levels for different kinds of food, calculated “based on average emission levels for all food producers on entire markets (e.g. EU)” (Wirsenius et al. 2011:164). The rationale behind this is that emission levels between producers in general differ to a much lesser extent than do emissions that are inherent to different food categories (Wirsenius et al. 2011:164), such as differences in animal species’ digestive systems, affecting GHG production and emissions.

The price increase used in the article is €60 per ton CO₂-eq¹¹, which is estimated to result in a net reduction of 32 million CO₂-eq (see Fig.5), and a 7% reduction of current GHG emissions in EU agriculture.

¹¹ CO₂-eq stands for carbon dioxide equivalents, which is a measure that represents how much GHG other gasses than CO₂, such as nitrous oxide and methane, equates to in terms of impact on climate change.

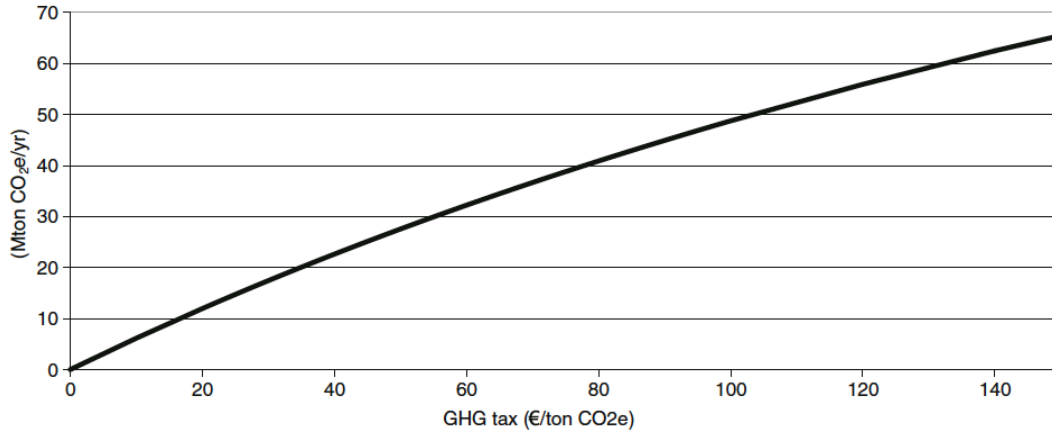


Figure 5. “Reductions in GHG emissions from food production, with consumption taxes on animal foods differentiated by their GHG emission intensity in production” (Wirsenius et al. 2011:172)

Important to know is that GHG emissions from land-use change is not included in these figures, although globally land conversion GHG emissions contributed to by the food and agriculture sector by far exceeds all other sources of GHG emissions from this sector (see Fig.6) (Wirsenius et al. 2011:173, 161-162).

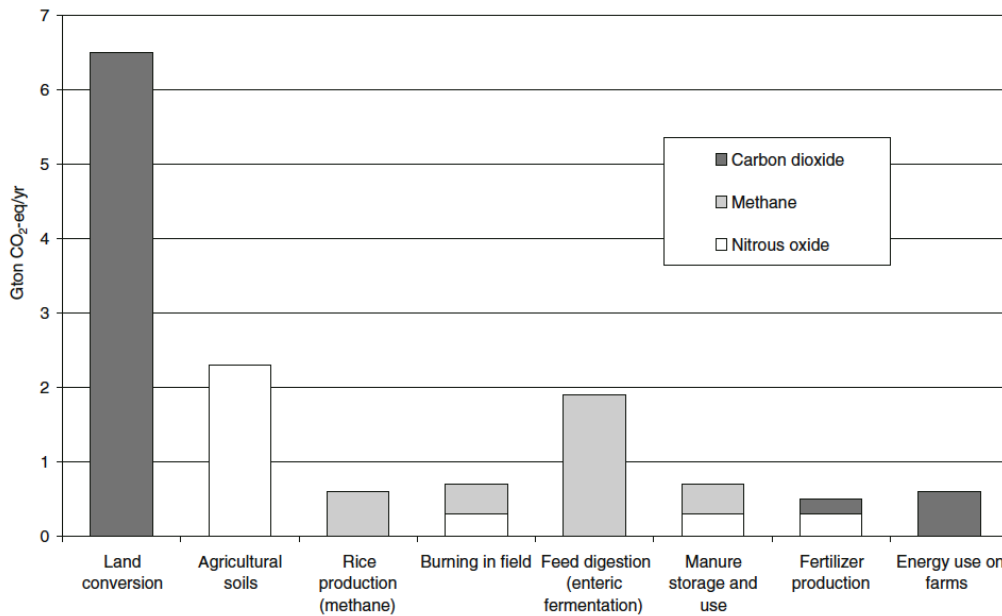


Figure 6. “Order of magnitudes for current GHG emission sources in global food and agriculture. All numbers in billion metric tons CO₂ equivalents per year. Sources: Compiled from IPCC (2007), Houghton (1999), Steinfeld et al. (2006), Lal (2004), Kounghaug (1998). All numbers are subject to considerable uncertainty, especially the CO₂ emissions from land conversion to agriculture” (Wirsenius et al. 2011:161).

Thus, reductions in GHG emissions can be estimated to be greater when considering the global impact of animal food consumption reductions among the EU population (Wirsenius et al. 2011:180). However, as share of consumption and production, imports and exports of animal food products are relatively small. For example for cattle meat, import and export constitute about 7% and 2% respectively, of total EU supply (Wirsenius et al. 2011:180) That is one reason that the land conversion factor is omitted in their paper, another being that carbon emissions of this kind are negligible within the EU (Wirsenius et al. 2011:162). A third reason for consumption tax rather than production tax is that taxing production of animal food in the EU would put EU producers in a disadvantaged position in relation to outside producers, in turn leading to increased imports, which would result in an increase in GHG emissions as non-EU production in many cases equals greater GHG intensity than production within the EU (Wirsenius et al. 2011:164).¹²

Through a GHG weighted consumption tax on animal food, the €60 per ton CO₂-eq would more specifically result in the changes in GHG emissions from animal food production shown in figure 7. The increased emissions from pig meat and poultry meat production is a result of substitution to those types of meat, from ruminant meat, which, as seen in figure 7 is the category with the greatest reductions in GHG emissions.

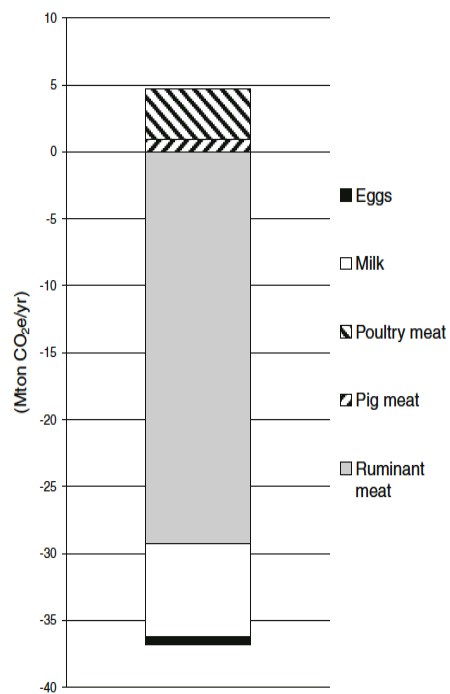


Figure 7. "Reductions in GHG emissions from animal food production for GHG weighted consumption taxes on animal food equivalent to €60 per ton CO₂-eq" (Wirsenius et al. 2011:173)

¹² This especially applies to production in the tropics, and as most cattle meat imported to the EU originates from South America (first and foremost Brazil that produces 75-80% of EU cattle meat imports), not only does it imply a contribution to greater GHG emissions due to lower productivity per area unit, it also implies a contribution to deforestation in the Amazon (Wirsenius et al. 2011:164,180), and the environmental destruction that it entails, including GHG emissions through land conversion, and substantial biodiversity loss.

When it comes to changes in the actual price for consumers, the estimated price increases are depicted in figure 8. For example, the cost of a kilo of ruminant meat, such as beef, would increase with about €1.4, or 16%, the cost of pig meat would increase with about €0.25 per kilo, or 5%, and the cost of poultry meat would increase with about €0.15 per kilo (Wirsenius et al. 2011:176-177).

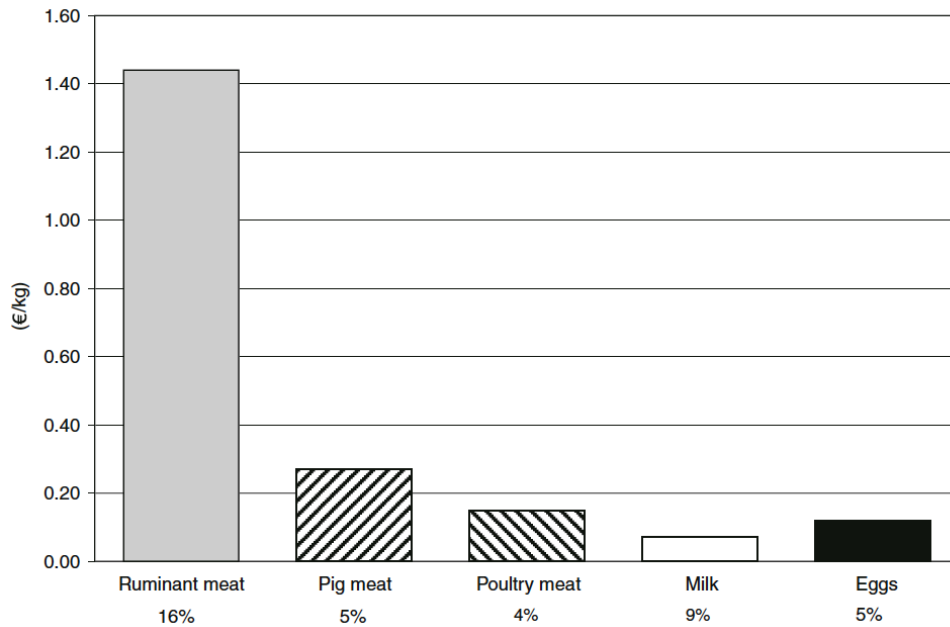


Figure 8. “Taxes per kg (fresh weight) food product for GHG weighted consumption taxes on animal food equivalent to €60 per ton CO₂-eq. Percentages on top of bars show the corresponding relative increase in consumer price” (Wirsenius et al. 2011:177)

These changes in price are then estimated to result in a change in people’s choices of what to consume. As we can see in figure 9, ruminant meat consumption is expected to decrease with about 15%, while pig meat and poultry meat are expected to increase with about 1% and 7% respectively, due to substitution in consumption (Wirsenius et al. 2011:176-177).

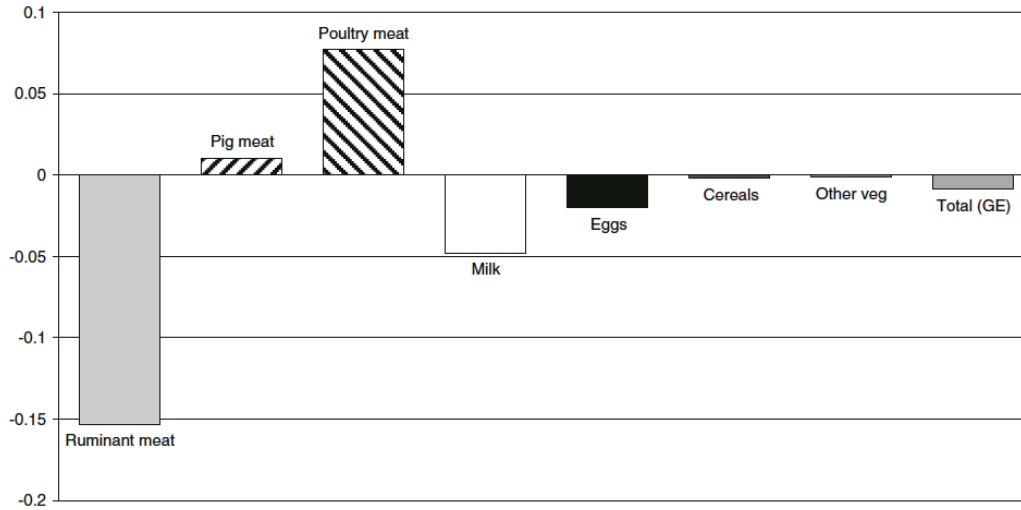


Figure 9. “Changes in food consumption for GHG weighted consumption taxes on animal food equivalent to C60 per ton CO₂-eq. GE: gross energy” (Wirsenius et al. 2011:176)

Finally, a word needs to be said about price elasticity of demand, for that is the most uncertain factor in the study. That is, it is uncertain to what degree people are willing to pay more for for example ruminant meat before they opt for a substitution. Interestingly the study furthermore points out that demand elasticities might also be affected by public information efforts, meaning that there is potential for increasing the effectiveness of GHG weighted taxation on food in changing peoples consumption if it is combined with provision of information. In terms of policy suggestions, the study moreover points to a third category, beyond economic and information instruments, and suggests that in order to accomplish further GHG reductions in food production, GHG weighted consumption taxes could also be complemented with performance standards and technology stipulations, for example in areas such as manure storage and handling where considerable technical potential exist (Wirsenius et al. 2011:178).

4.1.3 Criticism of taxation on meat – call for internalization of negative animal welfare externalities through a market based solution

The issue of uncertainty when it comes to price elasticity of demand is something that is also brought up by Lusk (2011), who presents an overall skeptic viewpoint on the idea of a meat tax. Another point that is brought up by this author is that a meat tax would lend itself more toward reducing the quantity of animals in the industry, rather than the quality of the lives of those animals, which, similarly to what is discussed by Wirsenius et al. (2011:178), suggests that a meat tax would be most effective in combination with other policies (Lusk 2011:563). An issue that the author raises when it comes to a tax on meat is that it is very hard to set the tax at an appropriate level, because there is insufficient knowledge to do so (Lusk 2011:565). What Lusk suggests is to create a market for animal welfare, following the logic that an externality – in this case animal welfare or animal suffering – exists because there is a market missing for it (Lusk 2011:564). The idea is to give farmers property rights over so called animal well-being units (AWBUs) that can be bought and sold, independent of the market for meat (Lusk 2011:565). Then, the issue of setting a price would be solved, for the price would be determined by the supply and demand for animal well-being. Through such an economic mechanism farmers would be able to make money through supplying animal well-being to people demanding animal well-being.

* * *

In order to have a point of reference when sharing their opinions in regards to the idea of introducing a meat tax, the interviewees were informed about the second of these meat tax elaborations, the one presented in chapter 4.1.2, due to it being the alternative with most detailed information.

5. Theory

5.1 The theory of planned behavior

The theory of planned behavior is the primary social psychological model that has been applied to meat consumption, or possibly even the only theory to have been systematically used in the study of meat consumption (Graça 2016:157). As such, it might be helpful to have as a support for the overall understanding of the psychosocial dimension of this thesis, and especially in investigating research question number one.

TPB is a theory that is designed to explain and predict human behavior in specific contexts, and it is a theory that is directed at explaining behavioral variability across situations (Ajzen 1991:181). According to the TPB there are four main factors that make up the basis for behavior, namely; 1) attitude toward a certain behavior; 2) subjective norm; 3) perceived behavioral control, and; 4) a persons intention to behave in a certain way, where this intention serves as a proximal determinant of behavior (Graça 2016:157, Ajzen 1991) (See figure 10.)

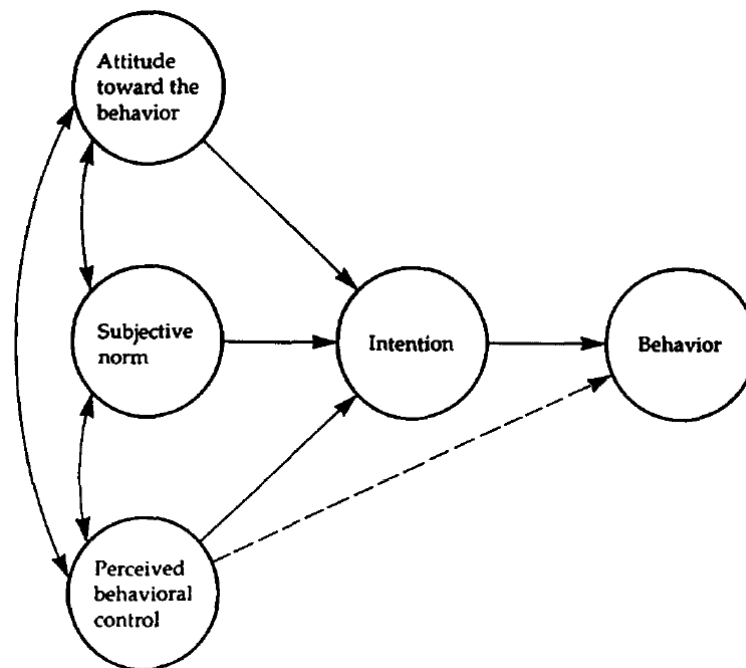


Figure 10. Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen 1991:182)

5.1.1 Attitude toward the behavior

The first out of three conceptually independent determinants of intention is the attitude toward a certain behavior, which refers to “the degree to which a person has a favorable or unfavorable evaluation or appraisal of the behavior in question” (Ajzen 1991:188). In turn, attitudes are predicted by beliefs, beliefs about the outcomes stemming from a given behavior. These beliefs can be divided into causality beliefs and seriousness beliefs. Relating this to the issue of meat consumption, people's attitudes toward eating meat are on the one hand predicted by people's beliefs in regards to the causal relationships between meat consumption and other things that follow from meat consumption, such as its effects on health. On the other hand people's attitudes are predicted by how serious people think the effects of meat consumption are, again for example when it comes to health.

5.1.2 Subjective norm

The second determinant of intention is the subjective norm, which is a social factor that refers to “the perceived social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior” (Ajzen 1991:188). That is, subjective norm is predicted by the perceived pressure from significant others regarding a certain behavior, weighted by the motivation to comply with those significant others (Connor & Armitage 2006:46). In regards to diet, important factors for a person's food behavior thus become the social norms, in regards to diet, that exist in the social spheres in which the person in question operates, the acceptance of different dietary preferences within those social spheres, the extent to which that social sphere, with its significant others, is perceived to put pressure on the person in question, and the motivation to align according to the pressure of the significant others when it comes to diet.

5.1.3 Perceived behavioral control

Regardless of what attitudes a person may have in regards to a certain behavior, or what significant others think of a certain behavior, there is the question of what is possible, considering what resources and opportunities are available to the person in question. This part of the TPB is thus a question of non-motivational factors, where factors such as availability of time, financial resources, skills, and cooperation of others, constitute what is necessary in order for a certain action – a performance of a behavior – to be possible (Ajzen 1991:183).

Perhaps the affect of *actual* behavioral control on behavior is evident, however, the *perceived* behavioral control might be less so. This third determinant of intention according to the TPB – perceived behavioral control – refers to “people’s perception of the ease or difficulty of performing the behavior of interest”(Ajzen 1991:183). That is, regardless of the actual opportunities and abilities available to a person seeking to perform a certain behavior, the person’s actual behavior depends on to what extent the person is aware of, and believes in, those opportunities and abilities (Ajzen 1991:184). Thus, in the case of dietary choice, according to this theory, it does not merely matter how time consuming it really is to change ones diet into other types of food, how expensive it is, how much skills it requires, or to what extent it requires cooperation of others – it also matters how people perceive all of these factors.

5.1.4 Intention

An individual’s intention to perform a certain behavior is a central factor in the TPB, and has to do with factors that motivate behavior. The intention to perform a specific behavior can be measured by to what extent a person is willing to try, or how much effort a person is planning to exert, in order to perform a certain behavior. The stronger the intention to behave in a certain way, the more likely is it that the behavior is also performed. However, as stipulated by the previous category, a behavioral intention

translates into behavior only if the behavior in question is under volitional control by the person who is about to perform the behavior (Ajzen 1991:181-182).

* * *

Summing up the basis for the TPB, according to the TPB, as long as the non-motivational factors are in place, as well as the motivational factors represented by the intention to perform a certain behavior, there should be nothing stopping the person in question from succeeding in performing the behavior (Ajzen 1991:182).

5.1.5 The addition of habits

“Habits” in this thesis refers to dispositions to behave in a particular way, or an established practice and custom (Colman 2015A). When behavior is performed repeatedly it becomes habitual, and is guided by automated cognitive processes, rather than by elaborate decision processes such as would be the case in decisions based on attitudes and intentions (Aarts et al 1998:1355). Although not included in the TPB, it has been recognized that, when adding habits as an explanatory factor, the explanatory capacity of the TPB model is increased (Graça 2016:158). It is important to note that Ajzen, the person behind the TPB, is particular with the distinction between past behavior and habit. He argues that the affect of past behavior on present behavior works through – and are therefore already accounted for in – the mechanisms and the factors accounted for in figure 10. However, on habit, he notes, “The unique contribution of habit would lie in finding a residue of past experience that leads to habitual rather than reasoned responses” (1991:203).

5.2 Theory of dissonance

According to the theory of dissonance, the terms “dissonance” and “consonance” refer to the relation between pairs of “elements” or “cognitions”, such as things that a person knows about oneself, about ones behavior, about ones surroundings, or what one does, what one feels, what one wants or desires, what one is etc. (Festinger 1957:9). For the purpose of this thesis, there is a focus on a specific pair of elements – attitude and behavior – and the relation between the two. Cognitive dissonance in this case can be described as a mismatch between an individual’s attitude¹³ and the individual’s behavior. For example, a person may be conscious of the negative health effects of smoking cigarettes while simultaneously be smoking cigarettes. To give a poignant example, imagine a pregnant woman knowing that smoking not only harms her, but can also be harmful to her yet unborn child. Her attitude is that she should not smoke due to its negative health effects. However, she does decide to smoke a cigarette because she enjoys it. There are in this case two cognitions; attitude – do not smoke (because of reason x), and; behavior – I smoke (because of reason y), that stand in contrast to each other. Two such cognitions standing in contrast to each other is what is called cognitive dissonance.

There are a few factors that are important when it comes to cognitive dissonance. First there is the “magnitude of dissonance”. The magnitude of dissonance is determined by the extent to which the elements or cognitions are valued by the person in question (Festinger 1957:16). Then there is the process of “reducing the dissonance”. By default, the presence of dissonance creates a pressure toward reducing the dissonance, and the dissonance can be reduced in three main ways, namely through; 1) changing a behavioral cognitive element, meaning to “change the action or feeling which the behavioral element represents” (Festinger 1957:19); 2) changing an environmental cognitive element, that is

¹³ The term attitude can be described as an enduring pattern of evaluative responses toward a person, object or issue. Here, what is referred to is how people feel or think about a certain issue. According to a classical definition, attitude can also refer to behavioral responses toward a psychological object (Colman 2015B), but what is referred to with attitude in this thesis is merely the feeling and thinking aspects of the term.

to change either a physical or a social environment that one finds oneself in¹⁴; and 3) adding new cognitive elements that are consonant with the other side of the cognition-pair, which in the case of the pregnant mother enjoying smoking for example could entail either reading material that is critical of the research pointing to the correlation between smoking and negative health effects, or avoiding to read material that support the same research. There are two more examples of this third kind of dissonance-reducing practices that I would like to account for. The first example is that a smoker could also compare smoking to other practices that are equally or even more dangerous to engage in. Through such a practice the smoker would reduce the importance of the existing dissonance. The second example is that there is an addition of a new cognitive element that in a way “reconciles” two elements that are dissonant. Festinger gives the example of a village with a certain culture where it is believed that people are intrinsically good. However, young children in this culture do go through a period when they are aggressive, hostile and destructive. In order to sort out the dissonance between the belief that people are intrinsically good, and the knowledge of the non-good behavior of the young children of the village, a new cognitive element is added: the non-good behavior of the young children is caused by malevolent ghosts that have entered into them. Hence, although ghosts at times alter the behavior among young children, people are still intrinsically good¹⁵(Festinger 1957:22-23).

When interviewing the respondents the magnitude of dissonance will be investigated, as well as the means for reduction of the dissonance used. Then, perhaps by positioning oneself in relation to meat-reducing-policy, the affect on dissonance can be altered in at least one of two ways. Either the policy implies an opportunity to compensate for non-

¹⁴ Note that a change of physical or social environment can be achieved in two ways, either through actually making a change to the physical or social environment, or through choosing to spend more time in physical or social environments other than those that give rise to dissonance.

¹⁵ Festinger (1957:23) also accounts for two alternative ways of reducing the dissonance in this case. The belief that all people are good could have been changed so that the belief instead was that people are only good after maturity, or the conception of “good” could have been altered to also include aggressive, hostile and destructive behavior among young children.

aligned behavior in relation to attitudes, through paying money (similar to carbon-compensating when flying), and then the policy would result in alleviation of the uneasiness caused by cognitive dissonance (you buy yourself free from guilt). Or, the policy could possibly heighten the sense of wrongdoing, and thus increase the cognitive dissonance when eating meat due to functioning as a norm-setter, which would result in stigma when acting in opposition of the norm. What the respondents thought of this will be presented in the results chapter.

6. Method

The main source of data used for the analysis was obtained through interviews, and in order to achieve greater reliability of the results they were corroborated with existing literature. As most social science research this study involves both deductive and inductive reasoning, and this study can be understood as being divided into two parts. First a deductive part testing the results generated through Krantz's research pertaining to the effects of causality and seriousness beliefs on attitudes toward related policy. Then an inductive part in which I was open to new findings from the data collected, and specifically an investigation of the relationship between cognitive dissonance and attitudes toward instruments aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax.

The methodological directional flow can be illustrated the following way:

Part one, deductive:

Previous studies/Theories → Research questions → Data collection →
Analysis → **Confirmation/rejection of theory**

Part two, inductive:

Previous studies/Theories → Research questions → Data collection →
Analysis → **Hypothesis generation**

6.1 Sampling

The choice was made to interview persons from a category that were estimated to be more likely to be supportive of instruments aimed at reducing meat consumption, due to their consciousness and concern in regards to the effects of meat consumption on the issue that they presumably are specifically conscious of and concerned about, given their choice of study or profession.

This *critical sample* (Tracy 2012:137) was chosen with the thought in mind, firstly that, if there is a kind of person who would support the types of instruments in question, then it would be those who are conscious of and concerned about the issue at hand. However, considering other factors than consciousness and concern, which might influence attitudes toward these instruments, such as political adherence on a left to right spectrum, a battery of questions were formulated to investigate the effect of various independent variables on the dependent variable, not least influenced by previous research and psychological theories.

Secondly, if indeed this group of people was found to be supportive of a meat tax, regardless of for example political adherence, then it was believed to provide good grounds for further research performed on a bigger sample group, in order to find out whether perhaps a significant portion of the Swedish public reason in a similar fashion as those in the sample group in this study. This in turn would serve as an answer to the question asked by Annika Carlsson-Kanyama, whether there is great resistance among the Swedish public toward a meat tax, or not, which would also imply the fulfillment of the final aim of this study.

The goal was originally to interview nine persons in total. Three persons from each of the three categories of concern – three persons conscious of and concerned about the affect of meat consumption and meat production on either animal ethical, environmental, or human health grounds. Beyond engagement within these respective fields there was the additional sample criteria, that the persons selected eat meat, and that they are aware of the affect of meat consumption/production for animals, the environment, or human health, respectively.

Initially the thought was to interview persons engaged in associations such as Animal Rights Sweden, Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, and the Swedish Cancer Society. However, for different reasons it proved to be harder than expected to get interviews with members of the respective groups. For one, few members, let alone staff

of Animal Rights Sweden eat meat, and none at Animal Rights Alliance, according to the person contacted there. For the environmental perspective the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation as well as Friends of the Earth were contacted. Despite some promising contact, there was no positive result there either. Then for the health perspective the Swedish Cancer Society and the Swedish Association for Public Health were contacted, but there as well without luck.

The focus was therefore shifted, and students at the University of Gothenburg were instead solicited with posters posted at institutions representing the different categories of concern, including an offer of two movie tickets for participation.

While this resulted in four interviewees accepting to be interviewed, it was with the aid from personnel working at the university that two more persons were recruited, out of which one staff member accepted to participate herself.

The resulting sample was two bachelor level nurse students and one master level global health student representing the health perspective, one bachelor level biology student and one master level biology student representing the environmental perspective, and a doctor in practical philosophy who performs research on issues of environmental and animal ethical nature representing the animal ethical perspective.

The attempt was then made to at least get one more person to represent the animal ethical perspective, which is why four different veterinary clinics in Gothenburg were emailed about participating, but without any success. The final line-up of respondents therefore exists of three representatives from the human health perspective, two from the environmental perspective, and one from the animal ethical perspective. A list of the respondents, their occupation, gender, age, place of residency, religion and parenthood is provided in figure 11 below.

Occupation	Third semester nurse student	Firth semester nurse student	Master level biology student	Master level global health student	PhD, researcher in practical philosophy	Third semester biology student
Main consciousness and concern	Human health	Human health	Environmental	Human health/ environmental	Animal ethical/ environmental	Environmental
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female	Female	Female
Age	25	32	26	31	52	26
Place of residency	City	City	City	City	City	City/Country-side
Religious?	No	Christian	No	No	No	No
Children	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Political adherence	Right	Middle	Left of the left	Left	Slightly left/Left	Slightly left/Left

Figure 11. List of respondents

While the aim was to get a 3-3-3 representation, the main objective, to reach a sufficiently large sample group for data saturation in order to ensure validity, is estimated to have been achieved with the six persons who all represent the CCC category. Among the appendices is the text put up at the respective institutions, including the selection criteria that the persons in question should fit in on the following statements 1) I eat meat 2) I am conscious of the affect of meat production/meat consumption for the welfare of animals/the environment/human health¹⁶ 3) I ought to/would like to eat less/stop eating meat. The reason for explicitly asking for these attitudes and behaviors among the respondents was partly to be sure that there was cognitive dissonance between their attitudes and behaviors, and partly because there was an assumption that there might be a large part of the Swedish population that more or less fit into this category, which thus would also serve as a promising foundation for further research and for fulfilling the final

¹⁶ Only one of these three perspectives were included on each poster, depending on which institution, and what group of concern the poster aimed at attracting.

aim of the study, that, once again is to answer the question whether there is resistance among the Swedish public against regulation of what to eat, specifically pertaining to meat, and if so, how that resistance can be understood, as well as if and how it can possibly be resolved.

6.2 Interviewing, transcribing and coding

The interviews were structured/semi-structured which permitted for structure as well as flexibility during the interviews. That the interviews were structured simplified the subsequent analysis and comparison of the data from the different respondents (Tracy 2012:139-140). After performing the interviews the transformative process from oral to written language took place. The recorded interviews were transcribed by myself using a software called NVivo. Meticulousness was the lead word in the process, which was carried out with equal ambition for all interviews (Kvale 2007:93-101). After the complete transcription of all interviews the data was gone through, and first impressions and thoughts were noted. Then the coding process started, which was performed in two main steps; first an initial coding, followed by focused coding where a more finalized categorization was achieved.

6.3 Self-reflexivity

I would like to share something of a personal note, which is that I personally stick to a plant-based diet since 2011. I am aware of the implications that this has in terms of bias, and I have made an effort to not let it affect the result of the study.

6.4 Generalizability

As this is a qualitative study that is limited geographically as well as numerically in scope, the generalizability is limited. Furthermore, this study aims for internal generalization rather than external generalization, meaning that it is for example not the

aim of the study to make generalizations beyond the kind of group of people, CCCs, interviewed in the study. The aim though is to contribute to the greater pool of research – where possibly generalizations could be made, and wider conclusions drawn – and to contribute with theoretical generalizability, as opposed to numeric generalization (Flick 2007:40-41).

6.5 Validity and reliability

A central point of legitimate questioning of the reliability of the findings provided in this paper is the fact that central building blocks of the thesis are based on psychological theories, which do not fall within the scope of the education, or expertise of the author, nor the supervisor of the thesis. Therefore an attempt was made by the supervisor, to give one or two of his designated supervision hours to a fitting teacher at the psychology institution at Gothenburg university. Although both supervisors and the author were pleased with such an arrangement it was denied by the ones in position to decide. The teacher at the psychology institution however generously offered to be of assistance, and could at least confirm that it seemed like the author had understood the psychological theories correctly. The analysis, using the psychological theories, have however not been reviewed by someone with the proper expertise. The studies accounted for in chapter four, prior scholarship, especially the study by Krantz, as well as the literature on qualitative research which are part of the program, nevertheless provide good insights on how to operationalize the interview data acquired in this study. Moreover, recognizing the interdisciplinary quality that the inclusion of the psychological theories imply, there is a value added to the research in that respect.

7. Results

In this chapter merely the results will be presented, separated in as far as possible from the analysis and discussion, which follow in chapter 8. The results will be represented in the order that they provide data for answering the research questions. Then in the next chapter the research questions will be answered.

7.1 Causality and seriousness beliefs in regards to meat production and meat consumption

While questions regarding causality and seriousness beliefs naturally are directed at finding out what *negative* externalities are believed to follow from meat production and meat consumption, both the positive and negative beliefs and attitudes toward meat production and meat consumption were probed in order to gain a deeper understanding of the basis for the attitudes toward the policy in question held by the respondents. Then however, in order to determine between strong and weak causality and seriousness beliefs in terms of negative externalities, the respondents were not asked about positive externalities, but were asked to grade the negative causality and seriousness beliefs on a scale from one to ten, where one represents the weakest level of causality/seriousness, and ten represents the strongest level of causality/seriousness. The distinction between weak and strong causality/seriousness was then drawn between five and six, that is, the respondents giving a number between one and five were categorized as having a weak causality/seriousness belief while those estimating the causality/seriousness to be between six and ten were categorized as having a strong causality/seriousness belief.

In order to provide an answer to research question number one, concerning the relationship between 1) causality and seriousness beliefs and 2) attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, the results presented here will be analyzed and discussed (in chapter 8) in relation to the results in section 7.3 on attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax.

7.1.1 Beliefs in regards to positive and negative effects of meat consumption and meat production

When asked about positive and negative effects of meat production and meat consumption, on one of the three categories of concern, based on their own main field of interest, the beliefs and attitudes connected with *positive effects* accounted for included that; humans are provided with food through meat production, and that humans are provided with natural fertilizers to fertilize agricultural soil with, as opposed to mined fertilizers; there are certain areas that are suited for grazing, but not for growing crops – consequently, if that land is to be used for food production it is best used as land for grazing animals – and grazed lands have greater biodiversity than lands where for example oats are grown; hunted meat is a superb type of meat production; meat production provides work opportunities, knowledge about the animals as well as company; meat constitutes a condensed source of nutrition in terms of protein, vitamin A (maybe – the respondent was not sure) and iron, that is easily accessible, relatively cheap and convenient; the idea of a farmer growing animals out on his ranch is kind of cute and that the picture of farm lands and green fields connected to the dairy industry encourages the old fashioned, self-sustaining, small business type idea; it is positive for the economy of the farmer in question; people who love meat derive pleasure from eating it.

The beliefs and attitudes connected with *negative effects* of meat production and meat consumption accounted for included that; it is associated with bad treatment of the animals, that meat production oftentimes it is not nice toward the animals due to poor animal welfare – fixated sows and the like; it is resource intensive and the food would be enough for more people with a lesser meat consumption; it affects the ecosystem through the cutting down of rain forest and has negative effects on the environment due to having large amounts of animals closed off in small areas and nutrition (from excrements) ending up all in one place, causing eutrophication; it has negative effects on the climate through all of the green house gasses emitted; there are negative environmental footprints in terms of water-, natural resource- and land-use; it is unhealthy to eat too much meat, and there are negative health risks connected with meat consumption – tough forms of

cancer, and also through the effects on the environment and on the climate; in order to prepare a piece of meat well you need to use a lot of butter or a lot of cream and this affects the fat levels in the blood; too much of the meat consumed is bad meat, such as baloney and too much semi-manufactures, and pork, which is a fatty type of meat; there is a negative connection in regards to the chemical and antibiotics use, and risks for diseases like listeria and cardio-vascular diseases.

7.1.2 Causality and seriousness beliefs

Out of the six respondents, four categorized the *causality* between meat production and meat consumption on the one hand, and negative consequences for their main concern on the other hand, as strong, while one categorized the causality as weak, and one (representing the health perspective) found it too hard to give a specific number to answer, although the respondent recognized that there is a causality at play. More specifically the answers to the question were: 6, 2, 8, no answer, 7 and 8 (see figure 12 below). When asked about the *seriousness* of the consequences stemming from meat production and meat consumption, the following answers were provided: 6, 5, 7, no answer, 9 and 10 (see figure 12 below). One of the respondents (again the same respondent representing the health perspective) thought it was too hard to provide a number, but in terms of seriousness the respondent did state that there are serious consequences since meat production and meat consumption has a large effect on human health both indirectly through its affect on the environment, and directly through the consumption of meat. In regards to seriousness, the same result as for causality was shown in terms of how many adhered to the weak versus strong belief, however with a stronger belief on average.

The respondent who answered 2 and 5 on the respective questions, and who thus is the respondent who represents a weak causality and seriousness belief, accounted for that the reason for not giving a higher number was that while she had heard about negative externalities of meat production and meat consumption she wanted to hear a rebuttal before giving a higher number (unless the rebuttal was strong, which reasonably also could result in a lower estimation of the causality and seriousness beliefs).

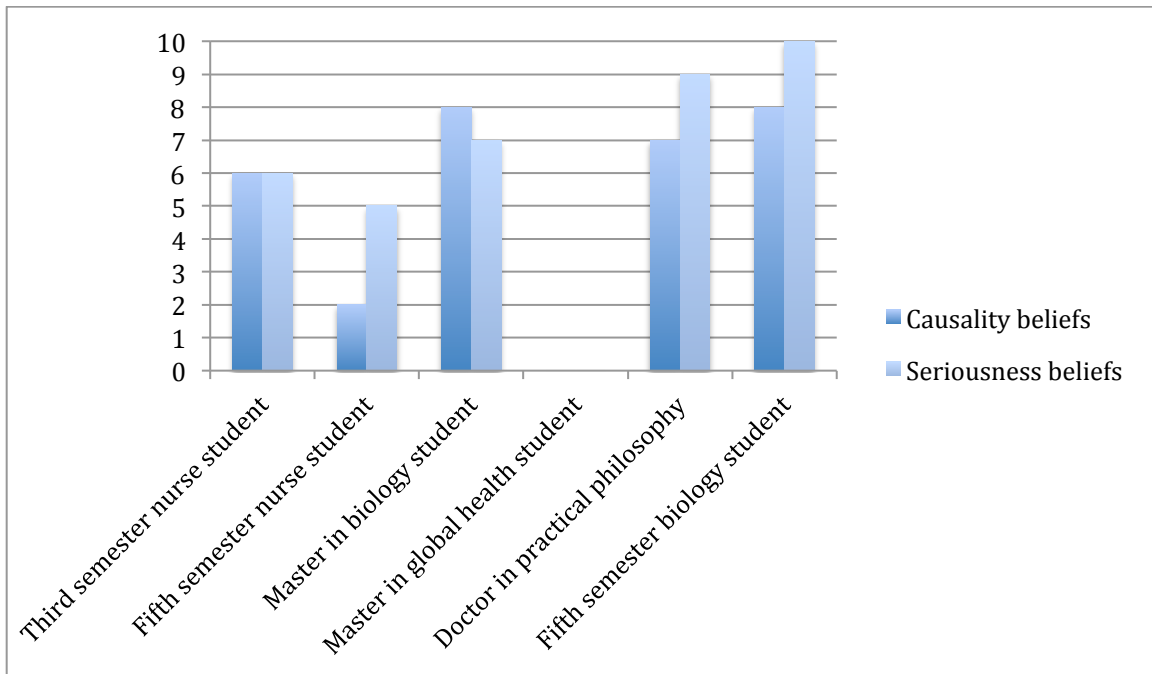


Figure 12. Causality and seriousness beliefs

7.2 Cognitive dissonance

First the grounds for the behavior will be presented according to the Theory of Planned Behavior, with the inclusion of *habit*. This will serve as a basis for the analysis of the cognitive dissonance. Then in section 7.2.2 the results that more explicitly relate to the issue of cognitive dissonance are provided. Finally, the results on cognitive dissonance will be analyzed and discussed (in chapter 8) in relation to the results in section 7.3 on attitudes toward policy, providing an answer to research question number two, concerning the relationship between 1) cognitive dissonance, and 2) attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption.

7.2.1 Grounds for behavior according to TPB

7.2.1.1 Attitude toward the behavior

In the joint assessment of the attitudes of the respondents toward their behaviors, the information asked for was not always directly pointed toward the issue of what the respondents think of their own current behavior, but oftentimes rather information on attitudes toward what the behavior contributes to in terms of externalities, as well as a normative angle on the behavior – how the person wishes that his behavior was like – which provides an indirect answer to the question of attitude toward the own current behavior.

A common attitude for all of the respondents is that they wish that they ate less meat than they do. This was probed during the interview session, but was also a part of the initial process of selecting respondents; that the persons should belong to the category of on the one hand eating meat, and on the other hand fit in on the statement that “I ought to/would like to eat less/stop eating meat”.

The results show that there are two sides to the answers provided by the respondents in terms of attitude toward the behavior; 1) justifications for their current meat consumption, and 2) answers provided as to why they would like to reduce the meat consumption.

One point of view expressed by the third semester nurse student and the master student in biology is that they first and foremost would like to eat better meat, but also in combination with less meat, or to substitute meat with substitution products.

“... I... suppose I would prefer to eat... less bad meat, but more meat of better origin, production, and from a health perspective. Less pork for example. It's cheap, it's easy, and as mentioned, but beef is very expensive but I think it's, at least a little bit, leaner, so to speak... than pork. More hunted meat, absolutely.”
... “Soy ground I think is very good. If I make wraps then I don't need to buy ground meat. Then I may as well take soy. It can even taste better. So... I think I do a good job anyway.” – Third semester nurse student

“...I also think that I should buy better meat, but I do so-so with that.” ... “I think less but better so to speak. That you buy perhaps... yes... you have a luxury food that you buy ‘yes but then I should buy an organic... something from... that costs a bit more then, but then I do something that tastes good out of it’. I suppose I think like that... perhaps it doesn’t always turn out like that though, but...” – Master level biology student

Both these quotes also touch upon the topic that there needs to be a good reason for eating meat. Important parameters expressed here are taste, price and healthiness. These categories of properties in the food of preference are expanded on by another respondent, to include a measure of concern for the negative environmental externalities, and respect for the animals consumed:

“...if I am to eat meat then it should be something with the meat that makes me think that it tastes better than what... than non-... than what a meal without meat at the same occasion would have been. I feel a bit like, since it is so resource intensive with meat, then you should make sure that it turns out tasting good... that is the least you can demand... the difference between cooking and desecration of a corpse.../.../... so if it is boring meat dishes then I do my best to avoid them.” – PhD in practical philosophy

These environmental, health and animal ethical perspectives are at least partly echoed by three other respondents:

“But then, if I stand in... and am about to select what to eat, then it is in that case probably more about that I am... /.../ thinking that I should eat more vegetarian food, and also locally produced food because it is better for the environment, rather than me as an individual, and my health, when it comes to the choice of meat or not” – Master student in global health

“... my motivation for wanting to decrease my meat consumption isn’t primarily out of like an animal rights aspect, but obviously, um... if you go behind... this is in the States, but if you go behind like a truck load of like... that’s obviously stuffed with like feathery chickens, then it’s like... even to me that’s like a little bit like disconcerting.” – Fifth semester nurse student

“Um, on the one hand you think about health. The health aspect, that it... it would be good to have more of a vegetarian diet. Also... but... also still have some, um... and then it’s that... it’s kind of, in periods at least very... it can be [meat] everyday of the week. Hehe. Even if you, yes... /.../ the health aspect and like the climate too, that you contribute to that too then. A lot.” – Fifth semester biology student

In this last statement, and several others, an at least partly negative attitude toward the own meat consumption is expressed, connected to the concern for the effect that the meat consumption has on the three categories of concern; animal welfare, the environment, and human well-being. At the same time, the negative attitude toward the behavior is balanced with justifications of the behavior, which will be expanded on in section 7.2.1.2 on Perceived behavioral control, as well as in section 7.2.2 called Theory of dissonance – cognitive dissonance and cognitive consonance. These justifications imply that the attitude toward the behavior becomes more positive. Then, an important finding in regards to the attitude toward the behavior is that the respondents have already made adjustments to their behavior according to their values, and therefore the attitude toward the behavior is more positive than what it would have been estimated to be otherwise.

7.2.1.2 Subjective norm

Over time, and depending on the social context, the social pressure from significant others of the respondents has been changing, and among the respondents the perceived social pressure in terms of dietary choice varied. The subjective norm categories that emerged through the interviews were *family, friends, partner, and other social contexts*, and the motivation to comply, or the inspiration to conformity, with the norm represented by these significant others was strong on average, however seemed to differ based on the degree or frequency of interaction. For example as the respondents are all adult, the influence from the families in which they grew up are no longer as influential as the relationships with a domestic partner, or colleagues in school or at work with whom meals are more frequently shared, exemplified by the answer of one of the respondents:

“For example I met my domestic partner five years ago, she is vegan, and there I have changed into eating less meat and more vegan food.” ... “... the diet has varied. It has become much better, since I met my domestic partner, started the education, at the nurse... for more consciousness about the health aspects, and then that it is modern to eat vegan, and it tastes better, they do something with it now.” – Third semester nurse student

However, the influence of the family in which the respondents grew up can also have an influence on the choice of whether to eat meat or not, on the occasions when meals are shared with them:

”... I would say it would be mostly friends from before moving to Sweden, and family in the States... when I am with them, then I don’t make a... I wouldn’t serve them... food with sojafärs [soy ground in Swedish] for example. And it affects what I eat when I’m with them.” – Fifth semester nurse student

And even if dinners with relatives are not an everyday occasion, their existence serve to at least provide one piece of the puzzle in the endeavor to explain the food behavior of the respondents – it is influenced by their respective subjective norms:

“I simply want to... in those situa... because it is not always that you have... also like when visiting relatives and like... I don’t want to have to say... ‘do you want to come over for dinner?’, ‘yes, but remember that I am vegetarian’, I don’t want to be in that situation.” – PhD in philosophy

7.2.1.3 Perceived behavioral control

First up in this section, dove-tailed from the previous section on the influence of family, is the effect that the two respondents with children mention that their children have had or have on their behavioral control:

”Well I don’t think that I often think of myself as like a victim of circumstances where I have no choice. I would... but I would say like the whole thing with eh... eh... especially our kids... Um... then that feels like, a much more complex issue to control. Um, and definitely I’m influenced by a lot of factors. For example, time and money. Um... and of course like for example, we have several friends that like, they buy only ecological... like whenever there’s an ecological option, then they go for that. And then that thought can go into my mind like, ‘well yeah, I would do that too if I had your salary’. Like you know. Or, if people, like talk about um... um... or maybe I’ve, maybe I’ve mentioned like ‘oh we’re trying to eat more vegetarian but it’s really hard’. And then they send me like a... ‘Oh, I’ll send you like my five... my top five recipes’, and they send them to me. And all of them would take like four times the amount of time to make as the recipes I make on a daily living, and I’m like ‘yeah, maybe I would do that too if I didn’t have any kids’ hahahaha.” – Fifth semester nurse student

This quote (above) addresses several elements of behavioral control mentioned by many of the respondents. Time is a central element, not because it necessarily takes more time to cook food without meat in it, but because it would take time to acquire the knowledge of how to cook other food than the usual. Thus, knowledge is also a factor influencing the perceived behavioral control. Then, as the fifth semester nurse student says, it is a matter of priority, and on the subject of children, the category ‘cooperation of others’ was also mentioned by both parents interviewed. Furthermore, affordability in general when it comes to which food to opt for was mentioned.

The third semester nurse student also mentions time and affordability as two important factors, as well as comfort and discipline:

“...time to cook, um, and, there I say, the cheap, bad meat is prepared quickly – to fry baloney and boil instant macaroni or something like that, it’s super fast. Um, pyttipanna (a dish common in Sweden consisting of hash of fried diced meat with onions and potatoes served with fried egg and pickled beetroot, but which can be bought frozen, omitting the egg) is even faster, because that you can prepare in the microwave oven even, you don’t even need to fry it.” ... “When I know I have finished work really late, um, say nine-ten [at night], and I come home, and I’m just going to go buy something quickly, sure I can go for a pizza and throw it in the oven, that is, eat unhealthy food. Meat can then absolutely be a part of it, it depends... but that is more about comfort, but, like, no, I don’t have anxiety over it. It’s not like I damn myself for buying it anyway, or that... but I did it for the sake of my comfort, not for the sake of health.” ...”Mmm, I think that I personally need... would supposedly need to work on, if we take for example discipline and things like that, and, the planning factor for me I suppose is very low, because, I feel a bit like, a bit more impulsive...”

Beyond the factors mentioned so far, desire was expressed indirectly by the majority of the respondents, and was mentioned explicitly by the master in global health student:

“... then desire is big factor too, but I think desire, for me, comes after like time and money and such... and then comes desire. So if I feel like I have all that, then I can, I can think ‘oh, would I... what would I like to eat today... do I want to eat this?’ and then eat it. But it comes a bit further down, but it is absolutely a contributing... that it affects what I’m eating.” – Master in global health student

It is questionable however if desire fits the category perceived behavioral control, but as shown in the quote above, it is at least a contributing factor to the choice of diet, whether or not it is a matter of a desire that is perceived to be controllable.

7.2.1.4 Habits

Remembering the important distinction being made between reasoned responses and habitual responses (noted by the founder of TPB), in order for habits to be contributive to the explanatory capacity of TPB, what was specifically sought after in the data, was behavior guided by habitual responses, that is, automated cognitive processes. Here is an example of such an automated cognitive process found among the respondents:

”...when it’s a lot about it in the debates then, then you start thinking of it again in a different way, um... but then when it’s washed over, or when you are in some sort of everyday, or like phase that’s quite stressful, then... then you think... then you don’t manage to think... or then,,, for some reason you don’t think so much about, um... the consequences of what you eat. Instead then it’s like, then you follow.../.../ routines...that are... old.” ... “ Um, yes it’s supposedly that um... at least when you catch yourself [eating meat] then you start looking at vegetarian, hehe, recipes, like.../.../ um, so you do, a bit of action, but then perhaps after a while, and then you are on the same course again.
– Fifth semester biology student

Shown here is that, as consciousness fades, habitual, non-reasoned responses kick in. In order to contrast the difference between the two types of habits, here is another example which portrays a more reasoned response, guided by cognitive processes that are not automated.

”I have a very hard time to like... cook something new like, then it often ’oh but it does taste good [with some meat product], then I go for that anyway.” ... ”The same thing if... at a restaurant and am thinking ’I should order that’ but... ’that vegetarian option’... but I go for the tenderloin anyway, because that is what I usually do”... ”...I usually try to do something new every time. At least once or a few times a month. Um... but it’s... to a large extent... to a large extent habit [affecting my choices].” – Master in biology student

7.2.1.5 Intention

According to the TPB, the intention, in this case to eat food without meat in it, can be measured by the extent of willingness to try, or the degree of effort a person plans to exert in order to perform the behavior. With that in mind, and considering many accounts shared by the respondents on willingness to try and effort exerted, the intention among the respondents to eat food without meat is estimated to be strong. However, as the attitudes toward the behavior, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control do not completely equal an intention to only eat food without meat in it, the intention might not be the one factor hindering such behavior. Furthermore, considering that several respondents mentioned that for example an increase in price might be what would motivate them to take the step to fully omit meat from their diet, it would be reasonable to conclude that additional motivation of some form would be needed in order to influence the intention.

* * *

Summing up the answers provided concerning attitude toward the behavior, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control, which according to the Theory of planned behavior amount to an intention to behave in a certain way, in turn serving to predict behavior – plus adding habit as a factor in order to increase the explanatory capacity of the model – we ought to now have a least an approximate understanding of the factors that are at play in the complex calculus of what determines the meat or non-meat choices by the respondents.

7.2.2 Theory of dissonance – cognitive dissonance and cognitive consonance

7.2.2.1 Magnitude of dissonance

The master in global health student accounted for that she eats meat about one day per week, and that at least a fairly large share of the meat that she eats is from her father's cousin's farm. The relatively small amounts of meat, and the relatively "good" meat that she eats serves as an explanation for her response when asked whether the discrepancy between her attitudes and behavior gives rise to any particular emotions, perhaps ambivalence?

"No, actually not at all... ha, not one bit."

Although no sense of unease is experienced, it does not mean that there is no cognitive dissonance here, as seen by the following statements by the same person:

"... I don't have like positive... I eat meat myself, but I don't have very positive thoughts hah, concerning what it contributes to when it comes to health, because on the one hand it contributes to... negative effects on the environment and on the climate, which in turn contributes to an effect on health for people. If we talk about people's health..." "...But when I think about like... it... it feel... I know that it's a bit contradictory since I say that it has... it affects both the environment and people's health, but then I still eat meat, so it is mostly... I do it for my own personal pleasure, actually." ... "...maybe I wish that I ate less [meat], but I don't eat especially much." – Master in global health student

The accounts, not only of cognitive dissonance, but also of some sense of unease are many among the respondents, to varying degrees. Here is an example of one of the stronger expressions of unease:

"... you... get some... um... shame... or feelings of shame... kind of." ... "and then... or yes... I don't really know how to define the feeling, but I sup... I suppose it's feelings of shame a bit, that you know that you should eat less [meat], but you don't do it." ... "when you have the knowledge and everything kind of. Yes, kind of like that I suppose you think." – Fifth semester biology student

And here is an example of more of a milder sense of unease experienced:

“No... at times perhaps you think that, oh, like when you’ve been shopping, oh I really should have bought something vegetarian... however, I had a friend... I was studying with a friend for some time. And she is... she is, more... vegetarian-like at least... and then I had a bit of a bad conscience every day when I arrived, I came with a lunch box to school and she... because it was like that, yes, like, then... so she influenced me to eat more vegetarian. /.../ she didn’t say anything, but I got [a bad] conscience just by... by... yes... we spoke a lot about the environment and the like, and we always used to discuss a lot... and then... yes, every time I had brought... hadn’t brought... knew that she had... then it sort of felt a bit, then you felt a bit bad... without... um... then it’s of course... and then it like affects me...” – Master in biology student

On average the magnitude of dissonance was fairly low among the respondents, which might be a result of efforts already having been taken. This implies that the sense of unease, as well as the pull to reduce the dissonance, is also fairly low on average among the respondents.

7.2.2.2 Means for reducing the dissonance

7.2.2.2.1 Cognitive consonance through aligned behavior and attitude

First, it should be acknowledged that there is an obvious and direct means through which the respondents reduce the cognitive dissonance, and that is through the instances accounted for when the behavior is adjusted so as to fit the attitude, giving rise to cognitive consonance:

“I would say more often I get like this kick like I’m so, like duktig (good), I’m so good like, when I... people are like, ‘oh, these are really good tacos... I really like the meat’... I’m like ‘oh, well it’s, it’s sojafärs (soy ground)’ like... you, you know then like, that sort of like, ‘I’m’... like ‘jag är så duktig’ (I’m so good), like ‘I’m so good’, like, I would say that I feel that more often than feeling guilt when I eat meat. Haha, which maybe says something about my personality I don’t know. Hehe.” – Fifth semester nurse student

”... at least when you catch yourself [being in a habit of eating meat] then you start looking for vegetarian, hehe, recipes... /.../ so you do, a bit of action...” – Fifth semester biology student

Conversely, consonance may also be achieved by disregarding that to which the consciousness and concern – the attitude – points, which would otherwise give rise to unease due to being dissonant with the behavior. This mechanism was found among one of the respondents:

“Yes... yes it doesn't feel that much because I avoid to enter deeply into the emotion, but I don't like it, it's negative. But it's not something I lie awake at night over. And I think quite a lot on this.../.../ I suppose it is a way to escape a bit perhaps. Yes, I think quite a lot on it.../.../ [that] the culture is such that this is available.../.../ the situation that I didn't stage is such that, what is readily available is meat... and that I can't do very much about that short term. Something like that... yes, some feelings like that, that I am a part of a system in which it is easier to eat meat sometimes.” – PhD in practical philosophy

This type of means for reducing the dissonance was however not a very frequent finding among the interviewed respondents, but still enough for qualifying as a contributing factor. In the next section though, results will be provided that, according to the theory of dissonance serve as means for reducing the dissonance, that have to do with justifications (reasons and excuses) for the behavior in question.

7.2.2.2.1 Adding consonant elements

Expressed especially by the master in biology student there are good reasons for eating meat, at least depending on the circumstances of the meat production. The primary reason for eating meat expressed would be that grazing animals contribute to open fields where there is a high level of biodiversity, which in turn leads to a rich animal life, and ecosystem services being provided. This positive aspect of meat consumption may be used as a justification for meat consumption, and thus a dissonance-reducing element, as it constitutes something which is consonant with eating meat. The respondent in question however goes further in the elaboration of the issue of meat production and recognizes

that grazing on fields is not a particularly common phenomenon in today's meat production systems, and that meat production may result in deforestation in the amazon for example, resulting in substantial loss of biodiversity and animal life. A solution to this dilemma, also accounted for by the respondent, is to buy certified meat, which guarantees contribution to the desired outcomes (biodiversity, a rich animal life). This possible solution for the expressed environmental concern was also backed by behavior, at least to some extent.

“... I often buy KRAV (a certification) [meat] because... I like... I watch birds a lot... /.../ And I know that, if it's KRAV-certified then it's more birds both in numbers and in terms of individ... um, species... so you choose that because you want to support that in some way.” ... “It's hard to get a hold of good meat I think, unfortunately. Um, so, I also think that I should buy better meat, but I do so-so with that.” – Master in biology student.

Two other examples of good reasons for eating meat were provided by reference to the nutritional exceptionality of meat, at least in terms of being easily accessible given the current knowledge of how to acquire different nutrients:

“And I think I am afraid that I won't get enough protein, even though I know that I, um... there are endless sources to that. So, I know that I have... it is something, like, contradictory within me here.” – Master in global health student

“I mean there is, you know, when it comes to protein and that type of thing, like when I was struggling with, what was it, vitamin A maybe, and protein, and that a... iron. When I was pregnant with one of my kids, then it was recommended... and like also, I was taking iron supplements, but they were causing digestion problems, and so then it was like, okay, well ir... um... liver pate is the way to go... like that's like packed [with nutrients] you know, so go for that.” – Fifth semester nurse student

It should be said that the respondents did not defend their meat consumption by providing these answers – these answers were simply given during the interview, and first and foremost reflect attitudes that are *available* for the respondents to use in their defense. Their assessments of the rationale of consuming meat go well beyond any single example of their answers, and vary between the respondents. It should also be said that, as has been shown already, there are a lot of answers provided that portray a skeptical or torn

attitude toward meat consumption, so to be clear there is no one-sided defense of, or promotion of, meat consumption provided by the respondents.

7.2.2.2.2 Reducing importance of dissonance

Reducing the dissonance through relativizing the seriousness of meat consumption – comparing it with other behavior that is more dangerous to engage in – was not found among the respondents. However, there was one respondent who referred to the effect on his own health as relatively harmless compared to the health effects on people who for some reason are in a more common risk group in terms of health:

“...you don’t die from it [(meat consumption)]. You don’t get super fat from it... since it depends on the rest of the diet, and it is dependent on other activities by the individual. /.../ Abdominal obesity is /.../ a high-risk factor for getting sick. I am 1.91 [tall], and weigh about 75 kilos. That’s very thin and, if I eat hamburger after hamburger, or bacon, and a lot of fat and things like that... I have... I don’t gain much in weight because of that. On the other hand I think it can affect my blood-fat levels.”

As this was the only, and a not very strong, expression of this category, not least since the respondent ends by acknowledging that there anyway are some health risks related to meat consumption, the estimation is made that *reducing the importance of dissonance* does not qualify as a means used by the respondents for reducing the cognitive dissonance.

7.2.2.2.3 Reconciling two dissonant elements

In order to explain the basis for the choice to eat a certain kind of meat, one of the respondents said the following:

“Now I recently ate some beef, it was part of lunch... but then I eliminated three alternatives with pork, and I eliminated one alternative with fish because there

was so much breading that I thought it seemed too fatty simply.” – PhD in practical philosophy

Here, eating beef is justified, not through an argumentation of why beef is the preferred food to eat in itself, but by comparing it to other options available and arguing that it was the least bad option available.

A similar finding was made in a statement from another respondent:

”But I have quite... anyway quite big trust in the Swedish system and the production here, um... compared to what I have for [the system and the production in] other countries. I’m thinking that perhaps it’s worse some place else, but I don’t have a lot of grounds for that perhaps.” – Master in global health student

In the same way as the previous quote, this is an expression of that the selection of a relatively good option justifies that selection.

Another result belonging to this category is the kind of defense that can be labeled as “it s not really my fault that I opt for eating meat:

“...the culture is such that this is available.../.../ the situation that I didn’t stage is such that, what is readily available is meat... and that I can’t do very much about that short term. Something like that... yes, some feelings like that, that I am a part of a system in which it is easier to eat meat sometimes.” – PhD in practical philosophy

* * *

Modifying the figure used by Krantz in her categorization of the means for dissonance reduction among car users, figure 13 below illustrates the main mechanisms for dissonance reduction among the interviewed CCCs¹⁷.

¹⁷ Note that this figure does not only omit the category *reducing the importance of dissonance* used by Krantz (2001), but also the category *changing an environmental element* which was

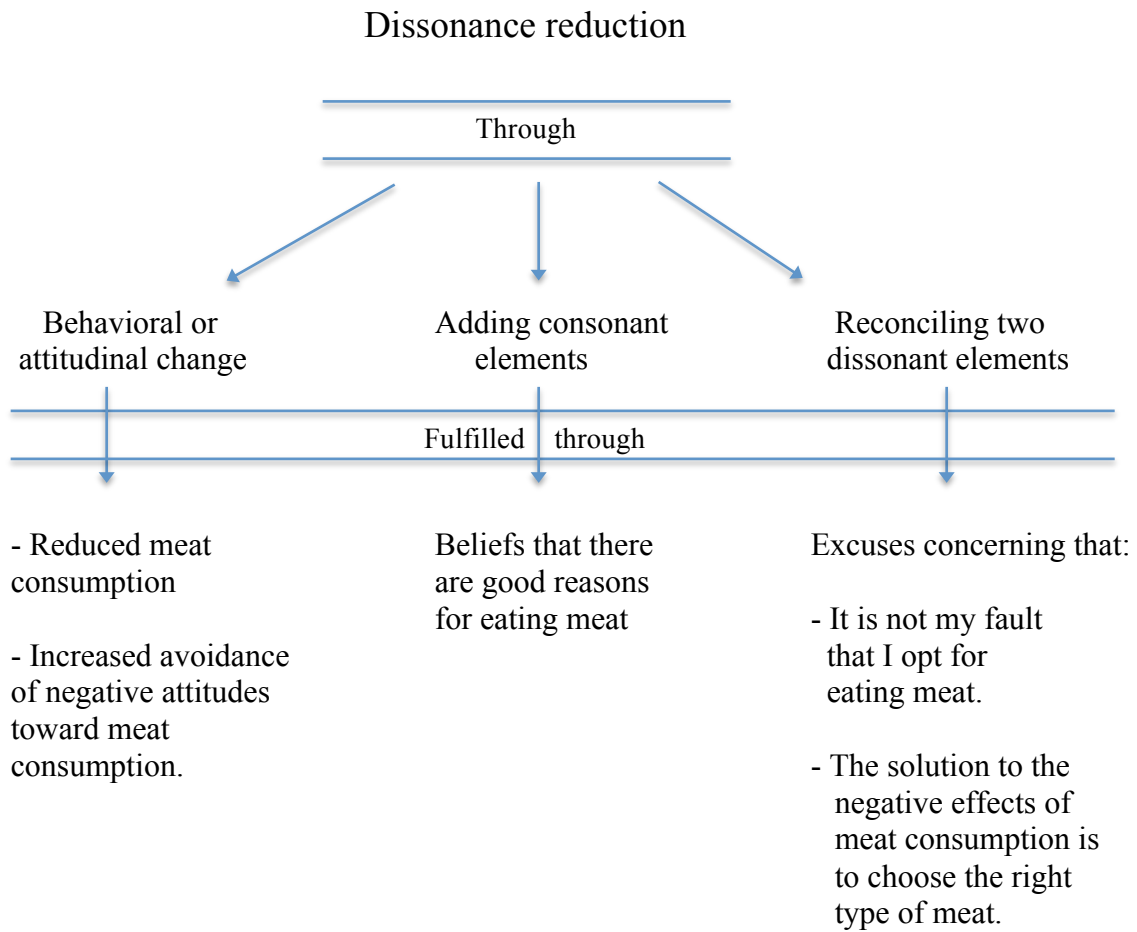


Figure 13. Dissonance reduction mechanisms among the interviewed CCCs.

accounted for in the theory chapter. *Changing an environmental element* was omitted from the results chapter all together as there was no support for it in the data.

7.3 Attitudes toward instruments aimed at reducing meat consumption, and especially a meat tax

Below follow an account of attitudes expressed by the respondents toward informative, administrative and economic instruments, with an in depth investigation of attitudes toward the introduction of a meat tax.

7.3.1 Informative instruments

While being a relatively popular instrument among the respondents, the effectiveness of it was questioned, and the critique was put forward that when it comes to labeling, it is experienced to be too many labels which are more or less the same, and that sometimes a label does not mean much at all, or may even be misleading.

“...it is hard to be properly informed. /.../ even if I have studied a lot of environmental science and such I have a hard time knowing which labels are good, which are bad... even if you... like this is Green... Rainforest Alliance, they only spray [pesticides] one year, and not when people work there... /.../ ...it’s hard to know what a good label means... then you have to be a bit informed.” – Master in biology student

It was however estimated to be the least controversial instruments among the three. Yet, one respondent expressed that it is important with information being provided by the state rather than by media and the food producers themselves:

“...unfortunately I suppose it is so that, the only... or like, I as a consumer am influenced... or I only get the informative input, almost to 90% from media and the producers themselves. That it says on the sausage package or it’s the producers themselves who provide information about meat production or about vegan food.../.../ I try to be as critical to that information as possible, because I know it’s not neutral. If it would have come from state departments it would have been much more neutral, and then I would have trusted it more.” – Third semester nurse student

7.3.2 Administrative instruments

Administrative instruments were estimated to be effective for attaining the desired outcomes, however at the same time seen as problematic due to requiring greater political will.

“...both administrative and economic I think may be... work better in that case.../.../ but it’s hard to change something through administration too.../.../ you have to get someone who can get the decisions through that it should be, um... a ban on a certain type of meat or...” ... “But /.../ once you get that then I think they [(administrative and economic instruments)] have greater power than the informative [instruments] do.” – Master in biology student

Even if recognized as effective given the right political circumstances, there were some critical attitudes toward administrative instruments expressed, exemplified here by one of the respondents imagining what it might be like with meat rationing at the supermarket:

“Like you know, if, if... like you know... already like with eh... with, at ICA (a supermarket chain-store) or something and it says, if it’s a really good deal it’s like ‘max tre köp per hushåll’ (maximum three per household), and if it was like that with meat in general, um, and then it’s like, you try to sneak to the register with like your fourth package of bacon or whatever and people are like ‘Ooooh’ like...” ... “Ha, I think that that wo... that... that’s probably like the one I’m least... least favor of... favorable to.” – Fifth semester nurse student

7.3.3 Economic instruments, a meat tax

It should be noted that the answers provided, in regards to the appraisal of the idea of a meat tax, reasonably were affected by the details of the meat tax used as an example, which was the idea of introducing consumption taxes based on GHG emissions per food unit. While this tax scheme is estimated to appeal most to those primarily conscious and concerned about the environmental affects of meat production and meat consumption, as it is a form of carbon tax that excluded externalities in the form of animal suffering and negative effects for human health. The reason for choosing the meat tax proposition presented to the respondents is that it was considered to be the proposition most ready for

implementation and since it provided very detailed information about the tax scheme, serving as a good basis for the respondents to form an opinion around, and for elaboration.

7.3.3.1 Beliefs in regards to the effect on, and reactions of, other persons

First presented is a belief expressed by three of the respondents (the third semester nurse student, the doctor in practical philosophy and the master in global health student), that the introduction of a meat tax would lead to an initial resistance against it, followed by acceptance:

”...like the road toll. First a big outrage and then adaptation. And supposedly that is the way it is with instruments I think. It is common that you get very angry.../.../So I think they will get angry and then they adapt.” – Doctor in practical philosophy.

Another prediction of the reactions by the Swedish public is that they will react well to it, due to people understanding the rationale behind the tax. The respondent however means that this is contingent upon information reaching the public about the risks associated with meat production and meat consumption:

”...generally, the Swedish public I think would only react well to it. I believe so. That they pay 40 kronors for their baloney instead of 25, I don't think anyone... I think most people will think that's good. I hope at least... I am positive to it. Yes, the same as this thing that cigarettes have become more expensive, now a package costs 64 kronors perhaps, instead of , yes 52. No one has made a big fuzz about that. And that's because the information is out there about the risks and the health risks and things like that.../.../ as soon as the information gets out then I think it will become more of a natural choice.” – Third semester nurse student

A final reflection was that the effect on people depends on what demographic we are talking about, and that it to some extent depends on how the media were to spin the issue.

7.3.3.2 Degree of support for a meat tax

All respondents supported a meat tax, or were at least not against it. The most important factor expressed for the degree to which they were to support the meat tax was how the generated revenue would be allocated, a factor which was not part of the tax scheme presented to them.

A concern was raised from an animal ethical perspective, that the tax might not be good due to the relative price inelasticity of different types of meat. That is, since beef would be relatively much more expensive people might start consuming more pork and chicken instead – the two types of meat that the respondent in question tries to avoid out of animal ethical concern because of her conviction that the production of meat from pigs and chicken are especially bad. However, as the tax was also estimated to bring about desired environmental outcomes, and as that is also something which she cares about she is positive toward the tax.

Furthermore, although the master in biology student was concerned about the affects that the meat tax might have on Swedish small-scale producers he concluded that it will not be possible to produce enough meat from small-scale productions to feed a larger population anyway, so there is a need for reducing the conventional meat production in any case. For that reason he is slightly positive toward the tax.

Another rationale for support of the meat tax was put forward by the fifth semester nurse student who highlighted the need to internalize the negative externalities of the meat industry:

”...it’s good to try to sort of curb the culture we’ve created in the West that meat is... is not an expensive ingredient. Like I think that that’s a very unnatural result of a highly industrialized con... high consuming culture, and, um... that the reality is that meat... meat does... is costly, on the environment and that type of thing, and so, it’s good to have like prices that reflect that cost in some way.”

The fifth semester biology student said it was important that the tax wasn't too high, but thought that it was good with the pressure that a tax would put on people to get into new food habits.

Strongest support for the meat tax was held by the master in global health student seeing the opportunity to use the generated revenue for something good, and the third semester nurse student supporting the tax on ethical, environmental and human health grounds.

7.4 Political/ideological conviction - a control variable

Irrespective of the effects of beliefs or cognitive dissonance on attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption there may be political or ideological convictions deciding the attitude toward the involvement of government at large. Traditionally, in simplified terms, the further to the right on the political spectrum, the lesser involvement of government is desirable in issues that may be perceived as something that rightfully ought to be a matter of personal choice. It was therefore important to control for this variable. The simplified logic explained here was answered to by the only respondent who identified himself as adhering to the right on the political left to right spectrum:

”...I want to be able to choose to eat exactly how I want without being punished for that. But this... my wish should anyway somehow be within reason, and it isn't reasonable that it's so darn cheap then that you have free market on how you... how much you can set the price on baloney, and thereby... you can't subsidize that price, only because it should be cheap and I get to... am able to choose that baloney, then it should be so much unethical, or environmental aspects affected.” – Third semester nurse student

As the quote shows, despite valuing free choice the respondent recognizes the need for free choices leading to too negative externalities to be subject to some form of governance.

Concern for the strain on vulnerable people in society through for example increased food prices might also be a matter of political or ideological conviction, exemplified here

by the only person who is religious among the respondents, and who said that her faith is something that drives her values. This respondent was also the only person that placed herself in the middle on the political spectrum, due to both liking the autonomy promoted by the right, and the concern for social issues promoted by the left.

”... it [the introduction of a meat tax] creates some problems I guess like, it would be the people who have... um... who have like the least time and energy who would eh... maybe be affected the most because the idea of you know... again, sort of, you know, my reasons for wanting to eat meat when I do... those won't change just because the price goes up... but um... so, but, we don't have it as tough there as some people do. So I think that there are some people who, there are...it would just... it would only be their economy that would be impacted because they would just continue doing life the way that they do it.” –
Fifth semester nurse student

8. Analysis and discussion

A central finding in the results was the positive attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption. This serves as the basis for the analysis of how such attitudes relate to on the one hand causality and seriousness beliefs, and on the other hand cognitive dissonance and dissonance reducing mechanisms.

8.1 Research question one

Among the interviewed CCCs, what is the relationship between 1) causality and seriousness beliefs, in regards to the effects of meat production and meat consumption on animal welfare, the environment, and human well-being, and 2) attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax?

The positive attitudes among the respondents toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax, vis-a-vis the results showing on average strong causality and seriousness beliefs, imply that the results found in Krantz's study pertaining to the importance of causality and seriousness beliefs for policy attitudes, are supported by this thesis, which is illustrated in figure 14 below.

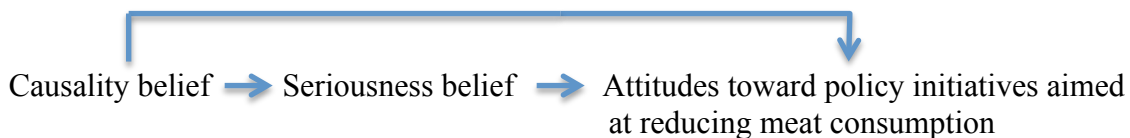


Figure 14. Causality and seriousness beliefs, and policy for reducing meat consumption

A big difference between this thesis and Krantz's study needs to be recognized though, which is the sample group, which in Krantz's study was based on a large sample representative of the Swedish population, while this thesis is based on a small, critical

sample. Therefore, the generalizability of the results in this thesis are limited. Nevertheless, the results constitute an interesting point of departure for further research.

In Krantz's study a bleak outlook for increased support for transportation policy initiatives through an increase in information provision was concluded. If we remember, even among those with the 'greenest' beliefs there was resistance toward transportation policy initiatives due to lack of possibility or willingness to travel less by car, and considering that the Swedish public reasonably could not become much greener than they already were.

That might not need to be the case with the issue of meat consumption since there are not the same infrastructural or spatial issues to deal with, which in the matter of car driving may affect the perceived behavioral control, in turn making informational instruments ineffectual. When it comes to attitudes toward policy for reducing meat consumption it would thus seem to exist possibilities for increased support among the Swedish public through informational instruments, which in turn could affect the causality and seriousness beliefs among the Swedish public, making them more supportive to the policy in question.

8.2 Research question two

Among the interviewed CCCs, what is the relationship between 1) the cognitive dissonance and its dissonance reduction mechanisms, and 2) attitudes toward policy directed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax?

One of the central findings for answering this second research question is the fact that among the CCCs the attitudes influenced by their consciousness and concern are also met with behavior that is in line with their attitudes, at least to a quite large degree. While they would all like to consume less meat than they do, they either have made adjustments that are now well rooted and quite far reaching, or they are still trying to find ways to

reduce meat consumption. This serves as an explanation for the relatively low magnitude of dissonance, and in turn the relatively mild sense of unease experienced as a consequence of cognitive dissonance, and a weak pull to reduce the dissonance.

When investigating the possible connections between cognitive dissonance and its mechanisms, and attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, two possibilities were found.

1) Dissonance reduction possibility 1 – Supporting policy aimed at reducing meat consumption:

- is a way of adding elements which are consonant with the intention to reduce meat consumption, and is thus an expression of support for external motivation for aligning the behavior with the attitude.

2) Dissonance reduction possibility 2 – Opposing policy aimed at reducing meat consumption:

- is a way to keep, on the one hand eating meat as usual, and on the other hand positive attitudes toward meat consumption, intact – the logic being that if you were to support a meat tax, then you would implicitly criticize your own food behavior, giving rise to cognitive dissonance.

Note that the deciding factor between possibility 1 and possibility 2 is the *intention* to behave according to the policy, to reduce meat consumption. Following this line of reasoning, a meat tax is likely to be supported by those whose intentions are to reduce their meat consumption. As shown by the TPB, this intention is dependent on attitudes

toward meat consumption, social norms, and perceived behavioral control, plus habits that are determined by automated cognitive processes. The conclusion is thus that among the interviewed CCCs, the sum of the factors in the TPB which result in an intention to reduce meat consumption is positively correlated with support for a meat tax.

Hypothesis: a person whose *intention* to behave according to policy aimed at reducing meat consumption is strong, is likely to support the policy.

9. Conclusions

Remembering the aims set out early on, after investigating the matter of policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, and the witness of people who may be categorized as conscious and concerned carnivores, it is concluded that at least those interviewed belonging to this category of people, are supportive of policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax.

Generalizations beyond the interviewed persons cannot be made, but the findings serve as an interesting starting point for further research that may contribute to a greater extent to answering the question what the outlook is for support for policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax, among the Swedish public.

The correlation between 1) causality and seriousness beliefs in regards to negative effects of meat consumption for animal welfare, the environment, and human well-being, and 2) attitudes toward policy, according to what Krantz (2001) has proposed, was supported by the finding in this thesis – a finding which also served as an explanation for the policy support by the conscious and concerned persons interviewed.

Finally, the investigations of possible relationships between cognitive dissonance and its dissonance reducing mechanisms, and attitudes toward policy aimed at reducing meat consumption, especially a meat tax, resulted in the hypothesis that a person whose *intention* to behave according to policy aimed at reducing meat consumption is strong, is likely to support the policy.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview guide

1. General information about the interviewed

1. How old are you?
2. What is your occupation?
3. Do you live in the city or on the countryside?
4. Do you consider yourself to be religious? If yes, what religion?
5. Do you have children?
6. For how long have you been interested in what you are studying/working with?
7. How come your interest in that subject?

2. Meat production/consumption – Beliefs and attitudes

8. What thoughts come to mind you hear the words meat production and meat consumption?

Follow-up question: Are these things something that makes emotions arise? (If yes, what kinds of emotions? / Would you be able to describe those emotions?)

9. How would you describe the positive and/or negative effects of meat production and meat consumption?

Follow-up question: Would you describe the effects as mainly positive or mainly negative?

10. On a scale from 1 to 10, how would you grade the causal relationship between meat production/meat consumption and negative consequences for:
animal well-being/the environment/human health, 1 being the lowest degree of causal relationship, and 10 being the highest degree of causal relationship?

11. From 1 to 10, how would you grade the seriousness of the consequences between meat production/meat consumption and negative consequences for animal well-being/the environment/human health, 1 being the lowest degree of seriousness, and 10 being the highest degree of seriousness?

3. Diet/Meat consumption - behavior

12. Do you eat more or less meat than you wish that you ate?

13. How come you would like to eat more/less meat?

(14. Why do you eat meat?)

4. Cognitive dissonance, TPB and previous research

15. It sounds like on the one hand you eat meat, and on the other hand, the negative effects of the meat production and meat consumption makes you not want to eat as much meat as you do.

Then, when you eat meat, does that sort of ambivalence make any emotions/feelings arise? How do you handle that ambivalence?

16. The health/animal ethical/environmental effects, is that something that you think about when you eat meat, or when you are about to buy ingredients, or when you are about to cook something?

4.1 Perceived behavioral control

17. How would you appreciate your ability to control what you are eating?

Follow-up question: how about money, time, or desire to eat something specific, influence of others... do you feel like all options are always on the table, or are there things restraining your diet choices?

4.2 Social dilemma defense?

18. Would you say that choices that you make in terms of what you eat matter? Do your dietary choices have an impact, in the large scheme of things so to speak?

Follow-up question: How does the affect of your dietary choices compare to the affect of other factors, people or actors? (In terms of responsibility, but also degree of affect)

19. Are these questions concerning the relationship between you and other people or actors something that affect your thoughts when it comes to choice of diet?

4.3 Habits, upbringing

20. If we take a step back in time... how has it been earlier in your life? Has your diet always been the same, or has it varied?

Follow-up question if variation: Is there a reason why the dietary change took place that you can think of?

4.4 Social norms

21. How is it among people in your surrounding, like family and friends, when it comes to diet? And is that something that affects your own choice of diet?

22. If the interviewee answered yes to the question if ze has children: the fact that you have children, is that something that affects your own choices of what to eat, your diet?

4.5 Mental/moral disengagement

23. In general, when it is time to eat something – a hamburger, a sausage, or a ham sandwich – do you then think about that it is a part of an animal that you are eating? And its effect for the animal? / the environment? / human health?

Follow-up question: Would you say that those thoughts are something that affects your choice of what to eat?

5. Instruments/incentives directed toward reducing meat consumption

24. What do you think of the idea to introduce instruments/incentives that are aimed at reducing meat consumption? – and then there are informative, administrative and economic instruments/incentives. Examples of these can be;

1) informative: information campaigns, perhaps labeling on products about risks involved such as those on cigarette packages; 2) administrative: heightened production standard requirements, meat rationing; 3) economic incentives such as a tax on meat or tax exemption/price reduction on other types of food.

Does any of those alternatives spontaneously appeal to you? Or perhaps none, or perhaps all?

25. If we take a closer look at the alternative to introduce a meat tax – there are different suggestions on how such a tax would be constructed, and what the grounds for it would be.

It could be based on its affect on the climate or on health, or perhaps on animal welfare.

One suggestion taken from a scientific article is that it would be a form of carbon tax, based on how much CO₂ different types of meat contributes to emitting.

Meat from ruminant animals such as cows and sheep would be taxed with 10-15 kronors per kilo, meat from pigs would be taxed with 2-3 kronors per kilo, meat from chicken would be taxed with 1-2 kronors per kilo. (Further explanation if applicable: And consumers rather than producers would be taxed, the idea being that consumption would

be reduced, and thereafter also the production, following a reduction in demand. In the scientific article, using the EU as an example they argue it would lead to a reduction from EU agriculture CO2 emissions with 7%.

But the general idea of a meat tax is that a heightened price on meat would reduce meat consumption.)

If we imagine that such a tax would be introduced, how do you think it would be received among most people in Sweden?

And how would it affect them? (Would it lead to reduced meat consumption?)

27. If we imagine that a meat tax would be introduced during the first quarter of 2018, what would your own reactions be? Would you be affected by it? If so, how? (Economically, or in some other way, behavior/life-style change perhaps?)

28. Would you be for or against a meat tax?

Follow-up question: Would you describe that attitude to be strong or weak?

29. What is the primary reason(s) that you are for/against a meat tax?

6. “Dominance ideologies” – a control variable

30. I would like to ask you where you’d place yourself on a political scale from left to right. Extreme left, left, slightly to the left, middle, slightly to the right, right, or extreme right?

31. Would you say that that is something that affects your attitude toward different incentives aimed at reducing meat consumption (such as a meat tax)?

Follow-up question if yes: In what way?

Follow-up question if no: Why not?

Debriefing

I have no more questions in the main interview, but I would like to ask you if there is anything that you would like to add, or if there is anything that we have talked about that you would like to expand on or so?

Thank you very much!

Appendix B: Interviewees

Interviewee 1 – Nurse student, third semester, bachelor level

This interviewee is 25 years old, studies to be a nurse on a bachelor's level. He lives in the city, is not religious, and doesn't have any children. Apart from studying he works within elderly care, and has several hobbies, and hunting is an interest that he holds high and something that he would like to do more of. He has studied at the university for about a year and a half, and before that, health, the body and function and the like has been an interest. On a political scale he places himself to the right (moderately right).

Interviewee 2 – Nurse student, fifth semester, bachelor level

This interviewee is 32 years old, studies to be a nurse on a bachelor's level. She lives in the city, is religious (Christian) and has two children. Her father is a doctor and her mother is a nurse. She was always interested in this field as a kid, and remembers looking in her dad's anatomy books as a child. She is originally from the United States, and has studied pre medicine there for three years before coming to Sweden. On a political scale she considers herself to be slightly or moderately left when it comes to social issues, and slightly to the right when it comes to the issue of autonomy for the individual. So if I would have to place her somewhere I would place her in the middle.

Interviewee 3 – Biology student, first semester, master level

This interviewee is 26 years old, studies biology on a master's level and holds a bachelor's degree in environmental science. He lives in the city while in the outskirts, is not religious, and doesn't have any children. He has been interested in biology and the environment for as long as he can remember, and especially in birds. It started with an interest in dinosaurs, and this field has been an interest for twenty years-plus, and he probably got his interest in the environment from his family, from home. The primary school he attended had an environmental focus, and he was part of an environmental group during high school. On a political scale, he defines himself as "to the left of left".

Interviewee 4 – Global health student, first semester, master level

This interviewee is 31 years old, and studies global health on a master's level. She lives in the city, is not religious, and does not have children. She has always thought about her own health and the health of people that are close to her. She holds a bachelor's degree in political science and has worked with international development. She has also among other things worked with an eHealth project within Stockholm County Council, and furthermore has taken some separate courses on HIV at the Karolinska Institutet medical university. On a political scale she places herself as left.

Interviewee 5 – Practical philosophy, researcher, PhD

This interviewee is 52 years old, and holds a doctorate degree in practical philosophy. Within that field she teaches and performs research, and her research has since receiving her doctorate degree in 2007 been directed toward the environmental-philosophical and animal ethical spheres of philosophy. She lives in the city, is not religious, has a grown

up child, and has been active within her field of study for about twenty years. On a political scale she places herself as somewhere between slightly to the left and left.

Interviewee 6 – Biology student, fifth semester, bachelor level

This interviewee is 26 years old and studies biology. She lives in a residential area in a place called Kode, outside of the city Kungälv, which she describes as semi-country side, semi-city. She is not religious and doesn't have any children. She has always had an interest in knowing how things work, and has always liked to be in nature, outdoors, to walk in the forest. Her biology studies focuses more on nature conservation than on physiological or molecular biology. On a political scale she places herself as somewhere between slightly to the left and left.

Appendix C: Transcribed interviews

Transcripts available upon request.

Intervjupersoner sökes

Hej!

Daniel heter jag och är student vid Göteborgs Universitet. Jag skriver en masteruppsats som handlar om beteende och attityder när det kommer till köttkonsumtion, samt attityder till styrmedel som syftar till att påverka människors val av kost.

Jag vänder mig bland annat till er som studerar eller arbetar på institutionen för biologi och miljövetenskap för att höra om det finns några som skulle kunna tänka sig att ställa upp på en intervju som tar cirka 1 – 1,5 timmar. Som tack för deltagande erbjuder jag två biobiljetter (SF-bio).

Intervjuerna skulle i så fall vara en och en, och vad gäller urval så är det viktigaste att intervjupersonerna 1) äter kött 2) är medvetna om påverkan som kött-produktion/-konsumtion har för miljö och klimat, och 3) stämmer in i attityden "jag borde/skulle vilja äta lite mindre/sluta äta kött".

Vad gäller konfidentialitet används självklart intervjumaterialet endast i forskningssyfte, och även inom uppsatsen i fråga kan deltagares namn ersättas med pseudonym om så önskas. Det hade dock varit en stor hjälp om eventuella intervjuer kan spelas in (ljud).

Om detta är intressant för dig som läser detta, och något som du kan tänka dig att delta i, eller om du har frågor, skriv då gärna ett mejl till xxxxxxxxx@xxxxxxxx.xx.xx, eller hör av dig till xxxx-xxxxxx.

Mvh,
Daniel Burgos-Nyström