

# A THEORY OF THE CONSCIOUS CLASS

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN  
ORGANIC FOOD CONSUMPTION AND SOCIAL PRESTIGE

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# ABSTRACT

The intention of this study is to explore the social motives with relation to social status and prestige among young organic food consumers in the Copenhagen area.

Behavioural processes is certainly a complex matter and although organic food consumption as well as the organic product's properties and effects have caught a fair amount of attention from scientist across the globe, little is in fact known about underlying motives of these sort of goods. Denmark and Copenhagen lies in the forefront when it comes to the level of organic food consumption and the notions of its implications for social stratification has been raised in the public media.

My aim is to provide for insights and investigate such possible tendencies, decision-making processes, values and motives with direct or indirect implications for prestige seeking. In so doing, I present related theories both to establish the historic understanding of any social inferences of consumer goods and to frame the somewhat unique attributes and values that are to be found in organic food products.

The problem field is investigated empirically through twelve in-depth consumer interviews, which in turn have examined using the method of a content analysis.

The findings suggest that, although combined with various other personal drivers, motives related to prestige seeking and strive for personal positioning in the social status hierarchy, is relatively common. These conclusions are derived from numerous concurrent categories observed in the empirical material were consumers values and perceives symbolic attributes of organic food products which are effectively used to distinguish themselves from other groups in society. Significant differences were however found between identified sub-groups. Based on a simplified distinction between individuals with a high and low level of organic consumption, which in turn were shown to be related to measures of involvement in the category, it was inferred that for the sub-group with a lower level of organic consumption, engagement in the category was in many instances directly related prestige seeking behaviour.

Apart from the aforementioned interpersonal effects, which often are conspicuous displays of organic goods, a number of personal effects with implications for prestige seeking were simultaneously identified. This is of relation to situations where consumers reward and honour themselves through feelings of fulfilment and self-respect when purchasing organic products and further, through the higher pricing and perceived superior quality of these products are reassured that their choice is in fact the “correct” one.

# FOREWORD & ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many hours spent at the Royal library – the Black Diamond! This master thesis is my final work at the MSc.Soc programme “Management of Creative Business Processes” at Copenhagen Business School.

As I have been an interdisciplinary student throughout my years at CBS - and elsewhere, the choice of topic for this study should serve as a reflection of that interplay between economics and the social sciences. The interest for consumer behaviour, values and symbolic meanings and its implications for social stratification is equally a long-lasting fascination. In earlier research projects I was introduced to the work of American economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen, which dates back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. His theories that points to economic life as driven by social parameters are not only included in the study but should also be seen as a important source of inspiration for this project. The title of this study is obviously heavily inspired by his best-known work *“The Theory of the Leisure Class”* ...

A few shout outs are in its place!

Thanks to all respondents who were willing to spare their time and thoughts and to participate in the interview sessions. My gratitude, of course, also to Assistant Professor Wencke Gwozdz for her supervision and support throughout the rather lengthy process. Furthermore, I appreciate any other encouragement and assistance from fellow students, family and friends that, if nothing else, have kept me company during the lunch-breaks at the Black Diamond, which have made this somewhat lonesome work processes a little bit more pleasurable. Thank you!

**Ruben Benjamin Zelwak**  
Copenhagen, December 2012



Original illustration by Will Etling, "Sustain". From the book *"Green Patriot Posters – Graphics for a Sustainable Community"*. The book was found at lifestyle store Urban Outfitters and is filled with posters of graphics and illustrations on the "sustainability" theme, clearly made for display of ones adherence to the same...

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\* APPENDICES WITH INTERVIEW GUIDE AND ALL TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEWS ARE ATTACHED ON CD



# 1.

## INTRODUCTION

Until recently, I did never pay much attention to the organic products while out doing my grocery shopping. Not because I don't believe that it might be meaningful in some way or another, but simply because it was not part of my shopping routine. It has been "off the radar", so to speak. For some reason that changed. I caught myself many times, mainly when I had invited friends over for dinner, reaching for the organic milk, the organic eggs, or even the organic chicken – which is sometimes three times as expensive as the conventional alternative. Why?

My starting point is this simple observation of my own altered behaviour and the curiosity of the real origins of the behaviour. Clearly, I wanted to convey a certain message to my friends when choosing the organic chicken when expecting them as guests. Symbolic meanings deeply embedded into various objects and products, are as such not a new phenomenon. But the relatively rapid entrance and high growth of the organic category in the Danish market and not at least in the minds of the consumers, opens up for questions and unexplored territories with significant implications for the behaviour of millions of consumers.

The symbolic meanings and the signalling values of consumer goods are of course something that we collectively construct and interpret. In the case of organic food, I claim that the consumer, whether aware of it or not, make propositions about his or her persona that is largely rewarded by the rest of the society. Organic food consumption, and other "green" behaviours, are no longer a marginal phenomenon conducted by a "radical" minority but is certainly part of the mainstream culture and media.

As it was put to my attention, an online dating service called “Elitedaters” described their users as follows: *“Through our fundamental entry requirements a large proportions of the users of the forum are academics, where of many are highly conscious about their career, choice of education and occupation. About 80% are living in the larger cities of Denmark. A majority are non-smokers and workout several times a week. Most read the daily newspapers and watch the state-owned TV-channels. Organic foods, aesthetics and quality are often conscious choices and international travel takes up a significant part of the annual budget”* (Elitedaters, 2012). It might seem like a trivial example, but I believe that it is highly interesting to note how “organic food” consumption have made its way into to the description of the self proclaimed “elite” - that is, the highly educated, health-conscious, cosmopolitan and urbanised Dane. The organic foods are in this case a symbol of a “softer” and more “responsible” side of the careerist portrayed. Simply, a fairly easy act of consumption from which the relative health benefits remains “unknown”- at best (Brandt, 2012) and any possible environmental benefits are largely abstract to the consumer.

*“Who really believes that those semi-putrefying and overpriced organic apples are really healthier!? The point is, by buying them; we are not just buying and consuming a product. We are simultaneously doing something meaningful: demonstrating our capacity for care and global awareness. Participating in a noble, large collective project”* (Zizek, 2011), these are the words of Slovenian cultural critic and philosopher Slavoj Zizek whom clearly shares my rather cynical view of organic food consumption. Zizek argues that this in many ways exemplifies a new order of how the capitalist system currently works in what he calls the “*Starbucks logic*”. As we have grown more aware of the impact of our consumption, it has in many cases left us with a guilty conscious and a will to “pretend” to be an ethical actor by “at least doing something” to counter it. The market seemingly knows this, and provides us with “prêt-à-porter” solutions. We can remain consumerists, because in products such as the Starbucks coffee (Who communicates and brand themselves as an “ethical” corporation with various nature preserving initiatives - water preserving or farmer support projects etc.) or the organic labelled products, our concern for the environment and the “poor farmers” as well as the perception of an altruistic act is included in the higher price we pay.

It is suggested that by consuming organic foods you are in fact doing something both meaningful and valuable – you are demonstrating and manifesting your pro-social capacities and by doing so you will both evoke personal feelings of satisfaction and position yourself within your social context. The phenomenon was clearly emphasized in an article published in the New York Times, where to the top reason for purchasing the greener alternative, hybrid

car Toyota Prius, because it “*Makes a statement about me*” (red. Prius owners), (Maynard, 2007). Consumers want to make sure that others know that they “care about they environment” and are prone to consume things that can convey that message, maybe it be a Toyota Prius or an organic chicken.

Now, there is an on-going debate in Denmark, where some have argued that the foods we consume constitute the frontline of the so-called “class-battle” (Holm, 2012). That the “back-to-nature” and “authenticity” seeking elite that praises the “New-Nordic cuisine” are also effectively making a distinction between themselves and those who fail to do the same (Vogdrup-Schmidt, 2012). Of course, those who feel “accused” of being elitists and for buying their way to a higher moral and social prestige, do not sit idly by, but rather attack and challenge their critics because after all, no one likes their worldview to be shaken up at its core. But these strong reactions, I claim, are also rather revealing in that there might be some truth to the matter.

That said, there is currently little empirical evidence of any of these statements and arguments. In this study, I wish to provide such an empirical analysis by focusing on “organic products” and their symbolic meanings for prestige and social status.

## 1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

Given the various observations, partly from my own social context but also as described from secondary sources, there are indications that consumption of so-called “green products”, and not at least organic products, might have implications for the efforts to obtain a higher social status and prestige.

Earlier studies have shown that the overt and primary motives for engagement in the organic category differs according to various demographic parameters such as gender, age and geography (Økologisk Landsforening & GfK, 2009) (presented in detail in a later chapter) and theorists have for centuries pondered the questions of various patterns of consumption and its social implications.

Although there are known differences, which can be derived from demographic archetypes, this study is focusing on a particular cluster of consumers that are “younger”

individuals in the Copenhagen area; a more specified argumentation for this choice is presented in the following chapter. The main purpose here is to get a better understanding of the motives behind organic consumption and how it might have propositions for prestige constructions and attempts to climb the social ladder. What follows is the research question that has guided the study and should serve as a direction for the reader and a means to define, and “boil down”, the field of study.

### **To what degree and by what means are young organic food consumers in Copenhagen motivated by social status and prestige seeking effects?**

The research question is clearly based on the personal supposition that there are in fact links between organic consumption and status seeking motives, in turn constructed on peculiar observations from my everyday life. The question is furthermore twofold in accordance with the wish to not only understand how prevalent this phenomenon might be, if in fact true, and through what means it is constructed and can be identified.

As the notions of “social status” as well as “prestige” are not only central themes in the research question but also recurring throughout the study, it is in place to provide for a definition of my usage of the terms. As I see it, the two concepts are interlinked; or rather social status is in many ways dependent on the level of prestige obtained by a given individual. Social status is understood as a given individual's position in the social hierarchy in a given group of people or society. This position, or “rank” if you will, is and can be inscribed by a number of factors, partly those that one can achieve and partly those that are inherited. Classic examples of parameters that determine one's social status are power, occupation and income, wealth and prestige. Prestige is understood and defined as “*widespread respect and admiration felt for someone or something on the basis of a perception of their achievements or quality*”<sup>1</sup>, that is, prestige can be obtained for numerous reasons where certain behaviour in some way and in a given context is perceived as admirable. If certain behaviour is seen as admirable e.g. because it is perceived as morally correct it is consequently inscribed as a quality to the individual who conducts the behaviour and benefits the same with social status. Also, social status – seen as a social hierarchy similar to social classes are by default in need of clear distinctions between given groups, thus symbols of distinctions, may it be perceptions of what

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<sup>1</sup> New Oxford American Dictionary

it is that is considered admirable are in many ways also engraved in subtle “everyday actions” such as taste and consumption.

## 1.2 STRUCTURE OF STUDY- A READERS GUIDE

Before going any further, I will provide a brief structure of the project at hand with the intention to give the reader a better overview of what to expect. The study is organised in seven chapters, each with its own particular purpose of clarifying the direction of the proceeding sections. I will however note that there might be overlaps in themes in some instances.

In the following chapter, called “Scientific Reflections and Discussion”, I’m setting the boundaries for the study, discussing it’s relevance as well as pondering scientific and philosophical considerations and choices.

The subsequent chapter is devoted to a review of theories and literature related to social motives of relation to consumption – setting the scene and presenting a historical dialogue of thinkers that have contemplated issues of consumption and its consequences for social status and prestige. In the second part of this chapter, I present general theories of consumer behaviour, motives and behavioural processes.

In chapter four I have attempted to link “green” consumption to social motives by presenting additional theory of behavioural processes, giving an outline of prevailing insights of the Danish organic food consumer as well as other studies I find meaningful for an understanding of belief systems of “green” consumers. In the last part of this chapter I present highly relevant studies and theories with direct and obvious implications for my suppositions.

Chapter five is devoted to an introduction and a detailed description of the empirical study and the chosen method. I give a portrayal of how the data was collected, formation of interview-guide, choice of sampling strategy and processing of the data. This chapter is strategically positioned prior to the analysis in order to give the reader the best possible understanding of how the analysis was conducted.

Chapter six is, as mentioned, the main and most substantial part of the study – the analysis. In the opening part I give an account for, also in quantitative terms, the individuals in the

sample in order for the reader to familiarise with the composition of interviewees and their general shopping habits. This is consequently followed by an extensive analysis based on various themes and categories identified.

In the last part of the study, chapter seven, I present the results from the analysis and further discuss and contemplate possible implications of the study, conceivable limitations as well as suggestion for research that might supplement and further validate the study at hand.

# 2.

## SCIENTIFIC REFLECTIONS & DISCUSSION

In the following section I will give an overview of a number of considerations that have severe implications for both how the research unfolds and any inferences made in the analysis. I describe systematically the scope of the study, I argue for the relevance of the theme, I announce my approach to production and understanding of scientific knowledge and finally I will provide for critical reflection of the study.

### 2.1 SCOPE & DELIMITATIONS

The sole purpose of this study is to investigate the underlying motives of organic food consumption among a pre-set subdivision of the population, which are young individuals in Copenhagen. From previous studies we know a great deal about the main and overt drivers but less is known about so-called “social motives” with direct or indirect implications for the efforts to obtain prestige and social-status. Obviously, the scientific field of consumer behaviour, and research within the same, is complex and can therefore be studied from a point of departure in various scientific fields. As the aim here is to identify fractions of motivation and behavioural processes that is only understood from a social and psychological context, the exploration is consequently based on theories and inferences from a social-scientific tradition.

The study focuses on what we can call private consumption of organic foods and will neither include investigations of institutions and private businesses such as cafes and restaurants that indeed also are consumers of organic products. Nor will I explore private consumption in such a context but rather focus on purchasing motivations of “off the shelf products”. Given the narrow framework of the aim of the study and the pre-set limitations in

terms of space I will make no differences between diverse goods within the category of “organic food products”. As I am dealing with a product that is common and available to all and for which most have the fundamental knowledge about (at least in order to comprehend the setting in which the study unfolds) I will waste no space on lengthy descriptions of “what an organic product is” and what criteria that needs to be fulfilled to be labelled as one, issues that can and are probably best studied from a biological, industry or policy making perspective. It is, as such, not considered significant for the study and neither will I go in depth with the on-going debate on the scientific cases and arguments that could underpin any possible stated motives nor presenting the establishment and development of the industry.

Furthermore, it is also inferred by previous studies that various sub-groups of the Danish population, based on parameters such as age, gender, income, level of education and geographical area, differ on behavioural patterns and stated motives of organic food consumption. Due to practical circumstances and the authors suppositions that younger individuals in the larger cities, where the existence of various sub-cultures are more evident and are to a larger extent affected by the related social norms and perceived pressure to conduct certain behaviours, the concentration is laid on just that, younger consumers in the Copenhagen area. I will therefore note that any inferences might be, or might not be, exclusive to the limits of the population from which the sample is taken.

## 2.2 RELEVANCE

Well argued relevance or some sort of “social utility” or “purpose” have been said to be a necessary condition for the “reason d’être” of social scientific study (Gerring, 2012). That is, the outcome must be of significance and be able to tell us something new about the social world. It is my belief that this study will provide for some new and relevant insights about how a specific category of products, in many ways different in character from other goods that has been the subject to similar studies before and its implications for the competition for social status, prestige and social distinction. This seen from the perspective of a society and period in time where consumption in general is undergoing change and is possibly also moving into a “new phase” affected by macro-economic events and a deepened consciousness about the effects of hyper-consumption and its consequences for global as well as local environmental issues. It is not necessarily so that whoever have the biggest house or the



fastest car is rewarded with prestige by society but possibly who ever can obtain a solid pro-social reputation, might be society's champion of tomorrow.

It is my intention and belief that this study is meaningful in understanding such possible tendencies and how they are constructed in the social sphere. If this is true, that is consumer behaviour and consumption of organic produce is in fact clearly affected by social and psychological parameters, then I would argue that it is highly significant and of outmost importance for practitioners in various levels of the marketing chain. It can as such have implications and suggestions of what sort of symbolic signalling that should, and/or should not, be visible on the physical packages of various organic products, they ways it is and should be presented at the point of sales or even for policy makers. This being true given that the markets strive to increase sales of organic products, which by default should be true for any sustainable business.

As a researcher, whom merely is out to explore aspects of the social world that might have concrete implications for various institutions and private companies, I will note that I'm not on a mission to moralise and/or pass judgements on what I personally might think is "good" or "bad" behaviour. It is thus my intention to handle all data passed on to me by the respondents and the process of analysis as delicately as possible.

## 2.3 RESEARCH DISCUSSION & SCIENTIFIC CONSIDERATIONS

*"A scientific practise that fails to question itself does not, properly speaking, know what it does"* – Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1992)

Being a researcher with the ambition to create scientific knowledge it is highly relevant, if not absolutely necessary given the quote above, to reflect upon the process of knowledge production and what kind of knowledge a given research setup is looking to produce. In this section I am therefore giving a brief account of my reflections on meta-theory as a part of philosophies of science while the more concrete method, although unmistakeably affected by my choice and approach to epistemology as well as ontology, is presented and described thoroughly in a later chapter succeeded by the analysis.

As opposed to the positivistic researcher that believes in an objective truth to the topic of study, I approach my field of research from a different angle where truth and knowledge is seen as subjective. While adhering to the constructivism paradigm it will entail that I will seek to produce, and recognize that my research is based on, as well as dependent on, its context. That is, the choice of theory, the choice of method as well as any conclusions drawn are based on subjective selections and subjective and situated empirical material. The knowledge I produce can hence only be described as relative, dependent on the context and dependent not only my personal subjective position, but also the subjective position of each and every respondent whose words constitute the empirical material. In qualitative research, such as this, individuals are recognised as “knowledgeable agents” that can tell me a great deal about their personal behaviour and motives but it would be a radical assumption to say that the same are not affected by their social reality (Giddens, 1984). By the same token, I can only construct knowledge and explore the social world from a relative- and social reality, meaning that another researcher of the same subject could possibly reach different conclusions. Nonetheless, following the constructivist paradigm and the position of a relativist, the meanings and interpreted symbolism through language, in turn passed on by the “knowledgeable agents” is an important factor in what can be said to exist in a social world that have no objective and ultimate truth.

Although one could debate what the social world and social construction is, and it certainly is debated (Hacking, 2002), I want to exemplify the notion using concepts that lie in the core of my study, namely prestige and social-status. Two concepts that are clearly related, by no means new to the world and that certainly exist in the most primitive of societies (if you excuse my choice of wording) as well as in our “modern” world where these notions constantly are changing; scientists have tried to measure and quantify prestige and social-status for decades – if not centuries. In this context, it is certainly complicated to deal with these concepts in an objective manner. Rather they are constructs that are both highly relative and subjective (but yet, certainly real) and can generally only be understood in the context and group of individuals in which they have been created. Further, the interpreted and perceived symbolism of the objects of study (organic food products) is of course in a similar manner also socially constructed (but yet, certainly real); in other words, symbolism “...exists by and for perception or, more precisely, by and for those who perceive it and who can perceive it and make it exist as such only because they are endowed with adequate categories of perception” (Bourdieu, 1992).

By all means, it is important to note that the constructivist paradigm and the relativistic approach is complex and with the inherent risk of “liquidising” knowledge to a degree where anything and everything is equally significant. By nature, this scientific paradigm opens up for many subjective “truths” which means that the role of the researcher becomes multifaceted and that every choice should be thoroughly contemplated.

## 2.4 LOGIC OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The research in this project is essentially based on applicable theories and literature that are reckoned relevant for a fundamental understanding of the field and substantial empirical investigation. Rather than using a strict deductive “top-down” or inductive “bottom-up” reasoning, the logic of the research process should rather be seen as more circular in shape as I am in fact using both inductive and deductive reasoning in the project. As such, the fundamental idea for the topic have been sparked by observations from my daily life from which I have based a theory and later, after studying related literature and associated theories, developing a number of suppositions that has helped me to limit and guide the analysis.

While collecting data and studying consumer trends, patterns, values and beliefs through the empirical material I am essentially adopting an inductive reasoning while in the analysis testing the presented theories and hypotheses and thus engaging in a more deductive logic. I constantly weave back and forth between the empirical material and the theoretical framework and especially in conducting the analysis; these two foundations are largely speaking, inseparable. To describe it briefly in practise: the interview-guide was developed and structured in various themes based on relevant theory. The empirical data was thereafter gathered in order to uncover related patterns and believes, this data was subsequently analysed, categorised and brought to applicable theories where it is discussed and elaborated, this is where the new understandings of the field is created. The choice of this research and working process should also be visible in the structure of the project as well as the in the style in which it has been written.

I perceive the study as exploratory where I hope to provide deeper knowledge and general and new insights about the field and phenomenon, through the empirical data collection and the analysis thereof that is, again, interconnected with the related theory.

## 2.5 CRITICAL REFLECTIONS VALIDITY, RELIABILITY &

### POSSIBLE BIASES

Although the study is to be seen as exploratory in nature and that it is recognised that there are some serious predicaments in “providing reasonable estimates” of the possible uncertainties of the implications made in qualitative research, I am here accentuating some obvious possible shortcomings (Gerring, 2012).

The validity, as in to what degree I have effectively measured what I have set out to investigate, is naturally dependent on numerous factors such as sampling, the structure of the interview guide and the choice of method (Flick, 2002). In general the validity can be discussed both from an internal and an external perspective where the first is concerned with whether findings are true within the chosen sample and the second to what degree generalisations can be made to the rest of the population. In terms of internal reliability I rely on the confidence of my choices and a cautious research design as well as substantial review of relevant literature and previous similar studies that in some cases have served as inspiration. Nevertheless, the predicaments remains of possible errors of relating to “seeing relations, when they are not correct”, or vice versa, “neglecting them when they in fact are accurate” or even as basic as “asking the wrong questions” (Flick, 2002). Thus, both production of the data and the presentation and inferences thereof is to be seen as important factors of validity. I can with regards to the collection of data refer to that the interview guide was, again, carefully planned, discussed with and tested on academic peers and the appointed supervisor of the project. The data processing and presentation was similarly delicately dealt with and not at least crosschecked on a number of occasions. The question of validity is in a sense also related to my approach to knowledge and philosophical paradigm as described above, and how far my constructions are based on the constructions of the interviewees and a matter of transparency in which a reader have access to the data on which the analysis is based. Naturally, all transcripts are attached as an appendix and hence available to the curious reader.

The matter of external validity is of course dependent on the degree of internal validity, but perhaps more importantly the sampling strategy. In this case, where the choice of a so called “convenience sample” prevailed with all its implications (discussed in more detail in a later chapter) and this might have severe consequences for the external validity. Once more, it is by

the researcher considered an exploratory study, with no intention of producing representative results.

The reliability, as in the criterion for external assessment of the research can also be tackled from various angles and it is again clearly dependent on the type of research one is assessing. Some have discussed reliability as whether the same results would be obtained when using the same method as the one chosen with a different sample or using a different method with the same or a different sample. These sorts of measurements are only hypothetical until I or another researcher decides to test it and in either case, others have criticised this form of measurement of reliability as “trivial and misleading”, and I will agree as any interpretations of statements made in the course of analysis are obviously shaped by the individuals in the sample and the method of choice (Flick, 2002). Patterns of statements are also viewed as an “indicator of purposively shaped version” of the phenomenon and there is further no reason to believe that the phenomenon might not change over time (Flick, 2002). The reliability is hence best based on, and understood through, both a thorough explanation of my approach to the research (described above) and clarification of both the data collection and processing (described in a later chapter).

Finally, there are a number of potential biases that needs to be addressed. Although I have clarified my adherence to the constructivist paradigm, which entails my awareness of my own subjectivity it might be worth noting that personal biases might affect the outcome of the research at hand. Personal biases and what can be described as selective perceptions can and should not be completely rejected. As such, it is possible that I from my subjective point of departure are more inclined to perceive things that are in line with my expectations and that supports my hypothesis. Also, and apart from the bias predicament that is related to the sampling strategy, which by nature could be ascribed to virtually any sample, there are potentially biases that relates to respondents. There is of course a risk that the interviewees are overthinking their responses and provide the answers that they think are “correct” or the answers they believe I want to hear. I have attempted to reduce this risk by avoiding leading questions and letting the interviewees speak as freely as possible.

# 3.

## FRAMING THE STUDY - RELATED CONCEPTS & THEORIES

In this chapter I attempt to shed light on theories and concepts that I believe are of relevance - both in order to understand the historical dialogue which would indicate the importance of the subject at hand, but naturally also in order to lay out a theoretical frame for the empirical study - guiding the reader to better grasp the field and research question – and ultimately leading my attempt to answer the same. In the first part I will take the reader through some of the more significant theories that introduced notions of social structures as a factor of consumer motivation. In the second part I will systematically present the fundamental concepts of consumer behaviour that I find relevant for this project.

### 3.1 THEORIES OF CONSUMPTION OLD THOUGHTS WITH CURRENT RELEVANCE

Social scientists and economists have for centuries pondered the processes and actions of consumption of their respective time and culture. Many of those theories and thoughts developed have had a fair share of influence on how we understand consumption today. That said, one should be aware of the fact that consumer culture and consumption patterns have developed remarkably since the early days of industrialisation- nevertheless, I argue that they are still valuable for understanding the issue at hand.

### 3.1.1 VALUES IN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Karl Marx, the revolutionary-socialist whom hardly needs any further introduction, contributed to a wide variety of scientific disciplines and fields. It might not be one of the things that Marx is most remembered for, but he was one of the first to analyse different values of commodities and products and consumption of the same. His thoughts on capitalism was of course shaped by his political beliefs and he took a critical stance on the capitalist system and exploitation of labour.

For our purpose his contributions are valuable with regards to his reflections on how the value of a commodity accumulates from point of production until it is sold on the marketplace – mainly as a result of socially attributed elements (Paterson, 2006). Marx wrote about what he called “*use-value*” and “*exchange-value*” of commodities, the use-value being the actual cost of material used in production plus labour-cost and exchange-value is whatever price the given commodity is traded for in the marketplace. What he argued and observed, is that it is not necessarily the natural properties and functions of a product that determines its value. Instead, he argued, the value is a result of social functions and the status differences they might apply (Silver, 2002). Marx also coined the rather revealing phrase “Commodity Fetishism” – where he furthers his argument of the almost “magical” attributes of a commodity once it hits the marketplace and all of the use-value has been disconnected from the commodity. Since we trade with money, and not through a system where commodity is exchanged for another commodity, the social relations between the workers and labour behind a product are ultimately concealed- and commodities are instead incarnated by its fiscal value. The symbolism of commodities will give way to social relations between individuals and groups will be mediated by or expressed through objects – objects that are easily quantified through its exchange-value (Paterson, 2006).

### 3.1.2 CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION

The explorations made by Marx lay out a society where production and consumption of commodities is not solely driven by economic factors but rather - social relations. That said, a number of factors do determinate our real ability to consume, not at least our income and wealth.

Thorstein Veblen, an American economist and social-scientist active in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, studied how wealth and social stratification was affected by consumption – or rather, how

consumption was (and still is) used to manifest one's social standing. In his classic book "*The Theory of the Leisure Class*", Veblen analysed how the higher classes, the wealthy bourgeois of those days, what he called the "Leisure Class", sought to distinguish themselves from other social classes through their leisure activities and not at least - through consumption (Veblen, 1953 ). Conspicuous Leisure, as in activities or rather "non-productive activities", would serve as way of distinction between those who were wealthy enough not to conduct any labour in a time and area of industrialisation. By the same means, Conspicuous Consumption, which has had great impact on understanding of economics to this day, is the acquisition and display of expensive- and "tasteful" goods with little utility value, but with notably high signalling value. Veblen's observations of the nouveau riche of his time lead him to conclude that consumption of luxurious and exclusive goods such as e.g. champagne and silver articles was nothing but a way in which the consumer could demonstrate their higher social status by. Through their consumption they could effectively display their wealth and distinguished taste (Veblen, 1953 ). In other words, premium-goods that are remarkably expensive, of which consumption contradicts conventional economic rationality, has the benefit, it is argued, of positioning the given consumer with a higher social status. In economics, these particular types of goods for which demand increases in correlation with an increase in price is hence also known as "*Veblen goods*", common examples of the same include luxury cars or high-end fashion.

Further, Veblen also acknowledged that the processes of conspicuous consumption by the "elite class" had an effect on the aspirations of large parts of the rest of the society. That is, even though our actual ability to spend is by large determined by our assets, which in turn is related to our class position – our desires of consumption do not necessarily differ all that much. Veblen called this "*pecuniary emulation*", also called "social emulation", meaning that those of lesser social standing will long for consuming – eating the same food, wearing the same clothes, as those in top of the social hierarchy, whom traditionally have been setting the trends (Veblen, 1953 ).

Critics of Veblen's theories might point to the fact that his observations are limited to a certain geographic area in the USA, not to mention that it took place for now over a century ago. Nonetheless, I will argue, and others with me (Paterson, 2006) (Silver, 2002), that the basic principles of Veblen's theories remain relevant in general and for our purpose in particular,



although the context has changed and even though there is far less social divisions in the Danish society today.

### 3.1.3 DISTINCTION, HABITUS AND TASTE

*"If, among all these fields of possibles, none is more obviously predisposed to express social differences than the world of luxury goods, and, more particularly, cultural goods this is because the relationship of distinction is objectively inscribed within it, and is reactivated, intentionally or not in each act of consumption, through the instruments of economic and cultural appropriation which it requires."* – Pierre Bourdieu

The highly recognised French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, have also made major contributions to our understanding of modern consumption and its relations to social stratification. In his renowned work *"Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste"* (1984), Bourdieu's thoughts are in many ways linked to Veblen's observations regarding how consumers through display of wealth marked their social belonging – however, Bourdieu's views are less rigid and points toward a notion that wealth, or economic capital, is not the only mean in which consumer effectively can use in their quest of social distinction (Bourdieu, 2010). Through extensive research conducted in France in the late 60's Bourdieu argued that through "taste" and the "aesthetic" choices the consumers make on the basis of the same, are in fact, a subtle display and re-enforcer of social belonging. Of course, the "taste" and likes of any given individual is mostly a consequence, and determined by, the individuals social class. Children are, it is argued, brought up with a predisposition to a certain "taste" of various goods, such as music, art and food, all to institutionalise preferences that are "suitable" for a given social position. In other words, "taste" provides for, not only belonging to certain social groups, but also clear distinction from other groups. That said, "taste" manifested in consumption leaves room for individuals that wish to "improve" their social position, to manipulate their cultural representation. In other words, imitating the taste of those in the social group to which one aspires, "social emulation", if you will.

Bourdieu utilized his, what later became widely used notions, of economic- and cultural capital to analyse and measure the taste of certain social groups (mainly based on profession) to convey his argument of distinction. Economic capital is evidently a measurement of ones financial- or other assets, which traditionally have been a significant indicator of social status (see Veblen). Cultural capital is best defined as the sum of the cultural taste, as described

above, and one's level of education (within a conventional system) and other skills and knowledge, which in turn also will yield another dimension of status in a given society (Bourdieu, 2010).

Another relevant and central notion by Bourdieu is what he calls "Habitus". The habitus is a structure that organises an individual's capacity to act through a pre-set system of dispositions, or in his own words, *"(...) the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification (...) the correlation between being able to produce (...) classifiable practises and works, and the capacity to differentiate appreciate practises and products (taste), that represent the social world, i.e., the space of lifestyles in constituted."* (Bourdieu, 2010). An underlying social logic that not only derives from, but also organises social positions in society, is through judgements (...which is connected to cultural capital). It is not, he argues - and proves through his experiments - that taste is something that some individuals are naturally blessed with and others not. Rather, it is through their "habitus"-their level of education, professional occupation and ultimately – social class. In practice, one is inclined to certain tastes of art, movies, music, holidays etc. and moreover, for the purpose at hand, Bourdieu also makes the point that culinary taste and consumption of food also is a result of a given individual's habitus (Bourdieu, 2010).

## 3.2 CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR, THEORIES OF MOTIVATION & DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES

Going further, I will in the following sections introduce the concept of consumer behaviour, seen from a more concrete and practical standpoint. As a wide discipline used in any serious marketing efforts, consumer behaviour is defined as *"... the study of the processes involved when individuals or groups select, purchase, use, or dispose of products, services, ideas, or experiences to satisfy needs and desires"* (Solomon, 2001).

Clearly, current academics and practitioners recognise the complexity of the rather lengthy processes that affect consumer behaviour. In accordance with the theories presented above, long-gone is the classic view of consumers acting in line with an economic rational. Below I will briefly present the most relevant issues for our purpose as well as more detailed descriptions of various views on decision-making processes.

### 3.2.1 CHOOSING ONE THING OVER ANOTHER

Today, consumers all over the world make a vast number of daily product choices. Most in which we do not necessarily invest that much time and thought in our choice, in other cases, decisions are far more complex. In any case, from one perspective a given choice made by a consumer can also be viewed as an action of actively not choosing another product or service. Consumers are facing a number of “choice alternatives” when purchasing a product or service. That is, in the decision-making process individuals have different sets of alternatives that form a “micro-context” of products that are actually considered for purchase (Olson, 2001). From there, consumers proceed in their decision-making processes by applying personal choice criterion and the contextual factors such as the social and physical environment in which the consumer is to make his decision (Olson, 2001). But before we go deeper into a few of those person-related concepts that consumers use to evaluate alternative products, I will briefly explain a few fundamental notions of consumer behaviour.

### 3.2.2 CONSUMER SEGMENTATION

In order to facilitate understanding and simplify stratifications of consumers, practitioners and academics alike often use the segmentation technique. By analysing a number of easily observable aspects of a given population and consumers of certain products of interest, one can gain substantial and significant data. These do often come in quantitative, measurable dimensions and statistics, -demographics such as age, gender, geography, income etc., which means that even though it might be ever so helpful to gain an overview of a consumer segment, it tells us little of underlying motives for decision-making (Solomon, 2001).

### 3.2.3 CONSUMER INVOLVEMENT

Another significant variable in consumer behavioural processes closely related to that of motivation (explained in more detail below), is what has been known as consumer involvement. Consumer involvement is defined as “*a persons perceived relevance of the object based on their inherited needs, values and interests*” (Solomon, 2001). That is, an “individual difference variable” that has important consequences both for the consumers purchase behaviour and the intended communication thereof (Kafpferer, 1985). Hence, involvement,

and the degree thereof, is best described as a “motivational construct” that can be triggered by a number of factors such as the product with all its attributes, the individual consumers interests or a particular situation and the level of willingness to collect and process related information, which is considered relevant to satisfy given needs and values (Kafpferer, 1985) (Solomon, 2001).

Nevertheless, the use of the notion of involvement by both practitioners and in academia differs remarkably and with that, the way in which it can be understood as a motivational factor and its applicability for this project. For one, a general distinction can be made between “situational” and “enduring” involvement. Consumers can hold values towards e.g. environmental concerns that lead them to embrace an enduring involvement to a class of products that are defining factors of the consumers “singularity and identity”. Situational involvement is on the other hand bound to e.g. a particular purchase situation when the consumer “perceives risk” and might therefore have an increased involvement in that specific situation (Kafpferer, 1985).

Further distinctions to be made are those between what have been called “emotional” and “rational” involvement where the former captures situations where pleasure, emotion and interest and the latter the lack of the same. In purchasing e.g. detergent products, to use a classic example, consumers seldom hold it up against variables of pleasure and emotions; instead one would in general seek to “optimize a cost-benefit ratio”. And the opposite is true when choosing a bottle of champagne (Kafpferer, 1985). This latter example could also be tied to what some has referred to as “personal involvement” which assumes that the degree of involvement is correlated to the perceived signalling value. Consumers are highly involved when they stand before a number of choice alternatives and when they believe that their choice of product and its signalling attributes can help make a distinction of their identity, that is, symbolic values that the individual believes to correlate with their personality (Kafpferer, 1985).

Even though the varieties in defining involvement are somewhat different, they all contain traits that are useful in any attempt to measure consumer involvement of a given product or category of products. Measurements of consumer involvement are in turn important in understanding different motivational factors among consumers.

### 3.2.4 MOTIVATION - NEEDS & WANTS

In its most basic form, individuals consume in order to satisfy a number of elementary “needs”, and hereafter some often socially constructed “wants” (Kotler & Keller , 2009). Needs are, when seen as simple human requirements things such as food, water, clothing, shelter etc. We obviously all “need” to consume food in order to survive, but different individuals and groups might have different preferences for what food to consume, and it is when a need is focused on a specific product it becomes a socially constructed “want” (Kotler & Keller , 2009). For example, a seventeen-year-old male student might want a pizza for lunch and a thirty-year-old career woman might want an organic salad to satisfy the same basic need of hunger.

That said it is of particular interest to figure out what it is that influence certain behaviour among consumers and the underlying motives. As already established, consumer characteristics embedded in cultural and social factors of various kinds do heavily influence our decision-making. In addition we all add our personal factors to the equation, which are to a certain degree, the same as those used in segmentation (see above) e.g. age and stage in ones life cycle, occupation and economic situation etc. Again, these are all factors that might help us understand the variation in preferences between the young male student and the career woman in the given example above. Furthermore, at a personal level, consumer’s actions are also guided through there personal set of values and their lifestyle. Core values can of course be of a different nature but should in this context be understood as a “belief system” that works as blueprint for both actions and attitudes. Lifestyles is not be confused with social and cultural factors even though they often correlate, it is also true that individuals that are stated to belong to same social class and might even have the same occupation, but are perfectly able to live different lifestyles (Kotler & Keller , 2009). Lifestyle is defined as “...a person’s pattern of living in the world as expressed in activities, interests, and opinions. It portrays the “whole person” interacting with his environment” (Kotler & Keller , 2009). As such, lifestyle seems to be a relatively important determining factor in setting the choice alternatives for a given consumer. For marketing practitioners, analysis of lifestyles is hence of great importance and lately one of the major trends, with particular relevance for this project, is the so-called “lifestyle of health and sustainability” (LOHAS). The LOHAS are a growing number of consumers that consider environmental issues, personal health matters as well as general sustainability development in their consumption. The LOHAS market includes products and

services such as renewable energy, eco-tourism, fitness activities and – organic foods and beverages (Kotler & Keller , 2009).

This is all to say that a number of consumer characteristics determine what products and services we desire – our “wants”. The above is however a rather simplified view of the distinctions between needs and a wants- theoretically the concept of need is rather complex but also significant for an understanding the motivation process.

There have been numerous attempts to classify human needs that have been heavily used in consumer behaviour research. One of the more prevalent is Abraham Maslow’s so-called “hierarchy of needs”. In Maslow’s attempt to stratify human needs in a hierarchy he ranges five main categories of needs (see model) of which the most fundamental are biogenic and the more advanced psychogenic, that is, of a more psychological nature.

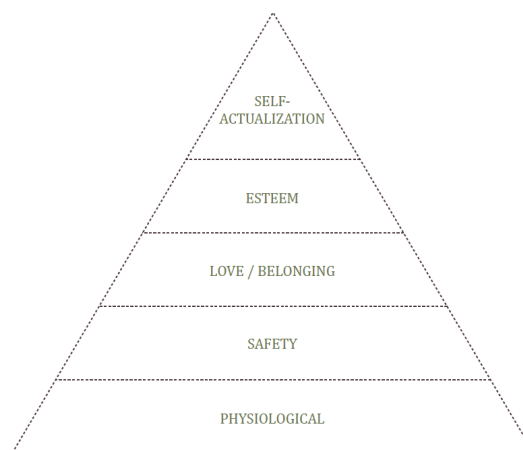


Illustration of Maslow’s hierarchy of needs

Maslow’s approach implies a set direction of development, where the fundamental levels of needs must be met before needs that are set higher in hierarchy are aroused (Maslow, 2000). In other words, if you do not have e.g. secure access to food you will not take an interest in e.g. prestige. When applying Maslow’s theory in studying consumer behaviour, it is hence suggested that consumers will value different product properties depending on what level of needs in the hierarchy that has been attained by the individual. Even though applications of Maslow’s theory have been criticised for being a bit simplistic (Solomon, 2001) I will however argue that it is safe to say that in modern and more economically stable societies, such as Denmark, where fundamental needs are to a overwhelming level met, consumers are certainly to a larger degree also looking to satisfy “higher” needs such as “esteem needs” through products that can signal e.g. recognition, prestige and status (Maslow, 2000).

Another distinction between needs is that of “hedonic” and “utilitarian” character (Solomon, 2001). In this, we can distinguish between consumers that are driven to satisfy needs that are hedonic, that is, related to personal feelings, tastes and values or/and the more concrete utilitarian and objective attributes of a given product (Solomon, 2001). In many cases, it should be noted that products (and services) could fulfil both of these needs. Using the example given above, the thirty something women might both have been motivated by utilitarian properties of the organic salad -such as low-fat, and hedonic needs that could be personal taste preference for salads but also feelings and values connected to organic foods such as perceived health issues and social consciousness.

As mentioned, the distinction between psychogenic needs and culturally learned wants is often somewhat blurred. However, when any given need is awakened in a consumer he or she will be motivated to satisfy the given need. It is nonetheless also true that motives, as the underlying reason for a certain behaviour, are subject to interpretation regardless of what we know from distinctions of needs as presented through e.g. Maslow’s hierarchy. I can only make a qualified assumption for why the thirty-year-old woman was motivated to purchase the organic salad. That and any other behaviour, could not only be a result of numerous different motives put together, but it could certainly also be true that the consumer could be unaware of, or reluctant to disclose, the needs or wants that have motivated her actions. These “hidden” motives are important for this research project as it is hypothesised that prestige drivers do exist which indirectly assumes that the available data on motives among Danish organic food consumers<sup>2</sup> do not efficiently disclose the whole truth.

### 3.2.5 A PSYCHOANALYTICAL VIEW OF HIDDEN MOTIVES

One of the early and most prominent thinkers on underlying motives of consumer behaviour is Austrian-American psychologist Ernest Dichter. As Dichter used his background in psychology and “Freudian theory” (and became highly influential and successful with his marketing consultancy business) to conduct psychoanalytical experiments to help explain why people acted in a certain way and particularly why consumers behaved in the way they do by revealing “*unconsciously held attitudes and beliefs*” (Dichter, 2004).

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<sup>2</sup> Data presented in a later chapter

Decision-making, Dichter believed, was directed by motives for which we have little or no control as these are *“buried in unconscious elements of our psyche”* (Dichter, 2004). Without digging too deep into psychology notions it should briefly be mentioned that Freudian theory, of which Dichter developed his principles, human behaviour stems from the *“fundamental conflict”* between the individuals aspirations to satisfy his physical needs without upsetting the norms that are set in a given society (Solomon, 2001) (Dichter, 2004).

Freud divided our psyche into three levels, in which the first “conscious” level of thoughts and feelings that we in fact are aware of is only the “tip of the iceberg”. Below is a level of “pre-consciousness” which is material that as such can be recalled and underneath this is a level that is largely unavailable to us – the unconscious. This level, he argues, is highly significant in this respect as it often forms our behaviour and hence also our purchasing decisions. Therefore, Dichter argues, we cannot apply a “ready made checklist” of possible motivations for a given action, motivation as he incidentally defines as *“...a composite of factors which results in a specific action intended to change an existing situation into a future one”* (Dichter, 2004). Instead, human motivation is best understood when probing that mix of factors, which includes both human aspiration and cultural substances and, of course, the hidden, unconscious and sometimes irrational motives that can be mapped out with the right technique, namely in-depth interviews (Dichter, 2004). Further, Dichter also writes about the “soul of things”, meaning that objects do not merely have utilitarian values but serves as *“mirrors which reflects our own image”* (Dichter, 2004), very much in line with the theories of e.g. Veblen. In Dichter’s own words: *“In buying a car, they actually buy an extension of their own personality”* (Dichter, 2004).

With regards to what Dichter refers to as “the soul of things”, that is, the deeper meaning of objects and the three levels of the psyche, Dichter would through his research for example argue that a certain shape of a car have a deeper meaning of speed, power and potency embedded in our unconscious and unconventional designs that fail to communicate those particular aspects are doomed as the irrational (and unconscious) factors more than often control our decision-making. Another often-quoted example is that of the cigarette lighter, a relatively simple product, but complex in how its symbolic meaning could be interpreted. When asked, consumers would state that they use lighters simply for their utility value of lighting cigarettes, a display of the conscious level of the psyche. At a deeper level, Dichter proclaims the use of lighters in fact are motivated by a desire of “power and mastery” as fire has deeply rooted symbolic meaning from human history that would admire the man who had

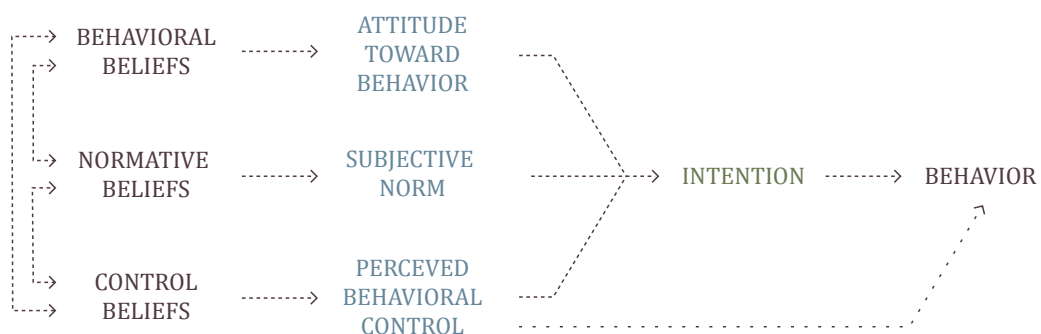


the ability to control fire and make use of it. At the next level, Dichter goes even further and argues that at the unconscious level, usage of the lighter and the flame itself is connected symbolically to human sexuality and potency (Dichter, 2004).

Far-fetched and dubious one might think, but Dichter's theories and usage thereof have been proven useful in understanding human motivation – and for Dichter, also to use that knowledge to persuade consumers to go a certain direction by triggering the unconscious levels of their motivations. In any case, these theories of hidden and unconscious levels of human motivation certainly adds to the complexity of the matter and undoubtedly leads us to be cautious about what consumers often state as their motives for engaging in particular behaviour. In other words, consumers do not necessarily chose Coca-Cola over Pepsi because “it tastes better”.

### 3.2.6 THEORY OF PLANNED BEHAVIOUR

Another approach to explaining the complex process of human behaviour, which is obviously also applicable when studying green consumer patterns, is the so-called “theory of planned behaviour”, developed by Icek Ajzen. This theory is in some aspects similar to the model presented below (Moisander) but puts the notion of *intention* as a central component in the process that ultimately leads up to a given behaviour, and, it recognises that behaviour is also, simply put, shaped by what other people think and expect. Intentions are here defined as a mediator between attitudes and actions and sums up three different motivational aspects, “*attitudes*”, “*subjective norms*” and “*perceived behavioural control*” (Ajzen, 1991).



Model of Ajzen's "Theory of Planned Behaviour"

Attitudes refer to whether an individual holds a “favourable or unfavourable” stance towards a particular behaviour and can be likened to what Moisander (see chapter four) simply calls motivation, - one might e.g. hold an attitude that is favourable to behaviour that does not

damage the environment (Ajzen, 2008). Perceived behavioural control is the “self-efficacy” connected to the behaviour, in other words, ones ability (resources and opportunity) to conduct certain behaviours. Subjective norms, highly relevant for our purpose, is the “perceived social pressure” to engage or not engage in certain behaviours. That is, what a given individual believes is the expected behaviour among its significant others and ones willingness to comply with the same – in other words – a given consumer weights how the signals of a certain behaviour will be received by others.

These three aspects are in turn correlated with an “expectancy-value” model where consumers evaluate a given object, may it be any consumer good- or service, from the attributes the consumer perceive it to have (Ajzen, 2008). Attributes are not to be understood in a stringent manner but can refer to practically any subjective characteristic. Hence, an object is valued on its subjective “attributes” associated with the good, the strength thereof and the consequences one anticipate it will have.

# 4.

## LITERATURE REVIEW- LINKING GREEN CONSUMPTION TO SOCIAL MOTIVES

In the previous chapter I introduced some of the more classic readings on consumption and its applications for social structures as well as a general introduction to consumer behaviour and motivational theory. Although I believe the above is highly relevant I will in the following chapter steer towards factors I deem lie at the very core of the project.

Firstly, I will present a general theory of motivation applied on green consumption and behaviour. This is followed by a literature review of a particular article and research project, which have been essential both in terms of inspiration, choosing and finding relevant theories for this thesis. Finally, I briefly introduce two main theories for which much of the later analysis is based.

### 4.1 MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS OF GREEN CONSUMPTION

There has been relatively little research conducted on the particular motives of consumers whom purchase “green” products and services. Nevertheless, in the article titled “*Motivational Complexity of Green Consumerism*” Johanna Moisander lines out some of the more apparent, “conscious” - if using Ditcher’s terminology, motives often stated by green consumers. Also, and maybe more interesting, she points out a few rather complex moral issues related to the same.

Moisander also recognises that consumer behaviour and the motivation thereof is “purposive”- and goes on to underscore, without going into detail, the aforementioned theory of Dichter, that motivations can be hidden. In her model of motivational process she

distinguishes between “primary motives” and “selective motives” where the first refers to motives to get involved in a certain “class” of behaviour and the second is more specific, the purpose of a particular behaviour. A primary motive might be to get involved in nature preserving behaviour and a selective motive could then be to start recycling bottles. The other factor of which Moisander assumes lead up to certain behaviour relates to ability, which in turn also is twofold. Ability relates to personal resources and “opportunity”, which is largely determined by external factors. For example: is an individual given the opportunity to recycle by having access to recycling stations by the local authorities and does he or she have the resources to get it done, e.g. transportation or time. It is however also often so that consumers will not be motivated for a particular behaviour for which they lack the necessary abilities and vice versa; consumers with a particularly strong motivation might increase their perceived abilities and by doing so, take better control of their behaviour (Moisander, 2007).

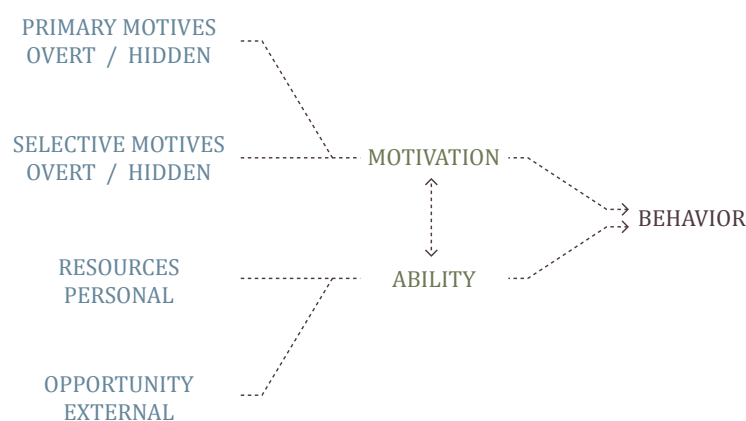


Illustration of Moisander's behavioural process theory

Using the model presented above, Moisander goes on in analysing the rather multifaceted green consumer from each of these elements in the model. The primary motives for green consumption is seemingly not only manifold but also often rather difficult for the individual to evaluate if their objectives are in fact realised through their behaviour. First of, one could argue that consumption at the level we see in our society where convenience is highly valued is not in anyway coherent with a green lifestyle. This somewhat radical approach would demand that consumption is set at a minimum level where only the necessary products would be purchased; a more generous view would allow for purchases of goods that are selected as they are perceived to have a relatively little harmful effect on environment and health. This, of course, leads up to the predicament of defining those consumption tactics that in reality fulfil the objectives sought of having a minimum destructive consequence. Nevertheless, properties

of products and services that consumers often state as highly important to fulfil their objectives include those that are “*not dangerous to the health of people or animals*”, do not cause “*damage to the environment during manufacture, use or disposal*” and so forth (Moisander, 2007) (Hailes, 1990). Again, it is often highly difficult for the individual consumer to evaluate if a particular product has e.g. damaging effects on the environment and it is furthermore true that “the environment” has plentiful of challenging elements for which the consumer have to evaluate and make a prioritisation. A specific product might for instance have a reducing effect on air pollution and at the same time be damaging on local eco systems, it is often a zero-sum game in which the consumer have to make a moral judgment that often also conflicts between both groups and individuals (Hailes, 1990).

The selective motives are in a similar manner also manifold and complex. As “behavioural categories” that are targeted at acting on an overall motive, may it be reducing environmental damage, are again subjects of personal judgement and not at least on personal conception of a specific behaviour. It varies both in terms of *what* particular behaviour that is perceived to be relevant and the *weight* or consequence, of that behaviour (Moisander, 2007). That is, one individual might believe that cutting down on energy usage by commuting by bike is an efficient way of reducing environmental damage and the next one might chose to become a vegetarian as he or she believes that meat production is a heavier load as it demands a disproportionate use of energy in production. This is directly related to the personal resources as in order for what is perceived as a green behaviour to give the sought after effect, the individual should be well informed regarding what specific behaviour that is best suited as well as the trade-offs that it might have (Moisander, 2007). In many cases consumers rely on various labels that are set to indicate a certain property of a product or service, but many such elements are often blurry and knowledge among consumers is to a large degree based on various institutions and NGOs that in many ways disagree on what strategy is the most efficient for a sustainable development.

From the perspective presented and the motivational conflicts it entails, Moisander goes on and argues that green behaviour in fact constitutes a social dilemma, which holds aspects of ethical judgements. Consumption motives are twofold, on the one hand consumers can be motivated by individual goals; and on the other hand, collective matters as long-term aims of e.g. environmental preservation are seen as a motivational factor. This is because the actions of those whom chose to engage in green consumer behaviour ultimately benefit everyone;

even those who fail to conduct such behaviour. That is, in most cases, “the environment” is a public good, e.g. clean-air, which is available and free of charge to all. As such, green consumption could be viewed as an altruistic act. When setting individual motives above those of the collective, and choosing “non-green” alternatives one can maximize the personal aspects. This is a result of, it is argued, that green alternatives requires that one incurs a higher cost – in forms of both time and money and it is therefore tempting to “free-ride” on those who consume in a environmentally friendly manner.

Moisander's theory is interesting as such and probably holds a bit of truth, but it is seemingly also somewhat simplistic as it, even though it recognises that both primary and selective motives are highly diverse, it assumes that in the examples laid forward, motives are rational and “overt”. That is, conscious decisions that are taken in order to reach a concrete goal- e.g. not to harm other individuals or animals or preserving the environment.

## 4.2 THE ORGANIC FOOD CONSUMER

Following the theoretical introduction to motives for green consumption I will in the following section introduce data on what is actually known of the Danish organic food consumer. Several reports put forward by both private consultancy firms and non-profit organisations presents relatively extensive details on the topic. Clearly the data presented is of a more quantitative nature but we will also gain insights on the overt drivers and barriers among consumers. The objective here is to give the reader a brief overview of who the consumer is and why (or not) they seemingly are motivated to purchase organic produce.

In the most recent report put forward by “Økologisk Landsforening”, a Danish organisation and community of organic food producers, related companies and consumers, according to themselves - set to promote and strengthen production and consumption of Danish organic produce, they attempted to map out a number of “organic archetypes”, provide insights to their attitudes, analyse their actual purchasing behaviours and provide for a better understanding between stated attitudes and real behaviour (Økologisk Landsforening & GfK, 2009). The method for the study was shaped so that the above in a reliable way could be answered. A panel of 2,900 Danish households that where deemed to be representative for the Danish population with regards to geographic region, size of household, age, occupation

and primary place of purchases, was established. In order to establish the actual purchasing behaviour of the members of the panel they were asked to keep a weekly diary where they provided for information on parameters of their purchases such as price, quantity, brand, type of product and whether it was organic or not. The data collected from this consumer tracking system was subsequently combined with data from a questionnaire on attitudes towards organic foods. From analysis of the data gathered the study presents five archetypes of Danish consumers; *The Discount-Oriented*, *The Sceptics*, *The Epicurean*, *The Idealist* and *The Comfort-Oriented* (freely translated from Danish). Below I will briefly introduce the archetypes as presented.

**The Discount-Oriented** is the smallest segment and constitutes only 10% of the Danish population. They are in the age group between 20-29, have an income that is slightly below the national average and has a medium long education. They live mainly in the Copenhagen-area, northern Zealand and in the northern parts of Jutland. They consequently go after special offers and plan their shopping accordingly. The main reason for purchasing organic food is to avoid pesticides but the discount-oriented is largely deterred from buying organic due to the higher pricing. Packaging and the aesthetic attributes of products is said to play a significant role in choice of products. This segment buys relatively little organic foods, only 6,4% of their total food consumption is organic which is 11% of the total value of Danish organic produce. The difference between various product categories is however significant. Some products, such as dairy products and oatmeal have an organic share around 40%.

**The Sceptics** is the largest, and continuously growing, segment with 26% of the population. They are in the age groups between 40-49 and 65 and above. They have in general no higher education and an income that is below the national average and are hence very price sensitive. They are sceptical of organic foods and hold beliefs that there is substantial cheating with organic products and that the regulations, for what it takes to be labelled as organic, is not sufficient. Furthermore they believe the “organic movement” is a fad that they largely ignore. Not at least because of the high prices but also because they do not see any incentives in form of superior quality or positive health aspects. This segment has the lowest absolute consumption of organic foods, merely 3,6%, and correspondingly also the lowest relative consumption set at 5%.

**The Epicureans** is a relatively large segment representing 19% of the population. These are households within the age groups between 30-39 without children and those above 50

with no children or one teenage kid. They have an income way above the national average and are relatively highly educated. They mostly live in the Copenhagen area and are seemingly not price-sensitive and tend to go for branded premium goods. They follow the public debate on health-issues and state that they would be driven to a higher consumption of organic foods if there were a scientific case for it. They do however believe that it has a superior quality and a better taste than conventional alternatives and emphasise the importance of avoiding pesticides and buying local products. They mainly buy organic to pamper themselves and their family and for the sake of their own good conscious. The epicureans do purchase a fair amount of organic produce, almost 10% of their total food consumption, which is above the national average and 23% of the value of the organic market. They also have a more even spending across categories.

**The Idealist** is another growing segment that constitutes 20% of the population. They are either smaller households of individuals above the age of 50 or larger household with two or more children. They have a relatively high income, a higher level of education and live in Copenhagen, Zealand or eastern Jutland. They engage in organic consumption partly because of their rather rigid principles -they believe it is better for the climate and environment in general, they are value driven and believe in the societal benefits organic consumption will result in. They also hold attitudes regarding the treatment of animals and fair trade issues. They consider organic food superior in terms of quality, taste and personal health aspects and prefer smaller local producers to other alternatives. The idealists are undoubtedly the drivers of the organic food market in Denmark and accounts for 43% of the total value and almost 16% of the products purchased are organic.

**The Comfort-Oriented** constitute 25% of the Danish population; they are between 30-49 and have one or more younger child in the household. They live in eastern- or southern Jutland and are described as having "traditional" food preferences. They run independent businesses or have a medium level of education and an income in the higher end of the spectrum. They are highly price-sensitive and hold a distrustful attitude towards the regulations of organic foods. They state that they do not have enough knowledge about it and admits that it would make little difference if they were presented to better scientific evidence of health benefits of organic food. The comfort-oriented segment does not believe that organic food is of higher quality but the higher pricing remains the main barrier. Merely 5,9% of their



purchases are of organic character but still contribute with a relatively high value of the total market, set at 18%.

The study and the archetypes presented provides for a solid overview of the different segments' attitudes towards organic food and their actual buying behaviour. Of course, there are other studies on the Danish organic food consumer, although a bit more simplistic, two studies that present data on the quantity of organic consumption by age group show that those between 30-39 have the highest consumption of up to 11,4% (Økologisk Landsforening, 2011) (GfK Consumer Tracking, 2010). It is also worth noting that individuals in the Copenhagen region have a remarkably higher level of organic consumption, 13%, compared to other regions such as the second highest, Zealand at 7,7%, and the lowest which is Western Jutland set at 4,1% (Økologisk Landsforening, 2011). As already noted, the income level does apparently also play an important role even though the level of consumption is not perfectly correlated with a solid economy. The segment with the nations highest income is also the group that consumes most organic food, 11%, whereas the other income groups spans between 6,4%-8,4%. From the data presented, the parameter that could be said to be most significant for the issue at hand is the level of education. Here there is a clear correlation where those with a longer higher education have an average of 21,1% of their total food consumption spent on organic produce whereas those with no higher education has as little as 3,9% (Økologisk Landsforening, 2011). Furthermore, although I have found no quantifiable support for the difference between genders in terms of willingness to purchase organic there are reports of differences when it comes to motives. Men are seemingly more motivated by quality aspects as well as environmental issues whereas women state health aspects and concern for animal treatment as main drivers (Bossen, 2012).

#### **4.2.1 IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION & GREEN DISCOURSE**

The previous chapter gives us an overview of who the organic food consumer is in Denmark, but tells us little about the underlying motives that drives the consumer. No social motives are as such revealed in quantitative studies like the ones presented.

To counterbalance and provide for a more in-depth understanding of the green consumer I will here give a review of a study that attempts to shed light on what various "subject positions" consumers hold towards green consumption, how they might construct those

views and maybe more importantly, how they construct their identities through personal “encounters and translations of the discourses of green consumerism” (Heinonen, 2009).

The study is based on a relatively large set of data where a group of Finnish students were to freely write a text on their thoughts on the topic of “environmentally friendly consumption”, these texts were later narratively analysed from which three main archetypes were constructed. These are seen representative for the subject positions and socially constructed views based on the discourse, as in realities produced by everyday use of signs and languages, of young consumers today. It should be noted that the analysis is based on texts written by individuals in the age group between 16-19 years old and on a more general topic than organic food consumption, which is the main theme in this study. Nonetheless, I believe it effectively can serve as a complement and illustrate the tendencies and attitudes towards organic food consumption.

**“The Antihero”** - *“The world is getting destroyed anyway so I can’t see any point in environmentally friendly behaviour. I live my life in the most convenient and easy way for me. The state of the environment isn’t something I can effect on my own, so I can’t be bothered to work for anything. All of these “you are one of many who can make a difference” and “nobody can be that self-centred” claims don’t move me in one way or the other” – Anonymous*

The narrative analysis reveals “the Antihero” is an archetype of consumers that is seemingly quite aware of the challenges related to environmental issues but does clearly not endorse a view where the individual could be part of the solution. They are hedonistic in their stance towards consumption and look upon the movement of green consumerism with suspicion and view it as a counter-discourse to the society they know where one is expected to consume at a high pace (Bossen, 2012).

**“The Environmental hero”** - *“I personally view environmentally friendly consumption as a long-term activity, which ought to be self-evident to everybody. (...) My family favours organic products as much as possible precisely for their environmental friendliness, but I am afraid that as I move out to study the money issue will force me to choose the more economic option.(...) Environmentally friendly consumption has become the behaviour norm for educated and conscious people(...)” – Henna*

“The Environmental Hero” views green practices as a natural part of the choices made daily by the conscious consumer. They have a good understanding of various challenges and put trust in various “green” product labels that signal some sort of environmental friendliness and

the perceived sciences behind. Simultaneously, the issue of premium pricing on e.g. organic food is problematized but those who are willing to make that financial sacrifice for the greater good (the environment) are regarded as having higher moral standards (Bossen, 2012). “The Environmental Hero” believes that the individual consumer can make a difference and have a responsibility to do so.

**“The Anarchist”** - *“When I’m shopping, I always try to consider what would be most environmentally friendly (...). Environmental factors have been taken more into account in growing organic produce, although creating a product that is completely environmentally friendly is difficult. (...) Buy Nothing Day, aims to get people to pay attention to the uselessness of many of their purchases, and just to concentrate on the essentials such as food...”* - Anna

This narrative of “the Anarchist” is that of a “rebellious consumer” and can be seen as rather radical green discourse, but no less traditional seen in the context. It is certainly an archetype, which is highly conscious and critical about consumption-cultures in general. Globalisation is problematized and multinational corporations vilified. They acknowledge that reliable information on consumables is difficult for the consumer to absorb and have no illusions about what the individual consumer can achieve through his or her consumption but are nevertheless highly committed to various “green” practises and values of the collective greater good (Bossen, 2012).

As mentioned, these archetypes are based on the views of relatively young individuals but is nonetheless argued to be “reflecting existing social facts” as the subject opinions fundamentally are based on cultural resources of various kind that is made available to them through society as a whole (Bossen, 2012). Furthermore, I will argue that there are a number of similarities between the characteristics of these three archetypes and the ones presented above on Danish organic food consumers, e.g. “the Antihero” and “the Sceptics”, which in turn would speak for its validity and applicability and painting a more holistic picture of the organic food consumer.

## 4.3 PRESTIGE SEEKING CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR

In an earlier chapter I have introduced some of the classic thoughts regarding various social aspects of consumption, here I attempt to give a review of aspects that directly related to how

consumers, in various ways, can develop “prestige meanings” for products and consequently build on their social status. According to a study on the subject, prestige-seeking consumer behaviour is best understood as a “*balance between personal and interpersonal oriented motives*” (Vigneron, 2007). Although, the study is mainly focused on luxury and what is defined as “prestige brands” it is, I argue, no less applicable for analysis of other product categories.

In the framework presented there are, as established, two main divisions of prestige related motivation based on “schools of thoughts” that we have touched upon briefly before. On the one hand, it is suggested, that consumers are motivated by prestige that is gained in some sort of social or public context (interpersonal) and on the other hand there is the personal, where “private” and emotional values is attached to what is perceived as prestigious products or brands (Vigneron, 1999) That is to say, “...prestige is created from a multitude of interactions between the consumer and elements within the environment. Prestige-seeking behaviour is the results of multiple motivations, but in particular the motives of sociability and self-expression” (Vigneron, 1999). The “self-consciousness” concept, defined as “the consistent tendency of persons to direct attention inward or outward”, is subsequently used to operationalize the framework. As two types of self-consciousness individuals are recognised; (1) the one that is “particularly concerned about how they appear to others” (Public self-consciousness) and (2) the ones that keep their “inner thoughts and feelings” central for their motivation (Private self-consciousness). It is assumed that various goods have an “inherent communicative status” and the value of prestige as well as motivational factors (May it be personal or interpersonal) varies in accordance with to what extent an individual is impressionable by its social context (Vigneron, 1999).

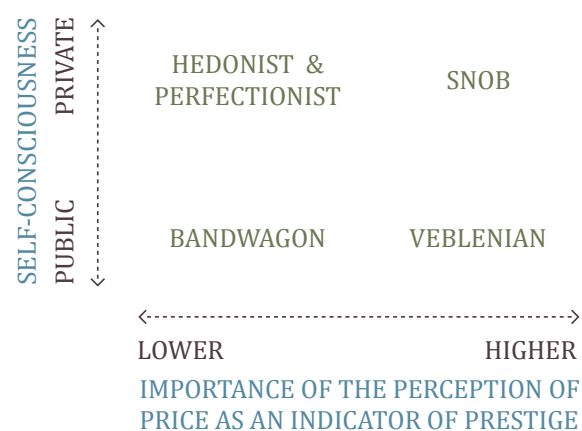


Illustration based on model presented in the article “A Review and a Conceptual Framework of Prestige-Seeking Consumer Behavior” (Vigneron, 1999), showing the relationship between type of self-consciousness and importance of price as an indicator of prestige

The authors goes on and introduces and defines five different “prestige values” that are accompanied by a pre-set motivator. Three of which are of an “interpersonal” character and the last two, consequently, identified as “personal” motivators.

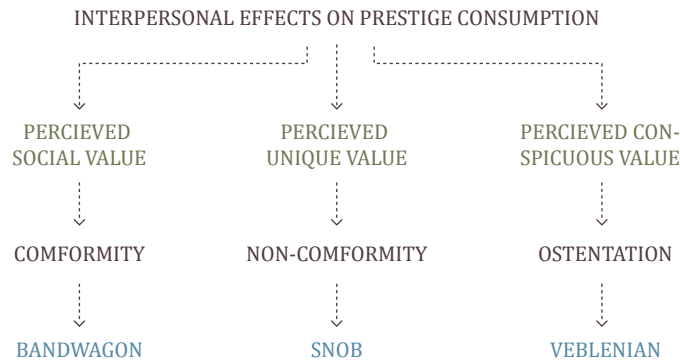


Illustration showing interpersonal prestige effects with their respective pre-set motivators, (Vigneron, 1999)

**The Veblenian Effect** is obviously constructed on the theories of conspicuous consumption as laid forward by Thorstein Veblen, which I have presented in detail in an earlier chapter. That is, products that are consumed in a public context in a conspicuous manner to significant others in order to signal not only wealth but also once social status and power. In other words the Veblenian consumer is mostly interested in impressing others (Vigneron, 1999). The price becomes in significant parameter as it is seen as an “indicator” of both quality and prestige. Although conspicuousness, ever since Veblen’s theory, has been seen as a central aspect of understanding values regarding motivations for consumption of prestige or status led products, it does not explain why people wear luxurious underwear or consume high-end wines at home when no one is there to observe.

**The Snob Effect** is best described as when consumers are motivated by values that are connected to the perceived uniqueness of a product. The snob effect is known in microeconomics as contradicting conventional market forces based on demand related to price (Leibenstein, 1950). Instead, a limited supply of products is what drives this type of consumer. Products that virtually consumed “by the masses” is largely rejected as it losses its value that is derived by its natural or artificial scarcity. Price is here an indicator of “exclusivity” as higher prices in general prevents the larger masses from consuming the product at hand (Vigneron, 1999).

**The Bandwagon Effect** is inherently the opposite of the snob effect; it effectively has the same consequence of boosting the consumer's social status. Price is not the most significant factor for the “bandwagon consumer” but they are instead driven by preferences for products with a high demand within the reference group. Prestige and social status is here derived from the perceived social value, very much like in processes of social emulation, where the consumer can buy entry to “prestige groups” by consuming the same products and brands as the individuals in that particular setting (Vigneron, 1999).

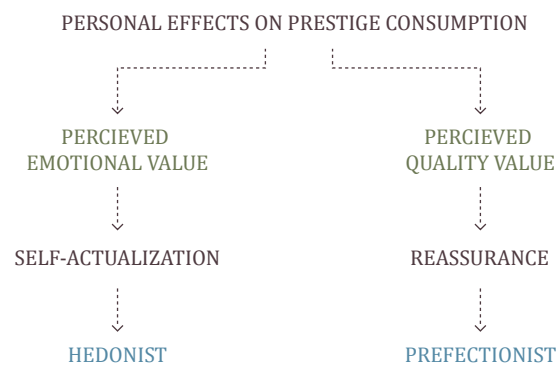


Illustration showing personal prestige effects with their respective pre-set motivators, (Vigneron, 1999)

**The Hedonic Effect** is one of the two personal effects that connected prestige consumption. It is related to the theories of Dichter regarding unconscious motives and that products can possess emotional values. This is to say that the hedonic consumer is motivated to consume prestigious products for their own pleasure that lies above the “perceived utility” of the product, which in turn will “*arouse feelings and affective states*” (Vigneron, 1999). Price is of lesser importance for the hedonist consumer but their own feelings, personal values and the fulfilment thereof, that is self-actualisation and self-respect through consumption of prestigious products.

**The Perfectionist Effect** relates to perceived quality and the value derived thereof. As it is argued, consumers peg the price of a certain product to a heightened quality and superiority and hence also more prestigious product – at a personal value level. That is to say that the “perfectionist” consumer use premium products and pricing as a reassurance for quality and thereby prestige (Vigneron, 1999).

As mentioned, the framework presented above is developed around luxury- and prestige brands, but it serves as an interesting case and provides us with some alternative viewpoints on prestige seeking consumer behaviour that I deem to be equally applicable for the organic

food category and the later analysis. In the following section I will however give a review of “prestige-seeking consumer behaviour” of products that are directly related to organic foods.

#### 4.4 “GOING GREEN TO BE SEEN” AN OVERVIEW

The links between consumption of green products and brands and status motives remain largely unexplored in academia. Yet, there are a few interesting studies in the field and I will here give an account of those presented in the article *“Going Green to Be Seen: Status, Reputation, and Conspicuous Consumption”* by Vladas Griskevicius (Griskevicius, 2010). Griskevicius and his colleagues takes an interest in motives behind various kinds of pro-environmental behaviour and recognise that more rational aspects such as financial incentives certainly can stimulate consumers into “acting green” but argue, based on research presented, that socially oriented motives might be even more compelling (Griskevicius, 2010).

Griskevicius begins his argument based on recent observations (also noted in my introduction) on behaviour regarding consumption of a “utility” product widely know for its high signalling value, a car. In the later half of the first decade of the new millennia, the Japanese car manufacturer Toyota had a great and sudden success on the American market with their premium-priced “Prius” model, a so-called hybrid (Gas/electric) vehicle. Was the success a result of consumers motivated by the fact that the Prius is relatively inexpensive to fuel or possibly the lower emissions, making it a more environmentally friendly alternative? It turns out none of the suggestions above provide for a satisfying explanation of the phenomenon. When asked, a majority of Prius owners stated that main reason for buying the Prius was because it “makes a statement about me”. This was documented in an article in the *New York Times*, where a number of Prius owners had been surveyed on two occasions and in the later the statement aspect was even more apparent. As one Prius owner formulated it *“The Prius allowed you to make a green statement with a car for the first time ever”* (Maynard, 2007). Somewhat perplexing, one might think, that consumers refrain from luxury models but still pay premium merely to state, “that they care”.

It is suggested that self-sacrifice and conspicuous displays of altruism are elemental in building a pro-social reputation and obtain social status (Griskevicius, 2010). In his research projects, Griskevicius conducted three experiments in order to examine how choices are

affected by status motives when choosing between a “relatively luxurious non-green” alternative versus a less luxurious, but “green”, option in a given product category.

In the first experiment, approximately 170 students were to simulate a situation in which they were out shopping for three different products: a car, a household cleaner and a dishwasher. For each of the above mentioned products, they were given two alternatives, one more luxurious “non-green” option and a greener alternative. Prices were set at the same level, manufacturer and brand was the same but they differentiated from each other on aspects of luxury and performance as well as pro-environmental dimensions. Before the simulated shopping situation, experiment participants were divided in two groups and read two different short stories that were closely matched but varied significantly in the way that one was specifically developed to elicit social status motives and prestige. As predicted by the researchers, the choices varied notably between the two groups. Apart from that the likelihood of choosing the “green” product varied between the three different categories, the experiment also clearly showed that status motives caused people to choose the “pro-environmental” option over the more luxurious one. In the group that read the status eliciting short story 54,5% chose the “green” car whereas the figure in the other group ended at 37,2%. Similar patterns were shown on the other products as well where likelihood of buying a household cleaner went from 25,7% to 41,8% and choice of green dishwasher increased from 34,5% to 49,1% for the group that was subject for status triggering circumstances (Griskevicius, 2010).

In the second experiment, after showing that people tended to act in a more pro-social manner when status motives were activated, the researchers wished to investigate whether purchasing decisions were affected by the audience of one's actions. That is, would people be more likely to go for green alternatives when they were shopping in a public space as opposed to when shopping privately? When shopping in conventional stores you will always to some extent interact and communicate with a number of other individuals, may they be salesclerks, cashiers or other customers. In those circumstances, your behaviour and decisions are observable which is much less true when people shop “online”, in the privacy of their respective home.

This experiment was set up in a similar manner as the first one described above. The product categories were altered in order to better fit the circumstances but the same short stories were used before having the participants imagining that they were either shopping in



a store or shopping online from their home. The result of the experiment, maybe as anticipated, showed that people were much more likely to choose green alternatives when shopping in public when status motives was activated whereas the opposite was true when shopping in private. That is, people tended to choose the more luxurious alternatives when shopping in private under the same conditions (Griskevicius, 2010).

In a third experiment, the researchers added pricing to the equation and again conducted a similar study using the short stories. Participants were exposed to three different products, for one group the green alternatives of products were approximately 20% more expensive than the more luxurious option and for the other group, the green option was approximately 20% less expensive. The result here showed that when no status motive was activated, people chose the less expensive alternative – this corresponds with conventional and anticipated economic rational. On the other hand, for the group where the status motives were activated the attractiveness of the green products with a higher pricing increased significantly. That is, in this research it is suggested that green products that are relatively inexpensive might be less desirable as it *“undermines a person's ability to signal his or her wealth via pro-environmental acts”* (Griskevicius, 2010)

Even though a critic might point to the fact that these experiments did not include any cases where consumers actually purchased a particular product it can serve as an interesting introduction to the links between status and altruism, as seen in engaging in purchasing pro-environmental products. This is also very much coherent with the two main theories introduced by Griskevicius, namely “costly signalling theory” and “competitive altruism”.

## 4.5 APPLICABLE THEORY

The quest for social status through consumption has largely been seen from a perspective of luxury, hedonistic activities and other traditional social-differentiators. As exhibited in the review of the article “Going Green to Be Seen” and through the experiments presented, there are seemingly also close links between status and “self-sacrifice” or altruism.

Below I will give a brief account of the theories that constituted the framework for the study presented above and will note that I anticipate that the fundamental ideas will play an important role in later analysis.

#### 4.5.1 COMPETITIVE ALTRUISM- IN BRIEF

*"Competitive is the process through which individuals attempt to outcompete each other in terms of generosity. It emerges because altruism enhances the status and reputation of the giver. Status, in turn, yields benefits that would be otherwise unattainable."* (Vugt, 2006)

Sociologists and anthropologists have observed similar behaviour in various societies and cultures. Individuals competing for social status through an altruistic reputation relative to others: *"competitive altruism"*, as the concept has been called (Griskevicius, 2010). In contemporary society an obvious, and perhaps extreme example, of competitive altruism are the enormous donations by individuals such as Bill Gates and Warren Buffet to various social projects. The generosity of these philanthropists and their *"conspicuously large"* donations, are of course admirable and will hence also benefit the donor by *"reinforcing"* their social status (Boone, 1997). In a comparable manner, similar behaviour and actions have been observed in more *"primitive"* societies. In some Native American tribes, tribal chiefs compete to give away their belongings and whom ever pass on most possessions to others are considered the *"highest standing"* (Griskevicius, 2010).

Altruism, defined as *"...selfless concern for the wellbeing of others"*<sup>3</sup>, has been researched for decades and factors such as empathy, closeness, mood, values *"rewards for helping and costs for not helping"* have been suggested as important aspects in understanding human altruistic behaviour (Vugt, 2006). Other theorist's have tried to explain altruistic behaviour as a result of an individuals attempt to directly benefit oneself or ones kin or that it is expected that the behaviour is reciprocated by the receiver (Vugt, 2006). However, these theories do not sufficiently explain such behaviour when the altruistic act have no direct *"kick-back"* or when the receiver is not within ones immediate social surrounding. It is therefore suggested that *"...altruistic actions are in fact a signal about the altruist's personal qualities."* In an article named *"Nice Guys Finish First: The Competitive Altruism Hypothesis"* a series of experiments where conducted which ultimately also led the researchers to conclude that altruistic members of societies or groups in fact received more status, and hence, could benefit in a often non-material manner from their costly behaviour (Vugt, 2006). Some preconditions are nevertheless set in order for the above to be true. Again, the action must be costly. The action

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<sup>3</sup> New Oxford American Dictionary

must be observable by others and the signal sent by the altruist must be a somewhat “reliable” measure of a specific trait such as e.g. wealth, healthy lifestyle or social consciousness.

As with the example with the Toyota Prius, which serves as modern case, where consumers proclaimed that one of the main reasons for their choice of vehicle was the signalling-value. They are trying to convey the message of them being more socially conscious and altruistic than others – it is seemingly not by any means a new and unique phenomenon but it seems to be well correlate with the competitive altruism theory explained above.

#### 4.5.2 COSTLY SIGNALLING IN BRIEF

*“Waste can make sense, because by wasting one proves conclusively that one have enough assets to waste and more. The investment – the waste itself – is just what makes the advertisement reliable” (Zahavi, 1997).*

Related to the above mentioned is the theory of costly signalling, stemming from studies made in the field of behavioural ecology and observations conducted in the animal kingdom. In particular, it has been reported to be convincingly demonstrated by decades of observations of a specific species of a “social birds”, the Arabian-Babbler. The Arabian-Babbler competes with its peers in order to become the group’s guardian, a task that naturally puts that individual babbler at higher-risk. The benefit of this rather selfless deed is for the Babbler, a higher status within the group and consequently becoming more attractive to mates. There are numerous other examples of animals that “handicaps” themselves by acting altruistically, not only to benefit its in-group or kin, but to boosts its own prestige and to signal status to significant others (Zahavi, 1997). Needless to say, social systems among humans are far more complex. Nevertheless, there are arguably also some guiding principles and several similarities and mechanisms of communication and social behaviour that resembles those of e.g. the Arabian-Babblers (Zahavi, 1997) (Griskevicius, 2010). Central for this theory of “costly signalling” is that by acting altruistically, one do not only signal that one is pro-social but at the same time also that one has the sufficient resources – may it be time, energy, knowledge or money - to “waste” in such a selfless manner.

Of course, altruism, as defined above, can take countless shapes. It is not solely the more obvious cases with gift giving and philanthropy, but given the costly signalling theory and links between social-status and selflessness, it is not far fetched to suggest that there might be

a relationship between costly environmental concern, such as purchasing of “green” products, e.g. organic food, and motives to attain prestige and status.

## 4.6 FINAL NOTE ON PRESENTED THEORIES & LITERATURE

### REVIEW

In chapter three and four I have laid out the theoretic framework for the study. In the initial phase I have presented classic theories that deal with the constructed values of objects, goods and products and the effects on social relationships that are derived from consumption of the same. The theories of “conspicuous consumption” as well as “distinction” which underscore the importance of the signalling values that is attributed to products at a certain level and how consumer goods serve as important indicator of social belonging – as argued by Bourdieu, should serve as central confirmation of how values of products seemingly shape our behaviour as consumers. This, accompanied by the recent research presented in the article “Going Green to be Seen” where evidence is offered for the relations between “pro-environmental” or “green” consumption and social status and prestige, leads me to the supposition that; alongside other possible motives, consumers are at least to some degree driven to purchase various organic food products because of their signalling value and the perceived social status and prestige they believe they will attain.

From the study of general consumer behaviour theories as well as the most recent and available studies and reports on the Danish organic food consumer we can determine that consumers vary a great deal not only in level of consumption but also when it comes to the stated motives for organic food consumption. This leads me to predict the following; Given the different known segments and “archetypes” of consumers, the level of detectable status or prestige seeking motives will vary accordingly or in relation to other un-known variables.

Finally, given the presented theories of “prestige seeking behaviour” where it has been suggested that consumers construct prestige meanings from their consumption in various ways. Partly in so-called interpersonal contexts, similar to e.g. the conspicuous consumption theory, but also in strictly personal circumstances. It can hence be assumed that not only will different sub-groups vary in the level of prestige seeking in their respective organic consumption, but also that the ways in which they are constructed will vary.

# 5.

## EMPIRICAL STUDY

This chapter should serve as a forerunner to the following analysis and I'm here introducing the empirical study, that is, the data collection as well the numerous related factors and considerations, such as sample and construction of interview guide, that have come to shape the outcome of the study. Firstly I aim to give the reader a detailed overview of the data collection and here after present the ways in which it has been processed and prepared for the later analysis.

### 5.1 PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION

Clearly the design of data collection is essential for a successful research project. The data collection and method chosen can here be seen as both "*practical tools for the analysis of the empirical data and as frameworks for engaging in empirical analysis for data*" (Eriksson, 2008), meaning that the collection of data and the actual analysis is entwined.

Although a combination alternative, known as "mixed method", was considered, the empirical data collection of this study is qualitative in nature. Needless to say, a quantitative method would have obvious shortcomings for the study, which requires a deeper understanding of human behaviour and the underlying motives thereof. The method of choice here has been face-to-face, semi-structured interviews as I have sought to have the interviewees reveal as much of their personal viewpoints and feelings as possible. As the issue under study is related to the behaviour, feelings, values and motivations of "consumers", although specifically within a particular geographic area and age group, the concept of a consumer remains rather vague. Anyone or everyone, fulfilling the pre-set demographic criterion is, broadly speaking, a "consumer" and to be more precise, a consumer or potential

consumer of organic products. Below I provide for more detailed account for how the interviewees have come to be chosen.

I will also note that a round of so called “expert interviews” was considered in order to establish relevant background information and to examine whether social motives were a factor considered by practitioners in the industry, but eventually abandoned as it was deemed redundant for the core of the study.

## 5.2 CONSUMER INTERVIEWS & SAMPLE

The total number of consumer interviews conducted for the study amounts to twelve. These twelve interviewees consequently constitute the sample, the subset of individuals from the population from which I’m forming my analysis and inferences. The size of the sample is of course a matter of debate but I considered twelve satisfactory as I, at this point, began to recognize certain patterns in the answers given by the interviewees.

The sampling strategy chosen is that of a “convenience sample”, meaning that not all members of the total population have had a fair chance of being recruited for interview. In contrast, respondents have been chosen on the basis of my personal judgement of fit for the purpose and availability. That said, the extent to which the sample can be said to be representative of the total population, disregarding the size is, at best, unknown. This is obviously not intended in non-probability samples used in exploratory qualitative studies such as this one (Lewis, 2003). The selection of interviewees is based on a purposive approach that is centred on a number of pre-set criteria that is crucial for exploration of the theme and study at hand. Naturally, a part from the criterion dictated by the research question (mainly socio-demographic characteristics), I have set up a few other conditions among the possible respondents in order to secure a minimum level of involvement in the field. I strived for a balance with regards to sex, level of education as well as annual income - factors that are known from other studies (presented in chapter four) to be relevant for the subject at hand. Obviously, not all of that information has been available to me before the recruitment. Further, only those potential interviewees that had purchased at least one organic food product within the last two weeks were regarded as suitable for part taking in the study. Although this have been the minimum requirement, I have attempted to strike a balance between those whom have a higher purchasing frequency and those who fulfil the bare minimum to participate. The sampling strategy can thus be described as a “Stratified purposive sampling”, explained as “a

*hybrid approach in which the aim is to select groups that display variation on a particular phenomena but each is fairly homogeneous, so that subgroups can be compared*" (Lewis, 2003). This strategy is adopted after a review of relevant literature and studies that revealed significant differences among various "archetypes" of consumers and it was consequently deemed important to attempt to cover both sub-groups with a relatively high- and relatively low level of organic consumption. Concisely, the criteria and conditions that were strived for in the sample are the following:

- The respondents must be within the age group 20-35 years of age.
- The respondents must live within the greater Copenhagen area.
- The respondents must have purchased at least one organic food product within the last two weeks, counting from the day of the interview.
- I strived for a balance with regard to gender.
- I strived for a balance with regards to level of education and income level.
- I strived for a balance between those with higher- and lower level of organic consumption.

Again, I want to note that some of these criteria, primarily the one that dictates the age group and the geographic area, will have notable consequences for the outcome. It is presumed by the researcher that younger individuals in larger urban areas, such as Copenhagen, are more influenced by its social environment and more probable to adopt trends, more exposed to various lifestyles and also more affected by social structures.

As can be expected when adopting the convenience sample strategy, a number of factors can be said to be "unbalanced". For example there was a slight overrepresentation of male respondents and overall a higher level of education than what can be said to be representative for the entire population. Although a certain level of representation has been aimed for, it is not here seen as a predicament as it in fact is an exploratory study with the ambition of creating a general understanding of a social phenomenon without necessarily having representative results. More detailed information about the sample is presented in the initial part of the analysis.

The interviews were conducted face-to-face following a pre-made, and tested, interview guideline. All interviews were carried out by me and in a setting chosen by the interviewee. This was of course both a matter of practicality and strategic choice, as I wanted to have each

respondent in a comfortable environment and situation in the time of the interview. A majority of the interviews were hence carried out in the residences of the respective interviewee. Also, each of the interviews were recorded and the respondents were promised anonymity in order secure that none would feel intimidated by the risk that any of their personal beliefs and behaviours would be made public in any way. This being the case, no names are disclosed and instead each individual and given a coded title: "X" for male, "Y" for female, and a number with no particular meaning. All interviewees are thus referred to from here on with their coded-title.

### 5.3 DESIGN & CREATION OF INTERVIEW GUIDE

Notwithstanding the choice of a semi-structured interview as my primary method for this study, which per definition is more "loose" and gives me the opportunity to "*vary wording and order of questions*" (Kvale, 1996), I developed an interview guide that was set to guarantee that I would cover all the necessary themes. The initial set of questions is set to get the interviewee comfortable and for me to try to establish their socio-demographic belonging as well as their general shopping habits and attitudes towards food and dinning. In the following section I have attempted to probe into the respondents level of organic food consumption, purchasing behaviour, their motives as well as barriers and overall understanding of the field. The later parts are correspondingly divided into themes based on the theories presented as well as other background information. In practise, examples of these theoretical themes include that of "Consumer Involvement", "Veblenian Effects" and "Conspicuous Consumption", "Snob Effects" and "Distinction" as well as theories of personal prestige effects. I here seek to dig into the psychological structures and processes of thought of the respective consumer, which lie at the core of the study.

Although I have prepared a number of questions, they have been altered to fit into each particular conversation and followed up by both counter- and probing questions. In this later part which intended to uncover the social aspects of the consumers buying behaviour, more direct questions are combined with a number of fictional situations where I attempt to have the respondents reveal their inner thoughts and attitudes of both their own and other individuals behaviour. Overall, I have done my outmost to keep a conversational at an



informal tone during the interview, letting the respondent to a certain degree wander off to other important and related topics but still trying to cover all the pre-set themes.

## 5.4 DATA PROCESSING

After conducting the twelve interviews, each and every recording was transcribed to set in place the raw material for the subsequent analysis and interpretation. As the interviews all were performed in Danish, they were directly translated to English. It has been my intention to accomplish an as accurate translation as possible but I'm equally aware of the inherited quandaries that this sort of transformation of data might cause. In a few cases where no exact translation of particular wording have been established, I have left the Danish wording along side the translated word and are in these few cases to be found in the transcriptions in brackets. Further, as this is neither a study of linguistics nor a conversational analysis, the strictness of which I have transcribed the audio files has not been exaggerated. The essential content of the interviewees has been captured while I have done my outmost to also apprehend various breaks and ends of sentences etc., the spoken word and ways in which individuals express themselves are evidently different from the written language. Nevertheless, the transcriptions are deemed as accurate and reasonable as required to perform the research at hand. Further, in order to facilitate navigation amongst the various themes in the analysis all transcriptions were fitted into the template made for the interview guide.

Following the completion of the interviews and the transcription of the same, a thorough process of interpretation and categorization of the data was carried out. As the aim is to reduce the full text and excluding passages of lesser interest for the analysis, various coding strategies were implemented. Firstly, all quantifiable measures, such as socio-economic and socio-demographic parameters, as well as level of organic consumption were numerically or colour coded in order to facilitate a brief analysis and presentation of sample as well as effortlessly determine any potential correlations as well as in order to establish sub-groups within the sample, mainly on the basis of level of organic consumption. This is naturally done on the basis on what is known from previous studies regarding differences in motives of consumption in different sub-groups and on the assumption that there will be various perspectives and views on the research topic. Secondly, the text was read through

systematically several times while at the same time using a so called “open coding” procedure and identifying recurrent expressions and concepts with particular meanings and naturally of relation to phenomenon that is deemed relevant for the research question (Flick, 2002). Following this, the identified, and now coded concepts and expressions were further refined and differences as well as patterns were noted as to explain and define the codes. In general, the coding process was facilitated by the fact that the transcriptions and the interviews are divided into categories based on the relevant theories. In practise, the coding was carried out by colouring central passages on printed hard copies of each transcription, which also left place for notes that in turn were helpful in navigation when conducting the analysis.

To a certain degree, the categories lifted out in this process do correspond with the theoretically based themes from the interview guide, but it is not to be understood as I have systematically followed that logic. In many cases, of course, there are highly interesting and significant categories found in the empirical data that were not contemplated in advance, or at least not seen as major factor before conducting the interviews.

## 5.5 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

As mentioned, the collection of data and the actual analysis, including the data processing, is in many ways entangled and should hence be seen as parts of the same procedure. Nonetheless, it is necessary to provide for a more detailed argumentation for my choice of method -how it was practically executed and to consider possible limitations of the same. Among other thinkable alternatives of qualitative methods for analysis of textual material, the method of “content analysis” stood as a given choice and most suitable to successfully uncover meanings from the empirical data. Obviously, and as the name might reveal, the qualitative content analysis method deals with the “core content” of what has been communicated by the respondent and solidified in the textual transcriptions. The main feature of the content analysis is the use of different kinds of categories and in most cases, as well as in this instance, these categories are originated from applicable theory (Flick, 2002). This has been true from the initial phase where the interview guide was developed, through the processing and coding of the material, and finally in the content analysis. In other words, the categories, or themes, are largely deductively applied and brought to the empirical data in a relatively systematic manner through the coding structure. Evidently, the theoretical themes are fairly rigid and it

is not so that the data collected is always perfectly fitted with the same, therefore coded passages and themes are frequently assessed and critically discussed in the way it can be understood with relation to a given theory. It is however suggested that there are “differentiated levels of content”, where the main categories and points that are taken out are seen as “primary content” and the context from which these themes have been extracted is seen as “latent content” (Mayring, 2000). In many cases the so-called latent content is well described before dealing with the various themes. This could e.g. be a description of the questions posed to the respondents are paraphrasing the general tendencies observed of the communicated themes.

The main objective and advantage of the qualitative content analysis is that it allows for a substantial reduction of extensive material, in this case, twelve transcribed interviews of approximately 125 pages of text, while still keeping the (for the study at hand) most important passages central for the analysis and for all significant inferences. I want to note that I have been well aware of the conceivably weak points of the methods where the categorisation is fundamentally “external” to the actual data and that the points of departure might distort the definite content of what has been communicated. That said, the utmost has been done to avoid any sorts of “forced” implications and I have more than often provided a number of quotes on the same topics, not at least to underscore how similar and recurrent some particular issues have been.

To conclude, it is my intention that this detailed descriptions of choices made in the process of collecting and analysing the empirical material, should make things more transparent to the reader and thus also more reliable. Further, it should also facilitate the reading of the analysis in the following chapter.

# 6.

## QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

In this chapter, considered the central part of the actual study, I will present the outcome of the data collection, the face-to-face interviews and the processing thereof, which I have described above. Firstly I will provide for a more detailed description and analysis of the sample, both in socio-demographic terms but also with regards to their personal purchasing behaviour in general. The following analysis is divided into sections based on various theoretical themes and observed categories.

### 6.1 PRESENTATION OF SAMPLE

The sample size amounts to, as mentioned, twelve. I am first presenting the more quantitative measures followed by a brief analysis of their stated purchasing behaviour.

The balance between male and female interviewees is relatively equal but with slightly more men (seven out of the twelve) than women. The age spans from 26-33 with an average of 28,2, which I consider a fairly good representation of the age group that I have set out to study. With regards to civil status, the sample showed an equal amount of singles and individuals in a relationship (five out of twelve) the remaining where either divorced or in a relationship with children. Further, the respondents of the sample lived in relatively small households with an average of 1,75 people.

When it comes to level of education, which has been proved to be an influential factor for organic food consumption (Økologisk Landsforening & GfK, 2009), the individuals in the sample is on a relatively high level. Although detailed information on the average level of education in the Copenhagen area has not been found, it is assumed that it is substantially

below the level of the sample where 41,7% had completed an academic masters degree and as many had accomplished an academic bachelors degree. The remaining respondents had completed high school or a lower secondary education. The income level in the sample is most likely below the average, this could in part be explained by that one third were still students. 50% of the respondents declared that they had an annual income level between 100.000-250.000 Dkk, 25% stated an income between 250.000-400.000 Dkk, 16,7% where in the in the lower end with an income between 0-100.000 Dkk and the remaining in the higher-end between 400.000-600.000 Dkk.

In order to try to establish the respondents level of organic consumption they were all asked how many, out of ten products they purchase, that are organic, defined as “certified organic products”. The results where quite diverse but no less surprising in relation to previous studies that have been presented in chapter four. The number of organic products that the sample stated to be purchased, out of the total quantity of groceries, amounted to an average of 43%. This figure is well above the group, or “archetype”, with the highest level of organic consumption in the study referred to above where the average was listed at 15,8% (Økologisk Landsforening & GfK, 2009). In this study, of course, it was a measure of the actual purchases and not as it is in my study, the stated purchases, which is both important and curious to note. As mentioned, the level of stated organic consumption is quite assorted among the respondents and it is difficult to make any clear distinctions based on that factor alone. I will however, in later analysis related to the more social aspects, divide the sample into groups of those with a “higher organic consumption” and those with a “lower organic consumption”, in cases where stronger patterns can be identified.

As I have transformed factors of gender, level of education as well as annual income level to numeric codes, I will also provide a few statistic measures and notes on these variables and the relationship with the level of organic consumption. I have used available software to calculate the possible relationships by the means of a correlation coefficient, although some relationships have been made obvious through earlier use of colour coding. In the sample the female respondents have a notably higher level of organic consumption (average of 60%) than their male counterparts (average of 34%). The correlation coefficient between these two measures, gender and level of organic consumption, is 0,59 and can consequently be established as a relatively clear correlation. With regards to both level of education and annual income level, which both have been stated to be factors of pronounced importance for

purchasing behaviours of organic produce (Økologisk Landsforening & GfK, 2009) my sample showed no relationship of these measures. In fact, they both displayed an inverse relationship. Again, using the correlation coefficient, it offered a negative value of -0,37 in the relationship between level of education and the measures of organic consumption and -0,11 in the correlation between annual income level and level of organic consumption. Here one should again be aware of the rather small sample of the study and note that there is a good chance that these are nothing but coincidental results and that the other studies (Økologisk Landsforening & GfK, 2009) with samples sizes in the thousands provide a more accurate and representative result.

Concerning the general shopping habits, the respondents stated that they purchase groceries in average 4,2 times a week. A clear majority do their daily shopping in one of the so-called “discount” supermarkets such as Netto, Fakta or Rema1000. Although respondents to a large degree seem to be mostly driven by a convenience factor in choice of supermarket, many also state that the pricing is a motivating trait - as the following quote effectively sums up “(...) *it is cheap and it is close to where I live*” (X6). The few whom stated that they would primarily or exclusively purchase their groceries in what could be considered more “up-scale” supermarkets, mainly Irma, are to some degree also driven by convenience but essentially a perception of better quality and service (X4), (X7). Apart from an active choice of supermarket, there seem to be little planning of grocery shopping. The sample appear to be making most purchases simply by routine, impulse or in order to complement with products needed for cooking a specific dish. Further, a clear majority of the respondents stated, when asked, that they do not pay any attention to “door-to-door distributed leaflets” (*tilbudssaviser*) and can therefore not be said to be tempted to choose another supermarket in order to make what could be perceived to be “a good deal”. Nonetheless, many are often attracted by offers and discounts while in the supermarket of choice. A majority of the respondents are more aware of the prices and are to a larger extent controlled in their selection process by a lower price. This group was also quite good in responding to questions about prices of a few basic commodities whereas another group expressed a lot more doubt. The same group of individuals, about 25% of the sample, also quite clearly stated that they were not price sensitive at all (X2), (Y2), and even expressed some level of regret over the realization that they fail to control their spending – “*I’m afraid I don’t look at the prices, I try to, but it’s not going that well(...)*” (Y2).

When asked how they relate to brands in their grocery shopping there was in general an ambivalent take on the matter. Some stated, e.g. (X5), (X3), (Y4), that it was dependent on what category of products they were purchasing. It would seemingly be of higher importance in categories that demands “*some sort of freshness*” whereas in categories considered to be more basic, some respondents answered that they would be more inclined to purchase the supermarkets cheaper “private-brands” (X5). A number of respondents answered at first though that they were indifferent towards brands but later revealed that they often sought various traits, very much in-line with the “Expectancy Value” model discussed above (Ajzen, 2008), in their products and could through their knowledge of brands better navigate and make more informed decisions, by selecting or rejecting certain brands (X4), (X2) (Y5), (Y1). Others expressed that brands for them was a source of “trust” or vice versa, the lack of a known brand was said to be a potential cause of distrust or scepticism (X6), (Y3).

An overwhelming majority of the respondent express a distinct and genuine interest in both foods and cooking. Many voiced that it is central in their strive for maintaining a healthy lifestyle and that it is essential in both their social life and that it is vital for their general well-being – “(...) *it means a lot, both because it is important but also I believe it gives me a certain quality of life - to eat good food!*” (Y5). Some go even further and express that food is incarnated in their philosophy of life and holds stronger idealistic beliefs regarding foods and the related issues, more about this below (X2). A few respondents are however more dubious on the matter – “*I eat to live, I don't live to eat*” (Y1) or state that efforts on these issues suffer due to lack of time (Y2).

## 6.2 ANALYSING ORGANIC FOOD CONSUMPTION

In this following section I am probing deeper into the empirical material collected. Relevant theories are applied and brought to the empirical data divided into categories as an integrated part of the analysis. It is not my intention to treat each case, that is, each text (transcribed interview) but rather to analyse the patterns in various categories that are directly or indirectly derived from the theories presented.

### 6.2.1 INVOLVEMENT

As I in the above have accounted for the more quantifiable measures of the sample, I am here continuing with an analysis of the numerous parameters that are essential in understanding the social construct that shapes the motivations behind organic food consumption. As I have mentioned, the notion of consumer involvement is not only highly important with regards to understanding motivation (may it be overt or hidden) and multifaceted in the ways it can be understood. Therefore, it is also complex to analyse –“*no single indicator of involvement could satisfactorily describe, explain, or predict involvement*” (Kafpferer, 1985), nonetheless, I attempt to scrutinize the level of involvement among the consumers in the sample and it will be done in a manner where the definition of the notion is fitted to my purpose, regardless of other possible concepts it might be related to in other practises or studies.

As mentioned in chapter four, one of the factors that can be analysed as a parameter of consumer involvement is information search. That is, to what degree are consumers in this case willing to invest time and resources to collect information about organic food and the effects thereof? I consider this an essential factor in understanding whether consumers in this case actually make what they believe are “informed decisions” or if they are merely based on loosely held beliefs. The respondents were asked straight out if they had actively or passively collected any information about organic foods in recent times. The result from the sample here was quite unison –no, the respondents are not very active in information search. In fact, none of the respondents replied that they had actively studied or looked up issues relating to organic food. Many, however, stated that in cases where they were presented for information in the mainstream medias or through casual discussions with friends or family obtain a bit of information (Y1), (Y3) (X4) (Y2). A single respondent aired that this, that is, the lack of personal engagement and information search might be a problem “*(...) everything I know about organic products is things that I have snapped up here and there. I never actively looked it up, which means that many of my opinions are just based on what others might have told me! So, I suppose... There is a chance that it is incorrect!*” (X5). In general there was on this issue a tendency among the interviewees that they felt that it was not their responsibility to actively seek information. Another respondent argued that all the relevant information should be visible on the packages of the products although she voiced certain distrust towards the industry. The experienced lack of transparency called for higher authorities to “control” the matters in questions, it was argued (Y1). In sum, I will conclude that the sample, although interested, are



not involved in the sense that would go to greater lengths to satisfy their curiosity through active collection of relevant information.

Again, what I have presented above is merely one, and perhaps the most simplistic, definition of consumer involvement. When analysing other aspects, the outcome is apparently a bit more diverse and possibly also a bit more expressive. Keeping in mind that we are here talking about a motivational construct, another way of making sense of consumer involvement is where it is seen as an enduring process or being of a more situational character. As mentioned, I believe there is a clear pattern in the motives for those whom have a more enduring involvement and those for which the level of involvement is situational.

For a relatively large number of the respondents engagement in organic food consumption was a matter of personally held values and beliefs. That is to say that they have an enduring- and emotional involvement that for various reasons kept them consuming organic food produce at a more consistent level and therefore naturally had a higher level of consumption than the average. Values and beliefs are in this case often related to personal health parameters, general concern for both local and global environmental issues or treatment of animals. I will describe these stated motives in more detail below but will here note, although these three aspects might all lead to an enduring and emotional involvement in the category of organic foods, that the way I interpret the underlying motives, they can be distinguished since e.g. health aspects are arguable strictly personal whereas motives related to environmental- as well as animal concern have an element of unselfishness, or altruism if you will, built into it.

On the other side of the spectrum there are those whose involvement is more conditional. That is to say, these individuals do not necessarily hold any deeper beliefs about organic foods but consume mainly in specific situations. This situational involvement is clearly linked to circumstances where the individual perceives a certain risk with not engaging in organic consumption – or rather, were they clearly can see an advantage of doing so (Kafpferer, 1985). This is usually in situations when these consumers know that significant others will identify what they are buying (X1), (X3), (Y3). Typically when they have invited people over for dinner: -*“I would be more prone to buy organic in situations where I’m having guests, friends or family, (...)”* (X3). Or as another respondent reveals while at the same time hinting that it not something that he normally would admit – *“It is not something that you would say out loud, but, I’ll give you an example: I got this friend of mine who is really into it, (talking about organic food) and I*

*would certainly be more inclined to buy it for her (...) Since she cares about it, I would feel that I have to do it"* (X1). This exemplifies how situational involvement is triggered under certain conditions where I consider the consumers in these cases to be motivated by a wish to maintain a certain image or send certain signals. The consumers in my sample that show such tendencies are also those with a general consumption level of organic food that is below the average. This unmistakably demonstrates that, while there are numerous facets of involvement, it is a motivating variable with obvious consequences for purchasing behaviour. Patterns that I at this point can identify is that those consumer which seemingly have a more situational involvement with organic foods, are also those with a relatively low level of consumption and there involvement and consumption is clearly linked to social motives. Undoubtedly, these are motives associated to prestige and social status, or if nothing else, an effort to "keep up with the Joneses". To use the theoretical framework, we can here talk about a prestige seeking consumer behaviour of a "Veblenian" character, as these consumers' motives are set in motion in an interpersonal context. To put it bluntly, they are primarily out to impress significant others (Vigneron, 1999).

## 6.2.2 MOTIVATION DRIVERS AND BARRIERS

Proceeding, in the following section analysing the needs and wants as well as the motivational process that ultimately shape the various behaviours. Again, this is done using the theories in earlier chapters while in this case primarily using Ajzen's "Theory of planned Behaviour" and Moisander's model which should facilitate and understanding of behaviour of the individuals in our sample.

Moisander's model (as presented above) is a process where behaviour in large is shaped by two main parameters:

- Motivation (Primary and Selective)
- Ability (Resources and Opportunity)

Although I consider the social aspect to be largely neglected in Moisander's model, it can effectively serve as decent point of departure in the analysis of the behavioural process. Firstly, because I have in my empirical data collection deliberately sought to cover these variables but also because I trust that these more overt drivers should serve as important

fundament in understanding what I call the social aspects.

The interviewees were all asked to share their thoughts on why they were driven to choose organic foods over a conventional alternative. As expected, the answers were quite diverse but nonetheless with some clear patterns. Four main motivators were identified among the respondents, they are known from other reports presented above (Økologisk Landsforening & GfK, 2009) but does not necessarily follow the same logic and are often combined in various ways. These stated drivers are:

- Personal health concerns
- Animal welfare
- Global and local environmental and sustainability concerns
- Personal taste preferences

These concerns in forms of stated motivators for organic food consumption do naturally come out in numerous ways and profundity. The most common of these overt motives were personal health concerns. Nine out of the twelve respondents expressed in some way or another that they were at least partly driven by this. The respondents commonly refer to stories about various unknown substances that they believe are used in conventional food production – which they hence avoid by consuming organic produce, e.g. (X1) (X6) (X7). For others it is seemingly a part of a greater scheme of a general healthy lifestyle and concern for their own wellbeing – *“Partly, it is the wish to live a healthy life! Clearly that is an important factor in... Well, there is plenty of literature on, and scenarios that shows, that organic food is healthier”* (X4). The perceived health advantages does also, for some, arouse personal and positive feelings – *“All these chemicals that are used (speaking about conventional products) I really don’t think we know what effects they have on us humans. It’s not that I’m afraid of eating non-organic products, I do that as well. But, there is something there, it just feels good!”* (Y4). This demonstrates that consumers to some degree also are motivated to satisfy so called “hedonic” needs, which arguably can be linked to a “prestige seeking” (*The Hedonic Effect*) consumer behaviour of personal character, as described above (Vigneron, 1999). This is to say that although one would think that personal health concerns are largely personal they might very well have underlying prestigious signalling values. Previous studies have explicitly shown that those who consume healthy- and what is considered “good” food are conceived as having a superior “social appeal” (Wänke, 2009). That is, those who have a healthy diet are regarded as having numerous positive traits such as for example being *“...more physically attractive, more likeable, and more moral”* (Vartanian, Herman, & Polivy, 2006)

Close to 70% of the respondents voiced that their organic food consumption was in some way driven by environmental concerns. Here is seemingly a clear pattern between the group with a higher level of organic food consumption (defined as “above average”) whom all expressed in various ways how they were affected by environmental issues related to their consumption. It is often seen as a moral standpoint where the consumer to some degree believes that their personal consumption can help make *“the world be a better place”* (X7). In essence, these consumers believe that their choice of organic foods over conventional alternatives will have long-term consequences for the wellbeing of others. *“I hope that I can support a philosophy that can make our world a better place further down the road”* (Y1), as one respondent puts it while further arguing that her support of the “organic movement” will help minimize various hazardous effects on the global environment and nature. These unselfish and “admirable” thoughts are shared and clearly expressed by others e.g. (Y5), (Y3), (X2) and I will argue that it has clear links to the theory of competitive altruism as well as costly signalling, as presented in an earlier chapter in further analysed below.

There is however also those who express a degree of scepticism and/or disregard of environmental issues as a possible encouraging effect of organic food consumption. These are in general individuals with a lower level of organic food consumption and a more situational involvement in the category. *“I understand the environmental issues, but it is nothing that I think about when I’m out shopping. Sometimes when I read an article on the subject, but not even close when I’m out shopping...”* (X3); *“Regarding environmental issues – I don’t know that I’m convinced that if I buy organic products I’m contributing to a decrease in environmental load”* (X6). There is hence an unmistakable difference in beliefs concerning the consequences of organic consumption on the environment and one of the respondents goes even further and voice that it might even have negative effects: *“It is something that I have heard about in different places – the more people that eat organic, that is, the more conventional agriculture that is turned into organic production, the less food is actually produced (...) So, I think it can lead to a, shall we call it a more hard-core way of taking advantage, and, I don’t know, I’m sure there are some hungry kids in Africa that no longer can afford things because it gets more expensive... and I don’t know, it’s not connected to the environment, but no, I don’t really believe in that aspect of organic foods”* (X1). This chain of thoughts are evidence of a perception of organic food as a egoistic choice and not something that has an altruistic aspect, again, this is in contrast to what a majority of the respondents see things and particularly those with a an enduring involvement in the category.

Seven out of the twelve interviewees also expressed that concern for the treatment of animals in food production played an important role in their choice of organic products. There are however no apparent patterns with regards to the level of consumption. Needless to say, this issue is only relating to animal based foodstuffs, dairy – and meat products. In particular everyday and staple products such as eggs and milk are often mentioned as categories where the organic origin seem to be of extra importance, e.g. (X6), (Y3), (Y1). The argument goes that the conventional food production companies is overstepping the consumers ethics of how ruthless one should be able to treat animals merely for the purpose of producing food, e.g. (X2). These modern production methods have through popular media been exposed as immoral and is frowned upon and often even viewed with loathing; *“I don’t eat that much meat, but things, like eggs,(...) I would never buy eggs that are not organic! I think it’s completely absurd the ways in which animals are treated”* (Y5). This quote also underlines another tendency that is apparent, although not that widespread, that consumers on a more general level are limiting, or even end, their meat consumption partly also due to these sort of concerns, e.g. (X2), (X4).

The last stated driver I will comment on is that of “taste”. What is interesting here is that only two of the respondents refer to this parameter as a motivating factor of their organic consumption, (X6), (Y4), and one indeed also indirectly question the validity of the grounds. *“...I like the idea of, you know, that the fruit have been produced, you know, under conditions that makes the fruit tastes better. At least that the argument – it tastes more!”* (X6). The reason for this being seen as a predicament is that foods and meals in general are considered as a source of pleasure where the taste should be a part of the sought after experience. That is, one would assume that taste is, if not the primary driver in the choice of food products, then at least a more important one. This is seemingly not the case with the organic category, which in turn leads me to conclude that other considerations and in particular various social motives and pressures do actually play an important role in the matter.

Above I have listed and analysed a number of stated motives to engage in organic food consumption it is not necessarily enough to ultimately perform a given behaviour. It is certainly also dependent on the individuals “ability”, in this case, to purchase organic food. According to Moisander’s theory of behavioural processes (presented in chapter four) ability is I turn divided into personal resources, an individual parameter, as well as opportunity to engage in a specific behaviour. Opportunity is naturally set by external factors and can in this case be narrowed down to whether the consumers have access within reasonable distance to

the organic products they might need and want. Very few of the respondents voice in any way that their opportunity to purchase organic products is limited by lack of a supply. Some do however point out that a shortage of organic alternatives in certain categories sometimes restricts their alternatives e.g. (Y2), (X6); *"...mostly when there is no organic alternative. Beers for example, you can't get a hold of organic Thy Pilsner sometimes..."* (X2). That is to so say; in general, the consumers in my sample are not restricted by external factors and a limited supply of organic foods. Instead, their personal resources, or at least perception of the same is apparently an aspect with greater influence over behaviour.

Resources in this analysis are in essence the same as personal financial possessions which set constraints on how much more one is willing to pay for an organic product instead of the conventional alternative. Certainly the interviewees perceive organic products as substantially more expensive although they often recognise that there are relatively big differences between categories. Prices can of course only be understood in relative terms but ten out of the twelve respondents reveal that "the price" is a significant barrier that keeps them from purchasing organic products. This is particularly true when the price difference is perceived as too considerable, and that is true even for those consumers that show signs of intense motivation: *"...I was a bit surprised and choked: there was a bag of almonds, 200 g for 20 kr, and there was a bag of organic almonds, 100 g for 25 kr! You know, that is simply... The price difference is... You know I want to but there are limits to what I'm willing to pay! This is just too much!"* (X4). It is however a bit of a "chicken or the egg" situation because it is also so that the strength of consumers motivation for certain behaviour is influenced by their perceived ability. In other words, consumers with a low level of organic consumption might be less motivated due to the fact that they cannot or are not willing to bear the higher costs. And vice versa, those with a more intense form of motivation might lead to a boosted perception of their ability to conduct the behaviour, that is, purchase organic products to a greater extent although the price is seen as a barrier.

### 6.2.3 SUBJECTIVE NORMS AND SOCIAL MOTIVES

Although a balance between motivation and ability can explain certain behaviour to some degree, there are important factors left out of the equation. In the "theory of planned behaviour" this is recognised and motivation and ability, while called something else (attitudes & behavioural control), is supplemented with the influence of subjective norms (Ajzen, 2008).. The intention to carry out certain behaviour is here seen as mediation between

these factors: attitudes toward the behaviour, behavioural control and the perceived social pressure to perform the behaviour. For example, a consumer might hold positive attitudes toward the attributes of an organic product but does not necessarily feel that one have the necessary resources (perceived behavioural control) to actually buy them. However, the same consumer might feel pressured by expectations of more or less significant others to purchase organic products and end up doing it all the same. That is, the motivation to comply with perceived behavioural expectations, normative beliefs, determines a subjective norm. I'm here analysing how the consumers in various ways are affected in their choice of organic foods by what they might perceive as social pressure.

*"Well, I'm sure that has affected me... I mean, preferences for organic is not a property that you are born with! So, all this external impulses, of course it is obvious that your social network has an effect on the way you consume, it certainly has"* (X6). This is how one of the respondents puts it when reflecting over how the relatively large proportion of people in his network he believes actually consumes organic products. I have sought to establish whether the respondents perceive that their immediate surroundings, may it be friends, family or colleagues, consume organic products and if they in fact believe that this is shaping their own behaviour. The answers are not too surprising quite diverse, where some argue that they estimate that almost 100% of their network is into organic foods (X7), others are more uncertain and say that it is probably not that many e.g. (X4), (X5). Most of the respondents do however reveal that they believe that "a lot" or a majority of the people in their immediate network consume organic products on a regular basis; *"yes, a lot of friends are into organic, probably more than 50%* (Y3, 2012). If one believes that a majority of their significant others consume organic there is also good reason to believe that they establish this as a norm within their own social circle.

One can of course adopt a general pattern of behaviour that comply with subjective norms, but the effects of consumers wish to conform with the same are naturally most evident when their choices are observable. Foods, and in this case organic products, do constitute a peculiar case in how it can be seen as a carrier of meanings. At least seen in relation to other products that traditionally has been seen as important status symbols and carriers of prestige; the choice of a car for example, is clearly visible and the same is true for apparel and fashion brands, which is also often used as an indicator of belonging. Foods and the groceries one choose to purchase are not something that is visible to the same extent. Instead, a chosen behaviour is observable only in limited situations: at the point of sale, that is in the actual

supermarket or convenient store and in situations where the consumer has others in the boundaries of their home, e.g. when one have invited guests over for dinner. I should however also note (although I have not included this in my analysis) that modern technology has opened up for new possibilities of effectively communicating ones choices of consumption. Social networks such as Facebook and Instagram are platforms where individuals commonly share pictures of their meals and food preparations, a new way in which one can invite significant others to observe well chosen slices of their food consumption.

In analysing situations at the point of sales, that is when the consumers are in the supermarket, the interviewees show a very high awareness and concern about how their choices of products are interpreted by others and not at least how they instantly decipher the signals by other people's choices and judge them by the same. At least ten of the interviewees openly acknowledge this phenomenon. *"Yes, I think about what other people think about what I buy! Yes, I have consciously thought about those situations – I'm in the supermarket and if I choose the non-organic milk (...) Sometimes I'm totally aware and sensitive over what other people might think when they see me choosing the non-organic milk for example! People could have all sorts of preconceived ideas, with regards to how much money a person have and with regards to health aspects- (...), which is a costly matter"* (X6), this individual reveals how situations in the supermarket can be connected to a degree of anxiety of how one can be perceived by others and how, in this case, the example of the organic milk comes to signal both a certain income-level and a healthy lifestyle, or rather, being observed failing to purchase the organic milk might lead to concern about how that is construed by others.

Another respondent explains situations when she, for whatever reason, fail to purchase the organic alternative of a product that she usually would - *"I would feel a bit of embarrassment while standing in the queue loading up my products! (...) I believe I'm quite conscious over what other people might think"* (Y3). By the same means of which consumers in these cases believe others are evaluating them, they themselves make use of the same exact process of judgement of others. These judgements are seemingly easier articulated than explaining their own feelings, nevertheless it is obviously so that if one attribute values and believes to others through choice of certain products, the same is logically also true for themselves. *"Yes, I noticed that I could judge others! Standing around in and waiting in the queue and if I see someone loading up "remoulade" and toast-bread, I would think –poor them, and poor children that have to eat that food"* (Y5). The observing consumer is imposing a demeaning pettiness on the individuals in this fictitious situation where someone fails to meet their norms and instead purchase products



that are considered of lesser value for various reasons, e.g. being perceived as unhealthy. And this tendency is repeatedly identified among the interviewees; *"...If I see someone buying five packs of mackerel and three litres of full cream milk, I can't help myself thinking that this person has an unhealthy lifestyle"* (X1); *"...If I see someone buying a pack of pasta, a bottle of Heinz and a crate of beers, I'll think – That guy is really unhealthy and not very hip"* (X5); *"If I see someone else picking the non-organic milk, I think... I don't know – its weird, but I think I look down on them!"* (Y3); *"...Of course I notice what other people buy. I believe that I'm quick in thinking – that guy is buying ten beers and tin of mackerel, I can't help myself thinking, I can't help myself placing them in some sort of social box, that is a bit more "looser" than those who buy the nice and fresh products"* (X3). These quotes should help further exemplify both how effortlessly consumers evaluate others and how those who purchase products for which they do not approve are described in derogatory terms.

On the other side, of course, organic products (and other products with similar attributes) carry completely different meanings. Meanings that reflect the consumer of such products in a very positive light - *"If I see someone buying a lot of vegetables and loads of organic products... I think, I don't know – a nice person! Well, at least maybe that this is a sporty type"* (X5); *"If someone buys a lot of organic I think – "Okay, good job! That's my kind of type"* (Y5); *"...if is see some girl buying loads of veggies and organic products, I would think that this is a reasonable girl that have made a choice...The lifestyle that she has, and that she has a good job and is highly educated – that could be things that I would see as a part of "the package""* (X4). Again, these are admirable properties and signs of respect that is attributed to the organic consumer and undeniably it is the same approval one seeks and expects when conducting the same behaviour.

The ways in which organic products and those whom purchase them are evaluated is further accentuated when the respondents were asked about their thoughts in a situation where they were visiting someone significant and noted a large number of organic products. Naturally, many of the answers were similar to the ones given when observing in a supermarket but it is nonetheless worth a comment as to be seen as additional evidence of the phenomenon. *"I guess I think that these are people that care about themselves. Probably also people that exercise a lot and that in general try to live a healthy life! I don't know if It's saying too much, but I think these are some clever people, hehe..."* (X4). The sum of it all is that there is a broad consensus among the respondents that the "organic food consumer" is a responsible, conscious and healthy person. A number of respondents also mention that they would associate the consumers of organic products with financial resources and a higher level of education, e.g. (Y4), (X5), (X3). Although, one of the interviewees express that he would not put any value in

the choices of others (X7), there is no doubt that the organic consumer, may it be the unknown one in the supermarket or a close friend, is rewarded with prestigious attributes and approval. Indeed, these are qualities that consumers in turn would want to pursue and one can assume that behaviour is motivated by this sort of social circumstances.

Nevertheless, there is more evidence to be found in the empirical data. Consumers observe and are well aware of that they themselves are being observed and valued by others. In no other instance are the consequences of certain perceived judgements so apparent as when consumers actively change their behaviour to comply with subjective norms in situations where they perceive risk, or rather, risking failure to comply. In other words, and as I have touched upon briefly in an earlier section, a number of respondents revealed that they would make sure to choose organic products in situations where they knew that they would be observed by significant others. Given the signalling value of organic products as described above, it is not hard to understand that a certain segment would consume organic food in such a conspicuous manner. Evidently, it is mainly individuals with a relatively low level of organic consumption and as mentioned, with a situational involvement in the category. This is what two of the interviewees disclosed: *"...if I'm having guests over, I think I would be more inclined to buy organic – or other good quality products – (...) It is certainly not a bad thing if you can say that what you have cooked is organic..."* (X1); *"...on special occasions, for example when I'm having guest over or I'm cooking for someone else. (...) I would say that I'm probably more drawn to buying organic products"* (X3). This sort of occurrences is considered to be a critical piece of evidence of how consumer's pursuit of compliance to subjective norms use organic products as a social indicator. *"Ok, yes listen. I have been on dates, for example, where I made a thing out of only buying organic products. Because, I believe that it is better... But, also with friends, well, in situations where I want to impress!"* (X6). The organic products are clearly seen as something prestigious that would impress, for example someone of the opposite sex in a romantic situation. Again, this tendency of adopting one's behaviour, and consuming organic products, in certain situations when significant others will observe is detected among consumers whom in general hold no stronger emotional values toward the category and certainly no enduring involvement. This sort of action is arguably related to the bandwagon effect or what Bourdieu called social emulation (Bourdieu, 2010) and what Veblen would call pecuniary emulation (Veblen, 1953 ). That is, the organic product is consumed conspicuously; it is displayed to a significant other and it consumed to mark social status or in order to be identified with particular values and culture in society – social emulation. It is of course not as in the time of Thorstein Veblen

where it meant an emulation of a “superior” class. In most societies and not at least in Denmark in this day and age, social structure is much different, but nonetheless, - social emulation, emulation of a sub-culture or a conscious class that is perceived to be highly educated, morally superior and with a healthy lifestyle.

#### 6.2.4 LIFESTYLE AND DISTINCTION

Social motives have notable effects on the organic consumer as I have established above. I am continuing the analysis looking at how the consumers might construct identities and a sense of belonging to a lifestyle and culture through their organic food consumption, and the distinctions one makes with others through the same.

In order to try to establish to what extent the respondents actually felt that organic products was something that they identified with and they felt was a part of their lifestyle, or pursuit of a lifestyle they aspired to, they were all asked straight out if they felt that organic products matched their lifestyle. No one wanted to neglect the notion but there were clear differences in enthusiasm and signs of complete sincerity and commitment to the matter. Among consumers with an enduring involvement and a high level of organic consumption, there was in general little doubt about it and they clearly identified with organic products and all of its socially constructed attributes. *“Yes, absolutely! I really think it does! I’m one of those, if I try to define myself... Seen from the outside I think I would be one of those classic types that buy a lot of organic! I’m a humanist, have a solidarity mind-set, I’m a creative and I’m an artist and I’m a student! You know, I’m in an environment of people that think in these terms and issues, are aware of politics and aware of the society and the world we live in!”* (X2); *“Yes, I guess it does! Nørrebro, sociology student, voting “Enhedslisten”, hehe, fits quite well I think! Yes, sure”* (Y5); *“Yes, definitely! There is no doubt that I come from an environment where health aspects have been really important from an early age!(...) So yes, it is a very natural part of who I am!”* (Y1). An archetype of this lifestyle could hence be described as a left-leaning, humanist, well educated but showing a certain level of neglect towards the conventional and established pillars of our modern and commercialised society. Someone that strives for the “authentic”, natural and wishes to live a healthy life, is well aware of the challenges of today’s society and is also willing to take them on. Someone that politicises choices of consumption, and adhere to a more ethical a political correct purchasing pattern. Yes, perhaps slightly amplified, but numerous of the interviewees reveal these sort of thoughts and their adherence to the ideals, e.g. (X7), (X4), and it shows how organic foods are part in identity construction for many of the interviewees.

Others, and these are in general those with a lower level of organic consumption, were a bit more cautious on the topic but in many cases still expressed a wish “to be a part of it”. *“...I like to think that it does (Talking about if he believes organic products matches his lifestyle) – or, I like to think about myself as someone that buys organic! Totally!”* (X3), as one of the respondents put it while continuing to reflect over the communicative value and the wish to be seen as someone that is aware and responsible with regards to society in general and towards environmental issues in particular. *“Yes, the thought about being part of a community and the whole sustainability idea, I really like”* (X4); *“I would like to be apart of it and think about these issues, but again, I’m not an expert.”* (Y3). Again, consumers that do not necessarily feel that the “organic brand” matches their identity and way of living, still would like it to be that way. If this is true, then the case for the “social emulation theory” gets even stronger and one can assume the desire to be apart of an admirable sub-culture and or lifestyle influences behaviour and in this case motivates consumers to choose organic products.

It is seemingly so that consumers differentiate in the extent to which they truthfully can say that organic products is “natural part” of their lifestyle and this is apparently also correlated with the level of consumption. Nonetheless, there is to a large degree also a sense of belonging or wish of belonging to the “righteous cause” as well as a wish to be able to distinguish oneself from “the others”, as in those who represent those who do not consume organic and does not have a healthy lifestyle. But, who are the people that one wish to be associated with and who are “the others” that are indispensable in creating the distinction? Of course, the vivid depiction of the “organic archetype” above, do disclose a great deal of whom the “in-group” is perceived to be. Nevertheless, the respondent was asked to describe the average organic consumer and it was done in a more segmentation-style manner. *“I think in general it is people with a higher level of education, people that are reading newspapers on a daily basis and has an income that is over the national average.”* (X2). This quote efficiently sums up the themes that were repeated by almost every single respondent. Their perception of the average organic food consumer is someone who is highly educated and that posses substantial financial means. Unmistakeably, there is a correlation between these two parameters, but it also what defines (together with occupation) socioeconomic status, which in general is seen as an important indicator of social status. In other words, a large majority perceives the average organic food consumer, as being part of a segment with high socioeconomic status and it is thus not far fetched to conclude that the same respondents perceive organic products as prestigious. Other common perceptions detected among the interviewees are that the typical organic food

consumer is someone who lives in the bigger cities, mainly Copenhagen and again, live a healthy and active life, e.g. (X4), (Y2).

In the minds of the consumers I have spoken to, “the others”, that is the consumers that do not purchase organic is by default the opposite of whom they believe to be the archetype of organic food consumers. That is, if one says that those who consume organic foods are highly educated and have a lot of money it also means that those who don’t, are of lesser means and are under-educated; *“I don’t think that many people with a tougher financial situation purchase that much organic”* (Y4); *“Clearly, people that live a harder life that have all other sorts of problems, they don’t think about what they purchase in Netto affects the rest of the society”* (X3). Although, if one is generous one could detect a hint of sympathy towards those “who can not afford it”, price-sensitivity is in general seen as lack of understanding and neglect of social responsibility, or lack of cultural capital if you will. One of the respondents describes a situation in a TV show where an individual was asked about a certain product that has been politicised and whether or not he would care about avoiding that sort of product – *“And their was this looser on the street that was interviewed and he said “-I’m totally indifferent, I only look at the price!”. And I think that is true for a lot of people”* (Y5). It is of course a bit of a paradox because many of the respondents disclose that they in many instances are price sensitive.

It is to me evident that organic products become a source of social differences. A distinction between those who posses both the economic and cultural capital needed to engage in “conscious” consumption as the organic food category apparently is considered. Organic food products has become, as so many other things, a symbolically loaded good, and in the words of Pierre Bourdieu – *“the relationship of distinction is objectively inscribed within it, and is reactivated, intentionally or not in each act of consumption, through the instruments of economic and cultural appropriation which it requires”* (Bourdieu, 2010). So whether the individual consumer is aware of it or not, the organic food product is engraved with symbolism that will position the consumer in the hierarchy of social space through distinction from groups that fail to consume in the same respected manner.

### 6.2.5 ALTRUISM & COSTLY SIGNALLING

It has been suggested in previous research that what can be described as, or perceived as, “pro-social” and or “pro-environmental” behaviour is rewarded by positive reputation and social status with direct or in-direct benefits (Griskevicius, 2010), (Vugt, 2006). In the USA

consumers stated bluntly that they chose the hybrid car Toyota Prius to make a “green statement”, that is to signal to others that “they care” and are willing to pay premium for something that theoretically will benefit the rest of their respective society – and if being generous, the whole world. The question is whether similar patterns can be found among Danish organic food consumers. I have presented evidence of a group of consumers that indeed consumed organic products in a conspicuous manner and I have unfilled environmental issues as a common motivator. In this section I am analysing belief systems among organic consumers as an altruistic act. In other words, to what extent do the respondents believe that their choice of organic product is a selfless deed that ultimately will benefit other members of society? In that sense, there is an imperative difference between being driven by health issues that are highly personal and environmental issues (and arguably also issues of animal care) that have a clear pro-social aspect integrated into the argument.

*“I think it is the responsibility of all of us to take a stance in these matters! If we all ate a little bit less of the things that are costly to the “world” to produce and more organic products – the world would be a better place!”* (Y1), argues one of the respondents and continues in claiming that consumers “should” chose products of a “certain standard”, referring to organic produce. For a certain group of consumers, namely again those with a higher level of consumption and an enduring involvement in the category, the choice of organic is seemingly also a moral standpoint. It is from their viewpoint part of interpersonal principles of what they see as the “correct” behaviour. Their choice of conducting the “correct” behaviour will, as the respondent reveals that she believes will make *“the world a better place”*. And this chain of thoughts is, although not dominant, common amongst those that are well into the “organic lifestyle” or a lifestyle in which organic produce is an integrated part. The choice of word “responsibility” also reveals some sort necessary burden that the consumer is willing to take upon themselves for the sake of and to the benefits of others. *“I exist in the world and I have to face that I have to eat something and I prefer buying things that makes me feel good and at the same time take my social responsibility for everything that is connected (...) Through ones personal consumption one can do something for oneself but also for others”* (X2), the altruistic thought is evident without necessarily disregarding that the choice of organic simultaneously will have personal benefits. Another consumer continues on the same line-of-thought when talking about his choice of organic products: *“As a point of departure, it is a moral standpoint! (...) I really like to do what I can in order for the world to be a better place”* (X7). “Making the world a better place” is of course a relatively vague concept but is supposedly done by avoiding products of the conventional food industry with all of its

perceived destructive practices and supporting a “sustainable production” which in turn will help improve our environment.

The feeling of a selfless and altruistic act in consumption of organic products is consequently obvious in the argumentation; “...*Thoughtfulness and care for your self, and solidarity, health and quality. Well, in the smaller perspective I feel that I am taking responsibility for our society! (...) Seen in a wider perspective I believe one can do something for farming and deforestation and cut down on transport and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and that sort of thing!*” (Y5). Now, apart from that the organic consumer evidently have multiple drivers in their choice of organic food, some of which are perceived as purely personal, the arguments of solidarity, responsibility and “saving the world”, which I claim are of an altruistic nature, do not have an obvious and instant “kick-back” to anyone in the consumers immediate surrounding. The competitive altruism theory suggests that costly altruistic acts can be explained by a pursuit of signalling certain personal qualities to more or less significant others (Vugt, 2006) and that the transmitter of these signals expect to bank their investment in a good reputation and social status in their respective society. In fact, a number of consumers ponder the issue of the value of the signals they send quite consciously: “*Also, because it fits better into my lifestyle and that I think of my role in relation to society and with regards to sustainability and environmental issues. That’s a signal I want to send!*” (X3); “*I would like to be perceived as someone that reflects over my consumption and is relatively considerate member of society, that at least do something to preserve our environment and for that matter also show that that I have a healthy lifestyle! So yes, I think about it!*” (X4), as two of the interviewees explain in talking about why they chose organic products or would like to consume more of the same category.

Organic products are thus conspicuously consumed and seen as a communicator of pro-social and altruistic behaviour with long-term benefits that will position the consumer in the social hierarchy. Not only does one convey the message of humanist and pro-social qualities, simultaneously one effectively tells the world that one can bear the extra costs of purchasing the organic alternative. As the organic products are substantially more expensive than most conventional alternatives and are by the consumers also recognized as such, it is an unavoidable feature of organic consumption and moreover a prerequisite for the competitive altruism theory to be fulfilled. That is, if the behaviour is too “accessible” for the broader public and did not contradict economic rationality, it would as such not be a particularly impressive behaviour. The altruistic behaviour is legitimized or “made reliable” by the virtue

of the higher cost that the consumer is subjected to. This is in line with the “costly signalling theory” as presented in a previous chapter and verified empirically. In other words, many consumers reveal, and especially when talking about their perception of other organic consumers, that not only are they ascribed pro-social qualities but indeed also sending “the costly signal”. Partly in showing that one has the necessary knowledge and time but primarily that one can afford to consume the more expensive organic alternative. As I have touched upon in the “Lifestyle and Distinction” segment above, the organic consumer is observed as someone with substantial financial means: *“I think there is a symbolic value in that you pay for a little bit more for something for something that maybe sometimes doesn’t incorporate the value you pay for, or that you can get equally good products for 5-10% less.”* (X4); or as another respondent explains when observing organic products in someone else’s home: *“It sends a signal of financial resources but also that they have time to cook food (...) It looks good, I think!”* (X3). Similar thoughts are shared by numerous other interviewees, e.g. (Y3), (Y4).

The awareness of the communicative value of the organic products hence disclose a tendency that consumers in fact also might be motivated by the aspiration of being seen as pro-social, at least if one give credence to the environmental argument where the organic products will help improve the environment for everyone and consequently can be seen as an act of altruism. In the article “Going green to be seen” this inclination was in fact verified through various experiments in similar situations where status led motives drove consumers to chose “green” products in situations where their choice was observed by others (Griskevicius, 2010). “Conspicuous conservation” as the phenomenon has been described is underpinned by the notion that the positive reputation that is gained is highly valuable and will help the consumer in the competition for social status.

## 6.2.6 PERSONAL PRESTIGE EFFECTS

In the former I have dealt with and analysed organic consumption from both a conspicuous and social context and argued for this being led by an attempt for communal prestige. There are however theories that explore and claim that prestige-seeking motives does not necessarily have to be interpersonal but can also be derived from personal factors such as of relating to emotions and perceptions of quality (Vigneron, 1999). I have presented both what Vigneron calls the “hedonic”- and the “perfectionist” effect in an earlier chapter and below I’m giving an account for how the consumers in my sample express beliefs that indeed can be related to these notions. It is however not to be understood as if an interviewee, for example



articulate such emotions, that they cannot simultaneously be driven by both social and conspicuous factors.

The argument for the hedonic effect, and its relation to prestige, is that the consumer responds with emotions to certain products, and through that constructs personal fulfilment, self-respect and self-actualization (Vigneron, 1999). It is not a way of conspicuously positioning of the self but rather it shall be seen as a display of, through the emotions demonstrated, evidence of a prestige-value embedded in the organic products. The empirical data shows that a great deal of the respondents perceive organic products as something that gives them some sort of emotional added value and this is seemingly so just by the mere fact that they “feel” that they have made the right choice in purchasing the organic alternative. *“So, there is one thing or another, I believe that it tastes better when I’m standing there peeling my organic carrot! I know that it is organic - and that gives me something extra, it gives me a better feeling...”* (X4); another respondent explains that when he consumes organic products he just *“feel good about himself”* (X5). Naturally, these “feel-good” emotions can and are often explicitly related to a reminder of their “healthy lifestyle” and from the environmental perspective (and through that arguable also an moral perspective) the “correct choice”. *“...It give me some sort of satisfaction, that there is no pesticides and that the cow has hopefully had a better life (...)! I don’t know if it is self-satisfaction but it is like “a tap on my own shoulder” when I open the refrigerator and I see (organic products)(...), and it is just standing there! Yes, just by looking at it! It looks better and more authentic!”* (Y3). Again, this consumer also reveals her organic consumption as a source of personal pleasure and fulfilment. These emotional feelings of “satisfaction” when consuming organic is recurrent theme amongst the interviewees and is accentuating the premises for a hedonic effect amongst these consumers: *“I think it is related to identity and that I can feel that I as a consumer, can make a little difference and that gives me a feeling of satisfaction”* (X2); *“I love to cook something up and being able to see that everything is organic and that it is good!”* (Y5). It is the perceived attributes of the organic products that arouse these emotions and the feelings can in turn exceed the actual attributes of the same products, but the feelings are nonetheless real and will, as mentioned, at least theoretically, establish both self-fulfilment and self-actualization that would not be possible if organic products weren’t acknowledged as a prestigious goods.

The second of the personal effects on prestige consumption is based on the conception of reassurance for their choice. Reassurance is equivalently derived from other factors, one that

is easily measurable and relativized, which is the price of the product and the other is quality, which only can be measured subjectively and is therefore not as concrete. The principles for “the perfectionist effect” are formed by studies that show that the quality factor is used by consumers to evaluate the relative prestige of certain products and that the price, in turn, is an important parameter in establishing the perceived quality (Vigneron, 1999). It is therefore interesting to analyse the understanding and constructions of “quality” in relation to organic products amongst the respondents.

When asked to what degree quality is a determining factor in choice of food products, a majority of the interviewees answered that it was in fact a highly significant consideration, and especially so amongst consumers with a high level of organic consumption and an enduring involvement in the category, e.g. (Y1), (X7), (X4), (Y5). *“It is an important factor! It is a matter of trust, when you buy a product from a producer I have to be able to trust that the product has the highest quality possible!”* (X2), as expressed by one of the consumers which essentially also underlines the demand for reassurance through the quality parameter. Other consumers do however explain that the choice of quality is dependent on what category of foods it concerns, (Y3), (X5), or that they feel secure with the general standards so that all products that end up on the shelves of the supermarkets do fulfil the basic quality requirements (X3). The ways in which the consumers evaluate quality is, however, a more complex matter and many express on various occasions that they feel that it is in fact hard to appraise, e.g. *“I mean I’m not a food expert so it is sometimes hard to tell the difference, but the feeling that I get when I eat”* (Y1). Abstract parameters such as “feelings” and psychological and visual impressions are nonetheless often mentioned as central parameters in establishing a level of quality, e.g. (Y2), (X1), (X4).

The perception of fruits and vegetables looking “fresh” or a visually attractive package can hence play an important role. Some mention that certain brands bolster a heightened perception of quality, e.g. (X3), (Y5), or the origin of the product, in some cases Danish or local products are perceived as superior (X5) and in other cases, foreign products such as wine and cheese from France are seen as better. Others point to another abstract and subjective factor, namely taste, as an indicator of quality e.g. (X7). As “quality” is a relative term, a couple of the respondent also point out what quality is not to them: *“I mean “Coop” (private brand) for example, it looks so cheap, that is probably what they want because it is really cheap! But I’m thinking – that’s not quality!”* (Y5); *“If it looks cheap, I’m turned off”* (Y2), that is, products that are perceived as inexpensive are believed to be of lesser quality, and following that logic, the opposite would

be true. A vast majority, at least nine of the twelve, of the respondents agree that a higher pricing is an indicator of quality. *"You know, sometimes you know that you pay a little bit extra, say if you go to the market (Torvehallerne), but it is also some good products! I mean it is not so that it is always perfectly correlated (price and quality), but in general I would say that products that are more expensive – they are also better products! I mean, I would sometimes feel a bit intimidated if a product is "too cheap!"* (X1). So, in general, the consumers in my sample feel more secure when purchasing more expensive products, as it is an indication of quality. Furthermore, and following that rational, most respondents openly also say that organic products are of a superior quality; this is how a few of them argued when talking about quality: *"For me, it is undoubtedly connected to organic products, I have to admit!"* (Y5); *"I also feel that organic products are of a higher quality! That's my impression! If the taste was virtually the same on two products, and one of them was organic, I would say the organic one was of a higher quality, so yes, just through that label – it gives me something extra!"* (Y4); *"...Yes, if it is organic, that is also some sort of symbol of quality"* (Y3); *"It is like the producers are more aware of what they do and through that I think I can draw a subconscious conclusion that it (talking about organic products) is better quality!"* (X7). In brief, the perfectionist effect is apparently activated, as a majority of the consumers both believe in the price as evidence for quality and that organic products for that- and other reasons, are better than conventional products. According to the theory this is a sign of prestigious product and that the consumer can, through the reassurance of price and quality, can be confident in their judgment of taste of foodstuff despite the quality parameter being both debatable and abstract.

## 6.3 SUMMARIZING THE ANALYSIS

The twelve interviewees, five women and seven men, whom in general showed extensive interest in foods and cooking, had a relatively diverse stated level of organic food consumption. A simplified distinction has been made between two sub-groups, those with a higher- and those with a lower level of organic consumption. This has made good sense in various parts of the analysis where clear patterns have been observed. In general the group with a higher level of organic consumption had, what is called, an "enduring involvement" in the category, set by personal values and beliefs. The other sub-group's involvement is clearly more conditional and they will to a larger degree engage in organic consumption in situations where they know that they will be observed by significant others and benefit from the organic

choice. That said, neither of these groups, or seen generally among the consumers in the sample, they did not show any deeper knowledge or willingness to actively study the issues involved in organic foods.

Behaviour in this case was driven by four main motivators as identified; *“personal health concerns”*, *“animal welfare”*, *“global and local environmental and sustainability concerns”* as well as *“personal taste preferences”*. The main obstacle for engagement in organic consumption was a perception of a higher pricing. Both the stated overt motives and the perceived higher pricing have direct or indirect implications for various social motives related to social status and prestige consumption. Further, a majority of the respondents revealed that that they perceived that a large proportion of their immediate network did in fact consume organic products and it was clearly shown that consumers were well aware of and conscious about the choices they make. In other words, many consumers indicate a concrete disposition to comply with subjective norms. Evidence of this is partly given in situations at the point of sales and in situations where the respondents have invited significant others to their respective home. The latter phenomenon was clearly most apparent among consumers with a lower level of organic consumption, that is, this group showed tendencies of *“conspicuous consumption”*, they would purchase organic when they knew that it would be observed by significant others and benefit from its signalling value.

Further, clear patterns of obvious distinctions between groups in society were detected. Through the perceived attributes of the organic products, consumers were effectively judged by their ability to consume or failure to do the same. Many of the respondents, and especially those with a higher level of organic consumption, also revealed how they identified with this category of products and how it was an integrated part of their lifestyle.

Also, perceived altruistic attributes of the organic products along with the ability to carry the additional costs that the category entails is seen as a means for positioning the organic consumer as a pro-social and *“well-off”* individual.

Finally, so-called personal prestige effects were analysed and both *“hedonic”* effects where the consumers showed personal emotions and satisfaction merely through their choice of organic foods, regardless of the social context and *“perfectionist”* effects of relating to price and quality parameters was seen as an reassurance of superiority.

# 7.

## CONCLUSION & FURTHER DISCUSSIONS

In this final chapter I am presenting the results of the analysis, they main take-a way's, if you will. As a additional part of the conclusion I am commenting on three other important issues: Where this study leaves us and what real implications it might have; the limitations and restrictions of the project, naturally set by both for me uncontrollable factors and the choices I have made. Given the above, I also make suggestions for further supplementary research that might provide for further insights in the field.

### 7.1 RESULTS

The study at hand was set out to explore and investigate the motives of organic food consumption, guided by the following research question: *To what degree and by what means are young organic food consumers in Copenhagen motivated by social status and prestige seeking effects?*

The research question where set to be answered by the means of a theoretical framework as well as an empirical data collection, consumer interviews, and a subsequent content analysis. The research question is considered twofold; partly it enquires a confirmation or refutation of the supposition that consumers are driven by social or prestige seeking motives in their organic consumption and to what extent the phenomenon might said to be true if in fact confirmed; and partly, it asks for declaration of how these possible motives are constructed and played out in practise.

To the first part of the research question I can after the exhaustive analysis conclude that many of the consumers in fact, at least partly, are driven by motives related to prestige seeking and social status. That said, although there are issues where a majority of the

respondents show similar tendencies there are also important differences. A simplified division on the basis of the level of organic food consumption showed that the group with a relatively low level of consumption had a situational involvement in the category. That is, in many cases their choice of organic products is a conspicuous matter with the sole objective is to obtain social recognition and prestige. This might be the clearest case for tendencies of consumers altering their behaviour in their strive for social status, but certainly not the only one.

Consumers across the board showed evident awareness of their judgment of others on the basis of their consumption and correspondingly an obvious consciousness about how they are perceived by others, not at least at the point of sale. Organic products, it was shown, carry important symbolic meanings with insinuations for an individuals socioeconomic status, a healthy living and them being pro-social. In other words, organic food consumers are rewarded with admiration and prestige.

Organic products can thus be described as an effective weapon used in the on-going status war. The person next to you is used as a benchmark for your position in the social hierarchy and failure to comply with the present norms, or “to keep up with the Joneses” is a social suicide, if allowed to be a bit dramatic. If nothing else, organic products play an efficient role in the distinction between different social groups. A distinction between those who can and are willing, to bear the additional cost for organic products and those who cannot; a distinction between those who are mentally capable and knowledgeable about the issues involved and those who are incapable or disregards the same; a distinction between those who’s self proclaimed altruism is embedded in their choice of organic foods and those who neglect to be “moral” consumers and to take their personal responsibility.

The prestige seeking factors are further emphasized in personal contexts where consumers reward and honour themselves through feelings of fulfilment and self-respect when purchasing organic products and further, through the higher pricing and perceived superior quality of these products are reassured that their choice is in fact the “correct” one.

To conclude, social status and prestige effects where clearly detectable and is considered widespread among the consumers in the sample. In some instances, divisions of the sample where proposed, in which distinctive patterns where detected. That is, the means in which prestige seeking is detectable differs among consumer groups. I have pointed out various

ways in which social status and prestige seeking can be inferred from organic consumption. Some of these means are very subtle and are thus only detectable and understood when deeper values and beliefs are revealed whereas others are more obvious. It should however be noted, behavioural processes are in many instances rather complex and although this study has focused on detecting prestige seeking motives – other possible drivers should of course not be dismissed.

To my knowledge this is the first empirical study that have investigated social motives of organic food consumption in Denmark and beyond. The insights produced together with existing knowledge could and should hence be of value to the industry with regards to communication and marketing efforts in the future.

## 7.2 IMPLICATIONS

Although I consider this study exploratory I believe the findings can have important implications. As such, if one has an interest, for whatever reason, to change or alter people's behaviour – one has to take existing insights seriously.

As I mentioned in the initial parts of the study, I believe the results of my analysis of the motives of consumers can serve as further evidence of changing and growing awareness and what is considered acceptable behaviour in the market.

Also, and maybe more importantly, many of findings might have implications for “how” and “to whom” organic food products should be marketed. The ways in which organic food producers and marketers of organic products communicate should be in coherence with what I have revealed as an important added value of organic products. That is, if a consumer wants to make a statement about themselves through their choices of organic produce this should be facilitated through e.g. the packaging design. The ways in which organic products are branded should in other words be clearly distinguishable from conventional alternatives so to comply and letting the consumer clearly send the sought after signals. Furthermore, by effectively communicating the various benefits, or at least the perceivable and encouraging differences between organic- and conventional production one can trigger the “moral” appeal of consumers. Further, as I have revealed, those who consume organic produce are not solely those that are convinced of its benefits. Those who have a conditional involvement do not go

to supermarkets looking for organic products and in my experience many supermarkets and other outlets collect all or most organic products in special sections. In a way, I believe this to “preach to the choir”. The risk is that the consumer with “situational involvement” walks straight by the organic section when in fact the point-of-sale could be an important stage in which to appeal to them. As I have presented, organic products are in many cases and by most perceived as superior quality products and when choosing from a range of products at the point-of-sale the organic alternative might have better chances if it was actually there to be chosen.

In sum, marketing and branding strategies could possibly benefit from the insights presented in this study, although some of the above-mentioned suggestions are to some degree loosely grounded and should also only be seen as instinctive proposals that need further information and examination.

## 7.3 LIMITATIONS

The method chosen as well as sampling strategy does set some natural limitations for the study. For one, the method does not measure actual behaviour but relies on the statements of the interviewees. Although the focus of the study certainly lies on perceptions, beliefs and values it would indeed be of usefulness to acquire insights on to what degree statements corresponds with actual behaviour.

While it has not been the purpose, I will again note that both the size of the sample and the strategy for selecting interviewees affects the result and it will not yield a generalizable outcome.

Furthermore, I have alone been responsible and conducted all parts of this study. There are clearly risks involved that my subjective perceptions have affected the outcome at all stages from data collection to the analysis. Although this is something that is true for most similar qualitative research projects it is recognized as a possible point of critique.



## 7.4 FURTHER RESEARCH

The main intention of this exploratory study has been to provide for insights on the relation between organic food consumption and social motives with implications for social status and prestige. While I indeed believe that I have delivered on these objectives there are undoubtedly room for further research projects, both to further validate and to complement with additional insights.

Similar studies with larger and a “wider” set of the sample would certainly be of value. This not only within the geographic area that I have limited myself to in this project but a nation wide project would be of particular interest as earlier studies have in fact showed substantial differences between various groups in different regions in Denmark.

Like mentioned above, actual behaviour have not been measured in this study, which undeniably would be of specific value. This would naturally demand a substantial effort.

The study at hand has investigated numerous aspects and stages of prestige seeking in organic consumption; it is thus a general study. By default, these aspects could be treated by their own merits for a more indebt analysis. Research that for example addresses the effects of the visual communications (packaging design) and its relations to various prestige effects would of interest. As revealed, consumers are effectively judging others by the means of their consumption, it would also seem interesting to address judgements, values and beliefs of those who do not consume organic – are prestige given only “within” the group that to some degree consumes and are knowledgeable about organic food, or is it a wider phenomenon?

Finally, further research could also address how weighted any given social and prestige seeking motive is compared to other possible motives. In this project I have established that they in fact exist and discussed numerous aspects but it is nonetheless complicated to distinguish them from other motives and it would hence be of significance to try to separate them and establish their consequences for actual behaviour.

# 8.

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# APPENDIX



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# 1. INTERVIEW-GUIDE

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b>  <b>Date:</b>
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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<b>Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes</b>	1. How old are you?				
	2. What is your civil status?				
	3. How many people live in your household?				
	4. What level/type of education do you have?				
	5. What's your annual income level ?				
	0- 100.	100.-250.	250.-400.	400.-600.	600.+

<b>General shopping habits</b>	6. How often do you shop?
	7. Where do you buy your groceries? & Why?



	8. How do you plan your shopping beforehand?		
	9. Do you pay attention to “tilbuds aviser” and other discounts?		
	10. Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?		
	11. How much is:		
	A l of conventional milk?	A l of organic milk?	A kilo of potatoes?
	12. Describe the selection process when you shop for groceries ... ?		
	13. Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...		

General attitudes towards food & cooking:	14. Describe your general interest in food?
	15. How often do you cook at home?
	16. Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?

Organic food:	17. How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?			
	18.What drives you to chose organic over conventional products? Why?			
	My own health!?	Environmental issues!?	Animal welfare!?	Makes me feel good!?
	19. What keeps you from buying organic?			

	20. How much more expensive is organic foods?
	21. Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to purchase organic?
	22. Are there any specific products you always buy organic?
	23. By buying organic – what differences do you feel you can make for society ? (Environment etc)
	24. Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?
	25. What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?

Involvement and quality:	26. To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?
	27. How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?
	28. Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than conventional products?
	29. Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)
	30. Could you describe any emotions you might have towards organic products!?
	31. Do you consider organic produce a premium product? Is that the best you can get in you supermarket?

Veblenian effect:	32. Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?
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	33. How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?
	34. Imagine the following situation – You have invited a number of friends over for dinner and you are heading down to purchase your groceries --- Would you say that you are more inclined to purchase organic products that if you where cooking for yourself/household?
	35. You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy – when checking out at the counter – how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?

Snob effect & Distinction:	36. Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?
	37. Would you say that organic foods are limited in supply compared to conventional products? Is it harder to get a hold of?
	38. Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?
	39. Do you think the average “man on the street” pays attention to organic foods?
	40. Do you perceive organic foods as somewhat exclusive?

Bandwagon effect:	41. How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?
	42. How do you think that affects you?
	43. Would you agree to that there is some sort of social pressure in your network to consume in a certain way?

Hedonic effect:	44. Describe your feelings you get when you consume organic food!
	45. What sort of values do you attach to organic food?
	46. Would you say that you get a personal satisfaction from consuming organic?

**Perfectionist effect:**

**47. When was the last time you made a larger investment?**

**What sort of product? What brand? Why did you choose that one?**

## 2. INTERVIEW X1

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> X1 <b>Date:</b> 25/05 -12
--	---

<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
---------------	-------------------

<b>Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes</b>	<b>How old are you?</b>				
	26				
	<b>What is your civil status?</b>				
	Single				
	<b>How many people live in your household?</b>				
	2				
	<b>What level/type of education do you have?</b>				
	Bachelors Degree in Politics & administration & In the progress of finishing a masters degree in Social Science				
	<b>What's your annual income level ?</b>				
	0- 100.	<b>100.- 250.</b>	250.- 400.	400.- 600.	600.+

<b>General shopping habits</b>	<b>How often do you shop?</b>
	A couple of times a week, it depends on the period but ca a few times a week!
	<b>Where do you buy your groceries? &amp; Why?</b>
	I primarily buy my groceries in NETTO... It's the supermarket that is located closest to me! There is an

<p>ALDI as well, but that one I don't use that often! If I'm planning to do cook something extraordinary, or if I'm planning to use some a bit more special ingredients I'll go for SuperBrugsen -its just next to NETTO - or Ill go for one of the Kiosks at Istedgade. Sometimes its about convenience and sometimes its about the price-level.</p>		
<p><b>How do you plan your shopping beforehand?</b></p> <p>I don't really plan, I usually go to buy my groceries for dinners in the beginning of the week... &amp; I'll get tempted &amp; end up buying all sorts of things! &amp; that usually keeps me afloat the rest of the week... I don't make a list - I buy what I feel like eating when I'm out shopping and usually some of the basics like vegetables and fresh pasta - so I can combined those things, I always buy a little bit extra...</p>		
<p><b>Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?</b></p> <p>No, not really. If I note on Politikens website that Irma has a special discount I might go for it but otherwise I don't really pay attention to that sort...</p>		
<p><b>Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?</b></p> <p>....hmmm, yes. I mean, I do buy some "good" things if I can see some sort of value in it ... But it also really irritates me when I'm in eg SuperBrugsen and find something that I know is half the price in NETTO... But its not that, like, I go for the "cheap" products...</p>		
<p><b>How much is:</b></p> <p>...It costs... Hm, I don't know how much, I know what how much an Organic milk is - its 7 kr - a conventional milk is... 5 kr I think!</p> <p>I know how much 2 kilos are, they are 15 kr, I know cause thats what I usually buy at Netto...</p>		
<p>A l of conventional milk?</p>	<p>A l of organic milk?</p>	<p>A kilo of potatoes?</p>
<p><b>Describe the selection process when you shop for groceries ... ?</b></p> <p>I know the supermarkets pretty well (NETTO) I know</p>		

	<p>what I usually needs so, I know what tomatoes I need, I know what milk i needs so I go for the same products every time... It pretty much goes by routine... That I eg don't pick the big ones but the smaller one that looks a bit more interesting... so yes, most of the things just goes by routine, and of course I usually check if there is something else funny thing in the shop, oil or whatever...</p>
	<p><b>Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...</b></p> <p>hmm, there is not that many brands in NETTO... Hm, but... you know when I'm in ALDI I'm always a bit sceptical as it is not branded products... its all these weird products... Then of course you learn that some of them are actually good enough, but most of the time... you don't choose those things because they are ... these weird German copies... I would say that I don't really feel that I care to much about the brands but more a bout that the products like good! But then again, there are always some things... you know pasta - The pasta from NETTO is crap, is if you buy the branded version "Pastella" , it is certainly better! Well, its not necessarily the brand it is just because i know that it is better!</p>

<b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b>	<p><b>Describe your general interest in food?</b></p> <p>It means a lot! I think it is important to eat good! Hmm, it does not have to be complicated as long as it is with some good products &amp; it does not necessarily be very healthy - I would not mind eating un-healthy foods as long as I know that it well done and made from scratch! Yes, I think it is important! I care about buying good things!</p>
	<p><b>How often do you cook at home?</b></p> <p>I think I cook... Between 3-5 times a week. I the weekend I often en up buying take-away or eating at some of my friends place ... and in the weekdays, in general, a cook food every night unless I brought some thing with me from work.</p>
	<p><b>Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?</b></p> <p>Yes, pretty much... Not because I necessarily will use</p>

	<p>try it all - its not that I'm running around eating raw food and Nordic food and all those things but I think if you just have the tiniest interest you will know about this things... But yes, I follow the movements, I read the papers and read about all these new restaurant without that I necessarily go to Noma and all other kind of exciting things.</p>
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<b>Organic food:</b>	<p><b>How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b></p> <p>Hm, between 1-3 I would say! Not that many. I buy organic if the price difference is not that great and if... or if vice versa I can see that the non-organic products are remarkably better - for example the tomatoes, if they look a lot redder and look more fresh and interesting I will chose them... But, you know, I think there is something nice about knowing that they not have been exposed to all sorts of toxics or whatever. But, it is also very much dependent on my financial situation at the moment- I don't have enough money to buy the organic chicken even if that might have been nice</p>
	<p><b>What drives you to chose organic over conventional products? Why?</b></p> <p>I believe it is nice... I think its good ... you know when I hear about organic I think- and I know that it is not necessarily so but... I think that it is products that have been produced with a bi t more love, but I feel that there is something about that organic label that makes it ... that's it is not, well it is not the worst quality! So, it is also some sort of quality approval that I think is nice to buy! There are also something about not getting all kinds of unknown things into your body. Example: Lemons and those sort of things... i would never use the peel for cooking unless they are organic because then you'll just throw pesticides direct into your foods... So, I think about things! Environmental things, no not really, its not what drives me. Organic, it is something you do for yourself, its not something you do for the "world" as such. It is something that I have heard about in different places- the more people that eat organic, that is, the more conventional agriculture that are turned into organic</p>



<p>producers - the less food is actually produced. That is, the less effective the production of foodstuff becomes... So , I think it can lead to a, shall we call it, a more hard-core way of taking advantage, and, I don't know, I'm sure there are some hungry kids in Africa that no longer afford things because it gets more expensive... and, I don't know, it is not connected to the environment but, no, I don't really believe in that aspect of organic foods.</p>			
My own health!?	Environmental issues!?	Animal welfare!?	Makes me feel good!?
<p><b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b></p> <p>Its the price!</p>			
<p><b>How much more expensive is organic foods?</b></p> <p>It depends a lot on what it is ... but, in general I think its about 30% more expensive. But it depends on if its the milk... But on some products the difference is not that great - if an conventional milk is 5 kr and the organic option is 7 kr, the difference is not that bad, it does not hurt that much. But again, the chicken is three times as expensive - when it goes up from 50 kr to 150 kr or from 100 kr to 300 kr - there you have a great difference!</p>			
<p><b>Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to purchase organic?</b></p> <p>Hm, that could very well be...Is not some you would say out load but... Ill give you an example, i got a friend of mine, and she is really into it (Organic foods) so I would certainly</p> <p>be inclined to buy it for her- or for other people! It would also say, that it lies implicitly in me that, since she cares about it I would feel that I would have to do it... I dont know, could be that way... And then again, let me just say... if Im having guests over - I think I would be more inclined to buy organic - or other good quality products- one or the other. But I'll do something extra out of it and that it is extra good! It is certainly not a bad thing if you can say that what you have cooked is organic cause then people would have the impression that it is really good...</p>			
<p><b>Are there any specific products you always buy organic?</b></p>			

	<p>I think it does, but it is not a thing that I really focus on. Again, its more important than that its necessarily organic...</p>
	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>I'm sure that I would think that this is e person who cares about living healthy... and that its not just cheap and crapy the whole thing... A person that make sure that the are enjoying things! Again, not necessarily a person that is concerned about the environment - It could be, if I knew the person in question, that the person was into environmental questions... But in general I would think more that its a person that cares about good quality products and eating well!</p> <p>( what sort of values) Hm, maybe I think these people are a bit left leaning, it could be, a bit urban, a bit upper middle-class, a bit... that style! Its not... kind of rough to say but it is not the lower layers of society that don't have the money or wishes to think about these things...</p>

<b>Involvement and quality:</b>	<p><b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?</b></p> <p>Quality is important, I really think so... I know, i buy most of my stuff in NETTO and not Irma but that's mostly a money issue. But, in any case, you know I just don't pick anything! Quality is an important factor - quality and taste, those two things hang together if you ask me!</p>
	<p><b>How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?</b></p> <p>Quality is evaluated by looking at the products. And again, if i know the products I also know the quality, talking about the standard products. But vegetables, its by looking at them...</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than</b></p>

	<p><b>conventional products?</b></p> <p>Generally, yes! But it could very well be that some conventional products are of a higher quality than the organics.</p>
	<p><b>Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)</b></p> <p>No, it's just one of those things, I mean I follow the debate in the media and discuss with friends every once in a while if it's something that they care about, it's always an interesting topic to discuss...</p>

<b>Veblenian effect:</b>	<p><b>Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?</b></p> <p>Yes, I would say so. You know, sometimes you know that you pay a little bit extra for, say if you go to the market (Torvehallerne), but it is also some good products! I mean it is not so that they are always perfectly correlated but in general I would say that products that are more expensive, they are also better products ... I mean, I would sometimes feel a bit intimidated if a product is too cheap!</p>
	<p><b>How important is packing when you choose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b></p> <p>I think, yes, it is quite important actually! It's one of those things that can make me pick a certain product over another one. If the pasta is packed in a little paper box rather than a big plastic bag... I would take that one even though it might be a bit more expensive. It looks... it looks more like something that has been made with love... so yes, the packaging is important!</p>
	<p><b>You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy – when checking out at the counter – how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?</b></p> <p>That's ok, I don't really care... I don't really think about what other people think... or I mean, of course I think about, you know I have to do something when I'm</p>

	<p>waiting in line... and if I see someone putting 5 mackerel salads and 3 l of fat milk a cant help my self thinking that person has a unhealthy lifestyle... so yes, of course, I notice those kind of things but I don't care to much.. But , yes, I'm aware of these things it is a social indicator but its not something that Im letting myself be controlled by.</p>
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<b>Snob effect &amp; Distinction:</b>	<p><b>Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?</b></p> <p>I have been told that its kind of an large city phenomenon.. so, i think maybe like 10% of the Danes! I think there are loads of people that don't care!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic foods are limited in supply compared to conventional products? Is it harder to get a hold of?</b></p> <p>Yes it is, it is one of those things that keeps me away from it... Could be that you can get one of the things organic and the other one is not a full of pesticides and then I feel that its not worth it.. hm, at Netto , many of the things are not organic but if you go to Irma or Superbrugsen there you can get almost everything in a organic version. So, you can get much of things but not really in Netto, its certainly limited</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>It is, upper middle- class that lives in the cities and those "above" that... Those are the ones that I think are the average organic food consumer! They probably have a medium long or a longer level of education...</p>

<b>Bandwagon effect:</b>	<p><b>How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>Quite a few actually! My parents buys organic and a lot of my friends (girls) cares about it. Most of my buddies (guys) don't think about it that much or yes, its something that most people are more or least concerned about. I would say, at least have the same attitudes about it as I do, they think its the responsible thing to do but are held back by the higher prices</p>
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	<p>unless they get a full monthly salary - in those cases I think they go all in on organic!</p>
	<p><b>How do you think that affects you?</b></p> <p>Hm, that's a hard one to answer! I don't think that it would change that much if no one did it.. 3) Would you agree to that there is some sort of social pressure in your network to consume in a certain way?</p> <p>Yes, when you talk to people that really care about these things I think they try to convince you every time, so I think, at least you get more informed about it when you hang around that sort of people... But I don't think it's a social pressure of that kind!</p>

<b>Hedonic effect:</b>	<p><b>Describe the feelings you get when you consume organic food!</b></p> <p>A bit like I said before. In general, I think about these products are a little bit better. Fundamentally I think it is a better product than most of the other things! And it is a plus that it's free from all kinds of crap. But again, it's more important that it is a good quality product.</p>
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### 3. INTERVIEW Y1

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> Y1  <b>Date:</b> May 28
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes	How old are you?				
	30				
	What is your civil status?				
	I'm in a relationship, and we live together...				
	How many people live in your household?				
	There are three of us...				
	What level/type of education do you have?				
	I got a non-academic education, artistic, medium-long				
	What's your annual income level ?				
	Between 100. - 250.				
	0- 100.	100.-250.	250.-400.	400.-600.	600.+

	How often do you shop?
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General shopping habits	Every second day...		
	<b>Where do you buy your groceries? &amp; Why?</b>  Mostly in the greengrocers here at Nørrebro and Irma. If i for some reason can't go to Irma, I'll go to Kvickly. Yes, it is basically about what my closest options are, and if there was a "real" Irma rather than the "quick-Irma" , I would prefer that... but it is to far away. So, yes it is certainly so that I chose the ones that are closest to me. I would go to a Netto as well if there were one with decent standard around..		
	<b>How do you plan your shopping beforehand?</b>  I don't really plan. I would say, as a girl, I got an idea of what I got laying around in the refrigerator. So I usually just buy things to complement what I already have. So, I think about what I have and usually I come up with something in the moment. Sometimes a make a list, but only when I'm having guests over and is planning to cook something a bit more special.		
	<b>Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?</b>  No, I don't. I have said "no thanks" to all direct advertising. But sure, if I see some sort of campaign or discount in the shop and I feel like it, I might go for it. But I'm not actively looking up the weekly discounts...		
	<b>Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?</b>  Yes, I'am but mostly when I'm buying larger quantities - clearly I'm cutting down on the quality when I'm buying larger quantities!		
	<b>How much is:</b>  A litre of ordinary milk is... Well I only know prices of organic products! But yes it's between 9-11 kr. An organic one is... I want to say between 9-14 kr! But it depends on where you buy it.		
	A l of conventional milk?	A l of organic milk?	A kilo of potatoes?
	<b>Describe the selection process when you shop for groceries ... ?</b>  I usually start of with the fruits and vegetables and I'll buy something to something that complements those		

	<p>things... And - well since me and my boyfriend moved in together my meat consumption has gone up a lot - before I usually ate things like rye-bread, or other grain based products or other similar products but it has always been the "green" that has been taking up most space on my plate!</p>
	<p><b>Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...</b></p> <p>I don't care about brands as such, more like - about what the stand for! So if I'm for example buying Tuna I prefer buying the "dolphin friendly" tuna... I don't care what brand it is, as long as that is what they stand for. I look at the packaging! In some cases, with milk, for example... I usually buy the same brand, but I can't even remember the name! But, I think it tastes better!</p>

<b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b>	<p><b>Describe your general interest in food?</b></p> <p>Hm, in the daily life, my feelings are... I eat to live, I don't live to eat! I don't know I think 80% of my meals in a week, they are quick ones! I mean, they still have to be healthy and tasty and fresh but I also feel like I have to have time to do all other sorts of things. I don't think that cooking is the central part of my life! That said, I really enjoy being with friends and socialising over a dinner and eating some good food! And in the morning, I love eating my breakfast! But it is nothing that I would... I wouldn't use 1,5 hour for each meal, I couldn't dream about that, that would be terrible!</p>
	<p><b>How often do you cook at home?</b></p> <p>I cook, 8 out of 9 times. Mostly for my boyfriend and me but like I said, we also quite often have guests over. It happens that we bring some take away home for dinner, maybe 2-3 times a week..</p>
	<p><b>Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?</b></p> <p>Not really, we don't go out to eat that often. I think it is a lot cosier to have friends over for dinner than going to a restaurant. I follow a couple of food-blogs, not that</p>



	I'm checking them out on a daily basis but if I'm planning to cook something - I might look into them in order to see what people are doing within certain categories and in order to learn something new while I'm at it! I usually just Google a recipe and end up reading these blogs and if they are good I will go back the next time I need inspiration.
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Organic food:	<b>How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b>			
	In a perfect world - I would say 10 out of 10! But in reality I think maybe, 6 out of 10!			
	<b>What drives you to chose organic over conventional products? Why?</b>			
	I believe that "You are what you eat"! So if I can avoid things that are said to be dangerous, I rather do that! And on top of that, I hope that I can support a philosophy that can make our world a better place further down the road... There is the health aspect, but I have to say: I also do eat for the sake of this globe! By supporting this movement, I think we can call organic a movement, you support something that at least tries to cut a whole lot of things of that we know are hazardous to our groundwater, and that we know destroys???, and all other things that surrounds the fields where they use pesticides and types of shit! So, it is also a matter of they way we treat animals - when you eat meat, and milk and eggs. One should, as a consumers, at least chose a product that lives up to certain standards - ate least are better than what it used to be! I'm not saying that they are perfect, there is an on-going debate about organic foods, but at least it is a step in the right direction. I think it is the responsibility of all of us to take a stance in these matters! If we all ate a bit less of the things that are cost full world the world to produce and more of the organic stuff - the world would be a better place!			
	<b>My own health!?</b>	<b>Environmental issues!?</b>	<b>Animal welfare!?</b>	<b>Makes me feel good!?</b>
	<b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b>			
	It's the price! ...And the quantity, if I'm cooking a lot of food for many people the price difference simply becomes			

	<p>to much to bear! An organic eggplant is half the size of a conventional one, so I end buying two of them, so but it is mostly in situations when I'm cooking for many people. If I had the money I wouldn't think twice about it!</p>
	<p><b>How much more expensive is organic foods?</b></p> <p>It is not always more expensive! For example carrots, I cant even remember how much a conventional carrot is, I just know that the price difference is not that great, maybe it is 1 kr or 2 more but I don't care about that! But, again, the eggplant, an organic one might cost 14 kr and a the greengrocer you can get 3 for 10, and that is hard to compete with!</p>
	<p><b>Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to purchase organic?</b></p> <p>Yes, meat and everything that is have anything to do with animals! I only buy organic - or not only organic, also free-range! There is a big difference between the two! Hm, those that are free-range, for example Irma's cattle, they have the right conditions because they are slaughtered in the same area as they are bred, that is to say they are not transported that far and they walk around freely outside and they are organic as well, i think. but it is almost more important to me that the cattle are produced under decent conditions and that hey are not transported to Poland just to be slaughtered only to be transported back to Denmark again!</p>
	<p><b>What makes a products organic?</b></p> <p>Well, a part from that the chickens, for example, the amount of space and daylight they are given, and other similar things... And the same goes for the cows. But there are some restrictions regarding various crop sprays and they cannot use straw shorteners, as far as I know.. But, yes its mostly that...</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?</b></p> <p>Yes, definitely! There is no doubt that I come from an environment where health aspects have been really important, from an early age. I can remember when the first organic products was introduced and my mother bought them, so yes... It is a very natural part of who I am.</p>

	<p>And I try to do my best; yes it was an interesting question before. It is not always so that us consumers know what we are buying, that is why various consumer-organisations should be better to inform us consumers because we don't have time to study all these things. You want to make a difference and you are trying your best. But yes, it has become something that is connected to who I am a person and my values and my life!</p>
	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>I don't think that much about it - I notice more in the opposite situation, when I'm in the supermarket and I see someone loading up stuff and none of it is organic, i think, is that because.... Hm, I don't want sound pretentious, but I think - Is it because they don't know better, is it because they can't afford it or is it because they don't believe in it!? I got friends who say that they don't believe in it! And that's ok. I mean, I'm not a 100% sure that it is what it makes out to be. But, at least I support the greater cause and it is a bit hard to see why others don't feel the same way... I mean, I understand that some people do not have the same financial freedom as we do! Not that I make that much money, but I don't have five kids and things... So, it is not that I don't understand I just think it is a shame that some do not have the opportunity!</p>
	<p><b>Who are those, who don't care?</b></p> <p>Undoubtedly, it is people with a lower income, most of the time... Or that they don't have other sorts of resources to allocate on these sorts of matters. That said, and like I said before I got plenty of friends that have the financial resources but simply don't care. ... Yes, I think I feel that they don't take the responsibility that I do through my consumption! I believe that is easier to reach a goal if you go at it collectively! But, I don't think it can be done as long as organic food don't have the same conditions as ordinary produce. The day the prices are exactly the same, people no longer have a valid excuse - they have to buy organic! There is no reason not to!</p>

<b>Involvement and quality:</b>	<p><b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?</b></p> <p>Quality is important for me. I mean, I'm not a food expert so it is sometimes hard to tell the difference, but the feeling that I get when I eat it!</p>
	<p><b>How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?</b></p> <p>Yes, that is really hard to know. I can see if the vegetables look fresh, if they are crispy and that sort of thing. Of course I look at those things when I'm choosing what to buy. I try to buy local produce rather than foreign things and I very seldom buy things that are out of season... I don't buy strawberries from other countries, I rather wait for the Danish ones because I think a lot of fields are being destroyed for that and they use too much energy in producing these things.</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than conventional products?</b></p> <p>No, well... It depends on how you evaluate quality. If quality is freshness or that products lasts longer before it starts to rot, an organic product is not of such a high quality! But, that is not quality for me, I rather buy a bit less and go shopping a bit more often and make sure that use the things that I buy before it is getting bad. Yes, it is getting bad quite fast, but for me that is just a sign of a healthy product! So, that becomes sort of a quality mark for me! The food is alive so to speak and more natural, at least it seems that way to me! More authentic!</p>
	<p><b>Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)</b></p> <p>No, not at all. I don't think I'm being presented for enough information in these matters! I know that I quite easily can go on my computer and look things up, but you don't do that in your daily day, unless there is anything specific that you would want to look up! But that hasn't happen in a long time! But, sometimes I read on the milk cartons... That's a good place... yes, in the supermarkets I might very well read on the packaging! Hehe, yes, and the last thing a read was that</p>

	<p>Arla's cattle are bred out in the fields! It is not that these things can be seen as "the" source of reliable information - but it could be! I believe that would be a great place to inform consumers about what "organic" actually is. I mean, it shouldn't be possible to buy a piece of meat without being informed about where it has been produced, I have to be given the choice and I think I would take the time to read it if was presented in in a good way on the products - and I don't think that is the case today!</p> <p>I feel sometimes that as a consumer, the industry is loaded with secrecy, with no transparency so there is no way for us... And don't feel that you can get any straight answers from no-one! it feels like that, as a consumers, there are many areas where I feel that one is taken advantage of... We are being told to do this and that, but "facts" are never followed up upon and it is never properly researched- at least not that comes to our attentions as consumers! There has to be a higher authority that goes in and control these things! I mean, why don't the supermarkets present you with information! For example: this organic carrot has been produced in this way and this other non-organic carrot has been produced in this way! Why is this not written so that we just can read it!? Black on white!</p>
	<p><b>Could you describe any emotions you might have towards organic products!?</b></p> <p>I think organic foods have something "old fashioned" about it! That I think has to be put into a modern system. At least, in my ideological mind-set, organic product is a bit slower and more cosy and more natural! And a step in the right direction! Something that is positive! I can't see anything that should people from supporting this direction where, hopefully, nothing is used in the production process! I think it is wrong the way in which we have to buy things! I have to wash my organic carrots as they have been treated with all sort of strange things that taste weird! They don't have any peel! Because they have been placed in some substance to get the dirt of, they are almost all</p>

	<p>clean when we take them out of the bag! I'm tired of my cucumber being packed in plastic; the tomatoes are placed in these small pretty boxes! What is up with that!!? I don't think we need all these packaging! The organic industry could be much better in this matter! Especially with the fruit and vegetables, everything is pre-packed! We are so distant from the production! People don't have a clue of what it takes, they get there food straight into there homes and they hardly need to wash the dirt of! I mean, if you get a carrot straight from the soil it tastes a 100 times better! I would prefer to have that sort of products and having to wash it before I eat it, but I don't think people in general are up for that, they can't be bothered! It's a shame! People don't have time and meals are not that important in that way, people don't have time! But if I had the choice I would without a doubt by the organic ones that not have been pre-treated with all sorts of strange things to get the dirt of!</p>
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<b>Veblenian effect:</b>	<p><b>Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?</b></p> <p>I don't think so... Well, maybe with meat. I general only buy beef when it is on sales at Irma, you can get to steaks for 60 kr rather than 120 kr or something like that. But yes, I guess the price is way to at least guide you in the level of quality. Yes, when I see something and it is pricy I would think that it is better then the cheaper one!</p>
	<p><b>How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b></p> <p>Well, yes I believe it does affect me! Many organic products are packed in these, kind of "natural" colours, and muesli and flour for example, they are always packed in these soft, light and white'ish colours whereas the conventional products most of the time are packed in these a lot brighter colours! Clearly there is a difference in aesthetics! They are trying to make it seem like that their packaging is more natural! I think...</p>
	<p><b>Imagine the following situation - You have invited a number of friends over for dinner and you are heading down to purchase your groceries --- Would you say that you are more inclined to purchase</b></p>

	<p><b>organic products that if you were cooking for yourself/household?</b></p> <p>If I can and if I have enough money, I'll buy organic. But sometimes, when I'm buying large quantities, it simply gets to expensive!</p>
	<p><b>You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy – when checking out at the counter – how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?</b></p> <p>I don't really think about what other think about me. Or, well, I'm not completely blinded towards what my shopping basket says about me! Of course! But, if people have an opinion about it... I can only hope that it is something positive!</p>

<b>Snob effect &amp; Distinction:</b>	<p><b>Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?</b></p> <p>Well, everybody knows that it is an option on the market. But, how many that actually buys it, I have no clue! Maybe 40%, yes, between 30-40%!</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>It is people lives a less stressful day! Not necessarily people with a higher income but people that has some sort of love for the nature and their own wellbeing. And maybe that is correlated with things like a more harmonic lifestyle and a better financial situation. I think some generations that really care about this! Young mothers these days and younger generations are extremely aware of these matters. At least in the capital region! I also think it correlated with the level of education, those with a longer and higher education probably buys more organic food!</p>
	<p><b>Do you perceive organic foods as somewhat exclusive?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think it is a luxury to be able to buy organic! I have the freedom not having to choose products that are sprayed with all sorts of things! So yes, it is a matter of priority! It feels good; it is a luxury, a way to spoil myself! A personal satisfaction...</p>

<p><b>Bandwagon effect:</b></p>	<p><b>How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>Again, not enough! Maybe around.... I think one could divide them into different categories, I don't think that there are that many that are as fanatic as me! That, you know, try at all times to buy organic! Maybe 20%. 40% care about it but do not buy it at all times and at any cost, not as picky about it. And the rest probably don't care at all..</p>
	<p><b>How do you think that affects you?</b></p> <p>If I feel inspired by people they might very well influence my consumption and me! For example, some people i know bought a whole cow and shared it with a group of people! A cow that has been bred in the area, you know where it has been living and who the farmer was and more or less who actually killed it in the end! You get 30 kg meat that you shove into your freezer! That sort of thing I would love to do! I mean they idea about it! I don't eat that much meat... I don't think one should.</p> <p>My boyfriend has influenced me a lot as well. When he is out shopping, well, he knows that he have to buy organic milk and eggs but he doesn't chose organic vegetables all that often. So yes, he have influenced me sometimes to chose the non-organic alternative as you get a lot more for your money! And can understand the principle in it, I'm usually the one that pays, for food since I'm doing most of the shopping - All of the sudden I feel that I can't afford it in the same way as I'm paying for the two of us! Before it was only for myself - and if I was single I would only buy organic! So, yes I'm compromising a bit on my values. So, it is annoying some times - if only it was the same price!</p> <p>I don't think it would lose some sort of value if the price was just the same as other things! I think, there has been a debate about whether organic is "value for the money you pay", and I think a lot of people are held back because they can't see why they should pay the extra 2 kr for the milk. Not that they don't want to buy organic they just don't want to pay more! Food is important in our society.. I mean food should be a bit</p>



	exclusive, in the sense that meat shouldn't be something one eats everyday! The best would be if everyone had the opportunity to buy organic!
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## 4. INTERVIEW Y2

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> Y2  <b>Date:</b> 5/6
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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<b>Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes</b>	<b>How old are you?</b>				
	27				
	<b>What is your civil status?</b>				
	In a relationship, with one child.				
	<b>How many people live in your household?</b>				
	3				
	<b>What level/type of education do you have?</b>				
	Up to 9th grade, I did not finish high-school				
	<b>What's your annual income level ?</b>				
	100.-250				
	<b>0- 100.</b>	<b>100.-250.</b>	<b>250.-400.</b>	<b>400.-600.</b>	<b>600.+</b>

	<b>How often do you shop?</b>
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General shopping habits	Every second, if not every day!		
	Where do you buy your groceries? & Why?		
	Fakta, because it is easiest for me. If I were really rich I would only shop at Irma. Yes, Fakta because it is closest to me, and it is cheap!		
	How do you plan your shopping beforehand?		
	I don't plan. Well, sometimes I plan but remember the things that I'm after.		
	Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?		
	No. I probably should, but I don't. Most of the time I don't notice any discounts...		
	Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?		
	No, I'm afraid I forget to look at the prices, or I do. I try, but it's not going that well. I mean I chose Fakta over Irma but that, you know, I don't look at the prices but in the end when you are paying you can really feel the difference!		
	How much is:		
	A litre of ordinary milk is 6 kr, organic milk is 8 or 9 kr, a kg of potatoes is 12 kr.		
	A l of conventional milk?	A l of organic milk?	A kilo of potatoes?
	Describe the selection process when you shop for groceries ... ?		
	Well, I go for the things that look the best. I look at the package and if I can see what's inside... Hmm, of course, I think affected in one way or the other my commercials and the media. So, things that I seem to recognize I think I chose more than other things. Why, I don't know - it is probably quite stupid, but I believe that that I think, "Well, this I have seen before so that is probably good". I try not to choose, things that think of as a bit suspect - things like... I'm disgusted by things like chicken where it is written "13% added water", that's just disgusting. Corn-chicken, just sounds disgusting!		
	Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...		
	Sometimes I don't care, mostly with the basic stuff like toilet paper, tissues, and things like that. But, with washing powder, I don't know why but I never bought a discount version there... Maybe it is because I believe in		

	the commercials - I know that sounds stupid... Also with ketchup for example, it is most likely something that I have convinced myself, but I think Heinz tastes much better than any alternative
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<b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b>	<b>Describe your general interest in food?</b>  Hmm, not that much... I like to eat well but it depends on how much time I have. It has become better as I have grown older - I don't like to eat any crap. But I can't say that it is the most important in my daily day...
	<b>How often do you cook at home?</b>  Oh, not that often anymore, I work quite late. I try to cook at least twice a week; I would do more often if I had the time. My boyfriend is cooking for me! We don't buy take-away. I think we eat something simple like rye bread sandwiches about once a week!
	<b>Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?</b>  No, I'm afraid not. I don't know why, we don't go out to restaurant that much when we are at home. Cafés, yes, but that is quite simple. No, we hardly do it while we are here, when we are out on vacation it is an everyday thing... I don't know, it is harder now with our baby. I want to go out more!

<b>Organic food:</b>	<b>How often do you buy organic? - say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b>  Everyday! I think 7 out of ten are organic products!
	<b>What drives you to chose organic over conventional products? Why?</b>  I have an idea that it is better for the environment... Also for the animals. You know, they use all sort of spray things, and when it is organic... I hope... well. If it is organic the animals have had better conditions, or in the time they have been living they have been used for there function (?) Well, maybe they have had a more fun life! regarding the environment, I think it is important not to use heavy spray agents to keep stuff from the vegetables. They are eventually

<p>drawn in to the soil! I don't know if the consumer can make a difference, but it is better than nothing, that's what I think. You have to start somewhere. I think, Denmark, maybe Copenhagen is quite good at these things. I think more people buy organic now than say, 10 years ago! So something is getting done I think!</p>			
<p><b>Is this something you have grown up with?</b></p> <p>No, I don't think there has been that much focus on this in my family. I can remember us talking about it in my family, but again, it is more about animal care than environmental issues.</p>			
<p><b>My own health!?</b></p>	<p><b>Environmental issues!?</b></p>	<p><b>Animal welfare!?</b></p>	<p><b>Makes me feel good!?</b></p>
<p><b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b></p> <p>Either it is because they don't have it or that it doesn't look as fresh. Prices usually don't keep me from it. I can feel a bit cheated sometimes, but it is not a major barrier.</p>			
<p><b>Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to purchase organic?</b></p> <p>When I have seen a Tv-show about organic foods. There was a period where I think there was a lot of focus on the welfare of the animals and battery chickens - I come to think that "ok, from here on I will dedicate my whole life to organic foods" hehe... I don't make anything extra out of situations when we are having guests as such.</p>			
<p><b>Are there any specific products you always buy organic?</b></p> <p>I believe it is most important with eggs, milk and meat. Everything else, is a bit more random, it depends on how it looks! Vegetables, I also buy quite a lot of organic. Especially citrus fruit due the peel. But things like cucumbers, tomatoes and salads, I tend to not care that much if the don't look as fresh. Flour and those sorts of things I prefer to by organic but it is not as important. But with the animal based products I don't compromise as much.</p>			
<p><b>Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?</b></p> <p>I don't think about it like that, I don't know. The groups that I have chosen are quite small so if you talk to others I'm sure that you'll find people that are much more into it than me, they shop in health shops and that sort of things. I mean, I</p>			

	<p>but it if I can find it in my supermarket. no, I don't see my self as an organic person! I mean, I don't buy organic cotton - I like when I find something for my daughter at H&amp;M, they had some organic clothing at some point. I don't know, I think there is a difference between clothing and foods, as I'm actually eating the food...</p>
	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>That's great! It is great that others care about it. Well, everything has a limit. I think sometimes I'm turned off when people are too extreme about it. You know when they let these control things completely! But at the same time, it is liberating! Certainly it looks better than when you see products with that blue brand (discount brand), X-tra, hehe, I usually think about discount as something quite groce...</p> <p>Maybe I think... That they (People that consume a lot of organic) have grown up with these things so they are more focused on the organic shelf. Also, the people that I meet that have a lot of focus on organic are younger than me, so I think it is something that has to do with one's upbringing! I don't think there was much fuss about it in the eighties. So the people I meet that I think "Wow, all these organic products" they have grown up in the nineties! So maybe there could be a difference there. Hm, and maybe I think that I want to buy more organic and I get reminded about the issue!</p>

<b>Involvement and quality:</b>	<p><b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?</b></p> <p>It's important! hm, yes. If it is products where you can see the difference, like vegetables and meat, it is important. But things like flour... or again, the smaller things. I mean, I would not feel that bad about buying a bag of discount flour! But discount dairy products</p>
	<p><b>How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?</b></p> <p>It is something that you can see or feel, like with vegetables. And again, the package means a lot in a physiological way, the impressions you get. If it looks cheap, I'm turned off!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than</b></p>

	<p><b>conventional products?</b></p> <p>I actually don't know. In some cases, yes! I believe the meat is better. I really hope that the cows and chicken and the pigs had a better life - I don't know if this is true, but I hope so! And yes, that makes it taste better and it gives me a better conscious when I eat it!</p>
	<p><b>Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)</b></p> <p>No, I don't follow the issue in that way. But If there is an article or a documentary, I do find it interesting!</p>
	<p><b>Do you consider organic produce a premium product? Is that the best you can get in you supermarket?</b></p> <p>Well, yes, maybe that's true! I think that the organic label puts the product up on a higher level. Sometimes it just seems better. I can't explain why. But, for example, fair-trade, that is also something that I would want to support, but there have been these stories about people buying a fair-trade certificate! So, that has just fallen completely in value for me! So, whether I want or not I'm affected by things that I hear and see...</p>

<b>Veblenian effect:</b>	<p><b>Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?</b></p> <p>Not necessarily, no. Not always, the visual impression you get... you know discount products just look so cheap</p>
	<p><b>How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b></p> <p>It is hard to say what it is that catches my attention, maybe it is not about the package per se but that I'm affected by all these commercials. It is hard to say, I don't know what makes my chose something over something else. Well, sometime ago I boycotted Arla, and they have some pretty nice packages, but that was because the had a slogan "-Arla, closer to nature" and I thought that was some bullshit. I think I saw it on DR2, you are not at all closer to nature when you buy Arla, they stil treat there cattle like shit so I didn't feel that it was a truthful slogan! I rather buy "Thise" milk, I think</p>

	<p>it is Fakta's own brand.</p>
	<p><b>You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy – when checking out at the counter – how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?</b></p> <p>I will feel really bad about it! Hm, I don't think I would buy it!</p> <p>Yes, I think about what other people buy... I don't think I think about what other people buy. Yes, sometimes I don't care but many times I think " aah, that looks really shitty" the things they have in their basket. And I think I focus a lot on when I see people that have chosen all these really cheap things and I wonder why! Is it because they can't afford more expensive products or if they use the excuse that they are students, or yes... Often I think it looks crappie or with girls that they are completely fanatic, you know, with organic and really healthy products, those two things are connected, it is those hippies, that buys nothing but organic, it looks so exaggerated! And then you have the ones that buy nothing but the discount brands; they just look sad and fat! It is like there no middle ground! hehe, yes I put them into boxes!</p>

<b>Snob effect &amp; Distinction:</b>	<p><b>Would you say that organic foods are limited in supply compared to conventional products? Is it harder to get a hold of?</b></p> <p>Yes. It is getting better and better, but there could easily be twice as much. it depends on what you are looking for... If you had the possibility to buy everything organic, but again, the price is still a factor, that probably why most Danes say is the reason the don't buy organic! But if you had the possibility and a better supply I think I would slowly but surely increase my organic consumption. As it is now, it is too big of a project to find it all!</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>I think a lot of the organic food consumers are a bit like me, people that want to make a difference but are not</p>



	<p>so proactive about it... That is, you won't find us in a health shop! I also believe there is a difference between Copenhagen and other places! I think "city people", as you asked about whether I'm aware of what other people might think - I think in some way, you get some sort of personal satisfaction when you can show that you buy organic! Because you can show that you care about these things, in some way it is like, a hip thing! I think you send the signals that you are reflective in your consumer choices and that you think about who you are supporting in your choices! Yes, I think it goes hand-in-hand with what it means to be a modern Copenhagener!</p> <p>I think a lot of students really want to support the organic movement but as they don't have that much money, they are not able to do it. Yes, sure I understand that for some people, it is hard to spend the extra money. But I believe it is a matter of priority!</p>
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<b>Bandwagon effect:</b>	<p><b>How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>I don't know... I really don't know! I think friends of my own age or those that are younger care more than for example my family..</p>
	<p><b>How do you think that affects you?</b></p> <p>I don't think I have been that affected by that. I think it is mostly the medias...</p>

## 5. INTERVIEW Y3

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> Y3  <b>Date:</b> 7/6-12
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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<b>Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes</b>	<b>How old are you?</b>				
	27				
	<b>What is your civil status?</b>				
	Single				
	<b>How many people live in your household?</b>				
	It is me alone...				
	<b>What level/type of education do you have?</b>				
	I got a masters degree ...				
	<b>What's your annual income level ?</b>				
	100.-250.				
	<b>0- 100.</b>	<b>100.-250.</b>	<b>250.-400.</b>	<b>400.-600.</b>	<b>600.+</b>

<b>General shopping habits</b>	<b>How often do you shop?</b>
	2-3 times a week
	<b>Where do you buy your groceries? &amp; Why?</b>
	I buy most my stuff in Netto, Rema1000 and sometimes in Irma. Mostly because they are close to where I live

<p>and they are cheap. Irma I go to sometimes as the have some better products...</p>		
<p><b>How do you plan your shopping beforehand?</b></p> <p>I don't plan that much. Sometimes when I'm having guests a make a list but mostly its just by impulse, you know coming back from work, I buy the things that I remember that a lack and just quickly come up with something to cook for dinner.</p>		
<p><b>Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?</b></p> <p>I don't get the "tilbudsaviser" but yes, I do notice discounts in the shop though, 2 for 1 offers, I often go for those... And I always remember to check the receipt afterwards.</p>		
<p><b>How much is:</b></p> <p>I think an ordinary milk is 4,5 kr and an organic milk is 8,75! Hm, a kilo of potatoes, if you buy them by weight I think they are like 4 kr and a bag is like 12 kr, I don't know...</p>		
<p><b>A l of conventional milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A l of organic milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A kilo of potatoes?</b></p>
<p><b>Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...</b></p> <p>I don't think I relate that much to brands... I'm thinking, there are discount brands that are organic, I could very well buy those. I'm a bit price sensitive in those cases. Well, there is of course Løgismose in Netto where I think, aaah, ok this is some good stuff. Could be better quality butter and these sort of things... They produce butter, "skyr" and "koldskål", I think of Løgismose as a good brand. I'm thinking quality and better products, plus they also produce more, hm, delicate products! It's delicious and also a bit different! And I don't connected it with discount-supermarkets but they sell it at Netto, so I don't think it is that expensive- but still good! (...) I don't know if it is organic, but I associate it with that! But, I also buy "landlord" in Rema1000, which is their private-brand.</p> <p>But yes, there are a lot of other brands; you know standard-product brands that I do not really know, one</p>		

	or the other...
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<b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b>	<b>Describe your general interest in food?</b>  I does mean a great deal to me! Hm, yes it depends. I want to say that, it depends on how busy I am, and the busier I am the less it means and the less time I end up spending on food. But if I have the time, I like to cook some good food and invite friends over. But yes, on a a ten point scale, maybe 6-7, or 7-8, around there.. I mean, I don't have a huge interest in food, I know many people that are a lot more into it than me. Sure, I like to cook good food and I get a good feeling when I buy something that I think is good and delicious, but it is not my top priority.
	<b>How often do you cook at home?</b>  That also depends, maybe 3 to 4 for times a week. Mostly for myself but sometimes also with friends.
	<b>Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?</b>  Yes I do. I keep track of new restaurants that open... But maybe it is more of general interest in the city and new developments rather than a 100% interest in food. But yes, there is a whole lot of things going on with regards to food and gastronomy. Both with smaller specialized shops that brand themselves through their "Danishness" or by selling fresh products, so that interest me to some degree, but there is a limit...

<b>Organic food:</b>	<b>How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b>  Maybe 4 or 5, it also depends... Always milk, eggs and butter. But yes milk is really a must, I can't understand how people can buy anything else! But yes, sometimes also vegetables. it depends on how much more expensive they are than other products.
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<p><b>What drives you to chose organic over conventional products? Why?</b></p> <p>Well, the price... You know, the milk the price difference is not that great. Same thing with carrots, not that big of a difference, so I usually buy that. But apples for example, organic apples are often a lot more expensive, but if they look a lot better i might buy them anyway. Simply put, if the price difference is not that great, I will mostly chose the organic alternative.</p> <p>I consider how the products have been treated and if the cows have been breed out in the green, and the milk is fresher and more, hm, more direct from production, I think... Regarding the vegetables and fruits I think it is mostly about whether or not they have been subject to all sorts of crop sprays and other treatments, pesticides and other weird things you put in your mouth!</p> <p>It makes my feel healthier and I want to say that you also are doing something good for the environment, but I don't know if that is true. For me it is also the feeling that the animals lived a better life!</p> <p>Yes, I don't know much about it, but I think if there where more organic farms and if more people bought organic products and the organic production would be greater... There would be less polution and less crops sprays that would pollute our soil and so on... I'm sure there are many other aspects that I don't know of but have an effect on the environment, so I'm convinced that it is known that through supporting the organic movement, one can make a difference for the environment!</p>				
<p><b>What are the criterion that makes a product organic?</b></p> <p>Ooh, hehe. That it is not produced and treated with crop sprays, and the cows are not fed with things that hove been produced with those things, it is more natural what they eat. Eeehm, yes. That is all I can say about that...</p>				
My own health!?		Environmental issues!?	Animal welfare!?	Makes me feel good!?

	<p><b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b></p> <p>It is mostly the price! But I have this ideological thinking that if I could buy all things organic I would be “so healthy” and even sustainable for the environment, but maybe it is because I don’t have necessary knowledge about it.</p>
	<p><b>How much more expensive is organic foods?</b></p> <p>Well, yes... It could be when I’m having guests! So that I can say that "yes, this bread is made with organic flour and organic pumpkin-seeds - it is connected to the experience you get... So yes, that could certainly be one of those situations. I think one sends these signals of sustainability and that you think about ones surroundings and the nature and the animals. Some people say that it tastes better, maybe with things like carrots I can taste it, but I would also say - I don’t think that I downright can taste the difference, but maybe it is because I’m inexperienced. I’m not convinced that there is a difference in taste, but it depends. But it is another thing, the taste, you know, "yees, now we are eating organic and so on..."</p> <p>And also if its on discount or if it isn’t that expensive.</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?</b></p> <p>I believe, well, it is not like a 100% me. But neither is not at all me... I like to be apart of it and think about these issues but, again, I’m not an expert. I do like to eat good products and yes... 50/50!</p>
	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>I probably think... Well, as I said before: that they care about the environment and the society but also about quality and the taste... I probably also think, ok they probably get pretty good salary! Yes, certainly, if like a good majority of the products are organic I do think that the person in question have substantial financial means, but again, there are also a lot of people that really care about these issues and in these cases it is not necesarilly about the money!</p>

	<b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what</b>
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<b>Involvement and quality:</b>	<p><b>to buy?</b></p> <p>That's, again, it depends on what sort of product we are talking about. A cheese for example, I prefer to pay a bit more for a quality product, whether it is organic or not.</p>
	<p><b>How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?</b></p> <p>I think about where it comes from. Is it Danish? That is the sort of thinking I have mostly with vegetables and meat... But also, yes, if it is organic, that is also some sort of symbol of quality. Again the taste, it least it should taste a bit better. Basically, quality is that is a good product.</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than conventional products?</b></p> <p>See above</p>
	<p><b>Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)</b></p> <p>No, I haven't. Well, I read an article about it everyone's in while. Especially when you are confronted with it, like " You are unhealthy if you eat non-organic fruits" or whatever. But, no I cant say that I actively how looked it up!</p>

<b>Veblenian effect:</b>	<p><b>Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?</b></p> <p>Yes, in some ways it is. But you can also get a bit cheated on this, I think I'm probably quite easy to trick in that sense that I would jump on the organic-bandwagon, you know, "it is super good to buy this" and I end up doing it as everybody else is doing it! You know "it tastes better" oh okay, so yes if it is politically correct to do, I'll also do it... but, yes, I don't know if the price always is correlated with the quality but it is probably a good indicator. But, if it is fair that a milk should 50 or 100% more expensive than a conventional one... I don't know if that's a fair reflexion of the quality.</p>
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	<p><b>How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b></p> <p>Yes, sure. I do think about it in some situations. If it's branded in some way, for example at Rema1000, there is milk where the package is made of something that is degradable. It looks like plastic, I don't know, it is CO2 neutral! It is written on the package, and it is organic - I always buy that one. And you know, a bunch of tomatoes in a nice little paper box is much more appealing than the once in a plastic bag. So, yes, like more "natural" looking package... It feels more authentic with the paper boxes than plastic.</p>
	<p><b>You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy - when checking out at the counter - how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?</b></p> <p>Yes, I would buy the non-organic product. I could not be bothered to go to another store! But I would feel a bit embarrassed while standing in the queue loading up my products... And that's also the case when I have chosen non-organic products, you know hehe, I look over my shoulder if someone significant is standing behind me I would feel embarrassed to buy these other things! I think I'm a bit conscious over what other people might think. it is like when you are having guests! For me, I believe it is some sort of trend. Some jumps on it without knowing to much about it, that's probably me, and others are more into it! You know, if I see someone else picking the non-organic milk, I think... I don't know - weird, I think I look down on them... And vice versa, if I see someone buying loads of organic products I think "Wow" that is someone with integrity and beliefs... I think it is also something that might change when you have children!</p>

<b>Snob effect &amp; Distinction:</b>	<p><b>Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?</b></p> <p>Ooh, I don't know. I think it is quite a lot. Maybe 50%! Maybe more... Well, 43%! Ah, ok, 53%</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic foods are limited in supply compared to</b></p>



	<p><b>conventional products? Is it harder to get a hold of?</b></p> <p>Yes I guess it is. But it has really started to change; you see a lot of that "Urtekram" in Netto for example. But, I would say, there is nothing that I would lack. You can find the everyday things, milk eggs, butter... Most cold cuts, are available as well I think.</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>I would want to say families, as I said before because of the children. And probably also because they have more solid financial situation, better than students at least. And it is probably also a "big city" thing, as it is a bit trendy. Plus the supply is probably better in larger cities, or, I don't know if that is true... In the age-group between 35-40 and certainly people with a higher level of education! And again, with a solid income! I think maybe women are keener on organic products. But then, there is this tendency with male gourmets! Especially among my friends..</p>

<b>Bandwagon effect:</b>	<p><b>How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>Yes, a lot of my friends are into organic, probably more than 50%! Yes, I know a bunch of people that are really into food, not only organic, but a high general interest! So, I can really feel this boost in focus and interest in food. Both in the ways it is treated and cooked and also in the products and where they come from and how they are produced! You know, "Fødevarefælleskabet" and "Årstiderne, having food delivered to the door...</p>
	<p><b>How do you think that affects you?</b></p> <p>I'm sure it affects my interest, I can feel that... Well it is a thing that one quite easily can be a part of and ask about, you know, everyone cooks and makes coffee. So if there is someone who is interested and knows a bit about it I feel that I want to learn a bout it these things. So yes, It invokes my curiosity!</p>
	<p><b>Would you agree to that there is some sort of social pressure in your network to consume in a certain way?</b></p>

	<p>Yes, yes! You know... maybe, you don't feel like being the one that stands outside of all of this! Like when you are having guests, and you just went the other one that only served organic, it is like "bad-standing". So yes! i certainly believe this is true and the more people that are doing it you more I feel that I need to keep up! it is like when all of your friends are into wines and only buy the really good ones, I mean, I can't be serving the scrappiest one although I might not self be that into it! So yes, I think there is this social pressure! Again, it is like this trend! that I think of it as a trend that will stop at some point. Maybe "Trend" is maybe not the right word. Maybe "hip"! In the last years there have been a lot of focus on Danish food, so, I don't know maybe it is a trend... But not with organic, that is something that is here to stay and to get more developed! And I hope that is getting more and more a common thing and that it get cheaper so that everyone can be a part of it!</p>
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<b>Hedonic effect:</b>	<p><b>Describe your feelings you get when you consume organic food!</b></p> <p>I would love to able to say the thing with the taste, but I don't have enough documentation to do that! But there gives my some sort of satisfaction, that there is no pesticides and the cow has hopefully had a better life, at least better than the German cow! I don't know if it is self satisfaction but it is like a tap on my own shoulder when you open the refrigerator and you see, I just bought organic ketchup and mayonnaise by the way, and it standing there... Yes, just by looking at it! It looks better and more authentic!</p>
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## 6. INTERVIEW X2

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> X2 <b>Date:</b> 25/5
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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Introduction - Trying to fit them into archetypes	How old are you?				
	31				
	What is your civil status?				
	Student / Single				
	How many people live in your household?				
	One				
	What level/type of education do you have?				
	On-going, bachelors degree in Literature				
	What's your annual income level ?				
	0- 100.	100.-250.	250.-400.	400.-600.	600.+

General shopping habits	How often do you shop?
	I buy groceries every day
	Where do you buy your groceries? & Why?

<p>Most of the times I buy my groceries in DøgnNetto &amp; Fakta... anssome times Irma. DøgnNetto because it is the one closest to where i live, Fakta i buy the cheaper things and Irma beacuse of the quality products...</p>		
<p><b>How do you plan your shopping beforehand?</b></p> <p>It depends on what the different shops have... in Netto i buy organic milk and eggs, and some cheese, muesli and the small things for everyday use. Fakta I usually use for the same kind of products but when I´m off to buy larger quantities, some of the soya products are pretty good in Fakta. Irma i usually buy good wines and "nut-paste" and those sort of things. I plan according to the style that I eat.</p>		
<p><b>Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?</b></p> <p>No, not at all!</p>		
<p><b>Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?</b></p>		
<p><b>How much is:</b></p> <p>Hm, good question. I´m one of those who never looks at the prices - I think the organic milk that I usually buy costs 9 kr. No 10 kr! An ordinary milk is a bit less, 7 kr or something like that! I think! I don´t think that much about the price but more about what it is I´m buying! I´m not price sensitive at all! But I should be!</p>		
<p><b>A l of conventional milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A l of organic milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A kilo of potatoes?</b></p>
<p><b>Describe the selection process when you shop for groceries ... ?</b></p> <p>Eggs, for example, you know, I´m a vegetarian, I do eat fish though... And I eat eggs, I feel really bad if the eggs are from hens that have been in cages (Burhøns)! I cant have it! I only buy organic eggs, I don´t compromise on that one... Same thing milk for that matter. I also chose, I would say that I in general chose products from a environmental-economic perspective, as far as i can that is... And the fish that eat is also labelled by, something - I cant remember the name but its a symbol of, hm, good fishing practises... The fish is caught in areas where the are in a good environment and its not caught in areas that has almost emptied through over-fishing... and that</p>		

	is close to extinction
	<p><b>Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...</b></p> <p>Very loosely, I would say... There are a few brands that I really like. But I think I look more at the environmental aspects. Things like organic, if it is organic it is quality for me, then I believe that it is a good product. But then, I really like Lykkesmosse, I think that is pretty fantastic! They make some good stuff! Hm, I don't really know if it is organic... That brand... they have some really good products &amp; they know how to keep themselves updated in some ways, they make some chocolate products that I really like and they make... They make some good yoghurts, juice... I think it's Swedish, I don't know! They have pretty packaging! hahaha...</p>

<b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b>	<p><b>Describe your general interest in food?</b></p> <p>It means a lot, food is really important for me! Primarily, I believe, I have a philosophy that the food you eat, and put into your body it should be of a decent quality and I believe that we have a collective responsibility on a global level that the things you buy as a consumer in a way contributes to the rest of the world, in a long-term way... Through that I have most of my views and attitudes regarding organic foods - as an alternative to the big industries and their products. So, it's a mix of that I want something that I believe is healthy for my body but also a project of solidarity for me, that gives me the feeling that I take part in sustaining the world and make a difference through my consumption!</p>
	<p><b>How often do you cook at home?</b></p> <p>I cook once a day, in general. Mostly for myself!</p>
	<p><b>Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?</b></p> <p>No, not really!</p>

<b>Organic food:</b>	<b>How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b>
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<p>As many as possible I would say! 8 out of 10 ... But sometimes it is not available. Candy for example... there are not that many options. But the daily things, 8 out of 10. Also things like fair-trade... I buy fair trade coffee and bananas!</p>			
<p><b>What drives you to chose organic over conventional products? Why?</b></p> <p>Yes, since I´m vegetarian... I also think a lot about the wellbeing of animals! when you see the big industries and their ways of treating animals - I really get a bad feeling when I see that... so its certainly also about my conscious! I exist in this world and I have to face the fact that I have to eat something and then I feel that I prefer buying things that makes me feel good and at the same time take my social responsibility for everything that is connected! It´s a small step in the right direction at least!</p>			
<p><b>My own health!?</b></p>	<p><b>Environmental issues!?</b></p>	<p><b>Animal welfare!?</b></p>	<p><b>Makes me feel good!?</b></p>
<p><b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b></p> <p>Yes, its mostly when there is no organic alternative. Beers for example, you can get a hold of an organic Thy pilsner, and when I can will buy that alternative..</p>			
<p><b>How much more expensive is organic foods?</b></p> <p>Its starting to get closer... Well, the milk it is a little bit more expensive but not that much! Its 1 kr or 2 kr... but on something´s the price is virtually the same - but again, I´m not that price oriented, I cant pinpoint the prices on products...</p>			
<p><b>Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to purchase organic?</b></p> <p>No, not really I don´t think about that...</p>			
<p><b>Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?</b></p> <p>Yes, absolutely! I really think it does! I´m one of those, if I try to define myself ... Seen from the outside I think I would be one of those classic types that buys a lot of organic! I´m a humanist, have a solidary mind-set, and I´m creative, an artist and I´m a student ... You know, so</p>			

	<p>I'm in an environment of people that think in these terms and issues, aware of politics and aware of the society and world we live in.</p> <p>Yes, I really think so! I think we support each other in those things and one could probably also see it when we are in that group of people on a dinner for example we talk about foods - It feels good to be able to say that, - yes I buy organic and I support this movement, certainly more than I support the conventional agro-industry. So it is also a matter of identity, that you feel that you identify with the products that you buy...</p>
	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>Hm, good question! ... I think, great! Good! It makes me happy. It gives me some sort of satisfaction that others share my opinions in these matters that one through ones personal consumption can do something for oneself but also for others! Yes, the values that I have are in a way greater than myself...</p>

<p><b>Involvement and quality:</b></p>	<p><b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?</b></p> <p>Its in important factor! It's a matter of trust, when you buy a product from a producer I have to trust that the product have the highest quality possible! Yes, it is important for me! But, you know... because of my financial situation I sometime have to compromise and chose things that are - less quality oriented in order to save some money. If I have the choice alternative with two organic products and one is more expensive than the other I would chose the cheaper one, as I'm a student...</p>
	<p><b>How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?</b></p> <p>For me quality its two things when it comes to food produce. It is HOW it is produced and the taste. The production aspect i believe, if its produced under good conditions i think there is a higher probability that it is healthy and I have an idea about that if its produced</p>

	<p>under good conditions - the taste will also be better!</p> <p>So, i think it is about a mind-set that I have decided to have, I'm sure that if you where to set me up in a blind test I'm not sure that I would be able to tell the difference</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than conventional products?</b></p> <p>Its a very subjective question...</p>
	<p><b>Do you consider organic produce a premium product? Is that the best you can get in you supermarket?</b></p> <p>Yes, Organic is quality for me. It the best you can get!</p>

<b>Veblenian effect:</b>	<p><b>Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?</b></p> <p>Yes, price becomes and indicator of quality in way as one knows that takes a lot more for the organic producers, at least now in the beginning phase. Because it takes a lot longer, mass production in the conventional agro-business is trimmed to the bone and they use all sorts of machines for everything whereas organic farming demands a bit more time, they work under different conditions. And through that i feel that, well naturally it becomes more expensive, but yes, it is indicator of quality because it takes a greater effort.</p>
	<p><b>How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b></p> <p>yes and no... hm, I think, again it has to do with my financial situation - If I am to chose between two different kinds of milk and they both are organic I would chose the cheaper one I don't commit to a brand I that way... I don't think i notice the packaging that much... well, if they make something extraordinary I might. Løgesmose, it tastes good and they have a really nice packaging.</p>
	<p><b>You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy – when checking out at the counter – how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what</b></p>



	<p><b>the customer in front of you buys?</b></p> <p>I don't really think about what people think about me... Again, it is part of my philosophy that people should be aloud to choose whatever they please. But if I get around to talk to people, I would probably argue for why they should be more aware in their consumption choices.</p>
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<b>Snob effect &amp; Distinction:</b>	<p><b>Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?</b></p> <p>I think maybe 25% of the Danish population buys organic on a daily basis!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic foods are limited in supply compared to conventional products? Is it harder to get a hold of?</b></p> <p>It is getting better, but still it is quite limited in supply... I remember I was in Skagen last year and their was basically no organic products but when I came back some time after , there was a lot more to chose from... So its under development!</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>I think in general it is people with a higher level of education, people that are reading newspapers on a daily basis and has an income that is over the national average. but also students, I think there are a lot of students that chose organic...</p>

<b>Bandwagon effect:</b>	<p><b>How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>I did not really grow up with these values, my parents did not buy organic... But my impression is that a lot of people, at least the majority of my friends and people in my network buys organic. There is also those who don't, but most do I believe...</p>
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<p><b>Hedonic effect:</b></p>	<p><b>Describe your feelings you get when you consume organic food!</b></p> <p>Again, I think it is related to identity and that I can feel that I , as a consumer, can make a little difference and that gives me a feeling of satisfaction. I buy things that is organic and of a higher quality and there is a humane though behind and its just not about some sort of added value but some human values. So the taste and my democratic and political engagement!</p> <p>Through buying organic I feel that I can make a difference and in a way it I feel that through my consumption I can give something back to the society and the world as a whole...</p>
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## 7. INTERVIEW X3

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> X3  <b>Date:</b> June 2
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes	How old are you?				
	26				
	What is your civil status?				
	I'm single				
	How many people live in your household?				
	It is only me				
	What level/type of education do you have?				
	I'm close to being done with my masters degree, I study at a Business School				
	What's your annual income level ?				
	Between 0- 100				
	<b>0- 100.</b>	<b>100.-250.</b>	<b>250.-400.</b>	<b>400.-600.</b>	<b>600.+</b>

General shopping habits	How often do you shop?				
	I buy groceries two to three times a week. Three time a				

week		
<b>Where do you buy your groceries? &amp; Why?</b>  In general, I buy my stuff in the "discount" shops such as Fakta and Netto. Every once in while, but relatively rarely, I complement in the more expensive shops such as Irma, SuperBrugsen and føtex. It is mostly about the price...		
<b>How do you plan your shopping beforehand?</b>  I don't plan in general, it just comes "as I go". Sometimes, I have some idea of what I'm after beforehand, but in general I buy the things that I always buy and some things are more of an impulse, if I need anything special... It is quite unstructured, or, structured in the sense that I have my shopping habits.		
<b>Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?</b>  Not at all, I never read the "tilbudsaviser". I notice things while I'm in the supermarkets, but it's never something that I look at beforehand!		
<b>Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?</b>  Yes, I'm extremely price sensitive.		
<b>How much is:</b>  A litre of milk is 8 kr and a litre of organic milk is 11 kr. A kg potatoes is 15 kr.		
<b>A l of conventional milk?</b>	<b>A l of organic milk?</b>	<b>A kilo of potatoes?</b>
<b>Describe the selection process when you shop for groceries ... ?</b>  With regards to what I end up putting in the basket it is dependent on how the shop is structure but regarding the selection process of the individual products, it first and foremost comes down to the price, especially when it comes to the more basic products, oatmeal and potatoes like you mentioned... then there are other product categories where I probably look more on the brand and quality aspects, for example with meat! So, mostly it is about the price but also quality...		
<b>Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...</b>  In some categories, brands are more important. Products that have some sort of freshness, meat or vegetables or		

	dairy products, in these cases I look more at brands and quality.
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<b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b>	<b>Describe your general interest in food?</b>  It really means a lot! I like food and I like to be interested in food - and I like it when I have time for good food! It is not something that I have cared that much about before, but I want to say that now to a larger degree care about cooking good and solid food and using a bit of time on it... and making it apart of my lifestyle, the things with caring and spending some time on it. I think that sends some good signals of resources, to spend time on food and doing the cooking yourself - that is something that want to stand for!
	<b>How often do you cook at home?</b>  I think I cook at home, excluding breakfast; I cook dinner 4 times a week. Sometimes I'll bring some take-away, or I'm eating out or at friends or families.
	<b>Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?</b>  No, I would not say so. I usually hear these things from friends people I know... Well, it I do find it a bit interesting, more now that I have a little bit more money. And I think an interest that will grow as I'm going to earn a bit more money.

<b>Organic food:</b>	<b>How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b>  Well, I think, in reality, it is probably just one out of ten. Typically milk or eggs, or minced meat... for example. it could also be organic vegetables..
	<b>What drives you to chose organic over conventional products? Why?</b>  Hm, I think it is... Well, it just feels I bit more fresh and a bit nicer... And on special occasions, for example when I'm having guests over or I'm cooking for someone else. In situations where I want to make something extra. When I want to do something that is a bit more tasty and fresh, I would say that I'm probably more drawn to buying organic products.

<p>I wouldn't say that I think that much about health aspects. Maybe when it comes to chickens and eggs but I would not say that this is something that motivates me that much. I don't think it makes a difference for my health, I'm not a healthier person if I eat organic. Of course, I think about what sort of substances you put in your mouth but I never really cared about these things.</p> <p>I understand the environmental issues, but it is not something that I think about when I'm out shopping. Sometimes when I read an article on the subject I think about it. but not even close when I'm out shopping- that is the environmental issues. But, I like to think that when I buy the organic milk I like it is this happy cow that runs around in the fields, under better conditions rather than being crammed together somewhere. Same things with the eggs and chickens, I like to think that these are some animals that had a good life.</p>			
<b>My own health!?</b>	<b>Environmental issues!?</b>	<b>Animal welfare!?</b>	<b>Makes me feel good!?</b>
<p><b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b></p> <p>It is in general the price! If the prices were the same I would probably buy organic since, partly because it sends some good signals to my surroundings that I care about the world, you know, that I care about environmental issues and the well being of animals and those sort of things, and partly because it should be the most sustainable solution. But as the price is set today, it is simply too expensive to buy organic. So it is undoubtedly the price that keeps me from it!</p>			
<p><b>Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to purchase organic?</b></p> <p>Yes, like I said, I would be more prone to buy organic in situations where I'm having guests, friends or family, also I as I think it looks good to have your refrigerator packed with organic products! It sends a signal of resources and that one reflects over one's role in society with regards to environmental issues and animal care but also that you have the resources to take the "right" decisions, if one can say that... But of course, in some situations I just get an impulse to buy organic, it is hard to say why. But mostly when other people are involved in the process.</p>			

	<p><b>Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?</b></p> <p>yes, you know, I like to think that it does - or - like to think about myself as someone that buys organic! Totally! And I think as one day when I make a bit of money, I think that it is going to be something that I will buy to a larger extent. Also because it fits better into my lifestyle and I think of my role in relation to society and with regards to sustainability and environmental issues. That's a signal I want to send!</p>
	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>Well, as I said about what I want others to think about me, those are of course the things that I think about people, when I'm at there place and can see a lot of organic products and good quality foods. It sends a signal of financial resources but also that they have the time to cook food and their surroundings - it looks good, I think!</p>

<b>Involvement and quality:</b>	<p><b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?</b></p> <p>I would say, basically I believe that, and hope that, all the products tat find their ways to the supermarkets are of an "ok" quality, there are some "safety nets" that guarantees a certain quality. Basically, I'm not worried when buying low-end products, I'm ok with that! But when I buy quality, again it is usually when I'm having guests, when I'm cooking for someone or sometimes just when I want to pamper myself. It is not within certain product categories, well, maybe... I never buy discount Coke (Soda), there are some categories I wont compromise on quality, but this only with vary few categories...</p>
	<p><b>How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?</b></p> <p>I have some sort of expectations - it could be the brand are the packaging - but how I have come to concluded things - I can not say.</p> <p>Of course, I wine from France sounds better than a one from South Africa, that sort of thing is also true with other products. Cheese from France, some things just</p>

	<p>sound better! Yes, the national origin can make a difference, Samsø potatoes, yes, clearly there is something there...</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than conventional products?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think so! That is something I want to believe in, organic products hold a higher quality. I know that there is probably not proved that it tastes better, set in a blind test or something but I beleive it is a good product! When you buy organic products</p>
	<p><b>Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)</b></p> <p>No, not really. I have discussed it a bit in a business context. The various organic standards that are set in Europe, and what it means when something is produced organically in Italy and what it means it is produced in Denmark, and EU standards. But, that was a bit random - I have not really looked it up as such.</p>
	<p><b>Do you consider organic produce a premium product? Is that the best you can get in you supermarket?</b></p> <p>I don't want to go that far. There are always some products that are not organic that I would say are of a really good quality. For example "Bornholmer chicken", it does not have to be organic to be premium, but clearly organic products lies in the higher end, in terms of quality.</p>

<p><b>Veblenian effect:</b></p>	<p><b>Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?</b></p> <p>Yes, I believe and hope it is, when you pay more you get a better product! A better product can of course mean many things, it could be that it is produced in a sustainable manner, that is of course with the societal aspect and of course that it has a better taste.</p>
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	<p><b>How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b></p> <p>Yes sure, it is important it has some sort of value. Certainly if I want it to have some kind of communicative value. As I said before, it looks better when you are in a home where all the products are organic. Yes, it is cooler to have products standing around that... A nice olive oil or something, when it has a nicely packaged, rather than a plastic bottle. So yes that clearly has some sort of value.</p>
	<p><b>)You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy – when checking out at the counter – how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?</b></p> <p>That is not major issue. Maybe if I planned to buy organic milk for a special occasion... Well, I don't know if I consider these things, well I think about it if I'm buying frozen meatballs and Coca-Cola and chips or if I'm buying some good products like fruits and vegetables, well, if someone significant stands behind me in the queue it does not feel that good if I'm buying crappie things. but I don't think about it while I'm shopping but in the moment, sure, it can annoy me bit when the basket is full of candy and unhealthy shit.</p> <p>Yes, of course, I notice what other people buy. I think that I'm quick to think - that the one that is buying 10 beers and a can of mackerel, I can't help myself thinking, I can't help myself placing them into some sort of social box! That is a bit more "looser" than those who buy the nice and fresh products! it has a signalling value in the supermarket!</p>

<b>Snob effect &amp; Distinction:</b>	<p><b>Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?</b></p> <p>I would guess, 10-15% of the population. Typically people with a higher income that lives in the larger cities, and also families, I would guess. But I have nothing to back that up with...</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic foods are limited in supply compared to conventional products? Is it harder to get a hold of?</b></p>

	<p>Yes, I like to think that organic products demands more space! that is, it is more expensive for the farmers to produce them and because of that it also more expensive to buy. So, therefore, I think that it is quit limited in supply!</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>Again, i would guess that is people with a higher level of education or people that work in creative environments, but that is just my guess. People with the financial resources and that maybe have the intellectual properties to reflect over what your consumer habits means for the rest of the society - Clearly, people that live a harder life that have all others orts of problems, they don't think about what their purchases in Netto affects the rest of the society.</p>
	<p><b>Do you perceive organic foods as somewhat exclusive?</b></p> <p>Yes, I would say so.</p>

<b>Bandwagon effect:</b>	<p><b>How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>Well, I don't have friend that are fanatic about it. But I believe that a lot of the people in my social network cares about and like to buy it and prioritise to buy better products. Yes, I believe that is the case!</p>
	<p><b>Is it something that you have grown up with, did your parents buy a lot of organic products?</b></p> <p>Yes, certainly. My mother bought a lot of organic things. So that is something that has been integrated part of what we ate at home...</p>
	<p><b>How do you think that affects you?</b></p> <p>That has affected me, certainly! I mean if you are in a group of people where people makes something out of good quality products and organic products, you end up doing it yourself. Especially when you are having people ove and when you know that the are into organic foods, I would not serve the "shake and bake" lasagne"</p>

<b>Hedonic effect:</b>	
	<p><b>What sort of values do you attach to organic food?</b></p> <p>I think people reflect over social issues, resources and energy, quality. They think long-term, in fact! People that reflects over their consumption...</p>

<b>Perfectionist effect:</b>	<p><b>When was the last time you made a larger investment?</b></p> <p><b>What sort of product? What brand? Why did you choose that one?</b></p> <p>I bought an iPhone, premium. A lot of my friend had the same one... It is nice to look at, it has all sort of functions and... its just a cool gadget! It is the best alternative and probably most expensive!</p>
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## 8. INTERVIEW Y4

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> Y4  <b>Date:</b> 11/6-12
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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<b>Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes</b>	<b>How old are you?</b>				
	28				
	<b>What is your civil status?</b>				
	I'm not married but in a relationship				
	<b>How many people live in your household?</b>				
	Were a two				
	<b>What level/type of education do you have?</b>				
	I got a bachelors degree and very soon a master's degree				
	<b>What's your annual income level?</b>				
	100.-250.				
	<b>0- 100.</b>	<b>100.-250.</b>	<b>250.-400.</b>	<b>400.-600.</b>	<b>600.+</b>

<b>General shopping habits</b>	<b>How often do you shop?</b>				
	Well, I think I shop maybe 2-3 times a week, it depends a lot if I'm busy o not.				

	<p><b>Where do you buy your groceries? &amp; Why?</b></p> <p>In general I would go to Netto or Fakta, those are the ones closest to where I live. I would like to go to places like Irma or Torvehallerne a bit more, but I don't have the time so most of the time I just go for Netto.</p>		
	<p><b>How do you plan your shopping beforehand?</b></p> <p>Mostly I plan according to what we are having for dinner. I don't make any big plans, it is mostly from day to day. The days were are cooking dinner we just buy the things we need and some stuff for breakfast, and some more standard things. If I'm having guests I might go on the internet to get some inspiration and buy the things that are needed for a particular recipe!</p>		
	<p><b>Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?</b></p> <p>No. not at all...</p>		
	<p><b>Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?</b></p> <p>Eeeh, yes, I think I am. I mean, sometimes I go to the butcher shop, when I know I can get some good quality. But yes, If I can chose from 2 products and the quality is about the same, I will go for the cheaper one. But I look at the prices.</p>		
	<p><b>How much is:</b></p> <p>Eeeh, I think an organic milk is 8-9 kr and you can buy some really cheap ones, ordinary milk, with advertising on the package, I think they are 5 kr.</p> <p>A kilo of potatoes is about 16 kr</p>		
	<p><b>A l of conventional milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A l of organic milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A kilo of potatoes?</b></p>
	<p><b>Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...</b></p> <p>Yes, I think it has to do with I know what it is I'm buying, with regards to... Things like coffee and... There are some brands, I cant even remember the name. There is this milk with a blue logo... I don't think I'm that focused on brands but more what the ingredients they contain. The other day I was standing in the shop with the different ketchups, one was Heinz and the other Beausvais, I didn't know which one to chose. I don't</p>		

	know the difference. But of course, with Coca-Cola and Joly cola, here I can taste the difference
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<b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b>	<b>Describe your general interest in food?</b>  It means a lot. I like good food and I like to cook. So it's annoying in those periods when I don't have time to cook. I like to be able to be concerned about it and I would like to do it more! But time sets some constraints.
	<b>How often do you cook at home?</b>  At the moment it is not more than 2-3 times a week. We'll have a rye bread sandwich or take-away the rest of the time. In busy times I end up buying more take-away.
	<b>Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?</b>  Hmm, no, can't say that I do. I do read some articles in "iByen". I would like to go out to eat more. We usually just go to the same places and they are more cafés than restaurants. Again, it is matter of money that you are willing to pay what it costs, and buy the extra wine and stuff like that. But when I get a little bit more money I think I will do it more often.

<b>Organic food:</b>	<b>How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b>  Quite a few! Like I said, I do my shopping in Netto so it is a little bit limited the supply of organic products but maybe....In a good day, I would say, 5-6 out of 10.
	<b>What drives you to chose organic over conventional products? Why?</b>  The idea of that they haven't been sprayed with all sorts of things and that they crops had been grown in a natural way - and it tastes better.  All these chemicals that are used, I really don't think we know what effects they have on us humans. It is not that I'm afraid of eating non-organic products, I do that as well. But there is something, it just feels good! I feel that it is healthier for me and I feel that it tastes better. Organic oranges for example have a really good taste, and apples,

<p>it is like there is more taste in them! The eggs as well, they look healthier. I'm also a member of Copenhagen "Fødevarefælleskab", its very... for them its the environment - it is both organic and also sustainable, that is, it's produced very close to Copenhagen. So that is something that I think is really good, if that factor can play a role in it as well! Sometimes you are a bit blinded by the organic label - I mean, it is more environmentally friendly to buy local products. i don't know, I think the organic products that I buy mostly are Danish.</p>			
My own health!?	Environmental issues!?	Animal welfare!?	Makes me feel good!?
<p><b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b></p> <p>It is the price...</p>			
<p><b>Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to purchase organic?</b></p> <p>No, not really... I mean, if I cooked for some friends, they can't really see what products you have used. But, yes, I don't know if you saw the show "Kender du typen"?! They always open the refrigerator... So yes, sometimes I think - What would people think if they opened mine, on a day when it is really lousy!?</p>			
<p><b>Are there any specific products you always buy organic?</b></p> <p>Yes, dairy products and vegetables if there is a supply. But I also have that thing with the price, there are some products where the difference between organic and non-organic is too big. A cucumber for example, the difference might be almost 100%. In those cases I mostly buy the non-organic ones, so it is matter of balance.</p>			
<p><b>By buying organic - what differences do you feel you can make for society ? (Environment etc)</b></p> <p>I don't know if it makes that big of a difference for the rest of the society. Other than one can help spreading the good message! But, I don't want to polish my halo here. I also buy things that are out of season! But maybe it is the will; I want to act more in that direction!</p>			

	<p><b>Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?</b></p> <p>Yes, the thought about being part of a community and the whole sustainability idea, I really like. I think that is the primary reason why I joined (Talking about Fødevarefælleskabet". It is sustainable and I think in some way, these are some people that think about the future!</p>
	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>I think that this is someone who cares about what they eat and are willing to pay a little bit extra for their food! Because it is more healthy, or better for you and or certainly the environment!</p>

<b>Involvement and quality:</b>	<p><b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?</b></p> <p>It is important! But, of course, as I shop at Netto I'm quite limited... I can't chose between two super good products, it is just the things that they have... I could probably do a bit better with my grocery shopping than what I do today!</p>
	<p><b>How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?</b></p> <p>By tasting them! But... I also feel that organic products are of a higher quality! That's my impression! If the taste is virtually the same on two products, and one was organic, I would say that the organic was of a higher quality. So yes, just through that label... it gives it something extra!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than conventional products?</b></p> <p>See above...</p>
	<p><b>Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)</b></p> <p>actively looked it up. And yes, I think I might have read some thing through Copenhagen "Fødevarefælleskab".</p> <p>(...) (Talking about Fødevarefælleskabet") I really like that there are someone who takes responsibility, both because it is sustainable and... Yes, it is good feeling to be a part of this movement, you work a couple hours a</p>



	month in order to be apart of it!

<b>Veblenian effect:</b>	<p><b>Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?</b></p> <p>Yes, I guess that's true! If I go to Irma I feel that I get some quality products and when I go the butcher shop I feel i get even better quality! So, yes! At least in most instances...</p>
	<p><b>How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b></p> <p>Yes, I guess... You know, the packaging that just screams "organic" - those ones I like.</p>
	<p><b>4)You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy - when checking out at the counter - how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?</b></p> <p>It is not that I'm walking around in the shop thinking about what other people in shop thin about me, but when I'm at the cashier... You know, if there was someone behind me in the queue that I knew, sure, I'm aware of what it is I'm actually putting up there. And the more I feel that I can identify with these products, the better I feel about myself in that particular situation! It's is not won't buy certain things because of what believe others might think of me, but, certainly I'm thinking of what others might think in the end...</p> <p>And vice versa, an afternoon in Netto I think I would automatically try to read into what people are buying - "ok, that guy is buying a can of tomatoes, minced meat and a pack of spaghetti" he is making a pasta Bolognese and that girl "All things are organic and a bag of carrots" she is really into her health! Yes, that type of person probably very much into health aspects, and she makes conscious purchasing decisions. So, yes I'm totally aware of it! What type of person is that? Just by looking at what hey are buying! But that is also because, you know, it is ones personality that is being</p>

	shown through the products you buy!
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<b>Snob effect &amp; Distinction:</b>	<p><b>Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?</b></p> <p>I think there are quite a few in the Copenhagen area. I believe that, it is probably also people with a higher level of education, they care about this. I don't think there is that much focus on these issues out in the countryside or in smaller cities. But it is also... there are many things here in Copenhagen that puts focus on it. There are many people and it spreads quite quickly. but I'm sure that it is the same in Århus, but not so much in the outskirts...</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>It's someone with a higher level of education, I guess women are more into it. It is people that are into health issues and generally live a active lifestyle and some good diet routines! It is probably people with an income that is above average. I don't think that many people with a tougher financial situation buy that much organic. You know, if one has to count every single krona...</p>

<b>Bandwagon effect:</b>	<p><b>How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>A lot! I think most people think about it! Generally I think that people in my network prefer organic products. Some are more fanatic about and others are maybe a bit more... the prefer it and buys it every ones in a while...</p>
	<p><b>How do you think that affects you?</b></p> <p>In the same way as many other things; I'm sure it affects my and shapes my ways! If you are a part of a group friends... I don't think thats the main reason for me but it helps on putting focus on it!</p>
	<p><b>Would you agree to that there is some sort of social pressure in your</b></p>

	<p><b>network to consume in a certain way?</b></p> <p>It could very well be that some feels that are pressured in some way. That they buy it because it is expected of them and not because they believe in it!</p>
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## 9. INTERVIEW Y5

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> Y5  <b>Date:</b> June 6
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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<b>Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes</b>	<b>How old are you?</b>				
	26				
	<b>What is your civil status?</b>				
	I'm in a relationship with Lasse! Whom I live with...				
	<b>How many people live in your household?</b>				
	It's the two of us..				
	<b>What level/type of education do you have?</b>				
	I completed a bachelor's degree & I'm in the process of writing my master thesis.				
	<b>What's your annual income level ?</b>				
	Between 250.-400.				
	<b>0- 100.</b>	<b>100.-250.</b>	<b>250.-400.</b>	<b>400.-600.</b>	<b>600.+</b>

<b>General shopping habits</b>	<b>How often do you shop?</b>
	Every second day, I think. 4 times a week...
	<b>Where do you buy your groceries? &amp; Why?</b>
	Mostly in SuperBrugsen and Netto. Superbrugsen

<p>because I think they have a quite wide selection of organic products and Netto because they have a lot of cheap things. But yes, SuperBrugsen has a lot of rather cheap organic products compared to Irma and others... But, of course those are the ones that are closest to where we live.</p>		
<p><b>How do you plan your shopping beforehand?</b></p> <p>I don't plan that much. Sometimes I think about what i would want to eat for dinner and if I'm going home to cook, it happens that a write a few things down but I usually forget the note anyway... Most of the time I just know that I will need a couple of things for what I'm planning to cook and then... A couple of basic things like oatmeal, milk and vegetables, rye bread.</p>		
<p><b>Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?</b></p> <p>No. I don't get sent home. Sometimes at SuperBrugsen they have these posters outside, and I pass by a couple of times a day, so actually I notice these offers they have... yes, that happens sometimes. But never even looked in a "tilbudssavis". In the store however, if I see a good a might go for it but I don't plan with that in mind!</p>		
<p><b>Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?</b></p> <p>No not when I'm out shopping. I don't look at the price, at least not the basic things! I don't think I notice if it is less than 20 kr. If it is over, i might be a bit more careful.</p>		
<p><b>How much is:</b></p> <p>Around 6 kr, maybe 5 kr A l of organic milk? Between 7-10 kr, it depends on if it is Arla or not. Arla is a little bit less expensive. I prefer not to buy Arla as it is a major corporation. I rather support the smaller dairy producers such as "Thise" or Øllingegaard. I don't know that much about it though... A kilo of potatoes? 10 kr or no, 8 kr ... I actually don't know!</p>		
<p><b>A l of conventional milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A l of organic milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A kilo of potatoes?</b></p>
<p><b>Describe the selection process when you shop for groceries ... ?</b></p> <p>It depends on what it is. The standard things I just pick out by reflex I think, milk, eggs, rye bread... But apart from that I look at the freshness or if it is organic.</p>		

	Talking about vegetables I also look if it is produced in Denmark - because, you can buy a lot of good vegetables but the might be from Morocco and I'll think that's a bit absurd to buy something organic from abroad, because how was that transported? And I think there are different standards over there than the ones we have in Denmark. So that's another aspect I look at...
	<p><b>Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...</b></p> <p>Well, I would say that I'm indifferent. And its not like, it happens that I buy a milk from Arla and there other products that are named something else but could very well be produced by Arla. So it is not a major deal. but there are a bunch of things that I like, "Urtekram" etc. and that is because I know that it is organic and I know that is Danish. So it is more like some sort of security! I can just pick it without thinking - also "Änglamark" I like that one because it is relatively cheap and they sell it in SuperBrugsen.</p>

<b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b>	<p><b>Describe your general interest in food?</b></p> <p>It is an important thing for me! I really enjoy cooking and I love to eat! I also go out to eat quite a lot, both take-aways and restaurants...that something... I also read food blogs, I think it is real fun! Yes, it means a lot, both because I think it is important but also I think it gives me a certain quality of life to eat good food! Both food that tastes good but also food that is solid and delicious. Yes, I'm a member of "Fødevarefælleskabet", so I get some vegetables from them. And I think that it tastes really good and i love the whole concept! I think that's the future if we want to secure the future of this world, as in, maybe not this small initiative but...</p>
	<p><b>How often do you cook at home?</b></p> <p>Maybe three times week...</p>

<b>Organic food:</b>	<b>1) How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b>
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<p>Maybe 7 out of ten I would guess! There are something's that always would buy organic, that I would never buy if they are out of the organic alternative. Eggs, milk, eeh, oatmeal, rye bread. Those sort of things... Soap and washing powder as well! Than there are other things like chicken or fish, it is very seldom I buy those things organic. Fish is almost impossible to get. And chicken because... it is simply to expensive. An organic chicken is like 4 times as expensive! And last time I bought an organic chicken in Irma, a really small one that cost 150 kr, it was the worst chicken I ever had! It was really gluey you would not believe it!</p>			
<p><b>What drives you to chose organic over conventional products? Why?</b></p> <p>Yes, two reasons. For my own personal health and my body, and I also believe, not that I'm planning to have any children right now, but maybe some time in the future, that it means something. Especially with things like parabens and other stuff. And I also do it because I want to be a part of supporting the organic farmers. I think that is the most sustainable way forward in these times of environmental crisis/catastrophes. And things like "Fødevarefælleskabet", buying local produce is also something that I believe can make a difference! I mean, I'm not naive, I know that if I don't buy the organic milk it is not going to make a difference but seen in a wider perspective I believe one can do something for farming and deforestation and to cut down on transport and CO2 emissions and that sort of thing!</p> <p>So yes, the environmental aspect is important! I believe that is good conduct; you owe it to the world! Ok, it sounds a bit silly but I think it is true! And everybody did, everything would look different! By doing so one puts pressure on farmers and producers...</p> <p>I don't eat that much meat, but things like eggs, I would never eat, well, I know that I do when I eat out, but I would never buy eggs that are not organic, I think it is disgusting and I think its completely absurd the ways in which animals are treated! But no, animal treatment is not the main motivator for me!</p>			
My own health!?	Environmental issues!?	Animal welfare!?	Makes me feel good!?
<p><b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b></p>			

	<p>Sometimes it is the price but sometimes it is... Okay, the avocados from Israel or the apples from Argentina, I think it is absurd to buy that... I try to buy Danish produce. So yes, the price is certainly a factor. I wish that I had the money to go to one of those "Politicised" organic-only shop! I know that is a matter of priority, and I do prioritize it but there are limits to the madness, hehe...</p>
	<p><b>How much more expensive is organic foods?</b></p> <p>I don't know, it varies. If the milk is 7 or 9 kr, I really don't notice. But if the chicken costs 50 kr or 150 kr, that makes a difference! It's hard to say in percentage... There are also different kinds of organic, some brands are really expensive and than you have "Änglamark" which is not that expensive.</p>
	<p><b>What does it take to get the organic label?</b></p> <p>Well, something like... Not all ingredients in the products have to be organic in order for it to be approved... Hm, I don't know... I cant be sprayed with "Round-up" or whatever it is called. That is used to conserve it. I know that they that abroad, they are allowed to use those conserving substances, and I heard that you can develop Alzheimer's from those things! So I'm a bit afraid of apples!</p>
	<p><b>Is this something that you have grown up with?</b></p> <p>Well, it is nothing that has taken up that much space in my upbringing. But my parents always cared about eating well and having a varied diet, good products and that sort of thing. But I believe that also has to do with the period in time, there was not that many organic products when I was a child. So, it is nothing that they have been strict about! But, they have also developed their habits over time, they consume more and more organic products.</p>
	<p><b>Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to purchase organic?</b></p> <p>Well, I remember ones when I was having a lot of guests, I think it was my birthday and I was cooking some food. And I though, screw this, I can't buy everything organic! It is too expensive! So, I can feed my guests the pesticides &amp; I'll have the organic, hehe... But yes, sometimes that is the</p>



	case.
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?</b></p> <p>Yes, I guess it does. Nørrebro, student of sociology, voting "Enhedslisten", hehe, fits quite well I think... Yes, sure.</p>

	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>I think that is great! I think that is cool... That others care and think about these issues! Again with taking responsibility, the more people that buys it the less expensive it is going to be. And I think that's good behaviour, they reflect over what the put in their mouths, in some way. And vice versa, if I look into someone's refrigerator and none of the products are organic I think - that's a bit weird! In my old work place, that was one of the first things I noticed, the didn't have organic milk! And the lunch serving was not organic - I was a bit repulsed! I didn't feel good drinking that milk even if I know that is what I'm served when I'm out at some cafés. I mean, it is a few kroners extra! At an office they should think about it!</p> <p>But yes, when I see organic products at someone else's place I think the show some concern not only for themselves but also for the environment. Yes, that they care about what you stuff your body with and how their consumer behaviour affects the world! Both politically and with regards to the environment - It show a certain level of thoughtfulness and solidarity.</p>
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<b>Involvement and quality:</b>	<p><b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?</b></p> <p>That is the most determining factor! Very much so! But then, what is quality? For me it is certainly connected to organic products, I have to admit!</p>
	<p><b>How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?</b></p> <p>Yes, it also depends on the price and the brand. I mean</p>

	<p>"Coop" for example, it looks so cheap, that is probably what they want because it is really cheap! But, I'm thinking - That is not quality! really cheap and looks like shit! But there are other brands where I feel safe with the quality level! But yes, price can also be and indicator of quality - and I know that probably sounds a bit stupid, because you can also get all these shitty products like chips, candy and soda, really expensive and disgusting!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than conventional products?</b></p> <p>see above</p>
	<p><b>Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)</b></p> <p>Yes, well, I think it is more when I fall over it. I don't think that I actively have looked it up. Sometimes I read something In Politiken, or somewhere else... I had this thing in my wallet, about different substances in creams, the things you should avoid... The parameben things have all these strange names that you can't remember.</p>

<b>Veblenian effect:</b>	
	<p><b>How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b></p> <p>It is really not important. But of course, if it looks really good I'm attracted by that. But if it is twice as much, I would never buy that. But yes, if it visually looks good and have that "back to basics" look, they got my attention! Rather than those screaming pink colours. These things can also trick you, you know some brands really have that authentic look - but it is not always organic!</p>
	<p><b>4)You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy - when checking out at the counter - how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you</b></p>

	<p><b>pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?</b></p> <p>I don't care that much about what people in the supermarket might think. I mean, in Netto, it doesn't take that much in order to look like the conscious consumer, hehe. And in Superbrugsen... Well, I can remember this ones where I had a heavy hangover and I bought this nasty toast-bread, yes, I though ok " I really look lousy", but no, I don't really care! But yes, I notice that I can judge others! Standing around and waiting in the queue, I'll look if someone's just load up "remoulade", toast-bread and I think poor them, and poor children that have to eat that food!</p> <p>And vice versa, if someone buys a lot of organic I think "Ok, good job, that's my kind of type"!</p>
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<b>Snob effect &amp; Distinction:</b>	<p><b>Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?</b></p> <p>There is probably a over representation here in Copenhagen and probably not as good in western Jutland, maybe 15-20%. I don't know, probably more here and in my network than the national average!</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>That is really hard to say! There are those who only look at the price... I saw this Tv show sometime ago about, whether or not one should mark if a product was from a settlement in Israel - or Palestine - I thought "that's a good idea, I want to avoid buying things from settlers - And there was this looser on the street that was interviewed and he said "I'm totally indifferent, I only look at the price"! And I think that is true for a lot of people! But there are also those whom are extremely idealistic about it, much more than me. Lasse, my boyfriend, their family are crazy! His mother is almost a vegan and they all grew up as vegetarians, there is not a single product that is not organic that is allowed in their home! That is too much! So, it really varies! I guess most people buy less organic than me...</p> <p>Yes, of course! Socio-economic status is probably the most determining factor for whom it is that buys</p>

	<p>organic! Income, level of education, where you grew up! I also think there are more women that consume organic products. That's my guess. I think that's true when I look at my own friends, there are more girls that buys organic. So yes, income, but maybe even more level of education! Many students, don't have that much money but still prioritize to buy it! That is of course connected to where and how you grew up etc.</p>
	<p><b>Do you perceive organic foods as somewhat exclusive?</b></p> <p>No, I don't think in that way! It is connected to quality but not exclusivity. I mean, you can buy a lot of expensive and exclusive things that are non-organic. Sometimes, it is the other way around - the best wine is probably not organic!</p>

<b>Bandwagon effect:</b>	<p><b>How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>Yes, there is quite a few. My family, and my fathers family they are quite involved. Some of them live at a farm... My boyfriends family and... A lot of my friends! But there also those, my Esbjerg friends, they don't care, none of them! At all! That upsets me a bit I think!</p>
	<p><b>How do you think that affects you?</b></p> <p>I don't think I have been that effected by others. I think I made my own opinions about it, and my lifestyle. But it is enhanced maybe, through that, my boyfriend for example also care about it... But sure, It makes a difference, when it something that is talked about - someone read an article about it, and you discuss it and so forth...</p>
	<p><b>Would you agree to that there is some sort of social pressure in your network to consume in a certain way?</b></p> <p>Yes, certainly! At least in some groups! I mean, it is more politically correct to be able to say that it is organic! And I would totally understand if someone did not want to say that don't buy organic, as judgemental as I might be, hehe... But yes, I think so! I also think</p>

	there are those who don't care at all!
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<b>Hedonic effect:</b>	<p><b>Describe your feelings you get when you consume organic food!</b></p> <p>As I said before, Thoughtfulness and care for yourself, and solidarity, health and quality!</p> <p>Well, in the smaller perspective I would say that I feel that I take responsibility for our society! Especially through "Fødevarefælleskabet" because you can gather a lot of people and there are thousands of members in Copenhagen, so yes, together with others... Ah, ok it sound a bit "we are redeeming the world"</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that you get a personal satisfaction from consuming organic?</b></p> <p>Yes, It really does! I love to cook something up and being able to see that everything is organic and that it is good! And I love those vegetables from "Fødevarefælleskabet" because you are forced to use the things that are in season, and it feels more natural...</p>

## 10. INTERVIEW X4

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> X4 <b>Date:</b> 14/6-12
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes	How old are you?				
	33				
	What is your civil status?				
	In a relationship...				
	How many people live in your household?				
	There is the two of us.				
	What level/type of education do you have?				
	I have a masters degree				
	What's your annual income level ?				
	400.-600.				
	0- 100.	100.-250.	250.-400.	400.-600.	600.+

General shopping habits	How often do you shop?				
	4-5 times a week.				
	Where do you buy your groceries? & Why?				
	In Irma, primarily because this is where you get the best				

<p>service and they have a wide selection of, what can you say, good products! It's in general a pleasant experience shopping in Irma, compared to Netto and SuperBrugsen and whatever else there is... Irma is close to where I live but so is a lot of other alternatives, so I could certainly go any of the others but I would say that more than 9 out of 10 times I would chose Irma.</p>		
<p><b>How do you plan your shopping beforehand?</b></p> <p>Sometimes, not always but everyone's in a while, a make shopping list and try to stick to that...Other times I just enter the Supermarket with the that thought that I need something for dinner and I just pick what ever I need for that... and some stuff for breakfast. But, yes it is not more planned that I know what I need and a few instances I will write it down!</p>		
<p><b>Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?</b></p> <p>Yes, well... I chose not to receive the physical "tilbudsaviser" but I actually got Irma's app. for the simple reason that I can in 10 seconds just check if there are any discounts on the products that I know that I need and use, soya milk for example or wine or chocolate... It takes me 10 sec. for me to check real quick if there is something of the things... The things that I use on a more daily basis i know that it could be a good deal to buy a larger pack for example, if there is a discount. I know what I will eat and what I will not.</p>		
<p><b>Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?</b></p> <p>Hmm, yes in the sense that I'm aware of what the prices are. But no, in the sense that I chose to buy most things in Irma, and I pay a little bit extra for the service and the experience, that you wont get in Netto or SuperBrugsen. So in that sense I would say no... I guess I spend a bit more than I should but it's a conscious decision!</p>		
<p><b>How much is:</b></p> <p>A liter of ordinary milk is 5 kr, i would gues, and an organic one is 7 kr. A kilo of potatoes is about 15 kr.</p>		
<p><b>A l of conventional milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A l of organic milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A kilo of potatoes?</b></p>

	<p><b>Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...</b></p> <p>I suppose I relate to brands in the sense that... I'm aware of that... Because I in general have a healthy, or at least try to live in a healthy manner, that I'm conscious about what ever I buy is of a good quality and for example also how it is produces! I try to buy local produce, I rather take a Danish product than a foreign one. Partly to, support and spend my money on domestic products and partly also because I believe that it is probably also more healthier when it has not been laying in some truck for "X hours", or an airplane or a ship or whatever... so the thing that I can buy that are local, I prefer.</p> <p>I do think there are some brands that live up to this criterion but I can't remember them now...</p> <p>With milk for example, I would chose as local as possible. I would not choose Arla! I prefer to spend an extra krona on that its not the "large producer" but rather the smaller local one. Brand is not the most important thing I guess it is more the origin!.</p>
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<p><b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b></p>	<p><b>Describe your general interest in food?</b></p> <p>It is really, really important! I care a lot about what I eat. I don't eat meat for example... I do eat chicken and fish but not 4 legged creatures! I don't eat sausages on the BBQ and that sort of things. but yes, My ambition is to eat healthy. I try to have a good mix between fruits and vegetables and proteins for other sources than meat... And I try to cook my own food as far as I can...</p>
	<p><b>How often do you cook at home?</b></p> <p>4 times a week I would say... And I try to cook something that can be eaten the day after as well as I often have some sort of evening activity, playing tennis or something that makes it so that I don't have that much time or energy to cook in the evening... So, yes. 4 times I week - sometimes I go out for dinner a well...</p>



	<p><b>Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?</b></p> <p>Yes, well... Not more than that I keep myself updated through the medias, and follow the things that are being talked about. So, in the same sense that I follow what new movies that are coming out! I'm not nerdy about it, but yes I follow the development... Not at least because Copenhagen has a very large number of restaurants with Michelin stars, it is really exciting! But I'm not the type that would spend that sort of money on a restaurant - I think there are other things that I would prioritize; I mean I can fly to London for the same price. But still, I find it interesting and I'm aware of what is going on...</p>
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Organic food:	<p><b>How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b></p> <p>...3 or 4. 3! I can say that because there are some things that I know I would buy - everything I can find of vegetables, I would chose organic. And things like beans and lentils that I eat quite a lot, I also chose organic. And if I'm buying milk I would for the most part chose organic, same thing with eggs - some times I would chose "Skrabe ægg" that don't have the organic label. Chicken, I would most of the time also chose organic. But a lot of other things are hard to find, salmon for example, can't find that organic. So yes, 3 out of 10.</p>
	<p><b>What drives you to chose organic over conventional products? Why?</b></p> <p>Party is the wish to live a healthy life! Clearly that is important factor in... there are plenty of literature on, and scenarios that shows that organic is healthier! Less spray products used and so on. things that should mean that it is more healthy for your body than things that are more processed. So that is the primary reason, I would say...</p> <p>Environmental aspects is also of importance but not the same level as living a healthy life... Sure, it is a factor in the equation but it is not the most important! I feel that, as I don't eat meat, I think that's a determining factor for my contribution to that thing... I don't have a car! So, I'm not trying to be holy about it but I want to do what I can... But</p>

<p>it is not the primary reason!</p> <p>The reason why I don't eat meat, started more of out as a health issue. It came to my attention that eating meat is probably not the most healthy you can do. So I stopped for a period of time and when I started eating meat again, after a longer period of not eating it, I was not comfortable and it was hard for me to digest, my stomach hurt and I did not feel that it was something that I was missing in my diet!</p> <p>So it a choice that I have taken! And the next step, as I have learned more about... It is another reason for me, the fact that it is not that good for the environment. It was not the thing that started it but now it is an important factor!</p> <p>The amount of energy that it takes to feed cattle results in a tremendous pressure on our environment. We have to produce much more to feed the cow so that it can grow large so that it can be eaten. It is born with the only purpose of being eaten! It is in general true for most of the meat we eat, they way it is produced is putting a lot of pressure on mother nature! So, there are plenty of numbers and calculations on how much it costs and there is no doubt that... If we ate less meat there would be a smaller load on the environment!</p>			
<b>My own health!?</b>	<b>Environmental issues!?</b>	<b>Animal welfare!?</b>	<b>Makes me feel good!?</b>
<p><b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b></p> <p>It is the price... There was this example the other day, I remember it clearly, and I was a bit surprised and chocked: There was a bag of almonds, 200g, for 20 kr and there was a bag with organic almonds, 100g for 25 kr! You know, that is simply... The price difference is... You know I want to but there are limits to what I'm willing to pay! This was just too much! I think in general the difference might be around 10-15%... maybe a bit more, but that, I'm willing to pay. But in this case, well above 100%! Does not make any sense...</p>			
<b>Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to</b>			

	<p><b>purchase organic?</b></p> <p>...If I can see that the non-organic vegetables that lie next to the organic ones look really bad. I mean, if the difference is very clear and visible, I'm sure to go for the organic alternative even if it that I'm aiming at. And I suppose that are some shops, and that is probably one of the reasons to why I go to Irma even though I know that Netto has a little bit of organic -but I'm in general not a big fan of Netto, but it also has to do with the supply. I mean if you chose to go to a shop with many organic alternatives, you will probably end up buying those!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?</b></p> <p>Yes, yes... I guess it does in the sense that I would want to live a in a healthy way and... and maybe also, that one wants to send a signal about that one is aware... We all have somethings we do and some things we don't do with regards to the environment - but maybe to send the signal that one doesn't buy things like junk-food and that one is willing to pay a little bit extra for things that are descent! That is clearly also a signal that you send! Without polishing my halo, I mean it is an ideal but, for me, I'm not being to idealistic about it!</p>
	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>I think that the person that has bought it is concerned about their behaviour! People that are aware of things like what movies they watch, what TV-shows they watch and what music they listen to. What clothes they wear and what care they drive... It is clearly, people that are aware of the signal they send! So, I guess I think that these are people that care about themselves. probably also people that exercise a lot and that in general try to live a healthy life... I don't know if this is to... but I think these are some clever people, hehe! People that are self-conscious and are aware of, call it image if you want! Aware of the signals they send. It could also be that they simply are health freaks! But I mean, if I'm at their place I would hold it up against other things.</p>

	<p>But instinctively, I thought, looking at that in it self, it is someone who cares both how their diet affects them personally but also they about the signals they send!</p>
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<p><b>Involvement and quality:</b></p>	<p><b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?</b></p> <p>Yes, it is important. Again, I prefer to pay a little bit extra for a better quality. Sure you get a little bit less for your money but for me they quality is more important than the quantity. I guess I prefer to eat a little bit less and better over always making these over sized portions, where it all about how much meat you can get for 100 kroners.</p>
	<p><b>How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?</b></p> <p>I suppose it starts with the choice of supermarket, because you believe that, or I believe that is holds a certain standard! A the next thing is by looking at the products and how it is presented, same thing when you are out shopping clothing, it is a matter of how it is presented on the racks and shelves! And the last thing of course if you can feel the product! Does it feel fresh, good and healthy!?</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than conventional products?</b></p> <p>Well, that is sometimes hard to say. If you have a bag with organic carrots and a bag with non-organic ones... Of course you can discuss what quality is! You can ask your self it is how far it has travelled or how old it is or when it has been harvested... And the organic aspect - how it has been treated in the production process. So, it is something that could be debated, how justified the organic-label actually have! Because, how do you evaluate quality? Sure, fewer pesticides, and the way it is treated is clearly important! But is that what constitute a better quality, talking about food products?</p> <p>Some would say, that you can't taste the difference between organic products and non-organic ones. But I</p>

	<p>believe that in the process where you are cooking something, I mean, we are quite naive in many cases, we rather drive a Volkswagen than a Skoda, they have the same function but one is a lot more expensive... So, there is one thing or another, I believe that it tastes better when I'm standing there peeling my organic carrot! I know that it is organic - and that gives me something extra, it gives me a better feeling, but if it tastes better, I cannot say! But, again, this is not my primary motive when I buy organic. I could probably buy vegetables from the greengrocer that is just as good!</p>
	<p><b>Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)</b></p> <p>No, not lately. Maybe a couple of years ago... But not more actively than what I have read in the general medias. But I have never actively look it up in that sense...</p>
	<p><b>What does it take to get the organic-label?</b></p> <p>I don't know what the specific requirements are, other than that it is regulated how much they are allowed to spray with all sorts of things. An apple for example, it is also something it is matter of what crops sprays they are allowed to use and how long it can take in the period from that they have been harvested until they hit the market!</p>

<b>Veblenian effect:</b>	<p><b>Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?</b></p> <p>Yes, many times I believe that is true!</p>
	<p><b>How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b></p> <p>Yes, that's is also an important factor! Both... there is of course the organic label but it is also a matter of how it is presented, that's very important! You know in Netto</p>

	<p>the products are placed in this less charming green plastic boxes, in Irma, it is placed on some shelves... it is more proper and more appealing!</p>
	<p><b>Imagine the following situation - You have invited a number of friends over for dinner and you are heading down to purchase your groceries --- Would you say that you are more inclined to purchase organic products that if you where cooking for yourself/household?</b></p> <p>No, well, not really... As I often chose organic anyway so I don't think that would make that big of a difference...</p>
	<p><b>You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy - when checking out at the counter - how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?</b></p> <p>Yes... Because, I think about what I see other people buy! But it is the same as you asked before... You start thinking, and I suppose people are thinking in the same way about me.. I would like to be pereceived as someone that reflects over my consumption and is a a relatively considerate member of society, that does at least something to preserve our environment and for that matter also to show that I have a healthy lifestyle! So yes, I think about it! I don't think that this is the factor that makes me chose organic but, the thought is there! Maybe more in the sense that, if I'm in at the cash desk and see the guy next to me buying a the "saturday-chicken", and the cheap caned beers and a pack of Prince... I think " Good thing it is not me poluting my body like that" - and I'm doing something good! Maybe some would say that one shouldn't care about this but I know that I do I believe that most others do as well!</p> <p>And if I see some girl buying loads of veggies and organic products, I think that she is a resonable girl that have made a choice...The lifestyle she has, and that she has a good job and is highly educated, that could be something I would see as a part of that packakge! One could think that okey, she can carry the extra cost, or she choses the priortize to eat organic... But I think their are less of those than the ones that consume in</p>

	<p>that way because they can afford it and wan't to invest in their health, and being able to perform in terms of their profesional life or in sport or whatever... That this is helping with these things as well, as a part of a greater whole! I think the chances are greater that the person that I'm looking at has a good position in the business world... I also think that theu consume more organic products in Hellerup than in Nørrebro, or Herlev, but that's a guess, I don't have anything to back that up with!</p> <p>I mean, the guy buying the beers and the cigarettes is also a concious decision, it what he feels like...</p>
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<b>Snob effect &amp; Distinction:</b>	<p><b>Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?</b></p> <p>I'm pretty sure that it varies depending on where you are! I would be very surprised if the consumed as much organic in, lets just call it out side of the Copenhagen region (Udkants Denmark), well, I'm sure that there are those whom have taken a decision to live on the country-side and might grow their own organic veggies, but those ones are out of this calculation. But the difference between the capital region and Jutland and the other regions, excluding Aarhus and maybe Odense, I'm sure they sell a lot more organic products here in the Copenhagen area. But on a national level... I don't think it is that many, maybe 5%.</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic foods are limited in supply compared to conventional products? Is it harder to get a hold of?</b></p> <p>Yes, I guess that is true. If where not talkning about specific categories... No, it is not as accesible, but you don't have to look that hard to find it! Most supermarkets carry at least the basic products, milk, eggs and vegetables... So, it shouldn't be an excuse not to eat it!</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>It is a, well I think you can divide it into two main categories.. Back to the girl in the queue, that we where talking about; she doesn't necessarily have all that</p>

	<p>much money but she is really aware of the importance of this issue and decides to compromise on other things and might not buy that much expensive clothing or live quite cheap, yes compromise on other things that you would spend money on... that is one type, i think, but, she's a minority to the other type that I believe is the stereotype which is someone highly educated, relatively well-off, not necessarily the CEO but have enough money to...</p> <p>And I think more and more families, as they want to give the best to their children... Families with two kids and highly educated parents, working with a decent salary that can afford it... People in the higher-end of the social-hierarchy, not on the very top, but the higher-end... Living in the capital region, and maybe even more in central areas with many families like Islands Brygge. And in the Northern suburbs like Hellerup and Klampenborg and Charlottenlund, I think, which is maybe the top of the Danish society, they just pay what ever it costs because they want the best for themselves and their children.... So yes, that type!</p>
	<p><b>48. Do you perceive organic foods as somewhat exclusive?</b></p> <p>No, not exclusive. I mean, it is not exclusive like a Mercedes is exclusive compared a Skoda, in that way. I mean it is not something that is unreachable and not accessible to most people, so in that sense I don't think I perceive it as exclusive. But I perceive it is something you pay a bit of extra money for - I would say, the Volkswagen Vs. Skoda, I think there is a symbolic value in that you pay a little bit more for something that maybe sometime doesn't have the value you pay for, or that you can get products that are equally good for less money, 5-10%...</p>
<p><b>Bandwagon effect:</b></p>	<p><b>49. How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>Not that many... I mean I know a few that does, but it is not the majority. But some does, even more than I do,</p>



	<p>but many more choses not to, both because the don't feel they have the financial means but also because they don't feel the need or urge to have that as a part of ones identity...</p>
	<p><b>50. How do you think that affects you?</b></p> <p>Actually, I think it might be the other way around. I was the first to start thinking about my diet in general in that way among my friends, and later also organic products. But, when I hang out with people that are involved in that sort of thing, it gives me confirmation! It gives me a self-satisfactory feeling, I mean, not in the way that you get when you come back from a 10 km run but there is clearly something related to the the personal... call it image, both towards, my own self-perception but also to the rest of the world!</p>

## 11. INTERVIEW X5

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> X5 <b>Date:</b> 11/6-12
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes	How old are you?				
	27				
	What is your civil status?				
	In a relationship				
	How many people live in your household?				
	There is two of us...				
	What level/type of education do you have?				
	A higher education...				
	What's your annual income level ?				
	250.- 400				
	0- 100.	100.-250.	250.-400.	400.-600.	600.+

General shopping habits	How often do you shop?
	I would say that I shop for groceries every day!
	Where do you buy your groceries? & Why?
	Hm, It varies a lot. But mostly In SuperBrugsen at Chrsitianshavns torv but I try to, when I have the chance

<p>(time) I will go to Fakta or Netto. Because of the price, it is much cheaper. And I think the supply of vegetables is better than at SuperBrugsen. But yes, I mostly buy my things at SuperBrugsen since it is closest to me. Most convenient.</p>		
<p><b>How do you plan your shopping beforehand?</b></p> <p>It depends a lot but most of the time I just figure out what I want to eat as I am in the supermarket. I don't make any lists, we have talked about it but we never do it.</p>		
<p><b>Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?</b></p> <p>No, we don't get the "tilbudssaviser". We can't be bothered to carry them up and then down to the trash again, it is such a waste! But honestly, I like to read them! I guess I want to know if there are any good deals and some of the more expensive products. ...Hm, I suppose it does happen that I jump on my bike and go to another shop if I know that there is a good deal on steaks or a good red wine or something like that...</p>		
<p><b>Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?</b></p> <p>I'm very price sensitive, yes! I guess it has to do with that I have been a student for a period of time and lived on a relatively tight budget.</p>		
<p><b>How much is:</b></p> <p>I think I know. An ordinary milk is about 4-5 kr but if you buy organic it is about 9 kr. I guess I have this strange habit of always buying the organic one.</p> <p>A kilo of potatoes is 14 kr.</p>		
<p><b>A l of conventional milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A l of organic milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A kilo of potatoes?</b></p>
<p><b>Describe the selection process when you shop for groceries ... ?</b></p> <p>I always start with the meat that I want to cook for dinner. And depending on what I find I'll either go and pick up some vegetables or pasta, depending on what is suitable to the meat that I have chosen! Unless, I got a list from back home, and I know exactly what I'm buying, for example if I'm cooking a "Lørdags-Kylling"</p>		

	with vegetables, I just take things as I go. But as 90% of the times I don't know what I'm going to cook, I always start with the meat!
	<p><b>Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...</b></p> <p>I don't know I guess it depends on what sort of product it is. Hm, I think it is called "Coop" the private brand in SuperBrugsen, I buy that sometimes in categories such as coffee, flour or sugar. But on the other hand, products that comes from something that has been alive, meat and those kind of things, well, I'm not sure that I will notice but I think I would at least think about it if it was "Coop" meat! I guess, it is because you relate it to this kind of discount thing... Whereas, things like flour and sugar, that are things you use to bake a cake anyway, or put in on your cornflakes whereas the meat - you fry it and eat it as it is! I don't know - I rather buy a higher quality meat than the more basic things!</p> <p>I suppose this is true for things like eggs and milk as well. The milk, well, I heard that it's harmful to drink anything but organic milk, hehe... So, I'm pretty picky with that. But yes, primarily when it comes to things that are made from animals. Things like a ketchup, I don't care I will probably most of the times just buy the private brand. But I don't know, maybe it is also dependent on the season. The other day I caught myself buying these organic potatoes, these Danish "summer-potatoes".</p>

<b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b>	<p><b>Describe your general interest in food?</b></p> <p>...I care quite a lot about what I eat! I think about starting the day with a healthy breakfast and having routines with my meals, maybe it is quite often the same things I eat but I always want it to be healthy! But, I don't know, maybe it is also to compensate for the quite un-healthy lifestyle I have "on the side"!</p>
	<p><b>How often do you cook at home?</b></p> <p>We cook everyday, more or less. Of course, there are days when you are out in the evenings and you end up buying some take-away. But in average, I would say 5</p>

	times a week. We cook together or with someone else...
	<p><b>Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?</b></p> <p>I wouldn't say so, no. The things that I cook - well, there is a fixed number of meals that I cook. There is a fish dish, a meat-dish, a chicken-dish and pasta-dish. No, I don't mind that much about food-trends. That raw-food thing, I don't get that! I don't think I ever tried it! I mean, I love to eat good food, but... It is not something that I'm that concerned with! I love it when I'm invited to a party when they serve good food or when I'm out traveling - to try different cuisines.</p>

<b>Organic food:</b>	<p><b>How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b></p> <p>Without knowing - I would maybe say 2 out of ten.</p>			
	<p><b>What drives you to choose organic over conventional products? Why?</b></p> <p>Like I said before with the milk, it is because of the scare-tactics, that non-organic products are not particularly good for me! And of course, with meat and other "living" things I would sometimes choose the organic alternative since I have some sort of conviction that the animals lived a better life and there aren't any chemicals... So yes, the health aspect is weighted quite high, hehe, my sperm quality! I expect from the organic products that they haven't been sprayed with all sorts of chemicals and fertilisers. But again, it is balanced against the price! Is this something that I want to pay extra for!? I was standing with this chicken that had been infused with water in order to be larger, where I still chose that one, as it was remarkable cheaper! but certainly these are some considerations that I have and again, it is a matter of price. I'm always aware of the issues and I know that it would probably be better for both myself and the animals if I consumed more organic products!</p> <p>The environmental aspects are not something that I think about, at all. I guess I should!</p>			
	<b>My own health!?</b>	<b>Environmental issues!?</b>	<b>Animal welfare!?</b>	<b>Makes me feel good!?</b>

	<p><b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b></p> <p>It is 100% the price! But I don't know, maybe the price difference is not that great! Maybe it is just a mind-set that I have, that it is that much more expensive.</p> <p>...You know, it is because I really don't have the money right now. I believe that as I will make a bit more money I will probably start spending a bit more on organic products!</p>
	<p><b>Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to purchase organic?</b></p> <p>Yes, I think so. When I'm out in the countryside, at our summerhouse with my parents. I think I have a tendency to always drive out to the farmers to buy eggs, and strawberries and potatoes and those sorts of things... Yes, I think I relate it to being out on the countryside! - I guess it is this "romantic" illusion about being out on a farm and buying the products straight from the farmer, as they did back in the day. But, yes, I remember last summer, I was there with my girlfriend and my spent a whole lot of money! I think we spent 200 kr on vegetables, on the little market in the village... I mean, that's 150 kr more than what I would usually spend! But you know, it is nice!</p>
	<p><b>By buying organic - what differences do you feel you can make for society ? (Environment etc)</b></p> <p>Hm, what difference can I make... Well, keeping myself alive and not being that expensive for the whole health-care system. But I don't know, as we talked about before regarding pollutions and that sort of thing - it is not something that I think about... I'm sure I would be part of making a difference with regards to the environment, but I can't say that it is something that I'm that concerned about. I don't know if I can make a difference... it could be that if I knew that for example, "these potatoes have required half as much co2 emissions as the other ones", maybe than I would think about a bit more! I guess that would justify the higher pricing but I just don't think you can see this aspect so one does not think about it!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?</b></p>

	<p>Hard to say. Both yes and no... Yes because, I believe a life a healthy lifestyle with something's and in other areas- not so much! I'm quite involved in sports and I care about what I eat and those two things are very well connected... But on the other side, I also love to drink a lot in the weekends and smoking a lot of cigarettes- and I guess that this is not a perfect match. But, as this is just two days a week and the remaining five I do a lot of sports so I guess you could say that it fits quite well with my lifestyle!</p>
	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>I think that's great! I think its great that people care and that they are willing to spend money on organic products! I will think that these are some people that are well educated about what is good for them and care about their health by taking care of their body!</p>

<p><b>Involvement and quality:</b></p>	<p><b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?</b></p> <p>I don't know. I guess it depends on what it is... Sure I like quality products. I love a good bottle of wine for example. And when I'm cooking I love using this salt from Bornholm - so yes, quality means a whole lot! But again, it is a matter of what I can afford!</p>
	<p><b>How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?</b></p> <p>Well, that is hard. I mean, I don't know what a good salt is. So I'm left with the package in this case... But sure, I mean, If I'm buying a product that I never tried before, of course, I don't know the taste... But, sure, it is important if I am to buy it again. Origin could also be something that I would look at - potatoes from Samsø, for example, for me that is a quality product! So yes, on some cases... with regards to foodstuff - if they are produced in Denmark, I see it as a quality product! I don't like it when you buy a chicken from the Netherlands or England I think, why do we need to Import that? So I guess, if it is Danish products, in some</p>

	<p>sort of way, by being produced in Denmark, it gets the quality approval from me! I have this idyllic perception of the Danish farmer, producing quality products! It is a part of our culture and a thing that we always have done and through that I assume that we are good in doing it!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than conventional products?</b></p> <p>Yes! I would say so...</p>
	<p><b>Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)</b></p> <p>Not actively. Everything I know about organic products is things I have snapped up here and there. I never actively looked it up which means that many of my opinions is just based on what others might have told me! So, I suppose that... There is a chance that it is incorrect!</p>
	<p><b>What makes a product "organic"?</b></p> <p>That is something I don't know! I have the illusion that a organic product... The animals live under decent conditions, they are not force-fed and the potatoes have not been sprayed with all sorts of poisons and chemicals in order to look good and the meat have not been infused with water in order to look better! I don't know, organic for me is that, or this is how I perceive Organic products, you get a products that "nature" could have produced</p>
	<p><b>Do you consider organic produce a premium product? Is that the best you can get in you supermarket?</b></p> <p>Again, I think it depends on the category. Wine for example, I wouldn't think that the organic wine is the best you can get. But with regards to other food products- Yes!</p>
<b>Veblenian effect:</b>	<p><b>Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?</b></p> <p>I guess that is true with most things, not just foodstuff, so yes...</p>



	<p><b>How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b></p> <p>I mean, if you are trying to sell me a product, the packaging is important as I have tendency to go for the cheaper alternative. But as that might change, the package will still be important. If the salt, is in a little fabric bag for example, I would probably go for that one as it looks nicer and more authentic! I have been very price-sensitive so I used to go for things that had the "discount-look", but I the situations where I'm buying something nicer I also want it to looks authentic! Back to that farmer, as I talked about before... I like to buy they eggs when you get them in this small paper thing! So yes, with regards to organic products - the more it looks like something authentic the more trustworthy it is for me, and the better chances are that I will spend that extra money! I mean, coffee or salt in those fabric bags is certainly something that catches my attention!</p>
	<p><b>Imagine the following situation - You have invited a number of friends over for dinner and you are heading down to purchase your groceries --- Would you say that you are more inclined to purchase organic products that if you where cooking for yourself/household?</b></p> <p>Yes, I guess so... Well, I don't know... When I'm buying things to make dinner for my friends, I will</p> <p>Typically buy more expensive products so I suppose that means that I will buy more organic products. But I guess, it is because you want o make something nice for your friends. I'll buy fresh thyme or other fresh herbs... So, yes... I think that is true!</p> <p>Yes, when I'm having guest or if I'm making something nice for my girlfriend. I suppose that is because you want to signal that you want to give your friends that best and to signal that... One have a healthy diet and... Maybe also in a way to brand oneself!</p>
	<p><b>)You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy - when checking out at the counter - how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?</b></p> <p>Are you aware of what others might think about you</p>

	<p>and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys? I don't know... I do get a good feeling about myself when I put some good and healthy products up on the counter, so yes I guess, I think about what others think... I like to have people looking at me and have them think "Ok, that guy, he buys has a healthy diet". But I suppose that's more or less the same as buying a pair of pants or a new shirt! But, sure, I also look at what other people buy! I think, food is a good indicator... I don't know... yes, what type of person you are! If I see someone buying a pack of pasta and Heinz and a crate of beers - I'll think "that 'guy is really unhealthy and not very trendy"! And vice versa, if I see someone buying a lot of vegetables and loads of organic products... I think... I don't know, a nice person... Well, at least maybe a bit more sporty type! I guess that is one of the things I connect with organic products: being sporty and caring about one's body and that sort of thing, I quite like that! I like girls who are into themselves and their body, so yes, if I see a girl buying loads of vegetables and other healthy food - I'll think - she is nice and is keeping herself fit! I mean, even if someone that looks the same, physically, but buys chips, and coke and those kinds of foods, I would definitely think that the one buying the healthy alternative is the nicest one!</p>
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Snob effect & Distinction:	<p><b>Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?</b></p> <p>Quite a few I think... Maybe 15-20 %!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic foods are limited in supply compared to conventional products? Is it harder to get a hold of?</b></p> <p>I don't know... I think you see them more and more! Maybe it is not as easy to get a hold of as conventional products, but still, I believe you can find most products today!</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>...I guess it is, let's start with the political aspect, I think</p>

	<p>they are social-liberals are left leaning. I don't know why I think in that way. People that are involved in cooking and care about keeping themselves fit! And I guess in some cases where they are a bit more extreme with keeping themselves from all sort of chemicals, they would also be anti-smokers and anti-alcohol kind of people... Sometimes a bit extremely into physical activities. I think women between 30-35... With regards to level of education I'm not so sure... I believe it can be the pedagogue and the newly graduated student of the humanities and everything in between. I'm not so sure that there is a clear pattern there! Of course, it is probably mostly household with considerable means, but again, I believe that the, maybe more the extreme ones, the ones that are almost obsessive about it, they would probably find the money at the expense of something else... But at a more general level I believe it is people with income that is above average or a high income!</p>
	<p><b>Do you perceive organic foods as somewhat exclusive?</b></p> <p>Yes, I do... Well, yes at least when talking about food products!</p>

<b>Bandwagon effect:</b>	<p><b>How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>I don't know, probably the same as I said about the national average, about 15-20%.. I don't think I have that many friends that talk about it... unless it is a particular discussion where someone might have some opinions, but I can't imagine that... I don't know, I can't recall anyone that is really into organic foods!</p>
	<p><b>How do you think that affects you?</b></p> <p>No, I don't think so... I'm thinking about if I can remember anyone that is really into it, no one! No, cant say that anyone have affected me in that way...</p>

<b>Hedonic effect:</b>	<p><b>Describe your feelings you get when you consume organic food!</b></p> <p>Family, healthy children... healthy lifestyle. But that</p>
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	<p>might be true for the general archetype but I can also imagine the... kind of status-seeking from some people... To signal that; "I'm educated and have enough money to buy the expensive products, I have taken the time to learn about the products that I'm eating and I'm healthy..." and that sort of things... and I guess that is the way I might think about people when I see that they buy these products. I believe that's true for a lot of people! It is this status-symbol, "Feel-good" personal branding, where one can... <i>"this is me and my lifestyle"</i> and yes, it gives some sort of status and that is probably also the feeling that I get when I'm in the supermarket; I feel good about myself if I put some good products on the counter and the guy after me is buying frozen pizzas... I feel, maybe not that I'm a better person but, there are some sort of... You satisfy some sort of <i>"self satisfaction need"</i>. So I guess there is some sort of status in it as well! Very much so!</p>
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## 12. INTERVIEW X6

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> X6 <b>Date:</b> 2/6 2012
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes	How old are you?				
	28				
	What is your civil status?				
	Non married				
	How many people live in your household?				
	It is me alone...				
	What level/type of education do you have?				
	I got a half of a higher education... I studied engineering.				
	What's your annual income level ?				
	Between 100. - 250.				
	0- 100.	100.-250.	250.-400.	400.-600.	600.+

General shopping habits	How often do you shop?
	Around, once or twice a week.
	Where do you buy your groceries? & Why?
	I usually buy my groceries at Fakta, it's cheap and it is

close to where I live!		
<b>How do you plan your shopping beforehand?</b>  There are some fundamental products that I always buy and apart from that I just buy whatever I feel like at the moment -as long as the price is reasonable!		
<b>Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?</b>  No. I mean, I might fall for some discount or offer once I'm in the shop, but I don't plan according to any kind of discount.		
<b>Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?</b>  Yes.		
<b>How much is:</b>  A litre of milk is between 5-10 kr and the organic milk is between 7-14 kr. A kg of potatoes is between 20-25kr. A l of conventional milk? A l of organic milk? A kilo of potatoes?		
A l of conventional milk?	A l of organic milk?	A kilo of potatoes?
<b>Describe the selection process when you shop for groceries ... ?</b>  I usually start with the meat, If I'm planning to cook something with meat that is... As I said, there are some things that I always have, it is a matter of "piece of mind" for me, and it is a matter of the type of food that I cook. Apart from that I'm usually trying to get inspired while I'm in the supermarket. And if it so that I'm planning to cook something special and if I got a recipe, I'm simply going for those products...		
<b>Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...</b>  That's relative to how much money I possess at the moment! So, that means, if I can afford it I prefer Heinz ketchup, for example, rather than the one you can buy for 8 kr. Yes, there are a couple of brands that have more confidence in, I like those better. Also, when they are launching new products, you know, to give you an example... Philadelphia cream cheese, they are putting a new product out with chocolate and in those cases I feel		

	like giving it a try as Philadelphia is brand that tastes good, so yes, there is something about the brand!
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<b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b>	<b>Describe your general interest in food?</b>  Well, it has some sort of meaning... That, you make an effort to live a healthy life. Without being fanatic about it. I mean, I might very well cook up a steak, some potatoes and a sauce! Sometimes I do it more than other times, it depends on my desire for healthy food, and it varies... I wouldn't say that there is a culture around food in family home... But, you know, in general I prefer, if I'm tired and heading home after a day at work, to cook something that is quite simple. And if I'm with friends, clearly their preferences and needs are taken into consideration. Typically, we end up cooking up a meat-based dish.
	<b>How often do you cook at home?</b>  I cook, 2-3 times a week, mostly for myself. The rest of the time I either cook with a friend or buy some take-away.
	<b>Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?</b>  No, not at all.

<b>Organic food:</b>	<b>How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b>  Out of ten, 2-3 I would say...
	<b>What drives you to chose organic over conventional products? Why?</b>  ...There are different reasons. When it comes to vegetables; I don't feel like all those things that have been sprayed and apart from that, i like the idea of, you know, that the fruits have been produced, you know, under conditions that makes the fruit taste better. At least, that's the argument -it tastes more! And I share that view, that organic produce, simply but, tastes better in this category of foods. When it comes to milk, it has to do with your thoughts regarding that the animals are better of; the same goes for eggs... Where we know, how shitty

	<p>conditions many chickens live under. So, in this particular case I don't feel like supporting this sort of industry! Other things, are more conditional - tomatoes paste, pasta and these sorts of things, they are more conditional! I want to, if I have the money, I would prefer to buy it! But only if I feel that I have the money! Many times, I don't buy the organic alternative without any feelings of me losing out on something. The exception I guess is eggs...</p> <p>Regarding environmental issues - I don't know that I'm convinced that if I buy organic products I'm contributing to a decrease in the environmental load! I don't know that the organic industry lives up to environmental standards and if they do it to an extent that it actually makes a difference... If I knew, then maybe I would be motivated by these things but I don't know that this is the case! Fair trade, that I believe in. There is something there. I can see the value in supporting that!</p>
	<p><b>What does it take for a product to be labeled organic?</b></p> <p>I think that there are some standards that has been set at a EU level, that one is suppose to live up to... This is both regards to environmental issues and the industrial form, that is, how you keep your cattle and you produce your fruits and vegetables, of course they can not be subject to pesticides and... Those sort of things, that has been proven to have a negative effect on the nature, those are the type of standards they have to live up to. I think it is two fold; one the one side you have the environmental aspects, and I'm not sure that animal treatment falls under this category, and the ethics. The ethics in productions!</p> <p>I wouldn't say that these matters have been something that I have learned through my upbringing and my parents. I think there have been a bit of scepticism (regarding organic) but I think that is beginning to fade a way as it is now something that takes up considerable space in both general debates in society but also in social forums and, you know, my mother works as a nurse so she have naturally been affected by what is being said regarding health aspects. So, I believe, yes, there have been a bit of scepticism, I think that there is always a</p>



	<p>certain degree of disbelief in the initial phases for a new "environmental-label". But now, it is more or less standard! There are a vast amount of different labels! Not only for food but, but for all other products. So we are more used to it now that when I was growing up... We didn't buy that much organic when I was a kid!</p>
	<p><b>You mention that your mother was a bit sceptic, would you say that there have been some sort of social pressure that have changed her views?</b></p> <p>Well, the reasons are also concrete! You chose to call it "social-pressure", but it could also be called for something else - the policies that have been implemented! The policies are set to promote this sort of production! I don't know if there are governmental subsidies for organic production. But branding, that is carried out by the PR bureau's. I don't know if I want to call it branding - but you also get branding from the political sphere! What is the right thing, what is correct, in these particular issues! "Correct" with regards to numerous things, of course. Correct when it comes to health, for example, because the government is trying to maintain a certain standard in order to avoid, to give an extreme example, obesity outbreaks! But what you have to be conscious about, if you want to call it "social pressure", that you will find in many other things as well, clothing for example, but basically everything is capitalized on today, so its hard to say if there are any special conditions in this case, if there is, it is that you have both the industry that promotes it through the PR bureau's AND you have, from the political and governmental side, involvement across political parties, and an investment in organic produce. So, of course, if you have it coming from these two sources it will have an effect on both society and the individual. It will have an effect on the debate; it will have an effect on what is considered fashionable too! It can change, by the way. Certainly these things can change! I don't know what the trend has been in areas that have been hit hard by the economic recession, but I believe, and this is just a "suspicion" – that, since this now have been so established, at least in Europe, that the recession have not change that much in the purchasing patterns of organic</p>

produce.			
<b>My own health!?</b>	<b>Environmental issues!?</b>	<b>Animal welfare!?</b>	<b>Makes me feel good!?</b>
<p><b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b></p> <p>I don't believe I always have the organic alternative. Sugar for example, and if it was there I don't think I would buy it anyway, it is too expensive! If the prices were just a bit more equal, just a bit closer. But they are not! Most of the time organic produce is just a lot more expensive! Twice as much, sometimes even three times as much! So you can buy a kg of sugar for something like 8 kr, and half a kilo of organic cane-sugar is 30 kr! That's just crazy!</p>			
<p><b>Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to purchase organic?</b></p> <p>Yes, there are some structural differences. In the end of the month when I don't have that much money, I don't buy organic... Well, as long as there is "financial-space", I'll do it all the way through.</p> <p>Ok, yes. Listen, I have been on dates, for example, where I made a thing out of only buying organic products! Because, I believe, that it is better... But also with friends, well, in situations where I want to impress! I Don't know, basically it should send the signals that the food will taste good, but, I don't know, I don't think it is because I want to present myself as someone I'm not... I don't have any problems with eating non-organic products.</p>			
<p><b>By buying organic - what differences do you feel you can make for society ? (Environment etc)</b></p> <p>The difference I can make through buying organic is minimal! it is not at all serious. If we are talking about making a difference, I don't think it is sufficient as an alternative to the sustainable, speaking about the environment. That does not mean, or I don't think that</p>			

	<p>means that there is nothing we can do! I believe, that, the thing with buying organic is diverting things from the scope of the predicament at hand! So, people end up with illusions about if you buy organic, which fundamentally is a form of market strategy and a form of extortion, you are partaking in averting the environmental crisis that we are facing! That is, I believe to cheat people! People that have little influence on the real environmental crooks - that is, private companies and governments!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?</b></p> <p>It has a place in my lifestyle. But I don't think about it that much!</p>
	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>I think that signals some sort of consciousness about what you eat and through that, I think this is a person that cares about his or her health. I think to a lesser degree of matters of environmental consciousness. That aspect is more related to common sense, and that follows the social layer you come from, as there are financial limits to how healthy you can be, if organic food is the determining factor for whether your food is healthy or not! So, to answer your question; it sends a signal of health! First and foremost!</p>

<b>Involvement and quality:</b>	<p><b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?</b></p> <p>I would want to say... It means a lot, it does! But quality is whatever it means to me... In this particular case, as I'm cooking Iranian food, it has the effect that I always go for the same type of rice, and for me, that type of rice is of better quality! But it is hard to determine any kind of quality, it is really something that you create and imagen. But, taste is a form for indicator of quality!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than conventional products?</b></p> <p>Yes, because they are subject to higher standards. But they are not always of a higher quality, but, the companies that markets both organic and non-organic</p>

	products - they have an advantage in a sense as they can turn the organic one into the premium and better alternative! But with to different brands it is harder to differentiate, when one is organic and the other one is not! In such a case the non-organic could very well be of a higher quality! But again, it is completely relative and related to your personal preferences. It could also be about packaging, I think that is true for a lot of people! The pictures that are presented on the package.
	<b>Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)</b>  No. Or, I'm sure that I have in some passive way...
	<b>Do you consider organic produce a premium product? Is that the best you can get in you supermarket?</b>  No.

<b>Veblenian effect:</b>	<b>Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?</b>  No, I don't want go so far. Because... I think that is some thing that I have grown up with, and from TV - I've seen these TV-shows, "Kontant", they are comparing products and the cheapest one always ends up being the best one! But it depends; clearly it depends, especially when it comes to meat!
	<b>How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b>  It gives you a first impression. Well, you know, packages can also signal cheapness! That could also be a good thing, it depends on the situation!
	<b>You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy - when checking out at the counter - how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?</b>  Yes, I think about what other people think about what I buy! Yes, I have consciously thought about those situations - I'm in the supermarket and if I choose the organic or non-organic milk - yes, totally! Well, also

	<p>dependent on my mood - but yes, sometimes I'm totally aware and sensitive over what other people might think when they see me choosing a non-organic milk for example! People could have all sorts of preconceived ideas- with regards to how much money a person has, and with regards to health aspects as we talked about before - which is a costly matter!</p> <p>But, again, it depends in my mood. I think it is a form of paranoia. hehe, I'm mean, I don't check what other people buy...</p>
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<b>Snob effect &amp; Distinction:</b>	<p><b>Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?</b></p> <p>I want to say 50%, if not more... Denmark is one of the most equal societies in the world, maybe it's up to 60%! Well, I think 50% fell the way I do - if they have the financial means, they'll buy organic!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic foods are limited in supply compared to conventional products? Is it harder to get a hold of?</b></p> <p>No, it's to be found all over. Well, most of the time the supply is greater in the more expensive supermarkets. So, in that sense it is harder to get a hold of...</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>It is all layers of society, as long as they have the financial means that is - I don't think there is one particular group that can be said to constitute the "organic consumer".</p> <p>Ok, hold-on, I want to give a more qualified answer... I think it has to do with; I believe people in Copenhagen buy more organic produce than they do in the suburbs, but that could be some sort of personal prejudice. Geography is connected to things like level of education, the level of education of your parents, your social network...</p>
	<p><b>51. Do you perceive organic foods as somewhat exclusive?</b></p> <p>yes! well, no - not milk and those sort of things... it depends on the price difference. Exclusivity is</p>

	connected to the price - it is exclusive because it excludes people that can't afford it! Using this definition - yes - organic products are exclusive! If you want to say that they are exclusive in the sense they have a great taste that distinguishes them from other products - so it is exclusive!
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<b>Bandwagon effect:</b>	<p><b>How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>I want to say about 50%...</p>
	<p><b>How do you think that affects you?</b></p> <p>Well, I'm sure that has affected me... I mean, preferences for organic is not a property that you are born with! So all these external impulses so, of course, it is obvious that your social network has an affect on the way you consume! It certainly has!</p>
	<p><b>Would you agree to that there is some sort of social pressure in your network to consume in a certain way?</b></p>

<b>Hedonic effect:</b>	
	<p><b>What sort of values do you attach to organic food?</b></p> <p>I'm not sure that I attribute any values to organic foods... Rather, I think, I connect it to some capacities. The question here is whether people that consume organic have different values than those who don't - and I don't think that is true. Maybe they like to think that they have some sort of noble values, but, I don't think that is the case... I want say, if you realize yourself through the food products you buy, if your have a lot of purchasing power - I believe it is a very superficial form of self realization... That people do it to make a distinction between themselves and others. but, that is something we do all the time and vice versa, to fit into group. So yes, as long as organic products is something that is capitalized on, I think it that is the case! A form of social distinction. But this is true for almost anything</p>

	today.
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<b>Perfectionist effect:</b>	<p><b>When was the last time you made a larger investment?</b></p> <p><b>What sort of product? What brand? Why did you choose that one?</b></p> <p>Hm, let me think... it was a computer.</p> <p><b>What kind?</b></p> <p>I can't remember. yes, Samsung...</p> <p><b>Why did you chose that one?</b></p> <p>Hm, because the price was 5000 kr and it had the some specifications as a one where the price was 14.000 kr!</p>
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## 13. INTERVIEW X7

<b>Introducing key parts of interview:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thank you!</li> <li>• About the project</li> <li>• How the interview will proceed</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Questions?</li> </ul>	<b>Name:</b> X7 <b>Date:</b> 28/5
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<b>Theme:</b>	<b>Questions:</b>
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Introduction – Trying to fit them into archetypes	How old are you?				
	29				
	What is your civil status?				
	In a relationship...				
	How many people live in your household?				
	It's me alone				
	What level/type of education do you have?				
	I got a university degree - A masters in Art in Architecture				
	What's your annual income level ?				
	Between 250-400 , in a good year!				
	0- 100.	100.-250.	250.-400.	400.-600.	600.+

General shopping habits	How often do you shop?				
	Everyday I think!				
	Where do you buy your groceries? & Why?				
	At the smaller "greengrocers" and at Irma. Partly				



<p>because of location, those are the ones that are close to me, and Irma also because they have better products... When I'm having more people over I think I have to admit that I would but most things in Netto and similar places. Its a matter of convenience and the quality of the products, to a large extent. Because, one is not a happy person when you go to Netto!</p>		
<p><b>How do you plan your shopping beforehand?</b></p> <p>I dont! If I'm buying just for myself I have my small routines with the things that i like , and when I'm biking back from my work I stop and buy one thing or the other or I go back home and see what I have and go down to buy things to complement... If I'm having guest, I think a bit over it, a plan a bit more what stores I should go to... So that I can do something a bit more special for the ones that are coming over. So, I think its kind of a mixed behaviour I think.</p>		
<p><b>Do you pay attention to "tilbuds aviser" and other discounts?</b></p> <p>Not the kind of things that I get in my postbox, that goes straight to recycling. Irma - they have quite a few offers so if there is for example 3 packs of coffee for 70 kr i might buy that, but otherwise, not really...</p>		
<p><b>Would you describe yourself as price-sensitive ?</b></p> <p>Yes and no, some things a think about! I don't eat that much meat, mostly vegetables. It is on a certain level; clearly I can feel the difference from when I go to Irma and when I go to Netto or the greengrocer... But I it depends on what I feel like. I rather, I have this idea that I would rather feel good than saving 10% on my budget.</p>		
<p><b>How much is:</b></p> <p>I litre of conventional milk is 6-7 kr i think and an Organic, it depends on where you buy it but around 9 kr</p>		
<p><b>A l of conventional milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A l of organic milk?</b></p>	<p><b>A kilo of potatoes?</b></p>
<p><b>Describe the selection process when you shop for groceries ... ?</b></p> <p>Hehe, "that looks good, I'll but that thing" its completely impulsive! No, but sometimes... I go for the offers. It also</p>		

	happens that I have seen a recipe that I want to cook, but mostly it spontaneous and intuitive since I have been cooking for quite a few years now...
	<p><b>Describe how you relate to brands in your grocery shopping...</b></p> <p>I'm a sucker for everything that comes from a little farm somewhere, but otherwise I don't really consider it, I know what tastes good and what don't. Hm, brands as such, I like Irmas own brand, its organic products to a fair price. The greengrocers don't really carry brands, or yes, they have these funny Turkish brands among which a have a few favourites. Hm, there are something's that I like more than others ... It's really hard to answer...</p> <p>There are some brands that I trust more than others I think! If I'm going to buy something that I haven't bought before I think I would try to find some sort of similarity to something's that I have bought before.</p>

<b>General attitudes towards food &amp; cooking:</b>	<p><b>Describe your general interest in food?</b></p> <p>I think it means quite a lot! I really enjoy cooking with my friends and also for myself. I try to eat at least one good meal a day. I work partly independent and partly in an office, when I'm in the office a get served a good lunch and when I'm working alone I usually make a salad with beans and stuff so that a get the proteins... as I don't eat meat. I eating with my family, we always used to cook, I have always been helping out since I was a little kid so it is kind of a large part of my life I think. Yes, I would place myself in a category of people that cares about food more than the average maybe... I grew up in a couple of different countries, and my parents have been traveling a lot so there are a lot of different influences which makes me feel that it is exciting and fun... And its also a very social thing, among me and my friends. I rather cook with my friends that shove down 10 beers and watch a game of football.</p>
	<p><b>How often do you cook at home?</b></p> <p>I cook everyday. Mostly to myself but also to friends, maybe once a week!</p>

	<p><b>Do you keep track of food trends and new restaurants in town?</b></p> <p>hehe, yes I keep myself updated on things, when a new restaurant opens, I also go out and try them ... I probably go out to eat once a week or so. When I'm in London to visit my girlfriend we usually also go out for dinner and often try new places... You know, maybe I'm not the most experimental type, I don't have money to go places like Noma, but yes, I try.</p>
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<b>Organic food:</b>	<p><b>How often do you buy organic? – say out of 10 different products, how many would you say are organic?</b></p> <p>It varies a lot but it is over 50% ... on average. All dairy products have to be organic, if I buy meat that should also be organic... juice, fruits most of those things! It is harder at the greengrocers because they don't have the same labelling. And it is also something that is related to my budget. For example when I'm buying basil, I can't be bothered to pay 27 kr when I can get it for 6 kr... When it gets up to that sort of difference it sets me off, I have to say... Also, when I buy chocolate and beers, I chose organic... What else do I have back home in the cabinet..? Rice! Grain products... all those things, those are quite easy to get. yes, it's also about supply and the correlation between price and supply, I think!</p>
	<p><b>What drives you to choose organic over conventional products? Why?</b></p> <p>As a point of departure, it is a moral standpoint! Eehh, in the same way as I don't eat that much meat... I really like to do what I can in order for the world to be a better place! But also my own health, I mean, I don't feel like stuffing myself with all sorts of pesticides and added substances that I feel that I can avoid by buying organic! So, it is the health aspect, or for the global environment but also for purely egoistic reasons... One of the fundamental things, we have seen plenty of terrible consequences for the nature by the pesticides. It pollutes groundwater, it has destroyed whole nature areas, because one didn't really what one was doing - and then one can say - we understand these things better today. But, I'm afraid we don't know of all the long-term consequences. As far as I understand there is also more</p>

<p>sustainable production method within the organic farming which means that, when looking forward, we should be able to put in place a healthier biological system and we can do things from the premises that we actually are able to do rather than placing hens in a tiny cage and letting out the cattle once a week... But yes, maybe these are more of the moral aspects. But, simply put: it is a more sustainable production. If I don't do anything and nobody else does anything nothing will happen! It's a small and modest way of being part of that movement. I also, really like to, buy me things in "bio" store. If I have a cold or needs sunscreen I prefer buying that from a "bio" shop rather than buying things that have been tested on animals.</p>			
<b>My own health!?</b>	<b>Environmental issues!?</b>	<b>Animal welfare!?</b>	<b>Makes me feel good!?</b>
<p><b>What keeps you from buying organic?</b></p> <p>Primarily the price and my financial situation. But also lack of supply and also, in some instances, I'm afraid that the non-organic products are better. Eeh, its also hard... It also about the local produce, the Scandinavian products are often easy to find in a organic version but as soon as you are after something else ... If you buy an organic wine, it is guaranteed that it is sour and if you buy organic oranges, there are not that good, even bananas is a problem! So, local produce is also a part of the whole concept!</p>			
<p><b>How much more expensive is organic foods?</b></p> <p>It varies a lot! Milk for example, the difference is 1 kr or 2 kr. On other things, the difference can be up to 70 -100% more expensive. I cant see any rule of thumb on that matter.</p>			
<p><b>Are there any specific situations where you are more inclined to purchase organic?</b></p> <p>Well, as I said, there is the price difference, so it depends on how many guests I'm having over. But yes, If I'm cooking meat I rather buy some organic or if I'm planning to do my tasty pumpkin-soup, where I use the peel, I would definitely buy organic. I would never use peel that have been exposed to pesticides... Eee, In general I think</p>			

	<p>I'm more inclined to buy organic when it's animal products - that is dairy and meat because - I don't know if it something that I have convinced my self to believe, it is funny how I consider it now that you ask me, but I believe that the living conditions for the animals are better when it is organic! At least, there is a guarantee that they have had the opportunity to stroll around outside and the pigs have been messing around in the dirt at that sort of thing. And the same goes for eggs! Yes, there are some products that I'm more sensitive about than others - Dairy and meat, and when I'm using the peel. And on the other side you have things like potatoes, as far as I know they don't use that much pesticides so there I don't think it matters as much...</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products matches your lifestyle in general?</b></p> <p>Well, yes... hehe, I'm not really one of those "crea-hipsters" but, hm, it has to do with the financial situation and the choices you make! My father lives at Fyn, he has to go all the way the next village to find a Netto but here in Copenhagen you have a decent supply of organic produce whereas in Fyn there is virtually nothing! He is farming his own organic vegetables so he only needs to complement... So, it is kind of a choice that I have, as it is available to me and that I have the financial means - and it's a moral statement! I care about health and living a good life. I'm completely "New-Age" convinced that if you eat healthy things you will live a healthier life!</p> <p>I mean, I didn't grow up with these things, organic is a relatively new phenomenon, but we always grew our own vegetables, and there have always been a concern about eating healthy and eating good! I remember when we used to live in Sweden when I was a kid and our neighbours looked at us with suspicion when we where eating soya-meat and when my father tried to sell some of our vegetables, the Swedes hardly knew what a salad was! So, yes, it has certainly been a part of the social life!</p>
	<p><b>What do you think when you walk into a home of a friend/relative and notice that a majority of the visible products are organic?</b></p> <p>I don't think about it! I don't notice it... When you are</p>

	invited over to someone, its on there own conditions! I don't ask any questions! It's not an image for me!
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<b>Involvement and quality:</b>	<p><b>To what degree is quality a determining factor when you chose what to buy?</b></p> <p>It's really important! No doubt! Well, it could be that I can buy some organic lamb from New-Zealand but it has been shipped over half the globe and I could by some none-organic lamb from the local hallal-butcher and I know that lambs have better living conditions, they are out in grass fields so whether they organic or not the have a decent life - then you can ask your self if the are pumped with various things to keep them free from deceases but I don't think it as that common. So, it's the quality!</p>
	<p><b>How do you evaluate quality of food produce? Country of origin? Ingredients? Price? Feel? Smell?</b></p> <p>It's the taste and if it is fresh! A banana, for example, is better if it hasn't been lying in some box for transportation... same with tomatoes, if you ever tried to pick and taste a home grown tomatoes you know how it is suppose to taste! Eeh, a rather buy tomatoes in Irma than other places, partly because I can get organic Danish tomatoes that are really good, they have the sweetness that they are suppose to have and with meat its more about the moral! It's harder to taste the difference, sometimes with pork meat... I think sometimes the non-organic pork have a strange taste... I don't know if it is an illusion...</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that organic products are of a higher quality than conventional products?</b></p> <p>Hm, yes. Most of the things yes! It is like the producers are more aware of what they do and through that I think a draw a subconscious conclusion that it is better quality! But like I said, organic wines, and other products, they really can't compete with the conventional products. But I think that has to do with traditions and the whole culture that is around those things.</p>

	<p><b>Do you actively or passively collect information about organic foods? Through news-papers/websites/from friends etc)</b></p> <p>I follow the debate. And I follow they debate on a EU level with support for farmers and those sort of things. I have seen quite a few American movies on the subject and I just read Jonathan Safran Foer's new book about "eating animals". ... i think it is a subject we talk quite a lot about! At least in family, maybe not straight out, but when we are out shopping we always ask our selves - can we get an organic alternative!? And if we can, that is clearly the best choice!</p>
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<p><b>Veblenian effect:</b></p>	<p><b>Would you agree that price is in general an indicator of quality?</b></p> <p>Hm, let me think about that one... yes, no... That's really hard to answer... there are so many products available, you can't make that sort of generalisation. I can't answer it in that way... but generally, products that you buy in places like "Torvehallerne" are a better quality! But other things like, the difference between dried pasta, the one that costs 3 kr and the one that will cost you 30 kr, there is not that big of a difference in quality! If you know what to buy, that is. So, its both things, I think!</p>
	<p><b>How important is packaging when you chose what products you buy? What sort of things (aesthetics/symbols) do you prefer?</b></p> <p>Hehe, so maybe I'm a "crea-hipster" after all! yes, I really like when things look good! I eat as much with my eyes as with my mouth! Also when I'm out shopping, I prefer, and I get facinated about - I like when it's packed in something brown with some nice sticker or whatever. But on the same time, some things I just buy! but in some way it is important, I think so! I think that you would want to feel some sort of closeness to the things you buy, you would want to have an idea of where it comes from and that there have been someone that has been taking good care of the produce - and that association you get easily when you have that "farmhouse picture". I don't know that it is in that way... In some cases you have great products</p>

	<p>that don't have that style at all! But yes, packaging, maybe not the brand- I don't really care about that... what can I say, I don't like going to Netto because I feel it is shitty, When I go to Irma or the greengrocer I get the felling that these are people that take care of there products, in there own ways...</p> <p>I think the days of Netto are counted! Yes, the larger cities can be seen as good indicators of the development, and say like in 10 years, I think Netto will be over and done with, at least in Copenhagen! Maybe they will move out to the suburbs, but I hope that people will distance themselves from that stuff!</p>
	<p><b>You are in your local supermarket, they are out of the organic alternative that you always buy – when checking out at the counter – how does it make you feel? Are you aware of what others might think about you and the products you buy? Do you pay attention to what the customer in front of you buys?</b></p> <p>I got this morning tradition; I eat a really good muesli with fresh fruits and milk... And I use a little bit milk in my coffee - And I'm enormously sensitive when it comes to milk! It has to be fresh and it has to be organic! So, I have to say, I get a real feeling of discomfort when I have to eat my muesli with non-organic milk. I think I have the associations from when I was a kid and lived in Portugal where the only thing you could get was this "long-life" milk!</p> <p>I don't care about what other people might think about what they see me buy! I mean, of course I notice and can have a laugh about, when I see what an old lonely man might buy...</p>

<b>Snob effect &amp; Distinction:</b>	<p><b>Give me an estimate in % of how many Danes you think consume organic foods on a daily basis?</b></p> <p>I think a lot of people buy organic dairy products since there is a good supply! eeheh, and they are closing down many of the Irma shops outside of Copenhagen and that's also some sort of indicator... Maybe, around 40-50% of the Danish population, I believe! Perhaps those are the ones that are the farthest away from agriculture... and then you have those that are apart of</p>
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	<p>the industry, maybe around 10.000 people, I guess they have there own way of looking at things. And then you have the people that live outside of the larger cities (udkands Danmark), I don't think those people care that much...</p>
	<p><b>Describe the average organic food consumer? Who are they?</b></p> <p>You can divide it into three categories: Those that live in and around the larger cities, that has greater financial resources - for those people, organic food is important. And for a lot of young people, even though they might complain that they don't get enough SU but I think, they believe it is important and they care about it but does can not necessarily afford it. And then in the outside, in the smaller cities like Odense I think there is a drop in the interest for organic. But once you get out more on the countryside and on the smaller islands I think these sort of things are getting more important for people... That is because they produce locally and they eat local produce. And I don't think there are any doubts about that the higher level of education you have, the more important organic becomes! And the better you are off financially, the more important it is..</p> <p>I think in general it is people with a higher level of education, people that are reading newspapers on a daily basis and has an income that is over the national average. but also students, I think there are a lot of students that chose organic...</p>
	<p><b>Do you perceive organic foods as somewhat exclusive?</b></p> <p>No, not as such! Hm, aaah, I don't like to talk about money issues all the time when it is not really that which is the important thing! But no, not exclusive! maybe it is.... something that is... partly more accessible to some than to others but not necessarily more exclusive - if that makes sense!</p>
<p><b>Bandwagon effect:</b></p>	<p><b>How many of your friends/family/colleagues etc would you say are at least to some degree organic food consumers?</b></p> <p>Ooh, I was about to say 100%. But ... it's probably not</p>

	100% at least 97%, most of them!
	<p><b>How do you think that affects you?</b></p> <p>Yes, of course! My family have influenced my a lot! Maybe not my friends but then - you often end up meeting people with the same interests and mind-set. So maybe it is another one of those subconscious factors. Like we talked about before, the people that care about and eat a lot of organic does (work with etc) similar things are part of the same circles or whatever one can say...</p>

<b>Hedonic effect:</b>	<p><b>Describe your feelings you get when you consume organic food!</b></p> <p>Yes, for me it is related to better health among the people and I relate it to a better health. With milk and eggs, I think there have been many deceases that have been connected to these products and maybe one could say that it is not so good to eat these things as there are no may of controlling and diminishing that health hazards spread in the production... But, maybe it is a sign of "normal" conditions! So yes, it is a conscious decision to be able to do my little role in order to change farming practises!</p>
	<p><b>Would you say that you get a personal satisfaction from consuming organic?</b></p> <p>Yes, I don't know! I feel better about myself! And I feel that, even if it's in a tiny way, a make it better for others! Other animals and humans - I don't think it is that much fun to be a farmer in one of these non-organic industrial farms! So, we could probably employ more people if we changed completely into organic farming, to produce some good products, increase the health among the population... Maybe it is a bit naive..</p>

<b>Perfectionist effect:</b>	<p><b>When was the last time you made a larger investment?</b></p> <p><b>What sort of product? What brand? Why did you choose that one?</b></p> <p>I bought a MacBook pro and an iPhone...hehe, I'm a crea-hipster! These products are a lot better! It is</p>
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	quality! I can't see why should buy anything but the best! That's they way I feel about food also!
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